AN INQUIRY INTO THE PERSONALIZATION OF SPACE IN THE CASE OF TURKISH-GERMAN IMMIGRANTS

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Naciye Çıracı YÜCEL

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İZMİR

We approve the thesis of **Naciye Çıracı YÜCEL**

_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fehmi DOĞAN
Department of Architecture,
İzmir Institute of Technology

_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Tonguç AKIŞ
Department of Architecture,
İzmir Institute of Technology

_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Didem KILIÇKIRAN
Department of Architecture,
Kadir Has University

14 October 2015

_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fehmi DOĞAN
Supervisor
Department of Architecture,
İzmir Institute of Technology

_____   _____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şeniz ÇIKIŞ   **Prof. Dr. Bilge KARAÇALI**
Head of the Department of   Dean of the Graduate School of
Architecture   Engineering and Science

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ABSTRACT

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Home is a special place we attach personal importance. The main focus of this study is the different and complementary meanings of "homes" that Turkish migrant families in Germany construct. One immigrant family is chosen as a case to investigate the relationship between person and place, the spatial practices at home and spatial characteristics of homes. The family migrated from Turkey to Germany in the early 1970s for economic reasons. The family still lives in Frankfurt, Germany, and they just retired. After retirement, they decided to buy a home in their homeland in Ankara and a summerhouse in Kuşadası, a seaside town close to Izmir. It was expected that the family had constructed different daily experience and homely environments in these homes. The study investigates the key points of the personalization of place and place attachment through observation and interviews. The study has three specific foci. First, family members are interviewed to investigate the individual and collective meanings of home that contribute to their sense of identity. Second, the physical and social dimensions of place and the context within which they are located were observed to discuss the role of physical environment in self-realization and how individuals construct such physical environments. Third, everyday life experiences of the family were inquired.

Keywords: migration, home, place attachment, transnationalism, Turkish-German migration, and return migration

ÖZET

TÜRK-ALMAN GÖÇMENLERİN MEKÂNI
KİŞİSELLEŞTİRMELERİ ÜZERİNE BİR İNCELEME

Ev, kişisel olarak bağ kurduğumuz özel bir mekândır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Almanya'da yaşayan Türk göçmenlerin yarattıkları farklı ve birbirini tamamlayıcı ev kavramını irdelemektir. İnsan ve mekân, evdeki mekânsal pratikler ve evin mekânsal karakteristiğini incelemek amacıyla bir aile seçilmiş ve örnek durum incelemesi yapılmıştır. Seçilen aile 1970'lerin başında çalışmak için Türkiye'den Almanya'ya göç etmiş ve hala Almanya'da ikamet etmektedir. Aile, uzun yıllar çalıştıktan sonar şimdi emekli olmuş ve biri Ankara'da diğeri ise Kuşadası'nda iki ev satın almaya karar vermiştir. Çalışma, ailenin Ankara ve Kuşadası evlerinde farklı gündelik hayat aktiviteleri ve ev ortamı kurgulamış olabileceği varsayımına dayanarak, kişilik ve çevre arasındaki dinamik ilişkiyi incelemek üzere kurgulanmıştır. Çalışma, mekânın kişiselleştirilmesi ve aidiyet kavramlarını incelemek üzere kurgulanmış gözlem ve röportajları içerir. Çalışmanın üç temel amacı bulunmaktadır. Birincisi, aile bireylerinin bireysel ve kolektif olarak ev algısını ve ev tanımını gözlem ve röportajlarla incelemektir. İkincisi, üç evin de sosyal ve fiziksel boyutlarını bulundukları ortam dahilinde incelemektir. Bu sayede gözlem ve röportajların fiziksel çevrenin kendini gerçekleştirmede ve bireylerin kendi fiziksel çevrelerini inşa etmesini etkileyen faktörler gözlemlerle aktarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Ve üçüncü olarak da üç ev için de gündelik hayat aktiviteleri incelenmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Göç, ev, evin anlamı, göçmenin evi, aidiyet, Türk-Alman göçmenler ve geriye göç

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem Definition

Germany went through a rebuilding process after World War II and invited thousands of immigrant workers. The German government welcomed semi-skilled laborers from different Mediterranean countries such as Italy, Turkey and Portugal and signed agreements with the governments of these countries concerning labor migration (Gaebel, 2011). Many Turks migrated to Germany as a solution to unemployment in Turkey. The German government's agreement of 1961 with Turkish government increased the number of Turkish migrant workers in Germany. These workers, who were called as "guest workers," were initially supposed to stay for a limited period; however, most of them stayed in Germany permanently with their children and families. These workers have been living in Germany since then with their family and most spend their vacation times in Turkey each year, especially during summer holidays. These migrant workers' and their families' travels between Turkey and Germany could be described as a constant back-and-forth move between two countries.

Many researchers have studied the migrant workers' life in Germany and Turkey from several perspectives such as nationality changes, identity relations (Ilgın, 2005), Turkish-German youth integration (Karakuş, 2007), transnationalism (Çağlar, 2001), visual memory and integration (Dovey, 1985). Research on migrants' homes and their home-making process with respect to key topics such as identity, integration, place attachment and migration still needs to be investigated. The transitory lives and home-making process of migrants are obviously and strongly interconnected. The tension between migrants' houses and their life projects *here* and *there* deserves a closer look.

Home has been considered as a stable and unchanging concept by different scholars for a long time (Manzo, 2003). Even though there has been a tendency to

define home as stable, bounded or with fixed meanings, migrant's home seems to elude these meanings. Theirs seem to have shifting and mobile meanings. The challenging question here is whether home could be conceptualized simultaneously as stable and as dynamic simultaneously. Dovey (1985) explains home as "various kinds of 'order' through which we are oriented in the world, home is the process of identification through which we connect with our world in a meaningful way, and home is a 'dialectic process' that describes an essential dynamism in the process of becoming at home" (s. 1).

The homes of Turkish-German migrants and their constant travel between home country, i.e., Turkey, and host country, i.e., Germany, offers a chance to inquire home as a dynamic and mobile construct in relation to concepts such as identity, place attachment, and sense of belonging. The Turkish-German migrants' case shows that those who feel as *other* or *outsiders* in the host country are led to re-create home emotionally, psychologically, and spatially. As a result they seem to have a sense of belonging, which is not restricted by either the attachments to homeland nor by the constraints of the host land. The fluid and sometimes-elusive sense of belonging to both countries result in dynamic and transitory processes of home-making.

In this study, I am trying to inquire about questions related to migration and home. First of all, I aim to investigate what home means for migrants and what migrant's home means. After that, I discuss what are home-making processes of migrants like. Additionally, what is the role of home for migrants in their transitory stays in particular places and how migrants conceptualize home. One also needs to question why identity, place attachment, and home concepts are related to each other in the home-making process of migrants. I examine how Turkish-German migrants perceive ideas of home and how these ideas shift between Turkey and Germany. Although not a new topic, my particular study about home and migration among Turkish-German migrants is valuable for two reasons. First, despite a number of studies focused on Turkish-German migration, none examine the meaning of home for migrants within a specific case in detail. My research could be a contribution in detailing one particular migrant family's homes and the meanings attached to these homes. Second, there is only one family chosen as a case study with their different homes in different

geographies. The case helps us understand the meaning of home in a different way than the previous case studies or the field studies. The existing case studies or field studies focus on urban settlements or groups of migrants and mostly make comparisons between each other in the selected group. But, this study is focusing on only one family and their different homes. This adds value to the research as inquiring how migrants develop different emotional and physical attachments to different homes, by entitling the latter with different meanings, values, and experiences.

1.2. Aim and Scope of the Study

Home and place attachment are concepts studied in the literature by different fields within social sciences including architecture, sociology, anthropology, psychology, and history (Miller, 2001). The relations between home and place attachment are often difficult to study, as both are complex concepts. The research in home studies is replete with those, which look into home and place attachment as separate phenomena as well (Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000; Rapport and Dawson, 1998).

The main focus of this study is the different and complementary meanings of home that the Turkish migrant families in Germany construct. One immigrant family is chosen as a case to investigate the relationship of person and place, the spatial practices at home, and spatial characteristics of homes. The chosen family had migrated from Turkey to Germany in the early 1970s for work. The family, consisted of parents and a daughter and a son, still lives in Frankfurt, Germany, and they had just retired. After retirement, they decided to buy a home in their homeland in Ankara, purchased in 2007, and a summerhouse in Kuşadası, purchased in 2011, a seaside resort close to Izmir. Keeping in mind that the interaction between environment and self is dynamic and bidirectional, it is expected that the family might have constructed different daily experiences and homely environments in these homes.

The study investigates the key points of the personalization of place and place attachment through observation and interviews in the *homes*. The study has three specific foci. First, actors are interviewed to investigate the individual and collective

meanings of home that contribute to a transitory sense of self. Second, the physical and social dimensions of place and the context within which they are located are observed for all three homes. It is expected that these observations will shed light on the role of physical environment in self-realization and how individuals construct such physical environments. Third, everyday life experiences of the family within each house are inquired.

1.3. Methodology

The meaning of home and the dynamics of home in relation to identity and place attachment is a research interest for different phenomenologist, philosophers, sociologists, anthropologists, and architects (Easthope, 2010). But As Miller (2001) states 'home is a dynamic and changing environment, rather than a static backdrop' (p. 8). Especially, identity and place making processes, the shifting material cultures, and the change in the environment for these people in addition to everyday life activities make home a process rather than only a physical object. Home as a physical object only relates to limited topics such as comfort, spatial usage, and physical conditions for the dweller. Whereas, home is more related to identity, place attachment and social relations for the dweller as it is both a reflection of and medium for the construction of different social relations (Miller, 2001). Home is not simply an object but it is a construct in the mind of its occupants. Therefore a study of home needs to go beyond the physical and spatial aspects of home, to emphasize its temporal dimension. Home needs to be studied as it unfolds in time.

An inquiry into migrants' home-making processes needs to focus on these changes and identity relations in motion. That is why a case study of a single family is conducted to observe the changing and moving environment of the family in a proper time period. The study consisted of observations of the daily life of the family in their houses; interviews and documentation of physical and spatial, both indoor and outdoor, aspects of their home environment. One particular family who owns different homes in Germany and in Turkey is determined as the case of this study. This study is also

considered as a multi-sited ethnographic research because the family occupies three different homes in different geographies. This data is interpreted in Chapter 3 in detail.

The family lives in Frankfurt, Germany, and owns a summerhouse in Kuşadası, Izmir, and an apartment unit in Ankara. The houses in Frankfurt and Kuşadası are actively used while the one in Ankara is used only briefly when they visit their relatives in Ankara. The paternal house located in a village in Çorum is used only occasionally when the family pays a visit to their homeland Çorum. The family has two children, a boy and a girl. The mother at age nine was the first in the family to migrate to Germany, as her mother was one of the first Turkish worker immigrants who migrated to Germany in 1965. After she grew up, she got married to her uncle's (mother's brother) son and they began to live in Frankfurt. Since 1978, they have been working and living in Frankfurt, but they still have connection with Turkey. Especially in their summer holidays, they prefer to come to Turkey and visit their other family members such as cousins and elderly members of the family.

After meeting the family and acquiring their consent for the study, the interviews and observations were conducted step by step during the summer period of 2013 in Kuşadası. In addition to the interviews, I arranged three weekends to pass with the family at the Kuşadası house during when their everyday life activities were observed. In addition to the everyday life activities, I observed and documented the furnishing, life in the house, functions of spaces, and usage by different occupants. After the summer period of 2013, the migrant family went back to Frankfurt and I visited them in Frankfurt, Germany, in winter for four days in January 2014. The everyday life activities and relationships of the case family were observed and documented in Frankfurt for three days. In addition to the observations and documentations, interviews were conducted. A literature review was conducted in parallel to the study. The key concepts in the home and migration literature were determined. The key concepts were studied in various disciplines from architecture to geography, psychology, and sociology. Following the literature review in home and migration studies, the key concepts to interpret the case were determined as follows: place attachment, personalization of space, self and identity, return migration, and transnationalism.

In Chapter 2, the literature review on home and migration is discussed. The previous studies on home from different disciplines such as architecture, philosophy, geography, and psychology are discussed. In this chapter, previous questions about home and home-making process and also the relationship between place, home, migration, and identity is defined as a basis for the study. In addition to the previous studies on home, the chapter also reviews previous studies on migrants' homes by following different disciplines.

In Chapter 3, the research methodology is described and the family chosen for the study is introduced. All the phases of the case study are described and the history of the family, the homes of the family together with related passages from the interviews are given. The time spent with the family is planned according to their visit schedules between Frankfurt and Turkey. I visited the homes of Kuşadası and Frankfurt during this time period, but the Ankara home was not visited because of time conflicts. Interviews include detailed information about Ankara home.

In Chapter 4, the family's homes and their home making process are discussed and analyzed in reference to key concepts derived with the literature review. In this chapter, the contradiction inherent within the concept of migrant's home is discussed. Home-making, especially for migrants, has an intrinsic contradiction between being settled on a defined soil/country/earth and being in a constant mode of transition between different lands. The notions of home and migrant's home are discussed by focusing on the case family and their everyday life practices and space use.

In conclusion, the main arguments on dynamics of migrant's home-making process are discussed.

CHAPTER 2

HOME, MIGRATION AND IDENTITY AS KEY

CONCEPTS

This chapter includes a review of key concepts, i.e., home, migration, identity, and place attachment, deemed to be important for an inquiry about migrants' homes. The aim of this chapter is, first, to understand the meaning of home in reference to different issues introduced by different disciplines such as psychology, sociology, and geography. Second, to discuss the relationship between home and migration, a selected literature review on key concepts including place attachment and identity is proposed. Home and the meaning of home is complex and requires an in depth inquiry. Meanwhile, the complexity of the meaning of home adds value to this study as the changing and mobile concepts, such as belonging and identity. Additionally, both the literature review and the case study highlight that migrant's home has a potential to define the meaning of home as a place which is a transitory process rather than a static concept.

2.1. Home

Starting the review, I decided to understand the definition of place, home, and the meaning of home. The meaning of home is understood in different ways in the literature, so it needs to be defined carefully by considering these differences (Easthope, 2010). The reason why home and the meaning of home are differentiated from each other is that the exploration of the meaning of home for this study, for Turkish-German migrants, is a crucial issue. Second, literature on place and home in relation to concepts such as place attachment and identity were reviewed, and then, I tried to determine

home terms used to express the meaning of home by different people such as migrants, elderly, or youth.

The reviewed literature set a base for a critical discussion on home rather than trying to establish a definition of home. It is noteworthy to say that home is addressed as a particularly significant type of place. The housing research is based on the argument that home has different meaning for different people. Easthope (2004) supports this argument, as home should not be explained as a fixed concept because the meaning of home has different meaning for different people at different times. Easthope (2004) suggests that home as a concept refers to "a place that has specific meaning" (p.135). By following this definition, I decided to follow the different definitions of home rather than looking for a fixed, single definition. That's why key concepts are selected; the relationship between home and these concepts are reviewed; and the varieties of meanings of home are discussed.

There are different definitions of home in the relevant theoretical and empirical studies. Each highlights a different aspect of the concept of home and the meaning of home. The word home is defined both as a noun, a physical object that can be defined, and as a metaphorical concept. Mallett (2004) defines home in several ways such "as it is the place or a place where one lives, a house or other dwelling, a family lives together in a house or a person's country, city or birthplace" (s. 1). Home is also differentiated from house in terms of its usage. Dovey (1985) states that "house is defined as an object, a part of environment while home is best conceived as an emotion-based relationship of people and their environment" (p.1). Dovey defines the phenomenon of home in relation to three themes or approaches. First is the order of various kinds through our orientation in the world, second is the identification process of our connection with our world in a meaningful way, and third is the dialectic process, which describes the essential dynamism in the process of becoming at home (Dovey, 1985). The Turkish words *ev* for home and *konut* for house also indicates a similar difference. In this study, I preferred using the term home following the related literature. In addition, the case family prefers using home to denote their three houses as well.

At this point, it is important to discuss the definition of *place* and the meaning of a place for human to further clarify a tentative definition of home. It is important to

understand the relationship between people and their economic, political, social, and physical environments, in particular their houses and neighborhoods. As Easthope (2010) suggests "the concept of 'place' provides a useful theoretical framework for addressing these human-environment interactions" (p.137). The concept of place is complex. It has an importance in all aspects of life as place and space is in a strong relationship with people and identity. Mallett (2004) explains "Home is the one of the particularly significant place as it touches centrally in our personal lives" (s. 64). To understand and define the meaning of home for people, one should define people's experience of places and the consciousness people have of places that hold a specific significance for them (Cloutier-Fisher & Harvey, 2008). The relationship between place and people has a dynamic, changing, and fluid nature and this makes social interactions in places as processes unfolding in time. There is a mutually constitutive relationship between place and society as places are an integral part of social relations (Wiles, 2005). Here we can claim that as people construct places, places construct people. This bidirectional relationship between people and place is explained by Cloutier and Fisher (2008) as "brings home to the center of a discussion as a concept of place that continues or influences the tying people to their physical dwelling and experiential home, as well as to their sense of belonging and links to the wider community" (p. 248). Place can acquire deep meanings through "the steady accretion of sentiment" (Tuan, 2001, s. 33). Additionally, the examinations on the ways people organize places and attach meaning to space in their lives highlights those emotional links all human experience.

As a beginning, it is important to summarize the definition of place for Heidegger before the discussion on place. Because, what Heidegger explains on place is mostly focusing on self rather than society. Heidegger (1971), in his well-known study entitled *Building, Dwelling, Thinking*, proposes a strong argument on building and dwelling and how place is constituted by and inseparable from the self. He questions dwelling and he asks the following question:

> Bridges and hangars, stadiums and power stations are buildings but not dwellings; railway stations and highways, dams and market halls are built, but they are not dwelling places. Even so, these buildings are in the domain of our dwelling. That domain extends over these buildings and yet is not limited to the dwelling place. The truck driver is at home on the highway, but he does not have his shelter there; the working woman is at home in the spinning mill [!], but does not have her dwelling place there; the chief engineer is at home in the power station, but he does not dwell there. These buildings house man. He inhabits them and yet does not dwell in them. In

today's housing shortage even this much is reassuring and to the good; residential buildings do indeed provide shelter; today's houses may even be well planned, easy to keep, attractively cheap, open to air, light and sun, but do the houses in themselves hold any guarantee that dwelling occurs in them? (Heidegger, 1971, p.145-146).

Heidegger (1971) argues that "the manner in which we dwell is the manner in which we are; we exist, on the face of earth-an extension of our identity, of who we are" (p.358). According to him, dwelling is related to our being in the world, and is to remain in place and to be situated in a certain relationship with existence, a relationship that is characterized by nurturing, enabling the world to as it is. Heidegger (1971) says, "the basic character of dwelling is to spare, to preserve…dwelling itself is always a staying with things. Dwelling, as preserving, keeps the fourfold in that with which mortals stay: in things" (s. 150-151). This key concept of fourfold is the oneness and unity of the earth, the sky, the divinities and the mortals.

Heidegger (1971) explains the earth as the ground supporting us to stride, in his own words "serving bearer" (s. 351). "Earth is explained as a physical sense that supports us and also by nurturing, watering and providing for us. The sky has a meaning of being the vaulting of the sun, the stars, and the moon and also it is a metaphoric meaning as a spiritual component that relates to eternity. The divinities are the god's beckoning messengers. For Heidegger, "god is a poetic fiction and an anonymous creator and provider" (s. 351-352). That's why he is adding divinities as asset of standards by the god for people dwelling in the world. And the mortals are the human beings. What Heidegger emphasizes as mortals as human being is that human are finiteness and instable with their existence and they can die. Humans exist in this unity of fourfold according to Heidegger and it is explained as dwelling, which is also explained as preserving, in things.

What Heidegger explains about space is about building and dwelling with this bridge example. He argues that building belongs to dwelling, and adds "Spaces receive their essential being from locales and not from 'spaces" (s. 355). Heidegger explains another example as "Black Forest farmhouse" and in this example he claims, "only if we are capable of dwelling, only then can we build" (s. 148). For Heidegger, dwelling is a way of being in the world, which extends beyond one setting and even beyond the

built environment and this cannot be separated from each other like we work here and dwell there. It is the total of the activities happening as a way of existing in the world.

Heidegger's view of building and dwelling suggests rather a fixed and unchanging relation to the fourfold. He proposes a frame with the fourfold and only the unity of fourfold elements can describe a dwelling. This is something like "making yourself at home". By following his words, it is possible to say that men can occupy buildings daily but not feel at home in them or near them unless they learn how to dwell within this fourfold. Actually, it can be said that the philosopher tries to create a distinction between space and place in his examples and definitions. His example of bridge is a place, which can be understood by usage and experience. Space, for Heidegger, is dependent on people's experiences of the places that they identify with themselves. This identification includes a border around a place in space. He explains this making boundary, as "places are made particular by individuals – in complex and ever shifting ways- within the generality of space" (s. 363). For Heidegger, if only we are able to identify places, space becomes a place. And, "the key location for spiritual unity between people and things is home" (McDowell, 1999, p.71). Dwelling, for Heidegger, is constituted by "making yourself at home". That's why he gives example of the Black Forest farmhouse because it is the exact example of building a form of dwelling, and following a form of thinking in which the four part of the fourfold is illustrated in a space.

As Heidegger draws a fourfold unity to understand meaning of home, Bachelard (1994) defines home as a phenomenological object and he states that house is both related to inside and outside at the same time with memories and soul. He claims that "home contains the dynamisms of past, present and future within itself and these dynamisms sometimes nest, sometimes creates contradictions and sometimes warns each other" (s. 6). The house for Bachelard (1994) is associated with a place where the personal experience reaches its ideal. He claims that house itself is an initial universe stating, "all really inhabited space bears the essence of the notion of home" (s. 5). Bachelard considers home as a manifestation of the soul through the poetic image and literary images, which are found in poetry. Then, the places inside home are matching the places of intimacy and memory that are manifested in poetry. He claims that house

is the place where daydreamer is protected and that's why understanding the house is a way to understand the soul. The importance of poetry is related to bringing a chance for the person to have daydreaming and also poetry helps us to trace the memories kept by our body.

Bachelard (1994), who is more interested in non-physical aspects of space than its physical dimensions, sees home as a key element for the development of people's sense of themselves. Bachelard is mostly trying to understand space through emotion, experience, memory, and dream. For Bachelard, home is the place for all what is happening in memory "and all the inhabited space bears the essence of the notion of home where this imagination protects and comforts itself" (s. 5). He calls that the most meaningful relationship with buildings takes place in domestic space. Additionally, the spaces of our home are the touchstone of our memories and each part is different than the other, like an attic has a different character than the kitchen. Bachelard thinks that this is the result of a dynamic interplay between the active mind and it's surrounding. Each part of this differentiated spaces in home guides our dreams differently and collect various memories. That's why home is where all the past memories and future dreams are gathered, rather than consisting only of physical walls and slabs. Bachelard's view of home guides us to compare the existing homes, what is happening and dreamt inside them and what is the dweller's dream of home. So, each image of home is larger than sum of all the personal homes we have ever experienced because it is a fiction of our personal practices, which sometimes have very little or nothing to do in common with physical structures.

With parallel to Bachelard's definition of home about both physical and memory related collection, Cooper Marcus (2006) emphasizes how people use their home environment to express something about themselves, consciously or unconsciously. She claims that our homes are representing us through furniture we select, books on shelves or the art on the walls just like our hairstyle, the car we drive or our clothes express our personal decisions. On an unconscious level, people express aspects of their unconscious in their home environment, such as a man renting a house, which he later discovers to be a copy of his childhood home.

The house is a symbol of our social identity in the community. People used to be living in the inherited homes from their parents or grandparents in the past. But today, as the house is a self-conscious expression and display of ourselves in the society, it is common to seek a home that is affordable, in a desirable location, and with a desirable style and level of upkeep (Marcus, 2006, s. 9). For house interior and its contents, it is possible to say that house is a mirror of our inner psychological self. Cooper Marcus states that our homes and its contents credibly express who we are. Especially starting from childhood to adulthood, our home and its contents represent symbols of our ego-selves. A child first experiences and explores the world starting from her home, then its surrounding. Marcus (2006) states "a California study about gardens of different home environments illustrating how people who has little control on their outer lives creates very controlled gardens with clipped, raked, and pruned yards while the ones who have more freedom in their outer lives have wide or jumbled vegetation" (s. 66).

While considering self and home, there is another important issue that needs to be considered. Objects associated with significant people in our lives such as friends, family or relatives are mostly important and meaningful also. People tend to emotionally value the objects that evoke past, or immigrants value objects that reminds them their homeland or women/men value objects that symbolize emotionally connected to each other (Marcus, 2006). Cooper Marcus considers home to be specially related to women, or mostly to mother figure. Women, or mothers, were traditionally associated with the role of home-making and used the methods they learned from their predecessors like their own mothers, grandmothers or aunts. This method of home-making resulted in a repetitive pattern of home till it changed when women started expressing themselves as workingwomen in the societies (Marcus, 2006). Since then, our conception of home evolved as women began more actively taking part in the job market seeking a career.

Heidegger and Bachelard focus on the boundaries of home in their studies. Heidegger's definition includes the physical boundaries at first. And Bachelard adds social and identity construction related boundaries for meaning and definition of home. It is possible to say they argue that there are limits to define home. Cooper Marcus also draws an introduction to define home with both limits and the various components of

these possible limits. Also, their argument continues on self and self-related focus and place relations. But, the last two decades includes researches that aim exploring the limits and boundaries of home such as Massey (1994), Miller (2001) and Easthope (2004) who focus on the concept of place as it is associated with the concepts of community, collective memory, group identity (and personal identity), political organization, and capital flows.

Massey is one of the first who argues against the idea of home as a bounded place. Massey argues that place is a social construction. Her statement is important as she goes against the idea that home is a bounded place. She adds that "people actively make places and our ideas of place are products of the society in which we live" (s. 143). But her view does not only include the subjective place construction but also covers the production of place as it is affected by physical, social, and economical realities. Massey argues that "Geography matters to the construction of gender and the geographical variation in gender relations is also a significant element in the production and reproduction of both development and imaginative geographies" (s. 2). She claims that "there are also other levels interrelated to space, place and gender" (s. 2). She explains these levels as construction of culturally specific ideas and the overlapping and interplaying of the sets of characteristics and connotations as associated with place, space and gender. Massey's conceptualizing of the spatial implies "a crosscutting, intersecting, aligning with another or existing in relations of space that are experienced differently and variously interpreted" (s. 3). And, according to Massey, space may call to reference to different meaning of places such as one's place on the world or the realm of the dead or chaos of simultaneity and multiplicity. Also, a deep meaning of place maybe called as home with much greater intimations of mobility and agility in the context of discussions. Massey's statement is that "a large component of the identity of that place called home derived precisely from the fact that it had always in one way or another been open; constructed out of movement, communication, social relations which always stretched beyond it" (s. 14). Massey brings a definition of home over the discipline of geography and she finds identity linkage between place, place and belonging and place and home. And she adds it is an object related and gender related concept for meaning of home, which needs to be conceptualized in a particular way as we experience strong emotional, social, and psychological attachments (Massey, 1994).

In parallel with Massey as home is a concept that needs to be studied in relation with emotional, social and psychological attachments; Miller defines home with an addition to material culture and industrialization. He claims that, people who live in industrialized societies live their life mostly behind closed doors (Miller, 2001). What he means is that home is a private territory, which is the site of people's relationships and loneliness and is the place where they reflect upon and encounter themselves besides others. And, "they are more interested in their homes' decoration, structure and furnishing than before, because home is the place for their remembering of the past, their weaknesses or their self" (s. 1). Miller uses an ethnographic approach to explore the deep meaning of home by considering rather what we do to at home than what home does to us. Miller's study on home named "Home Possessions" brings this ethnographic approach for home studies to discuss the meaning of home. He defines home as "home is the where hearth is, then it is also where it is broken, torn and made whole in the flux of relationships, social and material" (s. 15). His main argument focuses on the contradiction of previous analysis in which home is a concept as a stable foundation or anchor to kinship and domestic life (Miller, 2001). Miller creates his main argument on home and material culture, but also explains the ethnographic studies included in his book which includes chapters from different researchers. He also describes the active agency of home occupants by being a site of consumption and by transforming their homes with the 'do-it-yourself' process (Miller, 2001). He also adds, the researchers who focus on home should consider material culture and social relations because it is worth exploring with people how they experience decorating and moving home in addition to asking them about their feelings and emotions such as love or jealousy (Miller, 2001).

This discussion of the relation between place and mind adds a new perspective on identity formation and social action, which tells us that identity, is constructed both mentally in mind and through body with interactions to the built environment (Easthope, 2010). The concept of place has utmost importance for housing studies as the concept of place irrevocably ties physical world with the social, cultural and psychological well being (Easthope, 2010). In her study entitled "A place called home", Easthope (2010) argues that "in the time of increasing of migration, urbanization and swelling investments of place-construction, the literature on "place", especially the part

that sees home as a powerful type of place is crucial for researchers who focus on home" (p.128). What Easthope emphasizes is that home is a place for people and not only a physical neighborhood or region in the city. It is the place where people hold emotional, psychological, and social meaning for both groups and individual.

By following Massey, Miller, and Easthope; home as a place may suggest an abstract concept, yet it has concrete implications as seen in the relationship between places and peoples' identities and psychological well-being, political-economy of home places, and the dynamics of conflicts surrounding home-places. And, the concept of place also shows us the demand on scale while studying housing to consider the scale of individual households as regional, national, and international levels (Easthope, 2010). Studying place while studying house also provides an alternative understanding to Cartesian division between body and mind highlighting the mutual relationship and interdependence between our conception of home and our daily practice and bodily experience at home.

There are also other researchers supporting the idea that home is a multidimensional concept such as Mallett (2004). Mallett (2004) argues that home is variously described in the literature as conflated with or related to "house, family, haven, self, gender, and journeying or there are also research on notions of being-at-home, creating or making home and ideal home" (s. 62). What Mallett shows is that there is an understanding of home as multidimensional definition in the literature. Mallett expresses the idea that home can be a physical object, a network where people are communicating to each other, and a shelter for its dweller, and a place where their relationships are set in the society. What Mallett argues is that the definition of home is related to the definition of place, and after that the historical and social context in which this defined place is located (Mallett, 2004).

The literature review on home, with a focus on identity and place attachment, leads us ask questions on how migrants' homes are produced by both migrants themselves and the transitory period of migrants. Their homes differ in their host country and home country, as their search and construction of home is a dynamic process.

2.2. Home-making and Identity

Home, house making, and identity are interdisciplinary research areas often with links to disciplines of architecture, psychology, and sociology. In this study, I discuss the concepts of identity, the meaning of home, and their relationship by looking into research in the fields of architecture, environmental psychology, sociology, ethnography, and geography. There are definitions for identity and there are different identity theories, which describe the relationship between place, home, and identity.

People use identification, which is a basic cognitive mechanism, for solving out both themselves and their fellows (Hauge, 2009). People try to identify themselves and other people by using their language, embodiment, and clothing, their related information and assign meaning to them. Personal identity is a given identity to a person by different institutions such as an identity attached to a membership of a chamber, driving license, or bank account identity cards (Illgın & Hacıhasanoğlu, 2006). Rapoport (1982) classifies identity in terms of membership in a social group identity, sub-group identity, and personal identity. For Rapoport, identity can be both a part of individual and also may belong to a group at the same time. He explains that personal identity is a kind of limited group identity for a person (Rapoport, 1982). By following Rapoport's classification of identities, Duncan (1981) states that one tries to find their individual borders. By doing so, it is possible for a person to create his/her own group unity and make connections with other personal identities. Duncan (1981) argues that there are two main processes for a person to create an identity: first the process of definition of identity, questioning its borders, and the nature of the place of this identity; and second creating new borders and breaking them down.

When we look at these different definitions, we see that identity is explained in terms of personal, social, and cultural identity in relation to the term self. In this section different definitions of identity are explained, and then the critical part of different identity theories in integration with home-making is examined.

Personal identities are of great stability over one's lifespan. It means that past identities continue to exist as part of someone's personal identity, even have an impact on future identities, and shapes present behavior and attitude (Hapke, 2009).

Cultural identity designates self and his relation in a community with each member. When we would like to define culture in relation to identity, Rapoport (1982) explains that culture is the typical lifestyle of a community, and is a process of adaptation to the ecological conditions for that community. Communities changes in time by changing their lifestyles, migration, and changing the places they live in integration with the language. All these factors have influence on cultural identity. Social identity is often used instead of cultural identity. Tajfel (1978) defines social identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his or her knowledge of his or her membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached o that membership" (s. 63).

While identity can be defined as the characteristic of personality of an individual, self is used as a more abstract and global definition. Identity is related to the specific aspects of self-definition (Deaux, 1992). One important factor that contributes to our perception of self is the social groups and categories, which we feel to belong and feel attracted. Common interests, experience, future or past, characteristics, social roles, attributions, and achievements are the various possible groups or categories for individuals to be a part of. Each of these varieties may create materials for the construction of personal identity. Built environment, people and other people in their social network, objects and people themselves creates a network of connections with each other. And space itself is one of the most important components of the network as it is in the background of people's memories, things, and remembrances. Duncan emphasizes that identity can have both positive and negative impact on drawing the borders of a place. Duncan and Agnew (1989) suggest three different types of borders for place that is created by identity: first border is a physical border; second is a religious or ethnic definition; and third one is migrant/settled lifestyle of the person.

As each definition on identity creates its own claim to understand how people structure their personal identity and their relation to places they live, this thesis focuses on three identity theories to explain how architecture and the natural and built-

environment influence personal identity. These are place identity theory, social identity theory and identity process theory.

Our first concept on place and identity relation is place-identity. Place-identity is been in use since 1970s and "it is described as person's incorporation of place into the larger concept of self and defined as potpourri of memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas, and related feelings about specific physical settings, as well as types of settings" (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983, s. 60). Place identity is explained as a substructure of self-identity like gender and social class and it includes perceptions and comprehensions regarding the environment. These comprehensions and perceptions are categorized in two groups by Proshansky et al. as one type is memories, value and settings and thoughts while the second is the relationship among different settings such as home, neighborhood or school (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983).

People ask question of "who am I?" and answer this through their self-concept and create some abstract social categories, as these perceptions become a part of people's self-concepts. This makes people define themselves with qualities characterizing the group they belong to. This is the second identity theory labeled as "social identity theory" (Tajfel, 1978), which entails an individual's knowledge of belonging to certain social groups and also the emotions and values that come with it. With reference to nationality, religion, culture, neighborhood and family, the group that we belong to infuses a group behavior. The different combinations of self-concepts are at the center for individual and create different self-images. Some part of an individual's identity is under a discrete and silent influence under certain circumstances because of the power of the group membership and the way one's cognition or behavior is influenced by this membership. As social identity theory claims people see themselves on the positive part of being in a group rather than its negative part. If people are not able to leave a social group, they deny its negative sides and interpret them as positive self-concepts (Tajfel, 1978). Twigger-Ross and Bonaiuto (2003) claim that social identity can be developed further to include aspects of a place because, a place is defined as a social entity or a group membership providing identity. Place is generally associated with a group of people, lifestyle, or social status. Twigger-Ross and Bonaiuto

(2003) claim that the meaning of place is constantly being evaluated and redefined seeing the changes on social and physical relationship between place and people, and the contribution of place to identity is therefore never the same. The third concept of identity and place examined is "identity process theory" which is formulated by Breakwell (1986). In her point of view, identity is seen as a dynamic, social product of the reciprocal of capacities for memory, consciousness and interpretations. Breakwell's theory does not create a distinction between personal and social identity and claims that identity can be seen both as a structure and a process. She sees the different dimensions of identity as including data about the individual, including the behavioral, physical and life story aspects, no different than group membership and category identifications. Breakwell lists the factors that shape human identity and creates four principles as self-esteem, self-efficacy, distinctiveness and continuity. These four principles may vary in time and across different situations. She defines self-esteem as a positive self-evaluation or a positive group evaluation of groups. Self-efficacy is the individual's wish to feel competent and control of one's life. Distinctiveness is explained as the desire to emphasize uniqueness when comparing oneself to groups or persons. And the continuity is defined as the subjective, self-perceived continuity through time and situation, the connection between past, present and future within identity.

The place identity theory is relevant by considering environmental psychology studies, but social identity theory and identity process theory is more useful tools for researchers who seek for environment's effects on identity. Place identity can be helpful to analyze the physical environment and object's effect on identity.

This study defines identity as a sense of who we are as individuals with similarities and dissimilarities to other people. Therefore, different identity theories are used to analyze the findings of this research in integration with each other. As the study focus on home and identity relation, it is aimed to map the influences of home and identity with each other during a transitory and dynamic period for migrants and link the spatial and social associations within interiors, exteriors and neighborhoods. In addition to these associations, it is important that the view of people-environment relationship is dynamic and interactive (Gifford, 2002). That's why it is important to

include how the environment facilitates behavior and social interactions during the study that focus on migrant's home and identity relations.

2.3. Home and Place Attachment

Place attachment is defined by Manzo (2005) as "an affective bond or link between people and specific places" (s. 67), who defines place attachment within the context of both residential spaces and non-residential spaces as they have both important roles in the framework of the place attachment for people. As Manzo explains with various examples, the fundamental dimensions of place attachment can be positive and/or negative, and she argues that it depends on experiences of place. This brings the identity concept into the core of this study, as place shapes identity and identity shapes the attachment level to a place.

Home is often studied within research on place attachment (Windsong, 2010). The existing place attachment models emphasize the role of specific places such as home, object or children's playgrounds (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) state "The places to which people can be attached to vary in scale, specificity, and tangibility, from the very small (for example, objects) to the nation, the planet Earth or the universe" (s. 274). Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) defines place attachment in a way leaving the concept of place specifically vague and focusing on the concept of place as an environment. Hidalgo and Hernandez argue that studies on place attachment show us how people can develop smaller range of attachment to places such as home or street while they have extensive range of attachment to cities or neighborhoods.

Low and Altman (1992) argues that "places are repositories and contexts within which interpersonal, community and cultural relationships occur, and it is to those social relationships, not just to place qua place, to which people are attached" (s. 7). Low and Altman's view suggest that place attachment is in reality an attachment to the people who live in that place. Studying attachment to a place, such as home, both the social dimensions and the physical environment need to be considered.

Earlier studies explain that there are positive and negative effects of experiences of place attachment (Manzo, 2003). Guiliani and Feldman (1993) offer a convincing example of how place attachment could be negative stating that "If we accept the prevalent definitions of place attachment that it is an affective bond to place, we need to consider whether or not to include a negative emotional relationship. To speak of negative attachment contrasts with the everyday meaning of the word. The places where Nazi lagers were located are certainly 'places' with a strong emotive value, in particular for Jewish people. Would they say that they are 'attached' to them?" (s. 272).

It would not be wrong to say that place attachment is related to identity, too. Identity development is an important element in the dynamic process of human's life that changes via experiences. The relations to the outside world, the places we are attached, are reflecting our inner potential of the individual. At the same time, place attachment is a strong phenomenon that affects people's personal memories and contributes to the sense of self (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) claim that "place is inextricably linked with the development and maintenance of continuity of self" (s. 208). Just as place identity is fluid, our attachments to places are also quite dynamic. Brown and Perkins (1992) claim that "Place attachments are not static either; they change in accordance with changes in the people, activities or processes, and places involved in the attachments. They are nurtured through continuing series of events that reaffirm humans' relations with their environment" (s. 282).

Scannell and Gifford (2009) propose a three-dimensional framework of place attachment. They suggest a framework for place attachment in relation to person, psychological process, and the place dimensions. In this framework, which they call as PPP, they claim that "place attachment is a bond between an individual or group and a place that can vary in terms of spatial level, degree of specificity, and social or physical features of the place, and is manifested through affective, cognitive, and behavioral psychological processes. However, the question of why people develop such enduring psychological bonds with place remains" (Scannell & Gifford, 2009, s. 5).

All the reviewed studies try to explain people and their relationships to places, but the connection is still not clearly explained. Especially, the meaning of home and the

attachment to home is still been studied by different researchers from different disciplines. The existing literature on place attachment within home studies focuses especially on emotional relationships of people with home. Place attachment is a key concept in studies investigating home in terms of its dynamism within place identity. Place attachments are essential to self-definitions, covering individual and communal aspects of identity. Physical settings and artifacts both reflect and form people's understanding of who they are as individuals and as group members (Brown & Perkins, 1992).

The place attachment concept makes it possible to study migrant's emotional bonds with places and in facilitating their willingness to act on behalf of places. Consequently, how the built environment adds or changes the process of home-making for migrants is investigated.

2.4. Turkish-German Migration and Identity

Migration is classified by different disciplines in terms of internal migration, international migration, temporary migration, permanent migration, labor migration, return migration, and brain drain. In this study, the case of the studied family could be classified under labor migration and return migration.

When a worker leaves his/her home country to have a better job with a better income, this is called as labor migration. The migrant may decide later bringing his/her family and to settle there permanently; or staying in the host country longer. The temporary migrant could be defined as the worker enrolled for a specific time period. The permanent migrant is defined as someone who settled abroad and stays there for life-long. When we look at return migration, it is defined as migrants coming back to their home country after they have retired from the country they have migrated to work.

Germans named the migrants from other countries as "gastarbeiter," may be to emphasize their temporal stay in Germany. However, most if not all these temporary migrants have decided to become permanent migrants or even to acquire citizenships. In both cases, the desire to stay permanently in Germany is not incompatible with a desire

to return to their home country. Unat (2011) claims that for the first generation Turkish migrants in Germany the dream of returning to the homeland permanently is pervasive while for the second and third generations have a range of alternative about how to live their lives in the host country. The first choice is to gain more experience and money in the host country, and then go back to the homeland. Yet they only know about their homeland from their short periods of yearly holidays. Their second choice is to make a small investment in the host country without putting down deep roots in there. The third is having a niche in the economy on a local level without needing to learn the foreign language. The fourth choice is to be well educated and open the way to upward social mobility. The last choice is acquiring the citizenship of the host country to take all the advantages of the country with full integration. Abadan Unat (2011) claims, "Each of these five possibilities requires the individual to adopt a different identity" (s. xxv).

Since the main focus of this study is to investigate the relationships of the place attachment through *homes* of the family in terms of identity and belonging; the study does not give detailed information about the history of the Turkish people that migrate to Germany. But it is necessary to have a short summary about how the process evolved in time.

Migration from Turkey to Germany began in 1961 with the labor agreement between two countries and lasted about 30 year (Gaebel, 2011). In the beginning of the labor migration from Turkey to Germany, the number of Turks living in Germany was about 2700. Later on, this number increased regularly till 1990s. At the end of 1990s, even though the number did not increased afterwards, Turkish migrants constituted the most crowded migrant group in Germany. Currently, there are just fewer than 6.2 million foreigners in Germany. On census reference dating from May 2011, Turks accounted for the largest group (1.5 million people or 24.4%), followed by Italians (just under 490,000 people or 7.9%). The number of inhabitants with the Polish citizenship was roughly 380,000 (6.2%), those with the Greek citizenship a good 250,000 (4.1%), and those with the Croatian citizenship just under 210,000 (3.4%) (Michel, 2014). The case family chosen lives in Frankfurt, and there are 35.500 Turks in the city with a population of 675.000 (Şahin, 2010).

Despite being set up as a temporary migration between Germany and Mediterranean countries and based on a rotation system allowing new labor to be constantly coming in to replace those returning home, this system has changed dramatically and did not function as how it was first imagined. At first, both West Germany and the workers benefited from the seasonal labor, but the economic growth encouraged migrants to remain in Germany and establish a home (Auernheimer, 2006). After that, West German government decided to end the agreement for foreign laborers, and this automatically caused 2.6 million immigrant workers to not return to their homelands and the number increased with the arrival of these workers' families to Germany.

Unat (2011) draws a detailed history of Turkish labor migration with case studies and statistics in addition to social and psychological framework of international migration to European countries such as Germany, France, and Netherlands. In her book, *Turks in Europe: From Guest worker to Transnational Citizen*, she writes about different topics related to migration from a chronological account of Turkish immigration with demographical research to civil society and religion. The author discusses major topics of migration ranging from social structure, the political and economic asylum movements, integration, identity, and the education of the second and third generation migrants. She does not only investigate these processes and dynamic changes of migration for Turkish workers, she also draws the changes and impacts it brought to Turkey. While German laws and society continue to decide on principles for the status of migrants in the country, one of the most important changes happened firstly in the daily language as labeling migrants as *Gastarbeiter*. Turkey also introduced its own term for these migrant workers who went to Germany from Turkey as *Almancı* (the one from Germany), both of are sometimes ridiculed and looked down stereotypes in Germany and Turkey.

By following Unat's study on Turkish-German immigrants, while her study includes migrations from Turkey to not only Germany but also to Russia, Middle East, Austria, Denmark, Switzerland, and France, the main focus of this study is limited to Germany and to one particular family. Issues related to the migrant workers have been a topic of internal politics both in Germany and Turkey. For some politicians, being a

guest worker in Germany meant to be living in peace with German society without citizenship rights. However, some from the opposite side of the debate claimed for equal rights for different cultures. Since the multiculturalism concept developed in the political realm, the foreigners in Germany and their ethnic and religious communities enhanced. The xenophobic feelings in Germany had some significant influences on Turkish immigrants as well, which led them bond among themselves either in terms of their national ties or religious. This forced many communities to live in closed communities, which has an important effect on identity.

Unat's definitions and observations tell us that migration and identity are directly related to each other. When we examine migration and the possibilities it creates, we see different stories for migrants in shaping their lives, as accounted by Unat. As a first choice, they gain knowledge and experience in the new country they migrated and have short visits to homeland for annual family holidays. Second choice is to establish a small enterprise in the country of settlement to secure an independent life without being rooted in this new country. Third choice is getting involved in a job on a local level, which sometimes means learning the new foreign language is not necessary. As the fourth choice is to become educated or being expert on a subject to open the way to upward mobility in the society. The last option is the adaption of the citizenship of the country of settlement and captivating a full integration into the society and access to citizenship rights in the country. Each of these options brings a new identity construction practice for migrants. In addition to these choices, ethnic and/or religious sense of belongings contributes immensely to the identity construction of foreign workers. Being Turk or Kurd, Alevites or Sunni plays an important role for migrants by means of their everyday life practices and also their social network (Abadan Unat, 2011).

Migration and its social and physical impacts have been studied by different disciplines considering home, transnationalism, identity and belonging, assimilation, and integration. There are various effects of migration both on hosting societies and the migrants from foreigner countries. The studies on foreign workers mostly focus on interviews with groups of people with a migration background or return migration. Ralph and Staeheli (2011) conducted one of the most important researches on migration

and identity studies. They state as follows: "While belonging is a subjective feeling held by individuals, it is also socially defined. The subjective side of belonging is in many respects synonymous with aspects of home's dimensions of place and identity" (s. 523).

Ralph and Staeheli (2011) claim that there is a definitely social element in our sense of belonging, which influence home and identity. They argue that "the concept of home is simultaneously mobile and sedentarist and as constructed through spatialised networks can be related to broader debates about the relationship between place and space" (s. 520). The relationships between people and their network of places construct a sense of home rather than place. So, it is possible to claim that people assign meaning to places as a result of their relationships within a society. The relationships and processes, which construct our feeling of what home is, are also in relation to creating identities and feelings of belonging (Blunt & Varley, 2004). Ralph and Staeheli (2011) express that "It is therefore important to consider the ways in which a loosening of identity moorings and markers allows for a fluid model of identification with various places, various homes, whereby many migrants articulate a multilayered, 'hybrid' identity that reflects (and perhaps shapes) their experience of home, self and belonging" (s. 521).

There are limited studies focusing on Turkish-German migrants and return migration to Turkey. There are no studies conducting the return migrants from Germany to Turkey in either of the two countries. By considering this limitation on return migrants for Turkish-German migration, there are few studies published interviewing groups of selected samples of Turkish-German immigrants such as Özüekren & Kara (2009), Razum, Hodoglugil and Polit (2005) and Kayıhan (2011). By selecting similar questions such as belonging, identity, sociological and environmental relations, finance, and family considered in previous studies of return migrants, the focus in this study is on one single family and its experiences of migration via their *homes*. It is aimed to seek answers for the active construction and reconstruction of identity via homes as a conscious and dynamic process.

2.5. Migrant's Home

Migrants' home studies are a recent research area. There is limited research focusing on migrant's home, especially in architecture, and understanding the meaning of home for migrants. Migrants and related topics, ranging from nationality, identity, and integration to belonging, have been studied within an interdisciplinary framework. Migrant's home have also been investigated especially by geographers, sociologists, and architects as it relates to issues such as migration and identity, transnational social engagement, place and the meaning of place. Here, the concepts of home and house have to be revisited. As it is discussed above, the meaning of a place differs by various factors. In relation to place, home is the basic concept which relates to community, collective memory, or group identity. That is why with its potential as a transitory and mobile period for a group of people and changing boundaries, migrants home also brings a new approach to the understanding of social, economic, political, and physical environments. Studying migrants' homes casts a promising source of insights on migrants' sense of belonging, social and emotional meaning of place and potentials of transnational lives. Moreover, migrants' homes offer new ways of looking at the notion of home as it expands the traditional conceptualizations of home, i.e., a static place, to transitory place making-process.

The existing research on migration and home studies do not focus on migrant's home directly. Instead, they inquire about the concepts of identity and integration through migration and home. Here we see the notion of home is more like a definition of geography where there is a constant search for the meaning of home country and host country. One of the first studies in this area is a study based on interviews with 432 migrants in Cape Cod, Massachusetts, and investigates migration and life cycle in relation to producing different place affiliations through place identity (Cuba & Hummon, 1993). In the study, Cuba and Hummon (1993) claim that younger migrants more often base their identity on affiliations of friendship, family, and emotional self-attributions while older migrants do so in terms of dwelling and prior experience with a place. Hence, the study suggests that migrants report some sense of being at home in Cape Cod, constructing a sense of belonging through affiliations with natural, built,

social, and spatial environment over the patterns of mobility. On the other hand, the researchers are forced to rely on a single definition of place identity. The case study is limited to one particular region making generalizations of findings difficult. The research only looks at rooms and homes of interviewed migrants and do not include the nearby environment across neighborhood, community or region.

Another research on home and migration includes the housing experiences of Turkish-German migrants' homes in Berlin and Istanbul (Özüekren & Ergöz-Karahan, 2009). The study presents the finding of a comparative qualitative study of Turks who migrated from different part of the country to Istanbul, and Turks who migrated to Berlin with the main objection of describing and explaining segregation. The study focuses on the process of segregation through three stages: the labor migrants' stage, the family reunification stage, and the settlement stage. The authors argue that in terms of the internal differences within migrant groups, some of them do not prefer moving out of concentration areas for better housing opportunities even though they are able to afford it. Their research suggests that religious affiliations of migrants is one of the primary reasons of their choice of location and concentrates on how this religious conservatism plays a role in shaping the residential preferences and choices of individuals (Özüekren & Ergöz-Karahan, 2009). The researchers use field studies to gather data and discus two conclusions. First, in explaining segregation, the cultural differences within the migrant groups have an important role. Second, it explains how the housing experiences and residential segregation of Turkish migrants are shaped. The study focuses on physical aspects of home rather than theoretical issues, such as place attachment, related to home/house.

Another study focusing on migrants' homes and why migrants' own houses in their country of origin is conducted by Smith and Mazzucato (2009). The research looks into the Ghanaian transnational migration. The main focus is to understand the meaning of the investment and they use interviews with the Ghanaian migrants staying abroad (Smith & Mazzucato, 2009). The researcher asks questions on why migrants invest in houses. First, they suggest that it is not only for economic reasons but also for social and cultural reasons. Second it offers an understanding of how transnational investments in house take place. As a result, study concludes that migrants see investing

in housing as an important source of income and also there is a socio-cultural reason as owning a house in their state of origin comes with respect from those living in hometown (Smith & Mazzucato, 2009). Despite the emphasis on socio-cultural effects, the study does not clearly explain the main concepts effecting the place attachment via investment and is limited only to discussions of social statue of migrants.

Migration studies that investigate migrant's home mostly discuss migration through self, place, and identity. For example, Schissel's book (2006) entitled "Home/Bodies" argues that the desire to feel at home could only be understood at a metaphorical level rather than a physical. The book discusses home as a fluid concept and the study, which led to the book, use different methods such as case studies, focus groups, interviews, and narrative speech. The book includes studies on migrants' homes with an example of female Muslim migrants living in Canada. One of the chapter in the book states that the migrant's home is where they search for their identity within spaces not only emotionally and psychologically, but also physically (Tabassum, 2006). Additionally, the study focuses on female migrants and their identity problems; the participants depart the idea of home as they left behind the place of origin with reference to family (Tabassum, 2006).

Transnationalism, identity, and belonging are also other important concepts studied in relation to migrant's home. The ways migrants connect to their complex geographies of their lives and attempt to forge meaningful identities within multiple and protracted disjuncture is also studied. In her article, Klimt (2000) studies the case of Portuguese migrants in Germany and includes three decades of migrants in her study. During the years Portuguese have migrated to Germany, they turned into settled workers and they began living with their families in Germany, and some of them acquired German citizenship. Klimt investigated the notion of home for Portuguese migrants of three generation in terms of belonging and integration and discusses the assimilation and suppression of Portuguese culture in Germany (Klimt, 2000). The study continues with political and social effects for Portuguese rather than defining the notion of home for migrants.

One of the most relevant studies on migrant's home is Boccagni's article (2013) entitled *What's in a (Migrant) House? Changing Domestic Spaces, the Negotiation of*

Belonging and Home-making in Ecuadorian Migration. Boccagni claims that housing issues are a privileged observatory on migrants' transnational social engagement and on the changing boundaries of their membership and belonging. This recent research on migrant's home includes an ethnographic case study on the recent wave of immigration from Ecuador to Trento, Italy. The study includes interviews with the migrants. The researcher defines migrant houses and belonging and home-making from a transnational perspective. Boccagni's research claims that the study on migrant's house needs to be considered as a very concrete and mundane materiality that demands time, money and effort. He also adds that there is a need to study on home as a template for cultural projections, dreams and aspirations at the same time (Boccagni, 2013). The case on Ecuadorian migrants shows that home for them is not only related to the conceptual entity or a set of symbols and memories that need not overlap with any single location. Instead of this conceptual idea, home is basically related to their locally embedded houses, in all their tangibility, materiality and physical existence (Boccagni, 2013). In this study, the notion of home for migrants and home-making process for Ecuadorian migrants relates to the country of origin, as they feel belonging to their homeland rather than to host country. The research inquires which type of housing arrangements, the ones in Italy or Ecuador, matters more as a result of shifting boundaries of migrants' sense of belonging and the transnational reach of their attachments and obligations make. As the article claims the home-making process is centered on the return to homeland for better days or somehow restoring a lost status quo. On the other hand, the article does not focus on the close neighborhood of migrants in detail and do not include everyday life activities of migrants in both home country and host country and does not include space usage or place definitions of migrants.

Migrant's home is also a concept related to material culture and consumer practices of migrants. Çağlar (2002) investigates the differences between Turkish and German flats of German Turks, through an examination of the interiors of 20 Turkish immigrants' flats in Berlin. The researcher conducted interviews with both migrants and owners of nine Berlin furniture shops that cater to German Turks. The researcher discusses the home interiors through material culture, identity, and belonging by looking at their coffee tables. The article discusses the choosing criteria and the different function and meaning of the coffee tables for German flats and Turkish flats of

the families. The spatial organization of German flats are mostly organized in a very simple and functional way with basic objects like a sofa and a coffee table with TV unit, as the everyday life in Germany is focused on working while the furnishing of Turkish flats are more complex with more objects, a coffee table with two side tables, a crowded seating group and TV unit. Thus, the article argues how a coffee table, which has the same function for both Turkey and Germany, may have different uses, value and meaning attached to it in different context. Also, the syntax of the interior space is not the same for Turkey and Germany. By considering material culture and consumption patterns of different cultures within the framework of globalization, the differences in consumption practices and the consumer's manipulation of an object's symbolism may be grounded on consumer's ideals and desires (Çağlar, 2002).

Another important article, in which migrant families' homeland and their belonging and memory processes are investigated, is conducted by Depeli (2010). The research includes a fieldwork in Berlin. The researcher attempts at making a connection between the imaginary process of memory and the memories and narratives, which have been externalized by the visual images. The article discusses the domestic life conditions of migrants through photographs. By doing so, the relationship between photographic image that is added to the domestic scene and the remembered past-life images can be explored. Photographic images were chosen because the use of visual materials in the process of identity making for migrants is important. The fieldwork in Berlin shows that different visual materials such as photographic images and objects related to homeland are placed on migrants' walls. The author claims that visual images may affect the viewer emotionally and affectively more. Thus, migrants' home is the place where they are already living in a larger inner world than the physical environment they are located. Additionally, photographic images are the linkages between past and present and our memory is the individual's communication tool both with the society and individual's own world of perceptions and emotions (Depeli, 2010). As she considers the photographic images as travellers through time and space, they roll in the memory to take their place. The photographic images also are also the witnesses of the real events of the past, thus they are *lived*. The listed reasons tell visual materials add something to the identity and as soon as they took place in one's mind, they influence the identity process. This means, for migrants, it is a passage between

homeland and host land, which creates bridges between house as home and home as the country of origin (Depeli, 2010).

The existing literature on migrant's home leads me to continue ask questions on how a migrant's home is shaped and the meaning of home in terms of spatial quality, emotional changes on identity, its impact on home-making processes, and sense of belonging. And since last decade, there is an increasing interest on migration and home. As reviewed literature on migrant's home listed above shows, there is a growing importance of transnational social relations, practices and networks for sending and receiving countries. Additionally, migration has a fluid base shaping the process of identity and home-making simultaneously while these two shape each other as well. This double-sided process is done through home, as both migration and identity transforms home as well as home transforms identity and meaning of place.

CHAPTER 3

ÇAPKIN'S FAMILY AND THEIR HOMES

3.1.Why is a Case Study Conducted?

There are different research tools for doing social science research such as surveys, histories, case studies, storytelling, narratology, observation, and archival research and many more. Each research tool is used for different purposes in various research areas and each method has different advantages and disadvantages. Case study is a methodology that is used in different situations to contribute to our knowledge of individual, group, social, political, organizational, and related phenomena (Yin, 2003). Case studies are used as a common research strategy in psychology, political sciences, social work, sociology, economy or business to understand the complex social phenomena. The case study method allows us to investigate the meaningful characteristics of real life events such as life cycles, neighborhood change, organizational and managerial processes or international relations (Yin, 2003). Case study is a method that allows researchers to both implement a research involving in-depth and detailed examination of a subject of study and understand its related contextual conditions.

Case study is a useful method when it is used in ethnographic studies in various ways. First of all, case study focuses on answering the questions of what and how, which deepens the research on a topic. Second, case study is a strong tool, which offers an in-depth analysis of a phenomenon with details, richness and completeness of the explanations (Gerring, 2004). Additionally, social phenomenon needs to be studied in a multidisciplinary way, which brings different research fields together at the same time with different methods. Case study allows researcher to create the method in collaboration with observations, interviews, and narrative story at the same time.

In designing case studies, one may concentrate either on one case or multiple cases. Designing one or multiple case studies is different than sample selection and takes long time to analyze the results. As it is a multi-perspective method, the researcher is expected to consider not only the selected actors of the case study but also the relevant groups of actors and the interaction between them (Feagin, Orum, & Sjoberg, 1991). By doing so, the study has the potential to search, understand and represent different results on a topic over chosen case study.

There are several researches on home and migration which use case study as a methodology. Çağlar (2002) focuses on Turkish-German migrants' homes in Turkey and Germany looking at decoration, material culture and identity in her article entitled "A Table in two Hands". Çağlar (2002) introduces a case study of families who own a flat both in Berlin and İstanbul and investigates the interior decoration of their homes and the factors that affect the interior decoration of their home by looking at a particular piece of furniture,, namely a coffee table. She examines 20 Turkish immigrants flats' interiors in Berlin, and after that she compares these to their Turkish homes and their interiors. Miller's edited book entitled "Home Possessions" (Miller, 2001) includes different case studies from various subjects focusing on home and experience of home. In this book, the chapter by Petridou's focus on a migrant student from Greece who migrates to England to study explains how food and home are intertwined (Petridou, 2001). Kılıçkıran's study on migrant Kurdish women in London and their homes (Kılıçkıran, 2003) include a study, which focus on the hybrid nature of identity through home and Kurdish women's home practices. Boccagni (2013) addresses the everyday bases of Ecuadorian migrants', living in Italy, home-making and house-building concept. He focuses on the feeling of being at home and labor migrants' home-making practices (Boccagni, 2013). In all these case studies, what becomes apparent is that home is a unique phenomenon for each person or family which occupies it, is filled with their life stories, and houses their everyday life. There are also other migrant and home studies in different disciplines from architecture to geography, but they mostly use different methods such as interviews or surveys, however, case study has significant advantages in bringing up the rich and unique features of their occupants' lives.

As the aim of this study includes understanding and investigating the meaning of home for Turkish migrants living in Germany, case study is a suitable method to use in the research. To structure a case study, the questions which need to be identified are *who*, *what*, *where*, *why*, or *how*. Determining these questions related to research study requires preparation through reviewing the existing literature. In this study, the aim is to

In addition, this research questions how the concept of home might have a different instantiation in different geographies, namely in Turkey and in Germany. This focus bring forth questions related to how and whether the movement of a family between their three homes and between different geographies change and contribute to their conception of what home is for them. This led the research to follow the same family in different geographies with the use of "multi-sited ethnographic research". George Marcus argues that multi-sited ethnography objects to study social phenomena when it is not possible to focus on a single site (Falzon, 2009). By doing so, multi-sited ethnography has the potential to follow people, associations, connections, and relationships across space because they are substantially continuous but spatially non-contiguous (Falzon, 2009). As the case family has three homes in three locations, namely Frankfurt, Ankara, and Kuşadası, multi-sited ethnography provides powerful tools in the inquiry. I inquire questions on how migrants conceptualize their home and why identity, place attachment and home concepts are related to each other in the home-making process for migrants. It is proposed that these questions should be inquired through the contemporary concept of home with everyday life activities.

3.2.Determining the Case Family

The starting point of this study began with a search for a case site in Kuşadası, Izmir. I first consulted real-estate agents about where Turkish-German migrants' are generally located in summer resort areas. Then I decided to go to Kuşadası to see and locate those summerhouse complexes where migrants live. The first, summerhouse complex was visited in Kuşadası in September 2013. The expectation was to find whether Turkish-German families own or rent these summerhouses for their vacation and stay there during summer period. The summerhouse complex, named as Housing

Estate 19 ("Site 19" in Turkish), was established by Turkish-German families. Initially, the cooperative housing estate was established by families from Çorum (the name of the housing complex is the plate number of Çorum) who had migrated to Germany. But, when I reach the site I see that most of the families already sold their two-story houses and moved somewhere else. The focus of this research had shifted from finding an area where migrants lived together to finding a single house, and follows the traces of their home practices.

The case family was chosen via personal connections. I knew a family living in Izmir and owning a summerhouse in Kuşadası. The family was told about the details of the prospective study and they had suggested one of their neighbors, Çapkın Family, in Kuşadası as a potential candidate for my research. The main criteria for the selection of a case family consisted of a family who migrated from Turkey to Germany to work and had houses both in Turkey and in Germany they use actively and for a significant period of time. A visit was arranged to Kuşadası to meet the family and they were informed about the research. At the time, the family owned houses they actively used in Frankfurt and in Kuşadası, plus they owned a third house in Ankara. The family accepted to be part of the study and showed enthusiasm about the study by telling their stories and everyday life activities right from the very first meeting.

There were seven meetings, scheduled on weekends, arranged between September 2013 and March 2015 in Kuşadası. Each meeting lasted at least two to three hours conversing with different family members but especially the mother and father. Additionally, one meeting is arranged in Frankfurt between 27th of January and 1st of February 2014. The entire interviews include questions related to homes and how the family uses them and there are pre-visit questions and after-visit questions. The family suggested that they would be happy to host the researcher and her husband during the visit but they are lack of rooms because their son got divorced and staying with the family. So, the researcher, and her husband, accommodated at a hotel. During the Frankfurt visit, Veli welcomes them and picks them up from the airport. The first night, Veli and Ayşe suggests having a visit to their son's place, a Türkübar in the city center of Frankfurt. They arranged a dinner together at this Türkübar and then they gave a lift to the researcher to hotel. The visit was arranged covering a weekend at Frankfurt and

lasted for four days. The total visit covers the route beginning from Türkübar, then Halkevi, then Frankfurt home of Çapkın family and their outdoor activity locations. Additionally, the researcher covers the expanses of all the visits to both Germany and Turkey. The entire interviews include questions related to homes and how the family uses them and there are pre-visit questions and after-visit questions.

The researcher prefers to take notes rather than recording the conversation during Frankfurt and Kuşadası visits. All the visits are scheduled with phone calls and the family kindly confirmed the meetings and hosted the researcher and her husband very friendly. The main approach was to listen to their story, their thoughts about migration and home and questions were asked as not to bother them or disturb them. The reason was that the family was so open to share their domestic and private space, meaning their home, and the researcher preferred to observe and listen to them most of the time rather than acting as an investigator or asking lots of questions.

3.3. The History of Çapkın Family

The mother, Ayşe[1] is 55 years old and the father Veli is 58 years old. Ayşe's mother migrated to Frankfurt, Germany in 1963, when while she was 26 and Ayşe was seven years old. Two years later, in 1965, Ayşe, nine, and her brother, seven, joined her in Frankfurt. That's how the family is re-united, and they have been living in Frankfurt since 1965. Ayşe got married Veli in 1975 and Veli migrated to Germany to live with his new bride, who was already living in Germany. They have two children, a boy, born in 1978, and a girl, born in 1981. Both of the children were born in Frankfurt and still live in Frankfurt. Ayşe and Veli are first cousins. The father of Veli is the maternal uncle of Ayşe. They do not keep German citizenship but they keep resident and working permit. Their children also do not keep German citizenship and their daughter is married to a Turkish man and they have a daughter, and their son is engaged to a Turkish woman.

The response of Veli to the question why they migrated to Germany was as follows:

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[1] The real names of the family, the mother's and father's are changed in terms of privacy.

— First aim was to go and work for three to five years and then come back to Turkey. But after arriving in Frankfurt, everything changed. The years passed by working and then things began to change in a way that made us to stay. The responsibilities, family and economic conditions are the reasons of staying about 40 years in Germany. Just like the myth of return for the first generation migrant Turks, we could not go back in three to five years, either.[2]

Here we see that it was a dream for Veli to come back to his homeland one day. And he adds that after having first-hand experiences of health and social services in Germany and after working and living long years there, they decided not to come back just like most of other Turkish migrant families.

When we ask the same question to Ayşe, she responds:

— I have been living in Frankfurt since I was nine years old. I know each street of the city, the marketplaces, shopping centers and parks. I do not feel like an outsider in Frankfurt. I know the city; I have my family members living there such as my brother, my aunts, my cousins and their children. I feel safe and do not feel homesick for Turkey while I am in Frankfurt. But it feels like I am a robot in Frankfurt because of the lifestyle of all the work years, doing the same things everyday. Yet, I like living in Frankfurt.

I visited both the Frankfurt home and the Kuşadası home to observe the everyday life experiences of family and to understand the meanings of their homes. The interviews were organized to understand the level and type of attachment to both homes and the environments they are located in. To make comparisons between everyday life experiences in these homes and the attachment level and identity construction, I surveyed, mapped and photographed two homes' spatial organizations, their physical characteristics, decorations and furniture. The locations of the homes are mapped within the close neighborhood where they are located in the city for both Kuşadası and Frankfurt. The plans are drawn for both of the homes. The plan of Frankfurt home was available and found in Çapkın family's document bag, while Kuşadası home was not available. That's why a weekend is scheduled for building survey of Kuşadası home.

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[2] All translations were done by the author.

After that the author draws the plans. All of the rooms are managed photograph for both of the homes. The physical conditions of materials used and the decoration in the homes are documented. In addition to interviews and data collection, the stories of the family were also gathered for the two homes and the two countries. The details of the case study are explained in this chapter in detail.

3.4. Study Process and Progress

The family was informed about the scope of the research and the reason why they were chosen for this study. They were told that their contribution to the study was invaluable. The expectations from the family were explained in detail in advance. They had given full consent and promised to provide any assistance possible. As home is a domestic space and has a character of confidentiality, the family agreed to spend time with the researcher and told their stories and opens their house and their everyday life practices for two years in both Kuşadası and Frankfurt homes.

During the research, the family was visited both in Kuşadası and Frankfurt homes. The first visit was on the sixth of September 2013. This was the first research-oriented meeting after the family was informed about the research and they granted their approval at their Kuşadası home. In the first meeting of this study, they were asked to tell their stories about their life. The basic questions asked were about where they came from, why they migrated to Germany, how many children they had, what kind of jobs they had in Germany and what were their the daily activities. These questions were related to Kuşadası, Ankara and Frankfurt homes. They were asked to define their homes, too. The first definitions mostly included physical characteristics of the homes such as 100 square meter areas, with two rooms and a living room, the materials used, etc. But, as the family was visited three times during the summer period of 2013, these visits helped them to be more relaxed and contributive for the research. After the summer period, the family was visited at their Frankfurt home between 27th and 30th of January 2014. During the Frankfurt visit, the family performed an informative role in understanding the basics like the places they go during day, where they do their shopping, and where they socialize with their friends and also everyday life practices in

their home. Additionally, they shared their old photographs that were taken in their Frankfurt home and told the related stories. After the Frankfurt visit, they were visited in Kuşadası home in the summer period of 2014 and data gathering was completed.

After the visits, a visit to their third home in Ankara could not be arranged because of several reasons. First, the dates were never suitable to meet them in Ankara and second the family decided to sell the house to acquire capital for their son's new business. But, the data about Ankara home is gathered in meetings of Kuşadası and Frankfurt and related stories were told, too. This process continued in parallel to the theoretical investigations on migration and home studies.

3.5. Frankfurt Home

The home in Frankfurt is a rented home where the family has been living for twenty-eight straight years. The house belongs to a company in Frankfurt and is built as a social housing complex consisting of six story high apartment buildings on a triangular site. There are three different types of apartment units in the housing complex. One of them is designed for the elderly and the local government provides special services such as meal services and cleaning and doing the laundry for the elderly living in the complex. The flats where elderly live are one-bedroom flats. Another type is a three-bedroom flat that serve for larger families. Çapkın family chose the two-bedroom flat type to live in. The flat is located on the fifth floor on the north corner of the complex (Figure 1 and Figure 2).
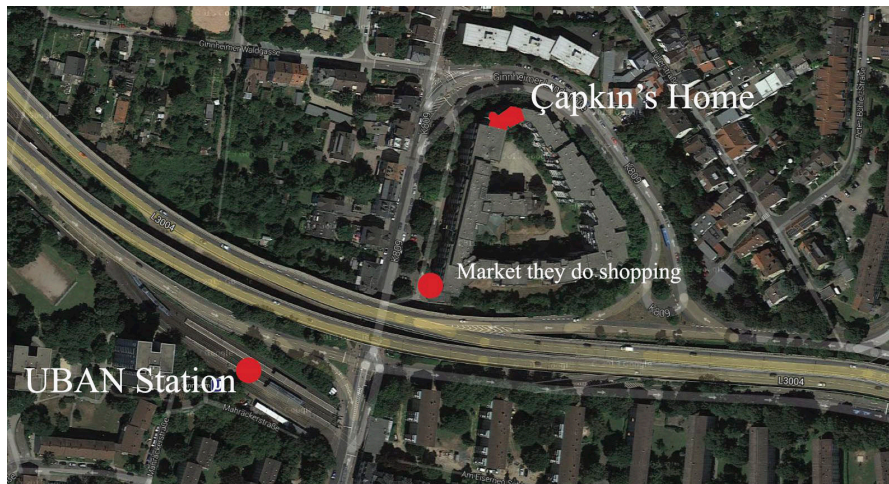
Figure 1. Aerial view of Frankfurt home

Figure 2. The exterior of Frankfurt Home

The complex is in the form of a perimeter block with an inner courtyard. The reason why family still lives in this flat is that it has an affordable rent; it is located close to the city center and public transport. The rent, which was 600 euros per month in 2014, includes the electricity and water. The family seems to aiming to construct a temporary attachment to the home, as they never thought of owning a house in Germany. This is partly because of the fact that the family does not hold permanent citizenship and because of some financial issues. The Frankfurt house is a flat with two bedrooms and a living room with a kitchen next to it, a bathroom, a toilet, and a balcony. The family explains this home as a functional house as it served them in a very useful way during their working life in terms of cleaning, living in it as a family of four, and its spatial organization. The family says they felt attached to this home because they lived there for long years and they had lots of memories and stories of this house.

Before visiting the Frankfurt home, I asked Ayşe and Veli why they chose to live in this house in Frankfurt and they explained that it is located in a convenient location that is close to Uban, the subway of Frankfurt, and provides easy access to places such as shopping malls, the city center, the swimming pool, and their son's Türkü bar. They stated that they heavily use the public transportation to meet their friends and relatives, to visit their son's Türkübar at the city center, and to do shopping even though they have a car.

During the visit and when they were asked why they were still renting the Frankfurt home, Ayşe, the mother, responded as follows:

— The most important thing is the amount of rent. But, the house itself is very functional. I have the chance to easily use it with both as a family of four members and as a couple. While we were working, the children went to school and it had enough space for all of us. After children graduated from school, it was still useful for the family. As our daughter got married and we had a granddaughter, sometimes they come and visit us and stay with us for a few days.

One of the bedrooms serves as a master bedroom, which has the view of Main Street on the north, and the other one is the son's bedroom with the view of inner

courtyard. The son and daughter, when she was living in the house, used to share this room. After the daughter got married and left home, the room was left to the son. The balcony is accessed from the living room and it has the view of the inner courtyard. There is a small playground located at the center of this inner courtyard. Ayşe expresses that they were watching their children while they were playing with other children in the inner courtyard from that balcony. There used to be different events organized for families at this courtyard on weekends such as barbeque parties and picnics.

During their whole stay in this flat, there was only once a big change in its decoration. The flat was recently refurbished with new furniture. The turning point for the family about Frankfurt home was when their son decided to get married. The family decided to leave the home to the new couple and to stay in their other homes in Kuşadası and Ankara. The plan was definite, as they would stay in Germany for a month, 15 days in their daughter's home and 15 days in their son's home, and the rest of the year they would stay in Turkey, meaning in Ankara and in Kuşadası. They redecorated the home according to the new couple's needs and did not use the old furniture in any of their other homes. The only thing that completely changed in the Frankfurt home was the kitchen: the kitchen cabinets and the ceramic tiles were removed.

The Frankfurt house is a small but functional house (Figure 3). It has a plan schema of an entrance directly leading to the living room and dining hall. The furniture in the living room includes an L-shaped sofa set, a coffee table in the middle with a small carpet underneath, a TV unit and two cabinets, and a dining table with chairs. The TV is placed facing the L-shaped sofa set (Figure 4).

Figure 3. Plan of Frankfurt home with special corners (drawing is not to the scale)

Ayşe and Veli have special corners at home (Figure 3). The corner of L shaped sofa is Veli's special place, and people who visit them know that corner and never sit there. Ayşe's special corner is the kitchen. She prefers having chat with her friends and visitors while having a cup of coffee and looking at outside from the window. There is also another room for her as bedroom and the photograph she hung there is her favorite object in the house. This photograph has a special meaning for her as it was taken after 10 years of they got married (Figure 5). She also explained that after her retirement she started going to the swimming pool at least three or four days a week and her swimming pool stuff, a bag in which she puts her swimming suit, towels and accessories for swimming, is always placed in the bathroom (Figure 6).
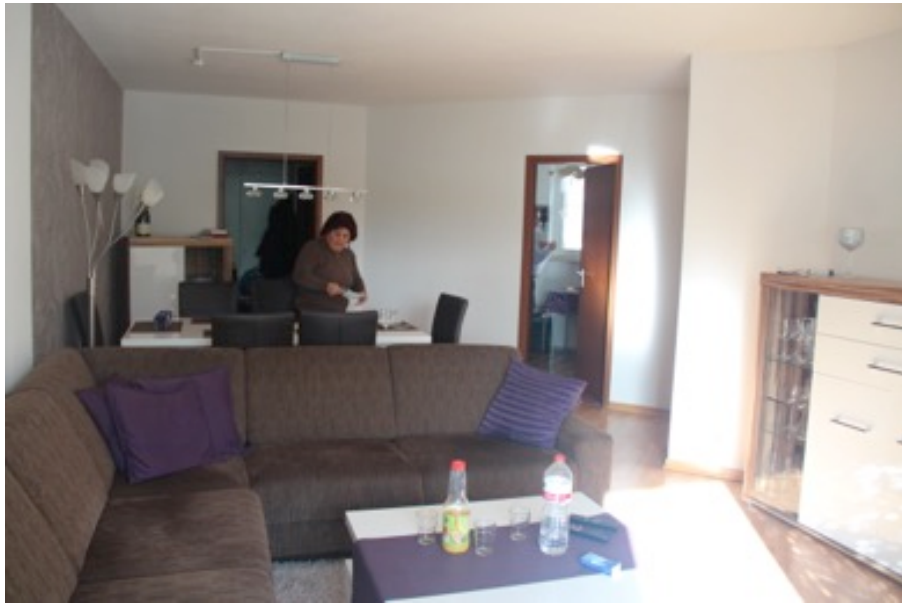
Figure 4. The living room of Frankfurt Home and L-Shaped Sofa

Figure 5. The photo taken at their 10th year anniversary hung above the TV.

Figure 6. Ayşe's swimming set in the bathroom

Ayşe and Veli use their Frankfurt home so carefully that they claim they did not need many changes during these 28 years they have lived in the house. The doors (Figure 7), the bathroom materials (Figure 8) and the wooden floor covering (Figure 9) are as they were when they had first moved in. Since it is rental flat and needs to be vacated as it was in its first day, they do not want to change materials or the spatial organization of the house.

Figure 7. Doors at the home.

Figure 8. Bathroom

Figure 9. Wooden floor covering

Ayşe and Veli are also asked about their daily life activities in their Frankfurt home, both before and during the Frankfurt visit. Before the visit, Ayşe told the story of their daily life in Frankfurt home as a work-oriented lifestyle. Ayşe:

— The life in Frankfurt is work-oriented. You have to be at work on time, this is very important for Germans. I worked for 32 years in total till I got retired. First, I worked at a pharmaceutical plant for three or four years. After that, I worked for a factory that produces indicators for planes and other mechanical devices and I retired from that factory. We have one of these indicators as a souvenir in our Kuşadası home, at the entrance terrace. The working routine was the same every day: Go to the factory on time, begin working, have breaks, have lunch… Sometimes the factory changes our labor division on the line production such as tightening a screw, sometimes controlling the end product or placing the glass of the indicator. This was because they wanted us to be capable of working at each part of the line production rather than having only one responsibility. By doing so, when there was someone absent, we could easily replace him/her and

production never stops. It was a boring lifestyle but we had to work. Also, the weather is always cloudy or rainy. We found a way to relax after the busy schedule by having barbeques in our rented garden in Frankfurt. It was such an important event for the whole family to gather together on Sundays. The German went to church, and we meet our family members, with a quite a few of them, at the garden and have picnic. It is a monotonous lifestyle.

Ayşe told me her dear memories of Frankfurt during the Kuşadası visit prior to the Frankfurt visit. But, the stories and memories voiced were different during the Frankfurt visit. In Kuşadası, she explained how she was living happily in Frankfurt with her family and other family members, how it was important and advantageous for them to live in a European country. She listed such advantages as the fair rules and regulations of social life and the powerful economic conditions. Veli also admitted that they have managed to earn and save money during DM (Deutsche Mark) period. But, during the Frankfurt visit, she began telling stories about the difficulties they faced during busy working years of their life, how it was difficult and stressful to be a foreigner, learning a new language and adapt herself to a new culture and rules of a new country. She also had a lot to remember about depressing periods such as her mother's death and the economic struggle they faced during early years of their marriage. She had preferred telling these sad stories while we were in Frankfurt.

3.6. Ankara Home

The Ankara home is the first home the family owned in Turkey and in their life. It is located in Yenimahalle, close to the city center, and it is a duplex-apartment unit. The family used to own the land on which the apartment building was built. They bought the land in 1992 following the advice of Veli's brother who also bought a piece of land nearby. In the beginning of 2000s, the land was rezoned as part of an urban regeneration plan which gave them a permit of building a five-story high building on the property. Veli and Ayşe made an agreement with a construction company and they received a duplex-apartment unit in exchange for the land. The family members do not

prefer to spend time in this house except in those occasions they fly from Frankfurt to Turkey on their way to Kuşadası.

When they were asked to speak about Ankara house, they told that they use it as a transient base during their arrivals and departures. They come to Turkey by plane and land in Ankara. They directly go to their Ankara house and spend no more than three weeks there. In this three weeks' time, they visit their relatives such as Veli's brothers, Ayşe's cousins, and other family members. Also, they go to Çorum, where their village is located, and visit the elderly living in the village and their ancestors' graveyards as Ankara takes about two-and-a-half hour by car. They also take care of the paternal house in Çorum and do the repairs that are needed. After they complete their visits in Ankara, Ayşe and Veli take their car and drive to Kuşadası. The description of the Ankara house by Veli and Ayşe are as follows:

Veli:

— Our Ankara house is a lot bigger house than our Kuşadası House. It is located on a well-known neighborhood in the city center of Ankara. It is a duplex apartment on the fifth floor of an apartment building. It has balconies as big as the front terrace of Kuşadası house and additionally it has a wide terrace on the second floor. The view of the terrace is amazing. But, Ankara does not have any seaside and we don't prefer passing much time there.

Ayşe:

— Yes, I agree with Veli. It is such a well-designed house with special materials. As it is our first house in Turkey, we wanted it to be very luxurious. Actually, we bought the land of the house, there used to be a slum there, as an investment about 12 or 13 years ago. After the urban renovation projects in Ankara, the land became very profitable and we decided to build the house. We made an agreement with a construction company and in return we got the duplex apartment on the last floor. Also, as we are the landowners, we chose all the materials for our house and the construction company used whatever we chose. If Ankara house had the sea view or located close to the seaside, we won't own this house in Kuşadası.

In addition to these, the family says that they do not feel any special attachment to their Ankara home, even though they have made investment on it by buying it, decorating and furnishing it. After their children grew up, they wanted to own a home in Ankara primarily because the family is from Çorum, which is easily accessible from Ankara, and they have many relatives from Çorum living in Ankara. But, buying a home in Ankara did not satisfy them in some ways. It did not give them enough opportunities for retirement activities as much as a coastal city would that will ensure an enjoyable and relax time. Ayşe express her feelings as follows:

— Ankara home is very big and luxurious. I spent lots of money for materials and decoration. But, I had some bad experiences in Ankara during our first summer vacation. I experienced that having a barbeque on the terrace with our family members is not as relaxing and enjoyable as it is in Kuşadası. I believe that Ankara is a city that does not satisfy our needs for a summer vacation. It is annoying to see how people react because of your cloths, both for Veli's and mine. Veli could never wear shorts; I could never wear tank top in Ankara. Despite all of these, we go there for our summer vacations. It feels like we are still under the stress of living in the city. I believe it is a good thing to have it as we use it to visit our relatives in Ankara and Çorum. But I do not prefer living in there during summer.

Veli's father migrated to Ankara many years ago from Çorum and Veli's brother still lives in Ankara, who advised them to own the land so they could be in touch and can easily visit Çorum when they come back to Turkey. Veli accepted his brother's advice and invested in Ankara by owning the land. An apartment building is built on Veli's brother's land just like Çapkın family's. Veli says the following about the Ankara house:

— The land was not such a big cost for us when we bought it. But after years passed, the neighborhood totally changed. Now, my brother and me own our duplex apartment units in Ankara, in the city center now. It is important for us to visit our relatives when we are back from Frankfurt. The family ties is the reason why we own this house in Ankara and we are happy to own a home in our homeland.

Ayşe and Veli also tell a story about how they decided to own another home in a coastal town after their Ankara home experiences. Ayşe explains:

— There was a summer period during Ramadan, when we spent our holidays at our Ankara home. We were on holiday and were not fasting. We went out to do shopping and had a break to have a snack. But, people around us were staring at us and we felt so discomfortable. I remember I felt guilty because I was not fasting and eating something. Then I understood that we should spend our vacations somewhere else.

I did not visit the Ankara home but the data was gathered during the Frankfurt and Kuşadası visits. There are several reasons for the visit to not to happen. First of all, a suitable time to schedule it could not be arranged. Second, the family decided to sell the house as a capital for their son's new business. But, the family added their experiences and told the story of Ankara home during Frankfurt and Kuşadası visits.

3.7.Kuşadası Home

The Kuşadası house is the place where Ayşe and Veli feel most relaxed and most comfortable. They both state that having a summerhouse one day at a costal town with a nice climate and a pool was their dream when they were young. That is why they are using this home for the longest time during the year, about seven to eight months, and they make constant additions and changes both inside and outside the house.

The previous owner of the house was a German couple, which was apparently a plus for Ayşe and Veli. The additions and decoration made by the German family while refurbishing the house and the materials chosen in the decoration were very agreeable to the Çapkın family; the second important issue was the swimming pool in the garden. These two important points and the location of the house made the family more attached to their home and they expressed repeatedly how comfortable they feel in their Kuşadası home.

Ayşe says about Kuşadası house and the first impact as:

— The story of the house is a bit sad. There were two sisters from Germany and they each decided to own a summerhouse in Kuşadası after they were retired. They wanted to own houses adjacent to each other and wanted to become neighbors. So, they found this summer house complex of two-story detached houses and bought these two houses, our house and our neighbor's house, and became neighbor as they wished. But after a while, they could not get along well with each other and both of them decided to sell their houses. It is so sad to hear this story because this is a house they dreamed of where they would pass their old age after they retired. But, when I saw the house I thought this house is ideal for me. I learnt that the German couple chose all the materials and the furniture. This made me to decide on this house rather than other houses we previously visited in the neighborhood. Despite the sad story of the house, I wanted to own it. The pool, the furniture, the interior decoration and the other construction materials are just like I wished to own. I just added small details before moving in such as curtains, photographs and kitchen equipment.

Ayşe does not prefer to change the existing furniture in Kuşadası home because the existing ones are in good quality and ready to use. She kept the furniture in the dining room and in the other three bedrooms, including the master bedroom. The biggest piece of furniture is the L-shaped sofa set in the living room. She added little furniture such as one wardrobe in the master bedroom, kitchen utensils, curtains in the interior of the house and the table and chairs set at the terrace. The garden is the most changed feature of the house more than the interior.

The Kuşadası house is a detached house with two floors and a terrace (Figure 10). The entrance was changed according to Çapkın family's needs just as the other spaces of the house. They wanted to have a canopy over the entrance and when they first bought the house the entrance was just a semi-closed space with glass separators. This place was transformed into a closed area as a winter garden rather than a terrace in the end. The entrance is elevated on a raised platform and is directly connected to the kitchen (Figure 11).
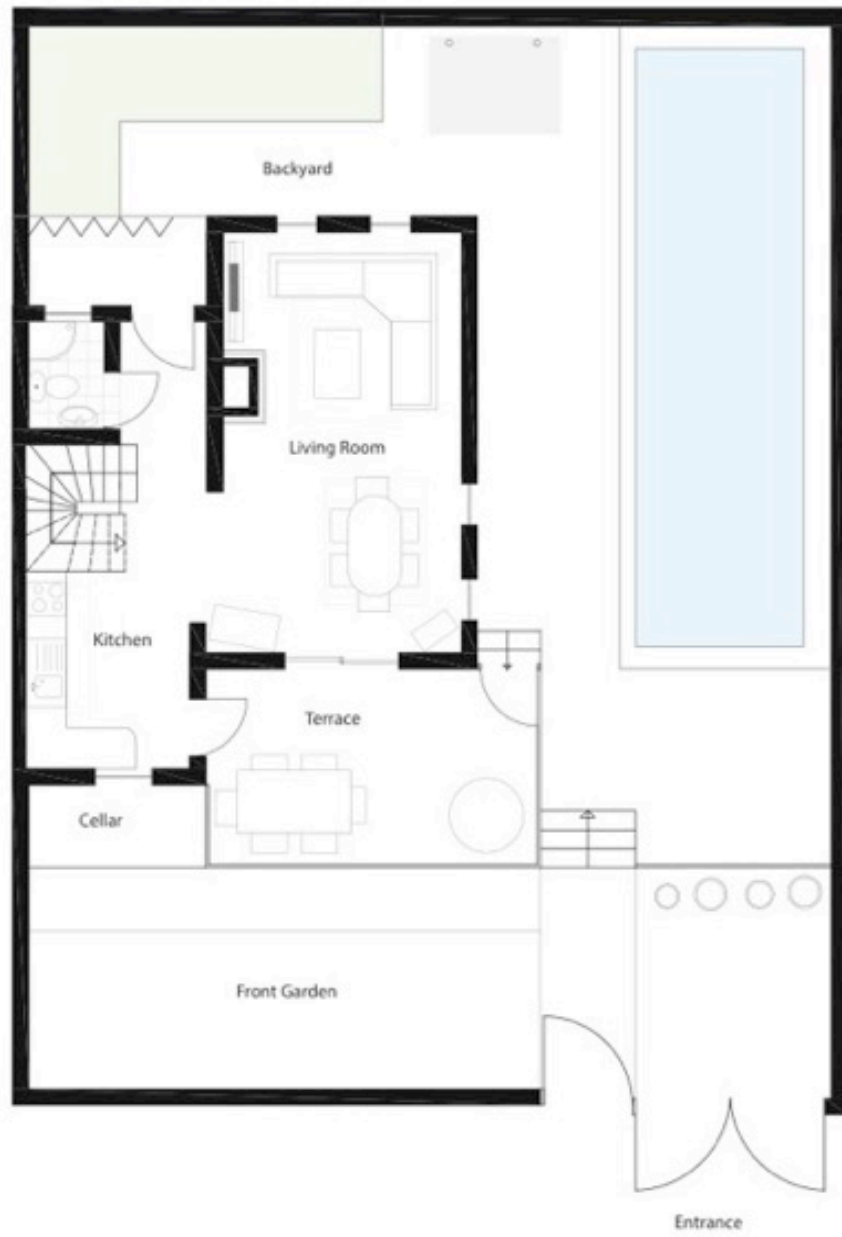
Figure 10. Ground floor plan of Kuşadası House (the drawing is not to scale).

Figure 11. The front terrace

The house has two floors and a terrace on the third floor with a small storage space. The family uses the entrance terrace as extension of the kitchen. They have their breakfast, lunch and dinner and also their coffee breaks at the entrance terrace. As it opens to the kitchen, Ayşe says it is easy to organize cooking and eating activities at the front terrace. When you enter the house, first you go into the kitchen and then the living room. The kitchen is a linear open kitchen and the living room is attached to it (Figure 12).

There is again an L-shaped sofa in the living room and dining space is organized with an oval table and two different china cabinets, one as narrow and one as wide.

There is a fireplace at the living room and the TV unit is located next to the fireplace (Figure 13). There are photographs of the family members, daughter's, son's and granddaughter's with Ayşe and Veli, located at different parts of the living room (Figure 15) and dining hall (Figure 16). The family decorated one of the walls of this living room, the wall where fireplace is located, with stone finishing.

Figure 12. Kitchen

Figure 13. Living room

Figure 14. Dining hall
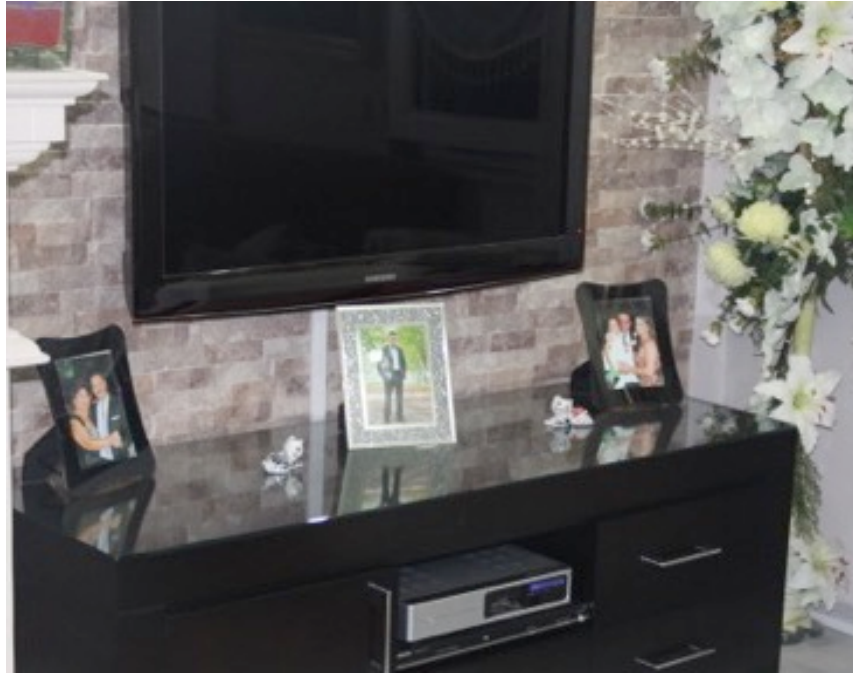
Figure 15. The photographs of the family members in the living room

Figure 16. The photographs of the members in dining hall

There is also a door opening to the backyard located next to the toilet on the ground floor. Ayşe and Veli use this back door to reach the swimming pool and they

build a special area to prepare for swimming. This is a rectangular space under the balcony of the master bedroom and they placed a wardrobe and separated the space from the backyard with a curtain (Figure 17). They place their swimming pool stuff and towels in this place.

Figure 17. Swimming pool preparation area with wardrobe.

The bedrooms and a bathroom are located o the first floor (Figure 18). There are three bedrooms: one master bedroom (Figure 19), son's bedroom (Figure 20), and one bedroom for daughter, granddaughter and daughter's husband (Figure 21). They are using both the wardrobes in the bedrooms and the rooftop space for their luggage. They also have guests from Frankfurt and Ankara, sometimes Çorum in their Kuşadası house.

They arrange their guests visit schedules according to their son and daughter's visits during summer holidays.

Figure 18. first floor plan of the Kuşadası House (the drawing is not to scale).

Figure 19. Master bedroom

Figure 20. Son's bedroom

Figure 21. Daughter, granddaughter and daughter's husband room

Figure 22. Bathroom on the first floor

In the backyard, there are some gardening tools as they grow plants on the backyards such as tomatoes, cucumber, green pepper and eggplant (Figure 23).

Figure 23. The vegetables on the backyard

The family does not plan to make any changes to the materials and spaces of the house, because they claim that it is a suitable house for them to live in. But, each summer when they arrive, they are adding something to the decoration of the house. For example, they added stone tiling to the wall in the 2013 summer period. Additionally, they changed the front terrace from a semi-open space with opening glass to a winter-garden enclosed area (Figure 24).

Figure 24. Enclosed entrance terrace

Kuşadası summerhouse is surrounded by a yard on three sides and there is a swimming pool located in the garden. The garden has also changed in time. First of all, they tell that there used to be an olive tree in the front yard next to the pool. But they cut the tree and placed a shading element instead (Figure 25).

Figure 25. The shading element at the front terrace

As their daily life activities in the Kuşadası house, they have a different pattern than the ones in the Frankfurt house. This is mainly because it is a summerhouse and the period they most spend in this house is from May to September. They wake up about nine o'clock in the morning; they have their coffee before breakfast. After that, Ayşe swims in the pool and if there is something to do for shopping, Veli goes to

shopping. Otherwise, Veli goes swimming to the seaside with his friends that live close to their home. He sometimes prefers swimming in the pool, too. Ayşe prefers sunbathing on the second floor terrace rather than near the swimming pool. After swimming, Ayşe and Veli have their breakfast at the front terrace. The breakfast continuous with a late lunch if they don't have any visitors. When they have visitors, it is important for them to have barbeque and drink with them. Otherwise, a usual dinner is organized at the front terrace. After dinner, when they don't have visitors or guests, they mostly visit their friends, other Turkish- German migrant families who own a house in the neighborhood and play game. Every evening these groups of families are visiting each other on a daily basis in every evening. Sometimes they help each other in different works such as gardening or preparations of a dinner for crowded guests.

When their son and daughter arrive with her family, they mostly spend two or three weeks with them. They both stay with their parents and visit other relatives living in Izmir and Ankara. The son has some business connections in other cities and this vacation times mostly continues with business related affairs. The daughter and granddaughter come and stay for their vacation about three weeks or more. The daughter's husband spends only a week with them because he has a job in Frankfurt and his vacation time is limited. The daughter's family also owns a house in Bornova where they spend at least a few weeks every summer. When they are staying with their parents, they go out at night together to the close night bazaars and nearby places for shopping. This time period is a reunion time for all the family members.

Kuşadası house is also the place where Ayşe makes preparations for winter. These are like making dried pepper or making jams. Ayşe uses third floor roof terrace for the preparations and she makes them ready for winter and carries the food to Frankfurt (Figure 26 and Figure 27).

The plan schemes, spatial organization of the houses, the daily activities in these houses, and the meanings attached to them tell us different scenarios for understanding the home of migrants. The observations together with data from interviews of all these three homes are discussed in Chapter 4 in detail, in reference to key concepts defining home and migrant's home-making process.

Figure 26. The third floor terrace

Figure 27. The attic used as storage

CHAPTER 4

MIGRANT'S HOME DYNAMICS AND

CONCEPTUALIZING HOME

In this study, I propose that place could be an umbrella concept to discuss what home, house, place attachment, identity, and migration are for migrants. The definition of place in relation to home is a key concept to have a discussion on migrants' home-making processes and understanding the meaning of home for migrants. Adapting such an ethnographic approach based on sociological, psychological, and cultural meaning attached to the meaning of home is crucial. Home is the fundamental physical environment for people to create definitions about identity, place attachment, and self. The study reviews the groundbreaking works of leading figures such as Easthope (2010), Miller (2001), Massey (1994) and Cooper Marcus (2006) conceptualizing what home is.

This chapter includes discussions that are primarily based on the reports of the case family with a special emphasis on the way they conceptualize home. It analyses the accounts of the case family in detail and elaborates on their identity, place attachment, and home-making processes. The chapter emphasizes social, personal, and contextual processes of their home-making as a migrant family, and investigates the issue of identity in reference to self and place attachment by studying the three homes the family occupies. The daily life activities of the family, their experiences, stories, their socio-economic position in Turkey and Germany, motivations and aspirations have an important role for inquiring what home means for them.

This study follows the lead of previous studies on home emphasizing the changing, transitory, and unstable aspects of *home* rather than conceiving home as a static concept. We could state that the concept of "home" has interdisciplinary implications in the literature and that there has been an increasing amount of research

aiming at deciphering the meaning of home. It wouldn't be wrong to say that, to understand the meanings of home, we need to consider the interplay between home and family, environment, gender, culture and physical situations.

In the study I explore two interrelated discussions. First, I wish to understand how home becomes an integral part of migrants' identity making. Second, I map how migrants develop different emotional and physical attachments to different homes, by entitling the latter with different meanings, values and experiences. The meaning of home expressed by the case family draws different patterns related to self and identity, being migrant and how they define home. This chapter is organized to understand how they define home by highlighting these patterns.

4.1. Home: The center of Identity

The first discussion on migrants and their homes is related to the exploration of the relationship between self and home. The stories conveyed in the previous chapters and the current chapter emphasizes this relationship through personalization of indoor and outdoor space, the manifestation of being at home and how migrants are conceptualizing home. Understanding the stories, possessions and control over their home, it may be possible to inquire how Çapkın family maintain and find a sense of self, or self-identity. We have a chance to follow how stories and possessions provide linkage to past and projection toward future. Especially, the stories are capable of illustrating the migrants' self-identity, both as they saw themselves and they represent themselves to others.

The study is interested in social and self-identity and their relationship to the built environment and factors that are constructing the identity of a house for migrants. Identity is a constructed and dynamic concept when considered in its relationship to place (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). We can define identity in different categorizations such as cultural identity, social identity, historical and self-identity. That's why we should define the core elements of identity, and the definitions of cultural, social, and self-identity need to be clarified.

The case family states that they were ordinary village people. Ayşe lived in Çorum and Veli in Ankara before they migrated to Germany. Ayşe's mother, who took Ayşe to Germany few years after she went to Germany, was one of the first-generation migrants who were called "Gastarbeiter." When Ayşe and Veli got married Veli joined her in Germany. Their social identity changed from being villagers in Turkey to workers when they migrated to Germany. Their daily life in Germany consisted of working in low-paid jobs, living in standard houses, and reducing their consumption to achieve better amounts of savings. They kept going back-and-forth between Turkey, *the homeland*, and Germany, *the host country*. Being a worker and *Auslander* in Germany as a Turkish migrant is not a favorable status and their financial situation is in the lower level within the general society. Yet, their lower status is only confined to the borders of Germany. They have a stronger economic power in the homeland, which give them a higher social status. Turks, meaning their relatives and Turkish people in general, in the homeland now call them as *Almancı* and they explain how this degrades their social status. Veli states as follows:

— Everything is all right when you are back in Turkey. But, it is a mistake to utter something unconsciously in German while you are shopping in the center or bazaar. They (the sellers) distinguish that you are Almancı, and then directly change the prices.

This transformation from being a villager to a worker brings new practices and their social role had changed in the society, in both Germany and Turkey. Following Massey's argument (1994) that places are not static, it can be claimed that Çapkın's self-identification with a place is also a process bringing interactions in different societies and not static, or fixed. The process of self-identification includes interactions in both societies, as German and Turkish. Their social role also changes with time, as they became parents and grandparents. Their identity changes in both countries and their social status in both societies vary from time to time. All these periods, memories and experiences have major effects on their identity construction.

Personalization is also another important concept while considering self and identity. Personalization includes how the case family displays autobiographical icons in their different homes and the objects playing a vital role in helping them find and

maintain a sense of home. When we look at heir Frankfurt home, they do not keep objects or photographs, except the tenth year anniversary photograph, associated with important events, travels or family. As their son got married and moved in with his parents, they had refurnished their apartment according to the needs and desires of the new couple. Ayşe and Veli had planned to leave the house to the new couple and live in Turkey for most of the year while visiting their daughter and son in Germany for a brief period every year. The marriage did not last long and Ayşe and Veli changed their plans for now. They decided to keep a house in Germany. The previous decoration of Frankfurt home, which could be traced through old photographs, is quite different from the current decoration. These are drape curtains, potted plants, artificial flowers, lace coffee table cover, and chandelier. All these previous decoration changed. Now, the furniture and curtains in their living room, which were chosen by their son's wife, is completely changed. The master bedroom, however, never got changed.

They do not want to display any old photos related to past in their Frankfurt home. But, they have a photo album where they treasure all their photographs. These old photos include pictures of the family, of Ayşe's and Veli's relatives, of visitors whom they had in Frankfurt, of events such as birthdays, anniversaries and New Year celebration. In the past, they had a special corner where they preferred to pose (Figure 28).

Figure 28. The special corner for photography

The old photographs are telling the stories of family ties, such as Ayşe's brother and his divorced wife, Ayşe's mother, Veli's cousins and sister. These photographs are evoking the past and are kept for autobiographical reasons and telling the stories of people, parents and friends, who had died. Photographs also document ongoing family relationships with children and grandchildren and wedding ceremonies of relatives in Frankfurt.

The old photographs give an idea about the family members' roles in family and in society. Ayşe is a mom, a wife, a sister, and a daughter in different photographs as part of her identity (Figure 29). Following that, Veli is a father and a brother. The transformation of their life can be traced in the photography album. In contrast to the old photographs kept in an album, they do not keep objects or souvenirs at the Frankfurt home after the change. There are only few objects kept in the master bedroom such as two knick-knacks and another framed photograph of family members with two lampshades (Figure 30).

Figure 29. Ayşe's roles in old photos

Figure 30. The knick-knacks in the master bedroom

Kuşadası home presents yet another story about personalization of space through its particular decoration and furnishing. The furniture in the living room and dining room were chosen by the previous owners, the German couple, and Ayşe and Veli do not prefer changing them. They also do not prefer changing the master bedroom and guest room beds and wardrobes. They are placing their personal stuff and clothes in these wardrobes. Ayşe explains that they changed the curtains completely in the home, but other main furniture remains because they thought these are still new and they claim they bought a furnished house and paid for the furniture, too. But more than anything they think the German couple's taste and choice of furniture suits them well. It reassured them that they bought a furnished house from a German couple as they trust Germans more.

There are details telling us the story of the family in living room and at the entrance terrace in Kuşadası home. First of all, the living room and dining room has lots of framed photographs. The son, Veli, and granddaughter, Ayşe and granddaughter, daughter and her husband, celebration and wedding photographs and family photographs are displayed on the walls of the living room. The china cabinets of the dining room also include photographs of Ayşe and Veli, the younger. There is a formal

dining table but it is rarely used and reserved for only special events. There are paintings on the walls of this part, four pieces of flowered oil canvas are hung on the walls, two of them are placed on the dining hall walls and the other two are located on the living room walls. In addition to these oil canvas paintings (Figure 31), there are artificial flowers (Figure 32) located in the living room, too. There are no potted plants inside the home, but there are knick-knacks placed all around the living room. When we look at the entrance terrace, it welcomes us with a family name plate, a souvenir from Ayşe's factory, and an evil eye talisman (Figure 33). This terrace is the place where family spends lot of their time during the day and has their meals.

Figure 31. Canvas paintings at the dining hall

Figure 32. Artificial flowers at the living room

Figure 33. The details at the entrance terrace

At the Kuşadası home, Ayşe was asked about her job before she retired, she showed the souvenir on the wall and stated, "This is an example of what I was making at the factory I worked in Frankfurt." By following McDowell's argument on home as a key location for spiritual unity between things and people, it is possible to claim that Ayşe expresses a spiritual unity between herself, her job and also her migrant identity in her Kuşadası home. Actually, when the house is observed closely, it definitely gives clues about the story of the migrant family and their self-identity. First of all, the curtains and the fireplace has a character of very dominant in the space. The decoration of the living room includes ornaments such as colorful canvas paintings and lots of family photographs. Also, the family is very proud of having very luxurious and good quality products in their homes such as white appliances they use at home, the materials chosen for small changes at home such as fireplace wall decoration or having a drip pot in their Kuşadası home.

When we remember Miller's explanation, people are living their life behind close doors and this brings an increase in decoration, furniture and structure of home than before because home is the place of remembrance of past and weaknesses of their self. But in Çapkın's case, the family uses Kuşadası home as a sign to show the life quality they had as an end product of working long years as migrant workers in Germany and succeeded in learning a lot from being a part of German society to practice in their life. The Kuşadası house is always kept clean and tidy. They show that how they worked hard as migrant workers in Frankfurt to gain all these luxurious homes and materials. As Bachelard states home has dynamism of past, present and future within itself, meaning memory, Çapkın family shows this memory in a different way in Kuşadası home. Çapkın family prefers to express how happy they live in both of the countries and depresses their hard years of migration by showing happy photos and colorful paintings in their Kuşadası home in addition with luxurious materials used at Kuşadası home and the tidy and clean place quality.

4.2. Home as the Center of Caring

Regardless of the lack of respect they would like to receive, Çapkın family repeatedly express their Germany ties as they are adopting themselves to the host society. They hold multiple homes, which means they would like to have the luxury of having the benefits of both countries. They state that the German government offers them health and education benefits. They say that their children went to the local school, learned to speak German, and had German friends. What they plan in the future about their health condition is:

> — We definitely have trust in German hospitals and doctors. The health system in Germany is much better than in Turkey. If something bad happens to one of us and we need to go to the hospital, it is definitely going to be a German hospital. Because, we already realized that living in Germany means that people have value and rights just because they are human. When we go to the hospital, the mayor's daughter is also in the same hospital and is treated by the same doctors as ours. It is something that reassures us and makes us feel valuable as human. The rights are for everyone, without the level of your social status or economic status. When we go to the hospital in Germany, they can make any tests and examination in one day without extra payment or scheduling another future date like weeks or months. But, when we go to the hospital or the doctor in Turkey, they give us a date for two or three months later or if we go to private hospitals they see our address as Germany and ask for extra money for a better treatment.

Their future plans about aging and health led Çapkın's stay in Germany. When they were asked whether they would stay in their Kuşadası or Ankara for any kind of health problems and treatment, they express that they definitely choose to go to Germany for better treatment. Keeping in mind their health preferences, it can be assumed that as long as their health permits, they would live in their summerhouse in Kuşadası and feel strongly attached to this summerhouse. Because, Kuşadası is a location where climate is much better than Germany or Ankara, but in the long-term

they would like to have a permanent base in Germany as well primarily for health reasons.

Before the family was visited in Frankfurt, they were asked about their criteria for Frankfurt home and asked to describe their first thoughts about this home. Their initial response reveals that they always considered this house as a transient place and that they would eventually move out of it, and even return back to their homeland. The time proved them wrong. They never made substantial investment, both financially and otherwise, in Frankfurt and the Frankfurt house. Ayşe states as follows:

— If I knew that I would have 28 years in the same apartment, I would definitely made my home more luxurious. There are rules for this rental home, you are not allowed to make any changes in the materials and you have to return it as it was first day you rented it. These rules made me not make many changes in the home. But, I changed the decoration from time to time and two or three years ago the kitchen had to be changed as it was too old and did not satisfy our needs. If you see my home in Frankfurt, you cannot believe in your eyes, as the materials are of good quality, the interior doors, the parquet, plumbing and the heating-cooling system. We also take care of our home and have our periodical controls, as it is a rental home. But, we never had a serious problem since we have been living in the same house for 28 years. We have an underground car park and the rent is very affordable for us. And we also thought one day we would be in Turkey after retirement and it is useless to own a house in Frankfurt.

By following the first description of their Frankfurt home, they added that their aim was always to go back to Turkey. That's why they never thought about owning a house in Frankfurt. This rental house is very suitable for them as they can leave it whenever they want to. They also realize that these feeling of being transient does not exist with the fourth generation migrants, as they own homes in Germany. Their argument is that they still have some reservations about living in Germany as a Turkish family because they do not think they share things in common with Germans. They benefit from their rights in Germany both as a worker and as a retiree. That's why they decided to move between Turkey and Germany back-and-forth because they do not want to loose their rights both in Germany and Turkey, as they are retired from both

countries. In addition to the rights and benefits, they do not want to live away from their children and they want to keep moving between Turkey and Germany instead of making a final decision.

Additionally, Kuşadası home is the home where the family passes their vacations together. Parents, son, and daughter and her family, come together in this house and they spend at least a week together every year. This means that parents try to continue to taking care of their family. The parents are still in control of keeping the family together. Also, caring for the house and land is a primary activity, which requires constant responsibility. They repeatedly state that both the interior and outside, the yard, the pool, the façade, the house paint, etc.… must look good too. They do take care of all their three homes, but they do invest only in the houses they own in Turkey. When Frankfurt and Kuşadası home were visited, I observed that they were very careful for their homes in terms of cleaning and the periodical maintenance and its appearance.

Especially for Ayşe, the home ownership is crucial. But her feeling of ownership differs from Frankfurt home and Kuşadası home considering the attachment level. For example, Ayşe felt very comfortable to do major changes to her Frankfurt home when her son decided to get married. It can be claimed that she has weak attachment to the Frankfurt home by means of physical dimensions. But, Ayşe says Frankfurt means a lot for her as she grew up there and she has a lot of memory with her mother and family in there. This means she has deep rootedness and attachment to Frankfurt at a different scale and not confined to the physical boundaries of the house. Here, home is this personal and collective dimension that engages migrants to the host country with a deep satisfaction and confidence.

4.3. Home as the Center of Social Life and as an Indication of Success

When we listen to Ayşe, she explains the difficulties of being a worker in Germany. She expresses the daily routine of monotonous working hours, the rules of business and taking care of family. She states that they worked hard during 32 years to get retired. Additionally, Ayşe says they succeeded in having a lifestyle they have been

dreaming of for many years as a result of working hard for years. Eventually they bought homes in Kuşadası and in Ankara and their son and daughter succeeded in life. Ayşe explains that, as she is so proud of her children, they both have jobs and earn money to live in Germany. She thinks they are very good at adopting themselves to Germany and learning the language by the help of the education they got in Germany. Yet, she also believes that life in Germany is harder than in Turkey as they are migrant family's children and are still foreigner in Germany. They want people to respect them because they managed to succeed in having a relatively affluent life in their home country with a stronger financial situation. They compare their Kuşadası home and be proud that if they had the same home in Frankfurt it would cost them a half million euros. In Frankfurt, however, the family does not feel the respect of the society they live in as much as they expected. This is in stark contrast to becoming a *respected family* with a summerhouse on the seaside and a large house in the capital.

One of the first things Veli explained about being a migrant and living in Germany is about unemployment and how the government takes care of unemployed people. He explains the situation in comparison to Turkey and underlines the importance of the unemployment salary, government's financial support for home rentals and social benefits. He also adds the Germans' reaction towards unemployed migrants such as how they underestimate them or how they feel outlander in Germany. She tells a story about how they succeeded in their life to make their dream come true:

> — I want to tell you the story about what difficulties we had during long years in Germany. I was working in the indicator factory during day and Veli was taking care of children. It was the time when we just changed our home from one bedroom to a new two bedroom flat and we needed more furniture at the new home. As we could not afford to buy new ones, we just placed what we had in our hand. When Veli and I went out to do the shopping, we realized that there was a sofa left near the waste container. When we saw it, Veli set on it and began waiting and I left him there to call for help to carry the sofa back home together. While he was waiting there, other people appeared next to the sofa just like Veli. It means if you leave it there, somebody else would occupy it and take it home instead of you. So, he could not leave the place to not loose it. When I

arrived with my brother, we immediately moved it home and I still remember how happy I was when I saw it in our new living room. This is how we had difficult years before we got our homes. Thank god we are in a good economic condition now but I cannot forget these memories.

They admit that their original aim was to work for three to five years in Germany and then go back to Turkey. But, the money they earned in Germany made them stay longer than they originally planned. They stated that their observation of first generation migrants was that they all had a dream of going back to homeland one day. But as the first generation feels, they realized working in Germany comes with better profit and benefits. Veli says:

— We wanted to go back to Turkey one day. We knew we would go back when we would retire. And as we planned, as soon as we retired we purchased our homes in Ankara and Kuşadası. But we never wanted to keep a settlement to live in Frankfurt. Our children and grandchildren already live in Frankfurt. There is no reason for us to return to Turkey anymore. We plan this back-and-forth move during our retirement. It was our target to reach our target while we were working, which was to own a house in Turkey, and we succeeded.

Ayşe continues:

— As my mom and I came to Germany so many years ago, I feel not only grew up in Frankfurt, but also I feel like I was born in Frankfurt. When I go from Turkey to Frankfurt, I can sense that I know every part of the city and can live here forever. Maybe as I migrated here at the age of nine, it helped me to feel like these about Frankfurt. However, I love my Kuşadası and Ankara homes as they allow our back-and-forth move and made our dreams come true during our retirement years, to relax and care children and grandchildren. I cannot image what we could do to make money if we stayed in Turkey. I believe we could have never owned a house like this [meaning the one in Kuşadası.

Earning more money than what they expected in Germany, or being able to save money for their dream home where they could do the activities they hoped for, made them stay in Germany more than they planned. In addition, Ayşe has an extended

family in Germany. Her mother is already decided to live "there" and the family expanded in time in Germany with the arrival of cousins, sisters and brothers, which is another reason for the family to stay in Germany. Second, their children's education and life concern is another important factor for Çapkın's stay in Germany.

Their social network and life in both Turkey and Germany was also asked to Ayşe and Veli. What they told was that Kuşadası is a very crowded coastline village; they met some Turkish-German migrant families, return migrants, who live in the next summerhouse complex. They prefer visiting each other, playing rummikub, having barbeques and drink rakı together. As they have a pool at the Kuşadası house, they prefer swimming in the pool rather than going to the seaside. But sometimes, when their daughter, granddaughter and son come from Frankfurt for their vacation, they go along to the seaside with them. They claim it is important to be in touch with people and spend time with them, as they know what it means to be alone. Their expectations are mostly shaped according to their leisure time activities and resting at the Kuşadası home. But, this brings extra burden on Ayşe in Kuşadası rather than more relaxation. What seems to be a time of relaxation turns into a constant daily chore for Ayşe. But, she claims she is happy when people come and visit them and they have barbeque in the garden with them and share their drink. She enjoys her different social role in Kuşadası as a housekeeper. For the Ankara house, they are using it as a base to visit their homeland, i.e., Çorum, where the elderly of the family lives in the village and some of the family members' tombs are visited. As they use this house as a base for their back-and-forth moves, the Ankara house is more like an investment. They also admit that despite this house is the first house they owned in Turkey and also they had spent effort and money on its decoration, furnishing and materials, they only use it as a transitory place. This suggests that Ankara house is more related to social status and investment.

They have Turkish and German friends in Frankfurt. But, working oriented everyday life activities and also weather conditions limit them to be as social as they are in Kuşadası or Ankara. This is only confirmed during the visit to Frankfurt. Veli explains this network during the visit as follows:

> — There are some Turkish people who prefer to be alone on their own in Frankfurt. They do not prefer to contact Germans and even do not learn German.

It is easier now than it used to be as we have every Turkish media through cable TV and Internet. But it used to be difficult to be alone in a foreign country and some chose to belong to a religious or ethnic group. There are some families we know who are members of religious groups and do not contact the outside world. But we do not find it helpful to not to be integrated to the German system. They provide us rights. I think these groups are for those who would like to exploit others and create segregation among people as the ones who go to mosque or who don't. It does not have any meaning if you are far from your homeland. But, it is important for us to go to Halkevi at least once a week. We are having meetings there since it is established and there are lots of Halkevis in Germany in different cities. It is a meeting place for people like us, Turkish workers who migrated to Germany, and we are having different activities in there. And families have fish-night on Friday nights. We meet there, eat our fish and drink something.

As Çapkın family claim that belonging to an ethnic or religious group as a migrant family is common for Turkish-German migrants, they do not perform the identity of being Muslim both in Frankfurt and Kuşadası homes. The existing studies show how belonging to an ethnic or religious group can be understood via home practices. For example, the families are in tendency with practicing religious practices in everyday life routine, they have different objects, paintings or souvenirs in decoration of the home that are related to this ethnic or religious group or they are constructing a social network only from the same group despite they are in a foreign country. Çapkın family does not perform any of these clues which express their Muslim identity. This is learnt from their close neighbors and it seems the family does not want to create any borders to other people, for both of the geographies they live in.

They did not mention this Halkevi organization till the visit in Frankfurt. Veli definitely wanted to show me the place. When we were at the Halkevi (Figure 34, Figure 35, Figure 36), the manager of the organization explained us what this organization do in general. It works as a gathering place for migrant families. They have a chance to discuss politics, both Turkish and German, share their experiences and contact other Turkish families living in Frankfurt. There are lots of Halkevi in different

cities of Germany. When the Internet and cable TVs were not so widespread, Halkevi was the place to learn what was happening in Turkey among Turks living in Germany. They expressed that when there is a family member wanting to migrate to Germany, his/her relatives can find a job in a factory through Halkevi connections. Additionally, there are lots of photos on the walls of Halkevi that belong to previous events organized by members such as folk dance shows, concerts, protests and manifestations and celebrations. Also, there are some press briefings on the walls related to daily topics of both Germany and Turkey.

Halkevi is a place for migrants that are supported by the German government, where migrants can demonstrate their self-awareness and have constant contact with homeland. It also provides courses in different topics such as music, language, and handiwork. This is a social organization, which serves people regardless of their ethnic or religious group identity. There are German people visiting this place for music courses or Moroccan learning German. They are having exhibitions on Sundays (*kermes* in Turkish) to show the products produced during the courses and selling these products.

Figure 34. The signboard of Halkevi on the Main Street

Figure 35. The Main Hall at Halkevi

Figure 36. Stage and gathering space at Halkevi

Veli and Ayşe also make comparisons between homeland and Germany in terms of their spatial, social, and cultural characteristics and the historical changes that are

affecting the changes of both countries. The first comparison is related to the geographical and climatic conditions of Germany and Turkey. They define as follows:

— Turkey is a warm, sunny, airy land while Germany is a dark and cold country. The weather is always gray in Germany, adding that working long hours and less sunny days make you feel bad from time to time. But here in Turkey, it is sunny at least 300 days in a year. It is important to have the benefits of the sun in Kuşadası which we miss in Frankfurt a lot during the year.

The comparison between the two countries has changed throughout the time they lived in Germany; they think that Turkey, back then, was not as developed as it is now. Ayşe states:

— I think, however, that there are still some security issues in Turkey, which need to be resolved, and I am not feeling as safe in Turkey as I feel in Germany. For example, I know I can go out at night with my girlfriends and with my daughter and come back home about three am in the morning in Frankfurt. I believe nothing bad can happen in Frankfurt. But, here in Turkey I cannot think about doing the same. I feel I have to do this with my husband and my son. Because, I do not feel safe in Turkey as much as I feel in Frankfurt.

This comparison continues with the health system and other social benefits in both countries. They believe Germany has better healthcare system than Turkey. But, all these comparisons end as:

— It is good to have rights and everybody is aware of the rules in Germany. But, Turkey is very good with climate and has fertile lands with different fresh fruits and vegetables in addition to the natural sources. This is what we miss in Germany. We can afford cheap fresh greengrocery in Turkey, too. Both of the countries have pros and cons.

These comparisons between two countries indicate that they are satisfied with the new country's rules, regulations and system but they seem to be having feelings and attachment to their homeland in terms of climate, fertile lands and natural sources. This makes them to decide on which country to live in permanently.

Ayşe and Veli are second-generation migrants in Germany. Ayşe migrated to Germany with her mother at the age of nine. She claims that she feels like she was born actually in Frankfurt, as she has been living there since her childhood. According to Ayşe, she got used to Germany quickly and adopted herself to the new country. She speaks German; she worked at a factory for 30 years. When the family moved to Germany they were financially not in a stable condition in Turkey and the new country offered them a better economic, social, and political life, which was satisfying and safe.

Being migrant, concerns related to lack of belonging and home-making process, problems with the host country and the place of the ethnic community in their daily life increase the importance of the family. Family becomes one of the most important issues for the migrants. Family is also like a pillar that shelters them in the country far from their homeland and the daily life is shaped accordingly. I observed that the family has strong ties among themselves both in Turkey and Germany. For example, their children definitely come and spend their vacation at the Kuşadası home. And also, Ayşe and Veli meet their daughter and granddaughter in Frankfurt at least three to four times in a week. The parents help their son in his work. Additionally, there are cousins and other relatives working at the son's place in Frankfurt. They are in contact with their close relatives and other relatives from Çorum who live in Germany. The family contacts help them overcome some difficulties that they face in their social environment. In Frankfurt, Ayşe and Veli rent a garden and they meet at this special garden to have barbeque on Sundays with all family members and relatives, which has an important place in their family. Ayşe explains:

> — We are going to the garden, a special place, to have barbeque with our family. There are lots of gardens close to the city, they are booked for families and you can have your barbeque, rest in there in the fresh air. As Frankfurt has a rainy and cloudy weather, we used to go there on sunny days, especially on Sundays. It is a green lot about 400 or 500 m2 and it is a relaxing place for us and all family can meet.

Ayşe also adds that when her mother passed away, her family ties were also weakened. As her mother was one of the first migrants, she helped many of the other relatives and men and women from the village to migrate to Germany. Their contact

with their relatives continued in Frankfurt as a result. Ayşe claims, after her mother's death, they have less contact with people in both Frankfurt and Turkey. Her funeral also had an immense impact on Ayşe, as she still does not prefer to use the main street where the hospital she lost her mom, buried in Çorum, Turkey, is located.

When they were asked why they own a home in Ankara, Veli mentions that Ankara is their homeland and they have relatives living in Ankara. And he adds, they actually come from Çorum. Their parents moved to Ankara long time ago and that's why he calls their homeland as Ankara. But it is important for them to visit Çorum and the village where their relatives live in. Before they owned their summerhouse in Kuşadası, they bought the Ankara home first. Veli adds:

> — If we could feel as relax as we hope to feel in Ankara, we would not have thought about owning this summerhouse in Kuşadası. And also, we realize that we need to be on the seaside during the summer period. That led us to search for a summerhouse. First, we wanted to own a summerhouse in Didim. But later, we made some research about the location. In the end, we liked Kuşadası more than Didim and decided to own a summerhouse in Kuşadası. It is important to be at the airport quickly, too. That's another reason for us to choose Kuşadası rather than Didim.

During the conversations and interviews, the family did not prefer to express their ethnic or national identity. The emphasis on ethnicity is not expressed. There are no symbolic objects showing any relation to this background neither in their Kuşadası or Frankfurt homes. They identify themselves mostly as Turkish under different circumstances such as being a Turk in Germany and being a Turkish-German immigrant in Turkey or being Turkish return migrant in Turkey. The general focus about Turkishness begins with another social identity emphasis with being worker, being retired or being parents. Religious practice does not have a significant place in the daily life of the family. But it is sure that ethnic identity has influences on investments and consumption patterns of the family. Yet, they consume both pork and lamb and have no reservations for alcoholic drinks. The reason why they do not prefer expressing their Muslim background might have several reasons. Keeping in mind that the family members are trying to keep company with host country, the main reason might be that

they do not want to set boundaries by expressing their religious identity both in their home and in their everyday life practices. The practices and everyday life is organized more according to German practices and they feel more attached to Germany. When they were asked to define their feelings and attachment to both of the countries, they responded:

— Both Germany and Turkey are our home. We trust the social, political, and economic system of Germany. And Turkey is our homeland, where we were born and our ancestors lived. Both of them are home for us, in different meanings. But, it is sure that we feel more attached to Germany than Turkey.

The key factor for them to feel more attached to Germany can be explained via the process of construction of identity. They accept that when they migrated to Germany, they needed to change and get used to the rules of the new country and society. Veli adds:

— We learned how to live with other ethnic communities and groups when we began living Frankfurt. There are lots of different people from different countries, too. It is good to learn how to live together and get along with these people in respect. But, when we go back to Turkey, we could not see the same respectful approach. For example, when we are in Ankara, men do not wear shorts. This is interesting for me and after meeting different cultures and different lives; it is meaningless in my opinion. Thus, this brings us that when we are in Turkey; we are no longer keep up with here. But there, in Germany, there is not something like this.

As this identity construction is a dynamic and changing process, they created a synthesis by putting together whatever they considered useful and they were appreciative of both countries even though they still use phrases to distinguish the two countries such as *here* for Turkey and *there* for Germany in their speech.

Being a second-generation migrant in Germany has an influence on their identity construction. There is different research telling stories of people who migrated to Germany as workers in the same period. There are examples of men and women who live in Turkey in their childhood and then went to Germany as worker or for a family

reunion. Some of these men and women were influenced from "roots", "holy land" and heritage concepts. There are women particularly influenced by nationalistic and religious family discourses. Some parental and marriage attempts which glorify Islam or ethnic or cultural background create a significant role for them to self-position themselves (İçduygu, Pitkanen, & Sert, 2012). By this process, women are facing the danger of disposal by the experience of exclusion because of the pressure by their family or ethnic/religious groups. But, this tendency cannot be generalized, as the case is already an example of a unique situation. Some of the men and women of second-generation migrants, like Ayşe and Veli, deny that kind of aspirations. Their aim is to express how they break this ethnic and religious identity references, by living in a European Country for long years, and they want to be accepted as individuals.

As we can follow from Massey (1994), home emerges as a significant type of place that highlights different progressive concepts. First, the places are in the context of space-time and they are formed out social interrelations at all scales, and home is the one of the unique places that defines particular moments in those networks of social relations and understanding (Massey, 1994). Also, by following Cooper Marcus' claim on home as a symbol of social identity in community, it can be claimed that Çapkın family is eager to show their progress and process of their social role changes and self-definition in both of the countries via home.

4.4. Gender, Place Attachment and Home-making

The gender is also another important issue in this case, too. When it is considered that Ayşe went to Germany while she was nine, and Veli went there while he was 21, and this brings a difference for them with regards to their attachment to the homeland and host country. Ayşe expresses herself as a modern working lady, now retired, who managed to take care of her children and also who succeeded in owning their three homes. She says living in a European country is important for herself and her family both because of sociologic and economic reasons. Veli claims that they faced difficult times and were unemployment from time to time but they continued to be a part of Germany and its rules and regulations. They both find it important to have their

"papers", they mean the working and residency permit with health insurance; you could easily be a part of this country and live in peace. But when it is considered to set up a home, Ayşe bears tremendous responsibility. It is observed that Ayşe makes the final decisions on important subjects for the family, and Veli agrees with her most of the time.

Their first meeting to Germany by considering gender and the ages they arrived Germany gives a clue on if they are attached to Germany or they still think about return to homeland. Ayşe has different thoughts and feelings about Germany, as she expresses that she feels more attached to Frankfurt. Additionally, she makes a comparison between Frankfurt and Turkey, for both Ankara and Kuşadası, by considering safety, the group of people they are in touch with, the lifestyles and physical conditions, favoring often Frankfurt over the other places.

Being men or women has an impact on the way the migrants occupy different spaces. In this case, father goes to teahouse in Turkey and Halkevi in Germany; mother is mostly at home in Turkey, but spend time in public spaces in Germany. Mother goes to swimming pool, meet friends out and their relatives in Germany. But when they are in Turkey, she prefers staying at home, host her friends at home and prepares something to eat together at home. The comparison of everyday life experiences for these two different countries illustrate that, when she is in Germany, she finds it important to do something as German women do. There is a good incident for this as Ayşe speaks. She sees that mothers in Germany prepare birthday parties at different cafés and restaurants in Germany. They also did the same for their children. But, when they are in Turkey, she expresses that they prefer parties for celebrations at home. This can be claimed to be related to gender and its close connection to particularities of a place and also the identity of "being a mother". In addition, the "mother" role shows up strongly in Kuşadası with practices such as preparing food, doing the housework and continues as "live for her children" with her concept of home in Turkey.

That's why Ayşe adds that her children are very important within her feelings of home. Everything is organized according to her son's daily routine at the Frankfurt home. She explains that their children mean a lot for Ayşe and Veli. Now they have their granddaughter with them as this enhances their attachment to Frankfurt and adds a

special definition to her home as where her children and granddaughter are. The most happy times for her is when her children and granddaughter pass time with Ayşe and Veli together at their Kuşadası home. This brings in mind that Massey claims the definition and the meaning of home is a concept without boundaries, yet Ayşe creates her own boundaries as the role of being mother. Additionally, she is very open to any changes about her homes when there is an important situation or change done by her children. Any change from her children that can affect her homes is very acceptable for her and she is ready to make it. This also brings the idea of home for her, as home is where her children are.

Additionally, Ayşe's mother plays an important role in Ayşe's life. She was the first migrant who reached Germany and also led other family members to come to Germany. Ayşe often expresses her feelings about her mother, as she was the most important family member, she was making the family gather together for celebrations, funerals, and other important events. While showing the family photographs, she strongly adds details about memories of photographs with her mother and explains how happy and in peace they lived together during those years. Ayşe adds that a lot of people whom they were in contact with in Frankfurt could not keep their relation after Ayşe's mother's death. Here, the mother is the important character and she sets up a home in a foreign country for all members of the family as the most important responsibility. It looks like Ayşe took over her mother's responsibility.

4.5. Meaning of home for migrants

It is reasonable to say that their life changed when they migrated to Germany. For Ayşe, she was too young and she grew up in Germany. Ayşe is proud of being able to adopt herself to cultural and social environment of the new country. Her daily routine for both Turkey and Germany includes reflections of various currents of the cultural traditions that she perceived, evaluated, rejected and/or accepted during her life as a migrant. It is also possible to say that their systematization of everyday life experiences and also their conception of cultural order and understanding themselves in the new society transformed them and their attachment to Germany and Turkey. Ayşe tells about

strict rules, safety, social conditions, and comfortable life in Germany. She is very careful about the rules defined in Germany and she explains the life in Germany with positive remarks. Veli has different reaction to life in Germany and is often more critical as he talks about the language, the Germans' attitude and behavior towards Turkish migrants, the money issues and unemployment. It is likely that he has the pressure of living and adopting himself to the new society and its rules during working years in Germany.

The impacts of these forces for both Ayşe and Veli have influence on identity formation, their definition of their sense of belonging, and their *meaning of home*. Additionally, these forces and their relationships to both countries create their memories and life histories. So, migration both creates boundaries and borders and has a powerful impact on Çapkın family to construct their homes. The hybrid identity they had as a result of migration, being in *here* and *there*, also creates a changing meaning of home for them as they experience relationships between people and networks in a dynamic process of coming going between two countries. By remembering Boccagni's theory on migrants' home as not only a symbolic and conceptual meaning, but also related to the locally embedded houses in all their tangibility, materiality and physical existence (Boccagni, 2013).

Despite feeling more attached to Germany, they did not invest in Germany. They can be considered as second-generation migrants, and the lifestyle and the integration process as a migrant family leads them to both have strong connections with Germany, to continue their life in Germany culturally, socially, and economically. As financial considerations are a major part of their sense of comfort their feeling of attachment to Germany is stronger. Their children are third-generation and are born and grew up in Germany. The children express that they do not feel attached to Turkey at all. Their opinion about Germany is that it is the place where they are born, live and work, and they do not plan returning back to Turkey. But, they still invest in Turkey. The daughter owns a house in Izmir and the son has business connections in Turkey. They explain that they prefer the living conditions in Germany, but they find it pleasurable to come and plan vacations in Turkey. This brings in mind that Manzo

claims positive and negative attachment to a place (Manzo, 2005). They prefer using the advantages of both countries rather than having a final decision.

How their granddaughter feels is also important since she is a fourth generation migrant who was born in Germany. The family guides their granddaughter to be well educated and learn at least three languages, Turkish, German, and English. She is four years old and she already speaks three of the languages. Most of the time, she prefers speaking German to her mother and father, and she gets angry when her grandfather and grandmother do not speak much in German to her. This suggests that, considering their different connections and attachments, this generation needs to be studied to understand the differences between different migrant generations and to get the total image of integration or assimilation.

The case shows us how the home-making process for migrants is related to different concepts both theoretically and in practice. There is also another factor in production of space as it evolves in time. When it comes to a migrant's home-making process, time is an important factor with connections and contradictions on this process. The process of constructing identity, dual-location of the migrant family and their experiences of migration and stories between homeland and host country is multiple and unfixed which may lead them defining multiple homes for themselves.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study highlights how home occupies a central place in our lives. Dovey (1985) suggests that home "is an integrative schema that is at once a bonding of person and place and, a set of connections between the experience of dwelling and the wider spatial, temporal, and sociocultural context within which it emerges. Home orients us and connects us with the past, the future, the physical environment, and our social world" (s. 9).

The study started with a proposal of a theoretical framework, consisting of the concepts of home, place attachment, migration and identity, to investigate migrants' home. These concepts were then used to understand and interpret Çapkın's, the case family, and homes and how they use these homes.

The study uses interviews, documentations, and observations as its primary source of data. The collected data is interpreted in the light of the theoretical framework offered in the study. The findings and the linkages between the concepts of migration and place attachment shed light on the meaning of home and identity for migrants. The studied case family owns three homes, one in Frankfurt, one in Ankara, and one in Izmir. It is observed that the three homes of the migrant family are each a reflection of and constituent element of their identity and self.

The case of the migrant family analyzed here shows how identity and the personalization of place should be understood as deeply interrelated concepts and processes. In order to personalize the place where the family lives, the family has to settle some important elements in their life because the social identities are fluid and multiple. Also, the migrant's home needs to anchor in this fluid and mobile world. That's how these elements can be listed as the place identity, the social and economic relations to the environment, the reflection of their constructed identities in their homes,

the physical elements such as furniture, materials, construction details etc., and the everyday life activities.

It is observed that the family has created their homes in different geographies and that they are constructing different identities in these homes. As home itself is a domestic and ethnographic study, it is important to study a family and their homes located in different physical, social, and cultural geographies. The image of *home* and *the meaning of home* that they created in their mind may not be only one of the homes they occupy. It is obvious that there are partial and changing expressions show in these homes differently. This is actually an effect of transformation of home and also home itself transforming the individual, or family, as a two-way street. Home is used as a route to understand how different geographies may have a different impact on their homes.

It can be claimed that in terms of displacement, the migrant family in this research is both physically and socially displaced from their home society. As a result, issues related to migration and displacement makes any discussion on the meaning of home even more complex. The research supports that the migrant family continue to follow some of the cultural traditions of their homeland as much as they are getting used to the new practices and activities of their host country. Both the father and the mother keep connections with homeland and speak about their traditional village background with their status in their homeland. But, it is sure that they have a vision of home reinforcing their attachment to their homeland. Yet, social roles and social benefits of their host country are more favorable to them which make them feel more distanced from their homeland. For example, they express that they are already living in a European country where everything is significantly better than Turkey such as income level, social rights, living conditions, and human rights. Also, becoming "Germanite (Almancı)" in Turkey is a negative factor which contributes to this distance as they realize they do not have their previous social status as a Turkish citizen. This is a new situation imposed on them by the Turkish society. But, Turkey means family ties and roots for the family and the idea of achieving something, such as having better economic opportunities, experiencing and learning new culture in a different country and occupying a chance to being here and there, is just as strong.

The idea of home has a flexible subjectivity for Çapkın family. Home is related to family ties in Germany with regard to their children and in Turkey with regard to their relatives and ancestors. Home is directly linked to economic opportunities as they migrated to Germany for a better income. As a result, they prefer investing in Turkey to show that they succeeded in having better economic conditions, which is often realized through investing and occupying in houses. The idea of home is related to religious and cultural practices, too. Despite having a Muslim background, the family does not show this directly or express it. This can be interpreted as they do not prefer particularly distinguish from a certain group of people, in both Turkey and Germany. Also, their social and cultural practices intertwined in Germany with their Turkish background. At the beginning, they were faced with different social and cultural practices, and different attitudes which were very complicated for them. But, as they claim, they learnt and got used to it so fast and they are now doing most of the things like Germans do because they trust in the rules of their host land rules which ensures a better life quality. This is why they do not feel as relaxed and comfortable in Ankara as they are in Kuşadası, because they have to change their daily practices in Ankara.

In conclusion, I could state that the family does not prefer does not have one single ideal concrete house. Instead they prefer living in multiple homes, which they do not complain about. They prefer to use the opportunities of both countries, in terms of both of the homes they live in. This fluid feeling and vision of home is not restricted only by geography, it has relations to their projection of future, economic forces, or social (dis) satisfaction.

For further studies, migrant's home and home-making process can be studied for different ethnic and social groups in society such as gypsies. As a short brief, the gipsy assume that all the world, or soil is their home and that's why they still have examples of groups living unsettled in different geographies rather than within defined borders or settlements. Additionally, the daily life experiences and practices are different from other migrants. Furthermore, there are also other nationalities, such as Portuguese who migrated to Germany in the same time period of 1960s. It is also necessary to consider how different nationalities are affected from this labor migration and how they

conceptualize home. One last area of research could be related to the fourth generation migrants, the grandchildren of first and second-generation Turkish-German migrants.

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