Place-making Practices in Case of an Uncertain Future: Lifeworlds of Cypriot Maronites Facing Extinction

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a phenomenological study of place-making in the context of a crisis in an ethnic minority community of Cypriot Maronites, which is an ethnically endangered population, heading toward an uncertain future. The community experienced huge breakdowns in the social and political domains; they lost their ancestral lands, were legally marginalized, and majorly assimilated into Greek-Cypriot culture. The community is completely reliant on others and lacks the ability to predict the future, while on-going uncertainty causes great anxiety for its people.

Accordingly, the objective of the thesis is to examine the affect of lived experiences of uncertainty and the place-making processes through everyday practices of this community in their remaining ancestral land of Kormakiti village. With the implementation of the existential phenomenological research method and observations and in-depth interviews, the lifeworlds of this small and marginal, yet complex population are drawn together to understand the ways uncertainty is experienced and reflected on the people's intentional relationship with places. The research explores the various aspects of people's everyday lived experiences in places, including religious rituals, festival celebrations, acts of dwellings, as well as interactions in the semi-public spaces of eating and drinking establishments. All these scenes commonly affirm the modes of engagement with the place as a long-standing struggle to protect the continued presence and territoriality of the community. At the same time, the research sheds light on the place that is beyond the material and forged by people's hopes to enlighten the possibility of alternatives. Unlike most place-making studies, this thesis focuses on the progressive formation of

place, discovering daily encounters and activities such as dwelling, gathering, and hoping where place is not concerned as a planned or designed end product, but rather lived and constantly re-constituted to create a glimpse of hope for a community on the verge of extinction.

Keywords: place-making, uncertainty, lifeworlds, community extinction, Cypriot Maronites.

ÖZ

Bu tez, nesli tükenmek üzere olan ve belirsiz bir gelecekle karşı karşıya kalan, etnik azınlık topluluğuna dönüşen Kıbrıslı Maronitlerin, yaşadıkları toplumsal kriz bağlamında, yer oluşturma eylemini fenomonolojik bir bakış açışıyla incelemektedir. Bu topluluk, sosyal ve politik alanlarda büyük çöküntülere uğramış, atalardan kalma topraklarını kaybetmiş, yasal yollarla marjinalleştirilerek, büyük ölçüde Kıbrıs Rum kültürüne asimile edilmiştirler. Süregelen belirsizlik ve gelecek kaygısı ile birlikte, diğer toplumlara bağımlı hale getirilmiştirler.

Bu doğrultuda, bu çalışma, Kıbrıslı Maronitlerin, atalarından kalan son yerleşim yeri olan Kormacit köyünde, gündelik pratiklerin incelenmesiyle, yaşanan belirsizlik deneyiminin, yer oluşturma süreçlerine etkisini incelemektedir. Varoluşçu fenomonolojik araştırma yöntemi uygulanarak, gözlemler ve derinlemesine röportajlarla, bu küçük ve marjinal, ancak bir o kadar da komplike topluluğun, yaşam dünyalarını inceleyerek, belirsizlik deneyiminin insanların yer ile olan ilişkilerine nasıl yansıdığını tartışmaktadır. Araştırma, dini ritüeller, festival kutlamaları, yerleşim eylemleri, ve yeme-içme işletmelerinin yarı-kamusal alanlarındaki etkileşimler dahil olmak üzere, köy halkının gerçek deneyimlerinin özelliklerini, ve gerçekleştiği yerleri gözlemlemiştir. Genellikle, gözlemlenen tüm sahneler, yerle olan etkileşimlerin, bu topluluğun kalıcı mevcudiyetini ve bölgeselliğini korumak adına verilen bir direniş olarak nitelemektedir. Aynı zamanda, araştırma, mevcut mekanların ötesinde, insanların umutlarından yola çıkarak, alternatif mekan oluşumuna ışık tutmaktadır. Çoğu yer-oluşturma çalışmaların aksine, bu tez, yeri planlı veya tasarlanmış bir nihai ürün olarak değil, gündelik devinim ve etkinliklerle

birlikte, daha çok yaşanılan, ve yok olma eşiğindeki bir topluluğa umut ışığı yaratmak adına, sürekli olarak yeniden yapılanan aşamalı oluşumuna odaklanmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: yer-oluşturma, belirsizlik, yaşam dünyaları, toplumsal yok oluş, Kıbrıslı Maronitler.

DEDICATION

Dedicated to my family.

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Life is uncertain, no doubt about it. But one thing is certain ... I owe my heartfelt thanks to the following people, who have contributed to making this thesis a reality: I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Uğur Ulaş Dağlı, who always believed in me and encouraged me when needed. I am thankful for her continuing support and guidance.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 Real Life Problem

> Uncertainty is a permanent condition in human lives, a fundamental experiential realm of human existence (Horst & Grabska , 2015, p. 1).

We live in a world of growing uncertainties and instabilities that produce slippery living ground for human beings. We speak fast, sleep less, and witness a massive amount of temporality and acceleration at every stage of our lives. The temporal order of society brings varied challenges as the drivers of deep uncertainties and makes it difficult to foresee what the future holds. Inevitably, societies and the actions of people in social, economic, political, and environmental arenas of life are shaped by this fact. Having unpredictability at numerous levels is likely to turn uncertainty into an unavoidable force in the subjective experience of life, as said by Johnson-Hanks (2005, p. 366).

The fact of uncertainty has always been a part of everyday living, but in the twentieth century, it became a matter of debate with the emerging processes of modernization, globalization, capitalism, and technology of the contemporary world (Bauman, 2000; Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1991; Poziemska, et.al, 2020; Zeiderman, et.al, 2015; Zinn, 2006). These processes increased the pace of life and people's movement, yet in particular contexts resulted in closures, limited mobility, displacements, inequalities, segregation, and exclusions. Uncertainty about the future and the existential

insecurity of modern life has become rooted in places, acting beyond individual control. Accepting the concept of space as a "container" or a "territory" also affected the public and political visions at the earlier stages of modernity. Many powerful concepts came into discussion in political debates as identity and belonging, and radical changes began to occur for societies.

Names such as Anthony Giddens (1991) and Zygmunt Bauman (2000) have made intellectual attempts on the concepts of modernisation, claiming how uncertainty affects societies on both an individual and collective level. Giddens (1991) argued that globalization is an unpredictable and destabilizing process, shifting experiences and existing ways of life for people. Bauman (2000) claimed the fact of uncertainty creates liquid identities that are out of people's control, and it seems impossible to have durable identities with the ever-changing problematic relations of contemporary society. He claimed uncertainty is rooted in the dynamic relations of personal life, rooted in places where there is transcontinental mobility of people, all creating fragility and fluidity in social bonds (Bauman, 2004).

> 'I can't think of any period in human history when people were really certain what to do, had no surprises and no unexpected developments. What is novel is not uncertainty; what is novel is realization that uncertainty is here to stay…we are challenged with a task… to develop an art of living permanently with uncertainty.'' (Diziadosz, 2013, 0:51:00).

Subsequently, uncertainty, which is defined by many as a basic experience of modernity (Zinn, 2006a), came into play in the studies of conflict-induced situations, to theorize people's governing through uncertainty. It is accepted as a force that leads societies in abrupt and contradictory ways. Some studies argue that uncertainty is systematically linked with risk in a society where different axes of conflict, such as ecological, economic, and political, exist in everyday life (Beck, 1992; Zinn, 2006b).

In particular, in the case of protracted conflicts, the experience of uncertainty appears in highly dramatic ways, producing liminal situations and precarious sites of living for the people (Cooper & Pratten, 2015; Haram & Yamba, 2009; Khosravi, 2017). And still today, we face growing political instability, health pandemics, and natural disasters, grounding uncertainty in our everyday lives.

The island of Cyprus is a great example of this. Due to its strategic and geographical position in the Mediterranean Sea, Cyprus has been home to both global and local debates and has faced on-going political uncertainty for years. The island's important position in the Mediterranean Sea has been both a blessing and a curse for its people (Trimikliniotis & Bozkurt, 2012). Throughout its social and political history, anti-colonial struggles, ethnic nationalism, war, internal violence, invasion, territorial division, and population displacements occurred as facets of the Cyprus issue (Papadakis, Peristianis, & Welz, 2006) and produced an immense existence of uncertainty for its people. Its contested history and the on-going disputes created vulnerable groups within the population and turned the island into a place of ethnic and territorial divisions. For years, the Cyprus conflict centred on the problematic relations between the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities, ignoring the minorities on the island who have also been affected by the partition and the instable internal politics of the island (Loizides, et.al, 2017). The Maronite community is one of the ethnic minority communities on the island that is somehow abandoned to its fate and strongly experiences the undesired consequences of uncertainty as part of everyday living.

With the independence of Cyprus in 1960, Maronites were recognized as the religious group belonging to the Greek Cypriot community. However, lives were

dramatically changed by the island's de facto partition in 1974. Waves of internal displacement occurred; Turkish Cypriots moved to the north, Greek Cypriots moved to the south, and the majority of the Maronite community had to leave their villages, which came under the Turkish Cypriot administration (Karyolemou, 2018). Only 10 per cent of their population continued to live in the remaining villages in the north. They mostly stayed in Kormakiti village, with a few remaining in Karpasha village and the other two Maronite villages, Asomatos and Agia Marina, which became military bases for the Turkish army. Since then, they have been trapped in the debate between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, with an uncertain future.

Undoubtedly, uncertainty affects every individual on the island, yet it puts the Maronite community in various crises. With the war, they have lost their ancestral lands and turned into refugees. Their integration into Greek society in terms of mixed marriages, education, and the use of language caused the dispersal of their community and the loss of Maronite culture. In time, the community began to face extinction and this situation began to increase anxieties for its people that there would be no future for the Maronites. One resident stated, *"There is no future for us, unless something is done right now."* The ones who had never abandoned Kormakiti village and decided to remain under Turkish-Cypriot administration had to adapt themselves to growing uncertainty and keep experiencing the worsening situation every day. As the majority of the community moved to the South, the remaining population turned into an enclave community, lacking freedom and mobility for decades. With the partial opening of the barricades in 2003, more Maronites returned to their villages, yet this was not sufficient to solve the on-going disputes in the community.

Although human beings are aware that the future exists, not knowing what to do with it results in excess worries and creates discomfort in the present. The past and present might seem certain, but the future is a challenging task and always uncertain. Getting along with it is not easy, and it could be fearful to predict or hope against the current circumstances, similar to the unfortunate life experiences of Cypriot Maronites, as for them, it has never been easy to anticipate what the future may hold.

1.2 Research Problem and Objective

Without a doubt, uncertainties occur at multiple levels and in many domains and can affect societies as a whole, giving rise to particular experiences both physically and mentally. According to Massey (2005), uncertainty shifts people's characterizations with space by breaking the harmonization and the rhythms of societies or individuals. Similarly, Schatzki (2010) defines this situation as 'deconstruction of interconnected activities' and Lefebvre (2004) calls it 'arrhythmia', where uncertainty takes control over the actions and results in divergence in space and the use of energy.

In the case of Maronites, the experience of uncertainty can be seen as societal suffering inevitably shaping people's modes of existence and giving rise to struggles against an unpredictable future. In this thesis, the lived experience of uncertainty is examined with a focus upon people's "place-making practices." It is a study of a single place, Kormakiti village, which is the remaining ancestral land of the Maronite community and is the place where uncertainty is experienced, resisted, and involuntarily accepted by its residents. In exploring uncertainty, people, and place relations, this study implements place-making as a human-centred tool to understand how the experience of uncertainty affects people's place-making practices.

Respectively, research analyses people's efforts to stabilize their lives through material and immaterial means, questioning how places are constructed, certain meanings they hold for individuals and community, and, if needed, how they can be changed by using people's narratives and stories. Therefore, this research not only highlights the outcomes of uncertainty in the present place, but also uses uncertainty as productive terrain, a ground for hope, helping people to look through the lens of possibility. Similar approaches can be found in the works of philosophers like Bloch (1995) and Dewey (1930), as well as in the ethnographic study of Miyazaki (2004) who has discussed that uncertainty is fruitful and contains the seeds of possibility.

1.3 Research Questions

In light of the thesis objective, research questions are designed as follows:

1. How do lived experiences of uncertainty affect people's place-making practices in Kormakiti village?
    - What are the consequences of the lived experiences of uncertainty?
    - How do people think and act in the making of a place?
    - What significance do places hold for individuals or community?
    - What are the material and immaterial aspects of these places?
2. What are the people's imagined hopeful places in the face of an uncertain future?
    - In what ways do they differ from the present places in the village?

1.4 Methodology

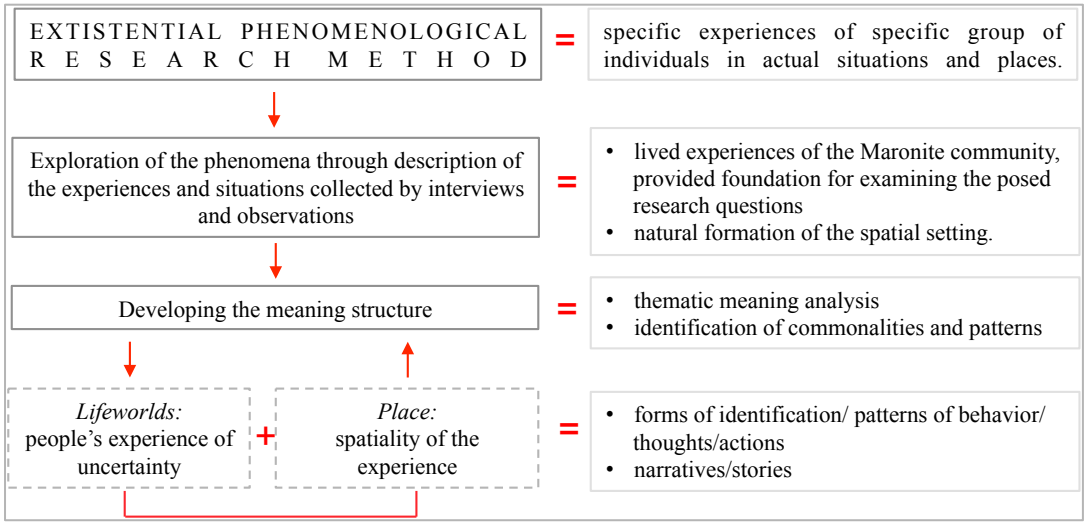
1.4.1 Method

Overall, this thesis is designed as qualitative research to capture the complexity of human experience and to access respondents' full descriptions of their lives. Qualitative research methods not only aid in the production of rich explanations of

people's complex lives, but also in the development of conceptual foundations for clarifying complicated phenomena (Berg B. L., 2001; Creswell, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). In this research, qualitative research methods are used to engage with respondents' lived experiences, behaviors, perspectives, and full descriptions of their realities. As one type of qualitative inquiry, this research adopted the "existential-phenomenological" research method, which is about *"specific experiences of specific individuals and groups involved in actual situations and places"* (Seamon, 2000, p. 161) and, as noted by For von Eckartsberg, *"... the heart of this approach is" the analysis of protocol data provided by research [respondents] in response to a question posed by the researcher that pinpoints and guides their recall and reflection"* (1998, p. 21).

Respectively, the thesis applied an existential phenomenological method to the recurrent problems of the Maronite community and allowed respondents' lived experiences to provide a foundation for examining the posed research questions. The phenomenon is explored through the description of respondents' experiences and is followed by the development of the meaning structure of the research. Thematic meaning analysis is applied to identify commonalities of uncertainty experience and the spatiality of that particular experience (Table 1). With the application of this method, research explored the ways uncertainty is experienced and resisted by the community, and its reflection on the people's intentional relationship with the places, i.e., how they act, react, or shape their environment, etc.

Table 1: The methodological phases of the research



Throughout the research, respondents are placed at the core together with the natural formation of the spatial settings. This is allowed without imposing a prior limit on the research setting and is shaped along the research based on people's everyday place-making practices. Having no restrictive approach at the beginning of the research allowed objective formation of the spatial settings with a greater emphasis on the people's existence and role within them. As architects and designers, we are likely to limit the research within fixed architectural enclosures, being restrictive to building or urban scale, and we are likely to be concerned with these enclosures as an end product. Here, an inclusive platform of dialogue is generated on the progressive formation of place that is explored through the forms of identification and patterns of behavior/thoughts/actions, yet, on top of all that, allows for self-reflection and critical awareness of the Maronite community's condition of living. Therefore, thesis involves naturalistic and interpretive approaches, with the fact that things are studied in their natural setting and interpreted based on the meaning people attribute to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003).

1.4.2 Research Context

The research took place in Kormakiti village, known as '*Koruçam'* in Turkish and '*Kormakitis'* in Greek. Starting from the ancient years, Kormakiti has been the largest of the Maronite villages (Appendix A), and it is the remaining ancestral land of the Cypriot Maronites, located on the west coast of the northern part of Cyprus (Figure 1). The village has a great location with mountainous landscape views and is surrounded by rural forestry, open fields, and natural beaches. It is 34 km away from the west of Kyrenia, and its distance from the sea is 2 km to the north.

Figure 1: Location of Kormakiti on Cyprus map

Currently, the village is home to the highest number of Maronites, who permanently reside in the north part of the island. According to the 2007 population census, the total population of the village consisted of 195 Maronite inhabitants (91 men and 104 women), with 111 houses in total (State Planning Organization, 2007). These numbers have increased in the last decade, as more Maronites have returned to live in the village. The village has no birth rate, and a huge percentage of the population consists of elderly people who are retired and live a pensioner life in the village. The inhabitants are majorly aged 50 and above. Young generations of Maronites make

their living in the south part of the island, and come to the village for short weekend visits to see their grandparents and other family members.

1.4.3 Data Collection

As described, this thesis is interpretative in the sense that it is designed to represent community reality as much as possible, aiming to uncover the lived experiences of respondents, to understand human thoughts and actions, and spatial engagements within the research context. Data collection consisted of observations and interviews to gather information about the stated objectives of the research. The fieldwork was conducted in the period of November 2019 to September 2021 and took place in the natural everyday setting of the villagers. The respondents were recruited via key people who can be referred to as gatekeepers (Appendix B), and in the public spaces themselves. The gatekeepers helped to gain access to the necessary information by creating a sort of mediation with the respondents. Their contribution was highly valuable, as it was difficult to find volunteers to fully participate and freely express thoughts on the selected subjects. This was an expected situation in the research process, as the community still faces harsh consequences of being trapped between Greek and Turkish Cypriot administrations and lives a life without interfering much with others. Political impasses on the island generate various sensitivities in the area and drag community into very fragile situations while they try their best to keep healthy relations with both sides.

- **Observation sessions:** According to Low et al., (2005) and Whyte (1980) observation is the major method for studying public interaction and human behavior in a certain place. In this thesis, observation is employed as one of the main data collection methods. I went to square, streets, and semi-public

places in the village at various times and on various days throughout the week, in order to get a feel of the atmosphere and to trace social situations and actors. At the initial stage of the research, observation sessions took place without having any formal interaction with the residents, and aimed to explore the general life pattern in the village, in terms of residents' everyday encounters and interactions, existing facilities and activities, and to clarify what is happening within the spatial settings. Observations helped to study social interactions within the spatial settings (Lofland, et.al, 1995), collecting information on the questions of who is present? What do they do? With whom? Where do they spend their time? Do they interact? and etc. Thence, observation sessions built up the general meaning structure of the practices of everyday life in the village. Secondly, it is used to collect information on the physical characteristics of spatial settings. Field notes were taken to outline interactions, and photographs of the spatial settings were captured for the visual documentation.

- **Interview sessions:** To further understand the interactions, people's motives, and meaning of their behavior, semi-structured and in-depth interviews were conducted in the village. The interviews were held in the semi-public establishments in the village, majorly in the coffeehouse that is the main gathering place for locals and in two other restaurants. The semi-structured interviews, held with 25 local respondents, lasted approximately 45–60 minutes, and I have an in-depth series of interviews with 9 respondents who were the gatekeepers of the research. Interviewees were selected as if they were residents of Kormakiti and had spent a particular period of their life in the village. In-depth interviews were meant to get a deeper understanding of

the stated issues of the research. The number of interviewees was limited due to language barriers, and in particular, interviews when the respondents were stuck, the translator partly helped in translating from Greek to English. Interviews were held in English, and consisted of open-ended questions designed to collect information about:

1. Respondents' lived experiences in Kormakiti village including past experiences, daily experiences and activities, social relations, and general thoughts about village life, i.e., positive aspects, ways of dealing with difficulties and problems, and so on.
2. Respondents' spatial engagement with current places and place-making processes, i.e., spatial intervention and its motivations, affordances and constraints, satisfaction and problems with current physical conditions, and so on.
3. Respondent’s orientation toward the future in terms of;
    - Thoughts, hopes, and fears for the future of their community
    - Imaginary or alternative, hopeful places and their motivations.

Besides the interviews with local residents, semi-structured interviews took place with 20 non-local respondents who were the loyal customers of the semi-public establishments of the village to address and cross-reference the role of these places as sources to reach out and nurturing relations between the ethnic communities. All the interviews were recorded and transcribed prior to data analysis. The interviews are kept anonymous, and none of the respondents will be identified by name in any written data resulting from this research.

1.5 Uncertainty: Definitions and Coming to its Terms

> …uncertainty as a structure of feeling – the lived experience of a pervasive sense of vulnerability, anxiety, hope, and possibility mediated through the material assemblages that underpin, saturate, and sustain everyday life (Cooper & Pratten, 2015, p. 3).

Uncertainty is a very broad term and belongs to a complex semantic field, which has been classified in different forms and interpreted variedly in the literature. The term uncertainty may refer to an object or cognitive state of a person, i.e., the "*state of not being definitely known"* or *"the state of being uncertain in mind"* (Serpell, 2014, p. 9). It also belongs to a group of concepts including indeterminacy, risk, confusion, doubt, invisibility, waiting, as well as concepts with positive potentials such as chance, possibility, and hope (Janeja & Bandak, 2018; Miyazaki; 2004, Zournazi, 2002). The multiplicity of concepts may create confusion for conceptual clarity, yet it brings varied opportunities for the analysis of the term uncertainty.

Current literature defines the sources of uncertainty as *"imperfect knowledge and the unpredictability of the future"* (Williams & Baláž, 2012, p. 168), or as "*facta"*—an already taken, unchangeable form, and "*futura"*—being open to influence (Adam & Groves, 2007). *Facta* as the source of uncertainty relates to things that are known to exist, yet people have limited convincing information, and in the cases of conflict, it is likely to be dominated by speculation or rumours, causing great anxiety and stress for people. In these kinds of circumstances, people seek ways to create a sense of certainty. *Futura*, as the lack of the ability to predict the future, creates an open-ended field of possibilities where things can change for the better or for worse.

Similarly, in the ethnographic study of uncertainty by Cooper and Pratten (2015), uncertainty is defined as a product of social contingencies and described as an inseparable part of social relations, making it hardly to behave as an external, or to exist as an autonomous condition. And, uncertainty is discussed as a temporal factor, either a short-term or long-term issue, with the inevitable outcome of shaping people's relationships between present and future and shifting their forms of sociality. The term is also demonstrated as an invisible force on people's actions and engagements, where they try to avoid or preempt their touch in the future.

> Uncertainty can produce hyper-vigilance – looking ahead and scanning for future possibilities that would offer interludes of respite. (Cooper & Pratten, 2015, p. 10)

Moreover, uncertainty is explored as a productive process based on examining people's actions that are affected and constantly (re) shaped, as well as their imagined movements and future-orientations (Ingold & Hallam, 2007). In the literature, these future-orientations are observed as a range of anticipated projections (Bryant & Knight, 2019), like hope, expectation, potentiality, etc. The anticipated projections are also defined as coping strategies against uncertainty, where people deal with the fact of their inability to know. As a result, research has shown that in order to comprehend the impact of uncertainty, it is necessary to observe how people position themselves cognitively, morally, and practically, as well as their ways of thinking, feeling, and acting (Appadurai, 2013) to truly define the conditions brought on by uncertainty, researchers are challenged to examine people's actions, patterns of thoughts, coping strategies, future-orientations, etc. In this research, hope, as one type of anticipated projection of future, is used as a narrative tool to embrace uncertainty and turn it into a productive, positive condition. To benefit from the

productive side of uncertainty, respondents' hopeful stories toward an unknown future are explored and shed light on their future orientations.

There are many studies on hope, which respectively concern hope's relationship to uncertainty and place it as a phenomenon in human experience (Bloch, 1995; Anderson & Fenton , 2008; Averill, 1990; Berthomé, Bonhomme, & Delaplace, 2012; Bryant & Knight, 2019; Chon, 1990). It is a fragile and complicated term, being studied in diverse contexts by scholars from varied disciplines. It is defined as one type of coping strategy for uncertainty and is featured in the accounts of emotion, referring to "*an emotional stance and affective attitude characterized by certain forms of expression, feeling and activity"* (Walker, 2006, p. 48).

1.6 Limitation of the Research

The data presented in the research should be considered in light of particular limitations. The limitations of the research can be categorized into two as data limitations and impact limitations. First of all, data limitations can be listed as the following.

- The selection of respondents – English-speaking, permanent residents, and spent particular period of their life in the Kormakiti village.
- The demographic structure- data built upon the perspective of older generation, as there is no young population in the village.
- Pandemic restrictions- data collection was interrupted with the lock-down processes. Border gates were closed, allowing no crossing between Turkish and Greek side. The views of the younger Maronites, who reside in the

Greek-side, yet frequently visit the village couldn't integrate within the discussions.

Secondly, impact limitations of the research can be listed as the following.

- Regional focus- the research is built upon a single place – Kormakiti village. Therefore, data is collected and verified at one site.
- Generalizability of the findings- the research is focused on the unique experience of an ethnic minority community of Cypriot Maronites, and research questions are examined with an emphasis on the lifeworlds and statements of this specific group. Therefore, it is difficult to generalize the findings to other populations, unless they have similar experience and characteristics.

1.7 Preliminary Site Inspections and Decisions: Why Kormakiti?

In Cyprus, a dynamic and contested history resulted in different spaces and imposed new spatial systems by situating borders and boundaries, military zones, forbidden areas, and various social and spatial isolations. Correspondingly, with a research interest in the *"post-conflict environment"* and the "*production of contested spaces"*, I started site inspections in the northern part of the island, where conflict is vastly constitutive of spatial features, altering social interactions and reshaping and destructing the everyday practices of individuals and communities. For this, I began to observe vulnerable sites where there is a direct affect of the island's political stalemate and radical changes in the everyday routines of the residents.

Site inspections took place in three different areas; first in Kato Varosha (open part of Varosha district in Famagusta), located at the edge of enclosed Varosha, known as

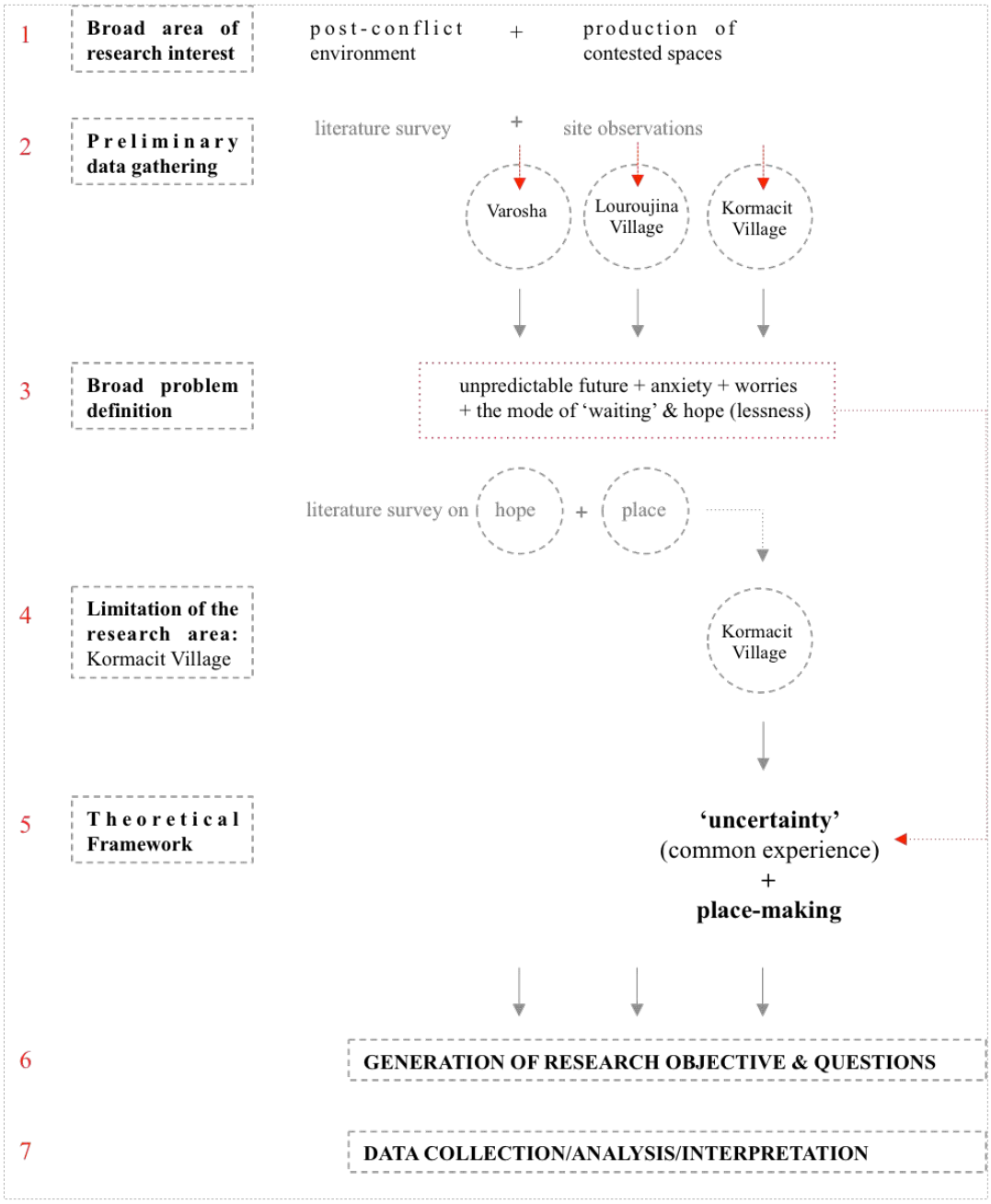
"Ghost Town", where many displaced people are located and had to prolong their lives facing the barbed wires of an abandoned site. Secondly, inspections occurred in Louroujina Village, which was used to be a major Turkish Cypriot village, yet with the division, degradation in the quality of the physical environment and social isolation emerged as the borders and military areas surrounded it. Finally, inspections took place in Kormakiti Village, the only remaining ancestral land of the Cypriot Maronite community, where the division in 1974 caused huge breakdowns resulting in crises, displacements, and ethnic assimilations.

In the process of preliminary data gathering, site observations and interviews took place to identify the problems and the everyday routines of the individuals in three areas: Varosha town, Louroujina village, and Kormakiti village. The data collected in three areas has shown similarities in terms of people's emotional states, where they had to face an "unforeseeable future," generating worries and anxieties as part of their everyday routines. Thence, "uncertainty" is observed as the common experience of the residents of all three areas, affecting their quotidian actions, thoughts, and emotions.

With necessary analysis in the developing stages of the research, Kormakiti village is determined as the research area, as the ancient community of Maronites harshly experiences the consequences of conflict, endangered by assimilation and heading toward community extinction. As time passes, it creates more burdens on the community, aggravating individual and collective suffering. Compared to the other two cases, the Maronite community is in a highly vulnerable condition. As an ethnically minority community, they need to raise their voice because discussions on the Cyprus conflict are always shaped around the dominant societies and marked by

their competing Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot nationalism. The minorities are effectively silenced with failures to recognize their rights and existence on the island, resulting in the marginalization of minorities on both sides of the country. Unfortunately, they face societal pressure to suppress their religious, linguistic, and cultural identities. Therefore, this research is designed to reflect lifeworlds of this minority group of Maronites and aims to represent the voices of study respondents. The following table 2 illustrates the steps taken during the preliminary research design process.

Table 2: Preliminary research design process



1.8 Thesis Outline

The first chapter of the thesis serves to introduce the problematic experience of uncertainty and its emergence as societal suffering for the minority community of Cypriot Maronites residing in the Kormakiti village of Cyprus. The chapter gives information on the research problem, objectives, research questions, and methodology, aiming to explain the affect of the lived experiences of uncertainty on the locals' place-making practices. The central thought behind this chapter is to present a general background on the current problematic condition of Cypriot Maronites and its correlation with the research objective, which is designed to reflect on the lifeworlds of this unique minority community.

In the second chapter, I provide a literature review based on the theoretical framework and the important approaches I draw upon. I focus on the theory of place-making from a phenomenological perspective, forming the background, and introducing the concepts of the lifeworld and the place. A theoretical framework is proposed to open the discussion on the place-making as human centred tool, addressing the issues of the co-constitution of person and place, and co-construction of meanings of personal experiences. The theoretical model on place-making aims to contribute to current discussions of making place, having no concern on the place as an end product, and focuses on the progressive formation of place, regarding the real-life community problems, and people's everyday experiences and engagement in the notion of making place.

The third chapter clarifies the link between theory and fieldwork. It explains the design processes of the research, gives information on the historical background of

the Cypriot Maronite community, and presents the developed conceptual framework on the uncertainty. It is a joint unit of the theoretical and conceptual body of the research, presenting the discussion on methods and the researcher's approach to the exploration of the research problem. In this chapter, I explain the concept of uncertainty from theory to reality and its contested presence within the place, as well as its positive potential and fruitful sides.

The fourth and fifth chapters are dedicated to presenting the fieldwork process and findings of the research. In both chapters, dialectics between uncertainty, people, and place are explored to describe the lifeworlds in Kormakiti and the residents' engagement with the place. According to the above, the fourth chapter deliberately explains the lifeworlds and lived experiences of uncertainty in Kormakiti village. The political instability of Cyprus has caused uncertainty to be the constitutive dimension of the everyday life of the Cypriot Maronite population, and the uncertainty is foregrounding "crises as context" in Kormakiti village. With a phenomenological inquiry, the first-hand lived experiences of Kormakiti residents and their embracement of uncertainty in their everyday lives are presented to reflect on the internal dynamic and the uneasy situation in the structuring of the world. Local particularities in the village and the outcome of the uncertainty are analysed accordingly.

Additionally, the fifth chapter examines the place-making practices in Kormakiti village and explains the unique social conjunction in the place-making processes of the Kormakiti residents. Place-based efforts, ranging from public to private realms, are demonstrated to understand the means of locals' making of place in the village. At this point, I discuss the social, physical, moral, and emotional shaping of current

places, which range from public to private and from macro to micro level. Besides, in order to benefit from the productive side of the on-going uncertainty, locals' imagined and described hopeful places are explored to open up alternatives with an emphasis on the residents' desired engagement with the future.

Finally, the above chapters are drawn together in the sixth chapter, which presents the research conclusions, gathering all the aspects and elements together into the same terrain (Table 3).

Table 3: Thesis Structure

Introduction	Theoretical Framework	Research Design: Conceptual Framework	Fieldwork and findings of the research		Discussion
Chapter 1	**Chapter 2**	**Chapter 3**	**Chapter 4**	**Chapter 5**	**Chapter 6**
Introduces the research problem and objectives	Discusses the notion of making place from phenomenological perspective	Clarifies the link between theory and fieldwork	Describes the lived experiences of uncertainty	Examines the place-making practices	Presents research conclusions by gathering all elements together

Chapter 2

PHENOMENOLOGY, PLACE, AND PLACE-MAKING: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND APPROACHES

2.1 Phenomenology of Place

The literature on phenomenology has a growing body of research related to specific disciplines such as environmental design (Berleant, 1992; Condon, 1991; Corner, 1990; Dovey, 1993; Mugerauer, 1994; Vesely, 1988); architecture and design (Casey, 1997; Norberg-Schulz, 1971, 1980, 1988); anthropology (Jackson, 1996); art (Berleant, 1991; Davis, 1989; Jones, 1989); education (van Manen, 1990; Fetterman, 1988); geography (Cloke, 1991; Relph, 1989, 1990; Seamon, 1997); philosophy (Casey, 1993) and psychology (Valle, 1998; Pollio, et.al, 1997). Much of this work has qualitative inquiry (Cloke, 1991; Fetterman, 1988; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Low, 1987) and associates phenomenology with qualitative orientations, based on a real-life situation to be used as a foundation for describing meanings, structures, and patterns (Seamon, 2000). The emergence of the humanistic critique in the late 1960s caused an increase in phenomenological research in architecture with the publication of Relph's (1976) Place and Placelessness, Tuan's (1977) Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience and Norberg-Schulz's (1980) Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture. While the concept of place had the dominance of quantitative researchers, interest in phenomenological research began to spread with a focus on the corporeal resonance of architecture that can be traced in the work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty's Phenomenology of Perception (2010) on the embodied

engagement of the human body with space. Phenomenology also finds its roots in Heidegger's (1954) ontological understanding of dwelling, which unlike engineering, has a poetic taking of measure to guide architectural planning and designing (Casey, 1997).

Phenomenology is a descriptive science, interpretive and critical outlook, that seeks to define essential qualities of human experience, meanings, situations, and events happening spontaneously in the course of quotidian living (Stewart & Mukunas, 1990). It is a method and philosophical outlook including varied conceptual approaches such as the hermeneutic phenomenology of Paul Ricoeur and the existential phenomenology of Martin Heidegger and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (Spiegelberg, 1982). In short, the goal of phenomenology is described as *"rigorous description of human life as it is lived and reflected upon in all of its first-person concreteness…"* (Pollio et al., 1997, p. 5) or, as said by Tilley, *"the understanding and description of things as they are experienced by a subject"* (Tilley, 1994, p. 12). Phenomenology offers a wide spectrum of inquiry and styles, making it difficult to articulate an accurate picture of it, and here its significance is claimed on people-environment relationships, by identifying the patterns and aspects that arise from first-hand lived experiences, such as the experience of uncertainty and its reflection on the qualities of the built environment.

This thesis adopts phenomenology to explore and describe the phenomena of "uncertainty" by referring to experiences of the Cypriot Maronite community and seeks to understand how they live through this situation. Therefore, "phenomena" is defined as the description of community experience and understands the spatial existence of human beings as part of the phenomenological investigation. Under the

influence of existential phenomenology, “spatiality” is focused on the notion of making place (Dovey, 1985) with respect to human activity, experience, and thought.

The key issue here is the understanding and explanation of the phenomena as experienced by the person. Heidegger (1962) emphasized the relationship between person and world as conjoined and always existing together in a holistic way in his book *‘Being and Time’*. In this sense, phenomenology replaces the realist and idealist gaps between person and world, accepting the two as inseparable, person and world as a whole. Heidegger refers to this as *‘being-in-the-world’*, where human beings are necessarily related to their lived contexts (Pollio 1997, p. 7). Merleau-Ponty, like Heidegger, attempts to describe this holistic relationship between person and world, which flows into each other, stating *"space is existential and existence is spatial in that it opens onto the outside a series of reference points."* (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 293).

Similarly, Relph (1976) emphasizes part and parcel of human spatial experience as an indivisible whole, taking space and place as an inescapable dimension of human life and experience. He describes existential space as the spatial constitution of a person’s everyday life grounded in social structures and culture, and explores an experientially based understanding of place and space that is not a void or a basic container of place. His approach is used to understand the inhabited place to derive meanings from the Maronite community's spatial context and observe what person and place mean to each other. Thus, place is accepted as the integral lived structure in a community's everyday experience.

In examining a person's relationship with their world, phenomenology majorly focuses on the central notions of life-world and place, which I also set the scene of my phenomenological approach by referring to research phenomena that say about physical and spatial aspects of human experience and meanings. Here, phenomenological inquiry is not about the researcher's interest, it is about the reality of inhabitants, and the basic phenomenological approach is to present things and events as they present themselves to the community or individuals, yet as Graumann (1994) says only within the limit in which they present themselves.

2.1.1 Lifeworld

The phenomenological attitude has a naturalistic mode of knowing and requires a return to the evidence, to the facts happening in the course of everyday experiences, and takes each person as the focus and creative center of his or her own world (Buttimer, 1976). Phenomenology, as described by Natanson (1973, p. 22) is *"the conceptual conscience of the quotidian"* and the quotidian world is a typification, and lifeworld is a pre-interpreted world (Schutz & Luckmann, 1973). In phenomenological research, it is essential to grasp the lifeworld of people, and their views and interpretations in order to reflect on what is experienced based on their perspectives. The lifeworld taken into consideration by phenomenologists and emerging from the work of Husserl (1970), Marleau-Ponty (2010), and Habermas (1990), is the ordinary or extraordinary experience that usually happens out of sight. It offers a basis to ground the natural and human sciences, and is described as a universal problem, and a world of everyday experience by Husserl (1970).

Lifeworld refers to implicit context and includes unusual, surprising, mundane, and routinely given facets of everyday life (Seamon, 2000). Lifeworld is usually not an object of conscious awareness, it is taken-for-grantedness, goes unnoticed, and refers

to experiences that just happen, where people take it unquestionably, and rarely considers the otherwise. Identification of the natural attitude, and the lifeworld is essential to unfold the inner situation and outer dimensions of the person. It is also important for phenomenologists to separate them from the lifeworld and make them an object of direct attention (Coates & Seamon, 1984).

The lifeworld is always the counter-part of human experiencing, valuing, and acting on life, and Husserl (1970) speaks, moreover, of the overlapping sets of objects surrounding the life of an individual such as shelter, clothing, religious objects, food, etc., pointing to the understanding of the lifeworld including the world of nature, and the world of culture, as well as including other individuals, ourselves, symbolic systems, social institutions, religions, languages, and so on. Therefore, the life-world cannot be simplified into a static context, which includes a range of issues, evolution, development, and somehow the factor of time, past, present, and future (Moran, 2011). Furthermore, lifeworld is a horizontal structure that comprises contexts, actualities, and possibilities of experience, and stretches from the past to an indefinite future. Thus, it offers a world of horizons, and a living context (Moran, 2011).

In this research, the lifeworld of the Maronite community is grounded in its efforts to maintain continuity of the community against the unknown and uncertain future. The routines, natural and casual activities are taken-for-granted to reveal the residents' inner worlds and understand their lifeworld, including the horizontal structure of time, from past to future.

Thence, the phenomenological mode of reflection on the uniqueness of a person’s experience attempts to explain the lifeworld in terms of meaning and significance,

and the existentialist phenomenological approach is adopted in the research, as it is more concerned with the problems of everyday life: fear, hope, despair, anxiety, and the ambiguity that environs human existence rather than issues of knowledge (Buttimer, 1976). It is important to penetrate lived world context to describe the lived experience of a human subject, routinized dimensions of behavior and its determinants that one does not critically examine. Once awareness is achieved on lifeworld in experience, it is possible to grasp the shared horizons of people and society as a whole (Buttimer, 1976). Thence, lifeworld brings consciousness to emphasize with the world of others (Buttimer, 1976), and particularly in this research it is the lifeworld of the Cypriot Maronite community.

2.1.2 Place

> Whatever we rightfully call "place" is a condensed form or focus of lifeworld (Graumann, 2002, p. 108).

The place and the human experience of it are significant dimensions of the lifeworld. Casey suggests that *"place serves as the condition of all existing things… To be is to be in place"* (Casey, 1994, p. 15-16), taking place as the very essence of existence and ontological structure founding human experience, or in Buttimer's description, *"the taken-for-granted-context or pattern of everyday living"* (1976, p. 277) just as the other key figures of the phenomenological approach (Tuan, 1977; Relph, 1976; Seamon, 1979; Marleau-Ponty, 1962).

While phenomenological research is concerned with the nature of human experience and accepts humans as the creative centre of the world (1976, p. 279), place is the inescapable requirement that crystallizes the aspects of human experience (Coates & Seamon, 1984). It integrates personal and cultural dimensions into one experiential

whole, and Relph (1976) explains the concept of place as the gathering and centring quality of immediate experiences, the fusion of human and natural order. Similarly, Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) and Anne Buttimer (1976), point to the preconsciously given features of perception and behaviour, emphasize human (unselfconscious) involvement in place and focus on place based on the way individuals experience the world as Buttimer defines "*the taken for granted dimensions of experience or routinized determinants of behaviour"* (1976, p. 281).

Likewise, Heidegger's (1971) formulation emphasizes how humans are embedded in the world and his notion of Dasein (being-in-the-world) implies the lack of separation between people and their physical environment, where place cannot be understood in abstraction, and following Heidegger (1954), Ingold (1993) describes place as the centre of human existence, where inhabitants dispute and interpret at will. Teo and Huang (1996, p. 310), or example, consider place to be an active setting inextricably linked to the lives and activities of its inhabitants. As such, places are not abstractions or concepts but directly experienced phenomena of the lived world, and Norberg-Schulz defines place as the *"focus here we experience the meaningful events of our experience"* (1971, p. 19). Agnew (1987) explains three fundamental elements of place as locale, location, and sense of place, where a place is geographically contextualised and is the setting for social interaction, and it becomes meaningful to those living in it. It is a particular and unique location, and as distinct from space, which is considered more of an abstraction, place is the concrete form of human activities, encompassing the physical setting, together with people's experience and interpretation (Brandenburg & Carroll, 1995; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977). Place has a strong experiential connotation, an origin where one knows others or is known by others, and is constructed in memories and affections through

complex associations or repeated encounters, summarizes Relph (1985, p. 27), following Heidegger (1971) and Dardel (1952).

Thence, on the basis of phenomenological understanding, place is embedded with people's subjective experiences, activities, and sources of meaning and cannot exist independent of the people who live in it. Place becomes an embodiment approached through emotional dimensions as it surrounds the center of human existence and is full of meanings, ongoing human activities, and real objects (Tuan, 1977; Tilley, 1994; Relph, 1976; Merleau-Ponty, 2005; Bachelard, 1994; Pallasma, 2005; Heidegger, 1954), and an important source of human beings, together with their psychological and deep emotional ties with the place (Relph, 1976).

2.2 Place-Making as a Human-Centred Tool

There are many ways to explore the phenomenology of place and the everyday experiences of people in their lifeworlds. This thesis focuses on the acts of place-making, the place-based efforts of inhabitants against uncertainty to understand what they mean for participants and to reveal their first-hand lived experiences. This research concerns place-making based on embodied engagements and the distinct sense of place and offers a critical reading of the subject, not only focusing on the physical manifestation of place, yet accepting the central role of the state of the individual's mind and experiences. Therefore, this research places people at the core, and seeks to gain an understanding of human thoughts and aspirations through the analysis of the constituent elements of the physical settings.

Place-making has emerged as a movement to create place-based awareness and action to address the life chances and well-being of individuals and communities

(Aravot, 2002). It is accepted as a fundamentally continuous process of acting, experiencing, shaping, and contributing to place, as well as a study of exploring how people conceive, perceive, and interpret place (Mateo-Babiano & Lee, 2020), or as Harvey (2003) claims, place-making is all about receiving, making, and remaking of place as a purpose-driven process. It is a multifaceted phenomenon that provides insights into the development of place meanings by recognizing flexible social, economic, and political interactions between people and institutions (Pierce, et.al, 2010). It seeks to gain an understanding of the encounter between people and place by highlighting the affective experience of a specific location and the way it is iteratively shaped by political and social processes (Martin, 2003; Harvey, 2003; Merrifield, 1993). Place-making is an active process and work, which allows various standpoints and meanings to facilitate or hinder daily life. It tells us about the modes of inhabitation and reading of specific locations, which are sometimes almost invisible and sometimes dramatic. Place-making is a professional domain as well as a daily activity as human beings transform the places into which they live, including building, tearing down, planting gardens, re-arranging a house, making neighbourhoods, cleaning the kitchen, and so on (Figure 2). Place-making is also implemented beyond a professional domain, and focuses on daily acts of maintaining and representing the places that sustain the community and individuals.

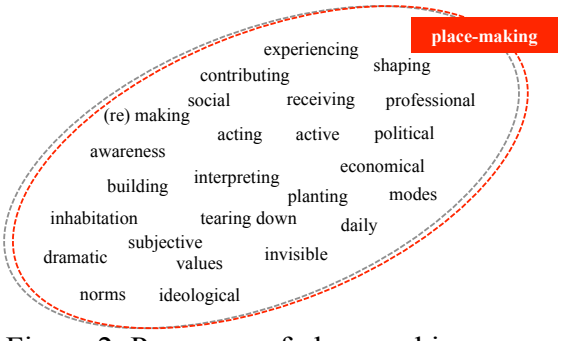


Figure 2: Processes of place-making

In the 1970s and 1980s urban design discourse discussed the practice of place-making to cope with the late capitalist urban design problems (Aravot, 2002), and place-making was grasped by different analytic versions and majorly explored from a social constructionist perspective, taking place as a construct of varied forms of asymmetrical powers (Foucault, 1986; Lefebvre, 1991; De Carteau, 1984). Place is accepted as the institutional site where power is embedded and comes from everywhere, and discussions begin to highlight spatial mechanisms as one type of power operation in modern society, and ideas turn into provocative sources for thinking about the politics of place-making (Figure 3). For instance, Foucault described spatial machinery as the power apparatus containing moral codes and giving orders on how individuals should enter, use the space, and act in the right manner, where people are forced to adjust their behaviour accordingly to fit into the right norm of social organizations in society (Foucault, 1977).

Similarly, Lefebvre (1991) discussed the pervasive effects of capitalism, and processes of colonisation of absolute space by modern institutions, and saw place as politically instrumental to facilitate domination of society and discussed ideological and institutional structures that give place its system of meaning. He once said "every society produces its own space" (1991) and "space is political" (2009) as it is associated with particular social activities, and determined by politics itself. Thence, place-making is observed as subjective, political, and ideological (Warf & Arias, 2009), while place is acknowledged as being progressively made through power relations, and the processes of making place as struggles between diverse social values, and social actors. This major focus on the ideological structures and degrees of power on place caused place-making to lose its central position. Modernism and the creation of mostly mono-functional new locations caused to move towards the

theories of human geography, relying on the senses, and the internal guidance to help them create places that are as safe and functional to meet the needs of society (Jordaan, et.al, 2008). In contrast to the visual tradition, instead of examining the physical form, it became necessary to understand perception and mental images such as names like Lynch (1960) focused on how people gather information through their senses and discussed how meaning is attached to physical and social environments and is represented in the form of cognitive maps, known as environmental cognition (Carmona et al., 2003; Rapoport, 1977).

Figure 3: Historical evolution of place-making practice

Moreover, turning place-making into professional practice, with assigned professional place-makers as architects, urban designers, and planners, caused people to focus on place as a visual end product and to think of problems in physical terms, diminishing the ability to create meaningful places (Arefi & Triantafillou, 2005; Rozentāle, et.al, 2015). Still, conscious attempts by designers to create a sense of place and an understanding of the intangible characters of place to allow residents to associate with it are mostly lost in the modern making of place, as this problem seems to stem from reducing the understanding of place to the exploration of physical aspects, form, and morphology (Dovey, 2010). Simply relying on the opinion of experts shows the incapability to understand the real meaning of a place, and illustrates the need for long-term study of the experience of the residents, to

understand the story of the place and the meanings residents attach to their environment since it is difficult to detect by an outsider. Another issue is that, current literature on place-making is predominantly created by scholars from the fields of urban design, planning and geography (Appendix C; Appendix D), and the majority of these studies are generated to contribute to the practice of urban development and design, and are highly restrictive to building and urban scales.

Here, this research aims to contribute to the current discussions by not limiting the research within the fixed architectural enclosure or concerning place as an end product. Instead, it focuses on the progressive formation of place based on people's lifeworlds and everyday acts of place-making. This makes place-making practice develop into a critical approach, focusing not only on physical places but also on people's existence and role within them (non-physical aspects). Thence, place-making is applied as a human-centered tool to understand real-life problems of community from a phenomenological perspective and engage in the notion of making place, concerning people's experiences, actions, and thoughts.

Correspondingly, this research proposes a theoretical framework for place-making (Figure 4) that is used as a guideline to investigate the constitutive relationship between people and place and to infuse everyday experiences of individuals and the community as a whole. Drawing from environmental psychology, firstly, place-making is theorized to understand connection between people and place through the concept of identity and belonging, and secondly, it is theorized as a platform for inclusive dialogue.

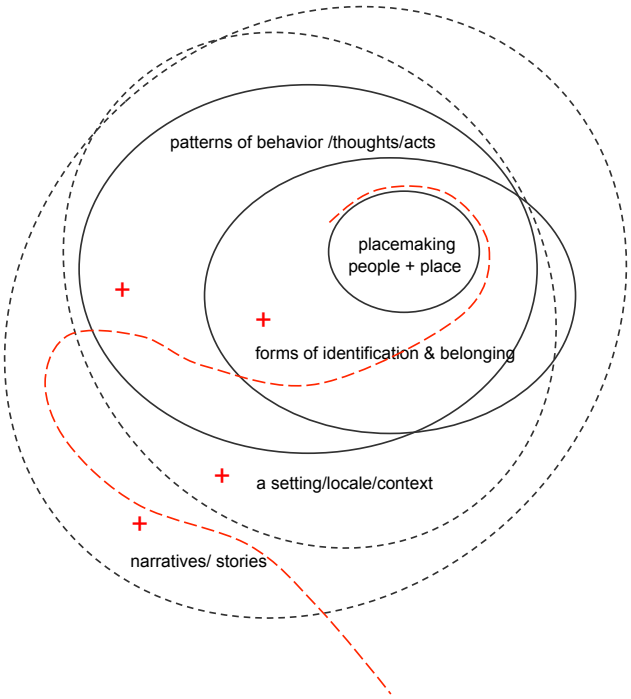


Figure 4: Proposed model of place-making for inclusive dialogue between people and people

2.2.1 Co-Constitution of Person and Place: Behavior Setting, Identity, Belonging

Exploration of place is important to understanding human behavior, thought, and social relations, but the role of place in psychological processes is often neglected, due to what Shinn and Toohey (2003) refer to as *"context minimization error."* In the search for underlying universal truths, there is a reductionist tendency that rises from the Cartesian understanding of the separation between the material and mental realms, reducing the importance of embodied and contextual dimensions of human experience (Reed, 1996). Early psychological works emphasized critical understanding of human behavior based on the environment and discussed the relationship between person and environment, informing how people think and act in specific locations.

The concept of behavior is described as place-specific, and Roger Baker referred to this as a behavior setting that *"consists of one or more standing patterns of behavior"*

(1968, p. 18) with individual characteristics. The observation of these individual characteristics provided strong support for place-making as a process for understanding individual, group, and cultural identities. Environmental psychology demonstrates the inability to understand human experiences apart from the context in which they occur, and the environments in which humans engage are a rich source of experiential learning, influencing behavioral patterns as well as a sense of identity and belonging (Reed, 1996). There is a co-constitutive and dynamic relationship between humans and the environment, and analysis of the human experience together with the place is a must to understand and embody unique local and wider characteristics.

To explore this co-constitutive relationship, the concept of place identity is one part of it, theorized by environmental psychologists (Low, et.al, 2005) as a sub-structure of the human. Personal identity and social identity are inextricably bound and highly related to place, as one seeks to find a place for the self, and place is one of the bases for claiming such identities. One's identification with a particular place may help to define who one is and represent an aspect of an identity, not the entirety of one's identity, yet a particular dimension of it, shared with others. People will inevitably try to place their identities in a setting, and feelings or ideas about identities will be located where bodies meet these emotionally rich relations (Tilley, 1994; Lovell, 1998). Weil wrote, *"to be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognized need of the human soul,"* (1987, p. 41) questioning the roots of the forms of territorialization and identity that involve intimate connections between people and their places. And, people identify themselves in reference to places; deterritorialized homelands, origins, and cultures (Malkki, 1992). Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) refer to place and identity in two ways; the first is a person's expressed identification

with place, where place expresses the membership of a group of people by location, and the second, place identity is observed as a construct of identity describing the physical environment.

Tilley (2006) argues that the experience of place as a structure of feeling allows for an expression of identities to the outside world by identifying specific places through the representations of life styles, as well as through the medium of traditional material culture. However, this identification requires repeated acts that set relations between places and people (Cresswell, 2004; Massey, 2005). Expression of identity and the process of identification with place create a sense of belonging through representations of materiality in which individuals present themselves either to others or to themselves (Tilley, 2006).

Myers (2002) explains that these forms of identification also contain a sense of ownership of a country, where groups of individuals can affiliate and have joint relationships in distinct places. Furthermore, each location represents or expresses the group's shared identity. Cohen (1985) explains that community is constructed symbolically, being a repository of meaning and referent to identities, and place creation is part of this process, which reinforces identities both individually and collectively. Relph (1976) supports this by noting that the relationship between place and community is powerful, and each reinforces the identity of the other. Therefore, the physical environment is much of an expression of communal beliefs, values, and interpersonal involvement. Therefore, holding a country or a place is the major dimension to enacting one’s identity, which also fosters the sense of place. The process of making place is also linked to the process of making self, in which material discourses of identity mediate, reflect, invert, or serve to create contexts for

experience. Place can become an active agent of identity, having an ideological impact on relationships and people, and can be regarded as subjects or objects of identity (Tilley, 2006). According to Cresswell (2004), place is the center of meaning, connected to a rooted and authentic sense of identity, and place is the raw material for the production of identity, which allows for creative social practice. Similarly, Tilley (1993) argues that place is constructed by the invention of traditions to validate the establishment of communities by providing stability and historical continuity, as well as shaped by corporate planners to give place a sense of identity.

According to Breakwell's (1986; 1992; 1993) identity process model, there are four principles of identity: distinctiveness (people's desire to maintain uniqueness), continuity (people's desire to preserve continuity of self-concept), self-esteem (people's desire to maintain a positive conception of oneself), and self-efficacy (people's perception of their ability to achieve their goals). And, the physical environment is a strategy to maintain the self or a result of the self in which Korpela (1989, p. 241) says *"place-identity is a part, a sub-identity in its own right"*. Lalli (1992) defines distinctiveness as people's association with a specific place, which allows them to differentiate themselves from others. Place-referent continuity is discussed (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Graumann, 1983; Korpela, 1989; Lalli, 1992) that the place itself or the materials in the place may remind one of their past, act as referents to their past self, as a concrete background to create coherence and continuity of self-experience. Korpela (1989) also suggests that self-esteem can be supported by people's favorite places or that a person can feel a sense of pride in their bond to a particular place (Lalli, 1992). And, the feelings of self-efficacy can be maintained if a place does not hinder and facilitate people's everyday lives and becomes a manageable setting that supports their goals (Winkel, 1981).

> Physical environment, its objects and places, can be used to regulate the pleasure/pain balance, one's self-esteem and characteristic sense of self. Consequently, place-identity can be defined as consisting of cognitions of those physical settings and parts of the physical environment, in or with which an individual--consciously or unconsciously--regulates his experience of maintaining his sense of self (Korpela, 1989, p. 245).

Therefore, in order to understand the processes of a making place, and its key characteristics, it is critical to map the identity of place that is co-produced by individuals' social, cultural, and material relations. According to Gupta (1992, p. 63), place-making is the process of *"how feelings of belonging to an imagined community bind identity to spatial location such that differences between communities and places are created"* and place-making is a key to comprehending the reactions of a community, illustrating the local particularities of places (Elwood, 2006). Thereby, research concerns the issues of identity, and belonging in the processes of making place, to explore purposes and behaviors afforded by particular places, and to gain knowledge about the people's modification of the environment, reflecting needs and wants, as well as the emotional bond with the place, developed through shared historical, cultural, and political meanings and activities.

2.2.2 Co-Construction of Meaning: Stories About Personal Experience, Place, Identity and Belonging

> Just as narrative structures our sense of self and our interactions with others, our sense of place and community is rooted in narration. A person is at home in a place when the place evokes stories, and conversely, stories can serve to create places" (Johnstone, 1990, p. 5).

Goffman (1959) says life stories, or bits of life stories, are presentations of self and they illustrate who people would like to be and the roles they would like to play. Attending to the people's narratives and stories that are told about and by the places in which they live is important to understand how they are constructed, how they can

be changed, and what implications they have for individual and community identities and notions of belonging. Narratives are a mode of expression that helps to situate events in a particular place and impart certain meanings, and they can also be seen as social, cultural, and material artifacts, transmitting stories (Bal, 1997). Stories that are both personal and common have a critical role in how individuals and communities assign value to a distinct place and add a kind of personality and individuality to the place. They represent and pattern the implications of place across society (Johnstone, 1990).

They can be used as a frame for the appreciation of the dynamic and multifaceted nature of places. As phenomenology places great emphasis on the lifeworlds, it is key to take up people's life stories as a root metaphor for understanding human behaviour (Sarbin, 1986) since humans use language as a tool to transform and selectively engage with their environment (Vygotsky, 1978). Moreover, Stokowski (2002) believes that language plays a critical role in the formation of the sense of place, and senses of place are rooted in an individual's narration. Besides, the narrative value of the place and the use of stories are important to sketch a positive or negative picture of the place, and are important to reveal the relationship people have with the place (Timmermans, et.al, 2012).

Rappaport (2000) also describes "setting narratives" to shed light on how identity is constructed on a collective level and tells stories about who we are, where we come from, and where we are going, which are all embedded within the places, structures, and symbols. According to Hammack (2008), people make sense of their personal experiences through dialogue with narratives that they may want to resist or reproduce, and setting narratives are powerful symbolic resources with the ability to

frame certain groups, decide who belongs or does not belong in a place, communicate through stories, and symbolic aspects of the environment (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000).

Narratives also act as the voice of communities, especially helping to include marginalized communities in any processes of place-making and providing a space for the members of the community. They tell stories about complex local particularities and have the ability to connect people, and develop personal and social identities, as well as reinforce socio-cultural meanings. The values of place, become sustained in the language, and collectively experienced, imagined and remembered by the communities (Stokowski, 2002). Thomas and Rappaport (1996, p. 318), tell that *"the stories a society tells about itself are the glue that hold its citizens together"*, thereby place-making links personal narratives to collective narratives, and help to create stronger civic fabric (Putnam, 2000).

Here, place-making is theorized as an inclusive platform of dialogue and support the discussion on the construction of place by listening to and analyzing people's stories and experiences. Narratives that tell people's stories help to conceptualize how individuals construct places as well as a sense of belonging in a certain place. Participants' stories revealed their self-reflection taking place within the community concerning the present situation as well as their future visions. Thence, place-making facilitates dialogic encounters and serves as a means of critical awareness, revealing spatial relations and particular issues of the local context. In this way, it helps with group-based empowerment and the conceptualization of relationships with the place and with others.

Chapter 3

DESIGNING THE RESEARCH: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK ON UNCERTAINTY AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Historical Background

Since the medieval period, Cypriot Maronites have been a distinct minority community on the island of Cyprus. They have a long history and a painful journey. Even though there are no exact records for their origin of settlement on the island, some studies (Varnava, et.al, 2009) stated that it goes back to the seventh century, while the majority of the studies defined four principal migrations of Maronites starting in the eighth century up until the thirteenth century. The four principal migrations of Maronites have taken place from Syria, the Holy Land, and Lebanon (Hourani, 1998). The first migration from Lebanon to Cyprus took place in the eighth century as a result of religious conflicts, such as Islamic conquest and inter-Christian disputes between Byzantines and Jacobites, which resulted in violence against Maronites (Dib, 1971). Wave of migration occurred with the destruction of Saint Maron's Monastry in Apamea, Syria (an ancient Greek and Roman city) by the Arabs, which caused more Maronites to become refugees on the island (Hovorun, 2008). The third migration took place when Cyprus was purchased by the Frankish King of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan. This led around 60.000 Maronites to settle in the life of the mountains in Pentadaktylos and the Carpass peninsula toward the end

of the twelfth century. They were the largest community after the Greeks on the island (Hourani, 1998).

> The Maronites did not mix with the inhabitants of the island. They preferred the high places north of Nicosia, and there, in that setting which recalled for them their mountains of Lebanon, they lived, preserving their culture and guarding their simple and familial customs''(Hourani, 1998, p. 5).

The fourth is followed by the Fall of Jerusalem and the Fall of Tripoli (Dib, 1971). At the beginning of the fourteenth century, about 80.000 Maronites settled in 72 villages, and their language, Cypriot Maronite Arabic, became one of the official languages of the Frankish Kingdom of Cyprus. They established the Maronite Archbishopric of Cyprus, and the Pope became the Head of their Church. However, their enjoyment of the privileges came to an end with the harsh Venetian administration. By the end of the Venetian period, their population declined and the number of Maronite villages dropped to 33. More obstacles appeared with the Latin supremacy as they faced Latinization, were confronted with Greek clergy and received the final blow from the Ottomans. They suffered greatly under the harsh administration of the Ottomans, and it is believed that around 30.000 Maronites were massacred in Famagusta and Pentadaktylos by the Ottomans (Loizides, et.al, 2017). Many of them were forced to either embrace Islam or become Greek Orthodox. This caused lots of Maronites to abandon Cyprus, migrate to Lebanon, or adopt what they had been forced to as a survival mechanism (Hourani, 1998). Maronites who had embraced Islam were mainly settled in Louroujina in the district of Nicosia (Hourani, 2009). As stated by Hourani *"Their settlements numbered 60 in 1224; 23 in 1570; 19 in 1596; 10 in 1776, and 4 in 1878...Their life in the island was filled with sorrow and pain."* (1998, p. 15).

In contrast to the previous eras, the British brought better conditions and religious tolerance for the Maronite community, which strengthened their status on the island. In 1878, a small number of Maronites moved to the cities, mainly to Nicosia and Larnaca, as well as to Kyrenia, Limassol, and Famagusta. The ones who remained in the village were mainly peasants, farmers, and agriculturalists, and the ones who moved to the cities became civil servants, entrepreneurs, and employees.

Although the period between 1955 and 1959 was marked by conflict and the struggle for independence for Greek and Turkish Cypriots, British policy was quite supportive of the minority groups on the island. With the support of the British, the Maronite population started to increase; economic and social conditions improved; they obtained political rights and began to build their churches and schools (Tsoutsouki, 2009). In 1960, the Maronite population was said to be approximately 2572 people, where the majority resided in the villages of Kormakiti, Asomatos, Karpasha, and Agia Marina (Tsoutsouki, 2009, p. 205).

With the independence of Cyprus in 1960, they were recognized as a "religious group" that belonged to the Greek Cypriot community. This also affected their political position in the inter-communal disputes between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Yet, they suffered the most harm in 1974 from the island's *de facto* partition. Since then, there have been several waves of ethnic cleansing, but with the division, Cyprus's problems have been majorly concentrated on Greek and Turkish Cypriots, ignoring the minorities on the island (Loizides, et.al, 2017). As the division took place in 1974, Maronites experienced a dramatic shift in their lives, and waves of migration occurred as many of them had to leave their villages that came under the Turkish Cypriot administration (Karyolemou, 2018).

After all, Maronites turned into refugees, and many of them re-located to the southern part of the island, mainly in the capital city of Nicosia. While they were peasants living in the rural areas prior to 1974, with the division, they settled in the urban and suburban areas, changing their daily living patterns and relations with the land. In time, their children fully integrated into the Greek Cypriot community, enrolled in the schools of Greek Cypriots, and joined the Greek-speaking sphere. In 2002, they opened a Maronite school in Nicosia, but it did not go as planned as they lacked a specific curriculum and couldn't achieve sufficient enrolment of the young (Karyolemou, 2018). The Greek Cypriot government also failed to provide necessary facilities targeting young Maronites (Constantinou, 2008).

Rather than following the agricultural professions as their parents, the younger generation became teachers, lawyers, doctors, civil servants, etc. Mixed marriages between Maronites and Greeks also caused the dispersal of their community and the loss of Maronite culture (Karyolemou, 2018). The younger generation's assimilation to Greek culture and incapability to live in their homelands created threats to the Maronite identity. The new conditions of life and integration into Greek society highly altered their communicative patterns and put their language in danger. This risk of losing their mother tongue gradually increased, and in 2008, UNESCO classified Cypriot Maronite Arabic as an endangered language. Efforts put forward by the Sanna Project - Sanna is the word used by Cypriot Maronites to refer to their language, meaning 'our language' (Tsoutsouki, 2009, p. 205) to protect the Maronite culture and revitalize the language for the younger generation (Bielenberg & Constantinou, 2010).

Without a doubt, the division in 1974 caused a huge breakdown for the Maronite community. Sadly, the Maronite people, who could not identify any period of their lives as peaceful as they dreamed of, entered into an even tougher period with the division of the island. They have lost homes and ancestral lands and had to flee away, making it impossible for them to stay together as a united community in their places. As the majority of their population moved to the south, only 10 per cent of their population continued to live in two remaining villages, Kormakiti and Karpasha in the north. According to the population census of 2007, the total population of the Kormakiti village consisted of 195 people (91 men and 104 women) (State Planning Organization, 2007). And, the housing unit census of 2007 showed that there were 111 houses in total. However, these numbers have increased in recent years as more Maronites have returned to live in the north after the opening of the barricades in April 2003. Prior to border openings, they managed to obtain permission to cross to their villages (Constantinou, 2008). Karpasha village has a total population of 89 (44 men and 45 women), but there are only 11 Maronite residents left in the village (State Planning Organization, 2007). The other two, Asomatos and Agia Marina, were turned into military areas by the Turkish army, and they are closed to inhabitation (Figure 5). In 2006, those who were willing to live permanently in the north had the option to become TRNC citizens, yet this created disputes with the authorities in the south.

> This has fuelled anew the debate concerning the community allegiances of the Maronites; how 'Greek Cypriot' are they, and to what extent are they using the Maronite identity tactically in order to maximize their options and get the best deal from both sides; being Greek Cypriot in the south and TRNC citizens in the north?'' (Constantinou, 2007, p. 262).

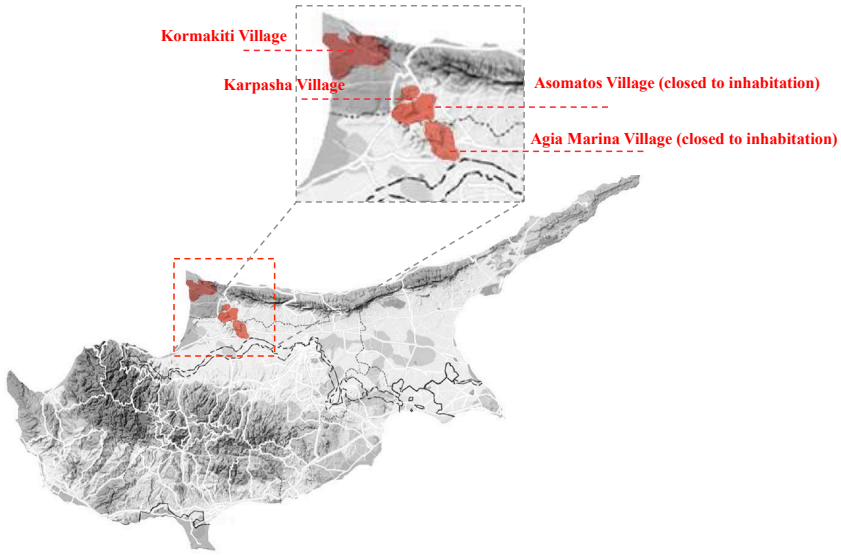


Figure 5: The location of Maronite villages on Cyprus map

Since then, they are trapped in the debate between Greek and Turkish Cypriots and are still waiting for a solution to protect their identity, culture, and language. The ones who remained in the south hope to return to their villages that are cut off by the barbed wires, while the current residents of Kormakiti face uncertainty for years and fear that, in time, their community will simply disappear since the younger generation has been almost fully assimilated. During my field research, many residents have expressed that they cannot plan their future, and they do not know how to deal with it, turning future into a stressful task. Instability and difficulties conceptualizing a certain future led to worries, sadness, and insecurities for the community. The experience of uncertainty and the feeling of being stuck due to people's inability to control over conditions compel a community into a temporary state and cause collective suffering, which I will discuss further in the next chapter.

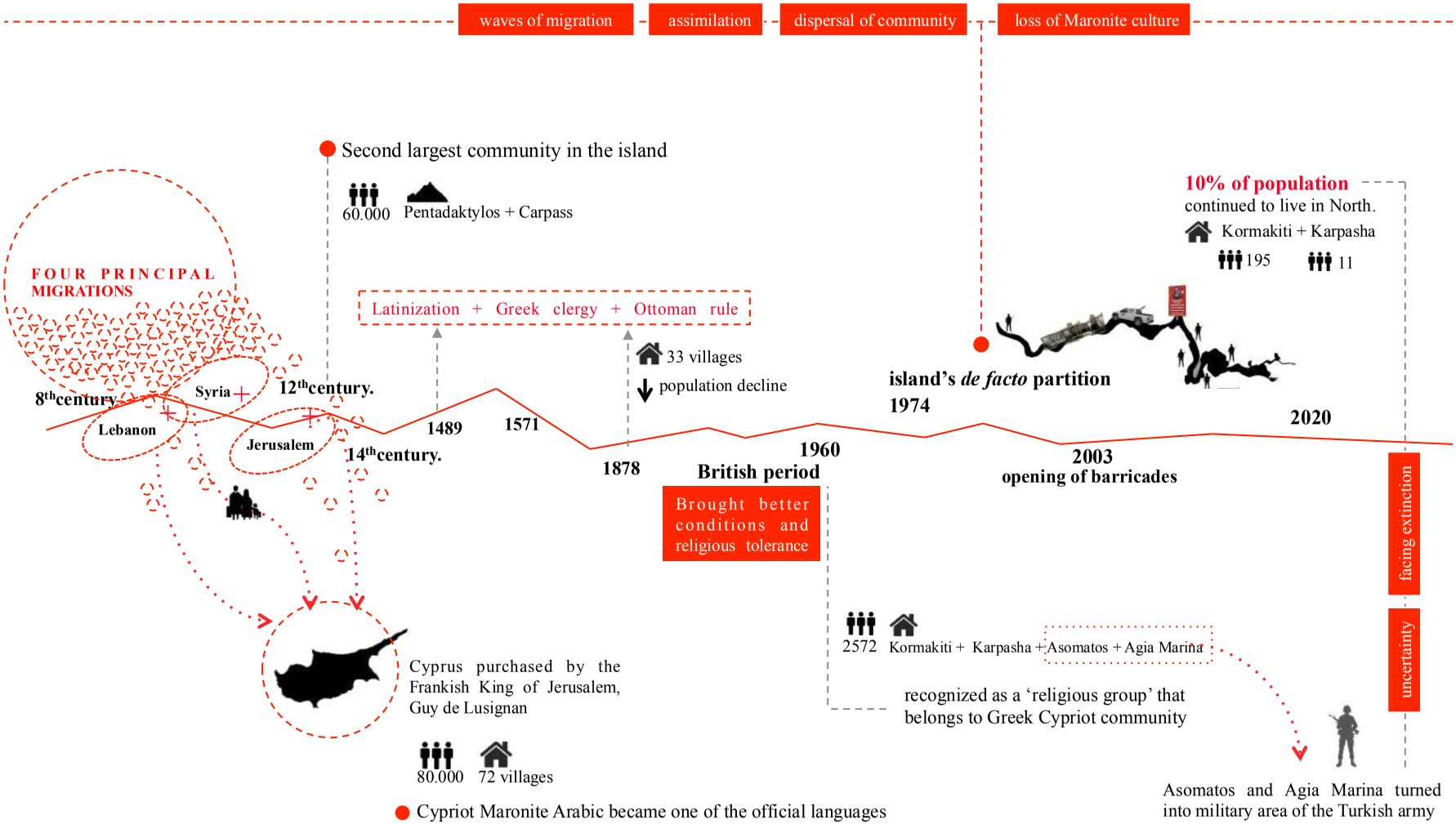


Figure 6: Historical timeline of the Cypriot Maronites

3.2 Uncertainty, Place, and Hopeful Stories

3.2.1 Uncertainty: From Theory to Reality, or Vice Versa

Uncertainty resides in the everyday life and it is hardly an external factor, or autonomous condition in human life (El-Shaarawi, 2015). It is a complex term and variedly interpreted and classified in many forms. It may refer to an object or cognitive state of individuals (Serpell, 2014), and it is accepted as a fundamental condition that can mark lives everywhere. It can be short term or long term, shifting people's experiences, forms of sociality and relations with time and place (Cooper & Pratten, 2015), and occasionally it is perceived as crises giving rise to contradictory experiences that is lived by the society at all levels. Instabilities, ruptures and fluctuations can be foregrounding 'crises as context', where uncertainty critically shapes people's existence, and ways of knowing (Mbembe & Roitman, 1995) – referred as an imperfect knowledge (Williams & Baláž, 2012, p. 168) or inability to predict future (Adam & Groves, 2007). In this research, uncertainty is focused as everyday experience of individuals and Maronite community in general, where people suffer from the inability to predict future of their community due to on-going political contingencies of the island and its undesired consequences for the Maronite community. Similarly, in this section, the meaning of uncertainty is observed on the basis of current theoretical studies, to understand its potential effects on the everyday lives of individuals and to illustrate how research conceptually takes uncertainty as productive practice, ground for action to open-up possible alternative scenarios.

The processes of uncertainty are often spatial and temporal in nature, and many studies illustrate how people are caught up by uncertainty, facing conflicting experience of living. For instance, Zinn (2006, p. 277) accepts uncertainty as *"basic*

experience of modernity" and interprets uncertainty with the concept of risk, believing that they are systematically connected with each other. Rauws (2017) explores unexpected political, natural or economical events, coincidental changes which may be the cause for reproduction of uncertainties affecting the societies as a whole, or as Cooper & Pratten (2015) describe, uncertainty is a product of social contingencies, being inseparable from social relations, and Bauman (2000) explains uncertainty is rooted in the fluidity or the fragility of people's social bonds, and it may be constitutive, built-in element of social settings. Thus, uncertainty involves wide spectrum of classifications and interpretations, and can occur in many domains and at multiple levels, making it difficult to have conceptual clarity.

Robert Skidelsky (2009) interprets uncertainty by differentiating epistemological uncertainty from ontological uncertainty, where for him in the first, it could be resolved over time with more information and knowledge, and recognized as calculable risk. On the contrary, ontological uncertainty, which can be highly seen in the case of Maronites, is irreducible and predictability and unpredictability are deeply interwoven. Besides, studies illustrate that the situation of uncertainty may result in wide range of emotional reactions, varying from minor discomfort to feeling of anxiety, being an exclusive issue to be solved (Berthomé, et.al, 2012). It behaves as invisible force on human actions since people try to master it by seeking ways to predict or gain control over it. However, the management of uncertainty may fall into despair, or other emotional reactions, whilst the literature on uncertainty has large family of concepts, including negatives-risk, indeterminacy, confusion, ambiguity, as well as positives- fruitful potentials of chance, possibility and hope, and each term opens particular analytical opportunities.

Besides, the problematic condition and contradictory outcomes of uncertainty, it becomes important to take uncertainty as ground for action, and appreciate its existence as investigative cue. In the existing literature, in order to observe uncertainty as productive practice, there is a focus on the coping strategies concentrating on how people negotiate and embrace uncertainty within a certain contexts, as well as people's patterns of actions against it. Ingold and Harram (2007) emphasizes that people's actions, imagined movements and future orientations should be examined to turn uncertainty into positive productive process, as they discuss present and future as connected horizons of social practice. Forward reading of actions in which they are continually (re) shape in relation to immediate or imagined movements, enables to see what is happening with or within social structures. And, this approach can help to navigate contested socio-political environments, post-conflict societies, forced displacements, etc. (Vigh, 2010). Thereby, to understand the productive side of uncertainty, it becomes important to observe how people position themselves cognitively, morally and practically; as well as their ways of thinking, feeling, and acting (Appadurai, 2013).

Cooper & Pratten (2015, p. 3) state, "*we must simultaneously appreciate uncertainty for its existential and social significance, its production of action and imagination"*. In examining people's short term and long term experiences, and how uncertainty shape people's relationship with the present and future, studies captured coping strategies, and future orientations as range of anticipated projections; hope, aspiration, planning, etc. For instance, the anthropologies of hope studied by Crapanzo (2003), Miyazaki (2004), Zournazi (2002) and Zigon (2009), in which hope is used as a method for knowledge formation and future-oriented stance toward one's life. Johnson Hanks (2005) also suggests that understanding people's everyday

experiences of short-term or long-term temporal horizons holds the possibility to see existing contingencies or vital conjunctures, or Dewey (1929) discusses people quests for certainty, and understanding them become a productive resource of uncertainty itself. According to Whyte (2009, p. 213-14), uncertainty turns into *''basis of curiosity and exploration; it can call forth considered action to change both the situation and the self'' '* and it is a state of mind.

Thereby, uncertainty can transform into productive action, new horizon and new projection toward future. This allows uncertainty to be mediated through hope and possibilities (Figure 7). Here, it is important to observe how people manage and shape their course of action in dealing with this issue, which in this research, actions are concerned as place-based, and discussed through the place-making processes. This research concerns hoping and imagining as people's narratives/life stories to potentially help people to open up future possibilities against the struggle of uncertainty.

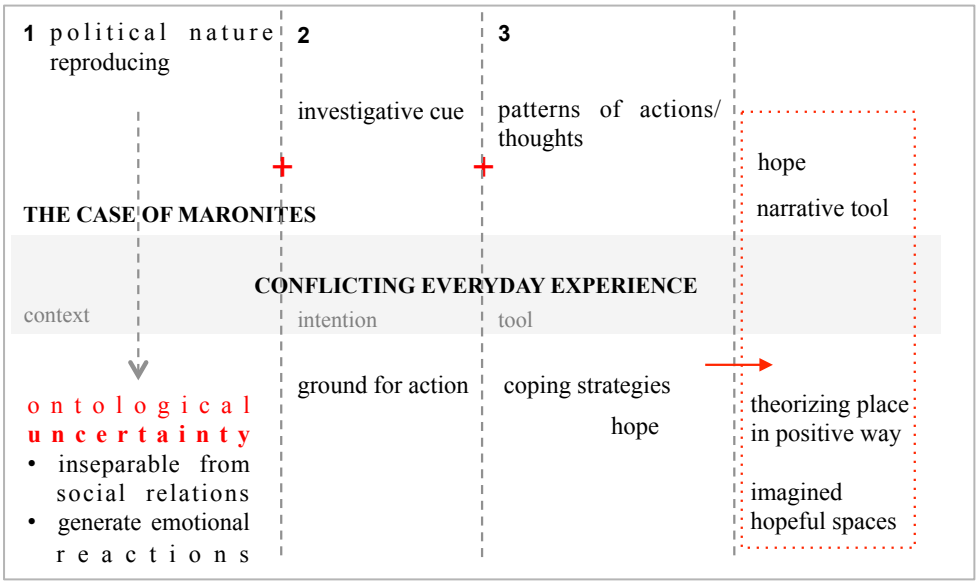


Figure 7: Conceptual approach on uncertainty

Thence, to truly define the conditions brought by uncertainty, the challenge is to examine coping strategies or in other words people's future-orientations embracing anticipated projections against uncertainty.

3.2.2 Hope in the Making of Place

> Spaces are created in and through an ecology of more or less fragile, more or less determinate, acts of hoping" (Anderson & Fenton , 2008, p. 77).

Hope is as a method for knowledge formation and future-oriented stance toward one's life (Miyazaki, 2004), and in this research, it is used as narrative tool to embrace uncertainty, by turning the situation into productive, positive condition, since narratives are one type of mode of expression, that help to situate events in a particular place, and impart certain meanings (Bal, 1997). To benefit from the productive side of uncertainty, research aims to understand the concept of hope and use Maronite people's hopeful stories toward the unknown future to shed light on their future orientations.

In the literature, concrete definition of hope is quiet complicated as it is a highly fragile notion, and encompasses various meanings, and explanations put forward by the scholars. According to Oxford English dictionary, hope means *"a feeling of expectation and desire for a particular thing to happen"* (Oxford University Press, 2020), and links hope to expectation and desire that are also complex notions covering the belief in something to happen and a feeling of wanting. It is observed as communication between desire and expectation, and meditating force of intensity and achievement (Staats & Stassen, 1985). In the late 1950s, scientific studies on hope, also accepted hope as positive expectation for goal attainment, movement toward future good (Martin, 2014), and through the mid 1970s, with the flow of

psychological research on coping with the poor health, hope seen worthy to compete with negative thoughts and feelings for its possible positive enhancement (Synder, 2000, p. 4). In the work of Erikson, hope is reflected as the outcome of healthy cognitive development, and believed that it is an *"enduring belief in the attainability of fervent wishes, in spite of the dark urges and rages which mark the beginning of existence"* (Erikson, 1964, p. 118), and similarly, Gottschalk (1974) reviewed hope in terms of positive expectancy, and believed that hope can act as a provocative force both at individual and at larger level, like global issues, spiritual and imaginary events. Hope is placed as a phenomenon in human experience, and described as "*an emotional stance and affective attitude characterized by desires and perception, but also by certain forms of attention, expression, feeling and activity"* (Walker, 2006, p. 48).

Famously, Marxist philosopher Ernst Bloch (1995), expressed hope as desire to fill the gaps to achieve a better life in a material world, and for him, hope is an anticipatory consciousness, not being something that comes about automatically, yet learned through the everyday experience. He described hope as ontology of not-yet being and not yet become, and highlighted the experimental potential of hope as a methodological problem, and as a process, discussing hope's ability to turn into language of becoming, and hopeful possibility of being in the world. His philosophy illustrates hope as dreaming forward, including the time aspect by being future-oriented. According to him, hope is an active construction of anticipatory consciousness, including engagement and transformation, rather than passive wishful thinking, and it is one way to project images into future through imagination, coming out of self and world, providing possibility to move beyond here and now, and seeking for the better. Similarly, Allison (2013) discusses hopeful imaginaries of the

future to remake the image of home, a proper homeland. The embodied dimensions of hope, relationships and interactions illustrated the dynamic capacity and the openness of hope to create possibilities, as well as shaping people's becomings and actions, while Hage supports by stating *"hope is about the sense of possibility that life can offer…"* (2003, p. 20).

From this manner, it can be said that existing literature has focused on hope's capacity related with the space or place in two main ways. Firstly, hope conceptualized as a tool to open up alternative spaces or places, and produce hopeful visions of political, social and ecological life (Lawson, 2007, p. 336), and it is used as engagement with future in settings characterized by uncertainty. It is deployed as staying with the trouble (Haraway, 2016), asking to imagine and build different kinds of worlds, especially in the contexts where there is an increasing unpredictability and crises, as well as lack of sense of direction (Kleist & Jansen, 2016). It is considered as cruel optimism (Berlant, 2011) turning attention to the everyday living to trace affective ways of coping with growing uncertainty and seeking new modes of habits or beings in the worlds. As a strategy of governing, studies illustrate hope as providing utopian (Cooper, 2014; Anderson, 2006; Bloch, 1995), optimistic (Harvey, 2000) and endless potentialities and possibilities (Griffths, 2014) where hope is seen as alternative hopeful future investment (Millei and Joronen, 2016) especially in vulnerable societies, i.e. occupied West Bank, Palestine (Joronen & Griffiths, 2019; Mavroudi, 2012), precarious lives in Iran (Khosravi, 2017), etc. Within this perspective, hope's relationship with the term utopia examined to derive conceptual frameworks, by stressing hope as a forward-looking stance, and a capacity to imagine a new world (Bloch, 1995; Webb, 2007). Similarities and differences between hope and utopia discussed, and hope appeared to fit with the idea of

‘everyday utopia’ (Cooper, 2014), that exists in everyday living, and be part of an ordinary space. In these discussions, hope is not observed as programmatic, or a dream of a perfect far away place. Instead, it is used to describe the ordinary and everyday space, not a radical transformation of the society, whereas much of the utopian literature was supposed to be extra-ordinary and about far away impossible futures (Levitas, 2013; Webb, 2008 ; Cooper D. , 2014; Wright, 2010).

Here, the aim is not to compare the notion of hope and utopia, but to see both as valuative processes that could allow defining what kind of possible futures would people prefer, how they orient themselves toward particular ends, and how such futures/ends lead to create alternative, new everyday spaces. In the special issue on hope by Anderson and Fenton (2008), it is expressed how hopes are part of quotidian, routine part of spaces and life, (2008, p. 77), and how it unsettles the spacing of the present (2008, p. 78) by involving the thinking of space that is activated/animated by potentialities, and possibilities. This type of approach highly employed in the studies stressing the contexts of critical geographies, such as post-disaster reconstruction (Sliwinski, 2016); hyper-precarious sites (Joronen & Griffiths, 2019); contested and separated spaces (Mavroudi, 2012) that aim to tell about people’s hopes to orient the creation of spaces.

Secondly, rich literature focused on the affective dimension of hope that orients people’s action with a promise of there is more to life (Anderson, 2006). It is observed as the power that shape people’s actions in environmental, social, political and economic realms (Lawson, 2007). David Harvey’s ‘spaces of hope’ (2000) is an example of this approach, where he discussed spatio-temporal dialectical urbanism to illustrate, what he calls the plurality of alternatives. The importance of hope as a

creative resistance (Harvey, 2000), emerged out of spaces discussed in theoretical perspectives, and examined as empirical evidence in varied sites of protests and activist spaces (Ozduzen, 2019), which bring communities together to form spaces of hope. Thus, hope is expressed as a dynamic imperative for creative 'collective' action and resistance (Griffiths, 2017). Here, places as sites of collective engagement are the ground to form spaces of hope. For instance, study on Singaporean activist spaces by Luger (2016), portrayed the possibility of digital and material spaces as sites of activism bringing groups together to illustrate the tensions of Singapore's cultural landscape, and (im) possibilities to find the spaces of hope. Protests and the cycle of collective actions have been studied in relation to the space of hope, as a stance against the authoritarian urbanism in Turkey, where activists put forward environmental and ecological agendas; and spatial strategies for the Gezi Park (Ozduzen, 2019). This allowed Gezi Park to turn into a political park and into spaces of hope.

Thence, the literature on hope, spaces and places, illustrates hope either as a tool/a method, or as affect based on their concerns. In the first approach, hope is the tool/method for the creation of spaces and places, whereas in the second approach, hope is the affect or a power that shapes people's actions, or emerged from the spaces and places, through people's actions and resistance to open-up alternatives. Therefore, understanding the potential connection between hope and space/place inspire the ways of re-reading and re-forming an existing place or think of space as possible that is yet to come, to stand against uncertainty. In this research, hope is used to theorise place in a positive, 'hopeful' way by acknowledging it as open-ended, and dynamic platform. The use of hope, made it possible for place to be transformative and be always in process that could allow for new possibilities, where

it is used as the narrative tool to convey people's imagined hopeful spaces against the uncertainty. This also illustrates hope's importance for thinking differently about the space, and contributes to Lefebvre (1991), Foucault (1986) and Soja's (1996) discussion on the 'third-space', where the creation of 'thirding' aim to open up alternative critique on space with an understanding that there is more to materialist world, as human beings are not material atoms wondering around, and have hopes, emotions and imaginations. And, there is always space for the third, consisting from both material and immaterial. This research also illustrates hope's potential to transform into humanitarian action, and become particularly useful to introduce the real meaning to the making of place, with the appreciation of people's problems in the cases of uncertainty, conflict and any critical situations, by raising their voice in the processes of making place.

3.3 Discussions on Methods

As one type of phenomenological approach, the thesis falls into the scope of existential-phenomenological research, which develops the meaning structure based on the exploration of specific experiences of specific groups and individuals in actual places and situations (Seamon, 2000). Existential-phenomenology is about the application of the phenomenological method to the recurrent problems of human existence and can be characterized as the effort to specify the essential themes of human existence (von Eckartsberg, 1998), such as embodied, threatened, choices, values, reflection, and striving for meanings, which is here, in the broadest sense, is an inquiry about the threatened existence of a community and their communal and personal experiences of uncertainty, including spatiality and social relations.

As existential-phenomenological research seeks to explore the lifeworld, and assists in identifying the meanings and structural essences of lived experiences, this study adopts existential-phenomenology, in correlation with the theoretical framework of place-making practice, to understand the ways in which uncertainty is experienced and resisted by the ethnic community of Cypriot Maronites through everyday acts of place-making. The acts of place-making and place-based efforts against uncertainty are examined to understand what they mean for participants and reveal their first-hand experiences.

To obtain a deeper understanding of their first-hand lived experiences, thesis applies place-making as a human-centred tool, which is discussed in chapter 2, to guide the research in exploring the constitutive relationship between participants and place (Figure 4), in terms of assessing their efforts, thoughts, and needs, as well as reading and analysing the constituent elements of the physical environment. And, it furthers the discussions by conceptually combining place-making theory with uncertainty (Figure 6) to create a stronger conceptualization of relationships with people and places based on the local particularities of my research context. This research places participants at the core, and focuses on the progressive, natural formation of place without putting prior limits on the research environment (i.e., limiting physical analysis on the building scale, public or private space, etc.), and allows an objective formation of the research setting, based on residents' place-based efforts against uncertainty. Here, the objective is to reveal the wholeness of the people's lived experiences and build discussions on them by observing, listening, and raising the participants' voices in the process. The phenomenological inquiry of this study, is to present things and events as they present themselves to the Maronite community, and then use data to discuss findings in correlation with the objective of the research.

The research began by carefully attending to the actual living of the everyday experience, as the everyday life experience and actions play a major role in understanding the life-world of the participants. The source of material is built by observing, reporting, and reflecting on the respondents' experiences and actions. As thesis studies the experience of uncertainty, descriptions of experiences by the residents regarding the situation play a critical role in the research. Then, the data generation process started by engaging in dialogue with the residents and introducing the research and interests in a way that is understandable to everyone. The collection of the verbal descriptions of people's experiences was obtained in the form of a life story and guided by my directed questions.

The data generation process was highly challenging as it relied on the natural story-telling ability of people and their expression of personal experiences in words. By collecting people's stories that are told about and by the places in which they live, research began to question how the experience of uncertainty affects people's place-making practices by analysing how places are constructed, certain meanings they hold for individuals and community, and how they can be changed by the hopeful narratives and stories. Descriptions of lifeworlds were collected through a series of semi-structured interviews and dialogue with the residents was audio-recorded and then transcribed. Places that are the substantial dimension of the lifeworld and as a crystallization of the residents' experience were observed to reveal mundane, everyday encounters and interactions of residents in these places and to collect information on their spatial characteristics.

Following the data-generating situation, collected data is read and examined, revealing the configurations of the meaning in terms of the concerned phenomenon

of the research. In revealing the data itself, the meanings are questioned through the co-constitutive relationship between residents and place, exploring the issues raised by their experiences of uncertainty, and then presenting the findings as essential constituents of that experience. Meaning units are divided by identifying the aspects of the uncertainty experience of the residents, which is mainly discussed in chapter four, and their place-based attitudes, actions, and expressions, presented in chapter five, whilst holding them in an overall relationship (Figure 8).

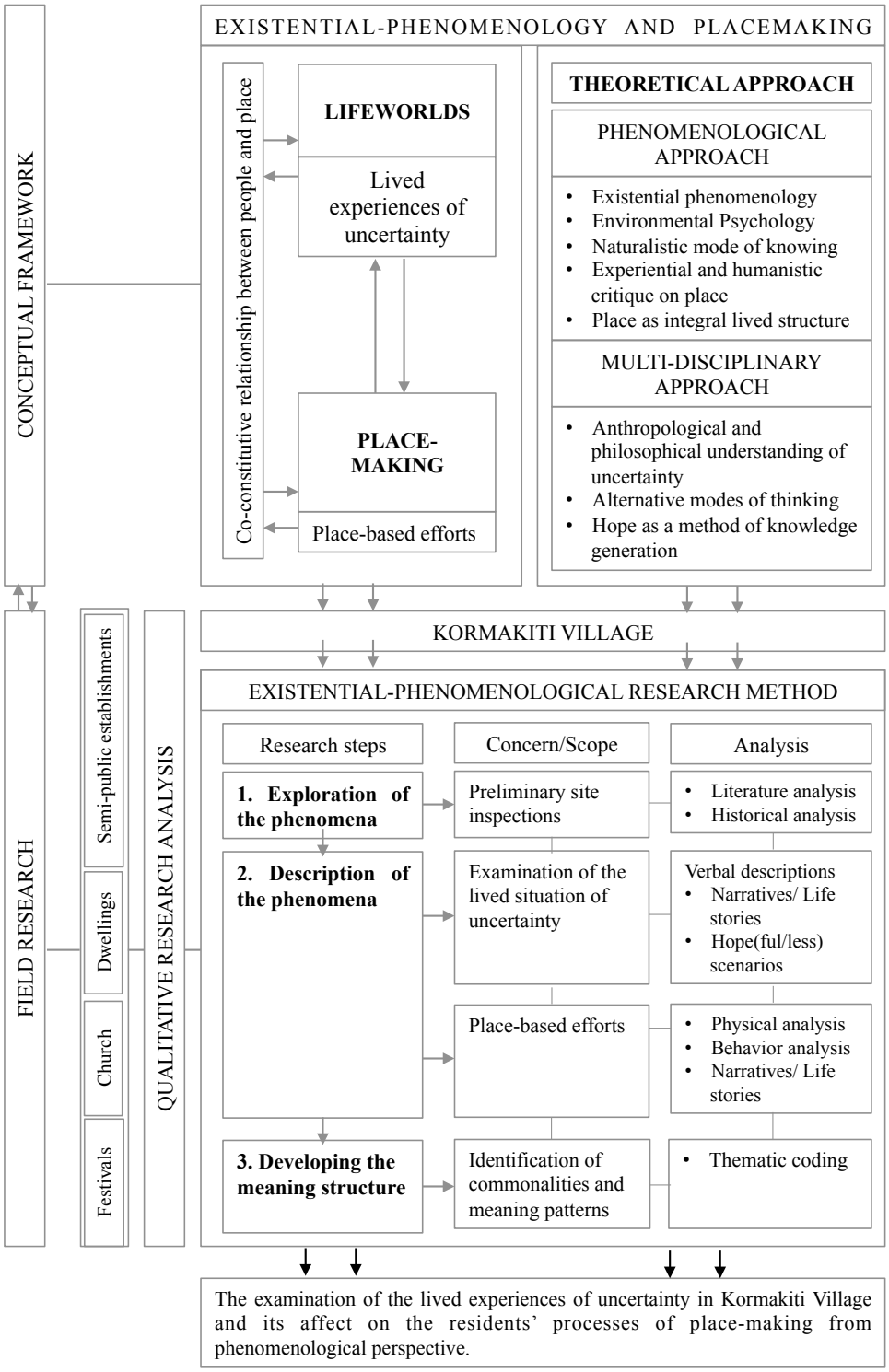


Figure 8: Conceptual model of the thesis

Chapter 4

GRASPING THE LIFEWORLDS, LIVED EXPERIENCES OF UNCERTAINTY IN KORMAKITI VILLAGE

4.1 Living in the Unknown

> The power to control uncertainty is very unequally distributed and the greatest burden of uncertainties tends to fall on the weakest" (Marris, 1996, p. 3).

Although I was born and raised in Cyprus, I had not visited Kormakiti village long before the research process. Political stalemate, division of the island, and being stuck between Greek and Turkish nationalism caused isolated circumstances for the Kormakiti community. While I was wandering through the empty and quiet streets of the village, I was trying to decide where and how to start. Everyone was drawn to his or her house, and a few people I came across on the street couldn't understand what I was saying because of the language barrier. The coffee house in the main square of the village, which is normally open, was closed that day. After walking around the streets for a bit, I entered the popular eating-place, known by almost everyone, and I was unaware that this place would help me connect with many people. Even though the voice of *"we are closed"* rose from the kitchen side, when I explained myself, she patiently began to listen to me. She said, *"Today is a difficult day to start. We lost a villager. We have a funeral. Muhktar is in Nicosia. Come back again in the coming*

days" (Respondent 20). My adventure in Kormakiti began on a tough day, and from the very first visit, I observed the social sharing of emotions in this tiny territory.

As the lifeworld is always the counter-part of human experience and constitutes the living context of everyday life, as a researcher, penetration into the lived world context of a vulnerable community was highly challenging and difficult. Facing huge breakdowns by the consequences of the island's division, losing homelands, and experiencing an enclave life for years, made this community close themselves to the outside world and have almost no integration with the Turkish-Cypriot society. Even though the situation has been slightly changed by the presence of local semi-public establishments in the village, which attract visitors and create opportunities to foster inter-cultural relations between Maronites and Turkish Cypriots, the village still has an isolated situation and the pace of life is slower here.

The centerpiece of the village is the St. George church, which dominates the village square, and is the beating heart of Kormakiti (Figure 9). Informal interactions and engagements between villagers take place in this square as well as in the local coffee house, restaurants, and local market situated next to the village square. Based on my observations on site, the square is the connecting space, the contact zone of villagers, where daily encounters take place. While having the same rhythms every day, villagers seem familiar and comfortable in this atmosphere. Being a small community generates public familiarity, and everybody greets or nods to others on the street. A stranger or an outsider walking around the village is highly visible, as everybody knows each other.

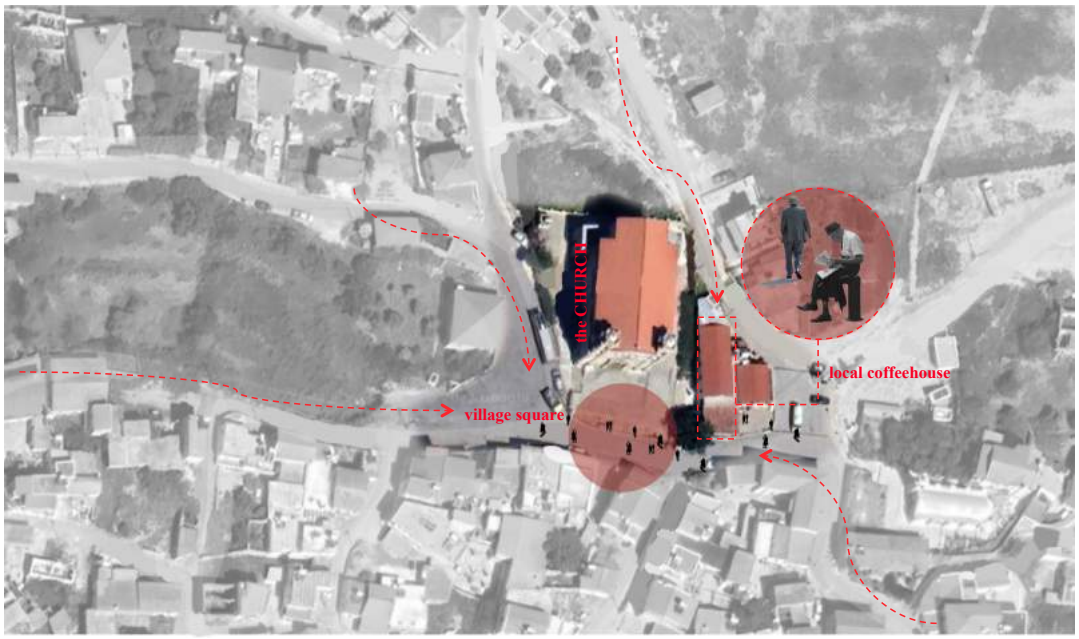


Figure 9: Kormakiti village square

While the community seems to have a pleasant setting to live in, from the bigger picture, they face cultural isolation in the north part of the island and have had to put in an effort to maintain their language, culture, and social customs at particular levels, as well as great ethnic assimilation of young Maronites to the Greek-Cypriot community in the south part of the island. This makes Kormakiti the only ancestral land to maintain continuity of the community. However, cultural isolation and transformation into ethnic enclaves potentially place community at greater risk of loneliness and extinction. Even though there are particular improvements compared to past conditions in the village, one respondent refers to the current condition of the village as an "*open prison.*"

> Things were much harder before. We needed permission from Çamlıbel's police to leave the village. We had half an hour to go and return. Still, we have many problems, but the main problem here is political. How can I say... it's like we are trying to find our freedom in an open prison. We are free in some ways, but we are concerned about the future (Respondent 1).

Not knowing what to do with an inability to plan futures created particular vulnerabilities and harsh living conditions in the village, while villagers expressed that they have been experiencing these problems for a lifetime, saying, *"Nothing is new"* (Respondent 5) and problematic conditions have not just begun for them, since in every phase of their lives, they had to face various difficulties due to the contested history of the island and limited opportunities in the village. Some of the respondents talked about the difficulties they have experienced starting from their childhood years, explaining that they couldn't achieve the life they desired since the day they were born. The types of problems have changed as they grew older, yet they did not disappear completely, making it almost impossible for individuals and communities to distance themselves from suffering.

> Each phase of our lives has always been full of difficulties. Life in the village has never been as easy-going in the past as it is today. Our parents did not live a stress-free life, so neither do we at our young age. It was the worst when I was a child. I had to leave the village to go to school, and those days are not pleasant memories for me. We had to go somewhere else, because there were no opportunities here... I cannot get over the day that I lost my father in a tragic way. We have all been hurt on this island. Perhaps we are more fortunate now. The conditions have slightly improved... But our roots, our history, and our culture are disappearing. The future we want to leave our children becomes more and more improbable with each passing day (Respondent 1).

Almost all respondents stated the absence of social support and the inability to fulfill psychological, economic, or cultural needs. While the majority of the population consists of retired elderly residents with no economic worries, mid-age residents complained about the difficulties of conducting business and accessing services in the village. One restaurant manager said, *"It was not easy to bring meat here, even the water"* (Respondent 20), finding it difficult to access ordinary necessities that shouldn't be a problem. The opening of barricades in 2003 resulted in newcomers who applied to official authorities to return back to their village as permanent

residents. However, newcomers included retired groups of Maronites who want to spend the rest of their pensioner lives in their ancestral land, as the village isn't particularly appealing to people with financial concerns. The arrival of new residents resulted in particular renovation and maintenance work, such as renovation of houses by owners, yet these attempts were insufficient to overcome the worsening situation in social and economic realms.

> There is a certain development compared to conditions in the past. The government has paid attention to particular problems such as drinking water, electricity, and the construction of roads, as well as performing religious worship. The condition of the houses is better now. For instance, they have phones and the internet. But there is also deprivation in many ways. It depends on how you look at things. In the past, the village was full of young people. We had many neighbors. Now, we are very few in the village, and it has turned into a place for old people. Neither do you see kids running around, nor do you hear the voice of a child (Respondent 3).

During the interviews, respondents repeatedly stated that they saw the way out of problems through the rejuvenation of the village population. However, with the current conditions, they believe it is almost impossible to bring youngsters to the village, as the village has socially deteriorated in recent decades. Residents, who are not pensioners, said the necessity of having a second job is evident, as they cannot earn enough in the village. As a result, socio-demographic characteristics - high proportion of retired elderly population, limited occupational groupings in the village, and lifestyle preferences of younger generations are significant obstacles to improving conditions, bringing more crises and risks for the community's future.

> Here, we do not have enough opportunities to bring the younger generation, our children, here. One of my children is a lawyer, and the other one works at a university. What can they do in the village? I cannot earn enough money in the village too, so I have to have a second job on the Greek side. I have a part-time job there. What we earn here is insufficient. There is no business here. There are only jobs related to agriculture, and young people do not prefer these jobs (Respondent 1).

Although there is liveliness in the village on weekends, with family visits of children and other relatives, a permanent solution to social and economic deterioration cannot be achieved, since they cannot keep people together in the village permanently, and the unity of the community is broken.

> The village is generally quiet, but it comes alive on the weekends. There is also a ritual on Sundays. Our children living in the south come to visit us. They stay longer during long holidays. Other than that, they can't because they set up their life in the south. Their jobs and schools are all there (Respondent 2).

Since there are obstacles to regenerating the village population, respondents have fears that dispersal of the community and the death of current elderly villagers will bring about the total collapse of the community, as they believe existing elderly residents are the ones who maintain the continuity of Maronite culture and traditions. While they foresee the possible total collapse of the community, anxieties are ever growing, and the experience of uncertainty is getting more frustrating.

> Old people are the ones that maintain our traditions. Their deaths mean the end of our community, our roots, and our culture. If things stay the same, I really do not see a way out (Respondent 6).

4.2 Elderly Context, Polarization of Ideas

As the village has had no new population or new births ever since, the current population's aging in place transformed the village into a place for the old - elderly context (Figure 10). Everyday life routines evolved into routines of retiree life in the village, and places and current facilities have been variously defined to encompass attributes of the elderly community. Respectively, villagers' responses to daily needs and everyday difficulties have shown polarizations depending on the age group and expectations, and their statements illustrated altered experiences and valued living contexts. For instance, elder respondents majorly defined village life as *"relaxing,*

peaceful, and silent" (Respondent 14), seeking to spend the rest of their lives in calmness, while for mid-age respondents, calmness, in the long term, is perceived more as isolation and emptiness.

> At 17.00, everyone is at home. At 18.00, village becomes an empty place (Respondent 6).

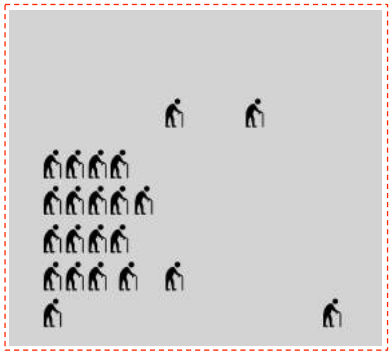


Figure 10: Elder people context

The daily practices in the village are explained by almost all the elders as gathering in the coffee-house, sitting, chatting, drinking, playing cards, and spending time in the fields or at home. All of the elderly respondents stated that what they have in the village is enough for them, except for having no 24-hour working hospital. Their statements demonstrated a tendency to maintain the same habits that they had developed over their lifetime, together with the fact that they claimed to be old and incapable of doing much.

> Here, our day starts early in the morning and ends with the sunset. We live a retired life. In the past, we had to work to take care of our family. I went to London for work, and came back to the village in 2011. Now we are retired, and we will live here permanently. In the daytime, we deal with our fields. We have beautiful nature, and we like to spend time there. In particular, mushroom season is a special joy for us. I come here (to the coffeehouse) everyday. I chat with friends, play cards, and drink coffee. Towards the evening, everyone leaves to go to their house. I am generally satisfied with my life in the village. The only problem is that we don't have a hospital, so we have to go to Çamlıbel in an emergency. Other than that, new places can be opened, but we do not need any. For whom will it be? We are old people.

> We cannot do much. We need peace and nothing else. There are no children, nothing. They come here only in the summer. They live on the other side. We are fine with what we have here. For us, it is not difficult. We are pensioners (Respondent 8).

On the contrary, mid-age respondents expressed the necessity to have more social facilities, to generate opportunities for (non-retired) younger generations to return to their ancestral land, and to attract more visitors to the village to create liveliness, as they believe the only way out of crisis is by regenerating the village.

> Isolation is the most difficult part of living in the village. There is nothing to do; everybody is asleep by six. The only sound you hear after that is the dog barking somewhere in the hills. That's the only sound you hear when you have old people. There is nothing to do. There is nothing to keep you here. It's only a place to come and relax, and then leave. The younger generation is not going to come here. They don't want to be here. There is nothing for them to do, so the generation we have right know... This is it. I think at the end Turkish will be coming in. That's what we are thinking. Sell up because our children are not going to grow up here. We are not completely satisfied with our life here. Hospitality is not like it was before. When we used to come over here with my mother, there would be 20-30 people at the airport waiting to welcome you. Not only that, I don't feel like we are altogether. Everyone looks out for themselves. They don't look out for each other. We were thinking of doing something here like a café, down in the centre. All the jealousy makes it very difficult to do anything. You do not feel comfortable doing business here. Everyone is like family to us, but when it comes to business, they would be very threatened if we opened something new opposite their current locations, even if it was just a coffee shop (Respondent 6).

> I am a Maronite who was born here and had to leave when I was young. I have been back every year and I have watched the change every single year for the last 40-50 years. Now, we live here, and it has gradually gotten worse and worse, more isolated. The loss of traditions, the loss of everything Younger kids get educated in big cities. They will be married and they will live in Nicosia, in Limassol, in Stockholm, and in London. They will raise their children accordingly... and slowly, all that we have will collapse. To have a change, the village needs new blood that makes decisions for the village with the foresight to see what it requires. We have to find ways to survive. We need to build momentum and create opportunity for the young, to open up new things, bring money in, and help Maronites come back to their community. But, the current mind-set of the elderly is very one-sided, and they are not open to any change. They say they are looking out for the village, but to me, they are really not (Respondent 7).

As a researcher, I have observed that living in the village for a long period of time and ageing in the same place turned the daily activities into a static form, where the elderly look for the "same-ness" in a peaceful environment and are not really open to change because keeping the same habits offers predictability in daily routine and an opportunity to control various areas of life. In the big picture, this creates repetition of the same routines in the village, where for the minority mid-age population, these figures of repetition and monotony are tedious and boring, potentially being a barrier to progress in the form of regeneration, or finding ways of engagement with the youth (Figure 11).

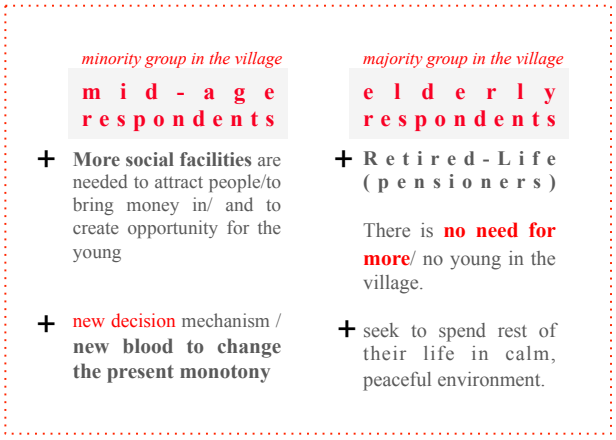


Figure 11: Polarization of ideas between the age groups in the village

They believe there has to be a purposeful future-making strategy, or as they say, finding a way of survival rather than simply waiting, yet having plans and a sense of control in the village is highly difficult because of the present dynamics in the village. Their statements revealed that the actions and thoughts of the mid-age respondents are more future-oriented, and they seek change, while the elderly respondents are more focused on the present and have conservative attitudes, favoring the preservation of their accustomed habits. To do so, polarization of ideas

between the age groups creates incapability to find a solution that will please each party in the village, and makes Kormakiti stay as a place for the aged, being a stopover destination for retirees.

4.3 Uncertain Path of Belonging

> A sense of belonging is characterized by mutual concern, connection, loyalty, and trust that personal needs will be met through commitment to the group as a whole (Chavis, et.al, 1986).

In the village, the experience of uncertainty has acquired an internal dynamic and has become increasingly a part of the villagers' daily lives. As the community is endangered by extinction, the inability to anticipate what the future holds and evolving feelings of anxiety also codify the village with its indeterminacy and temporariness, leading villagers into an uneasy situation in the structuring of their worlds. As Douglas put it, home is "*always a localisable idea — starts by bringing some space under control"* (1991, p. 289) and could be a village, a town, a collection of residences, or a landscape providing a setting for human lives, or conceptualized by Despres (1991) as permanence, continuity, security, and control, and Tuan (1977) expresses that attachment to homeland and security is obtained through the historical sense of continuity.

While this place stands for stability, security, and control, for the Maronite community, Kormakiti, as the remaining homeland, is about a strong sense of insecurity and lack of control, because the connection between people and place is born out of a fear of being removed from their sheltering place - respondents stating, "*the generation we have right now... this is it. I think, in the end, Turks will be coming in"* (Respondent 6), or *"With the demise of the current population, the*

number of Maronites living in the north will decrease drastically. I cannot foresee a good future" (Respondent 9).

The fear of losing land generates anticipation of displacement, allowing for the complex shaping of meanings and belongings in the village. The homeland with its familiarity and ease, homely pleasures, and assurance of nurture and security, is caught up in the threat of extinction in the village, and the anxiety of uncertainty that surrounds the everyday routines of the villagers. As one contains a sense of ownership of land to affiliate and enact identity (Myers, 2002), in the case of Maronites, the anticipation of losing land becomes a barrier to constructing stability and threatens the historical continuity of the community. While homeland is usually associated with positivity and a sense of rootedness, comfort, or protection, in this case, it is also a potential site of emotional struggles, insecurities, fears, and anxieties (Figure 12).

Figure 12: Contested sense of belonging in the village

One common theme emerging from the interviews is that when respondents conceptualized their ideas of village, they encountered inconsistent, two-faced experiences, leaving room for both positive and negative feelings or thoughts. As Kormakiti is the only remaining ancestral land, losing Kormakiti means an absence of a place to call home, and dealing with this is emotionally draining and perceived as an emotional exhaustion by the mid-age respondents. In their statements, they

have shared the expectations of the elderly community, and the evoked emotions depend on allegiances and obligation to maintain ties, roots, and traditions of the community. While there is a strong sense of expectation of devotion to the village, particular mid-age respondents emphasized the present situation and polarized ideas as obstacles to progress, making them feel desperate and, in turn, raising more anxieties since it is difficult for them to stay in the village, unless they are retired. This illustrates mid-age respondents' inability to meet their personal needs or live as they desire in a society that their ancestors built. Moreover, they repeatedly kept emphasizing that the younger generation is highly unlikely to make Kormakiti their home because of the life paths they choose.

> We have said let's sell everything that we have here. I love my village, and I love being here, but the problem is mentality. So if I could change something, I would change people's mentality. When we say that we are thinking about selling our house, everybody wants to know why. Everybody wants to know about your business. They say we shouldn't do it because it's our parents' house. Okay, but it's not going anywhere. My mother and father passed away, and my children will not come here. This village is not going anywhere. Something needs to change. You can't just keep waiting to see any progress (Respondent 7).

Besides the 'emotional exhaustion' in negative terms, it is also possible to observe the 'emotional investment' of the mid-age group, generating a sense of pride and a feeling of accomplishment (Figure 13). While a mid-aged villager expressed the negative reactions he got from the elders, as he was planning to sell the house left by his parents, another respondent explained the promises she had given to her father that she would do good things for the village, and she is proud of herself that she has taken all the risks and made an investment in the village. Here, I refer to this investment – an emotional investment rather than a financial one, since she says it is a risky attempt because of the on-going problematic situations and uncertainty in the village. She says she spent all her financial savings to make her dream come true,

and tried her best for the Maronite community's maintenance. Yet, she could not hide her worries, and she tells her nightmares about being forced to move away from the village.

> I promised my father that I would do great and exciting things for this village. Someone told me that "you have built the diamond of Kormakiti" *(referring to her boutique hotel)*. If you asked me about the best days of my life, I would say the birth of my children and the opening day of my boutique hotel. Despite all the difficulties, I am happy that I was able to achieve this. I kept my promise. The worst part is that I do not know what will happen tomorrow. It is very difficult to foresee the future of the village. We always had fears. We were afraid to expose ourselves. We don't know what will happen tomorrow. I spent all my savings here. I sold out everything I had on the Greek side. Let me tell you this: sometimes I have sleepless nights. I have nightmares that someone will knock on the door and tell me "you leave now" (Respondent 1).

Figure 13: Two-faced experiences of mid-age respondents

On the other hand, there is a different story for the elder group of villagers. While the two-faced experiences of the mid-age respondents generate emotional exhaustion or a sense of pride, the elder group's conceptualization of the village is replete with memories and nostalgic experiences of where they spent their childhood, youth, and adult life. In particular, their memories of the pre-1974 period reflect much emotion and are usually described with great longing, as they seek the bridging of long-lost ties, i.e., the desire to return back in time. Thence, their present experiences are fuelled by emotions through nostalgia, and their sense of belonging is closely shaped by the memories of old days.

> My happiest time was the period before 1974. We were all together. There were many houses. The village was full of people. In the past, life was much

> better. We had our restaurants, cafes, and cinemas. The village was full of young people and old people. We were young and much happier. Conditions changed over time, and life came with difficulties (Respondent 2).

Besides mid-age respondents' emotional suffering and sense of pride, or great longing of the elderly, statements of all respondents include strong affirmation of 'Maronite identity', 'being a Maronite', and 'Kormakiti is home', where they share a strong sense of self-identification – constantly re-negotiating the issues of identity and expressing emotional bonds with the village, including positive descriptions.

> Love, hospitality… Everybody knows each other. I was born and grew up in Kormakiti. And I'd like to stay here until the end of my life. We faced and are still facing many difficulties, but we want to be here. If you need anything, you have someone next to you. We love our village. Kormakiti is like oxygen to our bodies. I love this place. I will live the last few days of my life here in the village. Even my daughter told me to not invest that much money here... But I said no, I will. We have many problems, but I love my village. For us, Kormakiti is like a miracle in the world (Respondent 1).

> Even though we have many problems, we are a united, small community. We were born here and grew up here. We found our houses with our parents' help. We like to keep it, and all we want is to live in peace here in Kormakiti (Respondent 13).

> The good and the bad... There are so many memories here. This place is our home. We are Maronites, and we belong here. We want to be together (Respondent 12).

Thus, respondents' statements illustrate that belonging is multi-dimensional, and Kormakiti includes competing senses of belonging, depending on life stage, age, personal needs, social stability, and emotional attachments. For the mid-aged, the dilemma of choosing to stay is an emotionally costly process and involves an extremely difficult decision-making process. Their undesired feelings in a familiar place prompt them to leave or flee, as their current situation makes it difficult for

them to achieve their goals or carry out certain activities. Their emotional attachments and behavioral commitments are in constant struggle with the insecure future of the community. There is a mutually expected sense of freedom from judgment, where they find it emotionally draining to continually adjust their behaviors to the responses and expectations of others. And, for elderly respondents, belonging is not just being in place, it is also about longing for the missing, with a depth of emotions and nostalgia, moving beyond the everyday realities and crystalized by the memories of their homeplace.

4.4 Hopeless Waiting

> Hope and waiting exist in a dialectical relation: waiting is inherent in the very logic, or structure, of hoping. But the waiting in hope is a waiting that threatens to fall into dialectical contradiction (Kleinberg-Levin, 2015, p. 155).

Hope and being hopeful in the case of Kormakiti is much like a hard-won battle, and resembles growing roses in concrete, which is the hardest, least imaginable, and imperfect environment. In Kormakiti, and its context of societal suffering and villagers' incapability to imagine the future in positive terms, generate a liminal condition between a state of hopefulness and hopelessness, where hope and its (positive) momentum become visible or invisible in villagers' statements. For instance, one villager stated, *"our fears for the future both exist and do not exist"* (Respondent 10), illustrating a tendency of positivity to turn into negativity or vice-versa, just as the tendency of positivity of villagers' hopes to fall into despair and rest on if and but scenarios. Villagers' hopes resting on 'if and but' scenarios also illustrate the lack of situation control that they face due to present misery and political uncertainty on the island.

> There is always hope for the future. If a solution is found, if people return to their village… if the village is filled, happiness comes (Respondent 13).

> We have hopes for the future. We are trying to survive as a society. I believe that current conditions will be better in the future. But something needs to happen now to bring back our children. We were born here. We love our land, but this is not the case for our children. I hope Maronites, Turkish Cypriots, and Greek Cypriots can live in peace. But something needs to happen now. Otherwise, it will be too late for us (Respondent 4).

The lived experiences of uncertainty and its on-going consequences in villagers' everyday lives generate ruptures and failures to build a positive future and trigger a desire to escape from here and now, i.e., thinking to sell their house and settle somewhere else. Much of the villagers' discomfort rises from this incapability to predict the future, and this either creates longing for the past, because the past is something that is already known, which is referred to as the happiest period of life by the elders, or turns villagers into a mood of seeking promises of happiness and peacefulness against the present anxiety. As Max Weber assigned the task to politics, *"it must manage and take the responsibility for the future"* (Innerarity, 2012, p. 2) with long-term thinking and reasonable consideration of implausible scenarios and projections. For Maronites, it is the opposite, because politics in the island implies imperfect knowledge and makes villagers to have poor relationship with the future, to worry and hope against the evident suffering.

Even though the opening of barricades in 2003 became a new beacon of hope for the Kormakiti people, who remained in an enclave and had to live away from their families, it did not last long, and villagers lost hope again as the decisions they wanted to take in their personal lives were repeatedly dependent on and stuck between the political relations of Greek and Turkish Cypriots. For instance, at the

beginning of the research, a new light of hope was created by the given promises to re-open the closed villages (Asomatos and Agia Marina), so that they would be able to return to their homelands. In time, many political promises, in other words, political hopes were given to the Maronite community. However, political authorities could not keep their promises and people are being led into a hopeless situation by their failures to take concrete steps on the issue. Thence, broken promises lead to more disappointment, causing people's hopes to fall into hopelessness and worry. During the interviews, especially with the older respondents, they were very sensitive and had a hesitant attitude towards the political issues, yet the middle-aged group has clearly stated that they have no faith in political words; *"I personally don't trust politicians. Everyone thinks of their own interest"* (Respondent 3). This shows that political hopes can no longer be a tool for politicians or other institutions to generate positive visions or manipulations for the community, as they hardly hold any meaning for the community.

> I do not believe in the promises of any political people or any political force. The situations we face now seem to impel us to hope for almost nothing. Still, there are many people waiting to return to their villages. We keep waiting without knowing our tomorrow (Respondent 11).

During the pandemic restrictions, quarantine processes were also very painful for the community. Barricades were closed for about a year, allowing no crossing between the north and the south parts of the island, and villagers had not seen their families during this particular period. Many villagers complained that the government had never helped and forgotten them again, repeatedly striking to make their voices heard both on social media and in newspapers (Appendix E), *"Open the barricades, reunite us with our families!"* (Sonay, 2021). The community was further isolated, could not get together with their families and loved ones, who normally reside in the south. It

has been observed that the sense of uncertainty has grown even stronger over the research period, placing the Kormakiti people in a more precarious position (Figure 14).

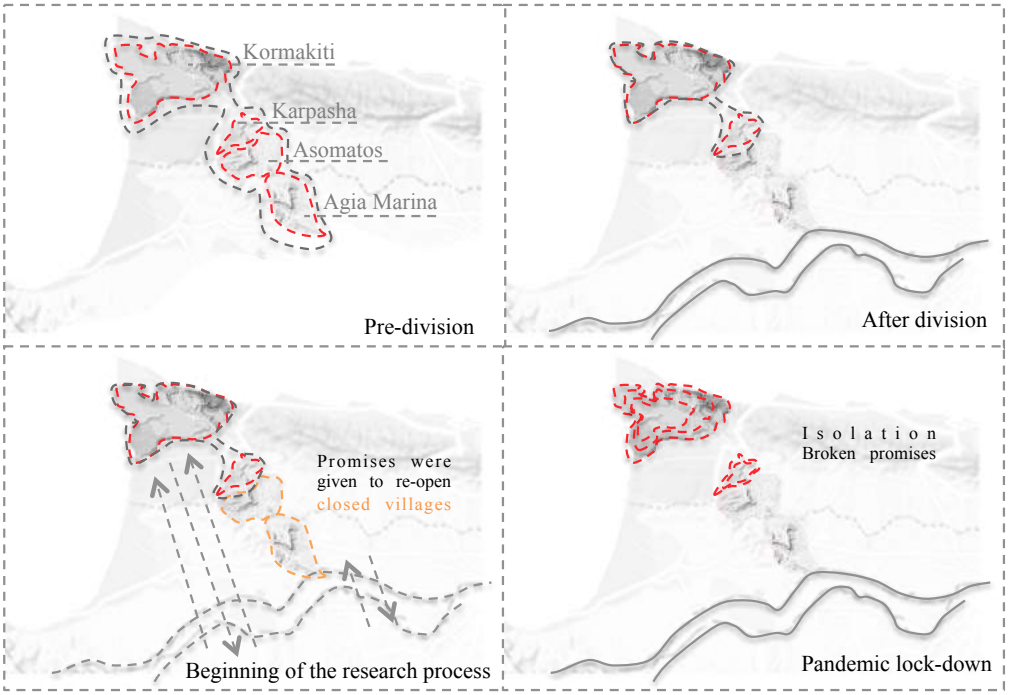


Figure 14: The shrinkage of Maronite settlements over time

In the analysis of people's modes of hope, I referred to Darren Webb's (2007) discussion on the phenomenology of hope and his categorization of modes of hoping (Appendix F); 'open-ended hope', with no concrete objective and an open-ended orientation toward the future, and 'goal-directed hope' that is engaged with a specific objective and takes the form of 'I hope that/for…'(Webb, 2007). Within these two main modes, a certain classification of other modes is determined, where each has differentiating objectives, behavioural characteristics and cognitive-affective activities. Plus, the main sources of hope and their affect on the human condition were explored by practical work of Hicks (1997) to contribute to my discussion (Appendix G). For Hicks, post-modern times face the issue of psychological despair

that creates a loss of meaning and a sense of disconnectedness. In his findings, he identified a variety of themes as the sources of hope, which vary from experience, culture, socio-economic contexts, politics, childhood influences, sense of self, belief, collective struggles, events, and so on. These sources are manifested either in positive ways or as emerging out of possible difficulties, like collective struggles, just as in the case of Kormakiti village.

Once Bloch (1995) said hope is the desire to fill the gaps to achieve a better life, for Maronites, it is a protest against the imposed pressures to achieve an agreeable alternative future. However, as villagers have a limited degree of control over the situation, their hopes are insufficient to incorporate a positive movement or motivate them to take action. Instead, they appear more like passive forms of futural momentum, forcing villagers to keep waiting for the day, and only hope against the evident suffering produced through the constraints of uncertainty. Particularly elderly respondents state that they like to be positive, yet they think it is not the right time yet, and they do not know whether they will be alive or not to see any positive progress.

> We hope conditions will get better. We like to be positive. I believe they can find a solution. But I think it is not the right time. I don't know when. I don't know if I will be alive. But it's going to finish one day. Everyone can live in peace. There is a place for everyone in Cyprus (Respondent 16).

On the other hand, other respondents, especially the mid-age villagers, find it difficult to be optimist about the future and reflect their hopelessness against the on-going indeterminacy, being incapable of anticipating the future in positive terms.

> No hope. I really want to wake them up. It's a struggle. It's a big struggle. I don't see how they are going to reverse the situation. When the old people die, youngsters are not going to come to live in here. Currently, they come and visit. But at the end, there will be nobody left, and that's a very sad thing

> indeed. We need to change the current situation, but this is not a situation that can be changed individually. It has to be done collectively, at all levels (Respondent 6).

Unfortunately, villagers live at the expense of what is awaiting them, negatively, and worry about things that they see as future risks, i.e., the collapse of their community, preventing them from having a hopeful look into the future. Hence, they suffer from the present negative certainties and live in a context of "limited hope," where they only hope to resist the on-going struggle and keep waiting for something to happen to save them from their stuckness. To do so, their hopes are shaped around the idea of survival and the well-being of the community, appearing in the form of collective hopes due to their collective form of struggle.

When compared with Hicks' (1997) sources of hope and Webb's (2007) categorization of the modes of hoping, villagers' hopes are constructed as an influential component of their experiences of uncertainty, and distributed by the 'sense of self' to secure their threatened identities/roots as they have fears that death of the elderly community will cause the total collapse of the community; and by the 'collective struggle' as a criticism of the present crises. And, villagers' modes of hoping fall into the category of critical hope and can be framed by concern, worries, and fears as a result of the incapability to foresee a positive future. While they hope for the same thing and express hopes in collective manner such as 'return for all', 'returning back to good days', 'ending the present misery', seeking to heal the loss of connectedness, their statements are grounded in actual situations, and bear criticism of the current conditions of the village - acting as a stance against the present struggle, and directed toward a world without the present suffering (Figure 15).

Furthermore, respondents' statements reveal that there is a condition of restless waiting, and hope itself bears the condition of waiting, saying, *"it is not the right time yet"* (Respondent 8). The statements of the elder villagers illustrate how they have been waiting all these years for a solution and the way they have been forced to wait by the political controversy of the island. The mid-age respondents are striving to take action yet are entrapped by the collective waiting in the village. Their experience of uncertainty becomes more pressing as time passes, and constantly compels the community into a forever-temporary condition.

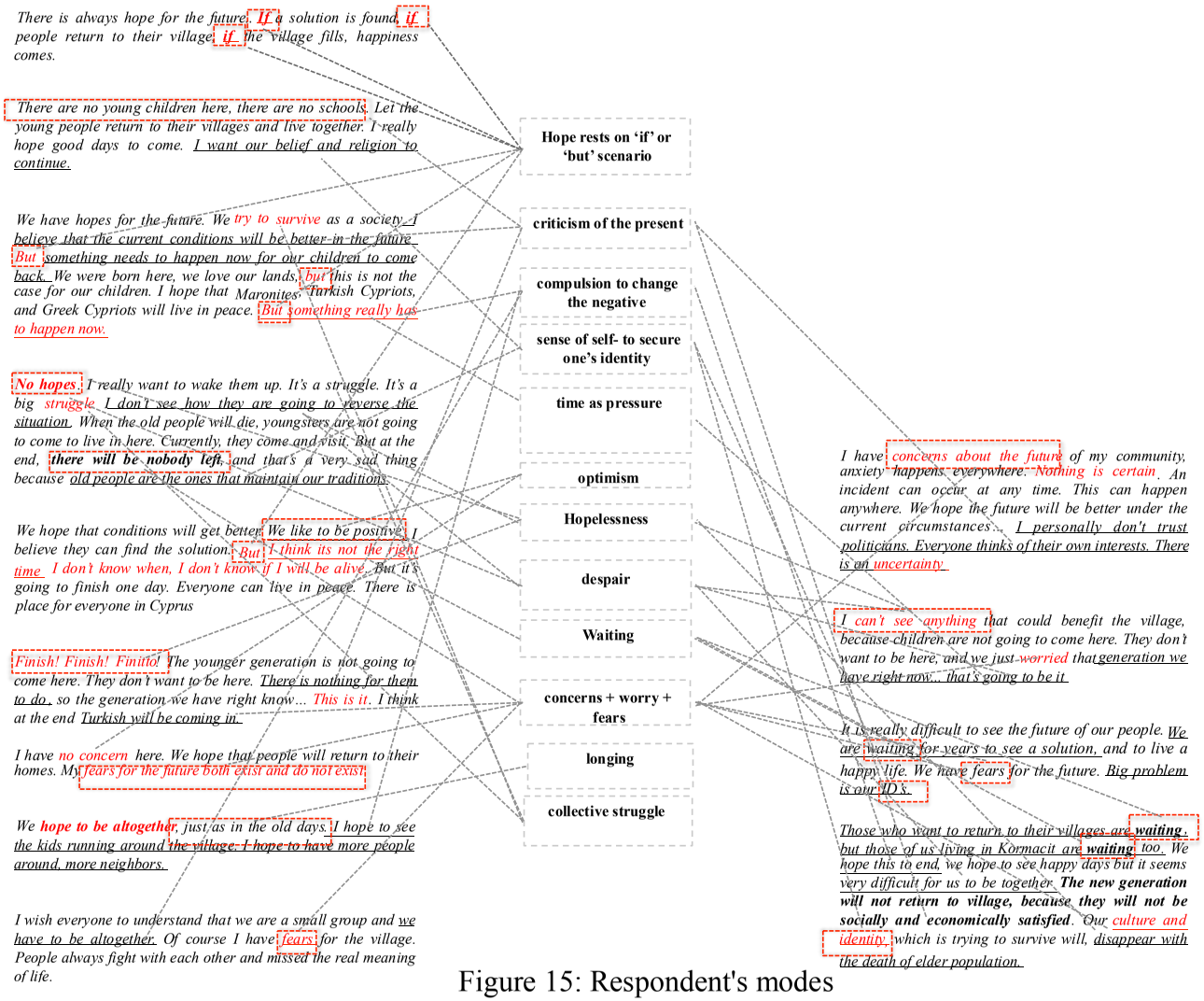


Figure 15: Respondent's modes of hoping

4.5 Uncertainty Threshold: ‘Stuck in the Middle’

Undoubtedly, the political stalemate of the island, its desperate historical background, and the community’s inability to distance from suffering keep the experience of uncertainty as an unwanted everyday condition in villagers’ lives. It marks almost every aspect of community life and keeps raising anxieties over the future of Cypriot Maronites. As El-Shaarawi (2015) said, uncertainty is hardly an external factor; it is the central issue for Maronite society, and shifts cognitive states of individuals, and their lifeworlds in general. The interviews with respondents have supported the idea of uncertainty, shaping people’s existence and ways of knowing (Mbembe & Roitman, 1995), and affecting the community as a whole (Rauws, 2017) in the long term.

As Cooper and Pratten (2015) described uncertainty as a product of social contingencies and part of social relations, in Kormakiti, uncertainty is the built-in element of the social setting, turning the village into an elderly person’s context, and it acts as an invisible force on intra-group social relations by generating polarization of thoughts between the age groups and fragility of the social bonds. Not only that, but people's experience of uncertainty causes a wide range of emotional reactions, leading to an uncertain path of belonging and longing for villagers, where they express concerns to end present misery either by looking forward to change and regenerate the village, or waiting for the past to come because the elder's connection to the past is still strong in the present. Waiting for the future that lies in the past led to passivity, and I believe this resulted in the resignation of elder villagers to take on an active strategy for the future of the community. In this case, waiting is often

experienced as meaningless and disturbing by the mid-aged villagers and results in a range of emotional reactions.

Respondents' emotional reactions to uncertainty have varied from emotional exhaustion to pride and a sense of accomplishment because of their emotional investments in the village. While some respondents choose to escape, believing that their lives are kept on hold in the village, others express their struggle to resist and gain control over the unknown, as they want to maintain and preserve threatened ancestral roots and Cypriot Maronite culture. Still, respondents' management of uncertainty falls into hopeless waiting due to a lack of situation control and a failure to build positive momentum for the future (Figure 16). While they have an on-going repository of memory, allowing them to have emotional bonds and connection to the village, the problematic dream of the future destructs the usual fluid relationship between past, present, and future, creating liminality in the villagers' lives. The drama of negotiating the future is staged as a desire that is always on the threshold, stuck in the middle of forever waiting and hoping.

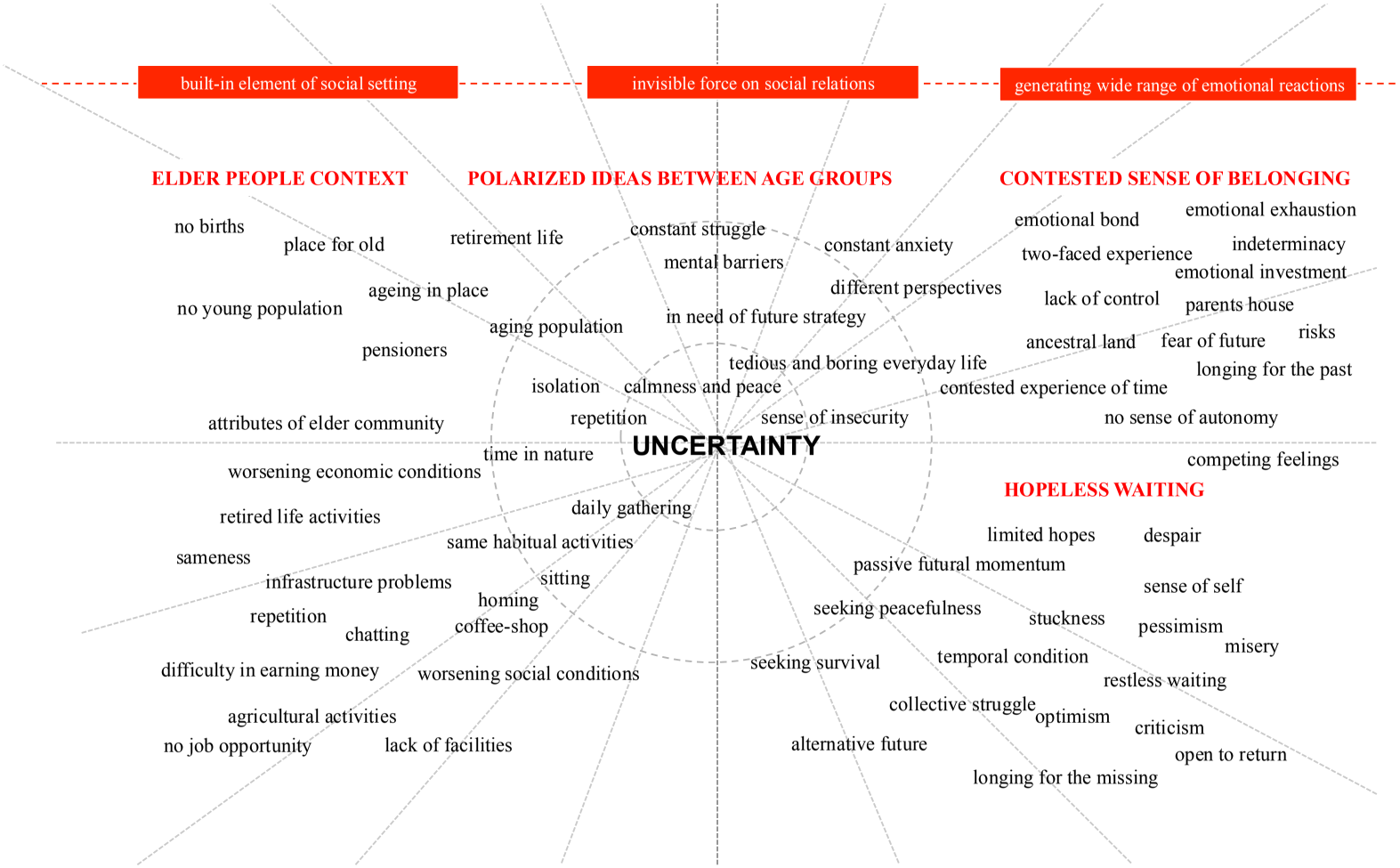


Figure 16: Uncertainty threshold

Chapter 5

PLACE-MAKING IN THE CONTEXT OF UNCERTAINTY

5.1 Religious Rituals, Festivals, and Celebrations

As place-making is a fundamentally continuous process of experiencing, acting, and shaping the place (Mateo-Babiano & Lee, 2020), and offers insights about the aspirations, thoughts, and reactions of a community, there is also a unique social conjunction in the place-making processes of the Kormakiti villagers, entailed by the social implications of the various religious ritual activities, festivals, and celebrations, which allow for the active creation of social and symbolic environments. In Durkheim's classic text *'The Elementary Forms Of The Religious Life'* (1915), he theorized the function of ritual activities as social unifiers, bonding individuals and communities together in one place, and with a more dialectical formulation by Turner (1969) rituals are provided not solely to serve the social order but to create a liminal space that is outside the social structure. Similarly, ordinary life in the village is likely to fall into a ritual occasion for a short period of time, which welds together the community members, and the places are integrated into a shared society. These rituals can be examined as part of the place-based efforts generating social and symbolic environments to re-construct identities and to render the community visible by presenting their sense of collective self to the others (Figure 17). Moreover, these activities have been subject to 'return to home' for the

Maronites, who live apart from the village and serve as their gateway to enter the ancestral lands that have been closed to inhabitation since the division in 1974.

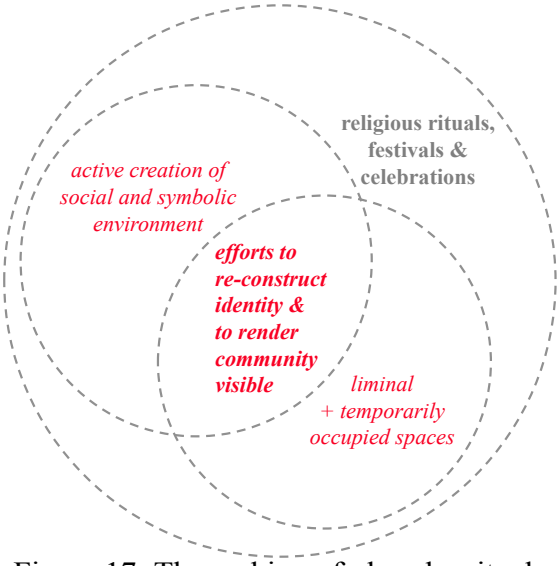


Figure 17: The making of place by rituals and festivals in the village

5.1.1 Religious Rituals, Role of the Church

One of the island's major problems has been the systematic neglect of religious plurality and the marginalization of certain religious groups, such as the Maronites, who are members of the Maronite Catholic Archeparchy of Cyprus and have their origins in Lebanon. For centuries, they have preserved a distinct identity rooted in the Catholic faith. While ethno-religious plurality can be defined as the shared coexistence of two or more communities within a single territory, it is ironic to discuss plurality in the case of Cyprus, as religion is the basis of nationalist conflict and is directed by the hegemonic approaches absorbing the ethnic minority groups. Even though minority groups were remotely involved in the conflict, they have been directly affected and, since then, have been struggling for their survival, where intensive efforts had to be made for the preservation of their identity.

For Maronites, religion is one of the strongest markers of their 'Maronite identity' and 'the Maronite church' is what distinguishes them from the other Cypriots. With the division in 1974, the community lost the majority of their worship places, i.e., churches and chapels. As there should be an explicit conditional protection of built forms devoted to religious and cultural purposes of the communities, for Maronites (even though they were not directly involved in ethno-national war between Turkish and Greek), the military objectives had devastating effects on their cultural and religious identity, and the hostility also directed at religious conviction and the practices of religion of the Maronites.

In 1974, there was only one Maronite church- The Virgin Mary of Graces Cathedral, which remained under the control of the Republic of Cyprus in Nicosia, while the majority stayed in the villages under the control of the Turkish military. After many sacrifices by the community, they have succeeded in regularly holding Mass at the churches in these military areas. The situation made worship places the only component that gave Maronites the ability to visit their ancestral villages, while Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities could not.

Figure 18: Lebanon's Maronite Patriarch Bechara-al-Rahi arrives (with flowers) at the small Agia Marina church (Bureau, 2021)

For instance, the community is allowed to hold a mass in Archangel Michael Church on Sundays, located in the village of Asomatos, which has been closed to inhabitation since the division. TRNC authorities also allow Maronites to visit their ancestral lands of Agia Marina during their religious holidays and hold a mass at the small Agia Marina church (Figure 18) that is one a few unused building by the Turkish military. In a way, undesired conditions led the exercise of religion to evolve into part of the Maronites' struggle and their processes of becoming at long awaited home.

As community lost the majority of their worship places, it became highly important to preserve what was left as the components of their religious identity. More had to be done to protect the sacred character of the community's worship places. St. George Church is one of the remaining worship places (Figure 19) and is an outstanding religious Maronite heritage church located in Kormakiti. The church is the centrepiece and the beating heart of the village. It dominates the village square, and its context is an important community setting, where the daily life of the locals is shaped around it.

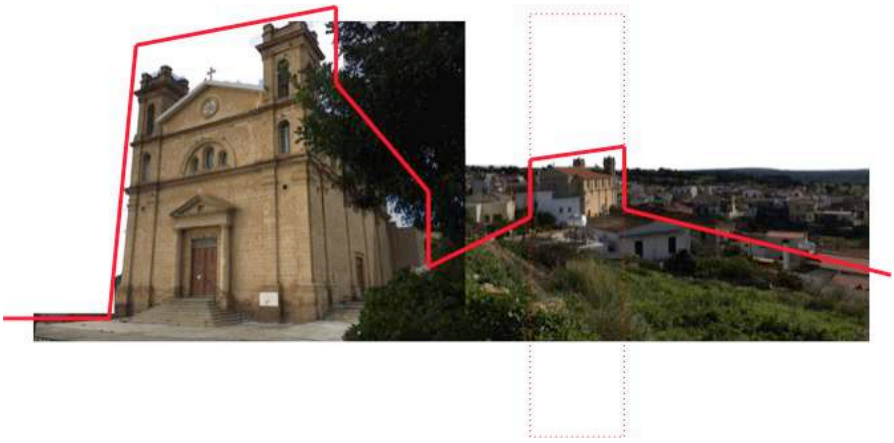


Figure 19: St. George Church as the dominating element of the village square

The church is the first Maronite heritage site to be preserved and is one of the numerous areas that are shaped by the concrete phases of professional place-making under the control of the Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage. The phases consisted of conservation designs in 2014 by the Maronite church committee, coordinated by a tri-communal team of architects, engineers, and surveyors, and funded by the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) (UNDP, 2015). The project had an emphasis on protecting the original ambiance and assuring the structural stability (foundations, walls, floor, and vaulted ceiling) of the church as well as solving humidity and water drainage issues. The project also included the reconstruction of the bell tower and the restoration of historical and archaeologically significant elements, such as the wooden doors (Lordos Architects, 2014). It has been stated by the Technical Committee that the project was not only about the repair of the stones, but the re-establishment of the link between the past and the future.

> Projects like these are incredibly important to us. Our shared history and cultural heritage must be protected because it is an important reminder of who we are. You can really feel this inside the church (Respondent 17).

> It is impossible to imagine Kormakiti without the church. It is the cornerstone of the village and our identity (Respondent 2).

Figure 20: Interior view of the St. George Church (Lordos Architects, 2015)

The church building, engaged with the concrete modes of professional place-making, is not only a religious site providing a place of worship, but also

behaves as the ‘unit of identity’, helping Maronites with the recognition of their minority identity, as well as part of their efforts to maintain religious identity, which is in need of being molded, established, and affirmed by everyone on the island. The melodic service at the church also takes place in three languages: Arabic, Syriac-Aramaic, and Greek, essentially being the main place to hear the ancestral language of the Cypriot Maronites, which is defined by them as the ‘Maronite heritage’.

> We are the last generation that can speak Sanna (Cypriot Maronite Arabic). Kormakiti is the only place where it is still spoken. The younger generations do not know, because we had to switch to Greek. This made our language endangered and eroded itself (Respondent 18).

In time, the Sanna language became unique to Kormakiti village, and assimilation into Greek society eroded its use. Thence, the church evolved into a unit of identity for the Maronite community, helping to render the community visible with contained attributes of their distinct religious identity and language. As Lalli (1992) defines people’s distinctiveness on the basis of people’s association with the place, the church is the element that allows a community to differentiate themselves from the other communities by giving a concrete background and place-referent continuity of their Maronite origins.

The church acts as a socializing place, and the religious activities provide civic engagement with embodied and ritual practices for the community. So, the church generates a shared space and draws Maronites together in the village.

> In the church, you are surrounded by people with similar identities. It always feels good and complete. We wish to be together all the time. But they only come to see family members and attend the Mass on Sundays (Respondent 18).

While Kormakiti is home to a group of elderly, Maronites who reside in the south attend the Mass on Sundays. The church and religious activities are one of the factors that attract people to the village and bring the community together, who normally live apart. This illustrates the church as a potential platform, aiding in bridging the gaps between the members, yet it has a short-term effect since it generates social cohesion between the members on a daily basis.

Besides, for Maronites, church is a kind of a promise of faith-based revival for their community, giving them hope that they will be healed from their problems as well as an active medium where messages are given by the leaders. As stated by Youssef Soueif, Archbishop of the Maronites, *"the church should not only be a place where people worship, but also a place where peace, cooperation, and friendship flourish."* (Kıbrıs Postası, 2015). A Maronite priest told Reuters: *"What we would want from the Holy See is for it to extend a hand ... to change this situation so the coming generation retains its identity, as Maronites."* (Kambas, 2021). The church serves as an arena, where people hope the Pope can help save their culture (Figure 21), as they fear that unless they are allowed to return to their homes, the community will simply die out.

Figure 21: Father Iosif Skender a Maronite priest gives Holy Communion to a member of the congregation at the St. George Church (Kambas M. , 2021)

This illustrates the Maronites' strong religious beliefs as the source correlated with hopes for the survival of their community, and hope is being grounded in this sacred place, fusing into definite physical space and engaging both people's will and fear about the community's present and future.

Hence, in the case of Kormakiti, the church as a religious institution is part of the community's effort to construct Maronite identity and represents an important site for rendering community visible. To do so, the concrete phases of place-making to restore the church as a heritage site are crucial because the church is a unit of Maronite identity and facilitates the community's embeddedness within the place in the face of ethnic assimilation and on-going threats to its origins (Table 4).

The church is also a shared space, allowing a space for 'being together', yet the promise of a faith-based revival of community remains a promise, and the hope awaits.

Table 4: The role of the church in the making of place

		Notes
The St. George Church	**C.1** Unit of identity	**C1.1** Part of the efforts to maintain religious identity
		C1.2 Render community visible
		C1.3 Allows differentiation from other Cypriots
		C1.4 Concrete place-referent continuity
	C.2 Socialization place	**C2.1** Shared space
		C2.2 Civic engagement
		C2.3 Draws community together
		C2.4 Aids in bridging the gaps between members
		C2.5 Factor of attraction
		C2.6 Short-term social cohesion
	C.3 Place activated by the promise of faith based revival	**C3.1** Active medium served for giving messages and hopes to be healed from problems
		C3.2 Hopes are grounded in the physical space

5.1.2 Festivals and Celebrations

Besides religious rituals of the community, festivals and celebrations have a role in contributing to placemaking processes and can be seen as the active creation of the social environment in the Kormakiti village. St. George festival and Easter celebrations are part of these processes and are celebrated at the village square with a concert, folk dances, and holy mass at St. George Church on Sundays. During the time of these celebrations, the village becomes alive and expects more than a thousand people, coming mostly from the south part of the island.

The aim of the festivals and celebrations is to reflect and keep the Maronite culture alive, and these events generate a space with folkloric manifestations, Maronite customs, and traditions that not only comprise a social environment but also a symbolic environment, reflecting the Maronite identity and the cultural value of the community and the area. The square of the village becomes animated by the festival market where homemade foods and handicrafts are offered and accompanied by traditional songs and entertainment (Figure 22).

Figure 22: The village square animated by the celebrations of St. George festival (Lapta Belediyesi, 2017; Yeni Düzen, 2019)

Traditional dances by village clubs, workshops for children, and bi-communal races are organized to introduce the nature of the village. An environment is generated

where people cooperate, share experiences, memories, and cultures, which in turn reduces the social isolation that is usually happening in the village.

Community festivals are usually defined as having *"huge potential to create new (or renewed) physical and emotional connections"* (Brownett & Evans, 2019, p. 5) and are regarded as therapeutic landscapes promoting health and well-being for the communities. In the case of Maronites, this type of event gives an opportunity for community cohesion, bringing people together in the village, and these gatherings have a positive influence on the locals as they draw them out of their state of loneliness.

> On festival days, life in the village takes on a completely different shape. The environment becomes positive. Children run around. You can hear the sounds of children in the village. It becomes what we always wished it would be. Even if it's just a few days a year, it makes us happy when everyone comes together. It was last done in 2019. We can say that our isolated lives have become even lonelier with the pandemic. Festival aside, we couldn't even get together with our families for months (Respondent 16).

> For a couple of days, the festival allows this old place to become a lively and happy village. We enjoy the festive atmosphere, but it is only a short-term change. Vitality leaves its place for silence again (Respondent 1).

Based on the statements of the locals, festivals support the positive creation and transformation of the social spaces in the village, generating the ability for the community to be together, as well as helping to break the chain of isolation and loneliness in the village. However, it is incapable of bringing a solution to the problems of the community. Nonetheless, this demonstrates the critical spatial role of festivals in bringing communities together and in contact with visitors by facilitating encounters and social interactions between them. The celebrations ultimately open a space for human connection through shared experiences, giving an opportunity for

Maronites to present and define their sense of collective self. This illustrates the importance of this type of activity in Kormakiti to create permeability within what might be considered an isolated and fixed setting. Especially for the Maronite community, where people lead parallel lives, festivals provide opportunities for casual social contact and produce spaces where bridges can be built between the communities.

Starting from the organization of the festival, it is also possible to observe a form of cooperation between Turkish-Cypriots and Maronites, i.e., coordination between Lapta municipality and the mukhtar of the village. On the other hand, the festival creates an open space to point out some of the problems in the village, and the atmosphere inspires conservation where political messages are also given by the political leaders (Figure 23).

Figure 23: Political leaders' participation to St. George festival in the village (Haber Kıbrıs, 2014)

The festival spaces on the island are easily transformed into political contexts, and in the Kormakiti, one is likely to encounter the political environment while engaging with the complex dynamics of the Maronite case. Even though the messages express the leaders' goals to establish a better future for the community through cooperation, no solutions are achieved in the long term. Short-term acting in the shadow of the future brings nothing to accommodate the objectives and well-being of the

community and remains limited within the time of the temporarily occupied spaces of the festivals. Festivals have transformational potential, yet they are heterotopic sites in the Kormakiti, acting similar to Foucault's concept of heterotopia (1986). Foucault perceived heterotopia as multiple sites connected to everyday spaces yet apart from those spaces. Similarly, festivals create a crowded, festive, and alive environment in the village, but it is an unreal image of a community in a state of crisis, only enacting a break from the normal flow of daily life (Table 5).

Table 5: Role of festivals in the making of place

Active creation of social and symbolic environment		
		Notes
Festivals and celebrations	**F.1** Places with folkloric manifestations to keep and reflect Maronite culture alive.	**F1.1** Shared experiences, memories and cultures
		F1.2 Opportunity for community cohesion
		F1.3 Brings people together
		F1.4 Draws locals out of their state of loneliness
		F1.5 Short-term, temporarily-occupied heterotopic sites

Hence, through the active creation of the environment, festivals and celebrations have huge potential to break the chain of isolation in the village and transform spaces where people come together for communal activities, as well as help develop mutual and reciprocal connections between the communities. Here, 'sharing' and 'connecting" underpin the notion of place-making, while festive events re-define the local social life in the village. However, these transformations only last one or two days, transforming festivals into heterotopic temporary spaces that are both connected to and separate from everyday spaces. Common ground to reflect and keep Maronite culture alive should be sustained in the long term, as festivals are temporarily occupied spaces by temporary communities and observed to have short-term benefits for the Kormakiti community.

5.2 Semi-Public Eating-Drinking Establishments as Communicative Mediums

> Eating together helps people get over fights…action of eating together can ritually express what is held, shared, and enjoyed, after all in common…In many cultures, two people do not feel they can talk in a friendly way with each other unless they have first eaten together: it is an equivalent of being properly introduced (Visser, 2008, p. 221).

Scholars have long studied the significance of semi-public commercial establishments such as restaurants (Cheang, 2002), cafes (Jones, et. al., 2015), coffeehouses (Waxman L., 2006; Woldoff, et.al, 2013), and other type of semi-public establishments to portray the richness of these spaces. They have been described as *"total social facts"* (Beriss & Sutton, 2007) that encapsulate overlapping layers of social relations and serve as intriguing sites for analyzing the locally formed diversity. The spaces of eating and drinking establishments have been presented as neighborhood institutions or community centers that are distinct places in themselves (Zukin 1995), while attending these locations is argued to be much like an investigation of micro-geographies of encounter (Amin, 2002; Hall, 2012), as well as a way of *"keeping in touch with reality"* (Oldenburg and Brissett 1982, p. 280). In the case of Kormakiti, from the very first day of site observations, semi-public establishments in the village had a prominent role in understanding the constitutive relationship between people and place, illuminating everyday experiences of individuals and the community in general. As a researcher, semi-public eating-drinking establishments were the places to connect and communicate with locals, helping to engage and infuse the daily setting of the individuals.

In the midst of uncertainties, these semi-public eating-drinking establishments have a comprehensive role in community life and have evolved into famous destinations for visitors and even become community symbols known all over the island. The efforts of their managers appeared in the Turkish-Cypriot press, and they even became representatives, helping to raise the voices of Maronites and their struggles for existence. For instance, the manager of one of the establishments became the first Maronite woman to receive the Female Entrepreneur award for her contributions to the region (Kıbrıs Gazetesi, 2016), and she became the first person that comes to mind when it comes to Kormakiti. So, what makes these settings so special and important medium in the community's struggle for existence?

As the village is very small in size, there are only two active restaurants and one coffeehouse located in the main square of the village (Figure 24). The observations and interviews took place in three semi-public spaces of establishments that are privately owned but take the form of public spaces through their usage. Establishment 1 is a very well-known and popular eating-place for village food, and its fame is not only known throughout the island as it has tourist customers from a range of places. It was first opened as a butchery by one of the pillars of the Maronite community and, over time, transformed into a famous destination, attracting visitors to the region. After the death of him in 2015 (Düzgün, 2015), his daughter continues to operate the restaurant along with her mother. Although the majority of the village population consists of old and retired people, she is one of the youngest residents who has never left the village and tries her best to maintain the roots of her culture, while she says, *"Something has always kept and attracted me here."* (Respondent 20, Manager of establishment 1).

Figure 24: Location of semi-public establishments in the village

Establishment 2 is another restaurant, operated and housed in a family boutique hotel. The place has a unique story of being the manager's childhood home, and being transformed into a boutique hotel with a restaurant to contribute to the local economy and community maintenance in the village. Establishment 3 is the coffeehouse that is located in the main square of the village and is frequented by local residents who walk to the coffeehouse. It is a daily meeting spot where villagers spend lengthy time coming together to socialize and see each other, allowing daily routines to have a social component. All the semi-public establishments are part of the constructed environment and are observed to be important in contributing to the locals' conditions of living.

During the analysis of the semi-public establishments in the village, three broad themes indicated and they can be categorized as social, emotional, and physical dimensions, which appeared to be useful in classifying the role of establishments in the community life of Maronites (Table 6). Furthermore, it is seen that these themes do not function as three poles, but rather as intersecting issues that contribute to the conditions of living in the village.

The obtained themes can be presented as follows:

- Social dimension: establishments serve as sources to reach people, raise public awareness of the existence of the Maronite community on the island, and help to break the chain of isolation in the village. Performative presentations by managers' also facilitate the social interaction and foster good relations between the ethnically different communities.
- Emotional dimension: establishments have emotional value for the locals, and can be viewed as emotional investments in ensuring territorial survival, while also supporting the community's emotional needs.
- Physical dimension: establishments are symbolically imbued physical spaces with their purposely-decorative practices, in which physical elements are used as non-verbal mode of communication to fulfil the needs for expression.

Table 6: Emerged themes and concepts in the analysis of semi-public establishments

	Concepts	Notes
Social dimension	**S1: Sources to reach out**	**S1.1** Attract and gather people together.
		S1.2 Break the chain of isolation.
		S1.3 Create public awareness and confirm the existence of the community.
		S1.4 Enhance people's ability to understand the life of Maronites.
	S2: Performative presentation of managers' nurturing relations	**S2.1** Acts of hospitality and creative use of space to communicate with customers.
		S2.2 Intimacy between managers and customers facilitates social interaction and produces empathy between Turkish-Cypriots and Maronites.
Emotional dimension	**E1: Emotional investments to ensure territorial survival**	**E1.1** Investing in the preservation of territorial existence and community continuity.
		E1.2 Commitment to preserving what remains of ancestors.
	E2: Support for emotional needs	**E2.1** Maintain a productive daily routine.
		E2.2 Generate consistency and a sense of ownership.
		E2.3 Keep the community engaged while also meeting the need for companionship.
Physical dimension	**P1: Decorative practices**	**P1.1** Display of possessions fulfils the need for self-expression and is used to convey messages to customers.
		P1.2 Served the purpose of preserving memories.
		P1.3 Symbolic representations of the community.

5.2.1 Social Source to Reach Out and Nurture Relations

Without a doubt, living an enclave life for years and having practically little integration with Turkish-Cypriot society, created a sense of isolation and loneliness for Maronites, and the establishments evolved into key sources to reach people and attract visitors to the village. During the interviews, the manager of establishment 1 stated the most difficult part as being people's ignorance of Maronites' presence in the island; nonetheless, the situation has improved over time through the active role of establishments.

> At the beginning, people thought we were Greek. They were not aware of the Maronites on the island. We had to put in an effort to explain who we are, our roots, and the culture to which we belong (Respondent 20, Manager of establishment 1).

It is observed that establishments attract a diverse range of customers, bringing together people from various backgrounds in the village, including Turkish-Cypriot

families, politicians, state officials, tourists, as well as cyclists, walking and hiking groups, who stopover, sit and socialize with the locals. This enables customers with limited ties to the community to interact with the locals and recognize their presence and on-going community-led struggles, helping the community to create public awareness of their existence on the island. Respectively, customers defined establishments as vital platforms and symbols of community, allowing them to better comprehend the lives of Maronites.

> This place makes us remember the Maronites, who lived in Cyprus just like other societies and whose existence we have forgotten, perhaps knowingly or unintentionally (Respondent 29, Non-local customer).

> This restaurant helped many people become aware of the existence of Maronites on the island. The owner put a lot of effort, into transforming this place into something beyond a restaurant, a symbol of her community. Thanks to her, we got to know Maronites and their struggles better (Respondent 28, Non-local customer).

> The restaurant is a very popular place, and I think it is the symbol of Kormakiti. As soon as you step inside, you understand that this is a family restaurant, preserving traditions. You can experience the unique Maronite culture here, which is not completely unfamiliar to us. I got to learn a lot here about the lives of Maronites (Respondent 25, Non-local customer).

> Before we came here, we didn't know much about the Maronites and their struggles. They told us about the village and its story. We organize walking and cycling tours here. Our main stopping point is the coffeehouse. It presents the coffee culture dating back many years in a nostalgic atmosphere. Sitting here feels like going back to old times. It gives you a chance to see the daily life of the old Maronites and their togetherness as a community (Respondent 38, Non-local customer).

While establishments function as places to create public awareness of the Maronite issue, the ways in which managers perform and treat customers are found to be dramatically different from typical patterns of dining out. The contribution of

establishments to bringing visitors to the village is observed to be influenced not just by the quality of food they offer but also by the managers' performative presentation in terms of their acts of hospitality and the creative use of space to communicate with customers. As a researcher, it was also possible to observe the patterns of hospitality even from the very first site visit (Figure 25). Even though we had just met with the manager of establishment 2, she hosted me with all her kindness and helpfulness and acted as if we were in her home. Her emphasis and persuasion to eat more reminded me of my grandmother, where I could feel a family atmosphere in an environment that I was unfamiliar with.

> Researcher: Thank you for all your help. I think it is enough for today. I will come back again next week.
> Respondent 1 (Manager of establishment 2): I will give you more contacts next time.
> Researcher: Thank you very much.
> Respondent 1 (Manager of establishment 2): Are you leaving now? You can't go without eating anything. You have to taste my meals as well.
> Researcher: Promise for the next time.
> Respondent 1 (Manager of establishment 2): No. Than you have to try my cupcakes!
> (She brought the cupcakes, sat down, and we had a nice chat over a cup of tea.)

Figure 25: Performed acts of hospitality by the manager of establishment 2

A series of observations and interviews revealed that the sharp lines between the managers and customers are highly blurred, and there is a constant renegotiation of the lines between public and private realms due to intimacy between them. In establishment 1, it is seen that the manager greets everyone, and she occasionally sits and chat with them, not just as ordinary customers, yet as if a friend came to her house. The manager's ability to communicate in many languages, including Greek, English, and Turkish, aids in the development of positive relationships with all parties involved. Similarly, in establishment 2, the manager takes on the role of a friend and the restaurant becomes her home kitchen, complete with a menu of traditional dishes passed down from her mother. The restaurant has an open kitchen, and its spatial organization allows the manager to chat while she cooks, facilitating social interaction with the customers. She explains the recipes for visitors, providing them information on the local food, and persuades them to eat more, blending commercial establishments with the intimacies of home cuisine. Family members and her friends eat in the same place as the customers, and seamlessly transitioning from diners to staff, blurring the lines between staff and customers, as well as friends and customers. Her conversation with customers was not limited to their meal preferences, as she engaged them in dialogues about life in the village, hardships, community struggles, families, and other topics beyond their orders.

> You can experience an incredible food culture and hospitality. The manager is an incredibly sweet person. It's like she's welcoming you to her home, rather than a restaurant. You can feel the warm, homely atmosphere here (Respondent 26, Non-local customer).

> The manager's affinity with Turkish-Cypriots has made this restaurant a symbol that brings Turkish Cypriots closer to Maronites. Although it is not architecturally striking, it embraces Turkish Cypriot customers with its warm atmosphere. Because of this, many Turkish-Cypriot authorities are more sensitive to problems of the community (Respondent 27, Non-local customer).

The managers were observed to be the representatives of their community, and their performed acts of hospitality had a favourable influence on the customers, allowing Turkish-Cypriots and Maronites to improve their inter-cultural relations in the long term. As a result of the empathy, Turkish-Cypriots felt a sense of responsibility and assisted villagers in resolving specific concerns in the village. The managers expressed that customers listened to the problems of the villagers and contributed to the solution of infrastructure problems.

> I have many customers who have become my friends now, including politicians, state officials, teachers, housewives, etc. The majority of my friends are Turkish-Cypriots. Many of them supported us to ease the difficulties we have experienced. Life was much harder before. In order to leave the village, we had to get permission from the police. It was not easy to bring meat here, even water. It was very difficult to access ordinary necessities that shouldn't be a problem (Respondent 20, Manager of establishment 1)

> There are many people out there who really listen to our problems and help us. We used to have a lot of infrastructure issues, and they have helped us with some repair and maintenance work. Conditions have improved compared to the past." (Respondent 2, Manager of establishment 3)

Data show that the act of eating together and ritually expressing what is held and shared in common transformed establishments from a place of consumption to a place of community development, where managers put efforts to raise collective voice and express themselves by incorporating social, political, and everyday issues within the establishments. Thence, establishments effectively presented Maronites and their struggle to customers, particularly Turkish-Cypriots, who were unaware of the community's living conditions until they had first eaten together and formed social relationships with one another. Thus, within the spaces, tables move beyond being dining tables, and turn into objects encompassing the problems of the

community, bringing ethnically diverse groups together by introducing and showing what everyone has in common.

5.2.2 Emotional Investment to Ensure Territorial Survival

Aside from the social attributes of the establishments, they also have emotional significance for the managers and can be viewed as emotional investments, concerned about the preservation of the community's continuity. According to the statements of the managers, the present situation generates moral pressures and insecurities for the locals, and doing business in the village is explained as a risky endeavour due to the community's on-going concern about its future. Nonetheless, managers expressed that they would try their best to remain in the village.

> My daughter even told me to not invest that much money here. She said, "Mom why are you spending your money here?" I said, "no, I will." I spent all my financial savings to renovate the building. Of course, I have worries too, but we are a small group, and we have to be together. (Respondent 1, Manager of establishment 2)

While establishments are emotional investments to remain in the village, they are also a part of a commitment to protect what has been left by their ancestors. For instance, establishment 1 is a family restaurant that was originally founded as a butchery by the manager's father, who was one of the pillars of the Maronite community. When he died, his daughter continued to run the establishment out of a desire to protect what had been left by her father, and over time, the establishment grew and reached out to more people by leaving positive impressions on customers.

> Something has always kept and attracted me here. I wanted to remain here, because as a community, we want to protect what's left us by our elders and teach Maronite culture and traditions to new generations. (Respondent 20, Manager of establishment 1)

Furthermore, establishment 2 has a unique story of being the manager's childhood home and being converted into a semi-public establishment to contribute to the local economy and community maintenance. Hence, establishments have important links with the managers' past and family history, demonstrating their emotional attachment to the place.

> I promised my father that I would do great and exciting things for the village… Finding a way to bring people from different cultures to the village is a source of pride and joy for me. It is more than a financial investment; we can show our presence, and existence as a community (Respondent 1, Manager of establishment 2).

5.2.3 Support For Emotional Needs

Since the majority of the village population is retired, establishments provide a place for locals to keep a productive daily routine while also allowing them to get out of the house, socialize, and somewhat confirm their presence as a community. For local retirees, these venues provide regularity and familiarity, as well as meeting their emotional needs, while they consistently seek out everyday activities, given the fact that they have less to do during the day.

> Most of us are old and retired people. We don't have much energy to do a lot during the day. Coming here is a reason to get out of the house. You can clear your mind (Respondent 24, Local customer).

In particular, establishment 3 is observed as the daily meeting spot (Figure 26), where local customers gather for extended periods of time to socialize and see one another, allowing daily routines to have a social component. Villagers engage in activities such as chatting, drinking coffee, and playing card games.

> I come here everyday. I like to meet friends. Most of us are retired; we do not have much to do. We come here to chat, drink coffee, and sometimes play card games (Respondent 8, Local customer).

> We are a small community; everybody knows each other, everybody is a friend, and everybody is a neighbour to each other. We like to get together and spend time here. I drink my morning coffee here every day. Drinking together with friends while chatting is more delightful (Respondent 5, Local customer)

The incidents demonstrate that establishments are vital part of locals' social life that they meet the companionship needs of older-aged consumers, and serve an important role by keeping the community engaged at any hour of the day. For the locals, establishments easily switch from being a place of consumption to being an everyday place where they engage in fun and play. Moreover, locals' ritualized use of the establishments exemplifies a sense of ownership over the spaces, by their ability to easily move their chairs around, combine tables to accommodate conversations or play card games, or walking behind to the kitchen side to place their orders.

Figure 26: Daily gathering of elders in the local coffeehouse

Therefore, findings reveal that establishments function as repositories of social relationships and satisfy the emotional needs of the community. Data demonstrate that establishments are essential sources for reaching out to the people and raising public awareness about the Maronite's hardships on the island. Managers' performative presentations, including the acts of hospitality and the use of space to communicate with customers, enable for positively valued engagement in these

spaces and contribute to nurturing relations between Maronite and Turkish-Cypriot communities. Furthermore, incidents highlight the emotional value of these establishments as emotional investments to preserve their territorial survival and protect what remains of their ancestors while also meeting the companionship needs of the older-aged population.

5.2.3 Interiors, Decorative Practices and Possessions

> To understand what people are and what they might become, one must understand what goes on between people and things. What things are cherished, and why, should become part of our knowledge of human beings (Csikszentmihalyi & Halton, 1981, p.1).

In the interior spaces of establishments, decorative practices are heavily used as powerful expressions, and the decisions about how to spatially organize the establishments are as much a part of the managers' determination to present community to customers. In doing this, interiors are used as the container of collective and personal traces and are filled with symbolic representations of the community. Similar to the expressive and communicative roles of public spaces, which Hannah Arendt (1958) views as spaces of appearance—physical spaces that act as the venues of expression, place-making processes in these semi-public spaces of the establishments are engaged with specific types of cultural expressions and meanings inserted into the interior environment. The first thing that caught attention in establishment 1 was the display of possessions hanging on the yellow-coloured walls. Almost every corner of the space is covered in photographs, visual art, and objects (Figure 27). Aside from the photographs of the manager's family members, which work as the tangible form of her memories, there are photographs of the manager with customers such as state officials and local politicians, indicating the good relations she had with Turkish Cypriot officials. The photographs of leaders

such as Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the Republic of Turkey's founding father, Charbel Makhlouf, a Lebanese Maronite saint, and Mehmet Ali Talat, a Turkish Cypriot politician and former president of Northern Cyprus are also on display. These photographs represent the island's diversity of ethnic identities, and the manager demonstrates her respect for all of them by displaying them side-by-side. While political symbols can act as signs of differentiation and opposition, in this case, they serve to highlight the shared context of ethnically diverse communities. As the Maronite community struggles for recognition on the island, the display of these photos, either of memorable moments with the family or political figures, fulfills the manager's need for self-expression or serves to convey messages to the customers. Likewise, framed newspaper cuttings about the loss of the manager's father and other news about family and restaurant illustrate the establishment's role in elevating the voice of Maronites in the Turkish-Cypriot press. There is a biographical significance, turning the establishment into a museum of her life.

Figure 27: The interior of establishment 1

There were also various objects, such as small wooden plate with the words *"This is my happy place"* hanging on the door frame, illustrating the manager's emotional bond with the place; evil eye beads of various sizes, which are believed to be the protector against misfortune and bad luck happening in one's life, were hung on the interior walls; trophies placed on the shelves spoke about the communication of pride

and collective achievements, as well as a bunch of candles for rituals, a cross sign, and the statue of Virgin Mary placed at the top of the fireplace, symbolically representing the ethnic origins and religious beliefs of the community. Hence, there are two modalities: differentiation with the symbols of the self—emphasizing the manager's individual life, religion, ethnic origins, etc.; and integration with Turkish-Cypriot society, in the case of possessions representing the dimensions of similarity, shared context, and respect between the manager and others.

In establishment 2, decorative practices are used to serve the manager's purpose of preserving the memories inside, as the building was used to be her childhood home. Gaston Bachelard (1994) suggested interior space as a repository of memories, and similarly, the manager interpreted interior spaces to keep her memories alive and to construct links with her past. Even though the building is not a house anymore, interiors maintain a homely, warm atmosphere.

> Every building has its own story, and here I can see my childhood in every corner of it. It is no longer a house, but we wanted to protect the original elements as much as possible. I didn't want to wash away my memories. I am very happy to achieve this because we are a very small group left in the village, and I believe we have to protect what we currently have for the future of the community. (Respondent 1, Manager of establishment 2)

Figure 28: The interior of establishment 2

The aesthetic treatments retain the original characteristics as much as possible, while complementing the historical appearance of the building. For instance, new cover materials are utilized in accordance with the building's original texture, and old stone

material is exposed on the interior walls, together with renewed old pieces of furniture. Black and white family portraits hanged on the walls also create a sense of nostalgia in the interior setting and act as a sort of sentimental thing, a trace of the manager's past. The painting of the manager's childhood home depicts the old appearance of the building, giving an idea of her efforts to reach this point. There is a combination of new and old, with the original style being preserved while new elements being added to blend with the historic layers (Figure 28). Thence, her place-based efforts are the vehicles for keeping her memories and expressing the fragments of her past alongside her possessions.

Unlike establishments 1 and 2, the interior of establishment 3 is filled by the collective traces of community rather than the manager's material representation of self. Despite the fact that the manager claims to spend her whole life in the village and mostly in the establishment, there are hardly any personal possessions on display in the interiors (Figure 29). Instead, the community's ethno-cultural and religious identity is represented through visual materials and objects, which can take many forms, including the photographs or posters, displaying religious and political figures. The flag of Lebanon is displayed in various sizes throughout the interior space, reviving the community' roots, and shelves are filled with trophies to show collective accomplishments. Group identity is expressed through these possessions, and the interior of the establishment is encoded with material representations that give ideas about community history and ethno-cultural background.

Figure 29: Interior of establishment 3

Thus, establishments with their interior settings transition from ordinary eating-drinking establishments to spaces of expression, where decorative practices are creatively used to transmit messages and to present community through tangible, material representations (Table 7). The varied possessions contained inside held messages of their own, and fulfilled the need for expression by mirroring unique Maronite identity and culture, as well as preserving memories. The choice and the display of the decorative practices are also moved beyond the managers' personal taste and are affected by external influences, including cultural and political processes. In this regard, the staged interiors of the establishments are used as active agents and are indicated as symbolically constructed environments responding to the needs of the expression and how they wish to be perceived publicly.

Last but not least, semi-public eating-drinking establishments in Kormakiti village became areas of expression and communicative mediums for the community, combining social aspects of the public domain with interior aspects of the private realm. Alongside the blurred lines between public and private realms, managers' place-based efforts and care for the material environment help the community in creating their spaces of appearance through the establishments by socially, emotionally, and physically expressing themselves and reaching reciprocal understandings through communicative actions within these spaces.

Table 7: Interiors staged with decorative practices

	Concepts	Place	Observation notes	Code
Physical dimension P1: Decorative practices	**P1.1** Display of possessions fulfils the need for self-expression and is used to convey messages to customers. **P1.2** Served the purpose of preserving memories. **P1.3** Symbolic representations of the community.	**Est. 1**	Photographs with customers, i.e., local politicians and state officials, illustrate good relations developed with the Turkish-Cypriot community.	**P1.1**
			Photographs of political leaders symbolize the shared context and the existence of ethnically different communities on the island and show the manager's respect for everyone.	**P1.1**
			Photographs of family members are the tangible forms of memories.	**P1.2**
			Framed newspaper cuttings about the establishment illustrate the establishment's contribution to raising Maronites' voice in the Turkish Cypriot press.	**P1.1**
			Objects symbolize the Maronite community's emotional bond with place, rituals, ethnic origins, and religious beliefs. Objects such as trophies serve to communicate pride and collective achievements.	**P1.3**
		Est. 2	Aesthetic treatments to preserve original features and match historical appearance, such as cover material selection with regard to original texture.	**P1.2**
			Black and white family photos create a sense of nostalgia and act as traces of the manager's past.	**P1.2**
			The painting of the manager's childhood home is the tangible form of a memory, giving an idea about the manager's efforts to transform the building into a semi-public establishment.	**P1.2**
		Est. 3	Photographs and posters of political and religious figures symbolize the ethno-cultural and religious identity of the community, as well as express the existence of a multiplicity of ethnic identities on the island.	**P1.3**
			Flag of Lebanon, reviving the roots of the community.	**P1.3**
			Objects symbolize the collective achievements (i.e., trophies), and ethnic origins of the community.	**P1.3**

5.3 Dwellings- Desired Locality Through Housing

> In an ever more insecure and uncertain world, the withdrawal into the safe haven of territoriality is an intense temptation; and so the defence of the territory—the 'safe home' becomes the pass-key to all doors which one feels must be locked." (Bauman, Globalisation, 1998, p.117).

Historically, the ideas of home, house, and dwelling have perhaps been most emphatically intertwined with the basic terms: comfort, security, privacy, family, control, intimacy, etc. These types of feelings are commonly inscribed in the nature of these spaces that are vital components of human settlement. However, it is also argued that local experiences at the level of neighborhood, village, and family mediate and provide their inhabitants with altering modalities of feelings (Hage, 2003). Thus, they may differentiate between the secure, known, and familiar feelings, as well as the loss of security and control. These dialectical oppositions may come along through sociocultural and political processes as well as other communal realms. According to Dovey *"home is a place of security within an insecure world, a place of certainty within doubt, a familiar place in it strange world…"* (1985, p.46) illustrating the dialectical interaction and dynamic processes, making it hardly a static and fixed notion.

This dialectical interaction can also be observed in the case of Kormakiti, where it is hard to talk about the sense of security and control since the experience of uncertainty marks the everyday lives of the locals. The homeland, with its familiarity and ease, and its assurance of security, is caught up by the threat of extinction, and the locals' anticipation of losing land becomes a barrier to constructing a sense of stability. As discussed in chapter 4, this situation also causes complex meanings and

patterns of belonging in the village, leaving room for both positive and negative feelings for the villagers.

According to the statements of the respondents, dwellings have also evolved into an important part of a community's struggle to maintain historical continuity and to re-construct community identity against extinction. As Creswell (2004) argues, place is the raw material for the production of identity and an important issue for the establishment of community stability. For the Kormakiti people, the desire to protect the place identity of the village by preserving the traditional and original features of their dwellings (Figure 30) is part of their struggle against extinction that is inextricably bound with their wounded social identity.

Figure 30: Exposed stone walls and the protected traditional appearance of the dwellings

One of the most prominent issues obtained from the interviews is the desire of the residents to keep the old alive in the built environment. They explained the necessity of protecting and preserving the traditional appearance of the dwellings in style, structure, size, and orientation. The majority of the respondents have reflected upon the dwelling as giving symbolic information about who they are. Statements included

sensitive connections between Maronite identity and dwelling in the creation of the general neighborhood image.

> There are many vernacular houses in the village, and we have to protect them in their original style. Kormakiti is our ancestral land, and it has to affiliate and represent our identity. Our history, memories, all should be protected. What we've been through has never been easy. We must protect what belongs to our origins (Respondent 17).

> Houses and neighbourhoods should be compatible with my origins and culture. We have to keep the old people alive. This is the only true way. But we live under a lot of pressure, which creates contradictions in my culture. Of course, people have different tastes, but aesthetics and proper materials are very important to creating a suitable environment (Respondent 9).

> We need to protect what we have, not demolish it or build an ugly concrete block instead. We must preserve the historical fabric. We must respect it. We have a beautiful village. As you see, there are many houses in the traditional style, but on the outskirts, all they do is rubbish. When they renovate, they use totally wrong materials that do not fit with the original style. They have to protect the traditional style to keep the correct look of the village (Respondent 6).

> On the outskirts, what they do is highly worrying. They are doing renovations by using totally wrong materials, which do not fit with the original style, ruining the physical texture. Taken actions should respect the local identity and physical coherence of our village (Respondent 7).

> Some houses that you see here look really bad, but if you look at the structures of the old houses, they are fantastic. So if I could change something here, I would make every house look the same. People have no imagination. There are some houses that have been re-done that look completely wrong. So if I had to change something, I would change their mentality (Respondent 4).

For locals, dwellings and neighborhood image are important mechanisms to situate Maronite identity, showing attitudes toward self-presentation through the built environment. The origins and culture are the locals' desired identification with the

place, as they seek to protect the traditional material culture. Therefore, the spatial agency of their Maronite ethnicity is part of the processes of their desired territoriality as they seek for the inscription of fixed, homogenous identity in the place (Figure 31). Without a doubt, places, like people and activities, are integral parts of social everyday life and provide a significant framework for communities to interpret physical fabric as an affective expression of their desire for historical continuity, as well as the built form to represent the community's shared identity. As Myers (2002) discussed these forms of identification based on a sense of ownership of a country, or Cohen expressed the place as a referent to individual and collective identities, this is part of the locals' aspiration to maintain the collective self within a territory, dwellings to remind them of their past, and somehow generate a concrete background to regulate their on-going experiences.

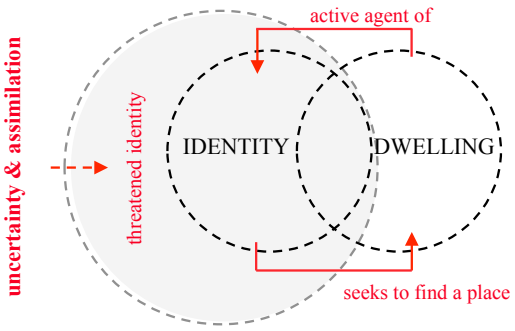


Figure 31: Threatened identity and dwelling interaction

Their statements on the built form include the vision of a secure, homogeneous, original, and traditional fixity, wishing to re-construct the past. However, they also worry about the wrong applications ruining the original physical texture and the place-referent continuity by imposing a lack of familiarity with their origins and culture. In particular, the concrete buildings at the outskirts of the village break the

physical coherence of the built environment in terms of style and the usage of materials.

Besides the aesthetic importance and the desire for a unified expression of community identity, respondents also talked about the emotional importance of the houses that were often left by their families and the spaces where they spent their childhood. As Marcus (1995) explains, home as fulfilling the needs of self-expression and a vessel of memories, respondents expressed the physical protection of identity not only as a referent continuity but also respect to ancestors who lived in prior times, particularly their parents.

> Our house is small – a two-room house on the outskirts of the village, which my mother built. Three boys were born there. She used to stand in the doorway and tell me how we were born in that room. In one room, three brothers Since my parents died 35 years ago, the house has started to collapse, and we are planning on renovating it. So we will be more satisfied when the renovations are finished. We will make it look like it was before (Respondent 6).

> The house has been left to us by the family. It is old, like many other houses in the village, but it has great moral value for us. Currently, we are in the process of doing maintenance. Old houses have many problems. We have to do periodic repairs as needed. We hesitate to make big changes, because we do not want to ruin the original look. There is a trace of my family in every corner (Respondent 7).

While there is a placed importance to aesthetic and emotional value of the dwellings, still, it is possible to observe a collection of abandoned dwellings in ruins (Figure 32) whose owners have passed away, or people hesitating to make any investment in the village as they see an unpredictable future and the risk of total collapse for the community.

Figure 32: Collection of ruined buildings in the village

The demographic characteristics in terms of the age of the residents also have pronounced effects on the place identity of the village and are critical to dwelling identity. Exploration of the physical fabric has shown locals do not have much professional assistance in their engagement with the houses, and the acts of dwelling are carried out in line with their needs. Almost all elderly respondents stated that houses are very old and require periodic repairs and maintenance. Yet, the elderly population of the village lacks the energy to make big changes, and due to their financial status, spatial interventions are only carried out if obligatory.

> When the houses are old, problems occur a lot. But if you are old, you have no energy left for big changes (Respondent 8).

> Houses are old and need care just like us. It is usually necessary to make repairs every year. My son usually takes care of it. Other than that, we do not do much (Respondent 2).

> We do repairs every two years at the latest, so that we don't have to deal with bigger problems. The house is not altered unless absolutely necessary (Respondent 18).

For elderly respondents, dwellings are shaped by their daily practices and needs, and they do not engage in the making of places unless it is necessary. Still, the sites of dwellings are the tangible parts to lay claim to them, have a recognized identity, and mark the dwellings as a point of origin, as locals anticipate the total loss of Maronite

identity, culture, and roots. There is always a gap in their identity that needs to be filled. And it is a loss of identity that has been felt. Frykman points out *"in war... the physical space of the home is of primary importance as a place where one's personal identity is situated and confirmed"* (2002, p. 127). This is true for the Maronites, and locals want to keep hold of what they perceive as part of their physical identity. Dwellings and their produced neighborhood image are conditioned by the affective desire of the community to preserve historical continuity, yet, to a greater or lesser extent, become stuck in their relationship to the physical environment, where place-based interpretations are affected by lived experiences of uncertainty and the aging population of the village.

5.4 Imagined Hopeful Future Places

> Hope… dwells in the region of the not-yet, a place where entrance and, above all, final content are marked by an enduring indeterminacy (Bloch, 1998, p. 341).

Hope is a future-oriented stance toward one's life (Miyazaki, 2004) and is conceptualized as a tool to open up alternative spaces or places. It is deployed as *"staying with the trouble"* and used as *"engagement with the future"* in settings characterized by uncertainty (Haraway, 2016), and in this research, it is used as a narrative tool to embrace uncertainty by turning the situation into a productive condition since narratives are one type of mode of expression that helps to situate events in a particular place and impart certain meanings (Bal, 1997).

Even though the current living conditions in the village have been observed as a dystopic situation, where there is great suffering from the on-going crises, I also asked about the respondents' imagined hopeful spaces with the aim of opening up alternative spaces and benefiting from the productive side of uncertainty. Similar

approaches can be seen in Lefebvre (1991), Foucault (1986) and Soja's (1996) discussion on the third-space, where the creation of 'thirding' aims to open up alternative critiques on space with an understanding that there is more to the materialist world, as human beings are not material atoms wondering around, and have hopes, emotions and imaginations. And, there is always space for the 'third'—consisting of both material and immaterial elements. Thence, the potential connection between hope and space or place inspires ways of re-reading and re-forming an existing place or thinking of space that is yet to come.

As I discussed in chapter 3, the current literature on hope, spaces, and places illustrates hope either as a tool or a method, or as an affect based on their concerns. In the first approach, hope is employed as a tool for the creation of spaces and places, whereas in the second approach, hope is the affect or power that shapes people's actions, or emerges from the spaces and places through people's actions and resistance to open-up alternatives. In the Kormakiti case, it is observed that hope is hardly an affect or power to generate an action, and there is a condition of hopeless waiting. As I explained in chapter 4, respondents expressed a limited degree of control over their experiences, failing to incorporate a positive movement and more likely to have passive forms of futural momentum, forcing them to keep waiting for the day. To do so, in order to learn about their imagined positive futural orientations, a description of their hopeful space is asked of respondents to open up new possibilities against their state of stuckedness.

During the interviews, respondents' imagined hopeful spaces showed that the past and present are the constructs of their imagination, and they are majorly reflections of the inadequencies of here and now. One respondent put it this way: *"living a life*

from one day to the next with no worries and stress" (Respondent 12), being closely intertwined with their current anxieties. None of the imagined hopeful spaces of the respondents were based on utopian scenarios, yet they had an objective to conceal their aspirations to achieve certainty in their lives.

One of the major outcomes of the respondents' imagined scenarios is the creation of space for the younger generation, as well as a shared space to have intergenerational encounters between the old and younger population. Due to the current population's aging in place and the village's being a place for the old, places and current facilities have been variously defined to encompass attributes of the elderly community and their retiree life. As mentioned earlier, the importance of finding ways of engagement with the youth is critical, and especially the mid-age respondents expressed the need for a purposeful future-making strategy to find ways of survival for the community. Similarly, respondents' scenarios are descriptive of this issue, imagining a future space filled with people at every age.

> I imagine a village where kids play, make noise, run around, and have fun (Respondent 10).

> A place where young people can hang out (Respondent 9).

> Creating a space both for the elderly and young people to make good progress in the village (Respondent 6).

> To see young people, kids running in the streets of the village, having schools and enjoying every moment (Respondent 22).

> Letting young people return to their villages and living together (Respondent 14).

> To have children and young people in our village (Respondent 2).

> Spaces to have activities for the children to come and have theatre and plays based on the stories of old people who have passed away (Respondent 1).

> Having schools open again to bring back our children. If we open the schools, young families can stay in the village. More people can return to the village (Respondent 4).

> It would be nice to have children and young people in the village (Respondent 24).

> Spaces for kids to engage with their grandparents. So that they can brighten the older population (Respondent 7).

> Have more opportunities for children and older adults to come together (Respondent 13).

Without a doubt, in order to be able to attract the younger population to the Kormakiti, young people should be involved in the decision-making processes, to develop strong modes of communication, and think of ways to meet the needs of all age groups. Many respondents said they hope for opening schools again to create educational environments and generate shared spaces for both young and old people, such as theatre spaces, where kids can act and play based on real history to keep the community memories alive. Particular youth activities and events have already taken place, such as the Sanna summer immersion camp, to teach Cypriot Maronite Arabic to the young Maronites under age 25. In 2009, the House of Sanna was also established as a multi-purpose language and cultural center to create a language nest for children, together with the learn-as-you-play activities to provide a space for young Maronites and practice their endangered language. However, locals look

forward to further revitalization efforts in their community and seek long-term, permanent solutions to keep the youth in the village. Since they think it is the hardest yet the only way to unite and save their community.

On the other hand, in 2021, the 1960s elementary school building in the village was demolished, and the new building is designed to function both as a new school and a center for cooperation with the objective of promoting peaceful coexistence. However, rather than promoting peace, the project generated in-group disputes and divisions among the villagers. Many villagers believed the demolition was illegal because the building had an important cultural and historical link to the pre-war period of 1974 and had sentimental value to them. However, representatives of the Maronite religious group in parliament, Yiannakis Mousa, stated the building could not be salvaged due to its poor structural condition, and a new building had to be designed instead (Andreou, 2021). This illustrated the importance of engaging with the public realm and having democratic participation of the community in the design activities of the public spaces to minimize disagreements about common goals.

Respondents' future scenarios also involve Kormakiti's becoming an eco-village, attracting tourists, and generating facilities and opportunities for the youth. Scenarios were linked to the economic problems, underlining the lack of work and the difficulty of steady employment in the village. This illustrated another common demand to find a secured income to make a living for those who are not retired. Maintaining unity across generations appeared to depend on the generation of successful economic activity in the village.

> I imagine an eco-village to encourage tourists to come in. Bring the money in. Open more cafés that sell cappuccinos. You can open another restaurant. a bit cheaper than what we have now. Suddenly, we will build momentum.

> How do we attract eco-tourists? We don't want the other tourists to act like clubbers. We are not going to build clubs and bars. We want eco-tourists to come, enjoy, and go away. Tell the others and they will come. This ideology could create a great place here. This could create opportunity for the young, open up new things, and help Maronites come back to their community (Respondent 6).

> Existing eating and drinking places are very successful in attracting people to the village. By using this power, we can attract our youth to the village and create job opportunities (Respondent 10).

> You do not feel comfortable doing business here. I would change this situation (Respondent 7).

> I would find money and help people produce traditional foods like helloumi and oil. Have spaces for domestic production (Respondent 1).

Furthermore, respondents' economic and social aspirations depicted scenarios; they also defined their future space in physical terms, similar to their statements about desired conditions and acts of dwelling. Scenarios involved no modern houses, preserving the traditional dwellings to give the place the identity of the village as one of the strongest components of attraction.

> The first thing I would do is to make older houses look like they did in the past, but make them look better and one look only (Respondent 4).

> I would protect the old houses. I think they are better than what we have now (Respondent 21).

> I would impose strict guidelines to prevent buildings from being built in a modern style (Respondent 1).

> I would get rid of all the buildings that do not tell you anything about our culture and traditions. A village can have more potential if there is harmony and history to tell others (Respondent 12).

> Changing the buildings back to their original state (Respondent 9).

> It is very hard to keep everything the same. It is not possible. I believe progress is needed, but this should be through protecting the old, not destroying it (Respondent 19).

There was also a tendency to protect the positive aspects of the village, like its nature and calmness, without describing any major changes.

> I would protect the village life as it is. In my opinion, the simpler the environment, the better. I don't want crowds. I want calmness and silence (Respondent 8).

> I grew up in the fields. I love nature. I dream of a peaceful life in nature (Respondent 15).

> I think silence is the best part of the village. I would keep it (Respondent 1).

> Preserving natural spaces without causing harm to them (Respondent 5).

Particular respondents described their hopeful future spaces based on the emotional pain caused by political struggles, where there is no oppression or fighting, using the keywords: peace, respect, mutuality, and return to home.

> I would avoid the fight over faith. I want everybody to show respect and love for each other and have no room for discrimination. Happy places, happy people (Respondent 1).

> I imagine a world where our current experiences would not be repeated. Everyone lives a life in the village (Respondent 4).

> A life free of these challenges would be a life well lived. I don't really expect much. A little peace and a carefree life would be nice (Respondent 8).

> Peace... and a future in which everyone can return home. I would let all the people settle back into their homes who are still waiting to return to their villages (Respondent 2).

Respondents imagined hopeful spaces and futures correlated with their present-day difficulties and experiences (Figure 33). The scenarios focus on the regulation of disrupted life patterns, where ordinary social life hurts and become part of the daily social experiences of the locals. Respondents' scenarios are community-based, and shaped to remove the stress, resulting from uncertainty. They seek certainty and potential solutions, as well as unity, youth connection, economic stability, protection of traditional and place-based identity components, a meaningful environment, and a calm and peaceful community. Hopeful future imaginations emerge from social, economic, and cultural expectations and sentimental values, and they are frustrated by structured political inequalities as they seek a way out of their current entrapment. Based on the future scenarios of the locals, it is critical to generate intergenerational and shared spaces for old and young; have restorative and traditionally coherent settings, and encourage more visits by protecting the slow pace of the daily routines and calmness in the village.

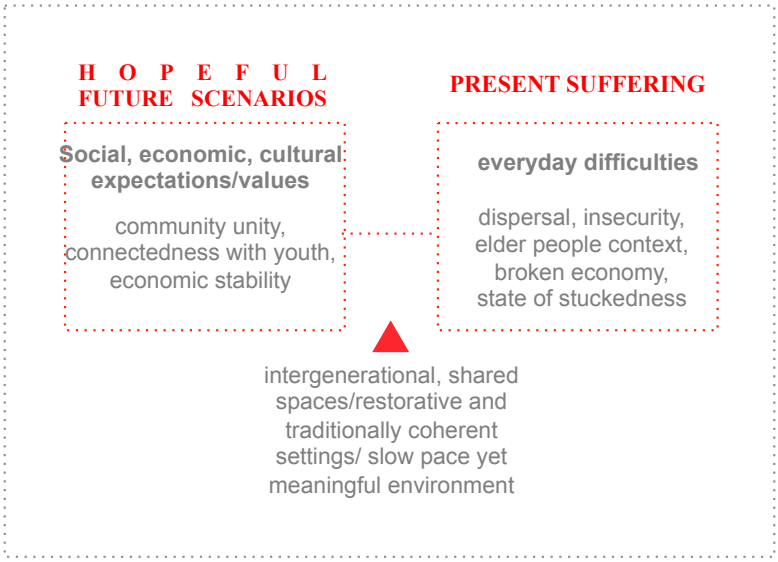


Figure 33: Respondents' described hopeful future scenarios against present suffering

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

This research described the work of place-making in Kormakiti village, a process fraught with uncertainty, community struggles, and hope (lessness). With the scope of existential phenomenological research, the making of place is considered in the context of the crises - an ancestral place of an ethnic minority community facing extinction. I have sought to determine the experiences and place-based efforts of a minority community under threat of existence. The making of place is described as the substantial dimension of the lifeworld and the crystalized aspects of the locals' everyday experiences.

The residents of Kormakiti village and their lived place-making efforts demonstrated the difficulty and complex aspects of their everyday living, and meaning-making processes were marked by community extinction and uncertainty. Residents' efforts and desires to physically interpret the environment, or the way they ascribe meaning to built form, evolved as matters of longing, hoping, and resisting the total collapse of the community. Attempts to move away from anxieties, worries, and indeterminacy to a secure state of certainty included the necessities for re-shaping social and political order, together with emotional and symbolic representational aspects of place-making. The modes of engagement with the place were bound up with the long-standing struggles to protect the sense of territoriality and the continuity of the community. The villagers described the constraints inherent in the

processes of making place as the unpredictability, risks, and inability to progress, along with the uncertainty brought by the political stalemate on the island. Many residents explained the hardships of making a future in the village as long as the current conditions endure. The term ‘struggle’ is repeatedly used by the villagers to talk about their efforts to inhabit and remain in the village.

Cooper and Pratten (2015) have written about uncertainty as a fundamental condition that shifts the patterns of people’s everyday experiences, forms of sociality, and relations with place. And, in this research, I have focused on the affect of uncertainty on the place-making processes of the Kormakiti residents. I began by examining the residents’ lived experiences of uncertainty and then their actions and narratives of the making of place. The analysis of the lived experiences of the locals showed that the desperate historical background and political deadlock keep the uncertainty as an unwanted everyday condition in villagers’ daily lives and raises anxieties over the future of Cypriot Maronites. Uncertainty has evolved into a built-in element of the social setting, transforming the village into an elderly context, and it is the invisible force on intra-group social relations, generating polarization of thoughts and fragile social bonds between the age groups. Findings revealed the residents’ management of uncertainty falls into a state of hopelessness, making villagers stuck in the forever mood of waiting to negotiate their unknown future. Emotional reactions that emerged through the patterns of belonging in the village highlighted the struggle to gain control over the situation, where the lives of the villagers were kept on hold for years. The connection between people and place is observed to be born out of a fear of removal from their sheltering homeland, believing that the demise of the current generation would bring the end of the Maronite inhabitation in Kormakiti.

With the anticipation of displacement, particular mid-aged respondents talked about the tendency to move away from all the trouble and sell what they have in the village due to a lack of situation control and a failure to build positive momentum for the future. However, the majority expressed an emotional bond with the village and a desire to maintain and preserve their threatened ancestral roots. The emphasis on struggle is a means of finding ways to strengthen their claims to the land and to regenerate the village to prevent the extinction of the community. The experience of uncertainty is observed as a rupture in the localized life pattern of the villagers and leads to a contested sense of belonging through a shared struggle to navigate the current situation.

Accordingly, I have characterized the efforts of place-making in Kormakiti village as constant efforts to stabilize the indeterminacy by preserving the continued presence of the Maronite community's territoriality, traditions, culture, and roots. These efforts emerged in a variety of registers and ranged from the public to the private realms, for example, public rituals, the shape of dwellings, and so on, and locals' engagement with their surroundings are demonstrated both in social, emotional, and physical terms.

In their affective engagements and efforts, the practice of place-making is performed in multiple forms (Figure 34). First of all, one means of the locals' making of a place is examined as 'forms of identification', where efforts are placed for the protection of the place as the 'unit of Maronite identity.' Place was approached as the common ground to reflect and keep the Maronite community alive. Either public or semi-public, the efforts are meant to maintain the community's religious, cultural, and social identity alive, which is highly threatened by the on-going assimilation of

younger generations into the Greek-Cypriot realm. Following Creswell's description of place as the raw material for the production of identity, for the Kormakiti people, place is the symbolic material of who they are, and the struggle is to heal their wounded identities by preserving the aspects of their culture and traditions. The attitudes towards using place as the referent continuity of the community can be seen from the folkloric manifestations in the public arena to the small objects and private possessions displayed in the interiors. Locals constantly seek to re-construct their identity against extinction, and in spatial terms, they are attempting to generate a concrete background that distinguishes their ethnic minority identity from the others.

Secondly, another means of place-making practices is the "forms of communication," based on the locals' use of place as a communicative and expressive medium. The efforts and care of the locals are highly prominent in the creation of their spaces of appearance, taking actions to socially, emotionally, and physically express themselves. I have discussed how the performative use of space actively takes place in eating-drinking establishments to reach out and achieve reciprocity by nurturing inter-cultural relations. I have also illustrated the reciprocal understanding between Maronites and Turkish-Cypriots through communicative actions within these places and through the rituals of eating and drinking together. Predominantly, semi-public eating-drinking establishments are observed as the active agents, the containers of collective and personal traces, and are filled with the symbolic representations of the community. Expressive and communicative role of the places are engaged with specific kinds of cultural expressions and meanings inserted to the interior surroundings. In support of Hannah Arendt's (1958) view on public space as the spaces of appearance, locals' decisions to present their community to the outside

world can be seen through these spaces that have the interior aspects of the private realm and the social aspects of the public domain.

Alongside these affordances of the place to express and communicate, processes of making place in the village are about 'raising awareness to render community visible'. Living in an isolated environment, facing extinction and an unknown future, compelled residents to seek ways to navigate and reduce the indeterminacy that surrounded their landscapes. They made efforts both socially and physically to help the recognition of the community, and this was done on a macro-to-micro scale, public-to-private, to make the "Cypriot Maronites" visible.

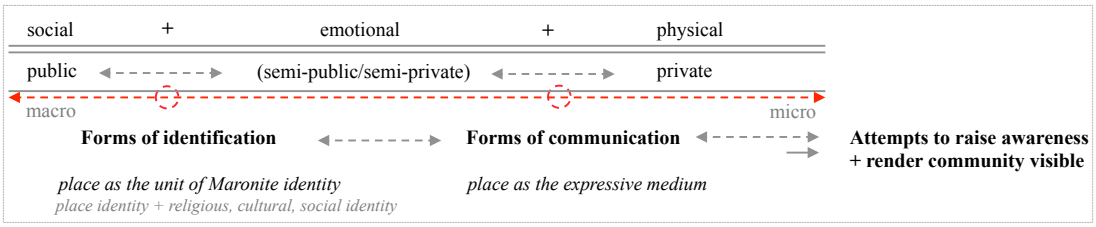


Figure 34: The processes and the forms of place-making in the village

Hopes and future imaginations on place, whether remembered or envisioned, also allowed locals to express and open up to the realities of the present and dream of a desired future. Every villager had known the long periods of uncertainty and the insecure feelings about the future, and those who had lived through all these difficulties were forcibly lost familial bonds by the divergence of the community. The hopes and imagination of the future place are intimately shaped upon the undesired realities of the present. The imagined places are not merely envisioned yet intimately known from past experiences, i.e. longing for the pre-war status of the village, and directly related to the motives of the positive change. Following Ingold's

(2007) view of place as constantly becoming and the creation of 'thirding' (Lefebvre, 1991; Foucault, 1986; Soja, 1996) sought to channel locals' ways of positioning and inscription of future spaces. Statements expressed the active creation of a social environment that is homogenous and secure and included traditional fixity to re-construct the past. Their affective desire for historical continuity and community cohesion, alongside the aspiration to maintain collective self in the ancestral lands, shaped their future scenarios. The necessity to generate intergenerational and shared spaces is highly emphasized to move out of the on-going entrapment. The hopes for the future are rooted in invoking safe, peaceful landscape free of its undesirable aspects. Thence, residents' thinking of a future place is conditioned by either of a return or recovery.

In the midst of demands of the community survival, residents' efforts are viewed as the processes of making socially, symbolically or physically bounded, secure places to create a sense of fixity against uncertainty. The efforts to stabilize both places and community (themselves) are intertwined with the political, social, moral, and emotional processes of making a place, illustrating a desire to articulate a shared aesthetic of belonging, seeking to insert a message of 'we are here, this is our place.' The making of a place in Kormakiti is related to the making of the self. However, the analysis of the lived experiences and the crystalized aspects of places illustrate community presence and the process of place-making doesn't necessarily translate into powerful presence, yet involves complex and on-going negotiation over degrees of invisibility. Place-based attempts and affordances have short-term effects and benefits and can be seen as temporary conditions - being incapable of establishing the desired state or overcoming the constraints and constantly maintaining locals' quest to transform the present order.

The study brings together place-making and uncertainty concepts in order to shed a new light on the lifeworlds of an endangering ethnic minority community of Cypriot Maronites. The thesis observed that meaning-making and affective engagements between people and place are always specific and subjective, and in this case, continuously characterized by uncertainty and struggle. The approach shows the theoretical contention that uncertainty is the disjuncture in the processes of making place - the place that is constantly reconstituted, and always beyond the material, forged by the hopes or hopelessness, and indistinguishably entangled with social, political, and temporal becomings. Thence, it is a multi-faceted issue and always requires multi-dimensional and dynamic tools of thinking.

Many insights have been derived from micro-to-macro perspectives, from public to private realms, covering social, emotional, and physical attributes of the community. But, it should be noted that it is critical to take further responsive actions to ease the on-going crises in the community. Following the examined lifeworlds of the Maronites and the meaning of the places to them, this research suggests that;

- Re-opening the occupied villages of Asomatos and Agia Marina to Maronites' inhabitation is highly important to create connectedness and unity for the community.
- Compared to the location of the Kormakiti village, the locations of the occupied villages of Asomatos and Agia Marina are closer to the buffer zone, and Agia Marina is situated 24 km west of the capital city of Nicosia. The re-opening of these villages will bring more advantages in creating links and attractions for the youth in terms of mobility and accessibility to the facilities, job opportunities, schools, etc.

- In order to preserve the continuity of the Maronite traditions and culture, places and the built form in general should have traditionally coherent settings and protect the identity of the places in their original form. This is critical for preserving the aesthetic and emotional values of places in order to foster the uniqueness of local particularities, shared memories, feelings and emotions of the community.
- Consistent conservation projects to protect the physical, social, and spiritual aspects of the worship places, i.e., churches and chapels, as they are the concrete, place-referent continuity of the community with the key role in engaging community together and maintaining the religious identity of the Maronites that is in need of being molded.
- Future research should integrate the views of younger generations, who have predominantly adopted the Greek-Cypriot culture. Together with their hopes and desires to regulate their needs and purposes, the chance for multiple "bridgings" can be created against the indeterminate future. They are the ones who will continue to maintain the ethnic and cultural origins, values, and traditions of the Cypriot Maronite community.

To conclude, architecture alone cannot prevent crises or bring peace, but places are the integral part of the socio-political struggles, therefore can contribute to creating physical or psychological spaces to motivate social co-existence and political stability. This makes place-making a key practice that addresses the community problems and helps re-establishing positive relationships and meanings among isolated communities. Because place-making has the power to uncover the voices of

marginalized, vulnerable, and minority people and yet also enlightens on the possibility of alternatives.

Last but not least, having reached an understanding of the concept of uncertainty, attempts should be made at many levels to change uncertainty from being a source of anxiety for the Maronite community into a basis of exploration and curiosity, calling forth considered actions to prevent the total collapse of the community.

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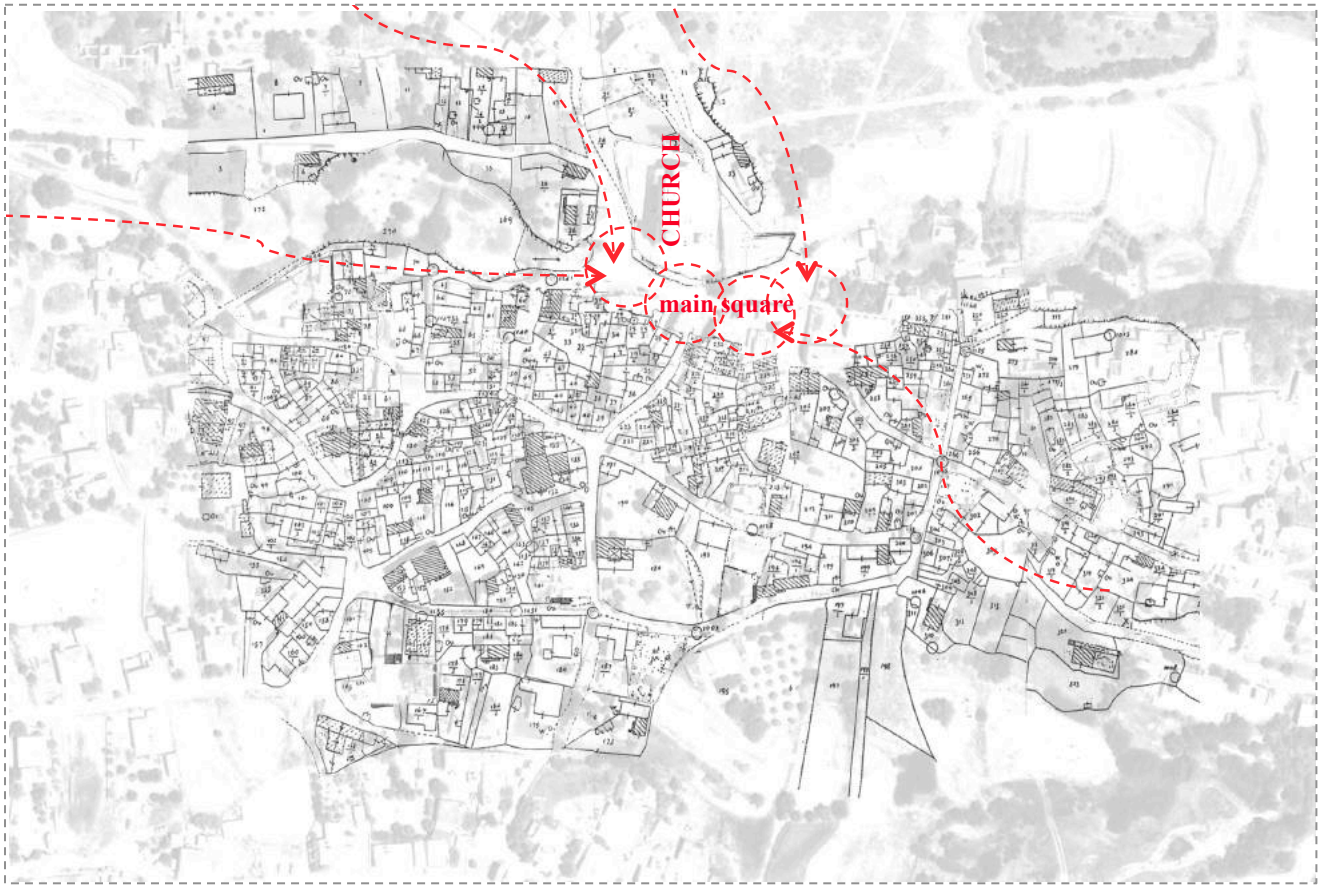
APPENDICES

Appendix A: The Map of Kormakiti Village



Appendix B: Information on the Gatekeepers of Research

Respondent 1	is 50 years old, married, and lives in Kormakiti. When she was 10, she had to stay away from her family for eight years due to having no school in the village. She defined her childhood as the worst period of her life. For now, she owns a boutique hotel in the village, but for financial reasons, she has to work part-time on the Greek side as well. She has three children, and all of them live in the south. Her children stay occasionally in the village.
Respondent 2	is 76 years old. She has lived in Kormakiti since she was born and never left the village. She ran the local coffeehouse for decades. Her children and grandchildren live in the southern part of the island.
Respondent 3	is a 56-year-old welder. After the 1974 event, he remained in the village for six more years, and then went to Nicosia for school. His children were born and raised in Nicosia, and they still live there. Five years ago, he built a house next to his parents' house, and he now permanently stays in Kormakiti
Respondent 4	is 57 years old, married and lives in Kormakiti. He has three children who live in the south, and he operates a boutique hotel together with his wife. He says that he has been working since he was 13 years old and left the village only for educational purposes. His children come and stay with them whenever possible.
Respondent 5	is 72 years old. After the island's division in 1974, he moved to the Greek side and started to work there. When he retired, he returned to the village. He has two children, and they live in the south part of the island.
Respondent 6	is 62 years old. He was born in the village. Then, he had to leave when he was only four years old, as his father went to look for work in England. He has lived in London most of his life. His children were born there and still live in England. After his retirement, he moved back to Cyprus. He lost his parents, but many of his relatives lived in the village. He owns a house on the Greek side as well, but spends the majority of the year in the village, as he seeks tranquillity and loves being in his parents' house.
Respondent 7	is 64 years old. He used to be a company director in London. Now he is retired and has moved back to Cyprus. He has two daughters, and they live in London. He was born in the village, but for economic reasons, he went to the UK in 1963 with his parents. Before his return to Cyprus, he used to come and visit the village every year.
Respondent 8	is 71 years old. Before his retirement, he used to be a builder. He was born in the village, but in 1976, he moved to London to marry his wife. He came back in 2011 and since then, he has lived in Kormakiti.
Respondent 9	is 46 years old. He has no children and has lived in Kormakiti for the last ten years. He helps old villagers pay their bills and do their shopping.

Appendix C: Gap Analysis on the Place-making Literature

The summary of the published works between 2010-2020												
Sources	**Year**	**Source type**	**Place-making**	**Uncertainty**	**Field of research**						**Concern of research**	**Scope of the research**
					Architecture	**Int. Architecture**	**Urban**	**Geography**	**Anthropology**	**Other**		
Knapp, E.	2020	Thesis	+				+				Diasporic place-making	Urban landscapes
Mateo-Babiano, I., & Palipane, K.	2020	Book	+				+				Place-making pedagogical approaches, methodological techniques	Urban public places
Halegoua , R., G.	2020	Book	+				+				Digital media and connection to lived environment	Global and mid-sized cities-everyday urban life
Elkadi, H., & Al-Maiyah, S.	2020	Book	+		+		+				Role of daylighting in place-making	Architectural and urban settings
Page, T.	2020	Book	+							+	Materialism and ways of making place	Theoretical concepts of socio-material world
Luger, K. & Ripp, M.	2020	Book	+				+				Integrative approaches of place-making in heritage management	Historic urban landscapes
Poziemska, et.al.	2020	Book	+	+	+		+				Urban inequalities, uncertainty and urban place-making	Urban, cities
Halvaksz, A., J.	2020	Book	+						+		Metaphor of gold mining in understanding the relationship between place and person and the social reproduction of a community.	Ethnographic field work

The summary of the published works between 2010-2020												
Sources	Year	Source type	Place-making	Uncertainty	Field of research						Concern of research	Scope of the research
					Architecture	Int. Architecture	Urban	Geography	Anthropology	Other		
London, F.	2020	Book	+		+		+				Architectural and urban design strategies for health place-making	Architectural and urban settings
Courage, C. & McKeown, A.	2019	Book	+		+		+	+			Art-driven, creative place-making definitions and understandings through both academic and practitioner voices.	Conceptual, and urban
Craft, A., J.	2018	Book	+				+			+	Arts and crafts in the dynamics of place-making.	Urban public places
Lems, A.	2018	Book	+						+		Place-making as storytelling, emplacement and displacement.	Ethnographic field work
Seamon, D.	2018	Book	+		+		+	+			Phenomenological understandings of people-in-place.	Architectural and urban landscapes
Campion, C.	2018	Book	+				+				Participatory methods, community involvement and place-making	Case studies on cities, town, neighbourhoods
Thomas, D.	2016	Book	+				+				Place-making as urban design methodology	Methodological approaches on urban environment
Sen, A. & Johung, J.	2016	Book	+		+		+				Ideological and political underpinnings of landscapes of mobility	Case studies on cities
Palermo, C., P. & Ponzini, D.	2015	Book	+				+				Place-making in urban development and planning	Urban public spaces
Khirfan, L.	2014	Book	+				+				Place-making strategies on conserving an urban historic landscape's sense of place	Historic urban landscapes

The summary of the published works between 2010-2020												
Sources	**Year**	**Source type**	**Place-making**	**Uncertainty**	**Field of research**						**Concern of research**	**Scope of the research**
					Architecture	**Int. Architecture**	**Urban**	**Geography**	**Anthropology**	**Other**		
Katić, M. & Eade, J.	2014	Book	+						+		Discusses the crossing of borders in terms of the relationship between pilgrimage and politics, and the role which this plays in the process of both sacred and secular place-making	Regional studies
Arefi, M.	2014	Book	+				+				Theoretical and practical discussions on place-making for planners and urban designers	Case studies on cities, and neighbourhoods
Sen A., & Silverman, L.	2014	Book	+		+		+				Embodied place-making as a category of critical analysis	Urban public spaces
Harney, M.	2013	Book	+		+					+	Theoretical assessments on eighteenth-century British traditional architecture and stylistic narratives	Architecture and landscape setting
Musterd, S., & Kovács, Z.	2013	Book	+				+				Urban policies and place-making for strengthening the competitiveness of the cities	Cities
Hou, J.	2013	Book	+				+				Explores the migration and movement across borders to the making of cities, neighborhoods, districts and communities	Cities, neighborhoods, districts
Rowles, G., & Bernard, M.	2013	Book	+		+		+	+	+	+	Examines making of place, and what it means to experience ageing in and through public spaces	Residential and public spaces
Vescovi, F.	2013	Book	+				+				With a main focus on urban design, examines the means for delivering attractive places in more sustainable and competitive cities	Urban design
Rios, M., & Vazquez, L.	2012	Book	+		+		+				Culturally inclusive making and planning of place through community engagement	Urban planning

The summary of the published works between 2010-2020												
Sources	**Year**	**Source type**	**Place-making**	**Uncertainty**	**Field of research**						**Concern of research**	**Scope of the research**
					Architecture	**Int. Architecture**	**Urban**	**Geography**	**Anthropology**	**Other**		
(Rogerson, R., Sadler, S., & Green, A.	2011	Book	+				+	+			Discusses the role of local initiatives and engagement with people in enhancing sustainable development and creating better places	Methodological discussions on spatial planning, communities and cities
Nabeel, H.	2010	Book	+		+		+				Discusses participatory planning and multifaceted dimensions of place-making	Methodological discussions on urban planning
Tang, Z., Lu, A., & Yang, Y.	2020	Journal	+		+	+	+				Design research and memory place-making	Public space
Scott, M.	2020	Journal	+				+				Covid-19, health and, place-making	Towns and cities
Huang, Y., et.al.	2020	Journal	+				+				Rural transformation in the theory of place-making	Rural planning
Toomeya, A., Strehlau-Howay, L., Manzolillo, B., & Thomas, C.	2020	Journal	+				+				Place-based citizen science, and its active processes of place - making.	Urban; waterfronts
Spruce, E.	2020	Journal	+				+			+	LGBTQ territorialisation, place-making, and the politics of neighborhood change	Ethnographic study & urban politics
Khoo, S., L., & Woo, H.	2020	Journal	+		+		+				Making sense of place-making in affordable housing schemes	Housing and urban liveability
Lak, A., & Zar, S.	2020	Journal	+		+		+				Tactical urbanism and place-making	Urban

The summary of the published works between 2010-2020												
Sources	Year	Source type	Place-making	Uncertainty	Field of research						Concern of research	Scope of the research
					Architecture	Int. Architecture	Urban	Geography	Anthropology	Other		
Hoolachan, J.	2020	Journal	+							+	Homeless people ability to home-make, and 'place-making' as a useful alternative concept	Ethnographic research
McClinchey, K.	2020	Journal	+					+			Social sustainability through everyday place-making and sensuous multiculturalism of festival experiences	Festival experience
Biglin, J.	2020	Journal	+				+				Refugees sensory and embodied experiences of place-making and therapeutic spaces	Therapeutic landscapes
Hatoum, A., N	2020	Journal	+				+				Place-making in Jerusalem under the constant threat of displacement and dispossession	Urban place-making
Lin, X., Jia, T., Lusk, A., & Larkham, P.	2020	Journal	+				+				Place-making, placelessness and urban design	Urban
Akbar, A., & Edelenbos, N., J.	2020	Journal	+				+				place-making in urban informal settlements.	Urban
Brosius,C., & Michaels, A.	2020	Journal	+				+				Vernacular heritage as urban place-making	Urban
Bose, D.	2020	Journal	+				+	+			Right to the city by examining practices of place-making among diverse residents	Urban settlements
Zhou, F.	2020	Journal	+				+			+	Role of typography in place-making practices	Urban spaces
Mui, et.al.	2020	Journal	+		+						Tactical place-making initiative combining social work and architecture	Place-based community development, local shop spaces

The summary of the published works between 2010-2020												
Sources	Year	Source type	Place-making	Uncertainty	Field of research						Concern of research	Scope of the research
					Architecture	Int. Architecture	Urban	Geography	Anthropology	Other		
Luvaas, B.	2020	Journal	+				+			+	Urban place-making through photography	Urban
Donaldson, G. & João, E.	2020	Journal	+				+				Green infrastructure, place making and public realm development	Urban areas
Doonan, N.	2020	Journal	+					+			Feminist place-making and sustainable development	Geographically remote coastal region
Huang, S. & Roberts, J., L.	2019	Journal	+		+		+				Theoretical discussion on place-making considering mobility and community design	City-building
Dupre, K.	2019	Journal	+							+	Trends, and gaps in place-making	Theoretical discussions
Mosler, S.	2019	Journal	+				+				Place-making within urban design; spatial analysis of historic fortification systems in everyday urban landscapes	Urban landscapes
Omholt, T.	2019	Journal	+				+				Strategies for inclusive place-making	Urban
Murphy A., Enqvist, J., & Tengö, M.	2019	Journal	+				+				Place-making to transform urban social, and ecological systems	Urban
Ehlenz, M.	2019	Journal	+				+				University neighborhoods, place-making and change	Neighborhoods
Lager, D.,R., Hoven, P., V., & Huigen, P., P.	2019	Journal	+				+	+			Older adults' place-making practices through walking	Urban Neighborhoods

The summary of the published works between 2010-2020												
Sources	Year	Source type	Place-making	Uncertainty	Field of research						Concern of research	Scope of the research
					Architecture	Int. Architecture	Urban	Geography	Anthropology	Other		
Mosler, S.	2019	Journal	+				+				Everyday heritage as positive place-making process within urban design	Urban landscape
Bielo, S., J.	2019	Journal	+						+		Protestant place-making and promises of presence	Ethnographic analysis of place-making
Mapitsa, B., C.	2019	Journal	+							+	Role of migrants in the process of place making	Empirical research with local government officials, and migrants
Ploner., J., & Jones, L.	2019	Journal	+				+				Youth engagement in urban planning, and young people in culture-led regeneration and place making schemes	Urban planning
Palmberger, M.	2019	Journal	+						+		Practices of place-making and memory in divided cities	Fieldwork
Wu, H. & Hou, C.	2019	Journal	+				+			+	Co-design approach for post-disaster construction, and protection of place-making heritage	Co-design approach
Silverman, R., et.al.	2019	Journal	+				+				Role of place making on gentrification in core city neighborhoods	Core city neighborhoods
Credit, K. & Mack, E.	2019	Journal	+				+	+			Importance of place-making in economic development and its relationship between specific urban design features	Urban design
Haraldseid, T.	2019	Journal	+				+	+			Relationship between place-making and social creativity	Coastal town, community entrepreneurs and creative community arenas

The summary of the published works between 2010-2020												
Sources	**Year**	**Source type**	**Place-making**	**Uncertainty**	**Field of research**						**Concern of research**	**Scope of the research**
					Architecture	**Int. Architecture**	**Urban**	**Geography**	**Anthropology**	**Other**		
P. N., Kamath, A., & Paul, A.	2019	Journal	+					+			Social capital–bolstered place-making process	Spatial ethnographic study of historic market
Lennon, M. & Moore, D.	2019	Journal	+		+		+				Lefebvre's production of space, and micro-politics of community place-making	Community gardening in an inner-city area
Franco, S.	2019	Journal	+				+	+			Place-making and belonging and everyday experience in favelas, and townships	Urban settings
Almaarou fi, et.al.	2019	Journal	+		+		+				Self-built settlements and place-making through creation of common spaces	Urbanization strategy
Berg, A.	2019	Journal	+						+		Religious actors and religious place-making	Ethnographic research
Canelas, P.	2019	Journal	+				+				Managers and curatorial form of place-making	Public space, neighborhoods
Habaraka da, S. & Shin, H.	2019	Journal	+							+	Process of transnational religious place-making	Ethnographic research
Singh, B.	2019	Journal	+				+			+	Citizen cultural activism and facilitates place-making	Urban spatial
Eckenwil er, L.	2018	Journal	+				+			+	Ethic of place-making	Theoretical discussion on community and public
Jarman, D.	2018	Journal	+				+			+	Festivals as processes of place-making, and engagement with local community	Surveys with festival volunteers

The summary of the published works between 2010-2020												
Sources	Year	Source type	Place-making	Uncertainty	Field of research						Concern of research	Scope of the research
					Architecture	Int. Architecture	Urban	Geography	Anthropology	Other		
Pancholi, S., Yigitcanlar, T.,& Guaralda, M.	2018	Journal	+				+				Place-making as strategy for knowledge generation and innovation activities in the innovation spaces.	Urban design
Zhang, A.	2018	Journal	+				+	+			Temporality of place-making, and relational understanding of place	Urban districts
Waite, C.	2018	Journal	+				+				Young rural people's place-making under globalization	Regional town
Grant, A.	2018	Journal	+				+	+			Tibetan marginal place-makers and their way through territorial regulations and commercialism in the city	Ethnographic fieldwork
Scott, J., & Sohn, C.	2018	Journal	+				+				Place-making and border-making processes in urban contexts	Urban
Rossini, F.	2018	Journal	+				+				Place-making projects to revitalize open public spaces	Open public space
Corcoran, R., Marshall, G., & Walsh, E.	2018	Journal	+				+			+	Psychological benefits of cooperative place-making	Future community places; sub-urban residential areas
Breek, P., Hermes, J., Eshuis, J., & Mommaas, H.	2018	Journal	+							+	Role of social media in processes of place-making	Neighbourhood
Benkő, M., Balla, R., & Hory, G.	2018	Journal	+		+		+				Discussion of participatory place-making, and the renewal of urban housing	Urban housing

The summary of the published works between 2010-2020												
Sources	Year	Source type	Place-making	Uncertainty	Field of research						Concern of research	Scope of the research
					Architecture	Int. Architecture	Urban	Geography	Anthropology	Other		
Purkis, S.	2018	Journal	+				+			+	Gender specific analysis of use of the urban space and indicates how space is made	Gendered use of urban space
Özogul, S. & Kok, T., T.	2018	Journal	+				+				Transformative place-making" from a governance point of view	Urban
Ma, Z.	2018	Journal	+						+		Sensorial place-making through analysing the taste and other sensory experiences of forest	Ethnographic research
Dai, J., & Vries, G.	2018	Journal	+				+	+			Idea of institutional and its contribution to place making	Urban public space
Sen, A., & Nagendra , H.	2018	Journal	+				+			+	Sustainable environmental place-making	Urban commons
Talmi Cohn, R.	2018	Journal	+						+		place-making and time-making of immigrants	Ethnographic study
Thakrar, J.	2018	Journal	+								University and community engagement through place-making	Community engagement with university
Sweeney, J., Mee,K., & McGuirk, P.	2018	Journal	+				+				Citizen-led place-making projects and regeneration of the city	City
Chan, N.	2018	Journal	+				+				Place-making process of precarity	Night market
Singh, B.	2018	Journal	+				+				Cultural resurgence and place-making	Urbanism

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Sources	**Year**	**Source type**	**Place-making**	**Uncertainty**	**Field of research**						**Concern of research**	**Scope of the research**
					Architecture	**Int. Architecture**	**Urban**	**Geography**	**Anthropology**	**Other**		
Berti, M., Simpson, A., & Clegg, S.	2018	Journal	+		+						Heuristic model on place and place-making	Sydney Business School as designed space
Lew, A., A.	2017	Journal	+				+			+	Place-making actions for tourism destination planning and marketing	Urban design, tourism places
Sofield, T., Guia, J., & Specht, J.	2017	Journal	+				+			+	Community led organic place-making and tourism	Urban studies
Mattijsse n, T., et.al.	2017	Journal	+				+			+	Place-making to place-keeping for managing urban green space	Urban space
Bain, A. & Landau, F.	2017	Journal	+				+				Place-making via artist proxy	Urban
Bodirsky, K.	2017	Journal	+				+		+		Contested place-making, and practices of commoning	Urban politics
Turvey, A., R.	2017	Journal	+				+				Place-making to build sustainable communities	Small urban municipalitie s
Park, Y., & Newman, D., G.	2017	Journal	+		+		+				Place-making framework based on Alexander's patterns	Community design/planni ng
Sand, A.	2017	Journal	+				+			+	Young people rhythms in the city as a part of their place-making	Ethnographic fieldwork on urban rhythms
Romeiro, P.	2017	Journal	+				+				Creative activism and urban place-making	Urban

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Sources	**Year**	**Source type**	**Place-making**	**Uncertainty**	**Field of research**						**Concern of research**	**Scope of the research**
					Architecture	**Int. Architecture**	**Urban**	**Geography**	**Anthropology**	**Other**		
Fincher, R., Pardyb, M., & Shaw,K.	2016	Journal	+				+				Practices of place-making and urban re-development to enable social equity	Urban
Fang, M., et.al.	2016	Journal	+				+				Principles of aging-in-place, and place-making with older people	Neighbourhood spaces
Yigitcanlar, T., et.al.	2016	Journal	+				+				Place-making as marketing tool; branding and knowledge generation	Urban
Shaw, K., & Montana, G.	2016	Journal	+		+		+				Creative city-inspired place-making principles and mega projects	Urban and architectural
Jirón, P., Imilan, W., & Iturra, L.	2016	Journal	+		+		+				İdea of mobile place-making to create new ways of making sense of the city	Ethnographic research on mobility
Wanner, C.	2016	Journal	+				+		+		Politicized place-making, self-making, urban affect and nostalgia	Urban landscapes
Goldstein, R., S.	2016	Journal	+		+		+				Politics of place-making and millennium city	Urbanization and, millennium city
Stevenson A., & Holloway, J.	2016	Journal	+					+		+	Sound-based research methods to place-making	Sound-based research
Kurnicki, K. & Sternberg, M.	2016	Journal	+	+			+				Everyday experiences through different place-making strategies in the context of a shifting border	Polish-German border towns
Shin, H.	2016	Journal	+				+				Collective memory and place-making at a historic site	Urban collective memory

The summary of the published works between 2010-2020												
Sources	**Year**	**Source type**	**Place-making**	**Uncertainty**	**Field of research**						**Concern of research**	**Scope of the research**
					Architecture	**Int. Architecture**	**Urban**	**Geography**	**Anthropology**	**Other**		
Hung, Y.	2016	Journal	+				+				Quotidian interactions, everyday life and place-making	Ethnographic fieldwork
Poppe W., & Young, D.	2015	Journal	+				+				Politics of place-making and densification	Urban; neighbourhoods
Cilliers E. J., Timmermans, W., Goorbergh, F., & Slijkhuis, J.	2015	Journal	+				+				Place-making approaches and green-planning approaches on creating environmentally friendly landscapes	Urban; public spaces
Madureira, M., A.	2015	Journal	+				+				Physical planning with place-making through urban design	Urban
Schuch, J.,C., & Wang, Q.	2015	Journal	+				+	+			Systematic approach to understanding the place-making process of immigrant businesses	Urban; mainly neighbourhood level
Hume S. E.,	2015	Journal	+					+			Bosnian place-making, diaspora, ethnic enclave	Cultural landscape
Newman, G. D.	2015	Journal	+		+		+				Framework for heritage-based place making	Urban form and historic built environment
Laszckowski, M.	2015	Journal	+		+		+				Scrappy place-making	Apartment blocks, urban residential environment
Lang, B., & Sakdapolrak, P.	2015	Journal	+	+				+			relational and discursive making of places, during times of political uncertainty	Urban- post-conflict setting

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Sources	Year	Source type	Place-making	Uncertainty	Field of research						Concern of research	Scope of the research
					Architecture	Int. Architecture	Urban	Geography	Anthropology	Other		
Phelps, N., & Vento, A.	2015	Journal	+				+			+	Suburban place making process, and the way it is empowered or constrained by political parties and individual politicians	Sub-urban place-making
Chow, Y., Wichelen , S., & Kloet, J.	2015	Journal	+					+			Home as place-making, issues of belonging, and citizenship	Cultural geographies of home
Elwood, S. Lawsona, V.,& Nowak, S.	2014	Journal	+				+				Class- identities, urban place-making and poverty politics	Urban
Manuel, V. A. & Knott, K.	2014	Journal	+				+				Religious place-making of minority migrants	Spatial regimes of cities
Cilliers, E. & Timmerm ans, w.	2014	Journal	+				+				Participatory planning approach in the place-making process of the urban	Urban spaces
Lombard, M.	2014	Journal	+		+		+				Place-making as analytical lens to view ordinary construction of urban informal settlements	Urban informal settlements
Roe, P., G.	2014	Journal	+				+				Concept of place-making and urbanization	Urban
Darcy, M., & Rogers, D.	2014	Journal	+		+		+				Public-housing redevelopment and place-making	Public housing
Rota, F. & Salone, C.	2014	Journal	+				+				Unconventional cultural event and place-making	Cultural events and neighbour-hoods
Castillo, R.	2014	Journal	+				+		+		Place-making practices and structures of belonging	Ethnographic fieldwork

The summary of the published works between 2010-2020												
Sources	Year	Source type	Place-making	Uncertainty	Field of research						Concern of research	Scope of the research
					Architecture	Int. Architecture	Urban	Geography	Anthropology	Other		
Puleo, T.	2014	Journal	+				+	+		+	art as place-making following catastrophe	Urban
Riemsdijk, v., M.	2014	Journal	+				+	+			Everyday place-making of migrants	Local belonging discussion
Biddulph, M.	2014	Journal	+		+		+	+			Production of images in place-making settings, drawing and thinking	Theoretical discussion on the visualization of place
Garbin, D.	2014	Journal	+					+		+	Place-making, practices and strategies of religious territorialization associated with the politics of diaspora	Religious and diasporic landscapes
(Ivanovic, M.	2014	Journal	+		+		+				Role of human activity as a place-making coordinate	Urban social spaces; Parks
Buser, M., Bonura, C., Fannin, M, & Boyer, K.	2013	Journal	+				+				Creative practice, activism and urban place-making	Urban
Othman, S., Nishimura, Y., & Kubota, A.	2013	Journal	+								Memory association in place-making	Urban memory
Coaffee, J.	2013	Journal	+				+				Politics of urban resilience and local place-making	Urban
Johansson, et al.	2013	Journal	+							+	Place-making as useful concept/tool to understand how occupation can be drawn upon to negotiate relationships that connect people to different places around the world	Conceptual and theoretical discussions

The summary of the published works between 2010-2020												
Sources	**Year**	**Source type**	**Place-making**	**Uncertainty**	**Field of research**						**Concern of research**	**Scope of the research**
					Architecture	**Int. Architecture**	**Urban**	**Geography**	**Anthropology**	**Other**		
Marsden, T.	2013	Journal	+				+				Sustainable place-making	Urban and rural-sphere
Rofe, W., M.	2013	Journal	+				+			+	Rural place-making opportunity; dark tourism and rural dystopia	Theoretical discussion on rural dystopia
Allen, W.	2013	Journal	+					+		+	Place-making activities at borders	Kenya-Uganda borderland
Malatesta, S.	2013	Journal	+					+			Floodscapes and place-making at local level	Geographical field research
Arensen, L.	2012	Thesis	+	+					+		Ethnographic study of place-making in war altered context	Village landscape
Benson, M., & Jackson, E.	2012	Journal	+				+				Processes of place-making and discussion on performativity and place attachment of middle-classes in the city	Neighbourhoods
Hultman, J., & Hall, C., M.	2012	Journal	+								Place-making as agency of tourism	Tourism places
Mason, K., & Whitehead, M.	2012	Journal	+				+	+			Contested construction of relational urban imaginaries	Urban
Jones, P., & Evans, J.	2012	Journal	+				+	+			Embodied relationship between communities and urban spaces based on the idea of rescue geography	Urban spaces
Swenson, E.	2012	Journal	+							+	Third-space and politics of place-making	Archaeological analysis of landscape

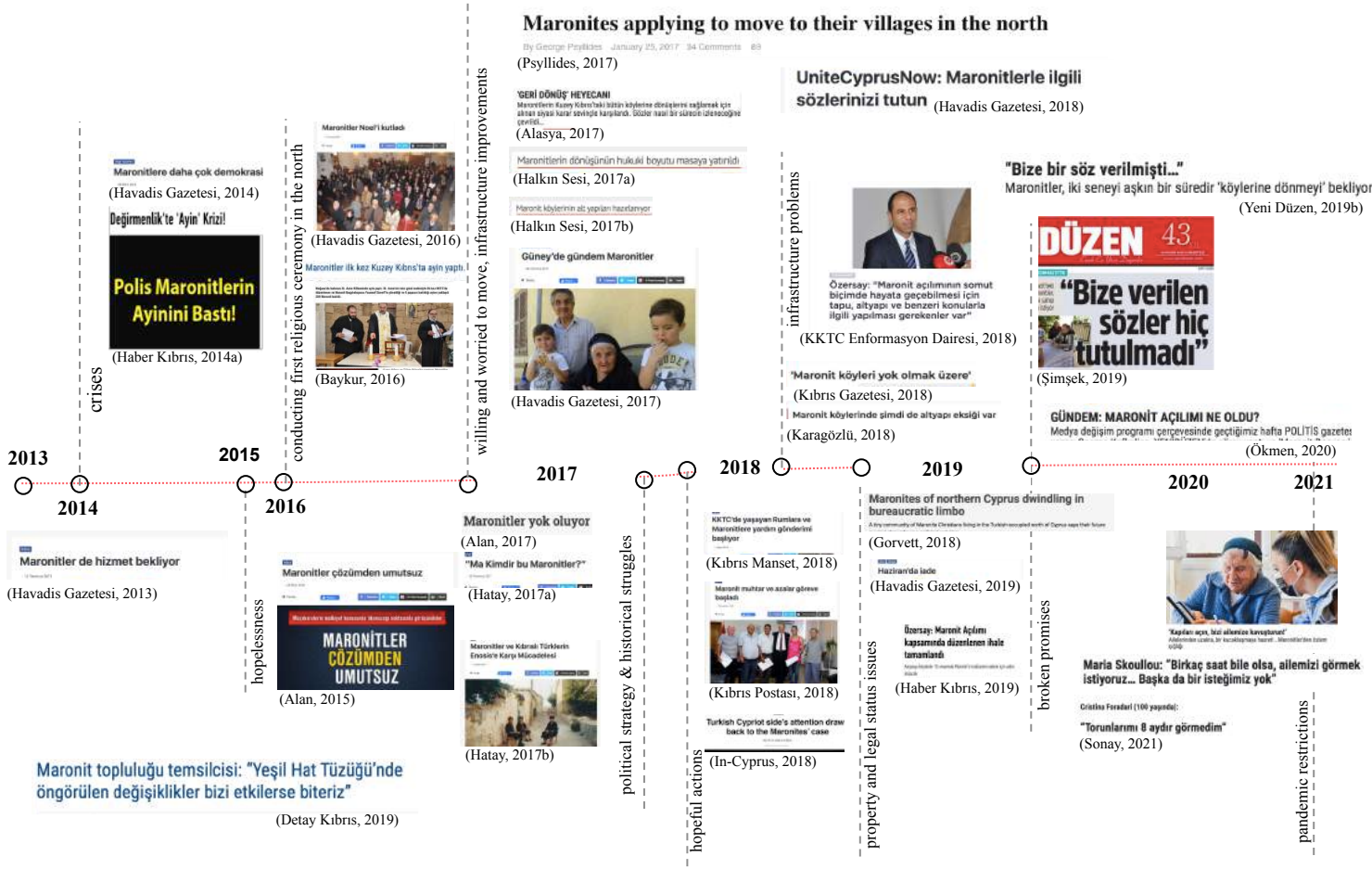
The summary of the published works between 2010-2020												
Sources	**Year**	**Source type**	**Place-making**	**Uncertainty**	**Field of research**						**Concern of research**	**Scope of the research**
					Architecture	**Int. Architecture**	**Urban**	**Geography**	**Anthropology**	**Other**		
(Sartre, X., A., Berdoula y, V., & Lopes, R.	2012	Journal	+					+			Unexpected transformations, and place-making as a way out of local trap	Local fieldwork
Millward, L.	2012	Journal	+							+	Struggles over lesbian place-making	Historical review
Yuan, Y.	2011	Thesis	+	+					+		Rural migrants' everyday practices of place-making	Ethnographic research on urban villages
Wittebor n, S.	2011	Journal	+							+	Forced migration, asylum seekers, mobility and place-making	Theoretical discussions and ethnographic fieldwork
Fettes, M. & Judson, G.	2011	Journal	+							+	Imaginative dimension of place-making	Conceptual discussions
McGaw, J., Pieris, A., & Potter, E.	2011	Journal	+		+		+				Indigenous place-making practices for cultural architecture	Urban and architectural discussion
McAnany , P.	2011	Journal	+						+		Place-making, ancestralizing, and re-animation within memory communities	Ethnographic research
Friedman n, J.	2010	Journal	+				+				Planning perspective to global place-making in the face of violent inter-city struggle for footloose capital	Cities
Pierce, J., Martin, G., D., & Murphy, T., J.	2010	Journal	+				+	+			Theoretical discussion on place-making, networking and politics	Political and urban geography
Gill, N.	2010	Journal	+					+		+	Pathologies of migrant place-making	Urban, neighbour-hood
Sampson, R. & Gifford, M., S.	2010	Journal	+		+	+	+				Relationship between place-making, well-being and settlement among youth refugees	Therapeutic landscapes

The summary of the published works between 2010-2020												
Sources	**Year**	**Source type**	**Place-making**	**Uncertainty**	**Field of research**						**Concern of research**	**Scope of the research**
					Architecture	Int. Architecture	Urban	Geography	Anthropology	Other		
Collinge C., & Gibney, J.	2010	Journal	+				+				Investigation of place making and shaping, upon governance and leadership.	Urban and regional focus
Durmaz, B., Platt, S., & Yigitcanlar, T.	2010	Journal	+				+				Creative industries and the film industry for place-making	Urban
Shlay, A., S., & Rosen, G.	2010	Journal	+				+				Place-making in Jerusalem, green line, and shift in boundaries by various actors	Urban
Kinnvall & Nesbitt-Larking, 2010	2010	Journal	+							+	Socio-psychological place-making as a process of `securitization'	Political analysis on Muslim minority populations

Appendix D: Key Topics in the Place-making Literature (Summary of the Analysis Table in Appendix C)

Cooperation, participation and community engagement - youth engagement in urban planning - old people engagement in urban planning - participatory place-making
Sustainability umbrella - Sustainable tourism - Sustainable communities - Green planning - Sustainable urban planning - Community planning
Design - Urban Design - Community design - Creative community and social creativity
Multi-sensuous experience - sound-based place-making
Focus on specific groups - Migrants / Refugees - Gender- specific analysis - Feminist place-making - LGBT
Challenges and conflict - Role of politics & power groups in the making - Contested making (+ political uncertainty) - Borders - Mobility
Art - Artistic forms of place-making - Curatorial
Other - Covid-19 - Role of Digital Media - Branding and marketing tool - Role of events; festivals. - University Roles - Religious place-making + religious actors - Natural hazards and risks

Appendix E: Published Newspaper Articles on the Case of Maronites



Appendix F: Darren Web's (2007) Categorization of Modes of Hoping

Modes of hope		General Summary	Objective	Cognitive & affective dimension	Behavioural dimensions
Open-ended modes of hope	**Patient hope**	- openness of spirit - transcends the imagination- devoid of images - face the future with courageous patience - trust in the goodness of the world - secure trust in others; other-directed	**Un-representable.** Open and generalized objective – very hard to map it.	**Secure trust.** Trust in the goodness of the world with sense of safety and security.	**Courageous patience.** Other-directed- trust in the behavioral activity of other, and await in patience**.**
	Critical hope	- future is not grasped in positive terms - criticism of the present condition - critically negation of -the negative - hope as a protest against the present suffering - passionate longing for the missing	**Negation of the negative.** Directed toward a world without oppression.	**Passionate longing.** Suffering and restless waiting for the missing.	**Social criticism.** Compulsion to negate the conditions that give rise to present misery and sense of unfulfilment.
Goal-directed modes of hope	**Estimative hope**	- focused toward a future good - emphasis on the reality of evidence - process of mental imaging - probability calculation - degree of situation control	**Future-oriented significant desire.** hope is significant to the hoper.	**Mental imaging + probability estimate.** Belief in that objective is possible of attainment based careful assessment of evidence.	**Possible goal-directed action in some cases.** Probability estimate whether its worth or not.
	Resolute hope	- positive mental self-regulation - drives and motivates pathways to goals - organize feelings and manifest actions - overcomes to burden of evidence - individual can mould the conditions	**Future-oriented significant desire.** Hope is significant to the hoper.	**Mental imaging + cognitive resolve.** Perceived oneself as capable of achieving goals and motives through agency thinking.	**Goal directed action in cases of less than fair gambles.** Realize goals that the estimative hoper dismiss as less than fair gambles.
	Utopian hope	- works against the evidence - has an inspirational value – lies in dreams - possess confidence to transform - different future and new society	**Shared utopian dreams.** Plan for a different society, shared by members of collectivity	**Shared utopian dreams.** Plan for a different society, shared by members of collectivity	**Mutually efficacious social praxis.** Commitment to goal-directed social praxis- humans become the agents of their own destiny

Appendix G: David Hick's (1997) Sources of Hope in the Modern World

The natural world	A source of beauty, wonder and inspiration which ever renews itself and ever refreshes the heart and mind.
Faith and belief	Which may be spiritual or political and which offers a framework of meaning in both good times and bad.
A sense of self	Being aware of one's self-worth and secure in one's own identity which leads to a sense of connectedness and belonging.
Other people's lives	The way in which both ordinary and extraordinary people manage difficult life situations with dignity.
Collective struggles	Groups in the past and the present who have fought to achieve the equality and justice that they deserve.
Visionaries	Those who offer visions of an earth transformed and who work to help bring this about in different ways.
Human creativity	The constant a we-inspiring up welling of music, poetry, and the arts, an essential element of the human condition.
Mentors and colleagues	At work and at home who offer inspiration by their deeds and encouragement with their words.
Relationships	The being loved by partners, friends and family that nourishes and sustains us in our lives.
Humour	Seeing the funny side of things, being able to laugh in adversity, having fun, celebrating together.