Sensual and Spatial Formation of Migrant Homes: Narratives of Lived Experiences in Aşağı Maraş

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the understanding of home and its formation process under the condition of migration, and re-settlement in new environments. The primary objective of the research is to examine the sensual experiences of migrants and spatial formation of their homes, in terms of taken approaches and interventions to re-create personalized living environments. This issue has been discussed through the narratives on the life of Turkish Cypriots, who faced with the forced displacement from home due to the escalated violence between Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities in 1974. Subsequent to the people's displacement, group of Turkish Cypriots entailed to resettle in the homes of Aşağı Maraş that previously belonged to other Greek Cypriots who were forced to move out of their home too. Narrative research method has been chosen to open a window on people's complex life stories to acknowledge the correlations between their experiences and home making practices. In terms of the data collection, in-depth interviews were conducted with selected research participants. Besides, personal observation on the sample homes of Aşağı Maraş were used as the visual evidences of the research and documented through photographs.

In total, thesis is organized in five chapters. Firstly, it begins by presenting the origins of the research problem, and the overall approach of the study. Secondly, conducted literature review in chapter two and three, produced by documentary research, explores the dimensions of space and its interaction with human, and examines the contradictive meaning of home with migration. Finally, collected narratives are expressed to identify the evolution of Aşağı Maraş Homes from alien

places to personalized homes. In conclusion, thesis argues about the meaning of home and the intimate process of re-constructing a place, with deep level of considerations.

Keywords: Spatial Formation, Sensual Experience, Migrant Homes, Aşağı Maraş.

ÖZ

Bu tez, göç ve yeni çevreye yerleşim durumu üzerinden, evi ve evin oluşum sürecini irdelemektedir. Araştırmanın temel amacı, kişiselleştirilmiş yerler yaratılırken, göçmenlerin duygusal deneyimleriyle birlikte sergilemiş oldukları yaklaşımlar, ve müdahaleler göze alınarak, seçilmiş olan göçmen evlerinin mekansal oluşumunu incelemektedir. Bu durum, 1974 yılında Kıbrıslı Türk ve Rum toplumları arasında çıkan çatışmadan ötürü, zorunlu göçle yüz yüze bırakılmış Kıbrıslı Türklerin hayat hikayelerinden alıntılar yaparak ele alınmıştır. Gerçekleşen yerinden edilme durumunun ardından, bir grup Kıbrıslı Türk, çatışmadan önce yine aynı şekilde evlerinden çıkarılmış Kıbrıslı Rumlara ait olan Aşağı Maraş evlerine yerleştirilip yaşamaya başlatıldılar. Anlatı araştırma yöntemi, insanların özel deneyimleri ve ev yapım uygulamaları arasındaki ilişkiyi kavrayarak, karmaşık hayat hikayeleri üzerinden bir bakış açısı açmak için seçilmiştir. Gerekli veriler ise, seçilen araştırma katılımcıları ile gerçekleşen, röportajlarla toplanmıştır. Bunun yanında, seçilmiş olan örnek Aşağı Maraş evleri, kişisel gözlemlerle, fotoğraflanmış ve araştırmanın görsel kaynakları olarak belgelenmiştir.

Toplamda tez beş bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk olarak, araştırma probleminin kökenin ve çalışmanın genel yaklaşımının anlatımıyla giriş yapılmaktadır. İkinci olarak, belgesel araştırma yöntemiyle oluşturulmuş, iki ve üçüncü bölümlerde ele alınan literatür incelemesi, mekanın değişken boyutlarının insanla ilişkisini anlatmakla birlikte, göçün ve evin çelişkili etkileşimini incelemektedir. Son olarak, toplanan anlatımlarla birlikte, Aşağı Maraş evlerinin yabancı yerlerden, kişilerle özdeşleştirilmiş evlere dönüşüm süreci saptanmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, ev'in anlamı

ve yeniden sıcak bir yuva kurma süreci, derin düzeyde gerçekleşen tartışmalarla son bulmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Mekansal Oluşum, Duygusal Deneyim, Göçmen Evleri, Aşağı Maraş.

In the memory of my grandfather ALTAY MERTER

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

> The very idea of home is so tied up with our selves that it can seem almost inseparable from our being. We fear the idea of homelessness... of not having a place to sleep, to eat, to be. Our home is our base, a place that roots us to earth (Heathcote, 2012, p. 7).

Practically and theoretically, the question about home is taken for granted and appreciated in the varied fields of knowledge, mainly for those who are concerned with its deeper meaning and existence. For decades, the idea of home is stressed to tied up with the self, being inseparable from human being. In most of the writings, home directly initiated as where the heart is, being a human base and a place of existence on the earth. Home, also persuaded as an asset that gives stability and permanence to build a life around it. Besides, it has been a place where human yearns for rootedness and be fundamental connection with the surroundings (Marcus, 1995). In Edwin Heathcote's book, called 'The Meaning of Home', deeper and richer meaning of home is expressed, where the idea of home is looked beyond the obvious. He represented his interpretation by Carl Jung's famous dream of home, described on a voyage to the US in 1909 with Sigmund Freud. Jung portrayed his dream as a journey of discovery, in which he saw himself at home, yet in an unfamiliar place with Roman cellars to Rococo floors, all developed through memories and repositories (Heathcote, 2012). His dream analysed as the 'collective unconscious' and home as something beyond personal experience, depicting it as universal

consciousness that encompassed the mind of all human beings. Thus, home expressed as the model of the mind, deeply entwined with all individuals, as well as, device of knowledge, acting as memory palaces filled with facts upon real or remembered. This enabled home to be the vessels of experience and made out of collective memories, closely connected and conditioned by human mind. Hence, its respective meaning enclosed with the experience, which also defined the feeling of 'being at home'. While the major definitions and interpretations on home are derived in a positive manner, in this research, the problematic condition of home is examined. This examination is done by observing the lost condition of 'being at home', which potentially disappears people's collective memories, and tied connections with their environment. Hence, lack of connections and instabilities threatens the positive means of home (Figure 1).

Figure 1: The facts of homelessness (By the author)

As a case of homelessness, the displacement from home through migration has been studied in various researches, in which migration confronted with the conventional idea of home. As migration accepted as an act of separation from the rooted place and signifies movement, its opposition with home has been developed more in recent

academic works that maintaining the notion of home is almost inevitable due to substantial displacements of individuals around the places, resulting in complex and contradictive relations. In such situations, migration offered either temporary or permanent places, directly influencing people's mood in producing home in displaced settings.

In this research, home is accepted as a process to observe the sensual and spatial transformation from an uprooted – alien place into a familiar environment with sustained connections. In the appreciation of home and its process, Turkish Cypriot migrants, who were displaced from their places and faced with case of homelessness due to the internal war in 1974, were used as lived evidences for the research. Their enriched sensual experiences and spatial interpretations to transform an abandoned place into a warm environment are expressed to discuss the maintained meaning of home.

1.2 Objective of the Research

The main aim of the present research is to document the formation process of migrant homes by focusing on the connection between people's sensual state and their spatial interpretations on the living environments. The examination of the process is based on the lived experiences of Turkish Cypriot migrants and their homes, located in Aşağı Maraş, Gazimağusa. The group of migrants are selected upon their unique experience of forced settlement in an abandoned home that previously belonged to another family, resulting in challenges to implement alien places as their own.

Hence, the main goal is to answer the questions of;

-How did Turkish Cypriot migrants, who had an experience of losing home as the consequence of war, re-create a new place for living?

-How did their sensual experience of displacement reflect on the living spaces of the home?

-What were their approaches/interventions to reconstruct a sense of a familiar environment?

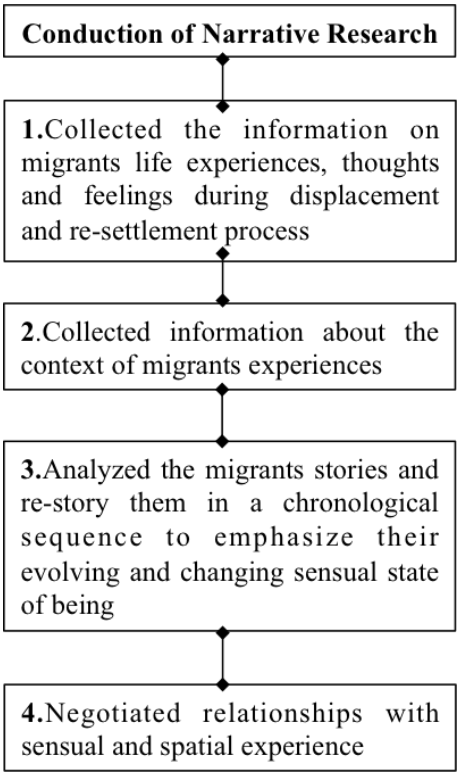
Subsequently, by focusing on the stated questions, home making process of Turkish Cypriot migrants are reflected to bring a perspective on the maintained meaning of home.

1.3 Methodology of the Research

The methodology of the research is divided into two parts: Documentary research and narrative research (Table 2). Firstly, theoretical part of the thesis is produced by documentary research to view and enhance the ideas on human and space interaction, as well as, criticizing the meaning of home and migration. Secondly, narrative research is used to collect detailed lived experiences, description of events and sensual feelings told by Turkish Cypriot migrants in Aşağı Maraş, Gazimağusa (Table 1). In general, the research rests upon a qualitative analysis based on personal observations and in-depth interviews conducted in between April 2015 to May 2016 with twelve Turkish Cypriots, who have been migrated during 1974 and 1975 from Paphos, and currently live in Aşağı Maraş.

The participants contributed to the study were selected upon numerous criteria. In total, twelve research participants participated in the study. Primarily, all of the participants were Turkish Cypriots and had similar backgrounds in terms of forced displacement experience. It was essential to have people with similar backgrounds and experiences to observe the way they tackled with the contradictive issues of home. Secondly, age of the selected participants has been taken into account and participants selected at the similar age groups from 60 year-old to 75 year-old, who are retired and spend most of their time at home. Observation of the sample homes, 15 homes in total, are observed based on the availability and access. These homes were located at Gazi Baf District, being the main location for Turkish Cypriot migrants from Paphos. As it can be seen, compared to number of in-depth interviews, more observations have been carried out since several inhabitants did not have adequate time for the in-depth interview.

Table 1: Conduction of narrative research (By the author)



While, the literature review is used to explore multiple factors on emerged spatial formations, narrative research is used to collect first-hand data through in-depth, face-to-face interviews with the participants, where the displacement experience and the process of re-settling are observed. Narratives revealed experiences and expression of feelings as facts that are all interpreted by the researcher to acknowledge the meaning of interventions on the home spatial. Collection of narratives also opened a window on aspects that are complex to quantify, but heavily depended on the memory of people. This made all the stated words to offer details and be loaded with deep meanings that demonstrated the emotional truth. Therefore, the researcher did not aim to verify facts, instead interpreted the possible outcomes in revealing the purpose of the study. In particular parts, direct stances of participants are embedded in the text as a communication system to guide on or highlight particular issues. Besides, personal observation of the spatial environment of homes documented through photographs that are used as the visuals of the research.

In terms of the structure, thesis is organized into five chapters (Figure 2). The first chapter introduces the research problem and gives an overall approach of the thesis. The second chapter derived by the literature review, initiates the prior arguments and the set of thinking on space and place, to unearth their complex definitions and formations. In this part, aim is to reveal the synchronised dimensions of space, acting as inevitable interactions and compounds of experience for the human. The third chapter as the last section of the literature review presents the meaning of home from different standpoints and analyses the altered sense of home through the process of place making, in case of migrant's displacement experience. Chapter four, developed through the narratives on the lived experiences of Turkish Cypriot migrants, describes the homes of Aşağı Maraş and their process of evolution from alien place

into a warm personalized place. Lastly, in the fifth chapter, emerged outcomes of the research portrayed as the catalyst to derive the conclusion of the study.

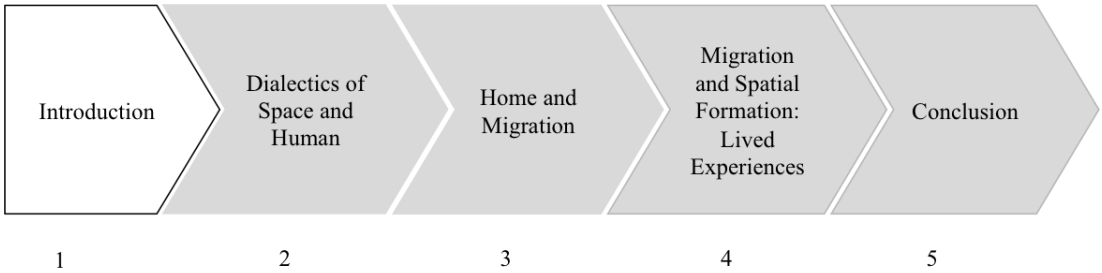
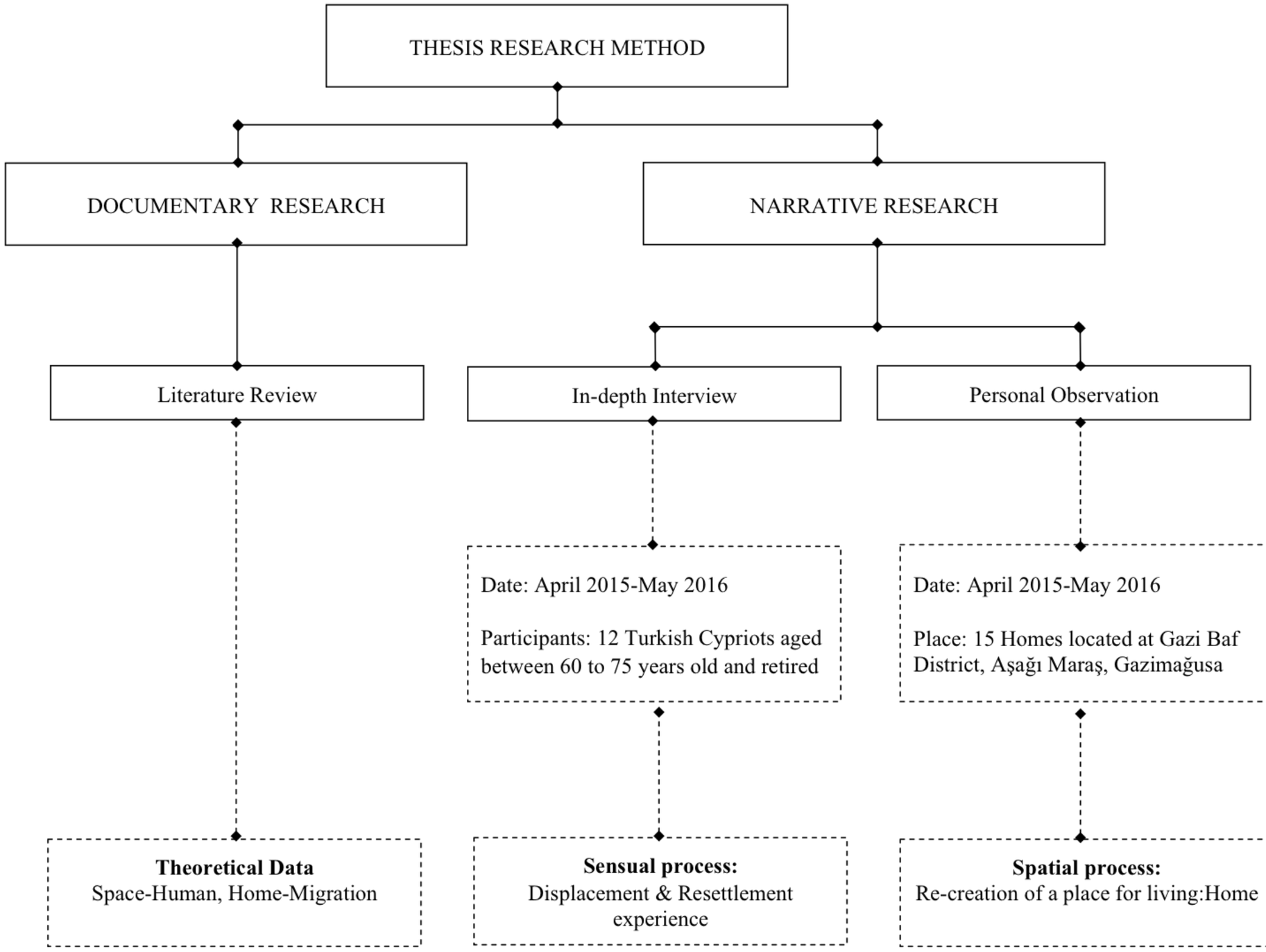


Figure 2: Thesis structure (By the author)

1.4 Limitation of the Research

While there has been a flow of migration to different parts of the island, the research only focuses on the homes of migrants from Paphos, to have participants with similar backgrounds and lifestyles. In reliance with the research objective, formation of migrant homes in Aşağı Maraş, are examined regarding the people's experiences and their interpretations on the living spaces. Political events are excluded from the evaluation process of the study. Besides, the process of home making is observed from the insight of old generation, eliminating the perspectives of younger family members. The comparison of the standpoints and the sensual process of both generations can be implied in further study with incorporated political controversy of the island.

Table 2: Structure of the thesis research method (By the author)



Chapter 2

DIALECTICS OF SPACE AND HUMAN

With the modernization, the question of what is space has been frequently asked by many people to bring a new image towards its reality and meaning. While, the term space is discussed and used very commonly in people's daily lives, still its meaning is quite complex to define, since the presence of the term is not predetermined and may alter in the spirit of times. This makes space bear multiple notions and connotations that amends with various aspects and debates. Here, the central thread is to understand space at various levels and draw out possible interconnections with the physical, mental and social relations. Hence, it is substantial to express overlapping factors and interplaying characteristics that affect the constitution of space. Prior arguments with set of thinking on space are highly conceptualized with social constructions and values to present the emerged 'spatial' formation. In this section of the thesis, aim is to unearth various connections that currently necessitate the conceptualized definition of the term 'space' and its correlation with the 'human'.

2.1 Approaching Space and its Logic

Inevitably, space is one of the most asked terms in the field of knowledge since space and matter surround all human beings. In the early years, the word space was defined in a geometrical meaning by simply evoking it as an empty area (void). Generally it accompanied as infinite and ultimately accepted as a mathematical concept (Shields, 2006). Spaces invented as indefinite to represent curved spaces, deformed or

transformed spaces, x-dimensional spaces and so on, that lacked relationship with the physical and social reality. Debate of mathematicians on the realm of space was problematic and subsequently undertaken by the philosophers where space was accepted as a 'mental thing' or 'mental place'. Through its development, philosophical world tested space with the range of sciences; like metaphysics that questioned the way people perceive the world. Many Western historians began to produce thoughts on the absolute realm of the space and facilitated categories among evidence of the senses. Accordingly, space commenced to dominate the senses and human body, which thereby, led discussions to raise questions on whether space is a divine attribute or an order of what has existed. In time, set of ideas by different disciplines- practical, historical, philosophical, etc. put forward 'logics' of space.

For instance, Michel Foucault was one of the names that took a position on the discourse of space but hardly explained the kind of space he referred to nor the way he undertook the mental or social space by leaving a gap between theoretical and practical realms. Hence, the notion of space remained problematic and challenging with various issues and ideas for many years (Lefebvre, 1991). All these discussions resulted space to have a role in knowing the world and having knowledge where almost all social thinkers, historians, philosophers and others dealt in various ways with the virtuality of physical space (Shields, 2006).

Previously, discrete attempts are assigned to define the meaning of space when it began to play a crucial role within the architectural process, in which the purpose is to create a space or a place for living, as said by Heidegger (Heidegger, 2007). In the statements of Heidegger, he proposed space as an unfixed entity, only perceptible by the presence of objects, hence supported the constitution of space among its relation

to matter (Table 3). Therefore, space expressed as an abstract element that does not stand in front of the human, in fact, can be defined in correlation with the personal location only perceivable among affiliation to its surrounding. This allowed space construction to be highly tied up with the context and its characteristics. According to Tuan (2001), space, as a set of complex ideas, is hypothetical since people divide up their world with their assigned values and different cultures (Table 3). For him, the way people are attached and organize spaces vary with unique cultures that strongly have an effect on values and human behaviour. While culture is taken granted as an inescapable factor on human attitude on space and place, there are various themes on the crude notions of space and place (Tuan, 2001). Therefore, when it is looked at the evolution process of space, somehow it is accepted as an abstract entity with theoretical and philosophical approaches against it, while reality is brought into it with practical and materialistic realms, such as the way human body experiences spaces. Bergson's philosophy is also about the body and its relations to space and matter, and he refers to dimensions of space developed through the use and experience (Table 3). He also goes into discussion on past and present relations as a factor on space experience and considers the fact of memory (Bergson, 1912).

According to Bergson, human beings understand space with the overlapping memories of past and present to perceive the whole experience where he places a great emphasis on memory to express how space and matter take place within an experience. In reliance with Bergson's thoughts, space is natural as body and its movement, being a pure conceptual state, and free from any values (Bergson, 1912). With his belief, he put forward matter as a state of self-existing in a space, in which he states;

> My consciousness of matter is…not subjective for it is in things rather than in me. It is not relative, because the relation between phenomenon and the thing is not that of appearance to reality but merely, that of the part to whole (Bergson, 1912, p. 306).

Through his ideas, he acknowledged perception as an instrument of knowledge that takes place with the spatial experience and emphasized the role of matter and the way human perceives the space. Somehow, Bergson believed that spatial dimensions draw out the intelligibility of mere space that exists in people's consciousness (Bergson, 1911). According to Piaget and his critiques on Bergson ideology on space understanding, people's continuing experience in space blends with the consecutive images and its intuitions should be argued with reality (Piaget, 1972).

Ernst Cassirer's discussion on space and experience is also related with the human knowledge where he explains the concept of culture as a factor on the forms of human activity (Cassirer, 1953). In Cassirer's arguments, pure intuition is suggested as a way to appreciate and understand space, where the experience of space is shaped by the use that relates with socio-cultural frameworks. For him, the act of movement makes people aware of their 'being' which is fused together with experiential and structural dimensions of space (Table 3). While the experiential part of space became crucial in his debates, physical attributes began to be discussed as a relational string to appreciation of space. For instance, the way spaces are built with choice of material properties represents possible functions and ways to envelope them, which varies with altered elements of different cultures (Cassirer, 1953).

According to Henri Lefebvre, space is made of social values and the spatial configuration of space is the result of the human activity, which he describes as 'spatial practice' (Lefebvre, 1991). For Lefebvre, space is converted by social

relations, but at the same time produced by social relations too. What he means by that is, humans are the creators of the space through their intentions since he believes that space is not simply occurred in nature, instead humans produce or re-produce it. (Table 3) In his arguments, he points out the importance of the lived experience of the space to fully understand its use, since experiential side cannot be neglected in the analysis of the space. Particularly, social space seeks experiential connection through body movement and participation in activities, when structural and functional dimensions become clear to achieve the intelligibility of space (Lefebvre, 1991).

Table 3: Space and its Logic (By the author)

Space and its Logic	
Heidegger Space as an unfixed entity, being an abstract element and can only be defined in correlation with the matter.	**Tuan** Space is defined by the assigned values and culture, and shaped in a unique way depending on people's behavior.
Piaget Space as an experience blends with the consecutive images and its intuition is related with reality.	**Cassier** Space is shaped by the use depending on the acts of movement, where people are aware of the dimensions of space.
Bergson Space is expressed as an experience and it is defined through the fact of memory.	**Lefebvre** Space is made of social values and the spatiality is the result of human activity. It can be produced or re-produced by the lived experience.

To this concern, Lefebvre suggests structure form and function as three main concepts for social space and illustrates that experience of the space is achieved in movement. When people move, their body takes presence in space and in this

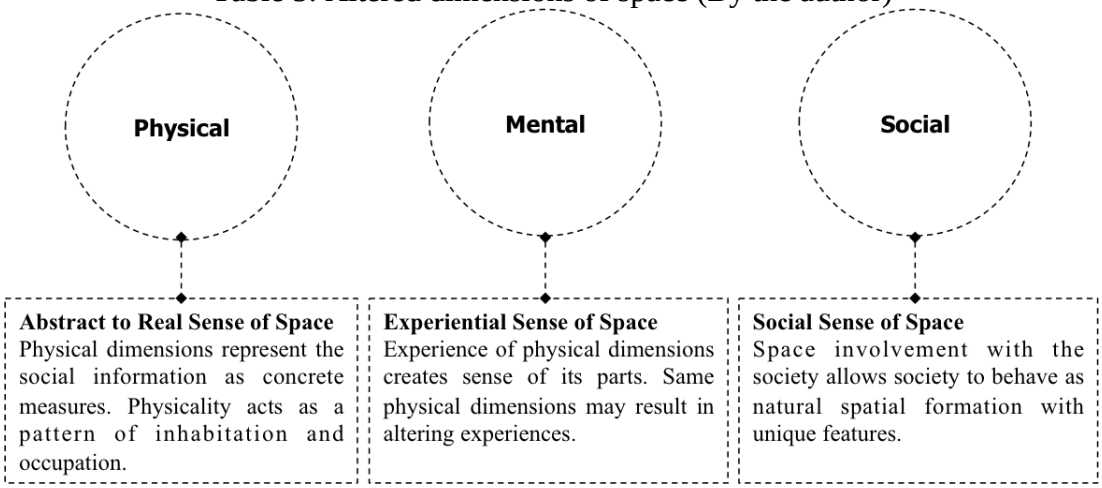
manner; structural aspects correlate with functional aspects through the utilisation of space. In this view, certain dimensions like structural or functional can be conceived through the action in configured spaces (Elden, 2004). This implication on the importance of experience shows that, intelligibility of space does not only rely on the quantitative part of body movement like frequency or volume of moves in space, yet qualitative part like types of activities and experience are substantial too. Acknowledging two parts of body movement occurring in a space both qualitatively and quantitatively is the achieved condition of Lefebvre's depiction of 'an intelligence of the body' (Lefebvre, 1991). The intelligence is not very obvious since the configuration of space is not apparent at the first sight, it occurs naturally with the inhabitation of space. To this issue, all the spaces form to accommodate different types of movement and activities, which supports the idea that space is reference to lived experience. To say so, in order to initiate complex relations of space and its varying dimensions in a direct way, Lefebvre's ideology on spatial production categorizes space into three dimensions called as 'dialec-tique de triplicate' (Table 4). He confers three aspects on spatial existence that are known as physical space (perceived space), mental space (conceived space) and lastly, social space (lived space) (Avar, 2009).

Table 4: Henri Lefebvre's three dimensions on space (By the author)

Henri Lefebvre's three dimensions on space (Dialect-tique de triplicate)	
Physical Space	Perceived space: Spatial practices
Mental Space	Conceived space: Representations of space
Social Space	Lived space: Representational spaces

Thereby, Lefebvre considers production of space through these three factors and illustrates how they relate to each other. Therefore, along with all the stated views, space can be depicted as entity of complex relations taking its intelligibility from experiential, functional, social and structural dimensions that transform the abstraction of space into architectural reality. In the following section, similar approach of Lefebvre's work is used to define the altered dimensions of space where the physical, mental and social aspects are analytically observed (Table 5).

Table 5: Altered dimensions of space (By the author)



2.1.1 From Abstract to Real Sense of Space

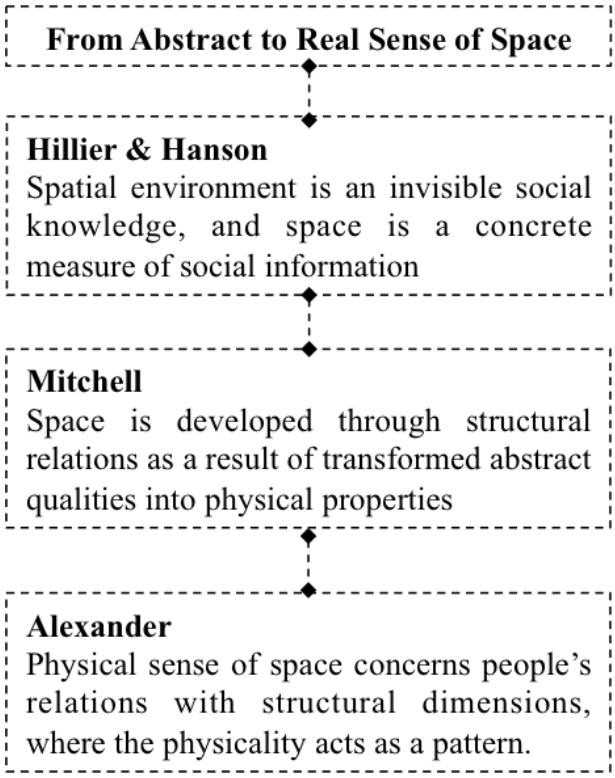
What lie behind the reality of space is synchronised dimensions that make people to perceive the entity of space as a whole. To understand the transformation from abstraction to reality certain approaches are adopted that mainly concern the structural aspects. As it is said earlier, before modern architecture, geometry, mathematics and sciences explored the structural dimensions to describe space in a structural, physical sense. Architecturally many along with the experiential description of space have favoured this method. Hence, spaces began to be analysed in a structural way, where the term 'structure' referred to an idea of social system

(Hillier, 2007). Hence, all these structural dimensions accepted as being unique synchronisations to every society and environment (Alexander, 1977).

In the book called 'Social Logic of Space' by Hillier and Hanson, spatial environment decoded as an invisible social knowledge (Table 6), where certain graphical and mathematical tools are used to transform abstract social information into concrete measures to bring a new language to space (Hillier & Hanson, 1984). Thereby, concrete measures define the spatial configuration through the relation of parts to achieve the intelligibility of space by disqualifying the abstract aspects of space. Furthermore, these structural dimensions have to be confined to make functional sense for human to use and move in a space. With this ideology, in the theory of Hillier and Hanson, space is treated as spatial configuration based on the structural framework to observe the relations with other possible dimensions.

According to Mitchell (1990), physical space is formed out of relations and rules that develop its sense by particular qualities (Table 6). For him, space is in correlation with the structural language where the abstract qualities of space transform into concrete properties of the spatial environment (Mitchell, 1990). Christopher Alexander also discussed structural sense of space by concerning the people's relation and activities to the structural dimensions. In his discussions, he named the structure as a 'pattern' since he believed that inhabitation or the occupation of space and its objects are like the repetition of events and everyday activities where the space is loaded with similar things and relations (Table 6). He considered all the architectural elements of space as the generators of the patterns, such as walls, floors, rooms and many others that all have effects on the space but conceived differently by every individual (Alexander, 1977).

Table 6: Abstract to Real Sense of Space (By the author)



Analytically, when people began to discuss the architectural space from structural perspective, all these structural dimensions began to be illustrated as the reality of space, where the abstract definitions of space began to act as concrete measures. However, consideration of the structural aspects with the human, illustrated that reality of space is not limited by the physical entities of structures. Besides all these, experience of these physical aspects is a crucial factor on defining spatial environment, since, every space mean different to every person. Therefore, while the structural dimensions are shown as the first step for the reality of space, experiencing the physical aspects is the next step to acknowledge its logic.

2.1.2 The Experiential Sense of Space

While physical dimensions add qualities to the space and its configuration, people conceive space by experiencing the architectural elements that makes experiential dimensions important part for inhabiting spaces (Table 7). It is essential that

structural dimensions work as a whole while people get use to it and make sense of its parts. With this interaction reality of space is approached (Rakatansky, 2003). Spaces, contains various modes and provides altered experiences for each person and these modes can act directly or passively through senses to activate conception of spaces (Tuan, 2001). Same physical dimension can create different experience as a consequence of different moves and being in the space. Therefore, each individual has its own interaction through movement and being in the configured spaces.

According to Tuan, experience is related with the external world where people see, think, feel and undergone through many things. Experience is somehow accepted as an ability to learn, and the construct of experience can be known as a reality (Table 7). For instance, Yi-Fu-Tuan, expresses his understanding of space through human insights, such as biological facts and range of knowledge or experience. Thereby, he proposes implication of space through the perspective of experience beginning with a focus on how humans grow up by varying experiences, with values and realities that interprets the experience of knowledge, body's ability that are all interconnected with the understanding of space (Tuan, 2001). As Tuan put it, feelings and thoughts are the compounds of experience where human has sensation towards a space.

> What sensory organs and experience enable human beings to have their strong feeling for space and for spatial qualities? Movements such as the simple ability to kick one's legs and stretch one's arms are basic to awareness of space. Space is experienced directly as having room in which to move (Tuan, 2001, p. 12).

Tuan's understanding of space is also supported by the discussions of Susanne Langer where she stated her depiction of spaces.

> The world of physics is essential the real world construed by mathematical abstraction, and the world of sense is the real world construed by the abstractions, which the sense organs immediately furnish (Tuan, 2001, p. 12).

Therefore, space is given by an ability to move where people tend to inhabit space to enable their existence and make social contacts through their movements. While, the basic movements of people in a space can be accepted as social activities, body and space interact with each other to form experiential dimension of space. This experiential part of space often accepted as means of place (Table 7). Hence, while space has an abstract sense besides its reality, place becomes the locational quality of space with security and stability (Menin, 2003).

Table 7: The Experiential Sense of Space (By the author)

The Experiential Sense of Space
Rakatansky Reality of space is approached by experiencing the architectural elements. Experiential dimensions are crucial part for inhabiting space.
Tuan Construct of experience is the reality of space. Space can be understood through human insights and range of experiences.
Menin Experiential part of space reflects the means of place, where space becomes a place with embedded values.

To say so, acknowledgment of space from an experiential framework, allows the definition of space to be merged with the meaning of place, where space becomes a place with embedded values. Furthermore, experiential aspects of space emerged as the consequences of movement required by the social activities. In Lefebvre's work, it can be seen that he illustrated experiential dimension of space leaded by the socio-

cultural values, like rituals, customs and etc., where the social information is expressed and produced by these movements (Lefebvre, 1991).

Again with similar ideology, Hillier believed that the way people behave in the space indicates how space acts as an instrument to carry out social activities and make use of their space in parallel to socio-cultural frameworks. All of the discussions created an argument to question the way spaces provide social information through the movement and behaviour of people (Hillier, 2007). In this way, within the process of understanding space, next step observes how space acts as an instrument or a product filled with deeper social meanings.

2.1.3 The Social Sense of Space

While many scholars undertake the meaning of space, in this section, aim is to unearth and focus sociological factor on space that examines possible relations with people and society; called as 'social space'. Accordingly, discussions are held to understand the spatial formation of spaces as the products of social system. Sociological studies that observe the interaction between people and their surrounding mainly relies back to 19th century when Industrial Revolution began to affect the social life of people with rapid changes. With the effects of the Industrial Revolution, discussions began to analyse the correlation between politics, economy, culture and religion, which developed sociological field to question how all these factors are in relation with the social change. In this manner, many sociologists like Auguste Comte, who is accepted as the founder of sociology field, devoted themselves to investigate how the life of people transformed throughout the history, and believed that society undergoes three stages during the social evolution; theological, metaphysics and positive stage which keeps the science at the centre point of people's life, while, Emilie Durkheim claimed the social evolution as a

transformation from mechanical living to organic living that differs between the societies (Aron, 2004). On the other hand, another sociologist Georg Simmel put forward how the social change impacts the city life and the way people live in the city centres by bringing a new perspective to the field of sociology (Wolff, 1950).

In this way, many sociological perceptions began to be produced and people came to an understanding that, while it is not possible to understand the relationship between human and society without considering the factors of politics, family, economics, and so on, it is also not feasible to discern this relationship aside from the appraisal of people's living spaces. Hence this made space to work as sub-discipline of the sociological field and accepted it as a critical factor in any study on people, since space is very much involved with society and society is a natural spatial formation.

With this in mind, Montesquieu and Braudel illustrated space as a powerful fact on the constitution of the society and its people in their writings as well as suggested living space as a ground to observe persona of the people (Table 8) and the unique features of their societies (Cohler & Miller, 1989). On the one hand, Georg Simmel also supported this view that life of the people shapes with their living spaces influencing the mental and physical capabilities of the individual (Wolff, 1950).

Towards 1970, with more studies on the term space, it became a highly discussed field by many names like Foucault and Deleuze, who produced new concepts to engage with space. For instance Deleuze, called as spatial philosopher produced the concepts of smooth or striated, nomadic or sedentary, plus many others to challenge spatial thinking (Buchanan & Lambert, 2005).

More names like John Urry and Henri Lefebvre independently explained the space sociology by focusing on the social system. In Urry's work, he explained the capitalist system as an influence on the space that made people incapable of forming their living spaces in accordance with cultural values and norms (Gregory & Urry, 1985). While Lefebvre examined the relationship of people's daily lives and spaces, his works reflected space as a social production (Table 8) filled with values, rituals and cultures of its people (Lefebvre, 1991).

Table 8: The Social Sense of Space (By the author)

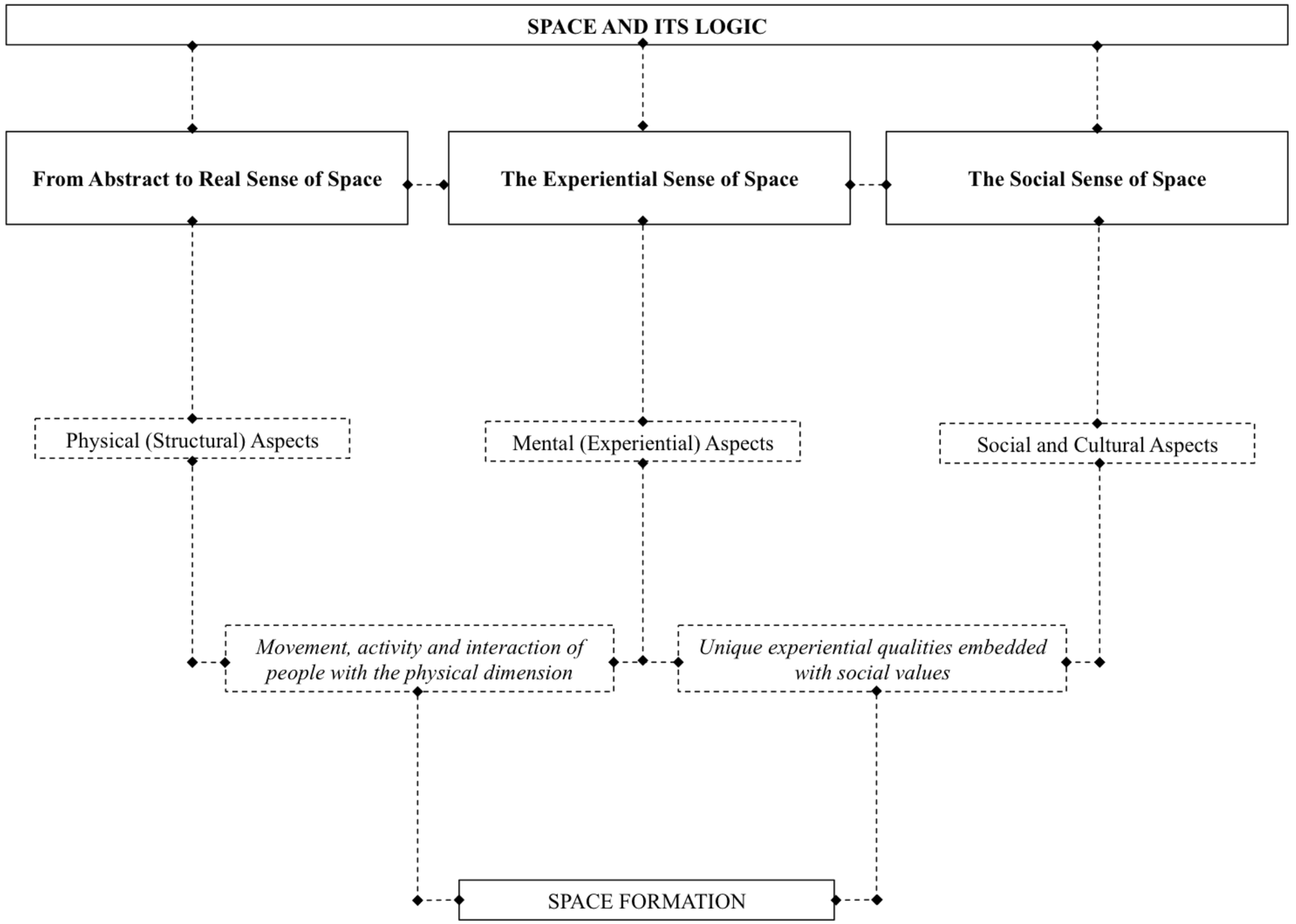
The Social Sense of Space
Cohler & Miller Space is a ground to observe persona of people and unique features of their societies.
Simmel People's social lives shape the living spaces, influencing their physical and mental capabilities.
Lefebvre Space is a social production filled with values, rituals and cultures of its people.

All these social factors have profoundly affected the constitution of spatial environment through the expression of values, social attitudes and the behaviour, which all predominantly shaped in accordance with the use and function of spaces. Therefore, functional aspects of the spaces can be perceived as essential factors to understand how space behaves in accordance with the social needs and the way

spaces are used with the daily activities. Hence, social aspects of function, allows space to create a meaning where people usually accepts function as what spaces and objects mean to their activities. As Csikszentmihalyi and Halton support, people activities bring meaning to spaces and the conceptual paradigm by determining the treatments to a space and the way the inhabitants think of their living space (Csikszentmihalyi & Halton, 1981). For instance, function is related with the mechanism of activities that has hidden significance to each society. This means that, physical occupation (movement and activity) of the space has an interactive process derived by social system and values.

In overall, from a sociological framework, space defined by variety of sociologists, philosophers and many others, have an understanding of its meaning from a social point of view. Inevitable interaction of space with humans illustrated that space is not only a geographical land where people live, it is a complex formation that comes up through altered factors and dimension that directly interacts with the interpretation of people (Table 9). Within this interaction and interpretation, space can be depicted as an entity that shapes in accordance with values, needs and desires along with the social changes in different periods. Thus, it creates a vast platform to analyse the influence of space on human or visa versa.

Table 9: Dimensions and formation of space (By the author)



2.2 Human and Space Interaction

2.2.1 Space Influence on the Human

Since people are in need of shelter and in an attempt to create their living spaces, there is a required interplay between spaces and human that inevitably results in an interaction between them (Massey, 1994). While people have ability to change and re-create spaces according to needs or will, spaces have potential to affect people with its type of formation and alteration (Menin, 2005). Every, spatial formation is directly related with humans and society that acts as a representative of their attributes. Therefore, by looking at the spatial formations, features that belong to altered societies can be understood. Necessity to live and exist in a space is a potential reason to develop a particular social consciousness with certain values, customs and traditions, which is a great dimension of human and space interaction. Hence, in this respect, space is accepted as the reflected part of the society (Alver, 2007).

For every spatial transformation, there are both positive and negative aspects on its individuals and in all areas of spatial platform where people communicate, every formal and functional change reflect how much the society's way of life or worldview is converted (Massey, 1994). Thus, in any change of spatial aspect, people's experience can result in differentiations for both individuals and societies perceptions, that are legible on their spatial arrangements. This allows spaces of interaction to behave as a social mirror. Besides, all living areas like home, workspaces, neighborhood, etc., have a role to create variety way of thinking and identify the behavior patterns for every person. For instance, spending time at the coffee house of any village creates different behavior patterns than spending time in

any leisure center of the city, because any spatial interaction is capable to limit or un-limit the mind of an individual that forms the behavior patterns in any field of location (Alver, 2007).

2.2.2 Human Influence on the Space

The inevitable interaction of human with the spatial dimensions through any kind of intervention brings personal identity and expression depended on their social and socio-cultural context (Wolff, 1950). Although space is a given fact, it is more than a physical phenomenon where people reflect own values of their social content and re-create spatial instance with their lifestyles and worldviews. Since, space is inseparable from the placed values of human and filled with one's expression, it is an indicator to view distinctive features as a complement of the identity that is fragmented over the spatial formations (Menin, 2005). This type of relation strengths the correlation between human and space, at the same time develop a place attachment, allowing people to feel sense of belonging. In this sense, being attached to a place, is a kind of achieving self-identity composed of emotions, memories and particular meanings related to the spatial arrangement that individuals are associated with (Woods, 2006).

Evolving in this direction, spatial formations reveal how people are authorized to intervene and construct spaces based on their most basic needs to belong themselves. In time with changing conditions, one's own belonging may perform through the applied changes and transformation on to existing settings. For instance, in the past, civilisations are examples of individual interpretations on to spaces in conjunction with personal identities since each civilisation is shaped and interpreted with its own sense of religion, economic condition, culture and etc., which then, all these forms of interpretations reveal the cultural, economical and socio-structural features of the

places. Therefore, all kinds of spatial representations that are unique experiences to its individuals may differ from society to society, and result in complex relations shaped by altered physical conditions.

2.2.3 System of Spatial Relations

After all, it can be concluded that, space is the system of spatial relations such as social values and personal interpretations that suggested the spatial as socially constituted. It is clear from the discussions that space is not static and too complex to grasp its objective meaning since it develops through altered dimensions, qualities, and perspectives. Therefore, space is not a flat surface of relations; it is a dynamic state of nature dominated through web of relational aspects. To define the possible dimension on space, Lefebvre's three ideologies on space are used to distribute the possible categorization of space. In the very first layer of understanding space, physical dimension of space is analysed to observe the correlation between abstraction and reality of spaces. The proposed structural theories concerned the spatial configuration that portrays the physical relations of space with the people as a concrete expression and the space became a spatial product.

Hence, the structural dimensions of architectural elements are shown connected with the movement of people, where spaces began to assigned its functional meaning through the people's activities. At this point, experiential quality of spaces came forward as a second layer to understand how people impose and interpret the same context in different ways. With this internal relation and experientialism of spaces, it is put forward that same spatial entity may not give the same experiential quality to its people since it highly depends solely on the conceptions of people. Subsequently at the third stage, social factors with deeper values on space, like social system, culture, customs, and rituals are observed to verify their impact on both the structure

and the experience of space (Table 10). By this way, space is realized as a complex tool of multi-layered dimensions that gains it's meaning from the interactive relations with humans.

Table 10: Space categorization and definition (By the author)

Lefebvre's Types of Spaces	**Categorization of Space by the author**	**Definition**
Physical Space	Abstraction of Space into Reality	Structural Dimension
Perceived space		Spatial organization & arrangement
		Materiality
Mental Space	Experientialism of Space	Senses
Conceived space		Human body
		Experience & Insights
		Activities
Social Space	Socialism of Space	Culture
Lived space		Traditions
		Norms and values
		Social activities

Chapter 3

HOME AND MIGRATION

The first section of this chapter examines the literature on the meaning of home from different standpoints. With the contributions to understand its meaning, altering dimensions of home are explored and identified. It aims to analyse how the conceptualization of space and place, drawn from physical, experiential and social perspectives, is in interaction between the notion and the meaning of home. Subsequently, migration and its process of place making are explored to acknowledge the displacement experience and its intimate interaction with the sense of home.

3.1 Home

3.1.1 The Meaning of Home

With the growing interest on the subject of home, many theoretical explorations and investigations have been made to define the meaning of home. Theoreticians from different disciplines argued what reality of home means to them and expressed ideas to point out possible forms of understanding it. When the discussions began to take place, disputes occurred among theoreticians and altering perspectives formulated on the constitution of home. Growing interest to define home started to shape by all the interpretations and changing life conditions of people influenced the formation of its notion. In most of the studies, theoretical concept of home accepted as a complex issue since home offers multiple experiences, relationships, and connections that seek for varied explanations.

Starting with Martin Heidegger in 1954, the meaning of relations between architecture and the environment is studied in his book, called 'Building, Dwelling, Thinking'. In Heidegger works, home mainly expressed as a mode of being in the world, in which he focused on the existential form of structures (Heidegger, 1954). In Heidegger works, spatial experience related as 'being in the world' made it essential to understand correlation between human being and environment (Table 11). His work influenced many others to explore psychological connections between people and places, such as Edward Relph who discussed the identification of individuals with places in his book called 'Place and Placelessness'. In Relph's work, he argued that individuals have a profound necessary attachment that makes them indistinct from their place. This allowed places to be expressed as a platform where individuals have particular events and experiences to have an existence in the society, and furthermore, they are expressed as background of intentions and actions (Relph, 1976). With the phenomenon of place, respective meaning of home analysed to express how the implication of home is enclosed with the experience of a place. Plus, according to Relph's concept, home suggested as a place for identification of people, where there is a certain belonging derived from significant relationship between people and place (Table 11).

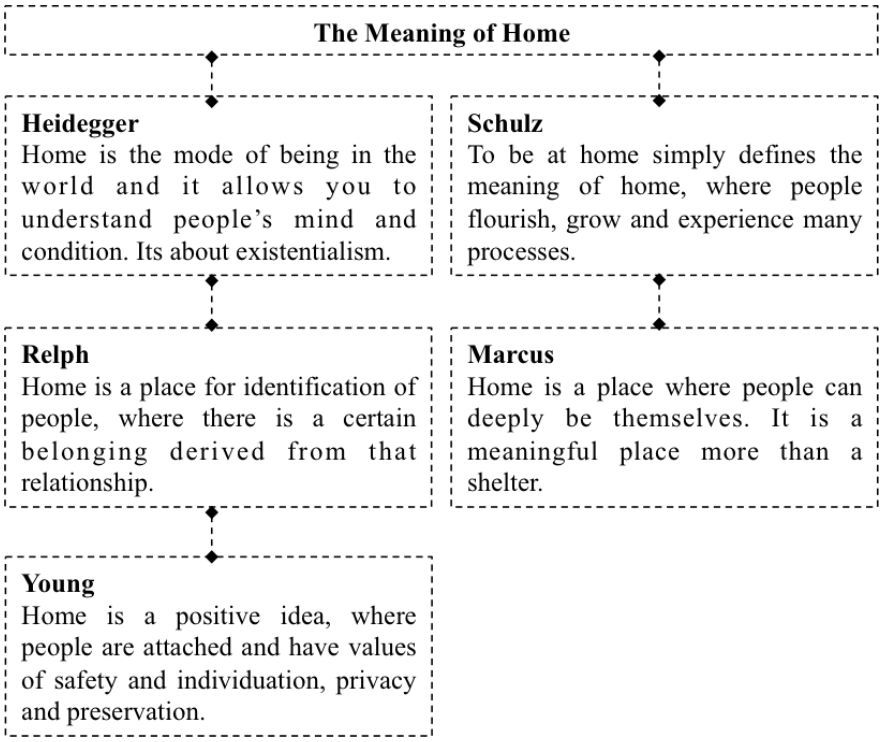
Christian Norberg-Schulz also focused on the means of home by understanding the phenomenon of place in terms of its character, structure and its spirit. According to him, 'to be at home' simply defines the meaning of home, in which 'the home' is referred to a place where people flourish, grow and many more processes that one can experience during lifetime (Table 11). To say so, the experience of place and its contents surrounds the meaning of home and the feeling of being at home may alter in the spirit of times (Schulz, 1985). Based on Schulz's theory, home is a familiar

place as well as a place of discovery, where individuals share and exchange feelings, ideas and etc. Its place provides an atmosphere that makes up on its individuals mind or mood within its spatial terms (Schulz, 1985).

For Heidegger, condition of mind always has a mood within a spatiality of place (Heidegger, 1954) and home allows an understanding of people's mood. Therefore, home does not only materialize atmospheric environment qualities but also at the same time represent actions and moods that occur inside. According to Claire Cooper Marcus, home is a place where people can relate and deeply be themselves. She expressed home as a meaningful place more than being a shelter, where people have experiences in terms of belonging and comfort (Marcus, 1995). Somehow, home is defined as a place of being that roots individuals to earth by allowing lives around it.

Besides, Iris Marion Young explained that people make places that become home to their activities and establish certain relations among individuals and their surrounding environment. She explained home as a positive idea where people are attached and she illustrated four normative values of home as; 'safety; individuation' in which individual is capable to carry out basic daily activities, 'privacy and preservation' (Table 11). She concluded home as a complex ideal place and regarded it as collective personal identity, where people put things in it to keep hold of their identities, in a material sense (Young, 1997).

Table 11: The meaning of home by different names (By the author)



3.1.2 Home as means of Identity

Home as means of identity provides various meanings within the built environment and it has many different interpretations of the built form that acts as the representation of the spatial identity (Lien, 2009). While home is accepted as complex system of relations, it is a strong cognitive element that can have means of identification within the place (Table 12), in which people set up their own living. Therefore, there is a certain relation of people and place, as well as, a connection between them. For instance, having an identity creates a bonding between people and place, since, place takes its identity from people, and people take their identity from the place (Table 12). Hence, there is an interrelation and connectedness between the individuals and their environment (Dovey, 1985).

Previous theories that undertake the theories of home and identity described how people relate to their environment and addressed their relationship to a place from

altering dimensions. Most of the studies that focused on the issue of identity are described through the dimensions of emotions that people have towards places, such as belonging or being attached. Besides, home as an essence of identity accepted as a primitive influence on the feelings of individuals that also affects the contribution and the process of constructing living environments.

Based on the theoretical works about identity and place, many models are created to determine how people define who they are and how they relate and represent themselves through the use of physical environment. As it is said by Gustafson, home must be identifiable of its user by not only being unique, but at the same time express what kind of place is it to gain a meaningful identity (Table 12). Thereby, home is an accepted entity that has a particular value to individuals, continuous and linked with person's life. It is inevitable that over time, home may acquire new meanings and new identities through alterations of the physical settings (Gustafson, 2001).

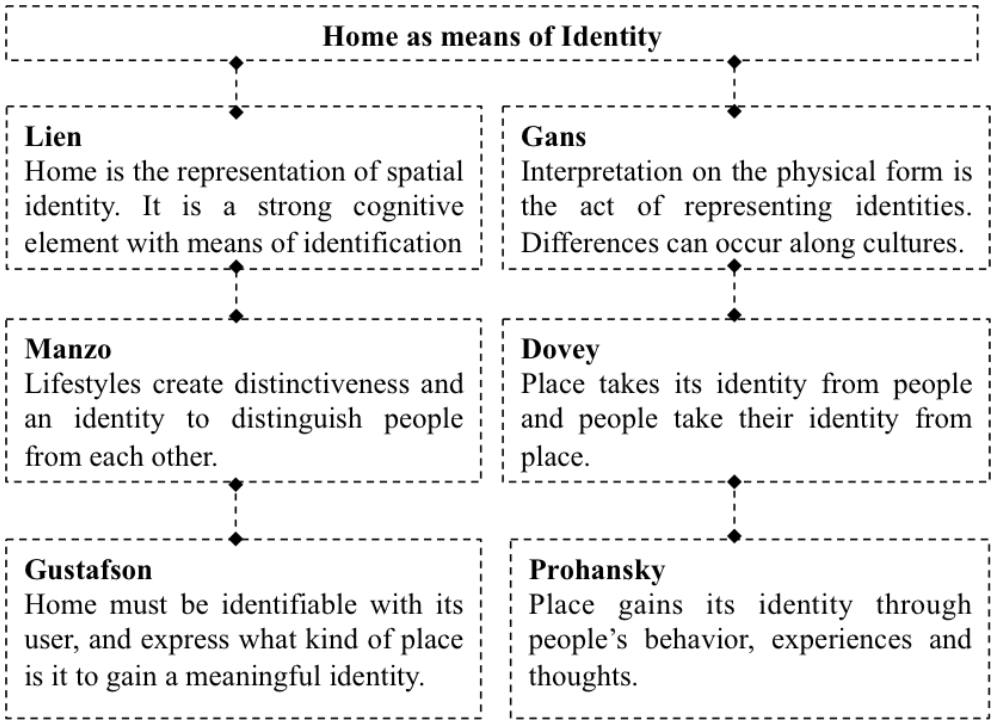
These interpretations on the physical forms are also accepted as an act of representing identity. For instance, in the process of developing spatial identities, certain differences occurred among classes, cultures and sub-cultural groups which all lead the formation of unique identities across the universe (Gans, 1974). Hence, setting up identities illustrated sense of place for an individual, showing how they correlate with their surrounding and the way they create meanings within the means of home (Lien, 2009). Manzo's theory also explains how an emotional attachment is developed in the dynamic interplay of home where he incorporated influential relationship to places. For him, relationship to a place influences the formation of identity through variety of ideas and emotions.

> Relationships to places can be a means through which we consciously express our worldview and explore our evolving identity…people actively engage with places and the creation of meaning, and in doing so, can consciously foster relationship to place (Manzo, 2003, p. 53).

Manzo's theory also illustrated that identity is formulated through interactions of people with the physical surrounding and these implications with places influenced people about who they are (Table 12). In a historic sense, certain group of people from altering religious, racial, cultural and economical backgrounds continued to implement similar identifications to their places and this made individual identity to highly relate with their cultural, political and social experiences within the entity of home (Manzo, 2003). Here, sense of community, personal demands, events of everyday activities, economic conditions, rituals, traditions and many others, facilitated the constitution of home identity. Twigger- Ross and Uzzell also generated studies on the individual's sense of identity to the home environment by explaining the term 'distinctiveness' suggesting place identifications, through varied lifestyles, as an order to distinguish people from each other (Twigger- Ross & Uzzell, 1996).

Besides, Prohansky (1983) and his theory works on the place identity highlighted individual's identity to physical and social environment, where the certain functions of place identity are derived by the behaviours, experiences and thoughts (Table 12). It is deliberately explained that social and physical identities are the influential factors on an individual's identity and these factors are reflected on the spatiality of the homes. Indeed, the personal engagement with the physical environment gives meaning to spatial surrounding and endures the preservation of self-identity.

Table 12: Home defined as identity by different names (By the author)



3.1.3 Home as means of Memory

As means of poetic imagination, Gaston Bachelard's book *'Poetics of space'* is a work of his phenomenological approach where he expressed his perspective on the intimate space that has been influential study on home and its role in human life. As he writes about the poetical imagination of home, he defines its entity more than a geometrical form, which guides people to take root and become inhabitants of the world (Bachelard, 1994).

> Home is our corner of the world. As has often been said, it is our first universe, a real cosmos in every sense of the world (Bachelard, 1994, p. 4).

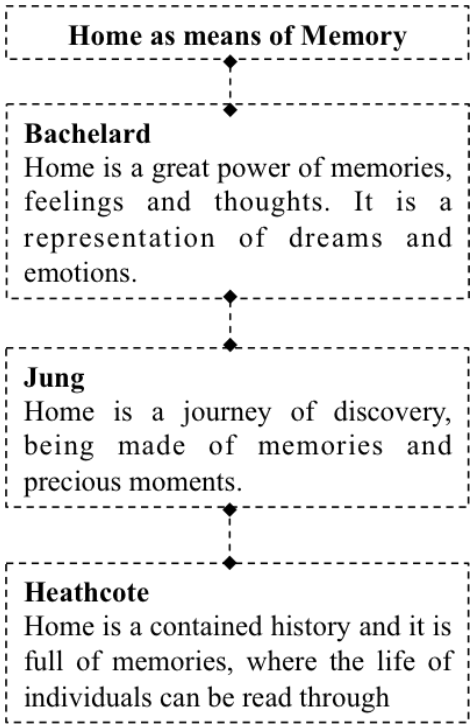
In Bachelard's writings, there is a particular concern with the imaginative intimate spaces and their material characteristics, since, he believes they are all experienced and represented through dreams, emotions, and memories (Bachelard, 1994). Indeed, for him, home is a great power of assimilation for memories, feelings and thoughts, where it becomes a complex place shaped by both positive and negative experiences.

For, Edwin Heathcote, homes are the assets of people that give individuals a secure feeling for uncertain future and act as a place of comfort. He also made a further discussion on how Carl Jung stressed the intimate association of the home as a journey of discovery acting beyond the personal experience and being the 'memory places' (Table 13). Thereby, home defined as being made of memories, which its reality lies not only in the physical entities, but the images of precious moments within its boundaries. Every space that is inhabited has potential to condition responses that closely tied up with people's mind (Heathcote, 2012). In Heathcote's book of *'The Meaning of Home',* he expressed even the importance of very basic element of home as a contained history, being full of memories, that enables people to fell fixed with place and time (Table 13).

> My contention here is that our houses and homes, no matter what style they are realized in, no matter how modest or seemingly ill-considered their architecture, are vessels of an extraordinary history, perhaps the last repositories of a language of symbol and collective memory that ties us to our ancestors, to profound and ancient threads of meaning (Heathcote, 2012, p. 11).

In most of Heathcote's discussion, home expressed as a living, organic building that is both place and process where the lives of individuals can be read through their homes, via through its contents, design, decoration and etc. He believed that even the small objects define people since everything has a purpose with contained meaning to the rituals of everyday life and represent the way of people's being in the world. On the other hand, he mentioned that, since nowadays people have more staff and technological devices in their homes symbolic potency of individual items may seem lost with lack of cultural language, and he believed this allows the image of the house to become more important (Heathcote, 2012).

Table 13: Home defined as memory by different names (By the author)



3.2. Migration and Home

3.2.1 The Reality of Displacement and Place-making

There have been in-depth explorations on the histories, processes and impacts on the place construction. It is confirmed that the process of making place is highly related with the construct of matter and mind. In varied challenges held by scholar's arguments on place, many of them stressed the impact of mental condition and its representation through context (Menin, 2003). According to Sarah Menin, material manifestation of the places are highly related with the mental meaning since place is an environment of the human's deepest experience (Menin, 2003). Indeed, there is an interaction with mental and material creation of place where the mental activity has a great deal in the evolution of the physical settings. Therefore, there is a certain relationship and engagement with the self and context. From the perspective of Winnicot, physical places are the mental investments of people, which are highly

related with individual's culture, social status, and psyche (Winnicot, 1991). To say so, mental take on place goes through sociological, environmental, psychological factors upon the individuals. For Simon Richards, creating place is as much as creating selves since self seeks to engage with its surrounding and play an imaginative role. This makes spaces to concern with what individuals bring to a place to define its instinct character (Menin, 2003).

While the interaction between human and its surrounding give meaning to a place, any change of mood that may take place by moving into different environment, can result with an altered sense of place. This issue is highly related with the mental construction of place that consciously affects the experience of the physical surrounding (Menin, 2003). Therefore, surroundings that project the relationship between people and places have potential to reveal values, beliefs, and any ascribed characteristics of oneself. This allows the meaning of context to become inevitably linked with the individual.

Beginning with an analytical perspective on the construction of place, there is a concern to understand the reality of displacement in people's life and its capacity to interpret physical realm of place making. As it is stated, people's experiences are highly related with the formation of place, therefore, the act of being displaced, where the group of people are moved away from their locality to another, results in different mental conditions and consequently displacement demonstrates its influence within the spatiality of physical places (Kellettt, 2005). As Dawson and Johnson describe it, migration as a movement away from the familiar environment affects the mental condition of the people with nostalgic attempts and creates a complex relation with self and place (Dawson & Johnson, 2003). In particular, the

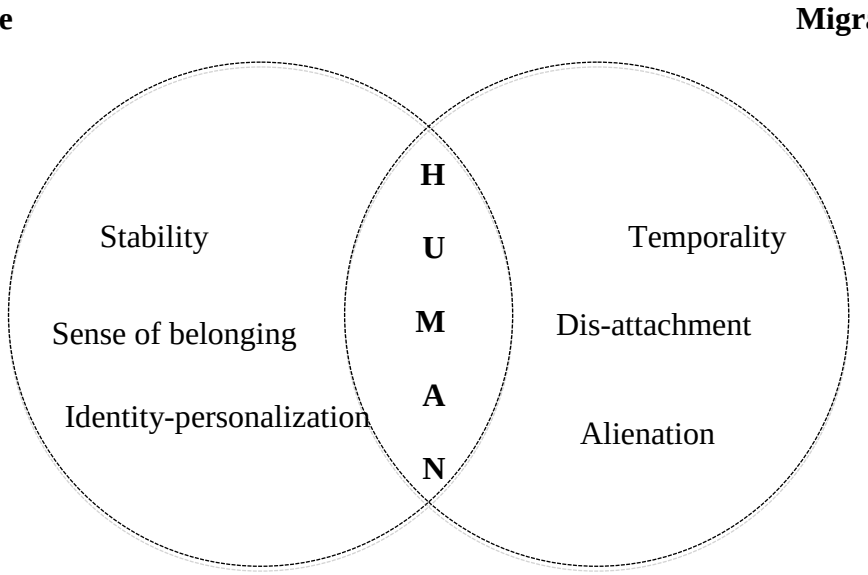
sense of leaving from a long experienced place to an altered physical surrounding evokes a need to represent self-identities. There is an act of identification in the process of place making where individuals are likely to affirm their fixed states of being (Turner, 1974). To do so, migrating a place that has been lived and experienced for a long period of time is a complex issue since people confronted with the problem of physical fixity or cultural otherness that leads the sense belonging in to conflicted situation.

3.2.2 Migrant Home

The term ‘migration’ has been confronted for many times to capture its correlation with the means of ‘home’ (Table 14). Since, migration expresses an act of movement, alteration or a displacement from the belonged place, it highly contradicts with the idea of home that concerns the fixed state of being, belonging and permanency. Throughout history, flow of people’s migration resulted in notion of a home as a conflicted situation with the diasporic social relations that led the metaphor of the term ‘alienation’ (Kılıçkıran, 2003). It is argued that being in an alien domestic home environment causes strong affective changes on the psychology of the migrant and home becomes an emotional anxiety about the loss of original homeland. Indeed, migrants lose the notion of home and attempts to articulate sense of belonging to their new homes (Morley, 2000). When John Berger analyzed the life condition of the migrants in 1970’s England, he depicted the home as a migrant’s suitcase filled with life experiences and memories.

> In these suitcases, they keep their personal possessions, not the clothes they put in wardrobes, not the photographs they pin to the wall, but articles, which, for one reason or another, are their talismans. Each suitcase, locked or tied around with card, is like man’s memory. They defend the right to keep their suitcases (Berger & Mohr, 1975, p. 179).

Table 14: Contradictive notion of home and migration (By the author)



In the case of individuals who are physically separated from their homes has a profound willing to re-make their living places and have an active role in their private domestic spaces. This usually occurs to reconstruct a sense of permanency and continuity to the newly allocated homes. Simon Weil also claimed the importance of being rooted to a place as a spiritual need for the human soul. By stating the word 'rooted' he meant strong and natural bond between identities, people and places (Weil, 2002, p. 43). Heidegger also declared that humans are like plants whose roots rise out of the earth to bloom (Heidegger, 1971). While both Weil and Heidegger worked on the metaphor of roots, they have undertaken a German word called as '*Heimat'* that denotes an invisible link between people and place, and it emphasis permanence and stability in the convention of home (Heidegger, 1954). This is highly related with Heidegger's theory of 'Being' where he underlines existence within the spatiality. Besides, Bachelard's phenomenological studies on the essence of home also suggest the fixation and the essence of stability as factors that maintains the entities of home (Bachelard, 1994). Casey also argues the interaction

between identity and place where place depicted as ‘home’ becomes determination of someone else, (Casey, 1993) while Tuan claims the act of tracing roots is the only way for people to know who they really are (Tuan, 2001). These ideologies on the notions of home allow identity to appear as a tool to capture stability and representations of individuals with the fixed spatial environment of ‘home’.

3.2.3 Lost Home – Kept Memories

Displacement or a change in permanent place results in the loss of identity and in particular situations as ‘homelessness’. It is discussed that migration and displacements of human lead to diasporic social relations where home becomes associated with the lost places and nostalgia (Casey, 1993).

Figure 3: Turkish Cypriot migrant woman and her child (Source: URL 1)

Furthermore, dislocation from home to a new place causes difficulties and conflict during the articulation of new domestic spaces in terms of how to organize the internal setting and how to conduct the family way of living. On top of that, placement of cultural values and norms within the migrant home accepted as another contradiction experienced by many migrants (Morley, 2000). Therefore, domestic

spaces of home plays a crucial role over displacement since home is a private place where migrants have freedom to express their values and norms neither bothering anybody else nor being subject to any judgment. It is a place to search for an identity to recover broken link between past and present, and create sense of stability and continuity with the acknowledgment of certain changes on the home environment. In the following chapter, it is discussed how these particular changes and transformations take place in the process of home making in order to recover the displacement experience, and create permanent sense of home through articulating identities within the spatial environment. With the analysis on home and migration, and their investigated relations with each other, list of keywords is created to observe the merged factors on the space and its dimensions (Table 15).

Table 15: General outcome of home and migration analysis and merged factors on the spatial dimensions (By the author)

HOME	**The Meaning**	Sense of Belonging	Place attachment	Mental Space
			Place of Comfort	
		Stability	Permanency of place	
			Roots of place	
		Safety	Individuation	
		Privacy	Preservation	
	Means of Memory	Experience	Precious moments	
			Feelings, emotions, moods	
			Senses	
			Thoughts & ideas	
			Experience & insights	
		Memory	History	
			Nostalgia	
			Repositories and collections	
	Means of Identity	Place Identity	Spatial contents	Physical Space
			Structural Dimensions	
			Spatial organization & Arrangement	
			Materiality	
			Design	
			Decoration	
			Objects	
		Social Identity	Culture	Social Space
			Tradition	
			Rituals	
			Values & Norms	
			Beliefs	
		User Identity	Character	
			Behavior	
			Personal demands & needs	
			Lifestyles	
			Daily activities	
MIGRATION	**Process of Place-making**	Mind	Mental creation of place	Mental Space
			Mental activity	
			Human body	
		Matter	Material creation of place	
			Distinctive representation	
	Migrant Home	Displacement	Altered sense of place	
			Otherness	
			Alienation	
			Emotional anxiety	
			Diasporic social relations	
			Quest of an identity	
			Unfixed state of; being, stability, and permanence	

Chapter 4

MIGRATION AND SPATIAL FORMATION: LIVED EXPERIENCES

In the previous chapters of the thesis, strong connection between space and place, as well as, home and the factor of migration are observed. In this chapter, aim is to examine the interconnection between people's sensual process and the spatial formation of their homes. From this framework, selected homes of Aşağı Maraş are used to uncover contradictive issues on the home spatial and its possible influences on the migrants. Aşağı Maraş district, also known as Kato Varosha, is chosen as the place of research, since Turkish Cypriot migrants enriched the unique story of their lives within living environments. This made Aşağı Maraş homes, to become products of a very rare experience. Initially the involuntary displacement from homeland, and secondly, forced re-settlement to the homes of someone else. Clearly, these homes have been subject to changes for decades in terms of the social and physical transformations. Accordingly, homes became great platforms to acknowledge varied spatial layers and their altering notion from the perspective of displaced inhabitants.

As a first step, volatile past and the historic fragments are captured to express diverse and instable history of the island. Preliminary to the spatial interpretations, brief overviews on the historic realms brought out the numerous facets of the island. With the acknowledged history, long journey of people in terms of the lost homes, memories and displacements are observed as the sediments on spatial dimensions.

4.1 Narratives of Migrants as Field Study

4.1.1 The Historical Background: Where It All Begins

In order to briefly illustrate the origin of the research problem, forced migration of Cypriots framed in a historic manner. Cyprus as the third largest island of the Mediterranean and so-called 'island of Aphrodite' turned into a place of conflicts, struggles, instabilities, and divisions through its historic formation (Luke, 1965). Its volatile past experienced war, invasion and population displacements that caused people to migrate from their home to another places belonged to someone else (Table 16). Due to island's strategic location, it has been colonized by Lusignans, Venetians, Ottomans and British which all led island to become a place of ethnic divisions. Over centuries, being ruled by altered powers developed the urban pattern of the island's cities and they have begun to grow and expand in size. Gazimağusa is just one of those cities with remarkable and unique history that experienced high level of population migration as well as divided condition by borders (Dağlı, 2014). When British period came to an end, and the Republic of Cyprus established between Turkish and Greek Cypriots in 1960s, various changes and developments occurred on the districts of Gazimağusa. However, constructive developments and the strong status of the city continued until 1974, when the internal war took between Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities and it resulted in island division and forced migration of its population (Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, 2006). War was the turning point for the city where almost all aspects of its districts disappeared in a letdown situation. Conflict caused many towns and districts being evacuated due to the emerged violence.

> There was no choice. The only option was to leave one night… because there were many problems. It was late at night. How could we know it was the very last day at home? Other relatives came to pick us. We had no car, they did. Eventually we just left as we are (Narrative, 3).

Almost a quarter of the island became internally displaced people who prolonged to insecurity and uncertainty (Bogaç, 2002). Greek citizens abandoned their homes and moved to different destinations in the south, while Turkish citizens moved to north side of the island (Figure 6). This made Gazimağusa to divide into zones and lost the strong status of its districts. Especially, Maraş (Figure 4) and Aşağı Maraş districts had the highest popularity and attraction, which used to be great tourism and residential centers. Subsequent to war, their strong position completely altered; Maraş declared as a prohibited area (Figure 5) that turned it into a ghost town, while Aşağı Maraş remained open with full of emptied, abandoned homes (Dağlı, 2012).

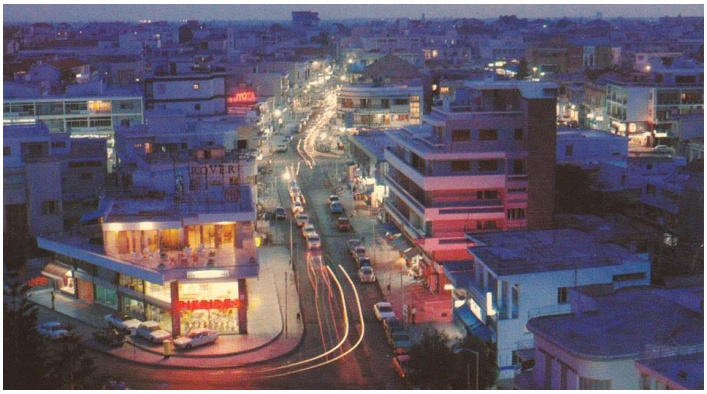


Figure 4: Night view of Maraş in 1960's (Source: URL 2)

Figure 5: View of abandoned (Closed) Maraş after 1974 (Source: URL 3)

After the forced displacement, large number of Turkish Cypriot people, around 80% of town population, moved from Paphos to Aşağı Maraş, where they entailed to live in an environment that belonged to somebody else (Dağlı, 2014). After all, they had the challenge to implement these homes as their own and experienced a very sensual process. Hence, the question is; how did their experience reveal the meaning of home and make somebody else's house as their own?

Figure 6: Turkish Cypriot migrants on UN Vehicles (Source: URL 4)

> Everything was in dust and the windows were broken. There were cockroaches everywhere. I asked to myself; how could I call this place home? We really wanted to go back (Narrative, 2).

Table 16: Historical timeline of important events that affected the condition of Aşağı Maraş (By the author)

INTERNAL WAR

- Internal war between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in 1974

Figure 7: Explosions over Gazimağusa during the war (Source: URL 5)

DIVISION OF THE ISLAND

- Towns and districts of Gazimagusa became evacuated
- City lost its powerful status
- Maraş as an attraction point turned into a ghost town

Figure 8: Views of Maraş before and after the war (Source: URL 6, URL 2)

INTERNAL MIGRATION

- War caused island to become internally displaced
- Greek citizens abandoned their homes, moved to south in exchange with Turkish citizens who forced to resettle in the homes of Aşağı Maraş

Figure 9: Abandoned homes of Maraş (Source: URL 7, URL 8)

New life - new hopes

4.1.2 The Narrative Approach and Migrants

Narrative research method was used to collect the lived experience of Turkish Cypriot migrants, who currently live in Aşağı Maraş (Map 1), with an aim to uncover their sensual experiences of displacement and re-settlement, as well as their spatial interpretations on the living environments. In the research, lived experience of the displacement and re-settlement is investigated through in-depth interviews that guided the study as supportive evidences and allowed people to express their feelings as facts. In most of the in-depth interviews that are done with Turkish Cypriot migrants, strong and poetic language is used to express their feeling of home as well as adaptation and engagement with the living spaces. As it can be seen in the following parts, some of the quotes by migrants are placed to act as the direct expression of emotions and thoughts. Personal observations are also made by the researcher to capture internal spaces and the way migrants' life is represented through the spatiality of homes.

In this manner, people's narratives are collected as a communication system to bring out the individuals life as well as stories to guide on particular aspects of living that are complex to define or explain. Thus, these narratives depicted as demonstration of experience, where past generated and influenced the present condition. Therefore, with the obtained narratives, the facts are not verified but interpreted by the researcher to obtain the meaning of changing events and the spatial construction of homes. This has been done through the in-depth interviews conducted between April 2015 to May 2016, with 12 Turkish Cypriot participants who have been migrated from Paphos and share similar backgrounds.

During the interviews, in order to collect the necessary information on migrants' sensual and spatial experience, following major questions are directed to the research participants;

1. How was your displacement journey from your previous place to Aşağı Maraş?
2. What did you feel when first entered to an abandoned home that previously belonged to another family?
3. What was left from the previous owners?
4. How long did it take you to interpret the physical settings of home?
5. What was your spatial interpretations and why?

For the interviews, research participants (Figure 10) were selected depended on their age group, in between 60-year-old to 75-year-old, who are all retired and spend majority of their time at home. Information about the interviewed research participants is listed below.

Narrative 1: is a 71-year-old Turkish Cypriot from Paphos. He became a migrant in 1975, after the wave of internal war between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. His family stayed with relatives for ten days in Nicosia before moving to Aşağı Maraş, Mağusa.

Narrative 2: is 65 year-old Turkish Cypriot, and forced to leave her home when Greek forces took the village in August 1974. They spent one month in her mother's house before they settled in Aşağı Maraş.

Narrative 3: is 75-year-old Turkish Cypriot who was born in Paphos and went to secondary school in Poli. His family forced to leave hometown in

1974 and they came to north of the island. He was politically active in the campaigns and worked as an officer.

Narrative 4: is 70-year-old Turkish Cypriot and she is from a small town Dimi, near Paphos. Her family left Dimi and became migrants in 1974 after the emerged violence in the village.

Narrative 5: is 65-year-old Turkish Cypriot, who currently lives in Aşağı Maraş, Gazimağusa. Her family migrated from the village Arodez, when it was impossible to stay longer in their homeland due to violence between two communities.

Narrative 6: is 73 year-old Turkish Cypriot, and experienced internal displacement due to attacks in 1973. After the attacks, Emine and her family fled to Gazimağusa from Hırsofu village of Paphos. She spent her life being a housewife and taking care of her family.

Narrative 7: is 73 year-old Turkish Cypriot from the village Mandria in Paphos. His family left the village after the escalated violence between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. He worked as a police officer, before his retirement.

Narrative 8: is 72 year-old Turkish Cypriot who migrated from Paphos to Aşağı Maraş, Gazimağusa in 1975 with his family. During their displacement journey, his wife was pregnant to his son and they have experienced very tough times.

Narrative 9: is 62 years old Turkish Cypriot from the village Mandria. They moved away from the village due to military actions in 14 August 1974, thinking they would come back. However, they could not return and settled in Aşağı Maraş, Gazimağusa.

Narrative 10: is 62 year-old Turkish Cypriot women, originally from Paphos and moved to Gazimağusa in 1975 when she was pregnant. She has four children and nine grandchildren. She is a housewife and spends most of her time taking care of her grandchildren.

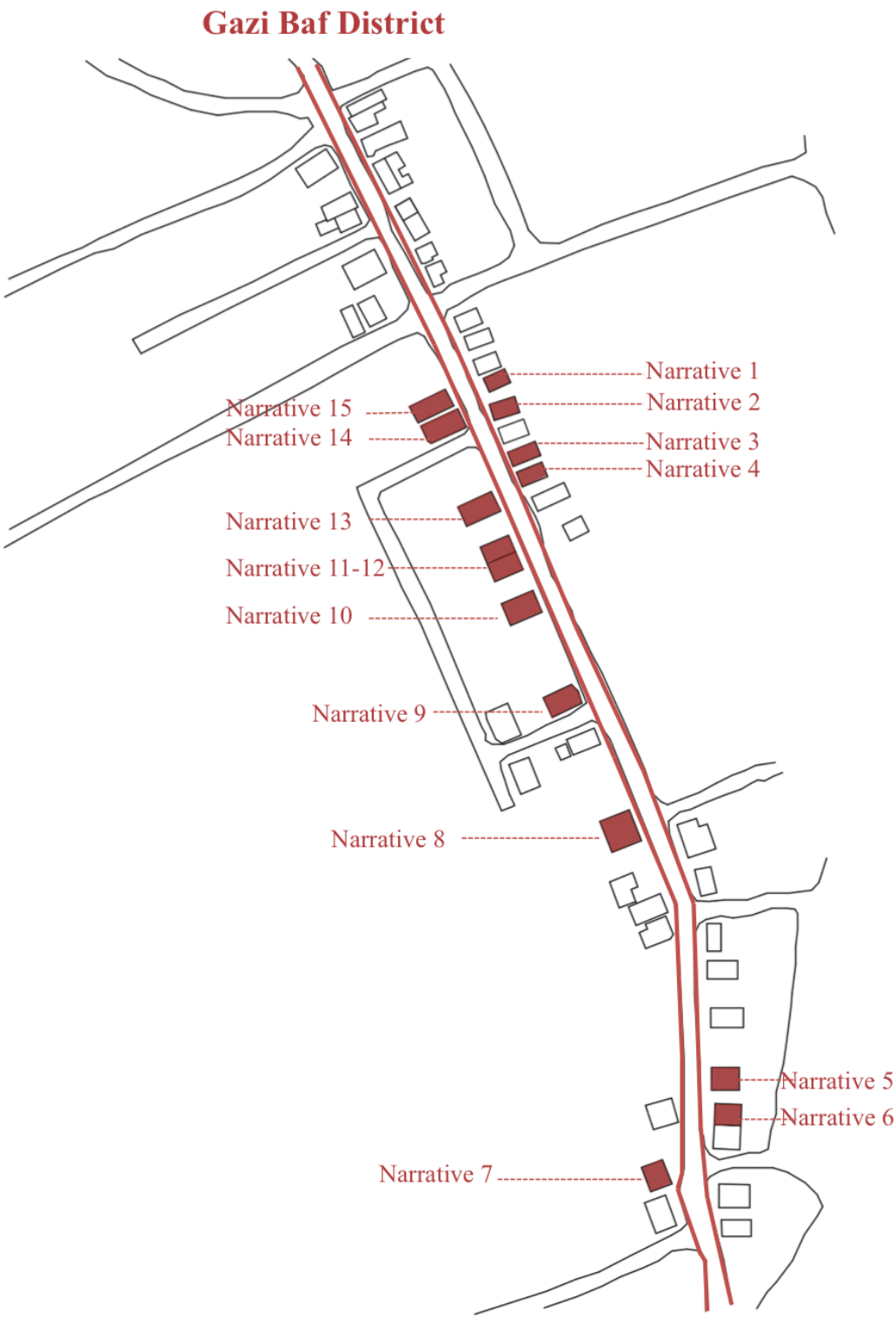
Narrative 11: is a 74-year-old Turkish Cypriot. His family displaced from Hulu village in 1964 and they stayed in Nicosia for six months before settling in Mağusa. Their displacement journey from Paphos to North part of the island was long and tough.

Narrative 12: is a 67-year-old Turkish Cypriot, who moved from Paphos to Mağusa, when they forced to leave their home due to escalated violence in 1974. She has three children and used to be a tailor.

Figure 10: Research participants (Taken by the author)

Besides, personal observations of 15 homes in total, located in Gazi Baf District, are observed based on access and availability. Gazi Baf District (Map 2) was chosen as the sample area, since it has been home to group of migrants from Paphos. The data is gathered through photographs and notes to acknowledge the living spaces of the migrants. After all, collected material is analyzed in a qualitative manner to bring out the experiences, emotions, and the processes that people faced with during the practice of home making.

Map 1: Location of Aşağı Maraş in Gazimağusa (By the author)

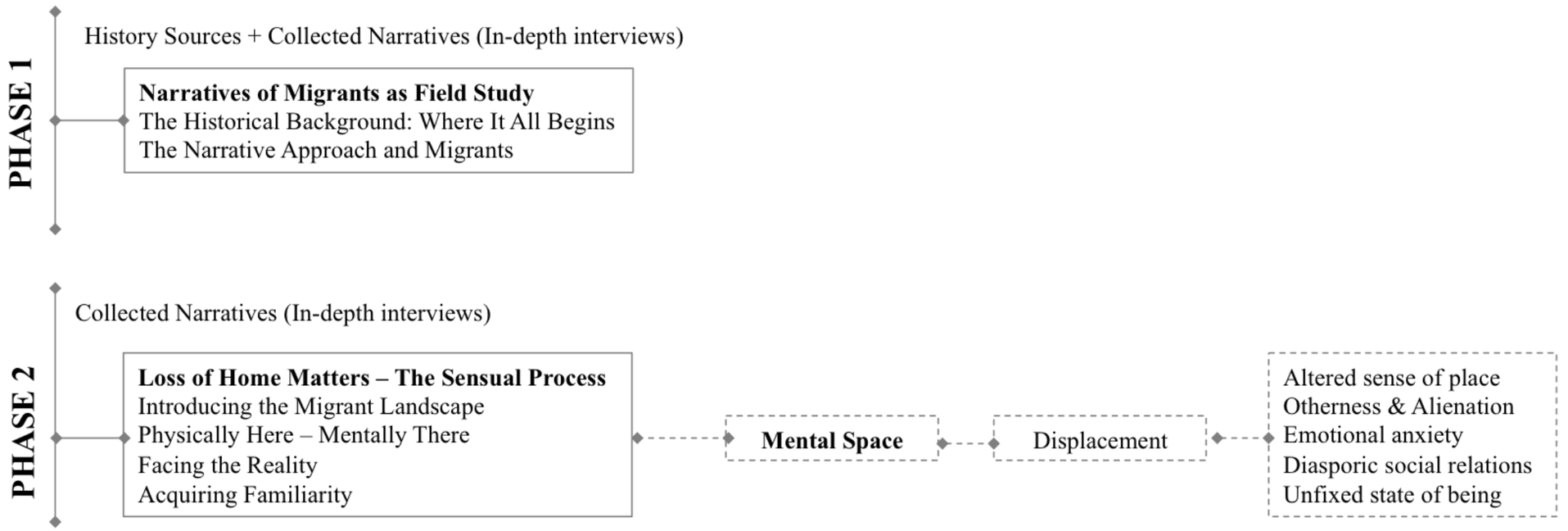


Map 2: Gazi Baf District as the research area (By the author)

In brief, the chapter is divided into three sections. Firstly, historic realms are explained to illustrate the origins of the research problem that are both developed by the history sources and collected narratives of people. Secondly, sensual process of

displacement and re-settlement into Aşağı Maraş homes, collected by the in-depth interviews, are expressed and interpreted in a meaningful sequence by the researcher. Lastly, sensual transformation into spatial formations is illustrated through the gathered materials from personal observations (Table 17).

Table 17: The phases of the conducted narrative research (By the author)



4.2 Loss of Home Matters – The Sensual Process

4.2.1 Introducing the Migrant Landscape

> Migration is one-way trip. There is no 'home' to go back to (Hall, 1987, p. 44).

> Nothing can compensate the loss of your home, your roots, and the place you grew up. None should have think it's simple to move people out of their home and give them another place, another life located miles away (Narrative, 7).

Stated words above are the words of a Turkish Cypriot migrant from Paphos, who currently lives in Aşağı Maraş, Gazimağusa. He is just one of those who migrated in 1974 and lived in Aşağı Maraş homes ever since. He is an example that represents why the loss of home matters and what it means to those who faced with the forced movement and had the task to re-construct their living spaces. Appreciating the home provided an understanding on being displaced, which was controlled by the contested circumstances to abandon their places, and consequently revealed what home actually means. At this point, attention is given to understand the lived experience of the displaced people over the spatial entity of home. Previously, in the theoretical framework, home is expressed as multidimensional representation of interrelations and connections between particular conditions and events, where in the same manner, Aşağı Maraş homes identified through the reverberations of time; past and present. This made recognition of these homes as a process, intensely attached with the long lasting memories. In the initial words of Turkish Cypriot migrant, there is a contained sense of loss as the consequence of forced movement and inability to return where he is aware that there is no adequate compensation to loss of his home. This illustrates the complexity of home for those who migrated and experienced both temporal and permanent reality of time and places. In the case of Turkish Cypriot

migrants in 1974, there are two processes: lost of home and the new home that was preliminarily belonged to somebody else. Thus, there is a highly complex condition of homes occurred along the problematizing issues and the conflict of the context, leading to question whose periphery? Whose home?

At this stage, with correspondence to the experiences of Turkish Cypriot migrants, home is accepted as a continual process that is complex but most importantly 'multiple'. It is viewed multiple by the researcher to correlate the existing context with the previous to observe the intersection through imagining, moving, losing, making - unmaking, changing and creating homes. Thus, the spatial understanding of home is held through a dynamic process where people continually performed and connected. Undoubtedly, within this process, contradictive condition of home is observed; as it is capable of being warm, secure place as well as having potential of being oppression or discrimination. For those who have been forced to migrate, faced with this contradiction, either good or bad things happen. In such, there are good memories of the past but at the same time, feeling of lost where the secured feeling of home disappeared with the alienation and otherness.

4.2.2 Physically Here- Mentally There

The meaning of Aşağı Maraş homes is observed complex and contradictive since the movement of people has taken place out of an obligation rather than a call for desire. And the unique journey of the migrants embodied its continuous process in the spatial transition of these homes to neglect their lived experiences. This made their journey as one of the key points to understand the meaning of home, since there is a strong tendency to reflect and characterize spatial environment through physical, experiential and social disputes. According to Koraç (2009), ''forced displacement may allow for a dynamic and complex shaping of meanings and links between

people, places, cultures and identity'' where there is a possibility of multiple belonging. From the migrant's narratives, it is observed that people experienced transitional pattern of being here and there, causing confusion on accepting one place as home at the beginning. In the situation of Turkish Cypriot migrants, the confusion was inevitable since they had to live in an environment constructed by a stranger (one of the Greek Cypriot families) filled with others possessions and belongings.

> There were photographs hanged on the wall. Family photographs. We did not throw them away. We kept them with hope to give back (Narrative, 10).

As home is a place of profound attachment where people have existence in the society, for the Turkish Cypriot migrants, respective meaning of home is very challenging. The reality of Aşağı Maraş homes was complex since there was already an identity and a character disrupting the sense of belonging for Turkish Cypriot settlers. While people construct their homes, living spaces shape in accordance with their desires and needs. However, in case of Aşağı Maraş, spatial environment shaped by the life of somebody else where their way of living is expressed in every corner of the spaces. This issue completely triggered the adaptation process to take longer where people always had the hope to go back to their previous homes and entailed to live in an environment without their will. Hence, they were physically here, but mentally there. Somehow trapped in between. There were no choice rather than adapting to these houses. While in most cases the feelings were similar, the very first experientialism of the internal spaces of Aşağı Maraş homes was multifaceted.

4.2.3 Facing the Reality

From the narratives of Turkish Cypriot migrants, it is observed that, the very first experience of the homes was multifaceted where migrants expressed their initial thoughts and the feelings about home in varied ways. Mostly narratives gathered

from people, categorized into two experiential processes. While, the displacement experiences of migrants are similar to each other, their feelings differed and influenced the meaning of home. The question directed to them expressed their first feeling towards the new home and attitudes represented a contradiction and complexity in migrants understanding home. It is illustrated how their attitudes shaped the very first experience of home. Through the in-depth interviews held with Turkish Cypriot migrants, some of the participants stated that, when they arrived to their new place, they thought of previous home and village, which led them to think of new spaces as cold and impersonal.

> When I first entered, I immediately think of our home and village where we used to live. I felt unhappy and desperate. The place did not belonged to my family; it was somebody else's. It took us five to six years to adapt (Narrative, 4).

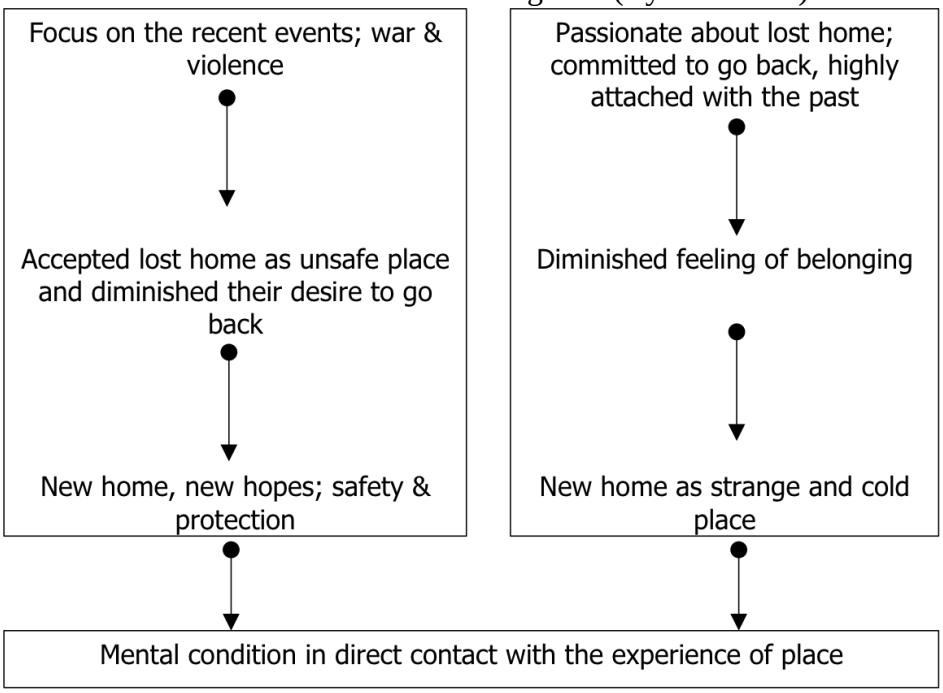
On the other hand, some identified their initial feelings as positive emotions since they were grateful to find a shelter for their family and children.

> Since we were scared of war, new home was a new hope for us, a new life. I was happy to find a safe place for my wife and children. The house was quiet big compared to our previous home. And, no matter what we were safe (Narrative, 12).

From the narratives of migrants, their attitudes represented multi experiences filled with intricate emotions. While all seek for their lost home and wished non of these events ever happened, the war and violence in the island made them feel the lost home as an unsafe place, that diminished their desire to go back. Hence, the new context was a new start and new hope for the family. For those passionate about their lost home, the feeling of belonging was more problematic since they were more committed to return whenever it becomes possible. Therefore, condition of the mind was directly in relation with the atmospheric quality of homes, where people's

moods were the controller. To say so, initial experience of the place was in direct contact with individual's mental condition. For instance, the ones highly attached with the past and had positive feelings for the previous homes, felt the new place as strange and cold place, whether, others who were more concentrated on the recent events; the war, violence and the forced exile, assumed the lost home as unsafe place with depressive memories (Table 18).

Table 18: Mental condition of migrants (By the author)



Our journey from home to Mağusa was not easy. Last days at home were scary. There were many people coming in and out of the village. Normally our village Dimi used to be a peaceful place with its almond trees and all other greenery but after 1974, everything was in upside down situation. We felt we could not be able to stay more. I remember the date was 30th May 1975. We paid money to a friend who would take the family and me to North part of the island. We got into car, passed through neighboring villages, and arrived to Dhekilia (British overseas territory base). From there, we luckily passed the border and went to Nicosia where our relatives were staying. For 15 days, we had no home. Then one day, my friend called me to say that some of the districts of Maraş are opened and government began to distribute houses left from Greeks to Turkish migrants (Narrative, 11).

Accepting the lost home as unsafe place led them to express their initial experience of new home in a positive way where feelings enlightened in terms of normative values of home; safety and protection. All the gathered narratives illustrated the dilemma and contradiction towards the meaning of home and demonstrated the mental connection between human and place. Thus, the fact of memory; overlapping relationship of past and present acted as a factor on place experience and all had supportive position of Bergson's (1912) philosophy of memory and experience, which is explained in the previous sections of the research. It is also acknowledged that multiple attitudes are possible towards home, when people had to abandon their home against will. So was it a journey of homecoming or otherness?

4.2.4 Acquiring Familiarity

Whatever people felt, the feeling of security, possibility, unfamiliarity, etc. at the first sight of Aşağı Maraş, they had no choice rather than adapting and setting a new place for the family. Narratives illustrated their emotions towards the new place, whether they felt safe or alien in an impersonal atmosphere. All these factors began to develop a framework for understanding home and the process of re-making it. Hence, feelings and emotions were a kind representative of the migrant's condition of being in the home. In time, with the migrant's emplacement into new physical settings, spatial transformations began to take place, which can be also called as the act of turning the house into home. Therefore, the existing condition of the houses with their former meaning began to be overwritten to a certain extent with implications by new inhabitants. This led Turkish migrants to possess a spatial knowledge where they began to acquire familiarity with the new context. It is observed that when migrant started to intervene the spaces, they attributed the past through emotional links where there was a sustained transition from the past home

and present house (before it turned into home). It took them years to embody new place as home, especially for those who kept the memories of lost home alive. The way these houses turned into homes facilitated through various means and guided by migrant sense of home. Through the gathered narratives and observations, the purpose was to reveal how the spatial setting was made-unmade and re-made in the contradictive conditions. Therefore, the juxtaposition of spatial aspects of home, demonstrated how home shapes by the altering life and mental condition (Figure 11) of its inhabitants. Particular connections and relations are identified to acknowledge the interaction between human and surrounding, as well as the factors that provide meaning to a place.

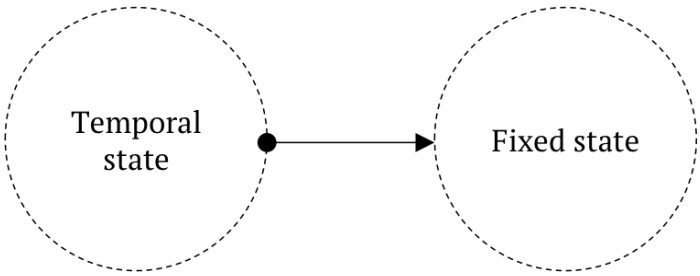


Figure 11: Mental condition of migrants (By the author)

4.3 Actions of Recovery- The Spatial Process

4.3.1 An Abandoned House into Home

Home at the center of people's life has profound connection with the individuals. It is expressed as a platform where particular experiences take place as intentions and actions. This allows the meaning of home to be enclosed with the experience of place where people exchange and share feelings that makes up on their mind and mood (Heathcote, 2012). As Heidegger (1954) claimed, the spatiality of place is in direct correlation with the condition of mind. Therefore, it is not only the materialized quality of atmospheric environment; home is also representation of actions and

moods that occur inside. All these issues display that home does not exist in isolation; instead it attains its significance through consistent connections with individuals and places. In case of Cyprus, since many Turkish Cypriot migrants had to inhabit the abandoned houses of Greek Cypriot migrants, previous forms of the houses and the past occupant's way of living were materially linked. This shows how the physical spaces and its entities are embedded and saturated with the family way of living and the daily life routines of those who occupied the home since it was constructed. In this way, physical settings of Aşağı Maraş contain multi-layered experiences of its changing occupants, where the spatial formations are constituted through lifetime experiences of the inhabitants.

Accordingly, first and secondary layers on the formation of Aşağı Maraş homes are observed to determine how displacement as well as social and mental condition of migrants influenced the spatial dimensions of these homes. While, displacement is the act of being displaced from a place, and gains meaning through everyday practices, (Chambers, 1994) inhabitation can be accepted as the process that gives meaning to a place. Therefore, the question in here is; how did people's displacement affect the existing condition of Aşağı Maraş houses to become the homes of migrants?

4.3.2 Multi-layered Home Spatial

> The house was bigger and modern compared to our previous home. We used to live in much smaller place (Narrative, 5).

Preliminary to the forced movement and internal migration, Aşağı Maraş was a highly attractive residential area with its modern houses, which were originally built by Greek Cypriots. Almost all, contained similar features in terms of construction,

materiality, organization, and the form (Dağlı & Bayındır, 1997). The architectural features of the houses are highly associated with the modern styles of 1960's and they are built out of brick and reinforced concrete. In majority, houses are either one or two storeys with private gardens that commonly surround three sides of the settlement. Usually private gardens are filled with fruit trees and flowers, where they are generally separated from each other and the street by low border of fences (Figure 12).

Figure 12: Entrance view of Aşağı Maraş Homes (Taken by the author)

Most of these houses had terraces at the roof and the lightly coloured façades with the squared shaped openings (Figure 13). However, in some cases, façades were decorated by the homeowners in terms of the coloured, manufactured stone tiles, bow shaped windows, shutters and etc. (Boğaç, 2002).

In most of the two story buildings, balconies were exclusively used either in the back or front as well as the regularly used roof terraces. In terms of the organization, majority of houses consisted of a living room, dining room, kitchen, two or three bedrooms, and backyard at the back and verandas at the front. Additionally, storage

rooms also exist at the backyard of the private gardens, which were constructed by Greek Cypriots to keep their belongings and surpluses. Besides, with few exceptions, garages located on the left or right side of the house.

Stated above are the well-known general characteristics of Aşağı Maraş houses that are mainly developed by the original inhabitants. However, the main issue is to uncover the meanings of transformation with a focus on the perspective of secondary inhabitants where their habitual way of living led somebody else's house to become home to their family. It is clear that, physical structure and its particular qualities were formed by the needs, wills and activities of the original occupants, but from the narratives it is obtained that Turkish Cypriot migrants did not make any vast changes on the structural dimensions of the houses. The condition of not intervening the physical structure had particular reasons behind it.

Figure 13: Outside view of Aşağı Maraş Home (Taken by the author**)**

> It was a stranger's house; we could not feel it as ours. We thought that we are in temporal situation. We did not expect to stay long and it

> took us years to accept this situation. To be honest, it was more than five years (Narrative, 9).

From the expressions of migrants, it is perceived that houses were recently built and their main structures were in durable condition. However, particular houses had more damage and required repairment. Especially, houses with broken doors and windows were in problematic condition and from the interviews, it is understood that they had very less furniture and possessions inside.

> The entrance door and the windows were broken. There was nothing left, only couple of chairs, a table, gas stove, cupboard and bed. Can you imagine? Birds were inside the house too. They had their nest inside the cupboard. It looked like they were the owners of the house. Rather than some furniture and birds, we found wedding photos at the bedroom. We kept the photos and gave them back to family when they first came to see the house. They were very happy when they got the photos back (Narrative, 1).

> The house was empty and in quiet bad condition. Kitchen was old too. But we could not make any changes in the first years. It was hard to find repairmen to fix all the staff. We postponed our wishes for years and then began to make changes (Narrative, 6).

This illustrated that, initial interpretations in the first days, were not major changes, they were only small alterations and necessities to be able to carry out daily activities in the house. In some cases, people also explained that, during that time which was around 1975, (after war period) it was hard to find repairmen to fix damaged parts of the houses. Nevertheless, it is gathered from migrants that majority of the houses were modern and recently built compared to their previous houses. After years, due to political issues of the island, people began to accept that there is no return to their previous places and the place they live in is not a temporal home. Thus, people's mental condition began to transform from temporal state to fixed state of being (Figure 11) where they started to represent belonging and permanency in the spaces.

4.3.3 Ascribed Identity and Memory – Returning to Self

Since people accepted that there is no possibility to go back, they began to intervene the living spaces, where their 'feeling of being' initiated an atmosphere upon their mood and experiences. Through personal engagement, living environment gained its meaning and house commenced to identify itself by the experiences of people. Therefore, identity formation occurred in correlation with life processes of migrants. At the same time, experience as a tool provided enduring identities in the evolving interior spaces. Consequently, in time, these houses transformed into home when people had an ability to relate themselves to the environment and created an essence of identity through their senses. As Gustafson (2001) believed, home acquires new meanings and new identities over time on its physical setting, and this illustrates how inhabitants correlate with their surrounding. To say so, all the acquired meanings and interpretations by the migrants can be acknowledged as an act of representing the 'self'. In the case of Turkish Cypriot migrants, most striking way of representing identities is the display of visual materials (Figure 14) in a variety of forms, mainly photographs and posters depicting political figures (Figure 17) or either mountainous landscape (Figure 16) somehow reminding the home town where they came from. Furthermore, decorative objects are used to symbolize the personalization of the spaces.

Figure 14: Similar display cabinets in different homes (Taken by the author)

Hence, connection between people and space are carried out through materiality to achieve a sense of home. Literally, transforming abandoned spaces into a warm atmosphere occurred along emotional links where people decorated either through objects or visuals, like family photographs in display cabinets (Figure 15).

Figure 15: Cabinets and tables used to display objects and photographs (Taken by the author)

As can be seen from the taken photographs of the interiors, migrants highly used decoration to materialize their experiences and past in search for sense of stability. Materiality used to represent their identities in forms of mediation where the display of iconic objects, photographs, paintings, and posters depicted various messages and provides a sense of nostalgia such as products of mother's hand-labour (Figure 16).

Predominantly, identities are reclaimed in the same manner where people constructed a connection with their home through use of similar furniture, such as display cabinets, and decorative elements that form an emotional link between their past and present. Having similar attempts and interpretation in the re-creation of home allowed these homes to have a sense of continuity and common impressions of domestic spaces. As it was previously suggested by Manzo (2003) people from similar backgrounds implement similar identifications to their living environment, which made their individual identity to highly relate with social, cultural and

political experiences. This statement supports the situation of Turkish Cypriot migrants' places that are identified through the similar interactions and influences on the spatiality of homes. However, the achieved sense of continuity is not only through the materialized decoration, it is also through the habitation and the use of spaces.

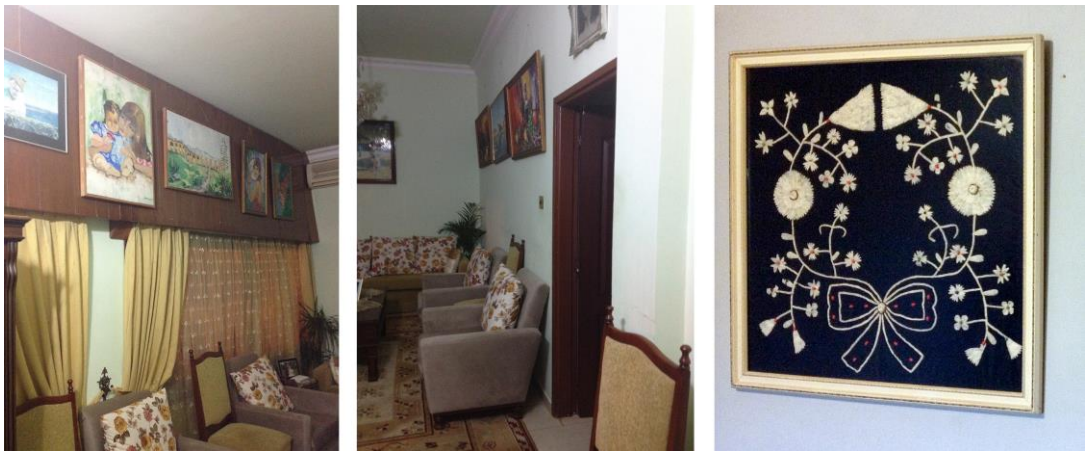


Figure 16: Photographs, paintings, and hand-woven products on the walls (Taken by the author)

Figure 17: Posters of political figures as symbols of identity (Taken by the author)

Since Turkish Cypriot migrants had similar experiences and backgrounds, as well as being at the similar age groups (above 60 years old), led them to have common habitual practices in terms of usage and arrangement of internal settings. All the

inhabitants of the observed homes were retired people and spend most of their time at home. Thus, this made home the center of their social life where they have regular gatherings with their relatives and neighbors. They also stated in the interviews that having people around with the same backgrounds helped them recover fast and have a sense community within their neighbors.

> Living close by with people from Paphos gave me the feeling of security. I knew that they had the same experience and harsh times. So I was not the only one. With them, I did not feel lonely (Narrative, 6).

In time, having strong relations with their neighbors made the nature of home to become in connection with the outside world, specifically reflected on to the sitting arrangement of the living spaces. From the observation of the particular homes, it is seen that in almost every home, the entrance hall is arranged in a way to allow contact with the surrounding. This is mainly done by placed seats just close by to the entrance door (Figure 18).

> I like to sit here. It allows you to see the neighbors and the people walk by. Sometimes I got bored watching TV, instead I watch outside. It's good for hot summer days too. Keeping the door open ventilates the air inside (Narrative, 8).

Figure 18: People socializing at the entrance hall (Taken by the author)

All these illustrated that in order to understand the fuller and deeper meaning of home, it inevitably needs to capture the interrelationship of home with other places, like neighborhood. Therefore, the factor on the means of home is not only the individual (mental) experience but social experience too. At this point, varying social experiences at each level is in relation with the engagement and interaction of spaces, and more importantly interlocked with the ascribed meanings, such as emotional links with the neighborhood are likely to facilitate individual's attachment to home, where in the case of Aşağı Maraş, migrants strong relationship with the neighbors mediated a sense of belonging. Hence in years, initiated attachment of people to their surrounding, through personalized and identified homes, allowed further modifications to deal with individuals daily living. For instance, group of individuals added verandas in front of their homes and later on transformed open space verandas into closed spaces as an addition or an extension to enlarge the living room (Figure 19).

> We turned veranda into a room. We can spend our time in here too. We usually sit here in the mornings and afternoons, especially when neighbors visit to chat and drink coffee (Narrative, 4)

Figure 19: Closed veranda of the observed home (Taken by the author)

Besides, the addition of verandas, in some of the homes, new bedrooms are added, or instead living rooms are divided and converted one half into a bedroom, while the other half combined with entrance hall to enlarge the living environment in a spacious places. However, these changes were done after years mainly in the homes with two bedrooms. From the narratives, it is understood that children of the families were used to share bedrooms, but then with the changing life conditions, each children commenced to have individual bedrooms.

> I have two daughters and a son. They used to share their bedroom for many years and one day we decided to have an extra room for my older son Hüseyin. At least they had more personalized spaces (Narrative, 4).

Thus, transformations of spaces are implemented along the daily practices, where the individuals had the control to decide how their household life will be conducted and organized. To say so, together with the transformation of spaces, they began to renew the main aspects of the home, like kitchen, which depicted by them as the most public space of the home. It is seen that people spend their time with relatives and friends at the kitchen too, where they embellished the space with a television. Almost in every home, kitchens were renewed after 1990's, when the kitchen manufacture started to take place in modernized manner. While the majority of the homes have new kitchens, there are a few exceptions with the old kitchen remained by the original residents (Figure 20).

Figure 20: New and old kitchens (Taken by the author)

During the personal observation, it is also seen that there are exceptional rooms being untouched and not renewed, only used as a storage room to keep inhabitants belongings and possessions (Figure 21).

> This is the only room that we did not make any changes. We kept it as it is. We use it as storage room to keep our old staff (Narrative, 12).

Figure 21: Old storage room (Taken by the author)

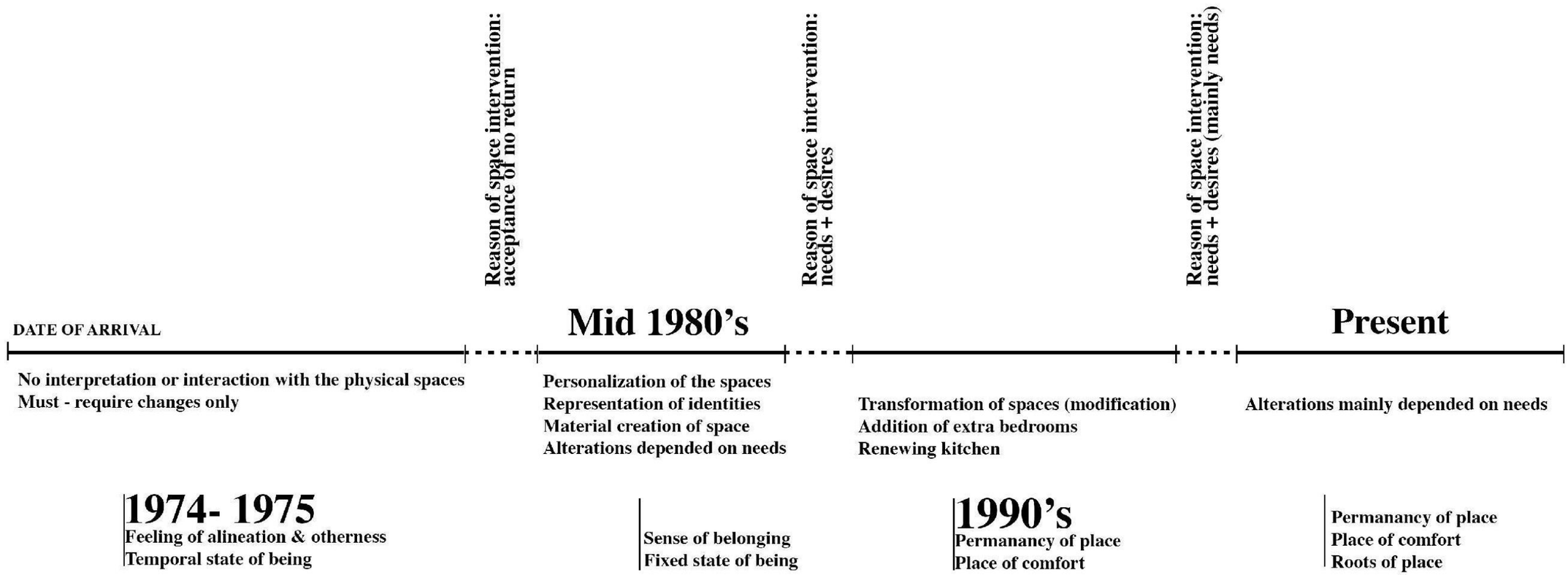
Hence, it is acknowledged that through the home making practices, people interpreted the spaces through transforming (modifying) the existing architectural spaces and implementing certain changes (or not implementing) in accordance with their needs and wills. It is also clear that, their individual and social experiences affected the nature of their home, where they aimed to represent their identities, and have sense of stability by personalizing the living spaces. In an attempt to personalize the spaces, materialized possessions used to maintain a sense of self, by assuring an identity and fixed state of being.

Memory evoking objects like old family photographs or nostalgic objects are highly displayed in the internal spaces, to trigger the remembrance of the past. By this way, emotional link is created with the home where people represented memories and

feelings through the contents of spaces. As Winnicot (1991) suggested physical places are the mental investment of people, where the mind has a role on creating and engaging with the surrounding environment.

Moreover, the interaction of migrants and the formation of their homes demonstrated a timeline in reliance with their sensual sense of place. Hence, people's changing moods and feelings made them to have different interpretations in different time periods to claim the spatial environment as 'home'. As the results illustrate, in the first years of arrival, migrants thought that they would return back to their previous homes and had the feeling of temporality and alienation, resulting in very less interaction with the physical spaces. Towards the middle of 1980's, due to the political controversy of the island, they accepted that there would be no return, and the only option for them was to transform these alien places into new homes for their families. By moving from temporal to fixed condition, they began to represent their identities with the nostalgic attempts and personalized spaces through the material creations. After a decade, with the gained permanency and comfort, major modifications of the spaces, like addition of extra bedrooms or renewed kitchens, occurred along not only depended on the needs but desires too (Table 19).

Table 19: Timeline of sensual and spatial formation of Aşağı Maraş Homes (By the author)



Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

The research was set out to explore the formation process of migrant homes by identifying the connection between people's sensual experience and their spatial interpretations on the physical settings of home. The motivation of the research was to highlight the contradictive condition of home by reflecting the lived experiences of displaced people, and their changing mental conditions in relation with the constitution of home. Therefore, the research has sought to know life stories of migrants as experiential processes to capture the creation of new living environments.

The theoretical literature of the research began with the abstract meaning of space and its experiential transformation into a place to portray the catalysts for the spatial formation of home. This has been done through theoretical discussions that provided multi-layered complexity of home by mental, physical, and social dimensions directly influencing people's state of being. Recognition of home and its spatial dimension through the displacement experience of Turkish Cypriot migrants, gathered by the narratives, illustrated an intimate process of constructing place, where every interpretation was associated with maintaining and expressing a self-identity. In a way, there was an evolution of the self, proceeding through negative and positive experiences in dialectic with the nature of home. Through this dialectic naturally grown connection between people and

place is observed, where migrants prioritize permanence by recovering a sensual process.

Research implications illustrated that, intense relationship between people and a particular place is established over time. In the case of Turkish Cypriot migrants settled in Aşağı Maraş, the spatial home is constructed in a process (Table 19) where they gained freedom of movement to spatially interpret the spaces in time by changing their mental attitudes that were weakening the bond to their current place. These attitudes were highly related with the questions of return and the lost home disabling them to have sense of belonging and a place of comfort. Nevertheless, acceptance of no return and the permanency of the particular situation shifted from temporal state to fixed state of being, once migrants commenced to perform the acts of representing self in the new places of home. Thus, experience of displacement and lost of home caused migrants to believe in integrity of home just until their established attachment to the places they inhabit. This illustrated the importance of the inhabitation process, where people progressed through sensual processes.

As it is perceived from the narratives and the observation of homes, inhabitation process demonstrated that, migrants' struggle with displacement healed with the nostalgic attempts to create bonds between their pasts and present condition. Reflection of their pasts through materialized and personalized living spaces grounded a simultaneous existence where people seek solidity to have a sense of belonging and acknowledged changes to create homes of desire.

Whilst people aim to achieve stabile condition in a permanent place, it is evident that Turkish Cypriot migrants had fluctuating relationship with their home, where the spatial formation was not stable and varied over time depending on the individual's sensual experience. This enlightened slippery and contradictive notion of home. In spite of home's perpetual state of being, it is observed that home could be reconstructing on the move, in a process making the spatial home to be not necessarily fixed, rather a mobile entity.

Accordingly, the research proved that home is not only revive of roots but at the same time expression of experiential phases in the resettlement process, where the practices of home making substantiated in the simultaneous existence and ability to generate a sense of home sustained between loss and healing. In this manner, once individuals create ways to achieve feeling of home in the routine of daily lives and places, the concerns of migration stand purely abstract.

Clearly, noteworthy part of the research is that, the meaning of home and its progression has been addressed from the daily experiences of people, pointing out the means of spatial interventions with a concern on human and home relationship. Exploration of the spatial formation through migrants' life stories allowed reading places in correlation with the reasons and the inhabitants' attempts to represent a way of living in already defined places. This intention brought a deeper awareness on home, where human's sensual process is questioned in correlation with the place. Not only this comprehended the complex connotation, but also it has shown that conventional explanation on home is inadequate to truly grasp its meaning from every individual's point of view, since the home in question diverges depending on a varied sensual beings. While the

deeper awareness of home is one of the research concerns, the further implications on Aşağı Maraş, will necessitate the political dimensions of the experiences to be entwined in a deeper level to indicate altered standpoints on the current condition and the potential future of the homes.

Briefly, research heightens the notion of home beyond a physical entity and diminishes the conventional projections by the experiential narratives of people to maintain multifaceted formation of migrant homes. The research intention can be worthwhile for architects, interior architects, sociologists, anthropologists, and at the same time, in cases of forced displacement, it perpetuates substantial relationship between people and place, where the experiential embodiments of the places we call home is the major affair.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview Protocol Form (English version)

Date of interview:

Interview Location (House no.):

Name and Surname of Interviewee:

Age:

Profession:

Notes to interviewer:

First of all, thank you for your participation in my master's thesis work. Your input is very valuable for the research. Please feel free to confidentially express your emotions and thoughts during the interview.

Approximate length of the interview is 15 to 20 minutes.

Aim of the interview is;

To collect information about sensual experiences of migrants and their spatial interventions on the living environments.

In general, interview consists of 5 major questions;

1. How was your displacement journey from your previous place to Aşağı Maraş?
2. What did you feel when first entered to an abandoned home that previously belonged to another family?
3. What was left from the previous owners?
4. How long did it take you to interpret the physical settings of home?
5. What was your spatial interpretations and why?

Appendix B: Interview Protocol Form (Turkish version)

Röportaj Tarihi:

Röportaj Yeri (Ev no.):

Röportaj Yapılan Kişi İsim-Soyisim:

Yaş:

Meslek:

Röportör Notları:

Öncelikle yapmış olduğum master tez çalışmama katılımınız için teşekkür ederim. Araştırmam için katkılarınız çok değerli. Lütfen özgürce duygularınızı ve fikirlerinizi röportaj süresince çekinmeden yansıtınız.

Röportaj süresi yaklaşık 15 ile 20 dakika arasındadır.

Yapılan bu röportajın amacı;
Göçmenlerin duygusal deneyimleri ve evlerinin mekansal oluşumuna ilişkin yapmış oldukları müdahaleler üzerine veri toplamaktır.

Genel olarak röportaj 5 ana sorudan oluşmaktadır;

1. Ayrılmak zorunda kaldığınız evinizden Maraş'a yerleşim yolculuğunuz nasıl geçti?
2. Eve ilk girdiğinizde, terkedilmiş olan bu evde neler hissettiniz?
3. Evde önceki sahiplerinden kalan neler vardı?
4. Evin mekanlarında değişim yapmaya başlamak ne kadar zamanınızı aldı?
5. Yapmış olduğunuz mekansal değişimler ve sebebleri ne idi?