

Exploring the spatial manifestations of migration movements: A case of Syrian migrants in Istanbul

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Abstract

Focusing on the spatial experiences of migrants during their journey, this study examines the routes and encounters of skilled migrants moving from Syria to Turkey. It aims to understand evolving patterns in migrants' overall life experiences, considering migration as both being in a place and establishing translocal connections. In this context, a survey was conducted on reasons for migration, routes, settlement preferences, adaptation challenges, and future plans of migrants, involving 60 Syrian migrants living in Istanbul. The data were subjected to the Chi-square significance test using the SPSS 28 program.

The findings of the study emphasize the significant role of historical, cultural, geographical, and technological factors in influencing migrants' migration decisions. Migrants face both challenges and opportunities in their living environments while various factors, including the desire to remain in Turkey, property ownership, past migration experiences, and socio-political dynamics, significantly impact their decisions to migrate. Moreover, past movements play a crucial role in shaping migrants' future mobility choices, shaping their experiences throughout the migration journey while considering translocal connections. Therefore, the study emphasizes that the emergence of the idea of migration and all spatial and experiential encounters in reaching the destination create a migration career. These findings highlight the dynamic nature of international migration and underscore the complexities in the relationship between architecture and migration, suggesting avenues for further research to explore these complexities through qualitative methods and broader participant engagement.

Keywords

Displacement, Migration, Migration career, Spatial pattern, Translocal space.

1. Introduction

Migration is a complex policy that encompasses political, social, cultural, and demographic aspects, with its economic dimension being particularly emphasized due to mass migration waves. Migration is primarily a human-related phenomenon, as it is directly related to both the person migrating and the place receiving and giving migration, and both the country of origin and the destination country are affected by this mobility. Furthermore, third countries other than the country of origin and destination are also affected due to the desire to migrate to better countries in terms of economic and living conditions, especially for qualified migrants (Geis et al., 2013; Castels, 2017; Şimşek, 2017). The subject of migration is an issue that is difficult to conceptualize and structure due to the complexities it contains and the opposition against migration. However, within the scope of the study, the phenomenon of migration is categorized in terms of country of origin, destination, routes and desired ones with a focus on migrations.

The relationship between migration and space requires considering migration in both the context of being somewhere and becoming local. Migration, defined as the movement of individuals from one place to another, encompasses various motives such as enhancing living standards, seeking safety, pursuing educational or career opportunities, and reuniting with family or relatives (Petersen, 1958; White & Lindstrom, 2005). The categorization of migration types can be based on factors including origin, destination, duration, purpose, legal status, and magnitude of the migration flow (White & Lindstrom, 2005; Malmberg, 2021). The consequences of migration include social, cultural, economic, political, and demographic changes in both the places of origin and destination (Malmberg, 2021). The spatial dimensions of migration cover topics such as the use of space by migrants, spatial choices, spatial changes, spatial connections, and spatial networks of migrants. Within this context, the concept of “migration space” delineates the physical and conceptual spaces

traversed, inhabited, or influenced by migrants throughout their migratory journey. This concept extends to encompass the spatial configurations shaped by migrants’ movements, interactions, and settlements.

Moreover, the notion of “translocal space” emerges as a pivotal construct in forced and mass migration contexts, elucidating the spatial realities where migrants simultaneously inhabit local and global spheres. Translocal spaces serve as dynamic arenas wherein migrants forge multifaceted connections across diverse locales, thereby reshaping their spatial identities and redefining the boundaries of their socio-spatial existence (Basch et. al., 2020). These concepts of migration space and translocal space offer valuable insights into the intricate spatial dynamics inherent in forced and mass migration phenomena, shedding light on the spatial experiences of migrants and the intricate web of spatial relationships they navigate.

In recent years, contrasting views on immigrants have been widely debated in both political and social contexts in Istanbul and Turkey, coinciding with the onset of economic contraction. The primary elements of this debate include

- the increase in uncontrolled border crossings,
- economic problems faced by the growing population, and
- adaptation issues leading to uncontrolled urban growth.

The discussion also points to two places where issues arise: the places immigrants come from and the cities where they settle. Fundamental issues at this juncture are primarily economic but manifest in cities experiencing accumulations that grapple with both colonization and problems arising from mass migration. Acknowledging that migration and migrant mobility are integral to the urban structure of metropolises like Istanbul, the problem is approached by understanding:

- the reasons and orientation of migrants’ relocations,
- the impact of these movements on the settlement location and relationships, and consequently understanding the driving mechanisms.

This research explores the spatial encounters and migration trajectories of skilled migrants—defined as individuals with either skills acquired in their country of origin through apprenticeships or professional education, or skills acquired in the country they migrated to (Nowicka, 2014)—migrating from Syria to Turkey. The study aims to comprehend the evolving patterns and dynamics within migrants' overall life experiences throughout the migration journey, with a particular focus on career-related aspects such as stopping points and migration routes. The hypotheses guiding this research are as follows: [1] Migration decisions are influenced by migrants' responses to their socio-economic environment. [2] Living conditions and past migration experiences significantly shape these responses. [3] The migration history of individuals is correlated with their propensity to undertake further migrations. In this context, the main research questions have been formulated as follows: the first one related to spatial data, and the second one related to experience:

- How do spatial experiences, including migration career stops and routes to the destination, interconnect along the migration journey?
- What patterns or correlations emerge in understanding migrants' holistic life experiences, particularly about their spatial trajectories during the migration journey?

The scope of the research includes Syrian migrants who possess economic independence (either individually or within their families) and have been residing in Turkey for at least two years. The research method aims to determine the relationship between the spatial, movement, adaptation, and personal characteristics of migrants using a quantitative approach. In this context, a case study was conducted focusing on Istanbul, which is the most attractive city for migrants due to its cosmopolitan and multi-layered structure. Within the scope of the case study, a survey was conducted with migrants who migrated from Syria to Turkey.

The research contributes to local governments by providing findings related to migrants' spatial, social, and

network aspects, helping them keep the issue of migration in more predictable frameworks in their future projections. The primary objective of this study is to impartially identify the needs of migrants, delve into the intricate processes of forced migration and re-motivated voluntary migration, and analyze the various motivations underlying migration.

The revised policies aim to redefine migration impulses to support national goals and identify the reasons for migration. Furthermore, the research investigates the impact of migrants' changing lifestyles and relocation methods, while also examining the significance of migrants' migration career development, social adaptation, spatial relationships, and future aspirations. The concept of migration career highlights how migrants' encounters with various environments, experiences, and relationships shape their migration journey. In this context, factors such as the routes they travel, modes of transportation used, accommodations, and interactions with others significantly influence their migration experiences (King & Skeldon, 2010). Consequently, the concept of migration career is instrumental in defining the migration process as a journey that shapes migrants' experiences and relationships. It is noteworthy that the term "migration career" is introduced in this article as an umbrella term that interprets migration through spatial readings for the first time.

The article is divided into three main sections. The first section focuses on theoretical concepts, exploring the idea of migration and spatial investigations within migration journeys. The following section uses our research findings to examine and consider methodological possibilities for studying migration. Finally, the conclusion discusses the potential impact of space studies on understanding the dynamic interplay between migrants' journeys and their spatial preferences.

2. Background

The dynamic nature of human beings challenges simplistic evaluations, and technological advancements require a nuanced understanding beyond

traditional frameworks. Although there have always been movements in the world, technological developments have facilitated border controls, and human beings have always been complex and innovative. Since the actors of international migration are the sending country, the receiving country, the transit country, and the people themselves, migration is a governance issue involving national, international, public, and non-governmental organizations. Therefore, it is not possible to evaluate migration on the axis of supply-demand or need-opportunity as in the past (İçduygu, 2006). Migration mobility is projected to increase further due to increasing climate crises, natural disasters, wars, and internal conflicts on a global scale. The international migrant population has been increasing at an accelerated pace in recent years. Today, with the concentration of migration mobility in certain countries and regions, the distinctions between the country of origin, transit country, and destination country have become blurred (Scholten et al., 2022). Therefore, cities and countries need to develop predictable policies in the face of intense migration and create databases on the social, cultural, economic, and educational levels of migrants (de Haas et al., 2018).

Migration studies have recently witnessed a significant transformation, with international migration taking precedence over internal migration. This shift has given rise to fresh conceptual approaches that extend beyond mere modifications to existing frameworks. These approaches collectively contribute to a rich and varied landscape in the field (Massey et al., 1999). These new theories sought to understand the reasons for migration and its conditions and delved into the consequences for the areas of origin and destination. Furthermore, they explored the factors that sustained the continuity of migration and the social spaces it generated. Among these theoretical approaches, network theory, the institutional approach, cumulative causality analysis, and migration systems theory emerged as prominent paradigms (Arango, 2000).

In the institutional approach, the definition of migration encompasses all types of international and internal migration, migrants, and migration-related diversities. For example, Levy and Others (2020) emphasize people's movements, including their causes, consequences, and processes, which include various aspects, such as migration's sociological, economic, political, and cultural dimensions.

In the cumulative causation theory, Fussell and Massey (2004) identify four urban contexts: Urban Social Networks, where social capital accumulation is less effective in large urban areas due to selective networks; Anonymity in Cities, where high population density reduces the visibility of migratory experiences; Labor Market Dynamics, where diverse job opportunities in urban areas reduce the need for international migration; and Rural-Urban Networks, where connections to rural areas may impact migration differently.

Network theory, which is based on the works of Thomas and Znaniecki (1996), considers migration as a consequence of relationships between migrants and their social networks. These networks, which are frequently based on familial or shared origin ties, provide essential support such as housing and employment, facilitating movement between locations. As networks expand and migration costs decrease, the process becomes less discriminatory and reflects the characteristics of the sending community. Furthermore, migration networks function as social capital, granting access to employment prospects and increased salaries within the host community (Schiappacasse, 2007).

Migration systems theory, as explored by Bakewell et al. (2012), focuses on pioneer migrants and systemic linkages, critiquing traditional views and considering the agency of individuals. It emphasizes the economic aspect of migration as a "survival strategy" (Hugo, 1998), while Fisher and Straubhaar (1996) highlight migrants' agency in choosing destinations with better conditions or opportunities.

The shift from a focus on migration systems theory, emphasizing pioneer migrants and systemic linkages, to a

broader scholarly reassessment of migration typologies, particularly in the second half of the twentieth century, marks a pivotal moment in migration studies (Castles & Miller, 1993). This period of reflection acknowledges the increasingly global and diverse nature of migration flows, recognizing new complexities arising from globalization and advancements in communication and transportation technologies. As a result, new terms such as ‘recurrent migration’, ‘transnational communities’, ‘translocality’, and ‘transmigration’ have emerged to describe the changing nature of migration. It is important to investigate the specific locations where transnational activities and discussions take place and are negotiated (Erhkamp, 2005). This transition emphasizes the continuous development of migration studies, from concentrating on individual agencies within migration systems to comprehending migration as a complex and transnational phenomenon.

Advancements in communication and transportation technologies have enabled migrants to maintain strong connections with their home communities, leading to a surge in the importance of macro phenomena like transnationalism, which includes economic practices such as remittances and sociocultural engagements like transnational networks (Levitt et al., 2003). Migration researchers are adapting their conceptual language, favoring the term “local beyond,” which emphasizes the local contexts where transnational activities and discussions occur. Smith’s (2003) study of Mexican transnational migrants underscores the opportunities and constraints offered by different places, highlighting the role of migrant NGOs in transnational social networks. In this regard, Massey’s (1995) “progressive sense of place” provides the theoretical underpinning for examining the local beyond; spaces can be envisioned as specific articulations of social relations, encompassing both local connections and numerous connections beyond. Countries in a migration system are connected not only by people but also by other types of connections (Fawcett, 1989; Massey et al., 1993). The connections between

past, present, and future are directly related to policies, societies, economies, and environmental factors as a macro effect of migration. In the theoretical framework shown in Figure 1, causality exists between international migration flows and its determinants, which are micro effects rooted in personal/household characteristics of migrants and meso effects emanating from intervening hurdles and enablers.

Hedberg and do Carmo (2011) employ the concept of translocality to comprehend the spatial-relational dimensions engendered by mobility. This perspective goes beyond conventional distinctions such as “here” and “there,” the binary of “rural” and “urban,” and the concept of confined space. Translocality signifies the emergence of multidirectional and overlapping networks that facilitate the circulation of people, resources, practices, and ideas. These networks are shaped by individuals’ actions, while also providing a framework for those actions. The translocal perspective does not involve introducing a translocal scale between the “global” and the “local.” Instead, it draws on insights from scale research and recognizes that socio-spatial scales are not inherent but socially constructed, fluid, fixed simultaneously, and fundamentally relational (Brown & Purcell, 2005). “Translocality” refers to utilizing places as sites of residence that surpass the boundaries of settlement areas, underscoring the importance of places as nodes of flows that transcend various spatial scales.

Globalization makes us rethink locality, which is not just about physical or geographical boundaries (Peth et al., 2018). Translocality shows how different localities are connected and influenced by global forces. The concept of translocality is (Greiner & Sakdapolrak, 2013):

- A relational perspective on the spatial and social dynamics of migration and mobility
- A way of understanding how people, places, and cultures are connected across multiple scales and locations
- A lens for exploring the diversity, complexity, and hybridity of migrant identities and experiences

- A challenge to the conventional notions of bounded territories, fixed identities, and linear trajectories

Translocality denotes the close interrelations among diverse places and people that are produced by continuous, flexible, and variable processes of migration and networks. Globalization challenges the conception of locality beyond physical or geographical borders. Translocality reveals the interconnectedness and influences of different localities under global forces. Translocality draws on the insights of transnationalism research but aims to overcome its limitations by offering a broader perspective. Translocality can address important issues in socio-spatial research. Moreover, as we delve into the complexities of the Syrian refugee crisis, it becomes evident that understanding translocality offers valuable insights into the evolving dynamics of migration and its impacts on both local and global scales.

The focal point of existing studies and reports has generally been on the situation of Syrians in host countries, particularly in Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan, emphasizing policy responses, economic impacts, and access to rights (Yazgan et al., 2015; İçduygu & Nimer, 2020). The initial waves of research have described conditions in camps and also sought to understand the relationship between refugees leaving camps as far as they can access and the local population, explaining the complex outcomes of these policies as well as attitudes towards Syrian neighbors. Subsequent studies have focused on the political, social, and economic impact of Syrian refugees on host countries (Fakih & İbrahim, 2016; Esen & Oğuş Binatlı, 2017). Later studies have concentrated on specific areas such as education, health, and employment rights (Aras & Yasun, 2016; Baban et al., 2017; El Arnaout et al., 2019). With the increase in Syrian asylum claims in European countries, attention has shifted towards analyzing European policy responses and advocating for greater responsibility from European nations. Overall, the dynamic nature of the Syrian refugee crisis necessitates continuous analysis across various areas, including conflict and migration,

humanitarian protection, burden sharing, public opinion formation, health-care services, and integration support.

The discussion revolves around the Syrian crisis's impact on migration, stressing the significant displacement triggered by violence and turmoil in Syria since 2011, with the refugee crisis extending from neighboring nations to Europe, prompting concerns about future implications of human movement linked to the crisis (Yazgan et al., 2015). This underscores the necessity for comprehensive analyses of development and protection needs in host countries, advocating for transnational and holistic approaches to address underlying migration causes like unemployment, income disparity, and minority suppression in Syria. Concurrently, during this era, transnational communities emerged as a significant focus, facilitated by economic globalization, connecting different places through worldwide economic and social relationships. Social, cultural, and behavioral norms crucially shape the reconstruction of homes, fostering a supportive bond between individuals and their surroundings, thereby enhancing a sense of belonging, attachment to place, and facilitating cultural blending, as communities establish social spaces bridging home communities with new settlement areas (Cordan & Aktan, 2021; Pişkin & Bilsel, 2023; Rottmann & Sezginalp Özçetin, 2024). They were shaped by various factors related to migrants' backgrounds and origins, including geographical proximity, historical ties, economic and political opportunities in the host country, the size of migrant groups, and their regional concentration or distribution (Figure 1). This study focuses on the effects of mass movements, whether involuntary or voluntary migration, by analyzing encountered and experienced spaces/places, and delving into the lives of Syrians.

3. Materials and method

This study addresses the question of how skilled migrants migrating from Syria to Istanbul construct and utilize their social and cultural networks during the migration process and

throughout their journey. For this purpose, a survey was conducted using a quantitative research method with adult individuals who migrated from Syria to Turkey. The research method uses a quantitative approach to determine the relationship between living space, motivation, adaptation, and mobility of migrants living in the central district of Istanbul. The study examines specific issues arising in certain situations related to relationships established in the community (connections with the place of origin, sense of belonging to the settled place, etc.), mobility, motivations, prospects, and impacts. The study aims to gain insights into the current situation and see the relationship with existing variables.

This study encompasses numerous variable factors related to the issue of migration decisions:

- Personal Data: Age, gender and marital status of migrants performing mobility from the origin region.
- Past/Experience: Education level, status in Turkey, settlement time, and birth country of migrants from origin regions, which may affect mobility decisions.
- Living Area: Living conditions, typology, location, and size in the destination place, as well as living conditions in the origin country.
- Displacement: The thought of initiating mobility, initiation of mobility, and how far the targeted place is.
- Future: Connections and goals established by migrants with the settled place.

Since the study involves “space” and “movement” based points, participants have been considered to have lived in Turkey for a certain period and achieved their economic independence. Participants were administered a survey consisting of 42 questions based on themes such as Work Life, Home, Route, Life, and Future (Table 1). The survey included both multiple-choice and open-ended questions. In this way, detailed data on the habitat and migration movement, along with the reasons, could be obtained. The survey questions are divided into four main sections: the first includes questions related to the place in the origin country and in Turkey, the second covers movement-displacement covering the migration process, the third section involves future/potential movements-possibilities, and the last section consists of demographic questions (Table 1).

The survey was distributed digitally through the SurveyMonkey platform, accompanied by an informed consent form and documentation of ethical approval obtained from the relevant committee. Survey data collected between 2021 and 2023 utilized the snowball sampling method, wherein initial participants were recruited and then asked to refer others, creating a chain of respondents (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Each participant was assigned an anonymous code to ensure confidentiality and privacy. The collected data is stored securely and preserved with anonymity, with stringent measures in place to safeguard partici-

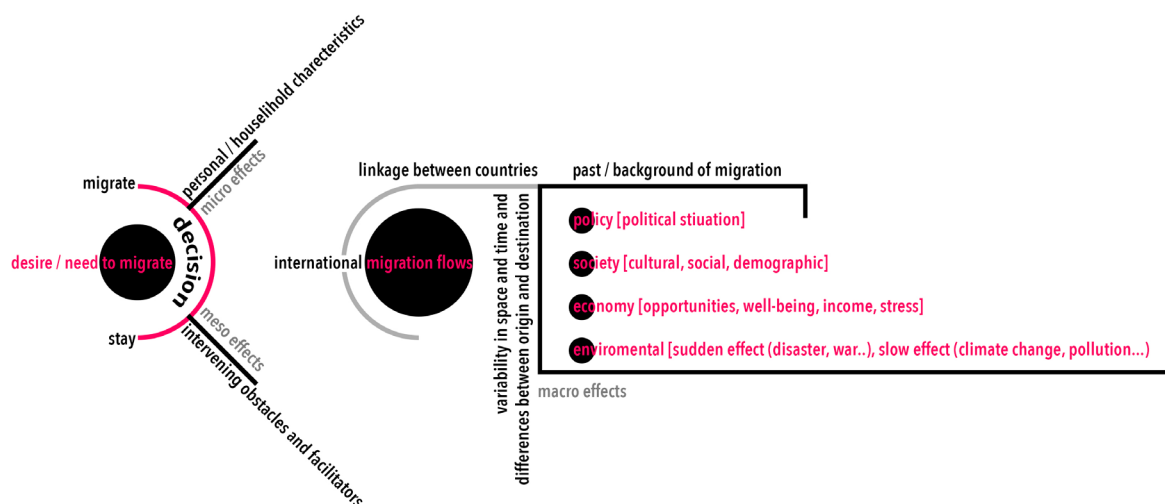


Figure 1. International migration flows (Created by the author, 2024).

Table 1. Details of the questionnaire form.

Space/Place	Location		
	Housing Typ.		
	Size		
	Duration		
	Freq. of Change House	Reason	
Movement	Home	Before Istanbul	City
		After Istanbul	
	Country	Before Turkey	Where
		Intention Before Turkey	Where+Reason
		After Turkey	Where+Reason
	Reason	Reason for Migration	
		Reason for Choosing Turkey	
		Desire to Migrate Again	Return to Syria
			Migrate to 3rd Country
			Stay in Turkey
Adaptation	Adaptation to Turkey		
	Adaptation to Syria		
	Connection with NGO		
Background	Gender		
	Age		
	Marital Status		
	Edu. Background		
	Status in TR		
	Settle Time		

participant confidentiality and adhere to data protection regulations. The survey was conducted in three languages: Turkish, Arabic, and English. For the sampling technique, the cross-sampling technique was used to find a saturation point where the response matches the previous response with a focus on certain criteria: having lived in Turkey for a minimum of 2 years with economic independence. The economic independence criterion must be met by the conditions offered by the participant himself/herself or by his/her family.

The reasons and outcomes of location choice were analyzed under the main headings of Place, Movement,

Future, and Personal Characteristics within the frameworks of geographical proximity and pre-existing connections (Schmeidl, 1997), cumulative cause-effect theory (Massey et al., 1993), and the value expectancy model (Dejong & Fawcett, 1998). The data were subjected to the Chi-square significance test using the SPSS 28 program. Cross-tab sampling analysis was used here to analyze the interaction of Syrian migrants' population mobility in Istanbul City, thus determining the relationship between migration reasons, outcomes, and impacts through variables such as personal data, past/experience, living space, displacement, and future. The

comparative significance results of the findings are presented in Figure 6, where significance values approaching <0.05 indicate significance, and values approaching 1.00 indicate no mutual relationship. The data from the survey are presented in detail in the following result section in three main categories.

4. Results

In this section, the results of the survey conducted with skilled migrants who migrated from Syria to Istanbul are presented. The average age of the participants in the survey, which was conducted with 60 participants residing in Istanbul, is 34.90 (Figure 2). The age distribution of the participants is given in Figure 2, together with the proportion of migrants aged 19 and over who are residents in Turkey, according to the data from the Migration Administration. It is seen that there is a balanced sample distribution.

The total number of Syrians living in Turkey is approximately 3 million and 150 thousand. Approximately 1 million 450 thousand people live in the age range subject to the study. Forty percent of this age group consists of female migrants. The number of Syr-

ian migrants living in Istanbul is approximately 600 thousand (as of April 11, 2024, according to the data of the Presidency of Migration Management (2024) 530,621 people have temporary protection status and approximately 70 thousand people have residence permits). Based on this data, an estimated 230 thousand of the Syrian migrants in Istanbul are in the working age group. According to the data collected, 30% of the participants were female and 70% were male (Table 2). The main reason for this difference may be that female migrants experience more social adaptation problems (Açikalin et. al., 2021). More than three-fifths of the participants have at least a bachelor's degree (Table 2). In terms of length of residence in Turkey, those who migrated in 2014-2015 are the majority. The data provided by the Presidency of Migration Management (2024) also confirms this result. The average duration of participants' lives in Turkey is 10 years. Therefore, it is considered that sufficient data about their lives in Turkey could be obtained.

4.1. Space/home

When examining the locations where participants lived in Syria and Turkey,

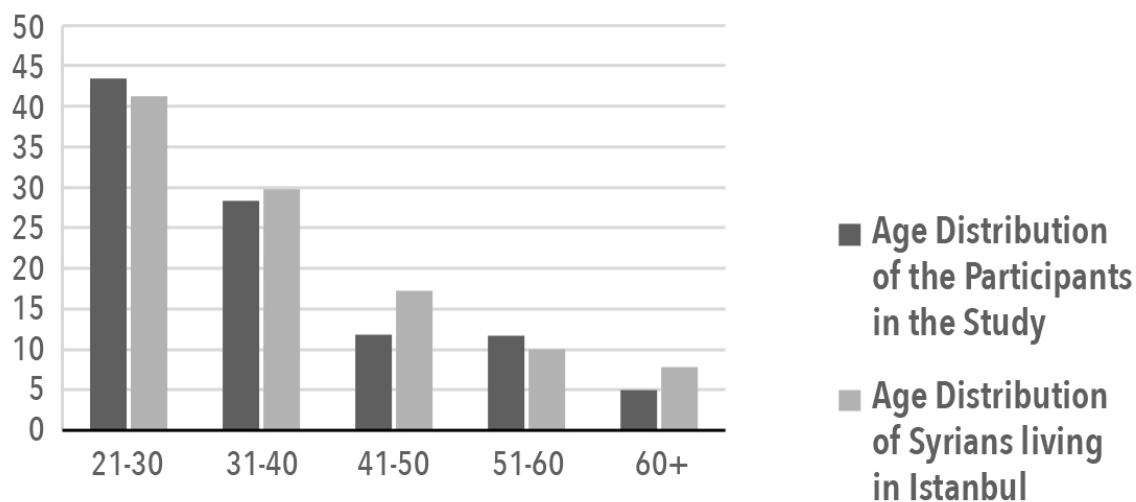


Figure 2. Comparative age distribution of participants and Syrian migrants living in Turkey.

Table 2. Demographic information of the participants in the study.

Background	Gender	Female (%30)		Male (%70)		
	Age	21-30 (%43,4)	31-40 (%28,4)	41-50 (%11,8)	51-60 (%11,7)	61+ (%5,0)
	Marital Status	Single (%45)		Married (%55)		
	Edu. Background	Pri. Edu. (%15)	Sec. Edu. (%20)	Grad. (%51,7)	P.Grad. (%11,7)	Missing (%1,7)
	Status in TR	Temp. Prot. (%51,7)	Touristic (%6,7)	Stu. Edu. (%10)	Citizenship (%23,3)	Work (%6,7)
	Settle Time	Before 2014 (%16,7)		2014 (%26,7)	2015 (%33,3)	After 2015 (%23,3)
						Missing (%1,7)

the Chi-square test shows a significant p-value of 0.888 (greater than 0.05) for the relationship between home location in Syria and Turkey. This means that there is no significance between the location where they lived in their home country and where they live in Turkey. However, despite observing that participants mostly lived in urban centers in Syria, it is noted that they predominantly reside in the outskirts of cities in Turkey (Figure 3).

When we look at the locations declared by the participants, those resid-

ing in the primary transportation lines within Bakırköy, Bahçelievler, Bağcılar, Kağıthane, Şişli, Fatih, Zeytinburnu, Ümraniye, and Kadıköy (inner circle and 2nd circle/suburban regions) constitute approximately 25% of the participants (Figure 3,4). In other words, about 75% of the participants live on the outskirts of the city.

When we look at the location where they live and the location of their workplace, approximately 30% of the participants work in a different district. When we look at the direction of

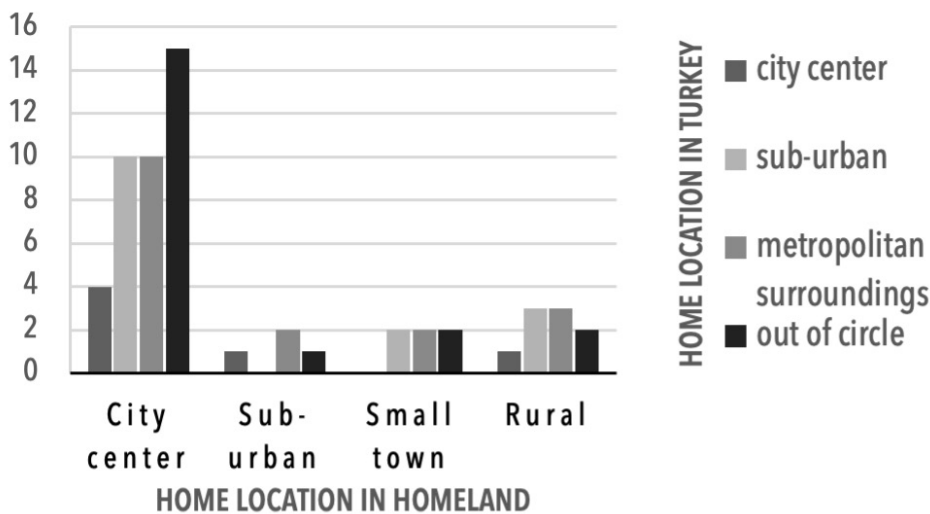


Figure 3. Chi-Square test results bar chart for the relationship between home location in homeland and Turkey.

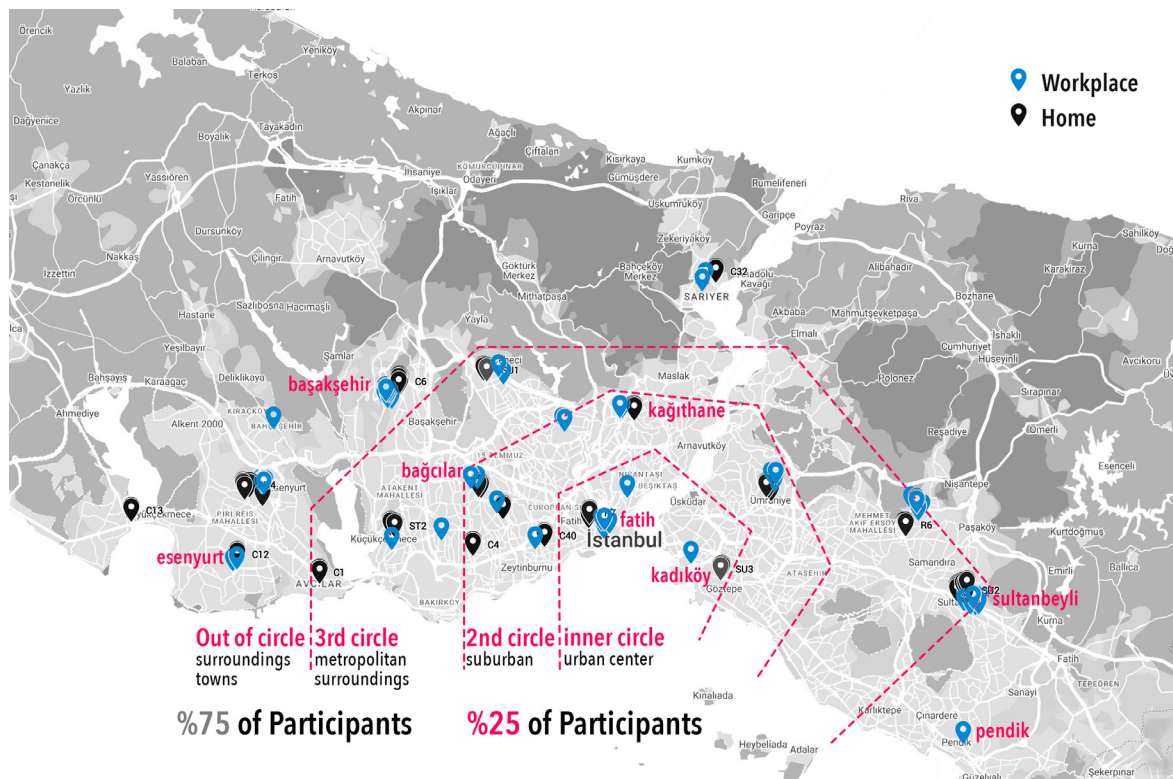


Figure 4. Map of home and workplace location in Istanbul.

the changes in the home-work flow, it is observed that the majority is towards more central areas of Istanbul rather than the outer periphery, where trade is intense (Figure 4). This ratio corresponds to approximately 50% of the relocations.

When we look at whether they want to stay in Turkey based on their location, Chi-square test shows a significant p-value of <0.009 (close to 0.05), indicating a significant relationship. Similarly, the location of their homes in Syria can be discussed in terms of their future in Turkey (sig. p-value of <0.030 , less than 0.05).

When we look at the house typology, another critical point in choosing living spaces, Chi-square test shows a significant p-value of <0.087 (close to 0.05) for the relationship between the house typologies in their homeland and Turkey. In Syria, the rate of those living in a “single-family house” is 33.3%, while those living in an apartment are 41.7%. However, looking at the residences in Istanbul, the rate of those living in an apartment has increased to 73.3%, while the rate of those living in a “single-family house” has decreased to 5%. In other words, there has been a significant change in their way of life. Another major difference is that the rate of those living in a “gated community” has increased from 1.7% to 13.3%. At this point, it is observed that the target audience, qualified immigrants, prefers closed communities that cater to a relatively higher-income group in their location preferences.

Looking at individual relocations, we see that the majority of those living in a “single-family house” in Syria have started living in an apartment in Istanbul, continuing their lives in Istanbul as a single-family household. When we look at the change in those living in a “gated community,” while only one participant lived in a “gated community” in Syria, many people in Istanbul continue to live in structures of this typology.

In the context of the relationship between house typology and the duration of being in the last house in Turkey, chi-square test results show a significant p-value of <0.008 (less than 0.05), indicating a significant relationship. When we look at the chi-square significance test results for the sizes of the houses lived in Turkey and other criteria, it can be seen in Figure 8 that the p-values are greater than 0.05, indicating no significant relationship.

When we look at the frequency and reasons for changing homes, another major reason for relocations, we see that 81.5% of the participants have changed homes more than once (Figure 5). When we look at the relationship between the frequency of changing homes and adaptation to the home country, chi-square test results show a significant p-value of <0.019 (less than 0.05), indicating a significant relationship. When we look at the reasons, economic reasons and proximity to work emerge as more important determining criteria than others in changing homes. Another critical point is that the proximity to school, either due to

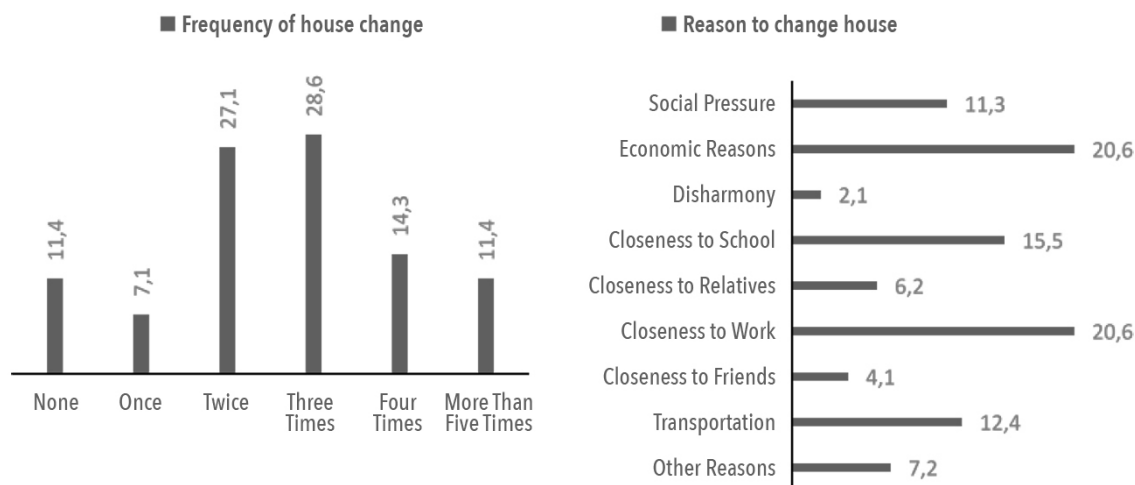


Figure 5. Frequency of house changes (left) and reason to change house (right).

a family member continuing education or the participant's desire to continue education, has become a decisive factor in home preferences. Other reasons mentioned include responses related to the size and dimensions of the house, problems with the landlord, the desire to live in a better home, and reasons such as the end of the lease agreement.

When looking at the desire to return and whether there is immovable property such as a house, land, or business in Syria, chi-square test results show a significant p-value of <0.026 (less than 0.05), indicating a meaningful relationship. In this context, being a property owner in the home country stands out as an important criterion for the desire to return. It is observed that still owning property in the home country has a significant relationship with the residence status in Turkey (sig. p-value of <0.034 , less than 0.05).

Whether living in the current residence for a long or short period does not seem to make a difference in terms of adaptation to Turkey (sig. p-value of <0.263 , more than 0.05). When evaluated in terms of adaptation upon return to Syria, the chi-square test reveals a significant relationship, with a p-value of <0.001 (less than 0.001).

4.2. Movement

When evaluating the study in terms of relocations and their reasons, the study examines reasons for migration, migration routes, experiences and history in different countries, relocation attempts and reasons, and

finally, ties with the home country. The desire to return and its relative reasons have also been investigated.

Only 16.2% of the participants have previously been in Turkey. When evaluating the desire to stay in Turkey about having been in Turkey before, the chi-square test results show a significant p-value of <0.03 (less than 0.05), indicating a meaningful relationship. In terms of reasons for migration and preferences for Turkey, the primary reason for migration is naturally due to war and security issues, and Turkey has been the first choice due to geographical proximity (Table 3). However, when looking at the preference for Turkey, it is observed that religious reasons and cultural closeness come to the forefront. Looking at the open-ended responses to the question of reasons for choosing Turkey, we find:

"If you decided to migrate to Europe, this was the best option." (P. 2)

"Is there another country that would accept me? If I had the chance again, I would go to Europe." (P. 3)

"Because of the rights granted to Syrians." (P. 56)

Another critical comment is that the presence of relatives or immediate family members already living in Turkey has been a preference factor.

The chi-square test results indicate a significant relationship between participants' education level and having been in Turkey before, with a p-value of <0.036 (less than 0.05). It suggests a preference for Turkey for educational purposes. There is a significant relationship between the desire to move

Table 3. Frequency tables of the reason for migration (left) and reason for choosing Turkey (right).

		Responses		Percent
		N	Percent	of Cases
Reason for Migration	War	48	33,6%	80,0%
	Political	19	13,3%	31,7%
	Religious	4	2,8%	6,7%
	Education	14	9,8%	23,3%
	Economic	12	8,4%	20,0%
	Security	27	18,9%	45,0%
	Disaster	1	0,7%	1,7%
	Persecution	15	10,5%	25,0%
	Other reasons	3	2,1%	5,0%
	Total	143	100%	

		Responses		Percent
		N	Percent	of Cases
Reason for Choosing Turkey	Economic	11	8,0%	18,3%
	Political	5	3,6%	8,3%
	Religious	25	18,2%	41,7%
	Geo.Proximity	29	21,2%	48,3%
	Education	14	10,2%	23,3%
	Culture	26	19,0%	43,3%
	Visa	14	10,2%	23,3%
	Language	2	1,5%	3,3%
	Other reasons	11	8,0%	18,3%
	Total	137	100%	

to another city within Turkey and both adaptation to Turkey (sig. p-value of <0.002 , less than 0.05) and the desire to stay in Turkey (sig. p-value of <0.012 , less than 0.05).

When evaluated in terms of age, there is no significant relationship with the desire to stay in Turkey (sig. p-value of <0.157 , more than 0.05). Similarly, there is no significant relationship with the desire to return to Syria (sig. p-value of <0.161 , more than 0.05). However, when examined about migrating to another country, the chi-square test results show a significant p-value of <0.01 (less than 0.05). Similarly, marital status shows significant results in the desire to migrate again (sig. p-value of <0.009 , less than 0.05). The desire to migrate again appears to be higher among singles.

In the analysis of migration movements based on education level, there are no significant relationships in terms of the desire to migrate again or the desire to return to the home country. However, when looking at the relationship between the time spent in Turkey and the desire to migrate again, the chi-square test results show a significant p-value of <0.008 (less than 0.05). It indicates an increase in the desire to migrate to countries where individuals could find better living conditions or desire to go to beyond their forced migration in 2014 when the intensity of the war increased.

4.3. Future

When considered in terms of migration dynamics, career stages, opportunities, and challenges, the transformation of an idea into a desired or forced state and its consequences constitute the entirety of the migration career. The integration of these career experiences into future plans is a critical aspect. The migration process, starting with past experiences and sometimes layering with breakpoints, culminates in a career experience that concludes when the desired destination is reached.

Looking at the participants' past experiences within the scope of the study, it is observed that approximately one-third have had a living experience in another country or countries (Figure 6). Examining the relationship

between the experience of living in another country and the educational level, it is seen that this experience is more common at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels (sig. p-value of <0.085 , close to 0.05). Therefore, it is understood that individuals prefer this experience for educational purposes.

The idea of migrating to another country before the forced migration route to Turkey is seen in about half of the participants (Figure 6). When looking at the age relationship of migrants considering or trying to go to another country, the chi-square test results show a significant p-value of <0.01 (less than 0.05), indicating a meaningful relationship. While 65% of participants in the age range of 20-29 have this idea, this desire decreases as age progresses. Examining the relationship with the level of education, the chi-square test results show a significant p-value of <0.401 (more than 0.05), indicating no significant relationship. When participants were asked why they did not or could not go to the targeted country, they mentioned economic reasons, religious and moral concerns, visa requirements in the desired country, using Turkey as a transit country, and political reasons.

"The value of money suddenly increased in Azerbaijan, and I gave up. When I wanted to go to Russia, there were not suitable conditions for my family to come with me." (P. 34)

"I don't want to go illegally, I want to go safely, I want legal immigration." (P. 14)

"I came to Turkey to go to Europe instead of going to Egypt." (P. 7)

"We intended to go to Europe, the road from Turkey was easier than from Egypt, but my husband changed his mind because of the danger of the road and because I found a job here." (P. 59)

There is a relationship between the desire to stay or not stay in Turkey and the locations where they live both in Turkey (sig. p-value <0.009) and in the homeland (sig. p-value <0.03). Other significant relationships are directly related to whether they have been in Turkey before (sig. p-value <0.03), the existence of another country they wanted to migrate to before Turkey (sig. p-value <0.054), and the desire to migrate again (sig. p-value <0.001) (Figure 6).

PAST	DESIRED	REALITY	INTENTION (FUTURE PLANS)
Country(s) lived in before Türkiye	Intended country(s) before Türkiye	Türkiye	Intended country(s) after Türkiye
%33,3 lived in different countries before Türkiye the most: Saudi Arabia Jordan Lebanon	%48,4 thought going to another country before Türkiye the most: Germany Egypt		Return to Syria To another country
		%27,9 plans to return to Syria	%47,3 considering moving from Türkiye to another country the most: Canada Germany

Figure 6. Relationship between past, desired, present and intention as a migration career.

Reasons for wanting to stay in Turkey include common traditions and customs, habits, the presence of some family members in Turkey, a sense of belonging, the future of children, educational purposes, Turkish citizenship, due to security concerns, the opportunity to start one's own business, and because they believe they have adapted. When looking at the reasons for not wanting to stay, include not seeing a future for their children, weakness in the social system, the desire to go to Europe, economic reasons, adaptation problems, feeling unsafe, the high cost of living, income inequality, the absence of relatives, and the lack of psychological comfort.

4.4. Findings

This research revolves around the causative factors and trajectories of migrant movements, delineating their implications and interactions within the context of settlement. The empirical investigation, conducted on qualified migrants in Istanbul, employed a questionnaire-based approach, and the gathered data were meticulously examined utilizing the SPSS 28 software. The outcomes of the chi-square cross-tabulation significance test were scrutinized,

and the resultant relationships were succinctly synthesized, as illustrated in Figure 7. In the chi-square test, a p-value less than 0.05 is considered indicative of significance, while a value exceeding 0.05 suggests the absence of a significant relationship between the variables. Proximity to 1,000 in the test statistic implies a higher degree of concordance between the two variables. In this context, hypotheses related to the research question were tested, and the following results were obtained:

- [1] The first and second hypotheses aim to evaluate the reasons for migration along with migrants' adaptation and reactions to urban and social life, aiming to describe how their living conditions and past shape these reactions. As can be seen in the significance test results given in Figure 7, the desire to stay in Turkey is related to the location of residence in Turkey, and the desire to return to Syria emerges as a significant factor in property ownership. Similarly, the status of being in Turkey is related to the desire to migrate again, and it is associated with previous presence in Turkey or previous experience in another country. Another relationship is the

geographical and cultural proximity between Turkey and Syria, significantly contributing to Turkey's attractiveness as a destination for Syrian migrants. Proximity facilitates migration, and cultural similarities make Turkey a familiar and hospitable environment for Syrian refugees. Social factors such as security and protection, as well as political factors such as freedom and democracy, play a significant role in migration decisions. The search for security influences migration preferences. However, migrants face challenges related to discrimination, marginalization, security threats, legal uncertainties, and changes in social and political policies.

- [2] The third hypothesis is evaluated in terms of the triggering ef-

fect of past movements on future mobility. Experiencing different spatial and places in reaching the target country, that is, the experience created by the migration journey, is seen to support migrants in making clearer decisions (Figure 7). In this regard, the concept of "local-beyond-local space" contributes by considering migration as being both physically in a place and having connections beyond that place. It provides a comprehensive understanding of migration patterns by acknowledging that migrants maintain connections with their origins while establishing new connections at their destination. However, these relationships also pave the way for new and conscious routes through transnational con-

		PERSONAL INFORMATION								HOME								MOVEMENT								FUTURE					
		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				
PERSONAL INFORMATION	1																														
	2	0,460																													
	3		0,286																												
	4	0,006	0,001																												
	5	0,840	0,017																												
	6		0,018				0,030																								
	7	0,492	0,290																												
	8	0,224	0,271																												
HOME	9		0,200		0,099		0,544																								
	10		0,429		0,185		0,035		0,001																						
	11		0,852		0,831		0,089		0,338	0,001																					
	12						0,034			0,296																					
	13		0,955		0,586		0,065		0,888																						
	14		0,650		0,565		0,727		0,599	0,087			0,070																		
	15		0,611		0,532		0,912		0,867				0,444	0,092																	
	16	0,652	0,559		0,483			0,006	0,288	0,128		0,714	0,637	0,008	0,790																
MOVEMENT	17	0,965	0,058		0,089		0,047		0,143	0,614	0,322	0,393	0,066	0,809	0,684	0,827															
	18	0,305	0,521	0,898			0,640	0,308	0,540	0,679	0,507		0,737	0,325	0,200	0,234	0,983														
	19	0,718	0,001		0,003	0,036	0,001	1,000	0,182	0,345	0,108	0,242	0,684	0,260	0,416	0,365	0,073	0,317													
	20	0,443	0,602	0,184	0,430	0,085	0,005	0,597	0,279	0,147	0,599	0,048	0,076	0,655	0,626	0,561	0,368	0,383													
	21	0,338	0,251	0,526	0,586	0,602	0,428	0,043	0,009	0,157	0,405	0,271	0,156	0,049	0,246	0,102	0,524	0,274	0,329	0,935											
	22	0,006	0,010	0,052	0,009	0,401	0,022	0,008	0,255	0,228	0,927	0,286	0,105	0,086	0,499	0,328	0,373	0,262	0,030	0,164	0,001										
	23	0,870	0,161	0,296	0,152	0,817	0,855	0,603	0,193	0,910	0,586	0,902	0,026	0,165	0,670	0,455	0,552	0,273	0,739	0,358	0,323	0,302	0,570								
	24	0,232	0,083	0,430	0,271	0,311	0,403	0,238	1,000	0,440	0,374	0,749	0,285	0,846	0,601	0,089	0,640	0,019	1,000	0,474	0,088	0,465	0,833	0,001							
FUTURE	25	0,490	0,157	0,645	0,138	0,950	0,276	0,373	0,515	0,030	0,475	0,400	0,715	0,009	0,602	0,446	0,690	0,630	0,012	0,030	0,740	0,058	0,001	0,469	0,264						
	26	0,860	0,155	0,937	0,633	0,317	0,464	0,343	0,038	0,402	0,730	0,389	0,593	0,231	0,803	0,445	0,263	0,681	0,002	0,365	0,809	0,054	0,281	0,142	0,206	0,001					
	1																														
	2																														
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	4																														
	5																														
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PERSONAL INFORMATION	7																														
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	21																														
	22																														
MOVEMENT	23																														
	24																														
	25																														
	26																														
	1																														

Figure 7. Chi-square correlation test of case study in Istanbul.

nections. Historical, cultural, colonial, and geographical ties between Syria and Turkey significantly influence migration decisions and processes. Commonalities in language, religion, ethnicity, and family ties create a historical and cultural connection. Additionally, technological developments facilitate and expedite the migration process between the two countries.

5. Discussion and conclusions

The discussion on the spatiality of globalization and its implications for migration underscores the intricate relationship between migration decisions and the perception of place and time (Sheppard, 2002). This study explores the experiences of movement, life, and space among Syrian skilled migrants residing in Istanbul, conceptualizing them within the framework of translocal spatial relations and displacement trajectories. In today's digitally connected world, advances in communication and transportation technologies have radically changed the dynamics of migration decisions, reducing the temporal gap between thinking about and implementing movement (Adamson, 2006). Despite instances of compelled or involuntary migration, the phenomenon of reciprocal movements, commonly viewed in a positive light, assumes a pivotal role in shaping social hierarchy. Mobility, as a construct, encompasses the fluid acquisition and aggregation of diverse forms of symbolic capital, facilitating symbolic elevation across economic, social, and cultural dimensions (Özçiftçi & Akış, 2023). Consequently, within the scope of this study, migration is reframed not as a manageable event, but as a multifaceted process influenced by spatial, social, and experiential triggers, influencers, and attractors. This paradigmatic shift necessitates a nuanced comprehension of migration processes and their intricate dynamics within the contemporary global landscape.

This study employs a methodology grounded in quantitative research techniques, including open-ended

questions, to explore the relationships between migrants' demographic information, their ties to their home country, and the steps taken to reach their target destination. The findings highlight several key insights. Firstly, the ease of reaching the target destination is facilitated by intermediate stopping points, particularly due to geographical proximity. However, migration decisions are driven by a multitude of factors, as evidenced by the complexity of the decision-making and realization mechanisms observed in the study (Turut & Özgür, 2018). The networks formed and utilized by migrants within the scope of the study are conceptualized as translocality due to encompassing both social and spatial dimensions, resulting in a transnational spatial concept associated with both local and origin. In this context, migrant networks originating from common geographical areas and community-based kinship ties are observed to have an impact on both the selection of place and the formation of social environment or integration. This framework applies to understanding the reasons why Syrian migrants come to Turkey, one of the main receiving countries for Syrian refugees.

Drawing from existing literature and case studies, this research underscores the importance of adopting a broader perspective that recognizes migrants' simultaneous existence in multiple places. This perspective illuminates the complexity of their experiences and interactions and underscores the need for comprehensive policies that address the evolving needs of migrant populations. Moreover, the study anticipates shifts in migrants' lifestyles and strategies influenced by geographical, cultural, and policy-related factors, which in turn shape migration patterns and settlement options. The significance of the social and physical context encountered at the destination is emphasized, highlighting the importance of cultural continuity in the acculturation process for both migrants and residents of the destination (Göregenli & Karakuş, 2014).

The study underscores the importance of approaching migration and migrant mobility within both spa-

tial and movement contexts, avoiding simplistic interpretations. It sets a sensitive and complex foundation for future research on the relationship between architecture and migration. Future studies could benefit from expanded participant inclusion, including both migrants and residents in migration-receiving areas. Additionally, qualitative research methods such as in-depth interviews and on-site observations could further enrich our understanding by considering additional criteria such as migrants' social networks and economic conditions. However, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of this study, including the reliability of migrants' responses and the diversity of migrants' backgrounds, underscoring the need for further data collection and analysis to advance our understanding of this complex phenomenon.

The emphasis is placed on comprehensive policies rather than migrant preferences, acknowledging the impact of this process on everyone in the destination areas. These impacts show how the route to the destination country, and the changes over time and space, are influenced by the changing contexts and situations in both the countries of origin and destination. Approaching migration and migrant mobility in both spatial and movement contexts without allowing for simplistic and one-sided interpretations lays a sensitive and complex foundation for future studies on the relationship between architecture and migration. Future research could be expanded with the participation of more migrants and perhaps residents in migration-receiving areas. Additionally, qualitative research methods such as in-depth interviews and on-site observations could further enrich our understanding by considering additional criteria such as migrants' social networks and economic conditions. Furthermore, acknowledging the limitations of this study, including the reliability of migrants' responses, the limited sample size, and the diversity of migrants' backgrounds, underscores the necessity for further data collection and analysis to advance our understanding of this complex phenomenon.

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