

RE-MAKING OF SPACE: HOW UIGHUR
IMMIGRANTS COPEd WITH THE
UNFAMILIAR

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE
AND THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ENGINEERING AND SCIENCE
OF ABDULLAH GUL UNIVERSITY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER

By

İlinur Can

July 2020

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M.Sc. thesis titled “Re-making of Space: How Uighur Immigrants Coped with the Unfamiliar” has been prepared in accordance with the Thesis Writing Guidelines of the Abdullah Gül University, Graduate School of Engineering & Science.

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ABSTRACT

RE-MAKING OF SPACE: HOW UIGHUR IMMIGRANTS COPED WITH THE UNFAMILIAR

Home is at the heart of daily life as a place and a special relationship therewith and, as a notion that grants a unique source to look through the window to the notions of attachment, desire, need and dilemma, is also the space to look into where the same issues brought into individuals' lives by international migration. The aim of this thesis research is to understand Uighur immigrants' adaptation process with the new environment and provide an insight into the scholarly work about adaptation and integration processes on the migratory process.

Even if those who have left their *home* have been able to find a new house to live in; transforming that *house* into a *home* requires a certain time and experience. So, what necessities that this transformation demands? If the transformation process understood elaborately, will it be manageable in terms of its impact on individuals and communities? Hence, this thesis research intends to enlighten the mentioned process by providing an insight into knowledge of an immigrant family's experiences in making the unfamiliar familiar.

To comprehend the ways of how home constitutes the feeling of belongingness in immigrants' daily lives, thesis research starts with analyzing how migratory theories explained the effects of migration on individuals' lives. Then, research continues to look through how sense of place portrays its reflection in migratory process. Afterwards, the theoretical knowledge has been gained used for interpreting the experiences of an immigrant family's during their adaptation process. Finally, thesis study completes its research by revealing the effects of home environment into immigrants' daily lives, and creates a basis for further discussions.

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Keywords: Immigration, Place-Making, Home, Sense of Belonging, Uighurs

ÖZET

MEKANIN YENİDEN ÜRETİMİ: UYGUR GÖÇMENLERİN BİLİNMEYENLE BAŞETME SÜREÇLERİ

Ev, bir mekân ve insanlara sağladığı ilişkiler bütünü olarak günlük yaşamın vazgeçilmez bir parçasıdır. Göç deneyimi ile ortaya çıkan koşullar, kavramın benzersiz bir bağlılık, arzu, ihtiyaç ve ikilem kaynağı gibi özelliklerini öne çıkarmaktadır. Günümüze değin, göçmenlerin yaşam ve ev alanlarına ilişkin pek çok şey yayınlanmış olsa da yuva kavramının geçmişi ve aşına olunan evi terk etmenin etkilerini ve onu dışarıda yenileme ihtiyacını keşfeden yeni bir araştırma yöntemi; göç deneyiminin göçmenler üzerindeki etkisini anlamak üzere oldukça faydalı olacaktır.

Yuvasını geride bırakan kişiler, fiziksel olarak içinde yaşayacakları yeni bir ev bulabilmiş olsalar bile; o evin *yuvaya* dönüşmesi belirli bir yaşanmışlık ve deneyim süreci gerektirmektedir. Peki bu süreç hangi olguları barındırır? Dahası, bu dönüşüm sürecini doğru anlamak; göç hareketinin bireyler ve toplumlar üzerindeki etkisini insancıl bir şekilde yönetebilmek mümkün kılar mı? Bu sorular ışığında, tez çalışması, Uygur kökenli göçmen bir ailenin deneyimleri üzerinden, göç deneyimleri ve ev algılarını anlamak üzere hazırlanmıştır.

Tez çalışması, araştırma sürecine göç teorilerinin göçün bireylerin yaşamları üzerindeki etkilerini nasıl açıkladığını analiz etmekle başlar. Ardından, yer algısının göç sürecindeki rolünü inceleyerek araştırmasını devam ettirir. Öncül araştırma süreci sonunda kazanılmış teorik bilgiler, göç deneyiminin günlük yaşama etkisini, göçmen bir ailenin adaptasyon deneyimlerini üzerinden yorumlamak da kullanılır. Son olarak, tez çalışması, *yuva* kavramının göçmenlerin günlük yaşamları üzerindeki etkilerini ortaya çıkararak araştırmasını sonuçlandırır ve ileri tartışmalar için bir temel oluşturur.

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To the ones who once felt left out...

Chapter 1

“Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.”

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 14.1

Introduction

Researches have shown that it is not possible to achieve a full understanding of the contemporary migratory process by focusing on one discipline, or by relying on a single level of analysis. Thus, this thesis research intends to analyze Uighur immigrants' -who immigrate to Kayseri as a small group consisting of approximately 300 people in 1965 due to ethnical and cultural assimilation enforced by China- adaptation process with the unfamiliar environment and to discover the effects of the place related notions on this adaptation process.

The basic question that this study has built its context on is *“In what ways place and space experiences shape the migrant’s adaptation process?”* Migration, as it is known, is a movement of individuals or collectives to another place due to various reasons whether forcibly or voluntarily. Individuals establish a bond to the place where they live in, and migration -by leaving that place behind- demolishes that bond and establishes a new one with the new place. Therefore, it is crucial to comprehend the migratory process through grasping the sense of belonging and their experience in place.

This thesis research is focusing on that re-bonding process and discovers its possibilities by analyzing Uighur immigrants' *place-making* experiences with the purpose of understanding how they have coped with the situation. As it was mentioned above, migration basically defines a shift in place, and implies a kind of rootedness; it forces individuals to leave their home and create a new one. Within that point of view, migration questions the sense of place and sense of home by being in one and getting out from another.

Many geographers, philosophers -like Yi-Fu Tuan, Edward Relph, Christian Norberg-Schulz, Martin Heidegger and so on- proved that individuals define themselves through the experiences of place and space, therefore, along with the issues regarding home, migrants will face issues of sense of belonging and identification. Thus, it is crucial to think through the perspective of individuals' relations with the place in terms of belonging and identification to understand the issues of adaptation of migrants. From this perspective, this thesis analyses how Uighur immigrants coped with the unfamiliar, through individuals' sense of place, place attachment, sense of belonging and place-making experiences.

As a child of an immigrant, I have grown up with stories about the journey that my parents had taken when they have immigrated, the difficulties that they have faced through the adaptation processes of their new situation. Thus, it is also important for me to understand the roots of my family and how they have re-established those roots on a new place. Henceforth, Uighur immigrants have been selected as the focus group in this thesis research.

Over the past three decades, migration has emerged as a significant phenomenon around the World. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHRC), in the middle of 2020, the number of the people of concern has reached 79.5 million people worldwide. This number was around 71.4 million in 2017 when this thesis study initiated its research phase and within these three years, more than 8 million people had to leave their home. This increase shows that the issue of migration demands an urgent solution. It is safe to say that, the world is facing the results of mass migration waves both forcibly and voluntarily. This creates a problematic dialectic which needs to be understood if the aim is to handle migration in such a way that it becomes the solution itself, as it should be, rather than being the cause of further problematic issues; such as racism, marginalization, polarization, assimilation, and so forth. Therefore, it is important to find and understand the dynamics behind the migratory process that could

be the cause of such negative outcomes. The aim of this thesis study is to provide an insight for the mentioned dynamics by looking into Uighur immigrants' migratory experiences and how they coped with an unfamiliar environment.

The thesis adopts *Narrative Research*, and *In-depth Interview* as methods in order to fully grasp the adaptation processes of Uighur immigrants' and provides an assessment on Uighur immigrants' place and space experiences in their new environment.

The insight gained from literature provides a conceptual framework to understand the relationship between place related notions and migratory process. Narrative research provides information about the daily life of Uighur immigrants through in-depth interviews to discover their adaptation processes. Case study provides information about Uighur immigrants' former and new settlements by comparing their old and new neighborhoods and detect the similarities and differences between them in terms of spatiality and morphology.

To be able to understand the phenomenon of migration thesis research follows those steps;

Chapter 2 provides an assessment of migratory theories in the fields of anthropology and economy and relates those theories with place experiences.

Chapter 3 looks into the notions *-place, place-attachment, the identity of place, sense of belonging-* that are in relation with the migratory process which was revealed in Chapter 2, and examines the ways of getting a beneficial approach from those notions in the migrants' adaptation process, which are the experiences of *place-making* and *home-making*.

Chapter 4 gives the information gathered from fieldwork and in-depth interviews. An overall assessment of the previous chapter by comparing it with Uighur immigrants' experience.

Finally, **Chapter 5** gives the overall assessment of the findings in this research and suggestions for further studies.

As Castles (2010) pointed it out, the inquiry on the notion of migration should cover the social transformations of individuals –who are dealing with the migration as an *experiencer* or an observer- with its complexity, variability and contextuality. The theoretical concepts suggested by social scientists to understand migration reflects the industrial era's conditions, social institutions, demography and politics; which cannot

meet today's conditions and scholars must develop new ideas, concepts and hypotheses for the term (Massey 1999).

The aim of this thesis research is to understand Uighur immigrants' adaptation process with the new environment and provide an insight into the scholarly work about adaptation and integration processes on the migratory process.

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Chapter 2

“Those who have the good fortune to be able to devote their lives to the study of the social world cannot stand aside, neutral and indifferent, from the struggles in which the future of that world at stake.”

Pierre Bourdieu, Act of Resistance

Changing Conceptualization of Migration

This chapter provides a literature review on geographic mobility to create a basis for discussing the Uighur immigrants’ experiences of place and how this experiential relation effect their migratory processes. The scope of the chapter is to draw a conceptual framework for the thesis study in order to understand the issue of migration through its roots and basis.

The refugee crisis, occurred in 2011 caused by the conflict in Middle East, alarmed politicians, governments, NGOs, scholars and most importantly public to find solutions for inhumane conditions caused by the negative outcomes of geographic mobility. Even though, the issue demands an urgent solution today, actually, the act of place-shifting in the times of need is an instinctive act in the behavioral pattern of human beings; it is the basic part of human-beings’ claim on the territory; if a particular place starts to become difficult to live in-whatever the reason is-, human-beings leave that place and re-settle in another one. When dealing with the results of mass migration waves caused by war, famine, conflict or economic reasons; the reactionary problematic

dialectic needs to be understood if the aim is to handle migration in such a way. Then it becomes the solution itself, as it should be, rather than being the cause of further problematic issues; such as racism, marginalization, polarization, assimilation, and so forth. Therefore, collaborated studies are now in high demand in responding the issues related with migration if the aim is to find urgent solutions with proper analysis. This thesis research intends to understand integration issues in migratory process by analyzing the experiences of Uighur immigrants through their nearly 60 years of resettlement history, and hopes to enlighten the current migration crisis with such tested methods.

The scope of this chapter is to understand the commonality between various forms of migrants, discover the relationship between geographic mobility and place related notions, and finally draw a conceptual framework for the thesis research; how it would help to scholarly work on adaptation of immigrants by analyzing place experiences of Uighur immigrants.

2.1 Understanding Geographical Mobility

There are various terms and explanations in literature for the notion of geographic mobility as in an experiential way of identifying, such as; *assisted migration*¹, *clandestine migration*², *displacement*³, *emigration*⁴, *forced migration*⁵, *immigration*⁶, *individual migration*⁷, *internal migration*⁸, *international migration*⁹, *irregular*

¹ the movement of migrants accomplished with assistance of a government, as opposed to spontaneous, unaided migration.

² Secret or concealed migration in breach of immigration requirements. It can occur when a non-national breaches the entry regulations of a country; or having entered a country legally overstays in breach of immigration regulations.

³ A forced removal of a person from his/her home or country, often due to of armed conflict or natural disasters.

⁴ The act of departing or exiting from one State with a view of settle in another. International human rights norms provide that all persons should be free to leave any country, including their own, and that only in very limited circumstances may States impose restrictions on the individual's right to leave its territory.

⁵ General terms used to describe a migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes.

⁶ A process by which non-nationals move into a country for purpose of settlement.

⁷ Cases where persons migrate individually or as a family. Such movements generally are self-financed or have individual, organizational or Government scholarship, as opposed to mass scheme programmes.

⁸ A movement of people from one area of a country to another for the purpose or with the effect of establishing a new residence. This migration may be temporary or permanent. Internal migrants move but remain within their country of origin.

*migration*¹⁰, *labour migration*¹¹, *mass/collective migration*¹², *orderly migration*¹³, *re-emigration*¹⁴, *return migration*¹⁵, *secondary migration*¹⁶, *spontaneous migration*¹⁷; but the action itself represents the core of the phenomenon.

Within that perspective, the phenomenon of geographic mobility gives an insight into the behavioural patterns of the human being's relationship with place, through the experience of a shift in locations. The quest of understanding geographic mobility, through the insight of social and socio-spatial relations, requires a deep research into the fields related to sociology, economy, psychology, politics, geography and architectural theory. As Castles (2010) pointed it out, the inquiry of geographic mobility should cover the social transformations of individuals' -who are dealing with the mobility by experience or as an observer- by means with its complexity, variability and contextuality. Geographic mobility, whether it occurs forcibly or voluntarily, is an act of place-shifting, the re-settlement of human's from one place to another; therefore within this section, the aim is to draw a conceptual framework to understand the dynamics of geographic mobility in a broader sense, considering the its roots in the individuals' relation with place.

Ever since the world faced with results of mass migration, one of the primary interests among scholars is to provide general explanations for the phenomenon of migration; yet the phenomenon of migration is too complex and multifaceted to be understood by a single theory, or even, from a single perspective. The scope of this

⁹ Movement of persons who leave their country of origin, or the country of habitual residence, to establish themselves either permanently or temporarily in another country. An international frontier is therefore crossed.

¹⁰ Movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries. There is no clear or universally accepted definition of irregular migration.

¹¹ Movement of persons from their home State to another State for the purpose of employment. Labour migration is addressed by most States in their migration laws. In addition, some States take an active role in regulating outward labour migration and seeking opportunities for their nationals abroad.

¹² The sudden movement of large number of persons.

¹³ The movement of a person from his/her usual place of residence to a new place of residence, in keeping with the laws and regulations governing exit of the country of origin and travel, transit and entry into the host country.

¹⁴ The movement of a person who, after having returned to his/her country of departure, again emigrates.

¹⁵ The movement of a person returning to his/her country of origin or habitual residence usually after spending at least one year in another country. This return may or may not be voluntary. Return migration includes voluntary repatriation.

¹⁶ A country from which people leave to settle abroad permanently or temporarily.

¹⁷ An individual or group who initiate and proceed with their migration plans without any outside assistance. Spontaneous migration is usually caused by push-pull factors and is characterized by the lack of State assistance or any other type of international or national assistance.

chapter is to understand the migration theories that have been developed by Ravenstein, 1889, Lewis, 1954, Todaro, 1976, Arango, 1985, 2000, Massey, 1999, Castles, 2010 and draw a conceptual framework for the thesis research.

In his book, "The Laws of Migration", Ravenstein (1889, p.286) explains the basic motivation behind migration, regardless from the man-made or environmental conditions, arises from the desire of human beings to "better themselves in material respects." (Ravenstein, 1889, p.286, as cited in Arango, 2000). Ravenstein's studies aim to prove that there are certain behavioural commonalities in the migratory process. Thus, he proposes a law for migration, consists of seven articles, which are briefly mentioned below (The Laws of Migration, Ravenstein, 1889, p.198-199);

Ripple Effect: In most scenarios, migrants prefer the short distance to proceed, and that act triggers the migration movement in resettled place. On a universal scale, the direction of the migration waves is set towards the great centre of commerce and industry.

Step by Step: The rapid urban development as a result of industrial and commercial progress, causes the rural inhabitants around a prospering city to migrate there. The migration flow from rural to urban areas results with dilution in these rural settlements, encouraging people coming from distant areas to settle in these diluted places.

Dispersion and Absorption: The ultimate purpose of the migration movement is to benefit from the prosperity of the city. This purpose creates the process of dispersion and absorption.

Chain Effect: Migration takes place within time and space. Each migration wave triggers another one, thus, once migration begins, it has the tendency to propagate in time and space as a result of this chain effect.

Direct Migration: Migrants who take long distances in the migratory process to benefit from the possibilities a great centre of commerce and industry causes a wave of direct migration.

Rural-Urban Dialectic: The locals in urban areas are keen to stay in their habitats when their settlements absorb mass migration flows, while the locals in rural areas are prone to migrate when they faced with migrants.

Female-Male Dialectic: Females are prone to migrate in a short distance, but male preference is to migrate in a long distance.

The motivation behind individuals or communities move from one place to another reflects the climate of the Industrial Era, but also repeat itself in the dense air of the Second World War.

Arthur Lewis' model of "Economic Development with Unlimited Supply of Labour" provides an effective model of development in dual economies which migration plays a significant role (Lewis, 1954). Even though the theory suggested by Lewis represented a comprehensive understanding of migration by analyzing the issue from an economical perspective, it was a model for development rather than being a comprehensive migration theory.

Migration theories should be versatile, which can be traced through in so many aspects of human behaviour. With that in mind, another inspiring migration theory followed the steps of neo-classical theory of migration, suggested by Todaro, which explains the reason behind an individuals response to spatial redistribution by emphasizing the need for "better" well-being in terms of getting a sufficient tangible or intangible benefit from a shift in locations (Todaro, 1976).

The theoretical concepts suggested by social scientists to understand migration theory reflects the industrial era's conditions, social institutions, demography and politics; which cannot meet today's conditions and scholars must develop new ideas, concepts and hypotheses for the term (Massey 1999). Even though it offers an inspiring set of possibilities for the contemporary migratory process to set the basis on, the problematic issue in the neoclassical theory of migration is its difficulties to come to terms with reality (Arango, 2000). Around 1945, migration theory has undergone through eye-catching changes, due to new forms of migration based upon entitlements (Massey, 1999).

Among the scholars, the term migration often seen as a negative action which causes unfortunate circumstances while the term of geographic mobility implies the positive aspects of the action (Castles, 2010).

As it was mentioned above, migration is a solution rather than being a problem, so it is important to understand the steps that human-beings are taking in a way to

accomplish migration if the aim is to understand the negative and positive aspects of the action.

Throughout the chapter, the basic needs and requirements of geographic mobility; its effects on individuals and communities; individuals' response to the action will be revealed in order to understand the experiences in the migratory process.

Geographic mobility refers to the movement of people or communities from one location to another whether it occurs voluntarily or forcibly. Over the past two decades, the conceptualization of mobility, as a movement in space and place, has been reshaping around the social changes that individuals and communities go through (Castles, 2010; Pucci, 2016). Geographic mobility is one of the reasons behind the transformations in politics, economics and social relationships (Castles, 2010); within that point of view, it is important to develop new ideas on the issue of mobility in order to deal with it efficiently. The notion of globalization implies fluidity and openness, which makes it possible to think beyond borders in cultural, economic and political terms (Urry, 2007). In result, movement of individuals or communities has started to gain great importance, so that older ideas and conceptualizations on mobility are no longer relevant (Castles, 2010). There is a great discussion for defining and analyzing the geographical mobility over the massive waves of migration in the post war era since World War II, (Massey, 1999, Urry, 2007; Castles, 2010; Pucci, 2016; Lems, 2016); this thesis study suggests that individuals' experiences of the place are the core of the action.

The place is an indispensable part of the human experience. Individuals define themselves in relation with each other and their surroundings. And, the place is where all of these relations take place and root (Auge, 1995; Dovey, 1999; Heidegger, 2001; Norberg-Schulz, 1976; Relph, 1976, Tuan, 2001). If the aim is to understand the social changes that have been caused by mobility, it is crucial to think through the insight, provided by literature on the place and place-related notions.

2.2 Spatiality of Geographical Mobility

Geographical mobility, as Lems (2016) pointed out-whether it occurs forcibly or voluntarily- started to represent an interesting example in the search of defining the meaning of place with the dialectic of "being-in and out-of-place". Within that scope, the phenomenon of mobility questions the links between individual and space and place

in two dialectics; first is being in it, rooting to one, and second is being out of it, rootedness in another. Thus, it could be said that the core of the experiences of mobility, regardless of the cause, are the experiences' of being an insider or an outsider. As it was mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, mobility is a comprehensive term that covers migration, immigration, displacement, emigration, and so forth. Within this section, the meanings and the experiences of the notion will be classified and the basic action behind the term will be revealed. Understanding mobility through the traces of routes, paths, flows and connections is the best approach that could be followed (Adey, Bissell, Hannam, Merriman, & Sheller, 2014). With that in mind, classification of the term' has four main aspects, which are; cause, location, legal status and population. And in addition to those four aspects, the power behind the action has importance in identifying the term (table 2.1.1).

As can be seen, various terms and explanations are referring to geographic mobility according to their way of occurrence, but the basic commonality in all these terms is the shift in locations. Relph defines place as "*a naive and variable expression of geographical experience*" (Relph, 1976, p. 4). Therefore, it is safe to say that place and place-related notions could provide a basis for discussing migratory processes if the aim is to understand the action from its roots.

Through the table 2.1.1, it can be seen that the commonality between the various act of migration is location, population and the power behind it where it is safe to say that, regardless from the cause, geographic mobility is an action resulting with a shift in place. Norberg-Schulz (1980, p.6) defines place as a phenomenon, something more than just a location, as a comprehensive term for existence. Relph (1976, p.1) underlines the significance of place in human experience, by emphasizing that place is the root and the source of humans' existence. Tuan (2001, p.8) defined experience as a term that contains all the knowledge about an individual's perception of reality. Within that perspective, migration effect the migrant's place related perceptions, by eroding the bonds with the roots and creating new ones with the unfamiliar.

Relph (1976) uses the terms insiderness and outsiderness for describing the relations between people and place. He argues that to be an insider, individuals must develop a relationship with place, within this relationship, there is a need for belonging and identify with it, which could establish on any sort of experience through the place. In parallel, Tuan (2001) also emphasizes being an outsider is related to human beings non-existing relation with the place they live in.

Term	Cause				Location			Legal Help/Aid			Population		Voluntarily	Forcibly
	Resettlement (eg. Personal desire)	Human-made (eg. War, conflict, so forth)	Natural Disasters	Movement in Country of Origin	Movement outside Country of Origin	More than one destination	Government	NGO	Illegal	Individual	Community			
												Labouring		
Assisted Migration				X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	
Clandestine Migration					X	X			X		X	X	X	
Displacement		X	X	X	X	X					X		X	
Emigration	X			X	X	X				X			X	
Forced Migration		X	X	X	X						X		X	
Immigration	X			X	X		X							
Individual Migration	X			X	X					X			X	
Internal Migration	X			X						X			X	
International Migration	X				X					X			X	
Irregular Migration				X	X	X		X		X			X	
Labour Migration	X			X	X								X	
Mass/Collective Migration		X	X	X	X						X		X	
Migration	X	X	X	X	X					X	X		X	
Orderly Migration	X			X	X		X						X	
Re-Emigration	X					X				X			X	
Return Migration						X							X	
Secondary Migration						X				X			X	
Spontaneous Migration								X		X			X	

Table 2.2.1 Definition Chart of the Mobility Experiences'

Norberg-Schulz (1976) claims being an insider is the outcome of the intention behind conceptualizing the notion of place, that is to exist in somewhere, being a living part of the place.

Lyndon (1962; as cited in Relph, 1976) suggest that being an insider demands knowledge of self-orientation, provides an insight into the day-to-day lives of individuals' in a place.

Hufford (1992) suggests that enhancing the sense of belonging to a locale or region is beneficial in individuals' self-identification and helps them to distinguish themselves from being an outsider.

Cresswell (2004) associated the terms outsidersness and insidersness with the notion of the sense of belonging, simply by the feeling of belonging to a place. Individuals become an insider; nevertheless, constructing a sense of belonging requires a deep connection. There must be a give and take the relation between the entities. On the contrary, outsidersness or being an outsider implies the experience of place as a traveller, being a stranger to a place, the lack of the experience in place therefore the absence of place attachment (Riley, 1992).

Altman & Low (1992) relates the notion of insidersness with individuals' bonding with the place, as a part of defining feature for place attachment, and sets it as an inseparable term for the sense of place, place identity. The notion of place attachment is integral to individuals' self-definition, as well as to community members' sense of group identity. From a different way of view, Ruddick (1996) suggests that beside individuals' own experience in place, there is also another aspect in identifying outsiders or insider which comes from the communal acceptance; that who is allowed in or who is excluded.

The focal point of the explanations above is that there needs to be a sense of belonging which built over time by being in a meaningful relationship with place. Within that scope, it can be said migrants are considered as an outsider -by themselves and also the locals- in the host land but in time they will turn into an insider, and this thesis study intends to analyze the process of turning an insider from an outsider

2.3 Review

The conclusion of this chapter provides an overall assessment to look deeper into migrants' experiences, which are the place itself, place attachment and the sense of belonging. Even though there are solid migratory theories in the literature, they cannot fully comprehend the process of migration. The theories are beneficial in explaining the notion of migration according to their effects on economy, society, and politics but, there is a missing ingredient which, according to thesis study, is the dynamic relationship between individuals and place. As an indispensable part of human experience, the place is the core of all the meaning in individuals' rationalization of their existence; and since migration as an action results with a shift in place, needs to be understood through place and place-related notions if the aim is to understand the process fully. Therefore, within the second section, place itself has been emphasized as the common ground where all kinds of migratory experiences take place, and its relation to the migratory process had also been revealed. Hence the next chapter will focus on the process of how migrants transform into an insider from an outsider by looking into their relationship with place.

Chapter 3

“I may not know who I am, but I know where I am from.”

Wallace Stegner

Place-Making as an Actor in Migratory Process

This chapter intends to reveal the dynamics behind migrants' behavioural pattern in an unknown place. While Chapter 2 provides the knowledge on the pioneer works on migration theory, it also shows that, although there are many solid and applicable migration theories in the literature, yet there are still missing explanations for understanding migrants' behavioural pattern. Individuals' relation with the place, their bonds with it could be the mentioned missing part to understand migrants' behavioural attitudes in the migratory process. Therefore, it could be said that the process of *place-making* is a basic tool which can be used for understanding the behavioural pattern of migrants. The place-making is a process which establishes on cumulative experiences gained from individuals' relation with the place and also, is a step for becoming an insider. The experience of place-making generates a bond for individuals with a place that they had to interact with via various actions which contributes to the feeling of belonging and attached to their environment.

Place-making continuum will be explained through in two directions: first; as the experiences of individuals' relationship with the place and second; as the foundation of migrants' integration. In order to understand the how migrants act in an unknown

environment, the chapter is divided into three sections; while the first section provides the literature review on the place and place-related notions and offers a conceptual framework to understand place-making continuum, the second section will use that framework to understand migrants behavioural pattern and, finally, the third section will provide an overall review of the previous sections.

The act of *place-making* contains the experience of the identification of place, as in, to claim a certain place as a place of somewhere personal. To realize that, first the individuals must identify and connect to it through their experiences (Castello, 2010). Along with ethnic, religious, national or regional identities, one's feelings of belonging to a place is another aspect of the self (Proshansky, 1978), and that sense of belonging is a basic experience in the place-making continuum. The notion of *place-making*, as a relation between the physical and mental spaces, occurs when individuals or communities are transforming an ordinary space into their own (Tuncer Gürkaş, 2009), thus it is also crucial to look into the notion of place attachment in order to understand the possibilities of *place-making*. In this perspective, the focus of the first section will be on the experience in a place, place attachment, place identity and, the sense of belonging in order to understand migrants' motivation behind their behavioural act when they resettle in a new place.

The behavioural change in migrants' experience in the migratory process evolves with time, which is simply the process of being-in-the-world, and thesis research suggests that it depends on *the place-making* continuum. As briefly discussed above, place-making continuum feeds from the experience of place attachment, place identity and the sense of belonging which are also the focal point in integration processes. Integration is a key point in human psychology and helpful in eliminating the negative outcomes when two or more different groups, societies or communities interact with each other, such as; the rejection of a small group in a larger community results with the lack of the self-awareness in the small group; while the larger community is open to the threats which could come from the rejected group (Berry, 1997). Integration is a continuous two-way process, in which society is changing as the population becoming more diverse; and migrants acquire knowledge and skills that they need in society and working life. For migrants, in order to gain a set of knowledge and skill to fit in a new society and working life, their inner desire for a "home" shall be satisfied. This situation leads us to look through the notion of *home-making* since it is the first thing that migrants do when they have resettled in a foreign land; turning an unfamiliar

environment into a home. Thus, as a process of how individuals turn a house into a home, the scope of the second section is to discover the notion of *home-making* and its relation with the integration process.

3.1 Place: the Stage of the Geographical Mobility

Place, as a concept, studied in various fields such as philosophy, geography, ethnography, anthropology, sociology, architecture; is mainly defined as the outcome of the individuals' relations within their build environment. Throughout the section, the meaning of *place* will be discussed and the effects of this collective sense of place on migrants' experience in changing location will be analyzed. Migration refers to the movement of people from one location to another whether it occurs voluntarily or forcibly. Place, as "*a naïve and variable expression of geographical experience*" (Relph, 1976, p. 4), is an indispensable part of human experience and the source of individuals defining themselves through a dialectical interaction with each other and within their environment (Auge, 1995; Dovey, 1999; Heidegger, 1971; Norberg-Schulz, 1976; Relph, 1976, Tuan, 2001). When migrants leave their home into an unknown situation, they will also leave behind their familiar neighbourhood, their daily routine. For individuals, migrating is the door to new possibilities, but it has also blind spots to create a room for social behaviour disorders. Even if it is carefully planned out, migratory process detaches individuals from what they once have valued for and leaves them within an unknown situation. The uncertainty that migrants stepped into erodes their sense of belonging and this result could end with alienation (Berry, 1997). Thus, it is important to understand individuals bonding with the place, if the aim is to avoid alienation. Auge explains;

"place is the one occupied by the indigenous inhabitants who live in it, cultivate it, defend it, marks its strong points and keep its frontiers under surveillance, but who also detect in the traces of chthonian or celestial powers, ancestors or spirits which populate and animate its private geography; as if the small fragment of humanity making them offerings and sacrifices in this place were also the quintessence of humanity, as if there were no humanity worthy of the name expect in the very place of the cult devoted to them" (Auge 1995, p.42)

According to Auge (1995), the phenomenon of the place evokes individuals' deep life instincts, such as, feeling safe and secure, being nurtured, being sheltered, be attached to. Even if the term has much more various and vivid responses in individuals' experience that goes beyond its frontiers, yet it is bounded with the reality of

geography. This geographical reality is one of the basic distinctions which shapes identity -both the place' and individuals'- and migrants face with an identity crisis because of their journey according to Heidegger (1971), who explains the term in an existential perspective; "to exist one needs to be already in a 'place'". Thus, the sense of place is not about being rooted or fixed but about the very process of itself and the interaction which it provides (Heidegger, 1971). Even if it is tied with the obstacles of geographical reality, still it offers a relation, a give and takes situation, a bond which reaches beyond its material reality. Therefore, it can be foreseen that the migratory process has both sides of the coin; destructive and constructive.

Relph (1976, p.3) explains, place, as the root and the source of humans' existence, that is more than just the awareness of self-orientating in the world but is also an integration point which nature and culture develop on. Tuan (2001), claims that both place and space are meaningless without one another; spaces are defined through mobility and freedom, while places are defined by stability and safety. The place is a phenomenon that not only can be explained in phenomenological norms but also through the "expression of geographical experience" (Relph, 1976, p.4). Individuals could only be in a productive relationship with the place if they gained experience from that place (Asiliskender, 2004). Hence it is theorized that the recognition of human beings through a meaningful connection with the place or geographic space already presupposes a homogeneity of culture and identity and the exclusion of others in relation with this place (Malpas, 2012, p.151). Within that point of view, migrants' sense of place will be testified during the migratory process due to their experience in shifting locations.

The relationship between community and place has a complex, reinforcing impact on the identity, so it can be possible to understand communal values, culture or interest by analyzing the environment they live in (Relph, 1976, p.34). Relph's definition of the place was established on human's needs such as *affiliation, identification and orientation*. Relph claims:

"The essence of the place lies in the largely unselfconscious intentionality that defines places as centres of human existence. There is for virtually everyone a deep association with and consciousness of the places, where we were born and grew up, where we live now, or where we have had particularly moving experiences. This association seems to constitute a vital source of both individual and cultural identity and security...."(Relph, 1976, p.43)

Dovey (1999, p.16) claims that the meaning of place can be found in the differences between communities, cultures, nations; and suggests that the experience of place is the bridge between individuals and their endless desire for being grounded. Malpas (2018, p.1) understand place as a reflection of the community who live on it in terms of culture and society. The characteristic of individuals' relation to a place or an environment has a dual effect, to influence and be influenced. Migration, as Lems (2014) pointed out-whether it occurs forcibly or voluntarily- started to represent an interesting example in the search of defining the meaning of place with the dialectic of "being-in and being-out of place." Within that scope, the migration questions the dialectical interaction between the individuals and space and place in two phases; first is being in it, rooting to one, and second is being out of it, rootedness in another.

With these questions in mind, the thesis research's theoretical approach internalizes the idea of "*Habitus*", as a blanket term for place-making continuum, which covers and implies the individuals' behavioural pattern in various interactions within themselves and build environment. *Habitus*, as defined by Bourdieu, is the nest of individuals' that formed communities consisting of a social network of relations (as cited in Hillier, Rooksby in 2005).

The concept of *Habitus* emerges from early works of Bourdieu, a spatialize approach for defining the social practice of daily life which constructed and learned in early childhood. Migration has a dramatic effect in migrants' environments, in their place of habit, in their *Habitus*. The idea of *Habitus*, as suggested by Bourdieu (2005), emphasizes the systematic of dispositions which are a part of the being-in-the-world; a human-made reproduction of the social interactions and experiences of individuals with themselves and their environment. It is a term that covers the forms of behaviour, language, manners, seeing and interpreting the world (Friedmann, 2005). The idea of *Habitus* implies the similarities of a group of people, their behavioural approach, language, perception, conception, action and so forth (Bourdeiu, 2005) and the notion of place is where all of these similarities have united in a form of a group. Within that perspective, the notion of habitus could be related to the notion of the identity of place, how space frames social practice.

Chawla (1992) suggest that the experience of place offers three types of enclosure: *security, social affiliation and creative expression and exploration*. Within

that scope, to be able to understand the notion of place, it is crucial to think through its emotional ties, such as; *the identity of place, place attachment and sense of belonging*.

3.1.1 Identity of Place

Identity is a context that helps individuals to define and, distinct themselves from each other (Sennett, 1992). Besides, Castells (2004) understands the notion of identity as the source of individuals' search of the meaning for their experience of existence. Consequently, *identity*, as the product of individuals' self-conceptions, arises from multiple diverse aspects of individuals' sense of being, over various experiences with different individuals. The notion of identity helps people to claim things, places upon them.

The identity of place concerns the meaning and significance of places for their inhabitants and users and how these meanings contribute to individuals' conceptualizations of self-awareness. Relph (1976, p.34) explains that the relationship between community and place has a complex reinforcement impact on identity where it is possible to understand a communal value, culture or interest by analyzing the environment they live in. The concept of identity is widely associated with geographically bounded locality (Fortier, 1999), thus identity and place-identity is a pair affecting each other in a dialectic way. Place identity answers the question of "where do I belong?", thus the notion of identity is a significant aspect in individuals lives via how it connects people with places through the sense of belonging (Brislin, 2012). Individuals gather around social structures generated by the differences between them, thus, by clustering through social identity, individuals create small communities which belong to a certain class or social group (Bourdieu, 1984, p.170). Migration damages place attachment by eroding place differences and destroying the characteristics of place relations. The identity of place influence the physical, social and cultural structures of place, as well as the characteristics that people bring into these places. Identification is related to a sense of belonging to a set of social divisions on gender, race, city or neighborhood, thus a place gains a specific identity through the dialectic relationship with communities. Place identity can be conceptualized as an understanding of self, used for symbolizing or constructing identity by context.

Tuan (2001, p.157-158) suggests that the environment, the landscape, preserves and supports the identity of individual's, it is one of the basic sources of an individual's identity.

On the other hand, Norberg-Schulz (1976) claims that identification is the basis for individuals' sense of belonging, and one has to know *where* he/she is and *how* he/she is in that place to orient himself/herself and orientation. And orientation, along with the identification is the basic aspect of one's existence. He says that to orient himself one has to know where he is. In the same way, he has to identify himself with the surroundings to perceive how a certain place is.

As a supporting explanation for Tuan (2001), and Norberg-Schulz (1976), Relph also (1976, p.34) explains the relationship between community and place has a complex reinforcement impact on the identity which makes it possible to understand the communal values, culture or interest by analyzing the environment they live in. Relph's understanding of the identity of place based on the sense gained through the experience of place and the roots of this sense of place lies in simply being an *insider* or an *outsider* (1976, p.50).

Relph (1976, p.49) explains that to be an insider one must feel belonging to the place, and "*identify with it*". By being an insider, individuals experience the place in every aspect; on the contrary, being an outsider implies the lack of the experience in place and the identification process that come along with it. Relph (1976) also claims that there are levels of the insideness and outsideness, varying on individual's focal point. For example, if one's focal point is home then everything beyond home is classified as outside. Or if one's focal point is local than everything beyond local is to be set as outside and so on. Relph's definitions for the experience in the identification of place are "*existential outsideness, objective outsideness, incidental outsideness, vicarious insideness, behavioural insideness, empathetic insideness, existential insideness*".

This phenomena of being an outsider or an insider becomes highly interesting in migrants' experience in place, due to facts that migrants lack the experience of the place where they belong to, where have they established their existence.

3.1.2 Place Attachment

The migration phenomenon questions the links between migrants and place in two dialectics; firstly, by being in it, and rooting to one, and secondly, by being out of it, or rootedness in another. The notion of place attachment is a significant clue when thinking through the migration process due to the reason that migration erodes immigrants' bond with place by turning them from an insider to an outsider. "Place attachment is the cognitive and emotional link of an individual to a particular setting or

environment” (Low, Altman, 1992, p.165). Place attachment is the product of the unique experience of individuals’ with the place (Proust, 1934, Auge, 1957, McMurty, 1961) and is the basic prospect to a refuge. Bonding with places, things after all with the material environment and everything within it, is a way of defining the self in a contemporary consumer culture (Belk, 1992). Chawla (1992) states that place attachments arise from an affection to a place, associated with the loved ones and the feeling of security. The notion of place attachment is integral to individuals’ self-definition, as well as to community members’ sense of group identity.

Relph (1976, p.38) underlines the importance of attachment to places by associating place attachment to basic human needs which are to have root, to feel secure, to belong. Defining features of the notion of place attachment, such as; “*place identity*”, “*topophilia*”, “*insideness*”, “*genres of place*”, “*sense of place*”, and “*rootedness*” are inseparable, integral terms of individuals’ place binding relations. Migration damages place attachment by destroying the place relations of individuals. It forces immigrants to leave the place where they feel a belonging and to plant roots on an unknown place. Human beings are social creatures and to feel belonging to a family, a neighbourhood, a community, a country, a nation and so on, is an instinctive approach in socializing.

According to Lynch (1984), there are six spatial aspects which refer to emotional and physical claims to a place, such as; 1. “*the right of presence*”, 2. “*the right of being in a place*”, 3. “*the right of use and action*”, 4. “*the right of modification*”, 5. “*the right of appropriation*”, and 6. “*the right of disposition*”; and if individuals can accomplish the mentioned rights than it is safe to say that there is a healthy relationship between individuals and place. The place attachment arises from the experiences gained with and on that place (Proust, 1934, Auge, 1957), and through the experience of place-making activities, individuals develop a sense of attachment to their environment. People's experiences about the community or the neighbourhood materialize dynamically. Unlike the satisfaction of the community, ecological aspects, such as the size and type of community, are not essential and neither are a class nor a race infrastructure.

The environmental quality as objectively analyzed of the neighbourhood has relatively little effect, although the inhabitants are identified with attachment in their perceptions to the physical quality of the neighbourhood. The attachment of the inhabitants to the built environment is more closely linked to social integration (Hummon, 1992). The notion of sense of belonging is constructed on four basic aspects:

social locations, identifications, emotional attachments, and ethical and political values (Yuval-Davis, 2017).

3.1.3 Sense of Belonging

Rowe (2005), states that the sense of belonging is conditioned with individuals' bodies and where they are placed in the environment. With that in mind, Cresswell (2005) who inspired Tuan's works immensely, suggests that the notion of belonging refers to a positioning in a social hierarchy. This positioning eventually leads to identification of place, where the seeds of Bourdieu's *Habitus* are planted. In addition to Rowe (2005) and Cresswell (2005), Yuval-Davis (2017) suggests belonging is about an emotional attachment, about feeling at home. The emotional bond that comes with the sense of belonging also appears in May's (2000) works. He merges the notions of home and place through belonging and suggests that individuals, by reaching beyond the boundaries of residence, find a place of nurture, which only belongs to them, a home (May, 2000, 750). Within that point of view, Ralph and Steahali (2011) suggests that the home environment is both experienced as a place and as a collection of relationships which form identities and sense of belonging.

Home is the space where one orients oneself spatially, as if like it is a central core where individuals exist (Fox, 2016). Displacement forces all kind of migrants to cut their root from their homes, neighborhoods; the nation that they belong to, the ground that they grew up on; and to take roots in another place; where they are, from now on, an outsider. Hence, the boundaries of their identity will start to become more and more blurry each day, unless if they find the solid ground where they can re-define their existence; and in this scenario, the solid ground where their sense of self are rooted indicates home environment.

Sense of belonging is constructed on three basic aspects: *social locations, identifications and emotional attachments, ethical and political values*. Social locations cover gender, race, class, nation, age, group, kinship, and profession. Identifications and emotional attachments cover individuals' relations with their environment, their place on globe. And finally, ethical and political values cover citizenship, nationality and religious belonging. Bezzini (2017) suggests that integration is established in migrants' daily lives through attachment and belonging to host-society,

The attachment of place may be the link between religion, nation or culture and the individual (Low & Altman, 1992). Auge (1995) suggests that attachment with the place arises from the experiences which that place provides and it is the basic prospect of refuge (Riley, 1992). Bonding with places, feeling a belonging to a community is a way of defining one's self in contemporary consumer culture (Belk, 1992).

The notion of belonging can be described as the core of the meaningful relations which individuals rationalized their existence, as in Heidegger's term *being-in-the-world*. The loss of belonging eventually will create an alienation, that most asylum seekers, refugees, homeless suffer from. But on the other hand, belonging is an instinctive behavior that is indispensable. Individuals are always in the need of feeling a belonging to *things*, thus, the thesis study suggests using that desire in creating healthy living environment for migrants.

3.2 Migration: Making the Unfamiliar Familiar

There are two compelling challenges in migratory process, first one is to leave the home behind, and the second one is to find a new one. The very process of migration is actually the journey in-between *homes*, the struggle of making the unfamiliar familiar. Within that point of view, this section will focus on how individuals rationalize their existence through spatial experience. Place-making and home-making as the two pillars of this process, will be discussed through literature.

3.2.1 Place-Making

Humans define their existence by defining their places in the world by setting up boundaries, by creating their own places in their environment (Tuan, 2001). The experience of place-making is a very instinctive one, for instance, animals mark their territory to define their own space in the world and humankind builds and dwells (Bachelard, 1994, Norberg-Schulz, 1993, Tuan, 2001, Rapoport, 1990). The basis of place-making, like similarly any concept which includes the experience, is the acceptance of spatial organization that implemented with the identity of the community in which it lives. Cresswell (2005, p.7) shares the similar thoughts on place-making:

“All over the world people are engaged in place-making activities. Homeowners redecorate, build additions, manicure the lawn. Neighborhood organizations put pressure on people to tidy their yards; city governments legislate for new public buildings to express the spirit of particular places. (...) Within nation-states oppressed groups attempt to assert their own identities. Just as the new student limps on the bed to put the

poster on the wall so the Kosovan Muslim flies a new flag, erects a new monument and redraws the map. Graffiti artists write their tags in flowing script on the walls of the city. This is their place too.” (Cresswell, 2005, p.7)

Three spatial production categories from Lefebvre (*spatial practice, representation of space, and representational space*) provide the basis for a process of place-making. The second category in particular adds to the argument by covering up physical space and demonstrating how visual activities of people are associated with images originating from other places (Lefebvre, 1991). Schneekloth and Shibley (1995) emphasizes the importance of subjugated knowledge as a tool in place-making practices. Place-making process results with *the* place which fed on cumulative experience and results with a significant bond with place for its user. For example, for a tourist a street that he or she passed through is just a random path on his or her journey, but for the locals it is the path that ends with their home, the place that they have or their children playing hopscotch or hide and seek. Locals will be more prone to the beauty of their street, they will keep it clean and livable, and for instance, if they face an undesirable practise in their communal environment, they will come together and stood up against it.

Place-making is a multifaceted process, it involves both, the production and consumption of space and thus should include practices of daily life. Tuan (2001, p.8) defined experience as a term that contains all the knowledge about an individual's perception of reality. The process of place-making helps people to feel integrated with the environment because the ability to turn an ordinary space into a place that one can belong provides a certain set of acquired characteristic, that helps people to develop the skills to adapt to society. This phenomenon can be explained through the notions related with place; sense of belonging, the identity of place and place attachment. As Cresswell (2005, p.7) states, place-making is an action of rationalization of individuals define their existence; but also, it is an activity of the community life. Individuals engage in place-making activities to fit into the society that they belong. Therefore, attachment to and identification via a place may be one of the themes in self-defining memories of immigrants. Bonds with homeland is especially relevant to immigrants' personal memories of identity in two ways: having left a city may stimulate one's self-conceptualization in relation to that city. In addition, being a foreigner in a new place may feature the homeland identity as a unique characteristic in the new environment.

Place-making is an instinctive act for immigrants; since they have lost their home and homeland, there is an urgent need to build a new one. Through the traces of their old homes, immigrants build a new home and by doing so, they started to turn the host land into their homeland. This new home is a hybrid architectural product and through that the levels of integration can be detected. For instance if there is any implementation from their old environment to their new setting, than it is safe to say that this is an example of assimilation or if they changed all the setting into their old home than this is an example of marginalization. The architectural reflection of integration could be defined as a hybrid design which embrace both the aspects of immigrants' old home and the aspects of the host land.

3.2.2 Home-Making

The essence of daily life lies within home as a place and in a unique relationship with it. However, only circumstances such as those induced by international migration bring it to the fore as a unique source of attachments, desires, needs and dilemmas. Migrants' definition of home is characterized by the movement between their homeland and the "new" land (Lucas, Purkayashta, 2007). Migration in itself is a source of de-naturalization of the home, since it exhibits how it is culturally constructed and eventually it is fictional in its familiarity. In a logical and sensible interpretation, migration can actually be defined as a way of leaving home behind and probably re-establishing it elsewhere. Mostly because it's a tangible memory center of character objects, home sustains identity. Preserved domestic objects, that serve as personal and public signs, are largely mobile themselves and can be used ritually to turn a new home into an old home.

Home, apart from being a physical structure, implies safety, familiarity, comfort, love and belonging; and is a place where personal and social feelings are rooted. The notion of home merges with sense of attachment or place affiliation (Cuba, Hummon, 1993), and mobility undermines the meaning of home for migrants by damaging bonds between migrants and place. Within this section, place-making experience will be analyzed through the concept of dwelling as in Heideggerian point of view of the term hence to be more precisely the concept of homing. Dwelling is a place where one takes shelter, which one builds to ensure his or her needs. Dwell includes the meanings of "to remain" or "to stay in place". The essence of the word dwell hints us to that humankind

must dwell in order to exist and in order to dwell one must build (Heidegger, 1971). Hence dwelling in a place ensures being in the world. In order to understand why dwelling is an important artifact in humans' life:

“Man's relation to locations, and through locations to spaces, inheres in his dwelling. The relationship between man and space is none other than dwelling, strictly thought and spoken.”

Heidegger, 1971, p.155, Poetry, Language, and Thought

There are three basic definition of home suggested by Oxford University Press (2012);

- I. *“The place where one lives permanently, especially as a member of a family or household.”*
- II. *“An institution for people needing professional care or supervision.”*
- III. *“The finishing point in a race.”*

This range of definitions imply that home, apart from being a physical structure, is a space where individual can be a part the communal life, feel belonged and secure; it is a place which individuals satisfy their needs for caring and conserving; and finally, a reach point on the journey of self-discovering (Norberg-Schulz, 1985; Rapoport, 1990; Bachelard, 1994; Dovey, 1999; Heidegger, 1971; Tuan, 2001; Bourdieu, 2005; Fox, 2016). Bachelard's (1994) ideas on home is based on its protective and nursing features. Individuals take shelter in home; being protected from the physical conditions of the outer world, and also, nurture their senses in psychological aspects. Home is something like a skeleton that erects human body, a keystone of the arch; it keeps individuals rooted in a place, both, physically and spiritually.

Norberg-Schulz (1985) understands the notion of home, as a place of belonging, which by possessing a place, individuals' find a fix point to ground roots on both in “a green field or a grey street” or “where the hearth may blossom and the mind muse” (Norberg-Schulz, 1985, p.12). It is a place where individuals discover their existence by being in a unifying place that contains the outside and the inside worlds.

Heidegger (Building, Dwelling, Thinking, 1971) refers home through dwelling, as a place of sheltering, where individuals build to satisfy their needs. It is a blanket term covers the means of being/remaining in a place, existence of humankind on the face of the earth; also the physical outcome of this existence

Rapoport (1990) explains home through Hayward's (1978) work, as a concept of:

“relationship with others, social network, statement of self-identity, a place of privacy and refuge, a place of stability and continuity, a personalized space, a locus of everyday behavior and base of activity, a childhood home and place of upbringing, and, finally, shelter and physical structure.”

(Rapoport, 1990, p.25)

Transnational migration does not entail a simple loss of home; rather, the dynamic relationship between home and migration should be critically and contextually examined. Home establishes from the fragments of the daily life experience. It is the stage and the decor of humans' existence. The elements of identity such as; religiosity, ethnicity and, as well as, individuals' inner worlds by discovering order or disorder; can be traced and discovered through home (Rapoport, 1990, p.98). Home environment sustains place identity in large part due to its characteristics, as a storehouse of identity symbols (Cuba, Hummon, 1993).

Material treasures aid to shield human beings from external cultures and also to develop a sense of identity and belonging to a specific place that they may inhabit at a given time (Ralph, Staeheli, 2011). The relation and processes that establish a home also influence the development of identity and sense of belonging. Dovey (1999) finds the meaning of home in series of dialectics such as; “oppositions-home/journey; familiar/strange; inside/outside; safety/danger; order/chaos; private/public and identity/community” (Dovey, 1999, p.139). It is a private spatial place conducting the social identity of individuals; something humans attached to be feel included; a place of discovering the boundaries between oneself's inner and outer world; a protecting place from the physical and psychological dangers (Dovey, 1999).

Home is more than a place to live in, but a special space, where the history, present and future of an individual is mirrored and brought to fruition (Graham, Gosling, 2015). Bourdieu (2005) suggests the experience of home feeds from childhood memories of the first Habitus, the house that establishes a spatial and cultural order. The meaning of home hides behind the subconscious mind of individuals' childhood experiences of home; within that scope it has a unique definition for each individual even though it covers the general senses and needs, such as; sheltering, to be feel belong, to feel secure and nurtured and so worth (Bourdieu, 2005). Tuan (2001) questions home by looking in the spatial opposites in childhood age and suggests it a place of where one can be him/herself by the means of his/her life stage:

“A toddler is able to verbalize some of these distinctions. They are not very specific. A young child distinguishes between “home” and “outside” as his play areas rather than “my bedroom” and “garden”.

(Tuan, 2001, p.25)

Home is a place of security, the idea of value and the source of meaning, a place of recover and care, a place of nesting, the center of humans’ spatial perception and experience (Tuan, 2001). Fox (2016) suggests that home is a pivot point which one orients oneself spatially; an activity of place-making and a location of that activity. It is a private space belongs to simpler times, contains the valued belongings that gives shape to identity as well as the home itself. The on-going debate about the meaning, experience and representation of home evolves through the time, and many researches had focused their attention on the migration and its effects on the sense of home due to recent crisis’s which is a result of international migration. As a fix point in one’s life, as a place of security and center of care, as a place of belonging and discovering; what will happen to the understanding of home in individuals’ experience while migration attacks the basis of the sense of home? How do immigrants response to the situation of leaving home, leaving the way of life that they know? What kind of changes would be faced when a group of immigrants settle in a new environment? What are the necessities of establishing a new life in a new land? Furthermore, does the notion of home could be the answer of the refugee crisis? Throughout the section, the aim is to understand the meaning of home and its reproduction and representation in immigrants’ perception due to find the answers for the mentioned questions.

Boccagni (2017), suggests that the experiential core of immigrants’ home conditions can be traced in the dialectical gap between their past home; which is not possible to remain in, and, their new home-to-be; which is the answer to the search or the yearning of “appropriating the place ”. It is cover-all term for the process of boundry-making through location and spatial artefacts which are portable and reproducible. Migration damages place attachment by destroying the place relations of individuals. It forces immigrants to leave the place where they feel belong and to plant roots to an unknown place. Human beings are social creatures and to feel belong to a family, a neighborhood, a community, a country, a nation and so on, is an instinctive approach in socializing.

The works of Bachelard (1994), Norberg-Schulz (1976), Relph (1976), Tuan (2001), Yuval-Davis (2017) and many others examine the belonging through the notion of home and its emotional attachment and dialectical relations with individuals. In the case of forced migration when there is no option of going back, the primary human need is a place to continue their life rather than mere survival. Home is a unique source of insights on the self-representation and the social identity of migrants; the replication and cross generational transmission of their beliefs and styles of life; on the potential-if possible-for them to gain a sense of health, familiarity and influence over their environments in life; on their connection with the sending and receiving of society (Boccagni, 2017). The process of making the unfamiliar familiar contains the experiences of the daily-life.

Migration is an action that implies a development due to its characteristics; which occurs as an answer to individuals' or communities' need for better circumstances of living. Nevertheless, it is not an easy job to accomplish that development in a meaningful and useful way, because of the emotional and psychological bonds of individuals to the place that they have settled. Therefore, migration causes to a loss in sense of place when one has lost the concept of place, which eventually results with loss in the concept of identity. Loss of identity is a predictable outcome of migration, if immigrants were not able to build a healthy relationship with place and feel belong to it. Norberg-Schulz (1985) emphasize the significance of the notion of home, as a place of belonging, which by possessing a place, individuals find a fix point to ground roots on, whether it is "*a green field or a grey street*" or a space "*where the hearth may blossom and the mind muse*" (Norberg-Schulz, 1985, p.12).

The scope of the section is to understand the notions of home and homeland through the processes of place-making experiences due to discover its relations on the integration processes. Rowles (1983, 1984) also emphasized the process of integration of individuals' into to the social environment through the experience in place results with the interrelationship of patterns of interdependence. Integration requires commitment on the both part of the migrants and the country receiving them (Berry, 1997). If the aim is to establish a multi-diverse, harmoniously-living society, then the integration policy should be followed when resettling immigrants in the host country.

3.3 Chapter Review

The focal point of this chapter was on how place is perceived by human beings, and how that perception effected their experience in daily life. There is a great amount of scholarly work on place and place related notions and this thesis research is not intended to expand the literature on place, but rather get benefit from it in understanding migratory process. Therefore, the first section of the chapter focused on the place related notions that is also relevant with migrants' experiences such as; place, the identity of place, place attachment and sense of belonging and by doing so, it is revealed that the most common experience that all kind of migrants share that the loss of identity and sense of belonging, since they cut the roots with their old habitats.

Moreover, if the things that have been eroded or damaged by leaving homeland behind would not repair through a meaningful relation, migrants will suffer from alienation and marginalization which is the reason of corrupted societies. Within the second section, the ways of re-creating a meaningful relations with place and how migrants turn into an insider were in the focus, therefore, this study claims that the experiences of place-making and home-making is one of the significant factors in adapting society and working life harmoniously; it is much easier to adapt to an environment, a community or working life if one feel belongs to their settings. Through the sense of home, people link their present with the past, draw an abstract line between the inside and the outside and, similarly, between all sorts of opposites: organized vs. messy, clean vs. dirty, predictable vs. unpredictable, close vs. far away, but also us vs. them, or native vs. aliens.

Chapter 4

*“If you want to kill someone slowly and painfully,
you must first kill their dreams.”*

Galip Tekin, Tuhaf Öyküler 2

Home as a Mirror of Homeland

In this chapter, Uighurs, their history, their homeland's and the resettled land's geography, and their culture will be briefly explained. Later, Uighur traditional housing architecture will be compared with the houses of Uyghur immigrants in Yeni Mahalle, Kayseri, and traces of their cultural and social change will be revealed. Chapter 4 intends to demonstrate the integration process of migrants into a new environment through a case study. Therefore, the place and space experiences of Uighur migrants' will be revealed by comparing the spatial and social change in their daily lives.

The Uighurs, who form the majority of the Xinjiang population, have been mainly came to Turkey as assisted migrants in two waves due to ethnic and cultural assimilation policy enforced by China. The first wave came in the early 50s, and the second from Afghanistan in 1965 and 1967. The second party constituted 234 people who had come to Afghanistan in 1962 as Xinjiang refugees, and resettled in Yeni Mahalle, Kayseri. By the year 1980, there were another immigration wave from Xinjiang to Turkey, estimated 700 Uighurs whom mostly settled in Istanbul, Izmir and Adana. Apart from the small concentrations in Safraköy and Ornektepe in Istanbul, they were usually scattered in some of the cities' suburbs. Yenimahalle, Kayseri is the only segregated settlement of any size (Swanberg, 1989).

In this study, as a child of a migrant, I attempt to understand the roots of my family, and honor their compelling journey; the very process of having to set roots again. Therefore, the focus group of case study consist from the members of Batuhan Family who resettled in Yeni Mahalle, Kayseri in 1965. The structure of this chapter built on the in-depth interviews made with the members of Batuhan family, and the comparison of their experiences with the familiar and the unfamiliar through the aspects of spatial artefacts. The members of Batuhan family consist from 8 people; Yusuf Batuhan (father), Meryem Nisa Batuhan (mother), Nurinisa Tümtürk (daughter 1), Nurayla Yılmaz (daughter 2), Mahinur Güngör (daughter 3), Hürmet Ünal (daughter 4), Nazım Batuhan (son 1), Galip Batuhan (son 2). The Batuhan's were from Yarkand, Kashgar, therefore section will continue to give the information about Kashgar.

4.1 Understanding the Roots

The purpose of this section is to provide a background to understand the process that led them to migrate. Therefore, a brief historical information will be shared throughout the section, and their relations with other states will be exposed. The question of what effected their choice of destination country in migratory process will seek out within this section, according to their relations with other states in terms of diplomatic relations or geographical relations.

Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region is located in the middle of the Euro-Asia continent, northwest of the People's Republic of China (Figure 4.1.1). Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, which is one of the five autonomous regions of the People's Republic of China, constitutes 1/6 of the People's Republic of China with an area of 1660000 square kilometers, being the largest of all provinces and autonomous regions. It is neighbor to China's Gansu, Qinghai province and Tibet Autonomous Region in the southeast. It borders with eight countries in total: Mongolia in the northeast, Russia in the north, Kazakhstan in the northwest, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, and India, Pakistan and Afghanistan in the southwest. The 5000 km long border of the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region constitutes 1/4 of the Chinese state border. *Altay* is one of the highest mountains of the world in the region. *Altay Mountain*, *Tanrı Mountain* and *Karakurum Mountains* are shape the two basins, the *Tarim* basin in the south, and the *Cungar* basin in the north.

The ethnic Uighur name was mentioned for the first time in the inscription of Bilge Kağan during the events in 716. Uighurs lived under the rule of *Göktürk* during the *Göktürk's* period. During the II. *Göktürk* period, Uighurs, who attacked the Chinese and sometimes the *Göktürk*, had to enter the *Göktürk* administration again. However, in 742-743, Uyghurs merged with *Basmil* and Karluk and destroyed *Göktürks*. In 744, Orkhon Uighur State had been founded. Orkhon Uighur State continued its existence from 744 to 840. In this period, the Uighurs developed their own form of government which was very developed politically, economically and culturally. In 840, the Uighur State, weakened by natural disasters and other reasons, ended with the attack of the Kyrgyz tribes. After the collapse they had to migrate to different regions.



Figure 4.1.1Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region's location on the map of the People's Republic of China

(source: https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sincan_Uygur_%C3%96zerk_B%C3%B6lgesi)

The Uighurs, which spread to the southwest, mainly migrated in three directions. Some of the them settled in the Gansu region of China today and established the Ganzhou Uighur state. In this period, Ganzhou Uighurs changed the previous nomadic lifestyle and established a city and towns and started to settle. These Uighurs in history

are called “Gancou Uighurs”. This Uighur community had good relations with the Tang Dynasty until the X century. Ganzhou Uyghurs, also known as “Yellow Uighurs” because they are Buddhists, lived politically after 940 to the *Kitan*, after 1028 to the Tangut, and after 1226 to the Mongols. Today they live as a new Buddhist nation called Uighurs in Gansu Province of the People's Republic of China. A second group of Uighur tribes disintegrated from the collapse of the Orkhon Uighur State came to the west, namely Beşbalik, Turfan, and established the Idikut Uighur State (referred to in Chinese sources as the "Gao chang" state). Idikut Uighur State, it is also called Turphan Uighur State because it is the capital city of Turphan today. It has changed agriculture and trade as the only means of subsistence, cities have been urbanized by establishing towns. It is enriched economically because it is on trade routes such as the Silk Road passing through Central Asia. In addition, they encountered different cultures of the world through the Silk Road and as a result they created the most important works of Uighur history in terms of art, literature and culture. In 1209, İdikut Uighur State was affiliated to Genghis Khan and they continued their existence under Mongolian administration until 1368. After the destruction of the Uighur State by the Kyrgyz in 840, the third group of Uighurs who migrated to the West came to the western regions, namely the Kashgar and Yarkent regions, and they established the Karahanli State by Bilge Kül Kadir Han by uniting the Turkish tribes there. In 893, Kashgar became the capital of the state. After the 10th century, the acceptance of Islam by Oğulçak Kadir Khan's nephew Satuk opened a new page in the history of the state. After accepting Islam, Satuk Khan fought against his uncle and took control of the state. In the period of Satuk Khan, which adopted Islam as a state religion, the Karahanli State became the first major Muslim Turkish state. Karahanli State, which ruled until 840-1212, was destroyed by Karahitanlar in 1212 (Aibai, 2016), and after that they remained under the domination of the Turkish-Mongolian Empire between 1218–1759.

The Chinese invasion began in 1750 and lasted until 1862. During this period, 42 rebellion movements took place in East Turkestan. In 1863, Mehmed Yakup Bey succeeded in establishing a state as the center of Kashgar. This state received the help they wanted from Sultan Abdülaziz¹⁸. After the death of Sultan Abdülaziz, his biggest

¹⁸ He is the 32nd sultan of the Ottoman Empire and 111th Islamic caliph.

support was Sultan II. Abdulhamid¹⁹. Despite the support, the established state has not been long-lived. When Yakup Bey passed away in 1877, China immediately attacked East Turkestan. On May 18, 1878, China occupied all of East Turkistan. On November 18, 1884, under the order of the Chinese emperor, he was directly linked to the Empire under the name of the 19th state as Shin-cang (Xin Jian "New Land"). As a result of the struggle for independence in the city of Kumul in 1931, victory was won against the Chinese in the region and the Islamic Republic of East Turkistan was established in Kasgar on November 12, 1933. Russia, which supported the rebellion due to the Russian-Chinese competition, later helped to demolish the state that was founded by supporting China after the rebellion, fearing that it would be a bad example for the Turks (West Turkestan) under its rule. The struggle continued, and in 1944, Gulca was victorious again against the Chinese. Supporting the uprising, Russia helped establish the Song Turkestan Republic in Gulca in October 1944. This republic, which includes the cities of Gulca, Tarbagatay and Province, has defeated the Chinese forces in the region. However, Russia was afraid of these rapid developments and forced the rulers of this Republic to agree with the Chinese. In 1946, a text of 11 articles was signed between the two governments and a united government was established. Thus, this state disappeared as a result of Russia's negative attitude. Meanwhile, Mao has managed to dominate China. After the Chinese troops in East Turkistan reported their loyalty to the communist Chinese government in September 1949, China occupied East Turkistan without using any military force.

This tense life between the Uighur Turks and the Chinese is one of the biggest factors causing the Uighurs to migrate. Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, and Turkey were the first stops of this immigration wave. These immigration waves, either individually or collectively, ended in the first destination for some Uighurs, while in others, they reached the 2nd and 3rd destination²⁰. In order to analyze the adaptation process experienced in the new places of residence, it is necessary to analyze the environment in which they were born into, and the purpose of the next section is to examine the urban

¹⁹ He is the 34th sultan of the Ottoman Empire.

²⁰ the ones whom migrated before us went to Turkey and Kazakhstan; some went to United States after that. Some of us went to Germany or England after a while we settle in Turkey with business or educational purposes. My husband also wanted to settle in U.S but I didn't want, I was hardly getting used to Kayseri, I didn't want to go to a place where was completely stranger.

pattern of their lost land and houses of Uyghur Turks, the first place where their environmental and spatial perceptions are formed.

4.2 De-coding “Home”

In order to understand the reactions of Uyghur immigrants into their new settlement in the aspects of place-making experiences, their former settlement has been analyzed. The Uyghur immigrants, who immigrate to Kayseri in 1965, were mostly from Yarkand, Kashgar and within this section, the morphological structure of Yarkand, Kasghar will be revealed through memories from the Batuhan family and those memories will be.

Kashgar is the most important urban center in the south of Xinjiang, where the roots of the Uyghurs established. Written documents indicate that Kashgar has been in existence as a city for more than twenty-one hundred years. Situated in central Asia, this city is the very west end of the famous Silk Road that extended across China and as such has played a significant role in the transmission of religion, culture and commercial across the World. The city of Kashgar, which plays a very important role in Uyghur history and culture, is located in the western part of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (Figure 4.2.1). The historical city of Kashgar has become the most important center of the Tarim basin during the Karahanli period. The existing historical neighborhoods were established predominantly during the 1600s and many buildings have a 300-400 year history (Aibai, 2016). Kashgar is the most important city center that reflects the cultures of Uyghurs living in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (Michell, 2008).

Kashgar Uyghur traditional residential architecture matured in the period of Karahanli and formed the basis of today's Turkish traditional architecture. In the formation of the traditional residential architecture of the historical city of Kashgar; along with historical development, natural and built environment and socio-cultural elements play an important role (Aibai, 2016).

The urban pattern of the city has shown an organic development rather than planned production (Figure 4.2.2, 4.2.3). While this form of development shapes the living spaces of the Uyghurs, it indicates that they are moving in line with their own

needs rather than a higher decision mechanism²¹. This situation hints us that Uighurs prefer their own dominance rather than to follow a certain set of rules which came from a higher authority in their daily lives. There are no rules such as being symmetry in the plan setup of Kashgar Uighur traditional houses. The layout of the rooms is designed in a way that respects privacy.



Figure 4.2.1 Figure 4.2.1Kasghar's location on the map of the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region's

(source:

[https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ka%C5%9Fgar#/media/Dosya:Location_of_Kashgar_City_within_Xinjiang_\(China\).png](https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ka%C5%9Fgar#/media/Dosya:Location_of_Kashgar_City_within_Xinjiang_(China).png))

²¹ I remember my father was arguing with my uncle about the small workshop which he built as an extension to the house. My uncle wanted to run his business in that small workshop, and my father wanted to be the part of his business (Nur Nisa Tümtürk, 2017).

The historical city of Kashgar bears the appearance of a medieval city with its narrow and curved streets on a human scale, the mosques located at the intersection of the streets, dead-end streets, the indents formed by the residential units on the street facade, its original houses made of adobe and brick. The factors that give this character to the city can be listed as climatic conditions, socio-cultural and religious and technological conditions²².

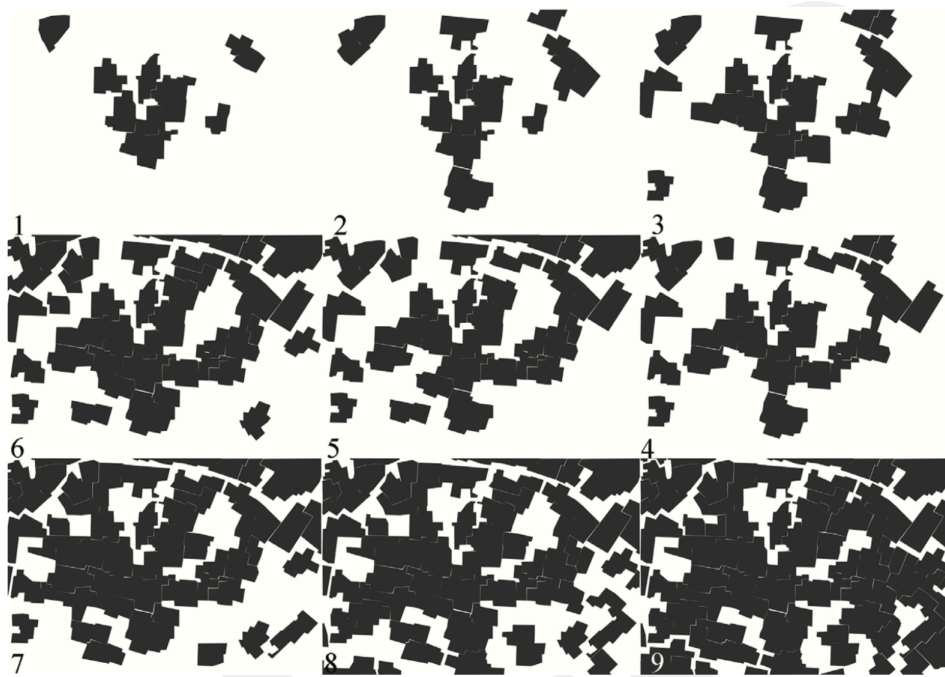


Figure 4.2.2 Urban Pattern Development of Kashgar (adapted and edited from Wing Pui Estelle Chan, Subtracting Kashgar, 2010.)

²² Our homeland has a rough climate, in winter time the weather was too cold, and in the summer time the opposite... Chinese people were view us as terrorist, they despise us, but in our neighborhood, we were only what we are (Meryem Nisa Batuhan, 2017).

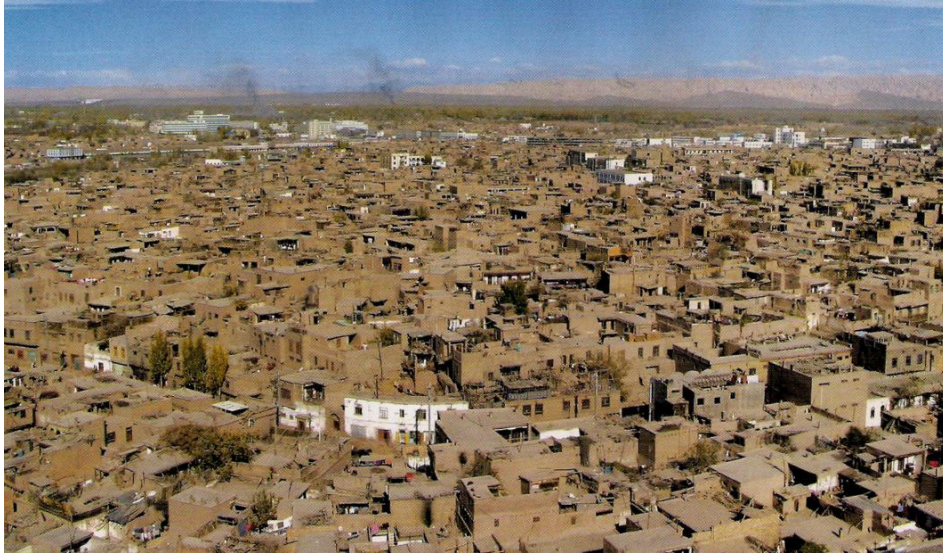


Figure 4.2.3 Kashgar Old City(source: <https://www.farwestchina.com/travel/kashgar/old-city/>)

As it can be seen from the fig 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, even though Uighurs followed an organic plan in the creation of their habitat, which was shaped accordingly to their needs, there is still a sense of unity. The buildings were built in an adjacent order in order to protect them from heat and cold. The buildings provide permanent shadows to the streets. Various sizes and shapes of overhangs on the streets, the rooms passing over the street, are not only spatially impressive but also protect pedestrians from the sun and other adverse weather conditions (Aibi, 2016).

The exterior of traditional houses in the old city districts of Kashgar is quite simple (figure 4.2.3), yet, the facades facing the courtyard are elaborately processed and majestic. Rooms are directed to the courtyard, service places such as kitchen, pantry, toilet are located around the courtyard. The windows and doors of the rooms open to the courtyard, only small windows were opened to the exterior due to ventilation if the building is only one floor; in the second level, windows can be opened to the exterior²³.

Due to climatic reasons, buildings positioned side by side, which form the unity in their daily lives. Physical aspects of life, like natural and built environment, is the rationalization of human beings in the orientation their identity, hence daily lives^{24,25}.

²³ We have a small courtyard which was full of flowers, vegetables and an apple tree in the middle... I remember waking up and looking at the sunlight coming through the leaves of that tree (Meryem Nisa Batuhan, 2017).

²⁴ We were like family in the whole neighborhood. We have courtyard in our house which was a common space for our siding neighbors. Some of the houses had a courtyard for their use only, but some of shared the courtyard with

Kashgar traditional houses are asymmetrically growing and developing an introverted character, and for this reason, the courtyard is an indispensable part of traditional Kashgar houses. The plan type of Kashgar traditional residential architecture varies according to the size of the residence, location organization, topography and construction feature. In particular, rooms are placed on the outer border, thereby leaving space for the courtyard and the garden. In some residences, there are two separate halls to host male and female guests for use at weddings and holidays. The number of bedrooms varies according to the number of people.

Street life was a significant aspects of Uighur's daily lives²⁶. As a public space, streets have various impacts on individuals; streets are where people collectively transport from one to another. Transportation, as an action which individuals follow a certain set of unspoken rules to act in a harmonious way in order to reach their destination points, is a very handful source the understand the communal identity. There is an instinctive communication between individuals while they act collectively in transportation, that prevents the chaotic pattern in order to achieve a running flow. This unspoken communication is formed by the identity of individuals, and the physical environment directs and supports that identity, thus through that relation in every city there is a unique way of its inhabitants' transportation. As it can be seen in figure 4.2.4 and 4.2.5, streets in Kashgar are narrow which allows the dominance of pedestrian usage rather than vehicles.

Human body-based actions are in the basis of Kasghar's transportation, the absence of vehicles creates a safe space for children, where they can play freely, without the fear of crashing a car to them. According to Piaget (1976), children need to play games in order to cope with the traumas that they have been faced and rationalize

the neighbors. So we were doing our chores in the courtyard collectively, when I was out for shopping, my neighbor took care of my child, when she is out, I did the same for her (Meryem Nisa Batuhan, 2017).

²⁵ We were living in a house where my parents, my uncle and his family were included, and all of the neighborhood was living in the same way....We weren't related through bloodline, but all of us were a community that belongs to one nation (Nur Nisa Tümtürk, 2017).

²⁶ We were living a neighborhood that only Uighurs lived, so in the neighborhood we all knew each other, but the school was diverse, there are mostly chinese child, and there are very few Uighurs, so mostly I feel isolated in school and didn't really enjoy going to school but when I came home and playing games with my kins and peers in our neighborhood, it was highlights of my day. There was a little canal in front of our house, we use the tree barks like they were ships which could take us somewhere else, and also akittles was very popular among us. My mother always upset with me because I was always in the streets, playing, running, etc. I had two siblings back in Kashgar which I was responsible for their care, but often I forget them because I was always get lost in games (Nur Nisa Tümtürk, 2017).

the process. To understand information creation, we must begin with an idea that sees the concept of an activity as essential. Knowledge is not an exemplaire of reality. Recognizing an object, recognizing a case, is not just looking at it, and making a mental copy or memory of it. Understanding an entity requires acting upon it. (Piaget, 1976).

Despite the unfortunate events occurred in Xinjiang (East Turkistan Autonomous Republic), there were still a secure environment for children to play safely which helped them cope with these unfortunate events through. Piaget (1976) suggest that playing games is the way of rationalization of the environment in children's perception, they are analyzing the situations, their surroundings, learning acting in a group while maintaining their individuality through games, and by doing so they start to discover themselves and their surroundings. Every new discovery helps them to identify themselves and the environment that they live in.



Figure 4.2.4 Street view from Kashgar (source: <https://www.farwestchina.com/travel/kashgar/old-city/>)



Figure 4.2.5 Different street views of traditional houses in Kashgar Old City (source: <https://mehelle.biz>)

To this point, the urban pattern had been the focus of the section, in order to understand Uighurs' what kind of environment shaped and formed the collective conscious and identity of Uighurs'. Section continues with the analysis of the traditional housing pattern in Kashgar, thus, through the spatial reflections of daily life, the knowledge of the individualistic experience can be discovered. Kashgar traditional residential architecture consists of three types: court-centered, *ivan-centered* and *hall-centered* (Aibi, 2016).

Court-Centered House Plan: In the court-centered plan types in Kashgar traditional residences, the rooms are located by directing them to the courtyard, no matter how large the land area. One reason for its placement is to open windows on the walls facing the courtyard and benefit from natural lighting. Because it is not possible to open a window on the outer wall of the historical city of Kaşgar, which is located in an adjacent order. Some courtyards do not have a *pöşeyvan*, but *supa* is done to rest, eat and do housework. The reason for this is to get enough light for the rooms, to provide enough space for activities (wedding, etc.) and greening in the courtyard (figure 4.2.6). This type of plan can be considered as a root of *ivan-centered* and *hall-centered* house

plans, because Uighurs built their houses through time in an alliance with their needs²⁷²⁸.

Iwan-Centered House Plan: Another common element in the traditional Kashgar dwelling is iwan. The iwan in Kashgar houses are generally open. The placement of the rooms is almost the same as the court-centered housing type, and the rooms are located by directing them to the supa in iwan (figure 4.2.7). This type of plan mostly developed through time, while the family expand they built extensions to their houses²⁹.

²⁷ Back in Gulca, we live in a single storey house which has a courtyard as an intersection area for all the rooms. There was an addition, we call it “supa”, the houses in Afghanistan or Turkey don’t have kind of addition. It was like a small porch located in front of the kitchen, or the main room, inside the courtyard. My mother mostly spend her time on that supa, preparing food. The toilet was in the courtyard, and there was also a cellar. Courtyard was opening to a very narrow Street, if I wasn’t on the streets to play with my friends, than the courtyard was the second place where I was at most of the time. There was an apple tree in the middle of our courtyard, and some veggies that my mother grew. I remember that Chinese kids were mocking with us in school but the problem was much more bigger for the grown ups, my father was a teacher in a elementary school but the salary was much more less than the Chinese so he and uncle started a business to support the family. They built a small workshop in our courtyard to fix the broken clocks as a second job (Nur Nisa Tümtürk, 2017).

²⁸ We were living with my husband’s big brother and his family. When we got married, my husband and brother-in-law had built a seperate room faced to the courtyard for us just like everybody did back in those days... my older sister was married to my husbands’s older brother, when my father died, my mother was also sick too and about to die, therefore the elders in the neighborhood advise my husband to marry me, and he obeyed what has been told to him (Meryem Nisa Batuhan, 2017).

²⁹ I remember that the house across the Street was very big, it was my friend’s home. When I was little, me and my mother were visiting them quiet a lot, while our mothers was doing their daily chores, gossiping with each other, and we were playing house. There was an empty storage in that house which was newly structured because they need a room for their supplements, my friend’s uncle was about to get married at that time and his spouse had a lot of thing as dowry. For us, that storage was the headquartes of our meetings. We claimed it as it was own, one day I would be the owner of the house and my friend portray the guest role, and the next day we change our roles..... There was a pot in the middle of the courtyard which was full with roses, I still remember that smell, it was the best thing about that house, and the mother of my friend made jam from the pedals of that roses. To this day, it was the most delicious thing that I have ever tasted. When we came to Turkey, the houses were built on a place which was garden like, after a while, I planted some rosewoods, but still the taste of that jam is something that I haven’t been able to achieve (Nur Nisa Tümtürk, 2017).

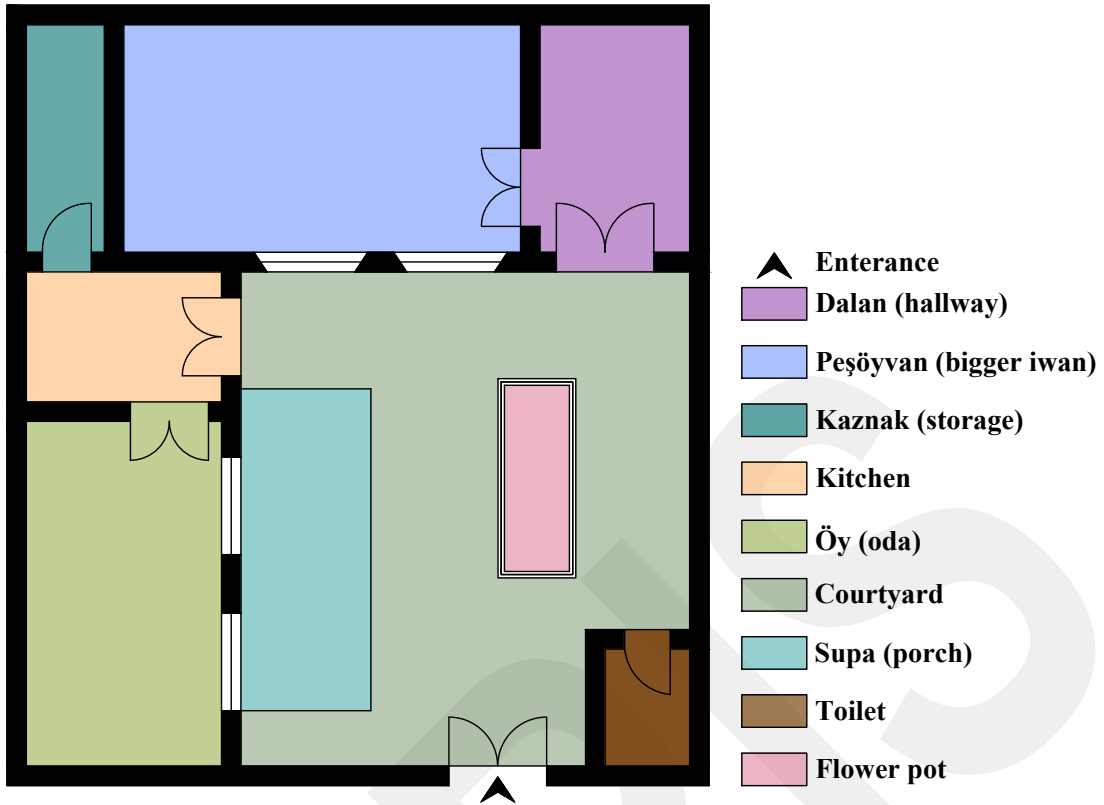


Figure 4.2.6 Plan of a court-centered house in Kashgar Old City (source: Aibi, 2016)

Hall-centered House Plan: In Uighur's traditional houses, the guest lounge is an indispensable place. It is the meeting place of the whole family to host guests in the guest lounge, holidays and special occasions. The guest hall is placed in the center of the plan as the most important space. At the same time, places such as *dalan* and kitchen are considered together with the hall. In the plan, the courtyard, *peşöyvan* and other rooms are placed around the hall. The important feature of this plan arrangement is that there are two entrance doors and three guest rooms in this residence. In terms of privacy, a separate guest lounge was created for women. In addition, since the two generations lived in the same residence, the entrance door was made separately³⁰.

³⁰ The times when my parents were still alive, we were quiet a big family, my grandparents and uncles were living together. Me, my sister were sharing the same room. As a crowd family, we had many many guest all day long, at day time, our neighbors came by, at night time my father's or uncle's friends were stopping by. Pleasing the guest is very important in our culture, we believe if a guest leave our home in an unhappy feeling, it will be the cause of the unfortune happening on that home (Meryem Nisa Batuhan, 2017).



Figure 4.2.7 Plan of a eyvan-centered house in Kashgar Old City (source: Aibi, 2016)

To this point, the roots of Uighur immigrants analyzed by looking into the built environment where they have been born into; the ways its effects onto their daily lives, and how they behave in a familiar place. The next chapter will focus on the analysis of the unfamiliar environment that they have migrated, and create a basis for a comparison of the known and the unknown for fourth section.

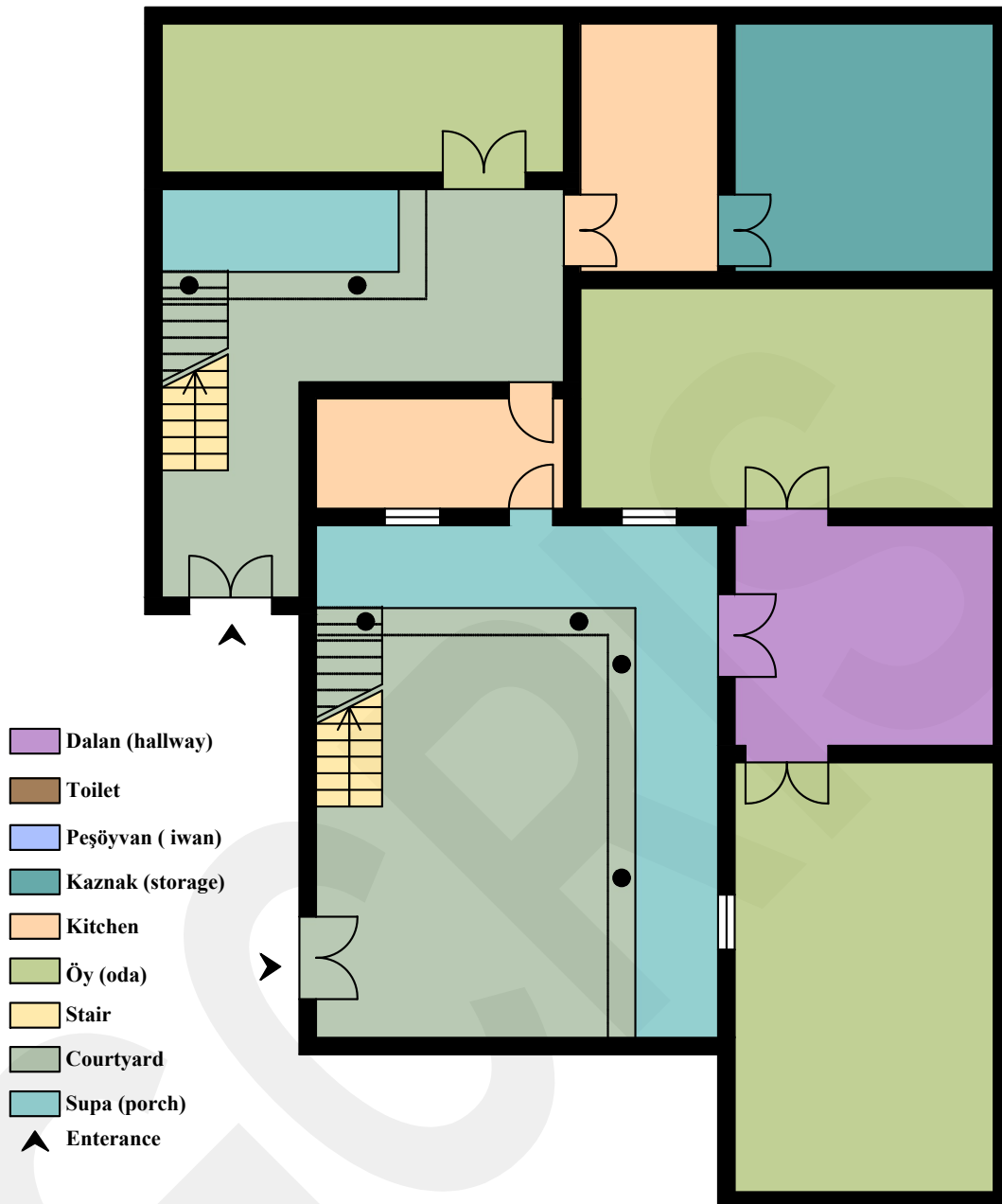


Figure 4.2.8 The plan of traditional Kasghar house(source: Aibi, 2016)

4.3 Adapting into the Unknown

The aim of this section is to provide a solid ground for understanding Uighur immigrants' adaptation process after they have migrated, therefore, the built environment of their destination point will be analyzed. As it was indicated in the beginning of this chapter, the focus group of this thesis study is the Batuhan family,

whom came to Yeni Mahalle region, Kayseri, Turkey, thus, the built environment of Yeni Mahalle, Kayseri will be analyzed.

Kayseri is a city, which locates in the middle of Turkey, neighbors with Adana, Kahramanmaraş, Yozgat, Sivas, Niğde and Nevşehir, and, is the 14th biggest city in Turkey according to census in 2018 (TUIK, 2018). The city was home to different cultures, such as; Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman; located on the route of Silk Road therefore the city has hosted people from different cultures apart from the nations that dwell in the city. Today, Kayseri is known as an industrial city with wide streets developing with a grid plan; but at the beginning of the 20th century, the city center has an organic texture consisting of narrow, curved and dead-end streets. The development and modernization projects carried out throughout the country with the proclamation of the Republic; has caused significant changes in the spatial, social and demographic structure of the city. The connection of the city to the rail transportation network in 1926 enabled heavy industrial investments and the city started to receive internal migration with new business lines and areas (Asiliskender, 2008). Kocatürk and Yücel (2012), examined the spatial change and transformation of Kayseri in 4 different periods; National Investments Period 1923-1945, Introduction to Planned Period 1945-1975, 2nd Plan Period 1975-1986 and 1986 and After.

Large-scale investments on a national scale contributed to the development of the city of Kayseri, but did not cause a serious change in the traditional settlement pattern (Kocatürk, Yücel, 2012). Asiliskender (2008) stated that the investments made act as the locomotive for the modernization and development of Kayseri and that new settlements are developing under the influence of the investments. The first planning work of the city was completed in 1945. It was made by Oelsener and Aru, so that the traditional texture turned into a grid plan system, and in the following years the development progressed depending on this plan. In 1975, the second main plan of Kayseri, designed by Yavuz Taşçı, came into force and the city's structure began to develop as a single centered linear macroform (Kocatürk, Yücel, 2008). In 1986, with the new master plan prepared by Melahat Topaloglu-Bulent Berksan-Mehmet Ali Toplaoglu, the city has progressed in line with the development goal envisaged by Tasci. In line with the development objective stipulated by the Taşçı Plan, it has started to gain the character of a Central Business Area (Kocatürk, Yücel, 2008).

Uighur immigrants were given a home by the local government, after 6 months later of their arrival³¹, which was located near Yeni Mahalle neighborhood. Yeni Mahalle Neighborhood is a neighborhood developed under the influence of Sümerbank Textile Factory Campus in 1950s. Yeni Mahalle Neighborhood, which has been developing to meet the increasing housing demand of the workers and civil servants working at the Sümerbank Textile Factory, is the closest settlement to the region where Uighur migrants are placed (Asiliskender, 2008). In the neighborhood, which has a grid system that intersects with central radial roads, the residences consisting of one or two floors have a garden layout (fig. 4.2.8). While the Yeni Mahalle neighborhood is located near the city center today, it was located in the Early Republican period outside of the city center. The most important factor affecting the neighborhood's choice of location is meeting Sümerbank Kayseri Cloth Factory 's increased employability. Various regional housing productions can be seen in Yeni Mahalle neighborhood, starting from a square in 1948 until the 1970s. The first residences are located around the square in the center and neighborhood continued as a form of formation with a circular centered structure. Throughout the neighborhood formation process, housing typologies have evolved in similar housing typology (Özsoy, 2014), which created the image of unity formed by singularity and continuity.

The data gathered from semi-structured in-depth interviews picture a vivid image of the place where Uighur immigrants had been resettled. After a long journey, they have arrived Kayseri around winter in 1965, and in April, 1966; they have resettled the houses which granted them by the municipality of Kayseri (figure 4.9). The location choice of the housing project, its surroundings and relations with city center indicate that the local authorities followed a certain set of rules to shape the environment where new comers will live. The housing project was built in a place which was far from the city center at that time, apart from Yeni Mahalle neighborhood and fairground, the natural environment that surrounds the project area was mainly used for agricultural purposes³²³³.

³¹ The local authorities had placed us into 3 hotels when we first came, we stayed there for about 6 months until our homes were ready. Municipality, built houses for us, with the financial aid that provided from the U.N. (Nazim Batuhan, 2017).

³²When we first move into our homes, every where was blooming, it was beginning of spring. After a couple of months we move into our houses,, there was a firework show in one of the evening, it was the first time that I have ever seen such a thing which very amazing. In years to come, I learned that it was part of the opening ceremony of the fair near by our neighborhood (Nur Nisa Batuhan, 2017).

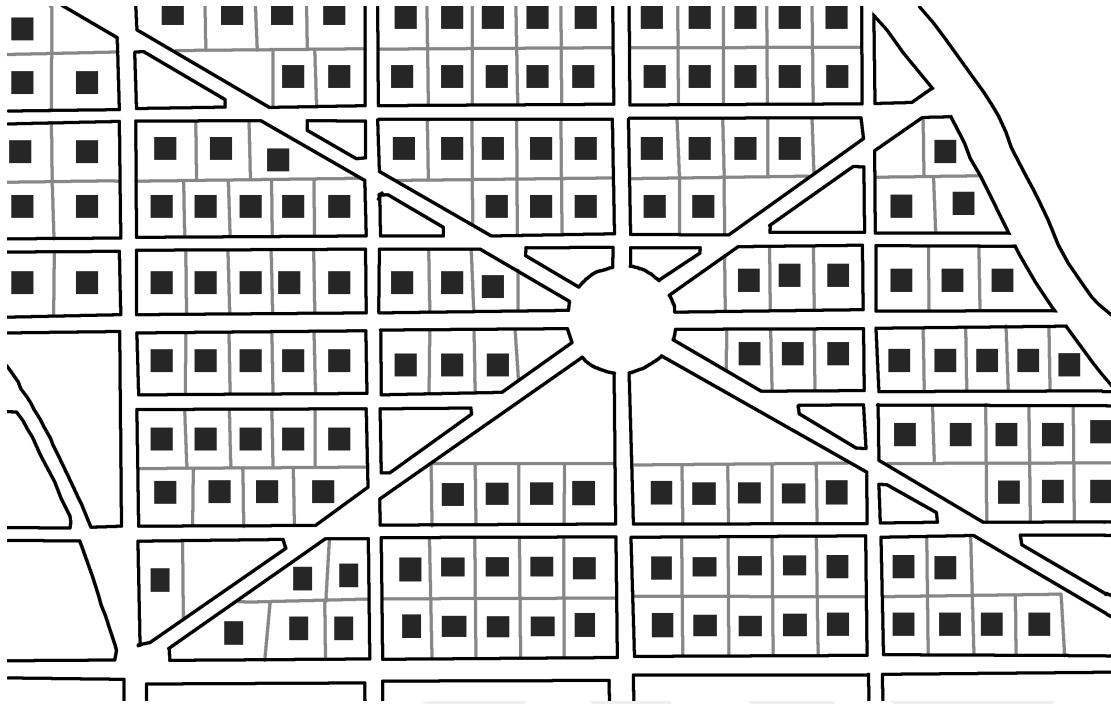


Figure 4.3.1 Yeni Mahalle Neighborhood in 1950s (Adapted and Edited From: Asiliskender, p.83, 2008)

The committee, which the local government appointed to understand and to determine the needs of the newcomers and where they lived before, interviewed the representatives of newcomers and defined the minimum requirements for setting up the residential community. 26 double floor housing units and 102 single floor units were produced, in accordance with the outcome of the interviews (figure 4.3.1).

The 55 m² house comprises 2 bedrooms, 1 living room, kitchen and bathroom and a semi-open balcony. The area which was an empty land before the coming of the newcomers, slowly turned into a neighborhood by their presence. After a while from settling of the newcomers in the houses, local government named the area after a religious leader whom mean a lot to Uighurs, Hodja Ahmet Yesevi. The process of the creation a neighborhood deeply relates with the Uighurs alteration of their given house in line with their needs and making it their home, where they could feel belong to³⁴.

³³After we settled in our home, me and my two sisters started to Sümer Elementary School. The school was in Yeni Mahalle neighborhood, which was near by. ... Winter in Kayseri was pretty rough, I remember when walking to school, I was walking in a snow which height was asround my weist (Mahinur Güngör, 2018).

³⁴ I hardly remember the first time we came to Kayseri, but I do remember the first day that we move into our home, everyone was so happy, I was around 6 years old back then. This neighborhood wasn't like how it is now back in those days. It was looking a bit naked when we first came (Nazım Batuhan, 2018)



Figure 4.3.2 Hoca Ahmet Yesevi Neighborhood, 2017

The thesis study tries to understand the adaptation process of a migrant family in an unknown environment through a spatial perspective by documenting the transformation of the house where the Batuhan family lived and the neighborhood (figure 4.3.2).

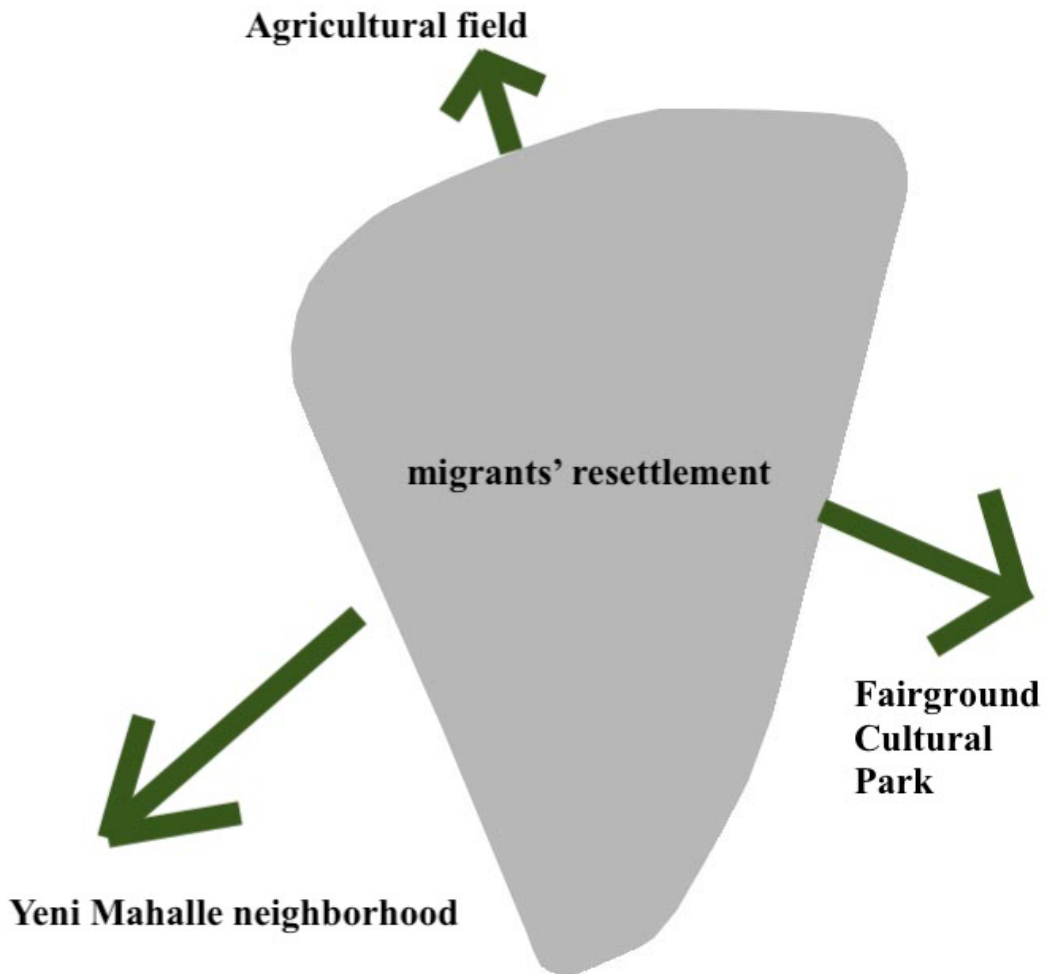


Figure 4.3.3 Representation of the lack of relationship with Uighur immigrants' resettlement with surrounding environment.

Fig.4.3.5 shows that the environment of houses that built for Uighur immigrants in Yeni Mahalle neighborhood, as it can be seen from the image, there was nothing in the environment to give identify it, nevertheless, this emptiness depicts a great opportunity for its habitants; the place offers an endless possibilities which helps its habitants to establish bond for feeling belong and attach. The first image in fig. 4.3.4 shows how houses were placed³⁵, as it can be seen, order of the placement is quite different from what Uighur immigrants used to in Kashgar which was developed as organically.

³⁵ The first time we move into our home, they were on soil, there weren't any settlement in sight, only the fair center could be seen. It was kinda look like a deserted place (Hürmet Ünal, 2018).

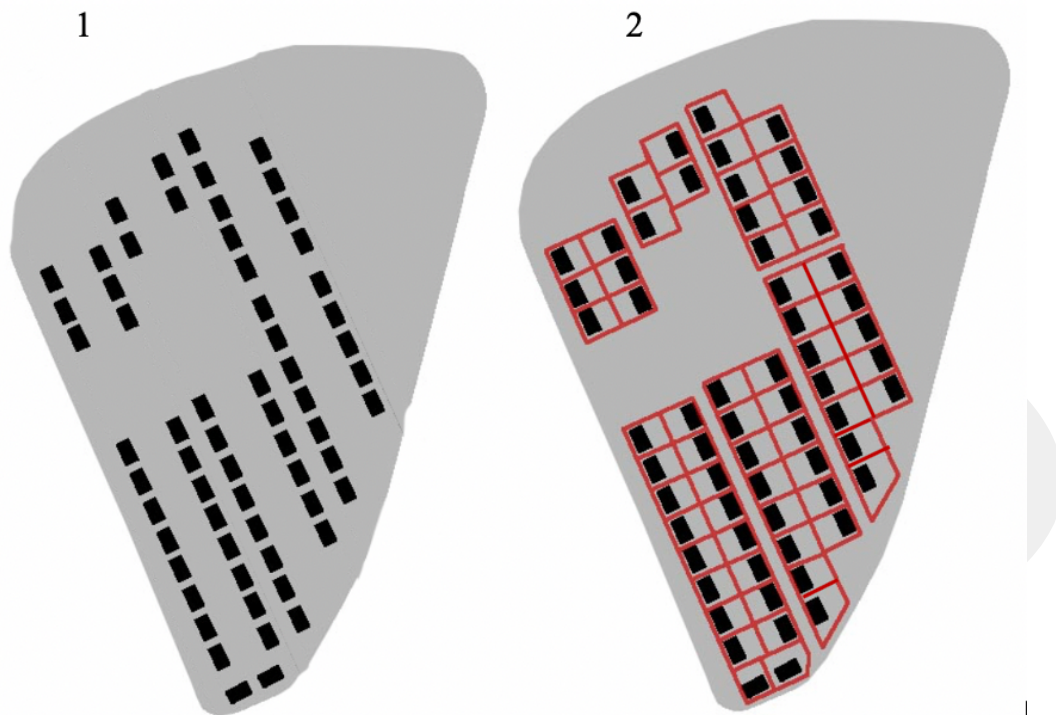


Figure 4.3.4 the housing placement on the land



Figure 4.3.5 A photograph that shows neighborhood, Kayseri, 1965

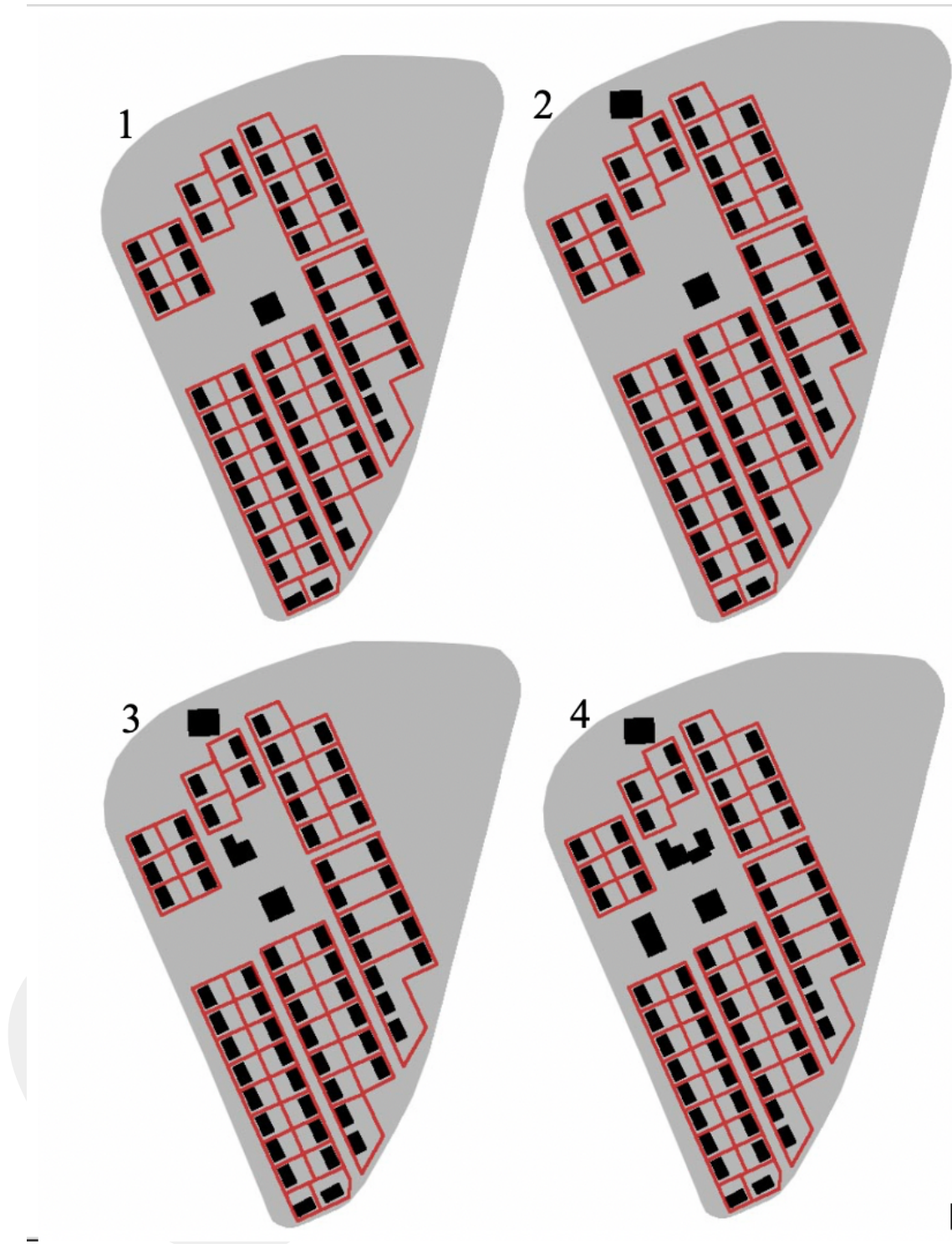


Figure 4.3.6 The change of Hoca Ahmet Yesevi neighborhood

This change is an important indicator for Uighur immigrants that hints them from now on they are in an unfamiliar place. The second image shows the first alteration that Uighur immigrants implemented to their houses; building a wall for their

garden³⁶. Through a simple act, they set their boundaries and claim their rights on the place. This is a simple yet efficient example for place-making activities, which makes them to interact with their environment, and opened a gateway to feelings of belonging and attachment. As Norberg-Schulz (1976) points out that one's existence is very much related with the meaningful relationship with place, so that, even by a simple act like building wall represents an immense step in creation of a meaningful relationship with place.

Fig. 4.3.6 represent the change that Hoca Ahmet Yesevi neighborhood had gone through over the years. Firstly, an elementary school had been built for immigrant children³⁷, this implementation of public building proves that local authorities welcomed immigrants within a healthy manner, by including them into local education system, they include them into social life because school was not only built for immigrants' children but also local children whom lived around the settlement. After building a school, Uighur immigrants needed a place to perform their religious customs, therefore, they asked for a mosque from government³⁸, second image in fig. 4.3.6 shows the placement of that mosque which is located at the end of the street. The third image represents the placement of health-care center. One by one, the empty space that had been chosen for resettlement of Uighur immigrants have turn into a lively neighborhood which had a school, a mosque and a health-care center. The fourth and final image of fig. 4.3.6 represents the high school had been built³⁹. The existence of Uighur's had bring life to the land, and in time the space turn into a place where its habitants established a meaningful relationship.

³⁶ All of us built walls for our garden, we planted vegetables, trees to those garden (Nurayla Yılmaz, 2018).

³⁷ After a couple years, a school was built, my older sisters were going to school in Yeni Mahalle neighborhood but, me and my brother went the school in our neighborhood (Nazım Batuhan, 2018).

³⁸ For a couple of years, when we first came, there were men who came from NGO's or the municipality to check what we need or if we were O.K. with our circumstances, and our elders told them that they need a mosque because it was rather difficult for them to walk to one in Yeni Mahalle neighborhood, so a mosque has built and to this day we still use that mosque for funeral or religious holidays regardless from where we live (Nazım Batuhan, 2018).

³⁹ A couple of years after arrival of the earth quake victim, a high school has built and it was the last addition that municipality had ever built in our neighborhood (Mahinur Güngör, 2018).



Figure 4.3.7 A Uighur folkloric dance team, Kayseri city center, 1976



Figure 4.3.8 A photograph that shows the surroundings of their neighborhood, Kayseri, 1976



Figure 4.3.9 A photograph that shows neighborhood, Kayseri, 1992

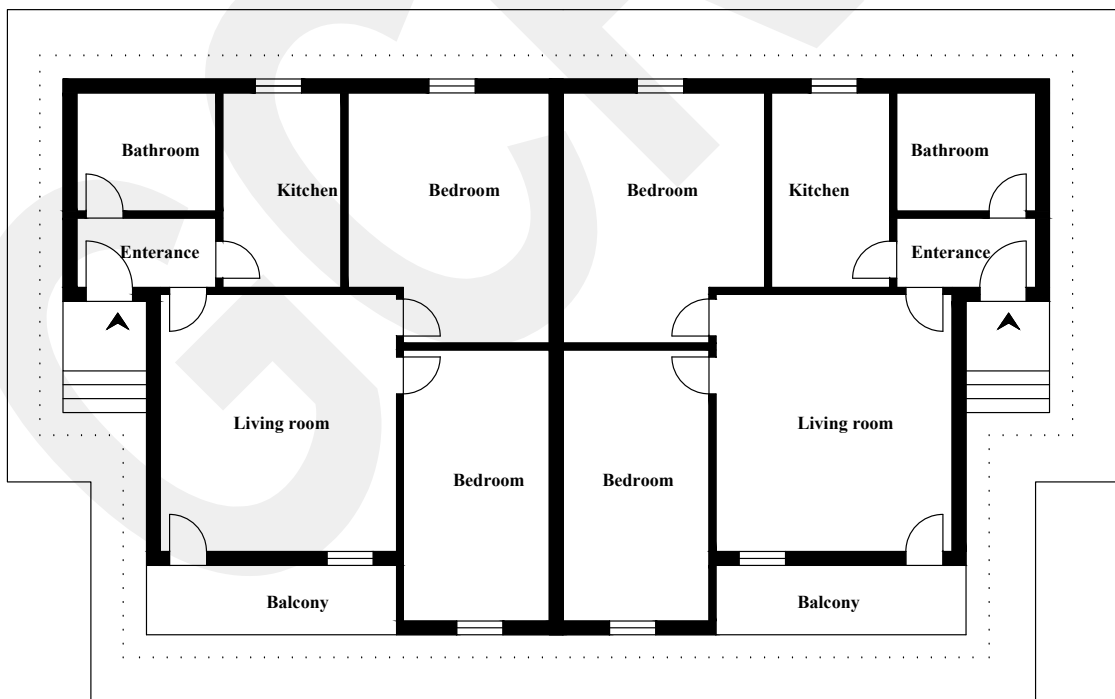


Figure 4.3.10 Original Plan Of The Houses

Fig. 4.3.8, 4.3.9 shows the natural environment around their neighborhood, and through the photographs, it could be seen that, at first, there were nothing around the houses, but in time, environment got developed with the touch of Uighurs. Fig. 4.3.10

shows the original plan of the houses provided by the government for all the Uighur immigrants, and the final state of the home belongs to Batuhan Family. Through time, the family change it according to their needs such as; building a wall to set boundaries for their garden, building a pool for watering the garden, opening a gate through the kitchen to able to walk more freely and access to girls' bedroom without entering the living room/bedroom. The house was too small for 6 people to live in it, so they demolished the wall between the living room and porch and widen the room. Also, the smallness of the house was the reason for building a shed for storage area. By the time, the father of family started a small business as a lathe, for that reason they build a workshop in the backyard and an office for the workshop for welcoming the customers.

Figure 4.3.11 pictures the alteration of Batuhan Family into their garden⁴⁰. The first image of fig. 4.3.11 shows that the family's first attempt to internalize their environment had related with the garden⁴¹. According to in-depth interviews, all of the Uighur immigrants have built wall to set up their borders with their neighbors and built a pond for watering their gardens where they have planted the seeds that they had brought with them from their homeland. As Relph (1976) emphasizes that identity of place is pivotal point in individuals lives, it is the orientation of one's self within their environment with the help of familiar aspects of place. Therefore, being able to grow certain vegetable that Uighurs accustomed in an unknown environment helped them to relate themselves through a familiar artefact; they used their garden how they used to use.

⁴⁰ The first thing we do was to build a wall for our gardens (Nazım Batuhan, 2018)

⁴¹ I was very fond of our pool in our garden, in summertime me when the weather very hot, my little brother was getting into it, playing and so on. It was very exiting when we unplug the stopper of the pool to water the garden. A massive flow of water, like a waterfall, was flooding at first, my brother had a wooden ship that we swim on to water canals.... After many years later, my children get to enjoy the same game as we do, it is the one of things that I will always cherish (Hürmet Ünal, 2018).

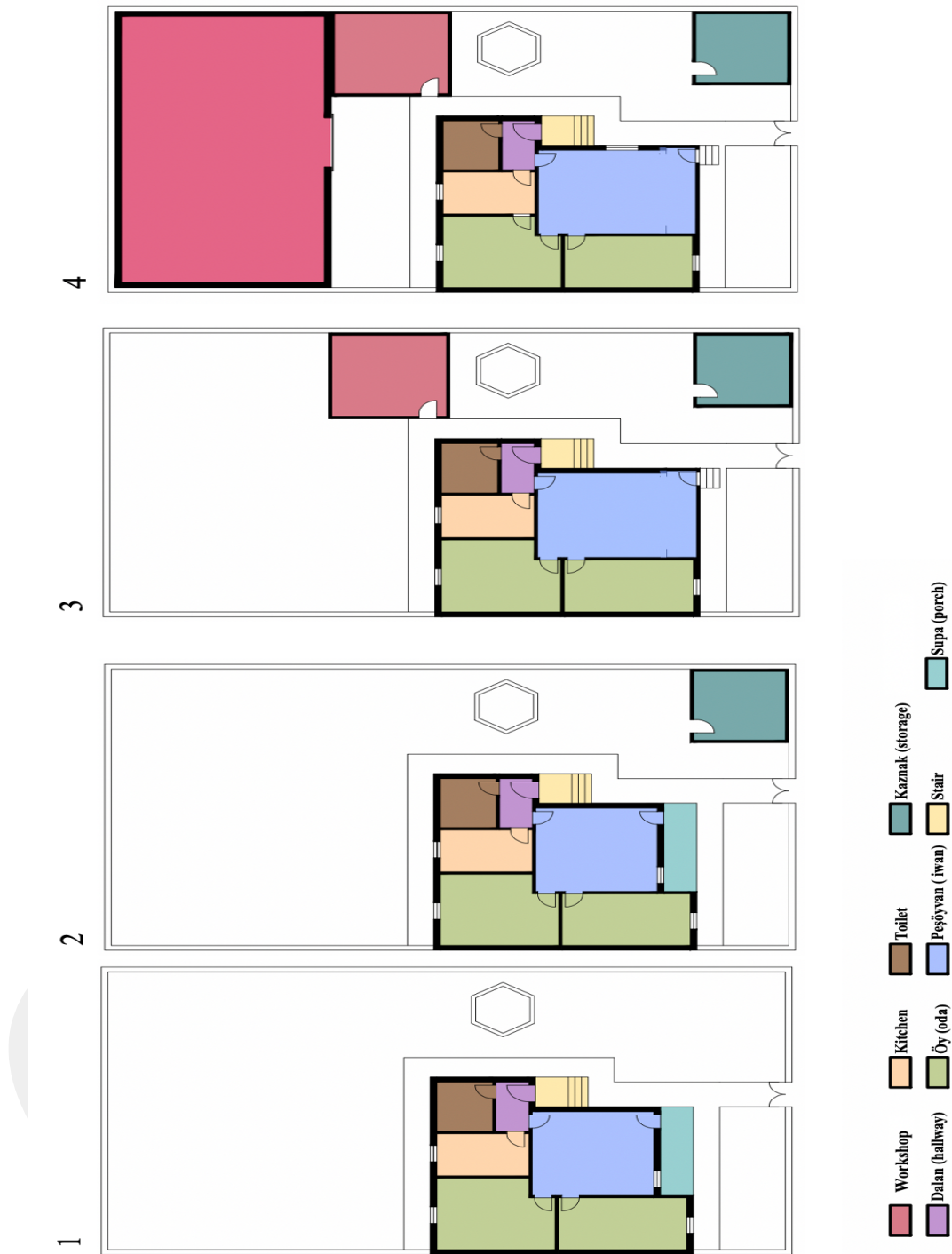


Figure 4.3.11 Representation of exterior spatial change in Batuhan Family's house, 1968-1986

The second image shows the placement of storage space⁴², the house was quite small for a family consist from 7 people, so they built a separate storage area in their

⁴² There was a small store house in our garden that father had built, and me and my little brother were using it as a base for in our games, it was like our special place (Nazım Batuhan, 2018).

garden. This implementation of space is another artefact that shows how Uighur immigrants coped with unsatisfying situations in their new settlement. They continue to their old habits of building extra rooms when the needs have arrived. Nevertheless, there is an immense difference about this alteration process, it remains within the borders of their garden opposite to how they built an extra room in Kashgar, The manipulation of space in Kashgar had given to city an organic character, whereas, in Kayseri, even so they had not completely leave their participation design attitude behind, they protect their borders. The third image in fig. 4.3.11, shows the extra space had been built for business purposes⁴³. While the storage area was at border of wall and rather distant from the house, the workshop was located near the house. This choice of location shows how they used their space, since cultivation activities is an important aspect in their lives, they placed their extra rooms accordingly to it. The fourth image in fig. 4.3.11 shows the most influential alteration of space; a tourney workshop where the family had started a solid business⁴⁴.

Fig. 4.3.12 shows current state of the Batuhan Family's home, since they moved out from their home in 1986, the housed used for only business purposes for about 4 years, in 1992 they moved their business to a different location which led them to use the house as a weekend home for a while. Around 1998, the family rented their house to another immigrant families, and since then, house only used by tenants.

To this point, Batuhan family's habits of using their garden had been analyzed, and how they encounter with the unfamiliar environment had been pictured. The section will focus on the interior space alteration to comprehend their coping process.

I was going to elementary school in Yeni Mahalle when we came, and we didn't know the language. So I have to study a lot to keep up with the class, but our home was always crowded, so when father built a separate room in the garden for storage purposes, I used that room to study but still had to deal with my brothers. So we make an agreement the room was belong to them when I was at school, and when I come back it was mine (Mahinur Güngör, 2018).

⁴³ At first the customers were only from our neighborhood but in time there were also customers from neighboring settlements. All of a sudden, we had strangers that was coming to our home and my mother wasn't comfortable with his office being a part of our living room, and also, our living room was also small for us. So, father built a separate room in the garden, and they demolished the wall between the his old office and living room to widen it (Nurayla Yılmaz, 2018).

⁴⁴ All of us, -except my mother- had worked in my father was tourney workshop, he always said to us that we need to work hard if we want an acceptance in here, he told us that they (locals) were considering us the people who left their homeland, so in order to break that view, he said that we need to be useful in here. He was a very hard-working man, he built a workshop back in the garden, and opened a small business on making spare part for machine like spanner, screw, and etc., in time business had grown, and we own a place in organized industrial region (Nazım Batuhan, 2018).



Figure 4.3.12 Batuhan Family's home, Kayseri, 2018

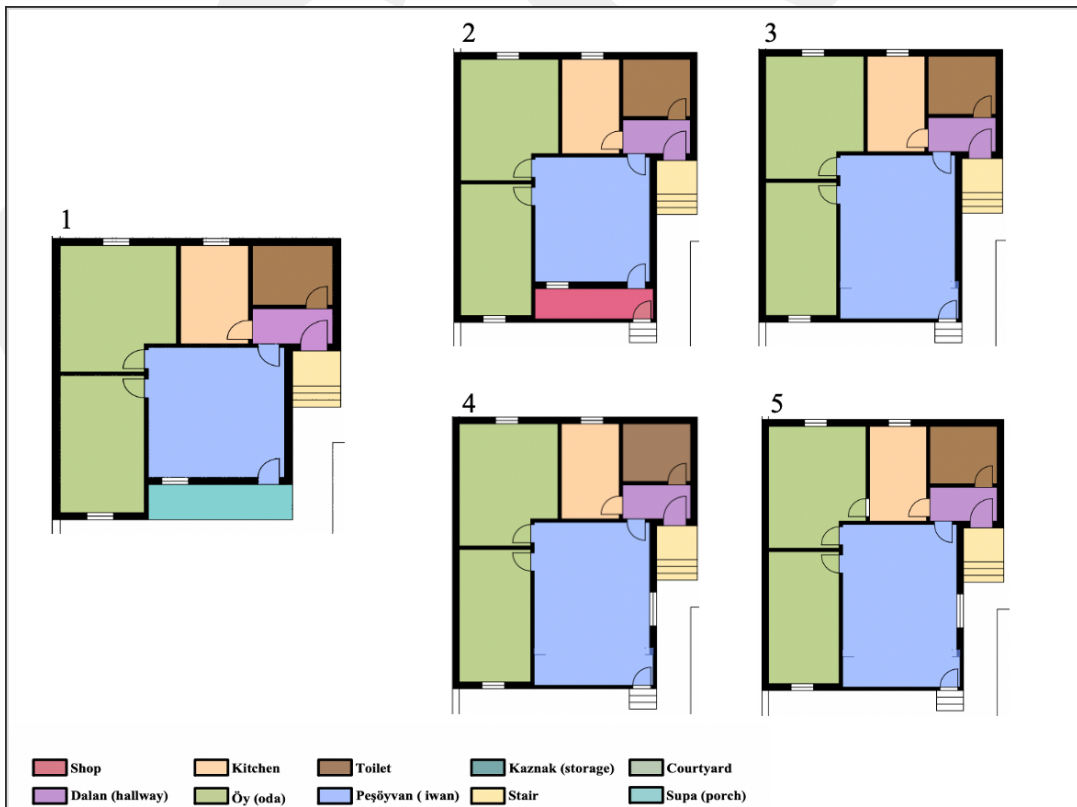


Figure 4.3.13 Representation of interior spatial change in Batuhan Family's house, 1968-1986

First image of fig. 4.3.13 shows the original plan of the houses, a two-bedroom house that includes a porch, a kitchen and a bathroom. Within the second image, it can be seen that family used the porch for business purposes⁴⁵. Through a simple alteration - building wall to cover to porch- family continue to their accustomed habit of manipulation of space had help them to turn the space to a place of familiarity. The third image shows, in time they expanded their living space by demolishing the wall between workshop and living room; step by step they altered the space and create a home that meets their needs. The fourth image in fig. 4.3.13 shows that they have opened a window to interact with the garden⁴⁶, and finally the fifth image shows their last implementation of their old habits in usage of space.

By opening a gate through between kitchen and one of the bedrooms⁴⁷, they turn the unfamiliar environment into something they could relate, in Kashgar they used spaces in a similar understanding; a direct access between rooms was characteristic aspect of the traditional Kashgar houses.

These drawings, which prove that the habit of producing the space acquired by the members of the Batuhan family in Kashgar continues, gives clues about how their daily lives have transformed in a new environment. The section will continue with the interpretation of some photos taken from family members' personal archives.

⁴⁵ When we first came, father worked in open-air cinemas in Kayseri, but after that he started his own business, he was repairing mechanic watch. First, he was using living room, but it caused a lot of problem, like my brother were playing with his tools, my mother's companies during day, and also his customers were coming to our home, and etc. So he turn the porch into a workshop (Nurayla Yılmaz, 2018).

⁴⁶ The one thing that I always remember that the sight of my brother when he was falling from the tree, I was in charge of taking caring in him but I also need to study, so I let him to play in the garden, and I sat in front of the window to look out for him while I was studying, and the next thing I see that he was swinging from branch, he was around 4 years old at that time, and by the time I get up from the my chair, he was already fallen. (Mahinur Güngör, 2018).

The first thing that I do for our home, that is to help my father to opened a window on the side wall of our home. He wanted to see who was coming and going to the workshop while he was at home. I was around 10 years old, and I remember feeling like I was very much in charge, like it was a very important task (Nazım Batuhan, 2018).

⁴⁷ In winter time Kayseri gets very cold, not like today's conditions, and it was very painful to play outside in the cold, so we were stuck at home mostly. We mostly played hide and seek, and it was actually very amusing because father opened a gateway from my sisters' room to kitchen, and it allowed us to sneak in the house more easily. (Galip Batuhan, 2018).



Figure 4.3.14 Guest room, Batuhan Family's house, Kayseri, around 1970



Figure 4.3.15 Guest room, Batuhan Family's house, Kayseri, around 1970

As it can be seen from the fig 4.3.14 and fig 4.3.15, there are different seating options in the room; as a tradition Uighurs prefer to sit on a long pillow that looks like a mattress, they eat their meal on a tablecloth that lay outed on the floor. However, after

resettling in Kayseri, one by one, their daily habits had been changed; they purchase some furniture that they have seen in other locals' houses, or in the market.⁴⁸ This situation creates a hybrid space where two different cultures exist in one place. Over the years, their decoration preferences had been changed and ultimately had come to terms that could be called "localized", they now use furniture that not belong to their culture; the only thing that survived through time that their culinary culture.

4.4 Review

This section is about comparing the newcomers familiar and unfamiliar habitat, and by doing so, revealing the spatial relations behind making unfamiliar familiar. As the idea of Habitus implies the similarities of a group of person, their behavioral approach, language, perception, conception, action and so forth (Bourdieu, 2005), it represents a great example for analyzing the newcomers' neighboring environment; how they perceive it, behave in it, react it and finally shaped by it, in order to understand their adaptation process. The change in their Habitus, and through that, in their day-to-day lives has raised the questions such as; is it important to feel belong to the place, to be part of the community? How can one feel belong to a particular place? Does memory have a part of in place-making experiences? What kind of step does an immigrant take when he or she dwells? The sense of belonging and attachment, which empowered by the affiliation with space are the foundation of the notion of home (Bachelard, 1994). The question of "Where do I belong?" can be answered through the notion of place identity. Place identity can be defined as a hermeneutic way of self-describing that uses environmental meaning to symbolize identity, and home as a "warehouse of identity symbols" sustains the information of place identity (Cuba, Hummon, 1993). Yuval-Davis (2017) associates a sense of belonging with the feeling at home.

Table 4.4.1. shows that Batuhan Family's perception of their lost home and how they associate themselves with it. The members of the family who born in Turkey, only knows their roots through the stories that their elders have been told, while elder member of the family remember it with a feeling of nostalgia. Their roots are now only

⁴⁸ My father bought two armchairs for his local customer, since they aren't familiar with our furniture. Those armchairs were too precious, and we weren't allowed to sit on them actually, we only used them if we had guest who were locals (Mahinur Güngör, 2018).

a treasured memory of who they are, where they came from, and why they leave it behind, and they intentionally preserved that part of their life, their identity by telling the story of their immigration to their children⁴⁹.

Home and home environment, as the physical structure which shelters humans from harm, and, also the crib of the individuals' experience and interaction with themselves in their space (Heidegger, 1971; Norberg-Schulz, 1985; Bachelard, 1994; Dovey, 1999; Fox, 2016), thus, covers and implies all the information about Habitus. Table 4.4.2. gives the idea that emotional bond between the interviewees and their lost home is shaped around mostly in their childhood memories for young adults, which is a strong and desirable connection, but it helps them to accept the fact that their home is now somewhere else.

Perception of Homeland	Young Adult	Child	Born in Kayseri
<i>Environmental Connections</i>	Street, Courtyard, Trees	Garden, Trees, River, Street	Far away
<i>Behavioural Connections</i>	Belong, By-gone, Root, Remember, We	Belong, By-gone, Fear, Remember, Root	Belong, Past, Told, Root

Table 4.4.1 Content Analysis of the interviews regarding “perception of homeland”

Uighur migrants were labelled as outsiders in their homeland, which was the cause of their migration, thus it was quite vital for them to become insider in their new habitat. Individuals need to be integrated with their surroundings and to be adapted to their situation (Lems, 2014). Therefore, being in a productive and dynamic relationship with the place, “outsiders” are starting to "build" a home in the place. This phenomenon can be explained through that being in place is not about being rooted or fixed but about the very process of itself and the interaction that it provides (Heidegger, Poetry,

⁴⁹ As a child, I always aware the fact that we were not from here, we came here from somewhere else, somewhere far away. It was a struggling process for me to answer the question of “where are you from?” It was not a right feeling to say that I’m from Kashgar or Kayseri or İstanbul (where at that times I live in), rather I always answer that question by saying, we are migrants, my grandparents had to migrate to Kayseri from Kashgar, and I was born in İstanbul. The topic of their immigration journey, or what they have been trough while they were struggling to adapt Kayseri, was always a hot conversation topic throughout my childhood (İlinur Can, 2020).

Language, Thought, 1971). The house itself is not able to satisfy the need of being an insider, but the process of turning a house into the home is great way to deal with the issue, as it can be seen with the Uighur migrants.

Altman & Low (1992) relates the notion of insidedness with individuals' bonding with the place, as a part of defining a feature of place attachment, and as an inseparable term for the sense of place and place identity. Chawla (1992), suggest that the creation of attachment to any place lies in a simple affection associated with family, love and security. Human beings' affection to the environment or a particular place is the product of the childhood experience (Riley, 1992). The environment preserves and supports the identity of individuals' due to the reason that it is one of the basic sources of the individual's identity (Tuan, 2001). The members of Batuhan Family, -whom experienced the journey of migration- answer the question of "where are you from?" by saying "I am from Kashgar.", but their children who born in Kayseri replied same question by saying "I'm from Kayseri but my roots are in Kashgar", and their children's children whom born different parts of Turkey, said that their roots are in Kashgar.

Perception of Lost Home	Young Adult	Child	Born in Kayseri
<i>Environmental Connections</i>	Garden, Courtyard, Ours,	Garden, River	(none)
<i>Behavioural Connections</i>	Family, Bygone, Past, Remember, We	Games, Family, Language, Remember	Bygone, Root, Told

Table 4.4.2 Content Analysis of the interviews regarding "perception of lost home"

In a climatic perspective, Kayseri was alike Kashgar, therefore, The Batuhan Family feel comfortable when they first came to Kayseri⁵⁰. Table 4.4.3. shows that interviewers first impressions on the new place they have to immigrate is shaped around

⁵⁰ It was around winter when we first came, everywhere was white under the snow and also quiet cold that we couldn't get warm up until morning. I thought that we came to a place which is very clean and neat. Back in Afghanistan, I find it hard to fit in with the community in there, because we were not speaking the same language and also I knew that we aren't permanent in there, but in our first night in Kayseri, I heard the radio, there was a man who was singing, and I was able to understand it. Turkish and Uighur language are not the same but not entirely different so that it is possible to communicate. That song came from the radio made me feel like, I was welcomed and feel belong.

environmental artefacts, which help them to identify their space in a new place. it is much easier to create a bond for children with place rather than adults, but the feeling of security helps the interviewers to establish a positive bond with Kayseri.

Perception of Kayseri (arrival)	Young Adult	Child	Born in Kayseri
<i>Environmental Connections</i>	Organized, Different, Street, Neat	Organized, Great, White	(none)
<i>Behavioural Connections</i>	Secure, Familiar	Home, Safe, New, Safe	Home, Homeland, Welfare

Table 4.4.3 Content Analysis of the interviews regarding “Perception on Kayseri”

Semi-structured in-depth-interviews show that, even though there are major changes in Uighur immigrants daily life, it is the minor habits -such as gardening⁵¹- that they can be able to continue that helped them to feel belong the new place. Interviews prove that the first thing that they do is to build a wall for their garden to be able to know their space of responsibilities. Table 4.4.4. gives the insight that interviewers’ create a Habitus for themselves in a new place in the hope for protecting themselves from the multiple shocks that they have been facing in the new place. Also, it is possible to detect that, through natural and built environmental artefacts, young interviewers feel at home in their new habitat.

By defining boundaries⁵², Uighur immigrants define their existence in that place and claimed that very specific space as their own; which is an act of place-making where they define themselves as an “insider” according to Tuan (2009, as cited in

⁵¹ When we first move into our home, my mother immediately nidget the garden and planted the seeds that she brought with her from Kashgar. I always prefer Uighur food over Turkish food, and it was very long time since we had any, so the first meal my mother made with the vegetables from our garden was very memorable. To this day, I still plant those vegetables to my garden, our meals aren’t taste the same without our vegetables (Mahinur Güngör, 2018).

⁵² The first thing everyone did when we move into our houses, was building a Wall for our gardens. Everyone was very happy to be able to have a garden. Turns out, most of us brought some vegetable seeds with us when we migrate, and we planted those seeds into our garden. Suddenly, the atmosphere had become a lot more welcoming. We are very fond of cuisine culture, and the local people in Kayseri didn’t know our vegetables, so, after spending months in hotels, and eating local meals, we were thrilled the idea of finally eating something we craved for (Nurayla Yılmaz, 2018).

Kesim, 2017). Lynch (1984) suggests that sentimental and also physical claims upon a place establish through spatial rights such as the right of existence, being in a place, use an action, modification and disposition. The environment preserves and supports the identity of individuals' due to the reason that it is one of the basic sources of the individual's identity (Tuan, 2001). Within this case, to be able to grow the special vegetable species, which belong to their homeland and the possibility of having the similar experiences from the childhood helped them to feel attached to the new place.

Table 4.4.4. shows that there are similar artefacts between Uighur immigrants' lost home and new homes, even though the place is entirely different sociologically, architecturally or politically, the association between their old habitat and new habitat is shaped through familiar environmental artefacts.

Perception of "Given" Home	Young Adult	Child	Born in Kayseri
<i>Environmental Connections</i>	New, Comfort, Garden, Trees	Modern, Garden, Trees, Different	Garden, Proch, Warehouse, Trees
<i>Behavioural Connections</i>	Ours, Safe	Father, Streetgame, Family, Ours, Crowded	Family, Brother, Ours, Streetgame

Table 4.4.4 Content Analysis of the interviews regarding "Perception on Given Home"

Home, apart from being a physical structure implies safety, familiarity, comfort, love and belonging (Lucas, Purkayashita, 2007, Bachelard, 1994, Norberg-Schulz, 1993). Bachelard (1994) explains home, in a phenomenological sense, as a driving force for individuals to understand and identify themselves. Home is both a root where individuals' accumulations are founded and a warehouse, which protects those accumulations. The possibility of turning an ordinary space into a home depends on the power of enclosing that it offers to its user. Migration implies a kind of rootedness; it forces individuals to leave their home and creating a new one. Within this part of the research study, the homing experiences of Uighur immigrants will be analyzed due to understanding the effects of place-making experiences on integration. The integration into the local area constructs with attachment or affiliation (Cuba, Hummon, 1993). On the other hand, integration occurs when the immigrant community and the local

community share interests with each other's cultures while in daily interactions with each other (Berry, 1997).

Migration typically causes the readjustment of immigrants' Habitus. Home is a personalized space where one can have valued belongings to help identify him or herself as well as the room itself; and through the memories and experiences, it is an escape pod from the reality and at the same time a womb where its owner restore him or herself for the future (Fox, 2016). Home is a place where personal and social feelings are rooted (Lucas, Purkayashtha, 2007). It sustains and reproduces the identity of individuals (Cuba, Hummon, 1993). It is a place of a family, who has similar or the same manners, habits, and behaviour. Within that point of view, home can be seen as the core of the term of Habitus, so the question of is it possible to make the "outsiders" be an "insider" through their homing instincts becomes important.

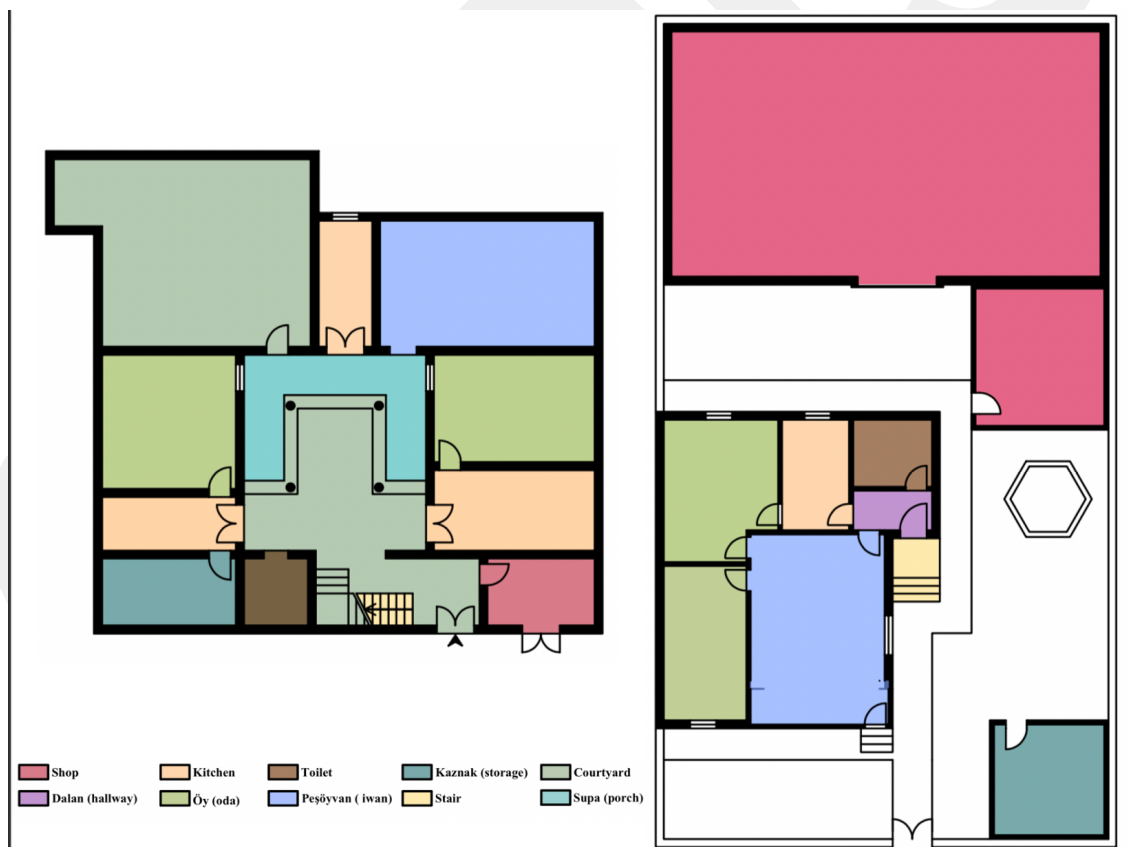


Figure 4.4.1 The interpretation of Batuhan Family's Home (from Kashgar to Kayseri)

Figure 4.4.1, represent the change in Batuhan's living environment, they came from a rural area to an urban pattern, which was challenging itself to cope with the differences, slowly they altered the plan of their house which was given, apart from the workshop in the back of the garden, with small additions and alterations, Batuhan

Family, manage to make the unfamiliar familiar, by the year 1982, they have finished one phase of their process of adaptation, the house once was a dear home to them started to become a physical proof of their struggles, thus, they move out to a neighborhood around city center, which is also known for its inhabitants are local of Kayseri, Serçeönü neighborhood.

On the other hand, Uighur immigrants benefit from the neighborhood that they have settled as a place of their own community. It represents a fragment of their homeland by the possibility of continuity of their old habits such as gardening and also offering a place where all they can be a part of their little community. Landscaping is an action not only provides survival resources but also is “educational tool of human development.” Within this case, to be able to grow the special vegetable species, which belong to their homeland and the possibility of having the similar experiences from the childhood helped them to feel attached to the new place. After two years their resettlement in the region, the neighborhood had been named after Hoca Ahmet Yesevi who was a great and an important man in Uighur culture. Table 4.4.5. represents trough homing experiences Uighur immigrants create an environment for themselves which they can be a part of a community and feel belong. Research study shows that home as a place of belongingness, safety, familiarity has a bridge-like effect on the integration of immigrants’ with the new land. Trough the notion of home and its experiences’ immigrants gain their places in a foreign country.

Perception of Neighborhood	Young Adult	Child	Born in Kayseri
<i>Environmental Connections</i>	Garden, Green	Garden, Green	Garden, Trees
<i>Behavioural Connections</i>	Unity, Safe, Familiar, Ours	Homeland, Special, Safe, Comfort, Ours	Unity, Friends, Homeland, Ours

Table 4.4.5 Content Analysis of the interviews regarding “Perception on Neighborhood”

The experiences of place-making through homing, helped them to integrate with the environment that they live in. The fact that having a home, helped them to survive in another country, and to set roots in it. By turning a house into a home, Uighur

immigrants have turned an ordinary place into their own space to live and exist in. By the power of unity, they had created a neighborhood where they can remain and reproduce their old habits and their way of living. Thus, creating a Habitus for themselves, they managed to survive in the new land. The semi-structured interviews showed that the interactions of Uighur immigrants towards their home and neighborhood were an example of place-making experience as an explanation of Tuan's (2009) and Lynch's (1984). Immigrants hope to protect themselves from the multiple shocks that they have been facing in the new-land by staying close to each other, by creating a neighborhood (Friedmann, 2005).

Fortier (1999) shows in her essay that Italian emigrants are in the need of creating a place where they feel belong and secure in Britain. This need satisfies by shaping space with the elements of the collective memory; St. Peter's church in London represents a home in the daily life of Italian emigrants in London while for the locals it is just a public space (Fortier, 1999).

Chapter 5

Conclusions and Future Prospects

5.1 Conclusions

This study, as a research in architectural theory and criticism, with the aim of understanding the migrants' behavioral approach in an unknown environment, starts its investigation process with a simple question: "*In what ways home-making experiences shape the migrants' adaptation process?*". To answer that question, this study comprehended the issue by focusing on the dynamic relation between individuals' experiences in daily life, and their relations with the natural and built environment. With that in mind, the research process has gone through three basic phases; questioning, discovering the relations between the outcomes of the questioning phase, and analyzing it through traces of daily life.

Therefore, the first chapter of this study is about expanding the first question that this study has asked. Follow-up questions such as; "*How the experiences in place and space perceived by individuals?*", "*How these perceptions affect individuals' daily lives?*", "*What would be the effect of migratory process on dialectical relation between experience and perception of migrants?*" leads into an inquiry on how migratory theories had explained the migrants' behavioral approach and what do the scholarly works on the notion of *place* have got to say in interpretation of the relation between migrants' experience and perception.

The second chapter of the thesis study via focusing on migratory theories, points out that, even though there are solid explanations that scholarly works on migration

still set roots on, there is a missing ingredient in those explanations to comprehend the effect of migratory process on migrants' behavioral approach. Chapter continues its inquiry, by comprehending the issue in an architectural way of thinking; and focusing on the fact that, regardless of the reason, migration is an action occurring by and resulting with a shift in place, so that, individuals who once was *local* in their familiar environment, had become an *alien* along with migratory process. Being local or alien is basically any other term that is referring to individual's identity. It is related with the notion of belonging. Migration questions individuals' sense of belonging, by testing their relation with place. Once they were locals and knew all the rules that needs to be followed to survive in their environment, they were not only a habitant in there, but also a part of their habitat. Therefore, migratory theories should include the study of how place-based experiences shapes individuals' behavioral attitudes into account.

Chapter 3 has focused on how place-based experiences define and shape individuals' sense of belonging. The feeling of belonging is an instinct behavior that human-beings have; to survive, individuals needs to act in rational cooperation, and also, it is the desire of being a part of a group or a society, something that is more powerful than themselves. Hence, sense of belonging blooms in an environment where individuals feel included, where they are an insider. The basic issue behind the migratory process that create conflicts in migrants' lives is that its blurring effect on the lines between outsider and insider. Human-beings knew how to be an insider by learning it through a life-time experience. Migrants' challenge is to establish new forms of bonds that transform them into an insider from an outsider based on their experience in a different environment. Therefore, it is rational to investigate ways on how individuals adapt to a place if the aim is to provide a reliable basis for migrants to feel accepted in an unfamiliar environment. Chapter pointed out that the continuum of *place-making* is a comprehensive explanation for the inquiry of how individuals rationalized their existence. By implementing their perceptions into a certain space, they are turning an ordinary location into a place that they have a meaningful relation with. It also emphasized that home-making is another aspect of place-making process, which all migrants struggle to establish after losing their home. Home as a shelter, is human beings' first accomplishment; a place for preparing themselves for the outer world. Thus, it could be considered that migrants' first attempt in an unfamiliar environment is to find a home to deal with all the demanding experiences that they have to go through.

This study analyzes Uighur migrants' experiences in place-making and home-making processes. Chapter 4, with the help of field study, reveals the ways of how place-based experiences could affect the adaptation process of Uighur immigrants. The process of place-making and home-making had a significant role in their daily lives, and the mentioned processes can be achieved with a simple act: participation to design process by implementation of personal attachments. The Batuhan Family's adaptation process develops with transforming a house into a home; unfamiliar environment becomes familiar and they feel belong to their settings. It is clear that their adaptation process develops with their ability in place-making and home-making. When they first move to their neighborhood, the place was as is in the middle of nowhere, but in time, they turned that place into something they care for.

Through simple acts like planting seeds, or opening a gateway through bedroom to kitchen, or complex acts like building a workshop or a storage, one by one, they claimed rights on their soil, and with that, they rationalized their existence in an unknown place by turning an ordinary space into a place embodying the essential features of their homeland. It is neither fair nor correct that claiming all the members of Batuhan Family coped well with all aspects of the challenging side of a migrants' life, but thesis study shows that fostering place-making and home-making experiences have catalyzed the integration process of migrants with the unknown environment. Chapter shows that, it is important to relocate migrants in a place where they can interact with the city and the locals easily to prevent marginalization.

This study finalizes its research by emphasizing that human beings are in great need to rationalize their own existence, and this rationalization process progresses over their relationship with place. Individuals define their boundaries through space to rationalize their existence within a meaningful relationship. This process takes time and effort where human beings develop a sensation of attachment and belonging as to anything that takes time and effort. Therefore, it is logical to foster migrants' place-making abilities during their adaptation processes if the aim is to make them feel welcomed and included. Therefore, if the aim is to make the migrants feel welcomed and included, it is logical to foster their place-making abilities during their adaptation processes.

Field study depicts a promising opportunity for fostering place-making abilities. The Batuhan Family's participatory design approach on their homing environment have

helped their process of making the unfamiliar familiar. The process of transforming a *house* into a *home* requires a skill set, also desirable in any adaptation process.

5.2 Contribution to Global Sustainability

Thesis research proves that participatory design is an immense catalyzer in Uighur immigrants' adaptation process, and therefore, it could be considered as a solution in various cases of migration. The way that Batuhan Family preserved their cultural habits simply by adapting their old way of using space into their new environment proves the importance of spatial relations of individuals in daily lives. Field study shows that, along with the flexible space that could be altered by its habitants, participatory design process was quite beneficial to maintain the Uighur culture which meant to be destroyed by People's Republic of China. This situation represents a clear sign that cultural sustainability had been accomplished.

Migration has various forms. Individuals or communities shift places due to various reasons, such as; conflicts, economical, educational or climatic reasons. This thesis research provides a basis in discussing how migrants adapt to their new situation for policy makers, governments and researchers. Thesis research intends to depict migratory experience through an insight story of an immigrant family by analyzing their adaptation process.

5.3 Future Prospects

The freedom of mobility is considered as a fundamental right and it cannot be compromised due to human-beings' instinctive desire for discovery where they are to rationalize their existence and set roots on different locations. Therefore, migration will always be a hot topic in social science and this thesis research provides a set of questions for further studies.

Thesis research analyzed Batuhan family's adaptation process through the notions of sense of belonging, place attachment, place-making and home-making. Throughout the research process, further questions had been raised;

Is sense of belonging an obstacle or an opportunity in individuals' process of adaptation since it creates a conflict in migrants' lives? These phenomena could be

investigated through different types of migration experiences, and the impact of sense of belonging can be surveyed in adaptation processes.

This research shows that aided migration process had become quite beneficial in Batuhan Family's adaptation process so, *in the case of unaided migration, how will the process of adaptation will occur?* This research provides a basis for that discussion by providing an insight on how place-making and home-making processes had been realized in case of an aided migration.

Also, this thesis research provides a basis for the discussion of how individuals recreate space through memory by analyzing Batuhan Family's home-making process as they have altered their environment according to their old home within a new perspective. Creating hybrid spaces. Additionally, this research structures a discussion on how flexible a space could be designed so that its users can also be a part of its design process which as this thesis research suggests is the basis of a meaningful relationship between individuals and environment.

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APPENDIX

App.1 In-depth Interview Questions

App.1.1 Questions for the young adults, teenagers and children when immigration experienced

Personal information and background

- Where are you from?
- How did you end up living in Kayseri?
- Could you share your memories on the journey that leads you here?

The daily-life change that came with migratory experience

- How was your life before this immigration experience?
- In what ways your life has been changed after you immigrate?
- What did you feel about resettling in Kayseri?

The spatial memory and perceptions

- Do you remember the places that you live in, before you came to Kayseri?
- What was your first impression when you first came to Kayseri?
- Could you describe your first house in Kayseri?
- Where did you stay when you came in Kayseri?
- How did you decorate your houses?
- What was the major difference between Kayseri and your homeland?
- What is the meaning of a home in your perception?

Adaptation process

- How did you adapt into your new situation?
- What have you been through while adapting Kayseri? Did you get any help from locals?
- How did you interact with the locals?

App.1.2 Questions for the first born generation

Personal information and background

- Where are you from?
- What can you share about your family's immigration process?

The daily-life change that came with migratory experience

- What do you feel about living in Kayseri?
- What do Kashgar means to you?

The spatial memory and perceptions

- What do you know about Kashgar?
- Could you describe your first house in Kayseri?
- Could you share your memories on your family home?
- What is the meaning of a home in your perception?
- What was your first impression when you first came to Kayseri?

Adaptation process

- Have you faced any challenges while growing up in an immigrant family?
- In what ways could you describe your relationships with locals?

App.1.3 Translated scripts of in-depth interview

Meryem Nisa Batuhan, 12/09/2018

Personal information and background

İ.C: Where are you from?

N.B: I'm from Kashgar.

İ.C: How did you end up living in Kayseri?

N.B: It was getting hard to live in Kashgar. There is an unsettled battle between us and Chinese. They treated us like we didn't worth anything. My husband was a teacher, but his salary was lower than his Chinese peers. We weren't even able to wonder around freely. Many of the Chinese people were mocking us when they saw us, or at school our children were being left out. We are not the first ones whom immigrate somewhere else, so one day, my husband and some of his friends decided that there is no life in Kashgar for us anymore. The rumour of immigrating spread in our neighborhood, and eventually we, around 300 people, have decided left our homeland. They posed my husband and his friends like our leader and made all the legal process for us. At first, we need to flee from China to a random country to seek refuge from the U.N. So, Afghanistan as a country who borders with China, was our choice to immigrate. We live in Afghanistan for around 4 years. After that, Turkish Government offered us a stay in Kayseri, and that's why we're living in Kayseri now.

İ.C: Could you share your memories on the journey that leads you here?

N.B: Our journey was terrible, I think it was the hardest times of my entire lives. We fled from the homeland on donkeys, on foot. It took 6 months just to arrive in Afghanistan. There were infants whom died during the journey. I only have troubled memories for that journey.

The daily-life change that came with migratory experience

İ.C: How was your life before this immigration experience?

N.B: It is such a long time, I couldn't even remember my life in Gulca properly. I had 3 kids when we were in Gulca, and after that had another 2 in Afghanistan. Actually, I hadn't gone through a major change. I was looking after my kids, taking care of our home when we were in Gulca, and it was the same chores in Kayseri.

İ.C: In what ways your life has been changed after you immigrate?

N.B: My husband started a business in Kayseri, and it payed off well. I think that won't be possible if we stayed in Gulca. Also, from my 4 daughters 3 of them went to university, and be able to provide for themselves. If we stayed in Gulca, we would marry them at a very young age like me.

İ.C: What did you feel about resettling in Kayseri?

N.B: All I wanted was to have a home that belongs to us during our years in Afghanistan. So, when we granted with a home in Kayseri, I was more than grateful.

The spatial memory and perceptions

İ.C: Do you remember the places you live in before you came to Kayseri?

N.B: The times when my parents were still alive, we were quiet a big family, my grandparents and uncles were living together. Me, my sister, was sharing the same room. As a crowded family, we had many, many guests all day long, at daytime, our neighbors came by, at night time my father's or uncle's friends were stopping by. Pleasing the guest is very important in our culture, we believe if a guest leave our home in an unhappy feeling, it will cause the unfortunate happening in that home. My older sister was married to my husband's older brother, when my father died, my mother was also sick too and about to die, therefore the elders in the neighborhood advise my husband to marry me, and he obeyed what has been told to him. We were living with my husband's big brother and his family. When we got married, my husband and brother-in-law had built a separate room faced to the courtyard for us just like everybody backed in those days. It was a like a home complex rather than being one. Me and my husband were living with my husband's brother and his family. We have a small courtyard full of flowers, vegetables and an apple tree in the middle. remember waking up and looking at

the sunlight coming through the leaves of that tree. Every room was opened to the courtyard.

İ.C: What was your first impression when you first came to Kayseri?

N.B: I was very shocked, Kayseri was something that I have never seen before. There were tall, concrete building, wide streets, lots of cars. It frightened me at first. The very first thing that came into my mind was that “What happens if I get lost in here?”. That’s why I never left our hotel until we move into our homes.

İ.C: Could you describe your first house in Kayseri?

N.B: It was a small, 3 room house. It was different though, for instance, it has a bathroom. Before that, we lived in houses that its toilets were in the courtyard. And there was a kitchen which was also different from what we used to. There was plumbing in the kitchen and bathroom.

İ.C: Where did you stay when you came in Kayseri?

N.B: We stayed at a hotel for 6 months.

İ.C: How did you furnit your houses?

N.B: We furnished our homes with stuff that we brought with us, like a mattress. But eventually, we also bought some sofas, armchairs.

İ.C: What was the major difference between Kayseri and your homeland?

N.B: at first, everything was different. We were living an entirely different setup. But in time, we lived by our habits and also developed new ones. Something stayed the same, like the way we treat each other. For example, we were like a family in the entire neighborhood. We have a courtyard in our house, which was a common space for our siding neighbors. Some houses had a courtyard for their use only, but some of shared the courtyard with the neighbors. So we were doing our chores in the courtyard collectively. When I was out for shopping, my neighbor took care of my child, when she is out, I did the same for her. But also, I developed some shopping skills according to Kayseri, because of the change in their trade ethics.

İ.C: What is the meaning of a home in your perception?

N.B: Home is a place that I could do whatever I wanted to do. I have 2 sons whom are married, and live with the youngest. Sometimes I stayed at my elder's house, but I could only stay there for a few days. I know that they are happy to have me there but; I feel restless if I'm not in my home.

Adaptation process

İ.C: How did you adapt into your new situation?

N.B: If you have 5 children to look after, you would also get used to everything quickly. Struggling between looking after kids, taking care of home and so on kept me busy, I didn't even notice if I adapted to my situation or not.

İ.C: What have you been through while adapting Kayseri? Did you get any help from locals?

N.B: At first, there were some NGO's that helping us, but in time, all of us had to take care of ourselves. After Afghanistan, Kayseri wasn't an enormous challenge.

İ.C: How did you interact with the locals?

N.B: My husband ran various businesses and his customers were mostly the locals. He was using our home for his business, so his customers were visiting our home almost daily, and therefore, they were also our guests.

Nurinisa Tümtürk, 17/11/2018

Personal information and background

İ.C: Where are you from?

N.T: I'm from Gulca, Kashgar; it is in East Turkistan

İ.C: How did you end up living in Kayseri?

N.T: We came to Kayseri in October 1965. We have left our homeland and came to Afghanistan in 1961 to seek refuge from the persecution that enforced by Chinese government. We, Uighurs, have always been a struggle with international migration throughout of our history. Life was too complicated and difficult for us to live in Kashgar due to ethnical and cultural assimilation policy enforced by China to our nation. Many people had immigrate to Turkey and America in the 1930s as supported migrants, I was around 14 years old when we left our home, a school child, in the 1950s. We were a group of people whose led by our elders, one of them was my father. The elders applied to U.N. to seek refuge from the coercion enforced by Chenese government, through the connection provided by the previous group who settled in America. The response was simple. First, we must leave our country as asylum seekers to take refuge, but we must accomplish it by our own. So, we migrate to Afghanistan as asylum seekers, near the spring time of 1951, approximately 300 people, and lived in there for 4 years. After Afghanistan, father wanted to go to America, but they didn't accept us. We have been told that we should resettle in a place where we share a common culture and beliefs. So, Turkey became our arrival stop, Saudi Arabia was the second option but elders thought as a Turkic based nationality we would fit in Turkey better than Saudi Arabia still there 2-3 families who immigrate to Saudi Arabia, but the rest went for Turkey. The authorities in U.N and Turkey offered us to resettle in Kayseri, so that's why we immigrate to Kayseri.

İ.C: Could you share your memories on the journey that leads you here?

N.T: Yes, like it happened yesterday. We left Kasghar as a group of people, the people who were not happy to live in our homeland anymore, around 300 people. So many families fall apart during that journey, it was an impossible journey,

most of the men and women did not want their children suffer with them during the road, so they left behind them and promised them they will come back when they resettled in Turkey, but unfortunately that didn't happen for nearly 3 decades because of restrictions had been applied to the immigrants who left Kasghar. It was around 1961 when we left our homeland, our first stop was Afghanistan. We literally walked and rode donkeys to get there, there were very little babies or elderly people who died on the road, because the conditions were too rough. Around 20 people died before we get to Afghanistan. I cared for my two younger sisters were at 8 and 5 around that time. We were playing games to make the road fun, but still it was awful. And finally, around spring time in 1961, we reached Afghanistan, and lived in there for 4 years. My father rented a house which has two storeys and a courtyard. Most of our kins rented houses that close to each other, we didn't want to separate from each other.

İ.C: How was your life before this immigration experience?

N.T: We were living a neighborhood that only Uighurs lived, so in the neighborhood we all knew each other, but the school was diverse, there are mostly Chinese children, and there are very few Uighurs, so mostly I feel isolated in school and didn't really enjoy going to school but when I came home and playing games with my kins and peers in our neighborhood, it was highlights of my day. There was a little canal in front of our house. We use the tree barks like they were ships which could take us somewhere else, and also skittles was very popular among us. My mother always upset with me because I was always in the streets, playing, running, etc. I had two siblings back in Kashgar which I was responsible for their care, but often I forget them because I was always get lost in games Well, I was a child so I constantly played games on the streets; I remember that my mother gets furious with me because I never came to home from playing. My sisters were too small, she put me in charge to nurture them, but all I could think of was playing. We were living a neighborhood that only Uighurs lived, so in the neighborhood we all knew each other, but the school was diverse, there are mostly Chinese children, and there are very few Uighurs, so mostly I feel isolated in school and didn't really enjoy going to school but when I came home and playing games with my kins and peers in our neighborhood, it was highlights of my day. I really miss those days now, I wish we could live freely in Gulca so we never have

to leave there. I remember my father was arguing with my uncle about the small workshop which he built as an extension to the house. My uncle wanted to run his business in that small workshop, and my father wanted to be the part of his business.

The daily-life change that came with migratory experience

İ.C: In what ways your life has been changed after you immigrate?

N.T: Well, when we arrived in Afghanistan, I lived with my parents for a while, but after that they married me with my husband; he was also in our immigrants group, and this changed my life forever, I never wanted to marry but the conditions in Afghanistan was hard to cope with, we were poor, all the men in our immigrant group start from zero economically and as the eldest of the family, my parents find the solution by wedding me. After 2 years of marriage I had my firstborn, a boy. I didn't go to any school or any kind of education. Maybe, if I hadn't got married back in Afghanistan, I would go to school in Turkey like my sisters did, and or work in the positions that government provided for us, if I don't have to look after a toddler.

İ.C: What did you feel about resettling in Kayseri?

N.T: Well I feel happy, sure the house and the surroundings look unfinished, but it felt powerful to have a place that only belongs to us. There were around 60 houses, back in Afghanistan, my family and my parents were living in the same property, but now we have separate houses. We named our site after the Hodja Ahmet Yesevi, who has great importance in our history. After a while, the named had officially accepted by the municipality, and now the neighborhood known as Hodja Ahmet Yesevi neighborhood. Actually, Hodja Ahmet Yesevi is an important figure in Islamic and Turkic history, not only for us and this situation is the first prove why Turkey is the best option for us resettle, we were living in a site that belong to us and we could honour our cause by naming it after a person who meant great deal to us.

The spatial memory and perceptions

İ.C: Do you remember the places you live in before you came to Kayseri?

N.T: Back in Gulca, we live in a single-storey house which has a courtyard as an intersection area for all the rooms. We were living in a house where my parents, my uncle and his family were included, and all the neighborhood was living in the same way....We weren't related through bloodline, but all of us were a community that belongs to one nation. There was an addition, we call it “supa”, the houses in Afghanistan or Turkey don't have a kind of addition. It was like a small porch in front of the kitchen, or the main room, inside the courtyard. My mother mostly spends her time on that supa, preparing food. The toilet was in the courtyard, and there was also a cellar. Courtyard was opening to a very narrow Street, if I wasn't on the streets to play with my friends, then the courtyard was the second place where I was at most of the time. There was an apple tree in the middle of our courtyard, and some veggies that my mother grew. I remember that Chinese kids were mocking with us in school but the problem was much bigger for the grown-ups, my father was a teacher in an elementary school but the salary was much less than the Chinese so he and uncle started a business to support the family. They built a small workshop in our courtyard to fix the broken clocks as a second job.

İ.C: What was your first impression when you first came to Kayseri?

N.T: It was around winter when we first came, everywhere was white under the snow and also quiet cold that we couldn't get warm until morning. I thought we came to a place which is spotless and neat. Back in Afghanistan, I find it hard to fit in with the community in which there, because we were not speaking the same language and also I knew that we aren't permanent in there, but in our first night in Kayseri, I heard the radio, there was a man who was singing, and I could understand it. Turkish and Uighur language is not the same but not entirely different, so it is possible to communicate. That song came from the radio made me feel like it welcomed me and feel belong.

İ.C: Could you describe your first house in Kayseri?

N.T: It has 2 bedroom, 1 common room, a kitchen and a bathroom. It thrilled me to live in a place like this; it was very modern comparing to Afghanistan and

Gulca. Houses were built as a twin block. Between every twin block there were approximately 10 meters,

İ.C: Where did you stay when you came in Kayseri?

N.T: The local authorities placed us into 3 hotels when we first came, we stayed there for about 6 months until our homes were ready. Municipality, built houses for us, with the financial aid that provided from the U.N. Actually, I don't remember what I did, before we settle in our home but, mostly we were taken language courses. But I remember that it thrilled me to leave the hotel when we moved out. Hotel rooms were clean and comfy but still, it didn't feel like home. When we first move into our homes, there was nothing around. It was kind of far away from the city center, and the nearest neighborhood was 15 minutes away on foot. Houses were smell concrete, had two bedrooms and a one common room. The thing I like the most about our houses, that the toilet was inside the house, that was a happy change for me. Every family granted a house, I don't know the exact number of the houses but it was around 60 houses and all of them were for us, Uighur immigrants.

İ.C: How did you furnit your houses?

N.T: We brought some mattress and quilt with us.

Adaptation process

İ.C: What was the major difference between Kayseri and your homeland?

N.T: I remember that the house across the Street was huge, it was my friend's home. When I was little, me and my mother were visiting them quiet a lot, while our mothers were doing their daily chores, gossiping with each other, and we were playing house. There was an empty storage in that house which was newly structured because they need a room for their supplements. My friend's uncle was about to get married, and his spouse had a lot of things as a dowry. For us, that storage was the headquarters of our meetings. We claimed it as it was own, one day I would be the owner of the house and my friend portray the guest role, and the next day we change our roles..... There was a pot in the middle of the courtyard full with roses, I still remember that smell, it was the best thing about

that house, and the mother of my friend made jam from the pedals of that roses. To this day, it was the most delicious thing that I have ever tasted. When we came to Turkey, the houses were built on a place which was garden like. After a while, I planted some rosewoods, but still the taste of that jam is something that I haven't been able to achieve.

İ.C: What is the meaning of a home in your perception?

N.T: Home means unity to me. A place to live in with my family. It reminds me of our home in our neighborhood, our garden.

GCCRIIS

Personal information and background

İ.C: Where are you from?

N.Y: We are of Uyghur origin, we came from East Turkistan in Kayseri in 1965.

İ.C: How did you end up living in Kayseri?

N.Y: For many years, the oppressive Chinese rule ruled in Turkistan. My father and a few other elders came together and said that they could no longer live there, and that we should go like those who went before us. Eventually, we left the country on a winter day with a group of about 300 people.

İ.C: Could you share your memories on the journey that leads you here?

N.Y: Honestly, I can't remember much. The times we left were too small. I vaguely remember the neighborhood we lived in and the games we played. We had a house with a courtyard, with a rosewood in the middle. What I remember about those days was usually the worried and frightened facial expressions of my parents, except that everyone's mood was more or less anxious.

The daily-life change that came with migratory experience

İ.C: How was your life before this immigration experience?

N.Y: I was only a child back then, it is hard to define. I remember playing games in our courtyard with my sister. My older sister had thought me how to make a wooden boat, ordinary child stuff basically.

İ.C: In what ways your life has been changed after you immigrate?

N.Y: After I came to Kayseri, I started school, other than that, the games we played changed. The children here did not know our games, they were actually similar games, but our rhymes were different. For example, there was the five stone game here, but the way we played was different. When I came to Kayseri, I was more free, I could not travel as much as I wanted in Afghanistan, I had not even left my neighborhood there, but I traveled around in Kayseri more comfortably.

İ.C: What did you feel about resettling in Kayseri?

N.Y: I feel glad.

The spatial memory and perceptions

İ.C: Do you remember the places you live in before you came to Kayseri?

N.Y: Before we came to Kayseri, we lived in Afghanistan, the place where we stayed was a dirty, dirty neighborhood. We lived in makeshift houses, buildings that looked like ruins.

İ.C: What was your first impression when you first came to Kayseri?

N.Y: it thrilled us to have our own home after living in the hotel for around 6 months. Obviously, it was good at the hotel, but we were all visitors at the hotel, and I recall moving with great joy into our own homes. Some time later, the empty place became a spot in his garden where we were playing. We still lived there before I went to study in Ankara and after I graduated, I was called to Bolu where I would meet and marry my husband. My parents also left the district a few years after I married, but the workshop for my father's business continued in our house.

İ.C: Could you describe your first house in Kayseri?

N.Y: The houses we moved to had just been completed, even the concrete did not seem to dry, the humidity and odour were mild. In my child's eye, the house seemed too huge; it was lined in pearls on a wide field. The first thing everyone did when we move into our houses, was building a Wall for our gardens. It thrilled everyone to have a garden. Turns out, most of us brought some vegetable seeds with us when we migrate, and we planted those seeds into our garden. Suddenly, the atmosphere had become a lot more welcoming. We are very fond of cuisine culture, and the local people in Kayseri didn't know our vegetables, so, after spending months in hotels, and eating local meals, we were thrilled finally eating something we craved for.

İ.C: Where did you stay when you came in Kayseri?

N.Y: We stayed in a hotel for 6 months. It was very near the Castle.

İ.C: How did you furnit your houses?

N.Y: My sisters and I shared a room, we didn't have much furniture; we saw items like sofa and sofa here for the first time. A few years after settling in the house, my father bought a wooden sofa set for our local guests to sit, only guests would sit, but we could not sit.

İ.C: What was the major difference between Kayseri and your homeland?

N.Y: All of us built walls for our garden, we planted vegetables, trees to those gardens.

İ.C: What is the meaning of a home in your perception?

N.Y: I think of our home in the neighborhood. Here after, I lived in a variety of houses, bigger, cleaner, or useful, but when I said home, that was the first place that came to my mind. A home must include a garden. Over the years, our home in the neighborhood has become very neglected. It does not give me my old feelings when I see it now, but that house was like heaven in the first years we came. There were great difficulties and misery in that house. Not all my memories are full of happiness, but it was a place that belonged to us for the first time. It was a place in its garden where we played games, worked, ate fruit from its tree. It was ours.

Adaptation process

İ.C: How did you adapt into your new situation?

N.Y: Until we settled in our homes, we were mostly on our own; we took a tour with my sisters in the city square, but we could not go too far, and the people we met were our fellow countrymen. After a while we moved to the houses, we also started school, we had local friends there; we had a little difficulty at first because we were not speaking Turkish, but when we learned the language in time, we made friends; we went to each other's homes. I can say that we had an easy getting used process.

İ.C: What have you been through while adapting Kayseri? Did you get any help from locals?

N.Y: I remember a folkloric dance Show at the city square. It was almost 2 weeks after that we came to Kayseri. We were living at the hotel, and our hotel was very close to it. It was the first time that we have left our hotels since we came; I was very excited to see the people, the streets. As a child, it was a very fascinating event; our elders dressed up our traditional clothes and played our traditional music, there were dancers in the middle and around them there were lots of people whom have been watching the Show. I remember feeling very proud as I stand by among those people while they were getting excited about what they see.

How did you interact with the locals?

N.Y: When we first came, father worked in open-air cinemas in Kayseri, but after that he started his own business. He was repairing the mechanic watch. First, he was using living room, but it caused a lot of problems, like my brother were playing with his tools, my mother's companies during day, and also his customers were coming to our home, etc. So he turns the porch into a workshop. At first the customers were only from our neighborhood, but in time there were also customers from neighboring settlements. Suddenly, we had strangers that were coming to our home and my mother wasn't comfortable with his office being a part of our living room, and also, our living room was also small for us. So, father built a separate room in the garden, and they demolished the wall between his old office and living room to widen it.

Personal information and background

İ.C: Where are you from?

M.G: I am from Kashgar.

İ.C: How did you end up living in Kayseri?

M.G: When I was little, my family immigrated first to Afghanistan and then to Kayseri with a large group to get rid of the oppressive rule of China over us Uighurs. I lived in Kayseri until 1986 and have been living in Istanbul ever since.

İ.C: Could you share your memories on the journey that leads you here?

M.G: I know I was born in Kashgar, what I remember about there are no coherent memories, I remember my sister rather; she played games for us. I remember Afghanistan better; we lived there for about 4 years, I even learned their language playing with other children on the street, but I don't even remember the language now. Our life in Afghanistan was very difficult. We were staying in a different neighborhood, the house we stayed in was a large 2-storey house with a courtyard, but they rent a room by room to different families. We, my mother, father, sister, me, and my brother were staying in a room. I hadn't started school in Afghanistan yet, my father used to repair mechanical tools, sewing machines and watches. I would sit next to him and watch him work. Our neighbors were people from different places like us, but I remember little about them. I knew we were not permanently in Afghanistan; I missed the house before I went home; I remember this feeling very well. There was a terrible house we live in, we've always talked about then was a better home, we went to Turkey last day of the final; it was almost like a feast day.

The daily-life change that came with migratory experience

İ.C: How was your life before this immigration experience?

M.G: I don't have any memories of our homeland.

İ.C: In what ways your life has been changed after you immigrate?

M.G: The biggest change was that we had a home of our own and started school. Apart from these, we were more comfortable than Afghanistan. I have seen a lot of things I have never seen before in Kayseri, a neat city, high-rise buildings, modernly dressed people. Looking at it like that, I can say that everything has changed, but we were children back then, we were adapting without understanding what had changed.

İ.C: What did you feel about resettling in Kayseri?

M.G: We were happy that we would have a home, and my father had said that we would start school after we settled in our homes, and I was excited to move into our house because I was eager to go to school. I was a little disappointed when we first came to the neighborhood; the houses seemed to stand in the middle of the grounds, there was a fairground a little farther away, but the houses looked very lifeless. After we settled in our house, we worked with heart and soul. The men built garden walls around the house, so it was our garden now. The women planted vegetable seeds and flower seedlings in the garden. My father brought apple tree seedlings from the city center, we planted it together at the garden entrance; I told anyone, but that tree was my tree. I would water my tree every morning.

The spatial memory and perceptions

İ.C: Do you remember the places you live in before you came to Kayseri?

M.G: I remember the house we live in while we were in Afghanistan,

İ.C: What was your first impression when you first came to Kayseri?

M.G: We went on foot or on donkeys going to Afghanistan, but we came by plane when we arrived in Turkey. The first time I saw planes come on such a journey to Turkey, and he impressed me a lot. We first came to Ankara and then to Kayseri by bus, and I thought we had come to an enormous place. Since it was winter time, everywhere was covered with snow, wide and long streets, modern apartments. People were very, very different in Afghanistan with their clothes and looks. I was happy that we came to such a place, Kayseri would be a new beginning for us. Over the years, I lost ties with Kayseri, and when I finished

university, it was an impersonal city that I wanted to leave. Now, when I come to visit my family, I don't know Kayseri at all, streets, avenues, everything seems to have changed, I even have difficulty finding an address. Even the neighborhood seems to have changed a bit, I cannot see the old atmosphere. When we first arrived, they put us in a hotel; it was a hotel close to Kayseri Castle. I saw the castle and was very impressed. An elder told me the history of the Castle. In the past, people lived in places surrounded by gigantic walls and built these great walls to protect them from enemies and strangers. Maybe that's why for a very long time, I think until I started middle school, I couldn't go to Kale at all, it was both scary because of its size and splendor, and I thought we were not wanted there because we were foreigners. If only we had such a pen in Kashgar, I thought, maybe then we wouldn't have to come here too.

İ.C: Could you describe your first house in Kayseri?

M.G: When we first move into our home, my mother immediately midget the garden and planted the seeds she brought with her from Kashgar. I always prefer Uighur food over Turkish food, and it was a very long time since we had any, so the first meal my mother made with the vegetables from our garden was very memorable. To this day, I still plant those vegetables to my garden, our meals aren't taste the same without our vegetables. The one thing that I always remember that the sight of my brother when he was falling from the tree, I was to take caring in him but I also need to study, so I let him play in the garden, and I sat in front of the window to look out for him while I was studying, and the next thing I see that he was swinging from branch, he was around 4 years old and by the time I get up from my chair; he was already fallen.

İ.C: Where did you stay when you came in Kayseri?

M.G: We stay at a hotel for 6 months.

İ.C: How did you furnit your houses?

M.G: My father bought two armchairs for his local customer, since they aren't familiar with our furniture. Those armchairs were too precious, and we weren't allowed to sit on them actually, we only used them if we had guest who were locals.

İ.C: What was the major difference between Kayseri and your homeland?

M.G: I don't remember Kashgar fully, so I can't answer this question truly.

İ.C: What is the meaning of a home in your perception?

M.G: When you grow up in a house with a garden, frankly, houses without a garden do not feel like home. I lived in the neighborhood until I left Kayseri, then I changed many houses where I settled in Istanbul, and I could adopt none of them as if they were my home. Now we finally have a house with a garden, but now we are old too, it is tiring to deal with the garden's work. I prefer to live in an apartment house with a garden. I can't own apartment type houses, it feels like we are using the same house with several families, someone downstairs, someone upstairs, noises and noises from neighboring houses, but the garden house is not like that. It has its own land, no one else can even enter your garden, home means a place of my own for me.

Adaptation process

İ.C: How did you adapt into your new situation?

M.G: After we settled in our home, me and my two sisters started to Sümer Elementary School. The school was in Yeni Mahalle neighborhood, which was nearby. Winter in Kayseri was rough, I remember when walking to school; I was walking in a snow which height was around my waist.

İ.C: What have you been through while adapting Kayseri? Did you get any help from locals?

M.G: I was going to elementary school in Yeni Mahalle when we came, and we didn't know the language. So I have to study a lot to keep up with the class, but our home was always crowded, so when father built a separate room in the garden for storage, I used that room to study but still had to deal with my brothers. So we make an agreement the room was belong to them when I was at school, and when I come back, it was mine.

İ.C: How did you interact with the locals?

M.G: for me, it was mostly school that I make friends with locals for the first time.

Personal information and background

İ.C: Where are you from?

H.Ü: I am Uighur, from East Turkistan.

İ.C: How did you end up living in Kayseri?

H.Ü: We left home when I was about 2 years old. After living in Afghanistan for a while, we came to Kayseri. When we came to Kayseri, I was about 6-7 years old.

İ.C: Could you share your memories on the journey that leads you here?

H.Ü: I hardly remember, but my mother always tells us the story of how she had to protect us from the cold that took lives of infant children.

The daily-life change that came with migratory experience

İ.C: How was your life before this immigration experience?

H.Ü: I was very little, so I could not remember.

İ.C: In what ways your life has been changed after you immigrate?

H.Ü: starting school was a big change, but I think biggest change was that we get to opportunity to blend in life like normal people. That is something I don't think we have a right to do if stayed in Kashgar.

İ.C: What did you feel about resettling in Kayseri?

H.Ü: I wasn't aware of our circumstances, but I was happy.

The spatial memory and perceptions

İ.C: Do you remember the places you live in before you came to Kayseri?

H.Ü: I remember a bit of Afghanistan, we lived in a crowded house, my brother, a younger of mine, was born there. I thought it was my doll at first, and I remember

being so fond of it. When I think of Afghanistan, yellow-sepia colors come to my mind, I remember old landscapes covered in dust.

İ.C: What was your first impression when you first came to Kayseri?

H.Ü: There was a great wave of excitement in everyone. Since we will come to Kayseri, I did not fully understand, but I was sharing their feelings. They spoke it we got rid of all together, a much better life awaits us now, I was not sure what exactly we got rid of, but it was obviously a scary thing. Kayseri was freezing, it was huge; it was scary to me, the enormous buildings seemed to be collapsed on us, I couldn't understand why my parents were so happy, but I was happy because they were happy. We would have a permanent home. We stayed at the hotel for the first few months, my two older sisters went out for a ride, I wouldn't want to go with them, I would stay at the hotel with my mother, I would take care of my brother. The city was scaring me, my sisters used to tell a different story every day, after coming back from the outside, I would listen to them.

İ.C: Could you describe your first house in Kayseri?

H.Ü: The first time we move into our home, they were on soil, there wasn't any settlement in sight, we could see only the fair center. It was kinda look like a deserted place. The houses were like it was in the middle of nowhere, there was a neighborhood nearby, and a fairground, but I was glad we had a house because there were empty spaces where we could play games, I wouldn't play games outside during our stay at the hotel. It was our own garden when we moved to the neighborhood, but it was not scary to play on the streets, there were few cars, we could run and play as we wanted. As all Uyghurs, we were living in the same neighborhood, and there was no one to be a foreigner to. Years after we moved, they put another group of people homeless because of the earthquake in vacant houses in the neighborhood, until then there was no one else in the neighborhood except us. After living in a single room in the hotel for a long time, when we became our home, I and my two sisters stayed in one room together, it thrilled us as the years went by; the house felt small, but it was a radical change to have a separate room. My brother was lying in the living room, he did not have a room of his own just like us; he used the large room which was his living room by day and his room in the evening, but at least he could be on his own while sleeping at night. I was very fond of our pool in our garden, in summer me when the weather

boiling, my little brother was getting into it, playing and so on. It was very excited when we unplug the stopper of the pool to water the garden. A massive flow of water, like a waterfall, was flooding at first. My brother had a wooden ship that we swim on to water canals.... After many years later, my children get to enjoy the same game as we do, it is the one of things that I will always cherish.

İ.C: Where did you stay when you came in Kayseri?

H.Ü: We stayed at a hotel for 6 months nearby Cumhuriyet square.

İ.C: How did you furnit your houses?

H.Ü: My father had bought two armchair, but apart from that, we used the mattress we came with us from Kashgar.

İ.C: What was the major difference between Kayseri and your homeland?

H.Ü: For me, I guess starting school was the biggest change.

İ.C: What is the meaning of a home in your perception?

H.Ü: Home is a warm place for me, where I live with my family. Let me cook in the kitchen, my granddaughter runs around the garden, my children around me, then I feel at home.

Adaptation process

İ.C: How did you adapt into your new situation?

H.Ü: It was rather difficult at first, when we were staying at the hotel. After we moved into our homes, things got easier.

İ.C: What have you been through while adapting Kayseri? Did you get any help from locals?

H.Ü: In fact, I did not have a hard time until I moved to our house and started school. The neighborhood already comprised acquaintances, even our relatives, everyone knew everyone. I used to play games in the streets and gardens. After I started school, I also started making friends with local children. I could not fully learn Turkish, so I had a little difficulty at first, but I learned it in a short time. When I had friends from outside of the neighborhood, I felt more comfortable; we were drawing attention because we have a different type. Those who saw it would

always ask where I was from, they would want to hear our story. After a while, the more we talked and told people, the more we became closer.

İ.C: How did you interact with the locals?

H.Ü: At first, mostly in school. Once in a while, our elders prepared a dance Show, and those events also the times when we interact with the locals.

GCCRIIS

Nazım Batuhan, 17/11/2018

Personal information and background

İ.C: Where are you from?

N.B: I am from East Turkistan.

İ.C: How did you end up living in Kayseri?

N.B: Our elders came to Kayseri to escape from persecution that enforced by Chinese government. Turkey had welcomed our comparts before us, and they also welcomed us.

İ.C: Could you share your memories on the journey that leads you here?

N.B: My father always tells us they were in great suffer back in the homeland. It was almost impossible to have a decent live there, therefore they have left it.

The daily-life change that came with migratory experience

İ.C: How was your life before this immigration experience?

N.B: I was born in Afghanistan, during our immigration process. So I know nothing else because I was born into the situation.

İ.C: In what ways your life has been changed after you immigrate?

N.B: I am not quiet sure but I know for sure that if we stayed there my sister would not get the chance to get higher education, or my children. We lived in Afghanistan for 4 years before Kayseri. Let me tell you as far as I remember vaguely: it is a very poor country, people in misery, a backward country with little state authority.

İ.C: What did you feel about resettling in Kayseri?

N.B: I was glad to leave Afghanistan behind.

The spatial memory and perceptions

İ.C: Do you remember the places you live in before you came to Kayseri?

N.B: Afghanistan was a conflicted place. Even I, as a child, can see that. We were living in a house which was too crowded, there were at least three different nation living there just as same with us.

İ.C: What was your first impression when you first came to Kayseri?

N.B: When we first came, I was 5 years old; I saw it as our hometown; it felt like we came to America compared to Afghanistan. The houses were in ruins there; the people were in misery. Here, there was a more organized environment, a more prosperous people. I hardly remember the first time we came to Kayseri, but I remember the first day that we move into our home. Everyone was so happy, I was around 6 years old back then. This neighborhood wasn't like how it is now, back in those days. It was looking naked when we first came.

İ.C: Could you describe your first house in Kayseri?

N.B: The first places we settled in were residences built for us in Yeni Mahalle. After Afghanistan, these houses were exquisite. The toilet is outside in Afghanistan, there is no infrastructure. Here, water flows from the tap, the toilet is in the house. For the houses here from such an unsanitary condition, we are thrilled. In winter time Kayseri gets freezing, not like today's conditions, and it was very painful to play outside in the cold, so we were stuck at home, mostly. We mostly played hide and seek, and it was actually very amusing because father opened a gateway from my sisters' room to the kitchen, and it allowed us to sneak in the house more easily. The first thing that I do for our home, that is to help my father to opened a window on the side wall of our home. He wanted to see who was coming and going to the workshop while he was at home. I was around 10 years old, and I remember feeling like I was very much in charge, like it was a very important task. There was a small store house in our garden that father had built, and me and my little brother were using it as a base for in our games, it was like our special place.

İ.C: Where did you stay when you came in Kayseri?

N.B: The local authorities had placed us into 3 hotels when we first came. We stayed there for about 6 months until our homes were ready. Municipality built houses for us, with the financial aid that provided from the U.N.

İ.C: How did you furnit your houses?

N.B: Actually, I remember nothing about it.

İ.C: What was the major difference between Kayseri and your homeland?

N.B: apart from the geographical feature, the biggest difference is the way how we live our lives.

İ.C: What is the meaning of a home in your perception?

N.B: Home means to me a small, warm place where my family is together. Let there be trees in its garden, let my grandchildren climb trees, eat fruit, and when it comes time to eat, we can gather at a table. This is home for me.

Adaptation process

İ.C: How did you adapt into your new situation?

N.B: We did not have trouble adapting here because we were young when we arrived. I have never felt excluded. There was no one who made us feel alien except the section who didn't know who we were.

İ.C: What have you been through while adapting Kayseri? Did you get any help from locals?

N.B: For two years, when we first came, there were men who came from NGO's or the municipality to check what we need or if we were O.K. with our circumstances, and our elders told them they need a mosque because it was rather difficult for them to walk to one in Yeni Mahalle neighborhood, so a mosque has built and to this day we still use that mosque for funeral or religious holidays regardless from where we live. All of us, -except my mother- had worked in my father was tourney workshop, he always said to us we need to work hard if we want an acceptance in here, he told us they (locals) were considering us the people who left their homeland, so to break that view, he said that we need to be useful in here. He was a very hard-working man; he built a workshop back in the garden, and opened a small business on making spare part for a machine like spanner, screw, etc., in time business had grown, and we own a place in organized industrial region.

İ.C: How did you interact with the locals?

N.B: In the first place, there was no other living in the neighborhood other than us, and there were no settlements in the neighborhood. There was social solidarity among ourselves. After a couple years, they built a school, my older sisters were going to school in Yeni Mahalle neighborhood but me and my brother went the school in our neighborhood.

GCPRIS

Personal information and background

İ.C: Where are you from?

G.B: We are immigrants from East Turkistan, I was born in Kayseri, but my family lived in Kashgar before I was born. But they had to leave because of the assimilation project implemented by the Chinese government.

İ.C: What can you share about your family's immigration process?

G.B: I think leaving our home behind was a difficult but necessary decision. Their lives were under a great pressure, and today, we still continue it. Day by day, our culture had died in Kashgar, but we, the ones who fled had maintained it.

The daily-life change that came with migratory experience

İ.C: What do you feel about living in Kayseri?

G.B: Kayseri is a modern, clean and beautiful city. I've always lived here since I was born. My two older sisters went to Ankara to study at university, and after they left, they worked in other cities and did not come back; they established their lives there; One of my older sister studied in Kayseri, but after she graduated, she settled in Istanbul and did not come again. They were not the only ones to go; we had a lot of fellow countrymen who left the neighborhood for a time, but we, those who stayed here, knew Kayseri as our second country.

İ.C: What do Kashgar means to you?

G.B: Kashgar is my country I have never seen. They forbid it to return there for many years, so I could not visit it. When we entered the country again, we sent my mother with a few people who left. When my mother told me she did not know the place at all and that it had changed a lot after her return, I did not have any enthusiasm to see it. The elders of the neighborhood, those who have seen Kashgar, always told what a place it was, and even now, stories are told about it, it was a place that was long missed when I was young, and it seemed like the most beautiful place on Earth. Although I had never seen it, I loved it, but it was like a

place that never existed. A distant, lost homeland turned into an imaginary place for me when my mother said that it had changed a lot after she saw it. Like the lost continent.

The spatial memory and perceptions

İ.C: What do you know about Kashgar?

G.B: I only know what has been told, that it was green, wild, and our root.

İ.C: Could you describe your first house in Kayseri?

G.B: It was a small house with a garden. It took years for the house to become what I remember. The more I remember is my father's workshop. My father was very fond of his job, working constantly was a habit for him, and he expected the same from us. I was unsuccessful at school; I used to pass the lessons at the border, and my father would have wanted us in the workshop. We had a coal house in the garden; we made it a playground with my brother, sometimes we hid there and played games. Everyone had an irrigation pool, and we used to sail there in the summer. I used to sleep with my brother in the living room, and my sisters were in the room near the kitchen. My sisters' room would open directly to the living room, my school would start in the afternoon, and my sisters' room would start in the morning. So they woke up early in the morning, I would still be asleep. The room next to the kitchen was theirs, so there was a common wall with the kitchen, and my father opened a passageway to that wall, and the door was set. Thus, his rooms were connected to both the living room and the kitchen. In the morning, they used the pass from the kitchen, or when a guest came to the house, they could go to their room without entering the living room.

İ.C: Could you share your memories in your family home?

G.B: The neighborhood has been a shelter for all of us, even now, although we are no longer living in the neighborhood, our friends and relatives are there, we go to see them, we barbecue in the garden. The neighborhood is precious, especially for those born here like me. I was born and raised in the neighborhood; we moved out of the neighborhood in 1986, but we were in the neighborhood every day because our workshop was behind our house. It used to be both our home and our

workplace, then it was only our workplace. In 1994 we moved the workshop to another organized area, but we rented the house to use the garden. I never forget. One day I was hiding in a coal yard, I came from school and wanted to play, but my father was waiting for me in the workshop. I loved to play marbles, there was a box in the coal rack where I kept my marbles, I would take it and play games in the coal rack and then pretend that I had just arrived from school. I fell asleep while playing, my father found me while I was sleeping.

İ.C: What is the meaning of a home in your perception?

G.B: Home is where the nuclear family lives together. I have three kids, and they'll have their own home when they get married and start their own family. When I got married, we continued to live with my mother and father, since I was the youngest child in the house, we continued to sit with my parents when we got married; I didn't want to leave them alone; they didn't want them either, but there were many problems over the years. Now, if I had a mind, I would think there would be no house after house, but we were younger than we always thought living with family would be better.

Adaptation process

İ.C: Have you faced any challenges while growing up in an immigrant family?

G.B: I was born and raised here. Our neighborhood is just like the country for us, so I had no difficulty getting used to it. My mother may have had a hard time adjusting, I don't know, because I always remember her longing for the homeland, but it was not a challenge for me.

İ.C: In what ways could you describe your relationships with locals?

G.B: We are friends with locals, all of our customers are locals..

App.1.4 Original scripts of in-depth interview

Nurinisa Tümtürk, evli, 73 yaşında, ev hanımı

Soru: Nurinisa Teyze, senin ve ailenin Doğu Türkistan'dan göç ederek Kayseri'ye yerleştiğinizi biliyorum ve bu deneyimin hayatlarınızı nasıl etkilediğini merak ediyorum. Bu etkileri anlamak için yaptığım tez çalışmasında kullanmak üzere deneyimlerini benimle paylaştığın için de teşekkür ederim. Röportaja öncelikle nereli olduğunuzu sorarak başlamak istiyorum....

Cevap: Uygur'um, Gulca/Kaşgar doğumluyum. Kayseri'ye 1965 yılının 10. Ayında geldik. 1961 yılında Çin Devleti'nin zulmü ve baskılarından kurtulmak için 1961 yılında memlekette çıkıp Afganistan'a geldik. Afganistan'da 4 yıl kaldık. Afganistan'dan sonra Kayseri'ye yerleştik. O zamandan beri buradayız. Afganistan'a yerleştikten sonra, babam bir zaman sonra memlekette yaşadığımız sıkıntıları burada da yaşarız diye düşünüp, BM ile görüşmeler yaparak, iltica talebinde bulunmuş. BM ise siz Türk asıllısınız, Türk sefaretine başvuruda bulunun eğer onlar kabul etmezler ise sizi Amerika'ya alalım demiş. Türk sefaretine başvurduktan sonra da, Türk Hükümeti bizi kabul etmiş, o zamandan beri buradayız.

Soru: Kayseri'ye gelmeden önceki yaşamınıza dair neler hatırlıyorsunuz?

Cevap: Memlekette ayrıldığımızda ben ortaokuldaydım. Sokaklarda oyun oynadığımı hatırlıyorum. Herkesin herkesi tanıdığı bir mahallede yaşıyorduk, hepimiz hemşeri, bir kısmımız akrabaydık. Okulda sınıflarda Çinli çocuklarla beraber ders görürdük ve sayıca azınlıkta kalırdık. Derslerde Çince konuşma zorunluluğu vardı. Çinli çocuklar bizleri dışlardı, o yüzden okulu pek sevmezdim, ama mahallemizi çok severdim. Tüm vaktimi mahalledeki diğer çocuklarla oyun oynayarak geçirirdim. Evimizin önünde ince bir su yolu vardı, orda tahta parçaları yüzdürürdük, tekne yarışı yapardık.

Soru: Kaşgar'dan Kayseri'ye uzanan yolculuğunuza dair neler hatırlıyorsunuz?

Cevap: Evet, neredeyse dün olmuş gibi... Memlekette yaşam gitgide daha da zorlaşmaya başlamıştı, geçim sıkıntısı, dışlanmışlık... İçlerinde babamın da olduğu bir grup büyüğümüz, bizler için memlekette bir yerin kalmadığını anlattılar dinleyen

herkese. Zaten göç biz Uygurlar için alışıldık bir durum olmuştur hep, en son 1930'lu yıllarda önce İstanbul'a ardından da Amerika'ya göç eden çeşitli büyüklerimiz, bizlere bu yolda liderlik eden önderlerimiz olmuştur. Bir akşam babam eve geldi ve bize memleketi terk edeceğini, gittiği yerde bir düzen kurmasının ne kadar süreceğini bilemediğini ve düzen kurana kadar geçecek sürecin de oldukça zorlayıcı olacağını söyledi. Annem ve benim geride kalmamızı istiyordu, düzen kurduktan sonra bizleri yanına aldıracaktı. Böylesinin daha iyi olacağını savundu, çünkü memlekette kaçak olarak çıkacaktı, Afganistan'a kadar yürüyerek gitmekten bahsediyordu, şartlar gerçekten oldukça zorlayıcıydı. Fakat annem bunu kabul etmedi, gidecekse ya bizleri de yanına alacaktı ya da hiç gitmeyecekti. Annemin cevabına karşılık babam bir süre düşündükten sonra hep beraber gitmeyi kabul etti. İyi ki de öyle yapmış, çünkü yolculuğu göze alamayıp da geride kalanlar bir daha aileleriyle kavuşamadılar. Gidenler de kaçak olarak çıktıkları için, bir daha geri dönemediler, eğer dönselerdi Çin Hükümeti onları hapse atacaktı. Her neyse.... Böylelikle yaklaşık 300 kişilik bir grup olarak bir kış zamanı memleketimizi terk ettik. Kimisi ailesiyle, kimisi ailesini geride bırakarak zor bir yolculuğa çıktık. Afganistan'a kadar yayan ya da eşeklerle gittik, yol çok uzun sürdü, yolda hastalanıp ölen yaşlı ve bebekler oldu. Nihayet Afganistan'a vardığımızda ise büyük hayal kırıklığı yaşadığımı hatırlıyorum. Fakir ve pis bir yerdi, yerleştiğimiz bölge.... Babam, annem, 2 küçük kız kardeşim ve ben, avlusu olan 2 katlı bir eve yerleştik. Büyük bir avluydu ve bütün aile avluya bakan 2 odada yaşıyorduk. Evin diğer odaları da başka insanlara kiralanmıştı. Herkes oturduğu evi kendisi bulmuştu.... Geldiğimiz şehrin adını anımsayamıyorum, ama şehrin çeşitli köşelerine dağıldığımızı hatırlıyorum. Afganistan'da 4 yıl kadar yaşadık, artık okula gitmiyordum, zaten Afganistan'a geldikten kısa bir süre sonra beni bir hemşerimizle evlendirdiler. Hiç istemedim evlenmeyi, ama babam belki de evlenirsem yükünün azalacağını düşündü, çünkü Afganistan'da erkek kardeşim doğmuştu. Kocamla ben annemlerin evinin avlusuna bakan başka bir odayı kiraladık. Kocam terzilik yaparak geçimimizi sağlıyordu, ben de evde onun işlerine yardım edebildiğim kadar yardım ediyordum. Afganistan yılları çok zor yıllardı, göçün kendisinden daha zordu.

Soru: Kayseri'ye gelmeden önce nasıl bir yaşantınız vardı?

Cevap: Memleketi çocuk yaşlarda terk ettik, hal böyle olunca çok da fazla şey hatırlayamıyorum ama, Afganistan yılları çok sıkıntılıydı. Ondan öncesi ise hayal meyal de olsa güzel zamanlar gibi. Genellikle sokaklarda oyun oynadığımı hatırlıyorum. 2

küçük kız kardeşimin sorumluluğu bendeydi fakat onlarla ilgilenmeyi unuttur oyuna dalardım, annemin bu yüzden bana kızdığını hatırlıyorum. Tüm bunların dışında, fakir bir evimiz, fakir bir yaşantımız vardı ve işin aslı Kayseri'ye gelince bu durum değişmedi. Kayseri'ye gelmeden önce kendi memleketimizde yabancıydık. Mahallede yaşam biz çocuklar için oyundan ibaret olsa da, babamın evi geçindirmek için saat tamirciliği yaptığını hatırlıyorum. Babam aslında öğretmen ama aldığı maaş Çinli öğretmenlerin maaşından düşüktü, amcamla beraber evimizin avlusuna bir atölye inşa edip, orda saat tamirciliği yaparlardı. Annem günün büyük kısmını yengemle avluda geçirirdi. Birlikte yemek hazırlarlar, bahçe işleri ile ilgilenirler, komşularla sohbet ederlerdi. Evimizin yakınlarında bir dere vardı, o dereyi çok iyi hatırlıyorum, memleketimizde gördüğüm kadar güzel bir doğa, canlı bir yeşil bir daha hiç görmedim.

Soru: Kayseri'ye geldikten sonra yaşamınızda ne gibi değişiklikler oldu?

Cevap: Afganistan'da beni evlendirdiler, evlenmemiş olsaydım belki burada okurdum belki çalışırdım. Oğlum Afganistan'da doğdu, kucagımda bir çocuk olunca hayatımda pek de bir değişiklik olmadı.

Soru: Kayseri'ye gelmeden önce yaşadığınız yerleri tarif edebilir misin?

Cevap: Gulca'da tek katlı, avlusu olsan bir evimiz vardı. Tüm odalar avluya açılırdı ve mutfakın önünde bizim supa dediğimiz, Türkler balkon diyor, bir alan vardı. Genellikle supada otururduk, annemlerin bir odası benim ve kardeşlerimin yattığı bir oda ve bir de misafir odamız vardı. Tuvalet avludaydı, ayrıca avluda bir de kiler vardı, amcam ve babam avluya bir de küçük atöyle inşa etmişlerdi. Amcamların evi de bizim eve komşu bir evdi, onların avlusunda bizim avluya kapıyla bir geçiş vardı, iki evin de avlularından sokağa açılan kapıları vardı. Evimize dar bir sokaktan ulaşılyordu ve kardeşlerim ve benim odamızda sokağa bakan küçük bir pencere vardı. Afganistan'da oturduğumuz evler çok kötüydü, neredeyse tüm aile tek bir odada yaşıyorduk, büyük 2 katlı avlulu bir evdi ama oda oda kiralanabilen bir evdi aynı zamanda. Herkesin kullandığı bir mutfak ve gene herkesin kullandığı bir tuvalet vardı. Annemler yattıkları odanın bir köşesini mutfak olarak kullanmaya başlamıştı ben evlenince, ben de mutfak olarak annemlerin odasını kullanmaya devam ettim.

Soru: Kayseri'ye geldiğinizde ilk neler hissettin/düşündün?

Cevap: Kayseri'ye ilk geldiğimiz sıralar kış vaktiydi. Yerler kar tutmuştu, sabaha kadar ısınamadık. Bembeyaz ve büyük, büyük binaların olduğu bir yere gelmiştik. Çöp

tenekeleri bile temiz buranın demiştim. Afganistanla kıyaslayınca çok farklı bir yerdi, Afganistan karışık, fakir bir yerdi, sokaklarında insanlar üstü başı pis, perişan gezerlerdi, burda ise tam tersi. Büyük, beton binalar vardı, Afganistan'ı sarı-kahverengi hatırlıyorum ama Kayseri bembeyaz, soğuk ve nizami. Türkçe ve Uygurca birbirlerine benzer diller, Afganistan'dayken evli olduğum için onların arasına karışamadım, dillerini bilmiyordum buraya geldiğim vakitte radyoda bir uzun hava türkü çalmıştı, türküyü tamamen anlamamıştım ama içinden bazı kelimeleri biliyordum o yüzden hiç yabancı gelmemişti, kendimi mutlu hissettim. Sonunda burda bir evimiz olacağına inanmaya başlamıştım. Bizleri karşılayan İskan müdürü Türkçe konuşuyor, anlıyor gibiyim ama tam anlayamıyorum, bir zaman sonra Türkçe'yi de söktüm o yüzden hiç yabancı gelmedi.

Soru: Kayseri'ye gelince nerde kaldınız?

Cevap: Bizim ailemiz Vatan Otel'de kaldı ama hepimizi 3 otele yerleştirdiler. Teyzemler Sakarya Oteli'nde kaldılar bir de Alemdar Oteli'nde kalanlar oldu.

Soru: Kayseri'ye ilk geldiğinizde nasıl bir yere geldiğinizi düşündünüz? Sizce Kayseri nasıl bir yerdi?

Cevap: Kayseri memleketten de Afganistan'dan da farklı bir yerdi, modern ve çok büyüktü. Büyük caddeleri, caddelerinde bir sürü arabası olan bir şehirdi. Binalar neredeyse üstümüze üstümüze geliyordu, heybetli bir yere geldiğimizi düşünmüştüm. Memlekette evler en fazla 2 katlıydı, sokaklar dardı. Şehirde arabalar olsa da, yaşadığımız bölgede araba görmek neredeyse imkansızdı. Afganistan ise karmaşık, sevimsiz bir yerdi, ama Kayseri büyük, düzenli, temizdi ve çok soğuktu, ama tüm farklılıklarına ve soğukluğuna rağmen burada olduğum için mutluydum, dillerini anlayabiliyor olmak Afganistan'da geçirdiğim yıllardan sonra kendimi evde hissettiren bişey olmuştu. Afganistan'da çarşıya pazara çıksam, derdimi anlatmak, ihtiyacımı alabilmek yorucu oluyordu, fakat Kayseri'de konuşulan dili anlayabiliyordum, ayrıca insanlar da bizleri büyük bir coşkuyla karşılamışlardı, insanlar bizlere yardımcı olmak istiyor, alışverişlerde kolaylık sağlıyordu. Böyle olunca kendimi burda daha da çok evimde hissetmeye başladım, kendi memleketimizde yabancıydık, Afganistan'da yabancıydık ama burada evimizdeydik.

Soru: Kayseri'de yerleştiğiniz ilk evleri tarif eder misiniz?

Cevap: İlk yerleştığımız evler, Devlet'in bizim için yaptırmış olduğu evlerdi. İlk geldiğimizde sıralar etrafta başka ev yoktu, büyükçe bir boşluğun ortasında, birbirine eşit uzaklıkta, tek katlı ikiz evlerdi. Evimize yerleştığımızda betonlar hala ıslaktı ama gene de evler çok güzeldi, 2 yatak odası, 1 oturma odası, mutfak ve banyosu olan, hepsi birbirinin eşi evlerdi, bir de supaya benzer bir balkon vardı. Her aileye bir ev verilmişti, böylelikle ilk defa anne babamdan ayrı, kendi evim olmuştu. Hepimizin İlk yaptığı iş, evlerimizin etrafına bahçe duvarı örmek oldu, daha sonra memleketten getirdiğimiz tohumları bahçeye ektik, bahçe sulamak için kuyu suyu çektik, bahçeye havuz yaptık. Kimisi bahçesine ahır yaptı, koyun, tavuk gibi hayvanlar besledi. Şehir merkezinden meyve ağaçları getirdik bahçeye onları dikti. Bahçemizde bitkiler, ağaçlar yetişmeye başladıkça evlerimizi daha da bir benimsedik. Benim ikiz komşum kocamın abisiydi, yan komşuyla bir akrabalığımız yoktu. Karşı evle aramızdan bir sokak geçiyordu ve uzun bir süre orda oturan kimse olmadı. Annemler sokağın başındaki evlerden birine yerleşmişti, bizim evimiz sokağın sonunda kalıyordu. İlk oğlum Afganistan'da doğmuştu, diğer oğlum ve en son olarak da kızım bu evde doğdular. Kızım üniversiteyi bitirene kadar da bu evlerde yaşadık. İlk geldiğimiz yıllarda, evlerden çok etkilenmişim, tuvaletlerin evin içinde olması beni çok mutlu etmişti, ayrıca modern bir mutfagımız bile vardı. Odalardan birini yatak odası birini misafir odası birini de oturma odası olarak kullandık. Zamanla çocuklarım büyüyünce misafir odasını çocuklara verdik, en büyük oğlumla en küçük kızım arasında 17 yaş var, küçük kızım büyüyüp ayrı odada yatacak yaşa gelinceye kadar, büyük oğlum üniversiteden mezun olup, evden ayrılmıştı. Ortanca oğlum da oturma odasını kullandı. Çocuklar büyürken hangi yatak odasının kime ait olduğu sürekli değişti, bu süreçte annemlerin evinde mutfak ve yatak odası arasında bir kapı açtıklarını görmüştük. Yatak odalarına geçiş sadece oturma odasından oluyordu, bir süre sonra bu geçişin oturma odasını kullanımını zorladığını farkettik. Biz de annemler gibi mutfak ve yatak odası arası bir kapı açarak, geçiş sağladık. Böylece artık eskiden yatak odası olan oda oturma odası olmuştu ve diğer iki oda yatak odası olarak kullanılmaya başlamıştı. Daha sonra kocam terzilik yaptığı için bahçeye kendi çalışacağı bir kulübe inşa etti.

Soru: Kalıcı bir yere yerleşmek nasıl bir histi?

Cevap: Tabi ki de mutlu hissettim, her ne kadar ilk başlarda etraf ve ev eksik gibi görünse de, zaman içerisinde eksiklikleri tamamlayarak burayı bir yuvaya dönüştüreceğimizi biliyordum. Her ne kadar şu an o evlerde yaşamayı tercih etmesem

de, o zamanlar o evler hepimiz için büyük nimetti, memlekette evlerimiz vardı elbet fakat Afganistan'da yaşarken bu konuda çok sıkıntı çektik. Kirada yaşadığımız için, olabilecek en ucuz evlerde kaldık ve şartlarımız da hiç iyi değildi. Oysa ki Kayseri'de yerleştiğimiz bu evler, musluğundan su akan, tavanında ışığı olan modern evlerdi, memlekette böyle bir evimiz olmamıştı. Evlere yerleştikten bir süre sonra, yaşadığımız yerde değişiklikler olmaya başladı, bahçelerde sebzeler, meyveler, kimisi inek, kimisi tavuk yetiştiriyordu. Yakın mahallelerden süt, yumurta almak için gelenler olmaya başladı, önceden ıssız ve boş olan yer, yavaş yavaş dolmaya başlamıştı. Yaşadığımız bu yere biz Uygurlar için önemli bir karakter olan Hoca Ahmet Yesevi adı verildi, hala da orası Hoca Ahmet Yesevi Mahallesi olarak kayıtlardadır.

Soru: Teyze, dikkat ettim de, sorduğum sorulara genellikle ben değil de biz diyerek cevap veriyorsun. Sence neden böyle?

Cevap: Dikkat etmemişim... biraz düşüneyim.... Belki de hep toplu hareket ettiğimiz içindir, bilmiyorum. Biz buraya alışıp da hayatlarımızı kurana kadar uzun bir süre hep toplu hareket ettik, memleketten topluca çıktık, Afganistan'da toplu şekilde yaşamaya çalıştık, Kayseri'de toplu bir şekilde yaşadık, erkekler birkaç istisna dışında belediyenin önerdiği işyerlerinde topluca çalıştı....

Soru: Peki, mahalledeki evlere dönecek olursam, yerleştiğiniz bu evler eşyalı mıydı?

Cevap: Eşya olarak somya, yatak, yorgan, kap-kacak vardı. Geri kalan eşyaları da kendimiz aldık ya da yaptırдық.

Soru: Kayseri'ye alışma sürecinde neler yaptınız? Dışarıdan destek aldınız mı, yoksa kendi başınıza mıydınız?

Cevap: Her gün belediyeden ya da yardım kuruluşlarından birileri geliyordu, önce isteyen herkese okuma-yazma öğretiler. Daha sonra erkekler meslek öğrensin diye özel kurslara aldılar ve o kurslara giden erkekleri daha sonra belediyeye memur aldılar, bazılarını da Sümerbank Bez Fabrikası'na işçi olarak aldılar, babam kendi memuriyet hakkını yeğenine vermişti. Kocam ise terzilik yapmayı tercih ettiği için, iki işe de girmedi, İstanbul'a gitmek istiyordu ve bu işlerin kendisine engel olacağını düşünüyordu, bence girse iyi olurdu. Çünkü İstanbul'da terzilik yapmaya çalışsa da başarılı olamadı, en azından şimdi belediyeden emekli olurdu. Çok söyledim ama dinletemedim, ama zaten beni kim ne zaman dinlemiş ki.... Kadınlara da pasta, börek yapmayı, çorap, halı dokumayı öğretiler. Birinin evinde toplanıp, gerekli alet edevatları

getirip öğrettiler. Böylelikle kadınlar da evden çalışıp para kazanabileceklerdi, ama doğrusu bu şekilde para pek kazanmadık, zaten çoğu kadın evde çocuk bakmak, ev işlerini yapmak gibi uğraşlardan diğer işlerle ilgilenecek vakti de bulamıyordu.

Soru: Türkistan'da kullanmaya alışkın olduğunuz ev eşyalarını burada da kullandınız mı?

Cevap: memlekette yerde köpe dediğimiz minderlerde otururduk, buraya gelince de köpelerde oturmaya devam ettik. Bunun dışında, çine dediğimiz küçük kaselerimiz, çoka dediğimiz yemek yeme çubuklarımızı beraberimizde getirmiştik ve hemen hemen tüm evlerde en kıymetli eşyalar da bu porselen çinelerdi.

Soru: Geldiğiniz yer ile Kayseri arasında ne gibi farklılıklar vardı?

Cevap: Yemeklerimiz pek benzeşmiyor, buraya yerleştiğimiz mahallenin yanında ormanlık gibi bir alan vardı, memlekette pek farkı yoktu ama evlerimiz çok farklıydı. Memlekette evler daha karmaşık, iç içeydi, tuvaletler avludaydı, genellikle her evde küçük de olsa bir avlu vardı. Burda ise birbirine bitişik iki evler vardı, ve bu evlerde birbirlerine uzaktı. Nizami bir sırası vardı evlerin. Geniş ve cetvelle çizilmiş gibi bir sokak geçiyordu, memlekette sokaklar hem dar hem de düz değildi. Evlerimizin avlusu yoktu, boş bir arazinin ortasına sıra sıra dizilmiş evlerdi. Memlekette kıvrımlı sokaklar, yüksek bahçe duvarları, birbirine bitişik evler vardı, ve evlerin rengi de farklıydı. Orda toprak rengi duvarlarımız vardı, kerpiçten, burada ise beton evlerimiz olmuştu.

Soru: Kayseri'ye alışma süreci nasıldı?

Cevap: İlk geldiğimizde çok zorlanmamıştım, herkes bize kucak açmış gibiydi. Otelde 6 ay kadar kaldık, o zamanlar biraz zorlanmıştım, oğlum küçüktü, dışarı çıkarmak istesem oyun oynayacak yeri yoktu. Bir de çok büyük geliyordu o zaman burası bana, kaybolurum diye korktuğumdan pek çıkamıyordum. Evlerimize yerleştiğimizde de ben çalışmadığım için daha çok evin işleri ile ilgileniyordum, bahçeyi ekiyordum, duvarların örülmesine yardım ettim. Çarşıya gittiğimde insanlarla az-çok anlaşabiliyordum, alışverişimi yapıp dönüyordum. Böyle böyle zaman geçip gitti zaten. Zor günler de geçirdim burada, güzel günlerde. Memlekette ayrılmak zor olmuştu ama buraya geldiğimizde alışmak o kadar zor olmadı, alışmaya da mecburduk biraz. Afganistan'da geçirdiğimiz 4 yıl, gücümüzü tüketmişti. Mahalleye yerleştikten sonra başka memleketlere gidenler de oldu, İstanbul'a iş bulmaya gidenler, Almanya'ya çalışmaya gidenler, ama büyük çoğunluğumuz mahallede kaldık. Eşimle ben de bir süre

İstanbul'da çalışmaya gittik ama, Kayseri'de şartlarımız çok daha iyiydi, İstanbul'da daha bir yalnız gibiydik, Kayseri'ye göre çok daha büyük ve karışık bir şehirdi, birkaç sene çalıştıktan sonra Kayseri'ye geri döndük.

Soru: Ev dediğimizde aklında ne canlanıyor?

Cevap: Mahalledeki bahçeli evimiz aklıma geliyor, şimdi başka bir mahallede apartmanda oturuyoruz. Bu evi de seviyorum, sıcak, güzel, geniş bi ev... Çarşıya pazara yakın, annem karşıdaki apartmanda oturuyor, ona yakın... Gene de mahalledeki bahçeli evimiz anılarımda daha canlı, orada komşularımızla ilişkilerimiz çok daha iyiydi, burada tek tük komşularla görüşüyoruz, mahallede herkes birbirini tanırdı tabii, birlik vardı.

Nazım Batuhan, evli, 58 yaşında, iş yeri sahibi

Soru: Nerelisiniz, Kayseri'ye neden ve nasıl geldiniz?

Cevap: Biz Doğu Türkistanlıyız, Uygur Türklerindeniz. Kayseri'ye Çin baskısından kurtulmak için büyüklerimiz gelmiş. Türkiye'deki soydaşlarımızın bizlere sahip çıkacağı düşünülerek, iltica yolu ile geldik. Türkiye'ye geldiğimizde de buradaki soydaşlarımız bize büyük bir misafirperverlik göstererek yanımızda yer almıştır. Buraya geldiğimizde ben 5 yaşındaydım.

Soru: Kayseri'ye gelmeden önce yaşadığınız yeri hatırlıyor musunuz?

Cevap: Kayseri'den önce Afganistan'da 4 yıl yaşamışız. Hayal meyal hatırladığım kadarı ile anlatayım: gayet fakir bir ülke, insanları sefalet içerisinde, devlet otoritesi pek olmayan, geri kalmış bir ülke.

Soru: Kayseri'ye ilk geldiğinizde izlenimleriniz nasıldı?

Cevap: İlk geldiğimizde ben 5 yaşındaydım, memleketimiz olarak gördüm, Afganistan'a kıyasla Amerika'ya gelmişiz gibi geldi. Orada evler harabe, halkı sefalet içindeydi. Burada daha düzenli bir çevre, daha refah seviyesi yüksek bir halkı vardı.

Soru: Yerleştiğiniz eve dair ilk izlenimleriniz nasıldı?

Cevap: İlk yerleştiğimiz yerler Yeni Mahalle'de bizim için yapılmış konutlardı. Afganistan'dan sonra bu evler oldukça şirin, güzel evlerdi. Afganistan'da tuvalet dışarıda, altyapı yok. Burada musluktan su akıyor, tuvalet evin içinde. Öyle bir sağlıksız koşuldan buradaki evlere gelince, çok sevindik.

Soru: Yerleştığınız yere dair anılarınızı anlatır mısınız?

Cevap: Mahalle bizim için sıcak bir ortamdı, hepimiz beraberdik, evlerimiz vardı, yaşlılarımızda oyunlar oynayabildiğimiz sokakları, bahçeleri vardı. İlk geldiğimizde tabi evlerin bahçesi ağaçsız, etrafı inşaat pisliği kaplıydı ama sonuçta herkes kendi bahçesiyle ilgilendi, güzel bir yuva oldu bize. Toplu bir kaynaşma yaşayabildik.

Soru: Yerel halkla ilişkileriniz nasıldı?

Cevap: İlk etapta mahallede bizden başka yaşayan yoktu, çevrede de yerleşim yeri yoktu. Kendi aramızda bir sosyal dayanışma vardı.

Soru: Yerel halk ile hangi durumlarda iletişiminiz gelişti?

Cevap: Okula başlayanlar okullarda, işe başlayanlar iş ortamında yerli halkla bir araya gelmeye, kaynaşmaya başladı.

Soru: İlk geldiğinizde size ne gibi yardımlar yapıldı?

Cevap: Tabi ki. Sivil toplum kuruluşları bizlerle iletişimde olup eksiklerimiz sorarlardı, iş konusunda eğitimler verildi çalışmak isteyenlere, dil öğrenmek isteyenlere dil öğretildi. Meslek için kurslar, işe girilen iş yerinde çalışanlar tarafından öğretildi. Sümerbank Bez Fabrikası, Uçak Fabrikası, Büyükşehir Belediyesi gibi yerlerde işe girenler oldu. Burada oraların çalışanları tarafından yapacakları işler öğretildi insanlara. Türkçe öğrenmek isteyen okullara giderek Türkçe öğrendi. Ama bize topluca bir yerde Türkçe dersi verilmedi, yaşlılarımız ve sosyal hayatın içinde olmayan hemşerilerimiz Türkçe öğrenmedi. Genelde daha genç nüfus dışındaki yaşlı nüfus, Türkçe de zaten Uygurcaya benzediği için, öğrenmek için özel bir çaba sarfetmedi.

Soru: Yerel halkın size bakış açısı nasıldı?

Cevap: Merak soruları dışında bize iyi veya kötü farklı davranışta bulunmadı. Genelde aydın kesim bizim kim olduğumuzu bilirdi, bunlar bizim soydaşımız dedi o yüzden de farklı bir davranışta bulunmadılar. Bilmeyen bazı kesimler bizi Afgan ya da Kürt zannederlerdi, dışarlardı ama çok az bir kesimdi bizi dışlayan kesim.

Soru: Kayseri’de nasıl bir hayatınız oldu?

Cevap: Bizler buraya uyum sağlamakta sıkıntı çekmedik, çünkü geldiğimizde yaşımız küçüktü. Ben hiç kendimi dışlanmış hissetmedim. Kim olduğumuzu bilmeyen kesim dışında bize yabancılik hissettiren kimse yoktu. Ama biz buranın yerlisi olmadığımız,

babam bizi çok çalışmamız konusunda uyarırdı. Kendimizi kabul ettirmek için babam bize olağanüstü bir çaba sarf etmemiz gerektiğini söylerdi. Çünkü toprağını bırakıp gelmiş insanlar olarak, ne olursa olsun burada kabul görmemiz için bu topraklara katkıda bulunmamız gerektiğini söylerdi

Soru: Yerleştiğiniz eve ait anılarınızı paylaşır mısınız?

Cevap: Biz o evlerde 7 kişi kaldık. 3 odanın birini babamlar, birini kızlar diğerini de kardeşimle ben odamız yaptık. Bahçemiz vardı, şimdi tabii apartmanda yaşıyoruz ama ben evlenince aynı mahallede başka bir eve taşınmıştık eşimle beraber, o evimiz hala durur, kiraya vermedik. Babamların evi kirada ama bizimki değil, bahçesini kullanmak istedik çünkü. Çocukken de şimdi de bahçeli evi çok severim. Babam bahçenin arka tarafına bir atölye inşa etmişti, çocukluğum kardeşlerimle birlikte o atölyede çalışarak geçti. Bir kulübemiz vardı, ilk geldiğimiz sıralar ev küçük gelince babam depo gibi kullanmak için yapmıştı orayı, o kulübe küçük erkek kardeşimle bizim oyun evimiz de oldu aynı zamanda. Ablam da kullanırdı orayı, ev kalabalıksa ders çalışmak için oraya kaçardı.

Soru: Kayseri'ye alışma süreci nasıldı?

Cevap: Bizler çok zorlanmadık aslında, ben zaten okula bile başlamamıştım henüz geldiğimde, yaşım da küçük olunca mahalleden çok ayrılmadan arkadaşlarımla oyun oynayarak vaktimi geçiriyordum. Fuar açılmıştı bizim geldiğimiz sıralar, yazları fuarda su satardım, çekirdek satardım, yerel halkla oralarda karşılaşırdık, severlerdi bizi. Büyüklerimiz biraz daha zorlandı, özellikle kadınlar, çünkü genellikle evlerinde oturur, çocuklarına bakar, ev işleri ile ilgilenirlerdi. Haliyle dil öğrenmek, sosyal hayata karışmak gibi aktiviteler onlar için biraz yavaş ilerledi ama çalışan kesim ya da okula gidecek yaşta olanlar daha kolay alıştı, çok şükür yerel halk da bizi dışlamadı. Babam her zaman, bizim buranın yerlilerine göre daha çok çalışmamız gerektiğini öğütlerdi, bizim dışarıdan gelenler olarak kendimizi kabul ettirmemiz ancak çalışkanlıktan geçer derdi, ben ve kardeşlerim de öyle yaptık. Hepimiz babamın kurduğu işte çalıştık, ben ve erkek kardeşim liseden sonra üniversiteye devam etmeyip aile işini devam ettirdik ama ablamlar okudular ikisi öğretmen biri mühendis oldu. Eğitim ve sosyal hayata karışanların alışma süreci daha kolay geçti.

Soru: Ev dediğimizde aklında ne canlanıyor?

Cevap: Ev benim için, küçük, sıcak, ailemin bir arada olduğu bir yeri ifade ediyor. Bahçesinde ağaçlar olsun, torunlarım ağaçlara tırmansın meyve yesin, yemek zamanı gelince hep beraber bir sofraya başında toplanabilelim. Ev bunlar demek benim için.

Nurayla Yılmaz, evli, 65 yaşında, emekli öğretmen

Soru: Nerelisiniz, Kayseri'ye neden ve nasıl geldiniz?

Cevap: Uygur kökenliyiz, Kayseri 1965 yılında Doğu Türkistan'dan geldik. Türkistan'da uzun yıllar boyunca baskıcı Çin yönetimi hüküm sürüyordu, babam ve birkaç büyüğümüz daha bir araya gelip, artık orda yaşayamayacaklarını, bizden önce gidenler gibi bizim de gitmemiz gerektiğini konuşmuşlar. Nihayetinde, bir kış günü yaklaşık 300 kişilik bir kabile olarak memleketten ayrıldık.

Soru: Kayseri'ye gelmeden önceki yaşamınıza dair neler hatırlıyorsunuz?

Cevap: Açıkçası çok fazla bir şey hatırlayamıyorum, ayrıldığımız sıralar çok küçüktüm. Hayal meyal yaşadığımız mahalleyi, oynadığımız oyunları hatırlıyorum. Avlusu olan bir evimiz vardı, ortasında gül ağacı vardı. O günlere dair hatırladığım şeyler genellikle, anne babamın endişeli ve korkmuş yüz ifadeleri, bunun dışında, genel olarak zaten herkesin ruh hali aşağı yukarı endişeli ve korku doluydu.

Soru: Kayseri'ye geldikten sonra yaşamınızda ne gibi değişiklikler oldu?

Cevap: Kayseri'ye geldikten sonra okula başladım, bunun dışında da oynadığımız oyunlar değişti. Bizim oyunlarımızı buradaki çocuklar bilmiyordu, aslında benzer oyunlardı ama tekerlemelerimiz farklıydı. Mesela beş taş oyunu burada da vardı, ama oynama şeklimiz farklıydı. Kayseri'ye geldiğimde daha özgürdüm, Afganistan'da dilediğimce gezemezdim, orada kendi mahallemizden dışarı bile çıkmamıştım ama Kayseri'de etrafta daha rahat gezebilmeye başlamıştım.

Soru: Kayseri'ye ilk geldiğinizde izlenimleriniz nasıldı?

Cevap: Kayseri'ye gelmeden önce Afganistan'da yaşıyorduk, orda kaldığımız yer izbe, pis mahalleydi. Derme çatma evler, harabe gibi görünen binalar içinde yaşadık. Bu yüzden Kayseri'ye ilk geldiğimiz sıralar çok şehrin büyüklüğünden, nizami binalarından, temiz ve geniş caddelerinden çok etkilendiğimi hatırlıyorum. Geldiğimiz zaman kışın ortasıydı, kar yağmıştı ve her yer bembeyaz, kar kaplamıştı, havanın soğukluğuna rağmen içim ısınmıştı manzara karşısında. Şehir meydanına yakın bir otele yerleştirdiler bizi, odalar temiz, düzenliydi, içinde banyosu var. Musluktan sıcak su

akıyordu. Kardeşimle beraber en çok şaşırdığımız şey de bu olmuştu, şimdi çok normal geliyor tabii ama, o zamanlar ilk defa böyle bir şey görmüştük, Afganistan'daki evimizde banyo zaten yoktu, tuvalet de evin dışında avludaydı. Hepimizi bir odaya yerleştirdiler, bir süre otelde yaşadık. İlk zamanlar dışarı çıkmaya korkardık, çünkü şehir bize çok büyük geliyordu, ya kaybolursak ve bir daha oteli bulamazsak diye korkuyorduk. Zamanla çevreye de alışınca etrafı keşfetmeye de çıkar olduk. Yakınlarda bir sinema vardı, şimdi mağaza olmuş o sinema... Orada oynayan filmlerin afişlerine bakmayı çok severdik.

Soru: Yerleştiğiniz eve dair ilk izlenimleriniz nasıldı?

Cevap: Yaklaşık 6 ay kadar otelde kaldıktan sonra kendi evimizin olması bizleri çok sevindirmişti. Otelde güzeldi tabii ama sonuçta orda da misafirdik, o yüzden kendi evlerimize büyük bir sevinçle taşındığımızı hatırlıyorum. Biz taşındığımız sıra evler henüz bitmişti, beton bile kurumamış gibiydi, hafif bir nem ve koku vardı. Evler, çocuk aklımla gözüme çok büyük görünmüştü, büyük bir arsaya inci gibi sıra sıra dizilmiş evlerdi. Taşınır taşınmaz, herkes hummalı bir işe girişti, bahçe duvarları örüldü, meyve fideleri dikildi, annelerimizin beraberlerinde getirdikleri tohumlar bahçeye ekildi, bahçe sulama işleri için havuz yapıldı. Bir zaman sonra ıssız gibi görünen yer, bahçesinde bizlerin oynadığı bir yere dönüştü. Ben üniversite okumak için Ankara'ya gidene kadar hep orda yaşadık, sonra okul bitince de Bolu'ya tayinim çıktı ve orda da eşimle taşınıp, evlendik. Ben evlendikten birkaç sene sonra annemler de mahalleden taşındılar, ama ev babamın işleri için kullandığı bir atölye olarak kullanılmaya devam etti. Bayramlarda ailemi ziyarete geldiğimizde mahalleye muhakkak uğradık, kurban zaten mahallede kesilirdi.

Soru: Yerleştiğiniz yere dair anılarınızı anlatır mısınız?

Cevap: En aklımda yer eden anılardan biri şu; Kayseri'de eskiden hava çok soğuk olurdu, öyle soğuk olurdu ki sular borularda donar, sonra da boruyu patlatırdı. Çamaşırları bahçedeki askılarda kuruturduk, çamaşırlar soğuktan donar kaskatı olurdu, kardeşimin elleri çatlar, kanardı, öyle bir soğuk vardı. Kışları hepimiz sobanın olduğu odada otururduk. Kız kardeşlerimle ben bir odayı paylaşırdık, fazla bir mobilyamız yoktu, koltuk çekyat gibi eşyaları ilk defa burada görmüştük. Eve yerleştikten birkaç sene sonra babam yerli misafirlerimiz otursun diye ahşap bir koltuk takımı almıştı, sadece misafirler otururdu ama, bizim oturmamıza izin verilmezdi.

Soru: Kayseri'ye alışma süreci nasıldı?

Cevap: Evlerimize yerleşene kadar daha çok kendi kendimizeydik, şehir meydanında kardeşlerimle beraber gezmeye çıkardık ama fazla uzaklara gidemedik, görüştüğümüz insanlar da memleketten birlikte geldiğimiz hemşerilerimizdi. Evlere taşındıktan bir süre sonra okula da başladık, orda yerli arkadaşlarımız oldu, başlarda biraz zorlandık çünkü Türkçe'yi çat-pat konuşuyorduk, ama zamanla dili de öğrenince arkadaşlıklar kurmaya başladık, birbirimizin evlerine misafirliklere gitmeye başladık. Alışma sürecini kolay geçirdik diyebilirim.

Soru: Ev dediğimizde aklında ne canlanıyor?

Cevap: Aklıma mahalledeki evimiz geliyor, daha sonra çok çeşitli evlerde oturduk, daha büyük, daha temiz, ya da kullanışlı ama ev dediğimde aklıma ilk orası geldi. Bahçesi olması iyi bir özellik. Yıllar içinde mahalledeki evimiz çok bakımsız bir hal aldı, şu an orayı gördüğümde bana eski duygularımı yaşatmıyor, ama ilk geldiğimiz yıllarda o ev cennet gibiydi. Çok büyük zorluklar, sefalet de yaşandı o evde. Bütün anılarım mutluluk dolu değil tabii ki, ama ilk defa bize ait olan bir yerdi o ev. Bahçesinde oyunlar oynadığımız, çalıştığımız, ağacından meyve yediğimiz, bizim olan bir yerdi.

Mahinur Güngör, evli, 62 yaşında, emekli mühendis/öğretmen

Soru: Nerelisiniz, Kayseri'ye neden ve nasıl geldiniz?

Cevap: Kaşgarlı'yım, ben küçükken ailem Çin'in biz Uygurlar üzerinde uyguladığı baskıcı yönetimden kurtulmak için kalabalık bir grupta beraber önce Afganistan'a, arkasından Kayseri'ye göç etmişiz. 1986 yılına kadar Kayseri'de yaşadım, ondan beri de İstanbul'da yaşıyorum.

Soru: Kayseri'ye gelmeden önceki yaşamınıza dair neler hatırlıyorsunuz?

Cevap: Kaşgar'da doğduğumu biliyorum, oraya dair hatırladıklarım çok net anılar değil doğrusu, ablamı hatırlıyorum daha çok, onun bize oyunlar oynattığını. Afganistan'ı daha iyi hatırlıyorum, yaklaşık 4 sene orda yaşadık, dillerini bile öğrenmişim sokakta diğer çocuklarla oynaya oynaya, ama tabii şimdi dili bile hatırlamıyorum. Afganistan'daki hayatımız oldukça zordu, değişik bir mahallede kalıyorduk, kaldığımız ev avlusu olan, 2 katlı büyük bir evdi ama oda oda farklı ailelere kiraya verilmişti. Biz, annem, babam, ablam, ben ve kardeşim bir odada kalıyorduk. Afganistan'da okula henüz başlamamıştım, babam mekanik aletlerin tamirini yapardı, dikiş makinesi, saat

gibi aletleri tamir ederdi. Onun yanında oturur, çalışmasını izlerdim. Komşularımız da bizim gibi farklı yerlerden gelmiş insanlardı ama onlara dair pek bir şey hatırlamıyorum. Afganistan'da kalıcı olmadığımızı biliyordum, daha evimize gitmeden evi özlemeye başlamıştım, bu duyguyu çok iyi hatırlıyorum. Orada yaşadığımız ev çok kötüydü, hep bundan sonra daha iyi bir evde yaşayacağımız konuşulurdu, nihayet Türkiye'ye gideceğimiz kesinleştiği gün, neredeyse bayram günü gibiydi.

Soru: Kayseri'ye geldikten sonra yaşamınızda ne gibi değişiklikler oldu?

Cevap: En büyük değişiklik kendimize ait bir evimizin olması ve okula başlamamdı. Bunlar dışında tabii daha rahattık Afganistan'a göre. Daha önce hiç görmediğim bir sürü şeyi Kayseri'de görmüştüm, düzenli bir şehir, yüksek katlı binalar, modern giyimli insanlar. Böyle bakınca aslında her şey değişti diyebilirim, ama o zamanlar çocuktuk, nelerin değiştiğini çok da anlayamadan uyum sağlıyorduk.

Soru: Kayseri'ye ilk geldiğinizde izlenimleriniz nasıldı?

Cevap: Afganistan'a giderken eşekler üzerinde veya yayan gitmiştik, ama Türkiye'ye geleceğimiz zaman uçakla gelmiştik. İlk defa uçak görmüştüm ve Türkiye'ye böyle bir yolculukla gelmek beni çok etkilemişti. Önce Ankara'ya, ardından otobüsle Kayseri'ye gelmiştik ve çok büyük bir yere geldiğimizi düşünmüştüm. Kış zamanı geldiğimiz için her yer kar içindeydi, geniş ve upuzun caddeler, modern apartmanlar, insanlar giyimleriyle, görünüşleriyle Afganistan'da çok ama çok farklıydı. Böyle bir yere geldiğimiz için sevinçliydim, Kayseri bizim için yeni bir başlangıç olacaktı. Yıllar içinde Kayseri'yle bağlarım koptu, üniversiteyi bitirdiğim zaman ise artık ayrılmak istediğim soğuk bir şehirdi. Şimdi ailemi ziyaret etmek için geldiğim zamanlarda Kayseri'yi hiç tanıyamıyorum, sokaklar, caddeler, her şey değişmiş gibi geliyor, adres bulmakta bile zorlanıyorum. Mahalle bile sanki biraz değişmiş, eski atmosferi göremiyorum. İlk geldiğimiz zaman, bizi otele yerleştirmişler, Kayseri Kale'sine yakın bir oteldi. Kaleyi görüp çok etkilenmişim, bir büyüğüm bana Kale'nin tarihçesini anlatmıştı, eskiden insanlar sınırları büyük duvarlarla çevrili yerlerde yaşamış, düşmanlardan ve yabancılardan korunmak için örerlermiş bu büyük duvarları. Belki de bu yüzden çok uzun süre, sanırım orta okula başlayana kadar, Kale'ye hiç gidemedim, hem büyüklüğü ve ihtişamından dolayı korkutucu geliyordu hem de yabancı olduğumuz için orda istenmediğimizi düşünüyordum. Keşke Kaşgar'da da böyle bir kalemiz olsaydı, belki o zaman biz de buraya gelmek zorunda kalmazdık diye düşünmüştüm.

Soru: Yerleřtiđiniz eve dair ilk izlenimleriniz nasıldı?

Cevap: Bir evimiz olacađını iin mutluyduk, ayrıca babam evlerimize yerleřtikten sonra okula bařlayacađımızı sylemiřti, okula gitmek iin sabırsızlandıđım iin evimize tařınmayı heyecan iinde beklemiřtim. Mahalleye ilk geldiđimizde biraz hayal kırıklıđı yařamıřtım, evler toprađın ortasında duruyor gibiydi, biraz uzakta fuar alanı vardı ama, evler ok cansız gibilerdi. Evimize yerleřtikten sonra canla bařla alıřmaya bařladık. Erkekler evin etrafına bahe duvarları rdler, bylece artık hepimizin bahesi olmuřtu. Kadınlar baheye sebze tohumları, iek fideleri dikti. Babam elma ađacı fidesi getirmiřti Őehir merkezinden, onu beraber dikmiřtik bahe giriřine, kimseye sylemiřtim ama o ađa benim ađacımdı. Her sabah sulardım ađacımdı.

Soru: Yerleřtiđiniz yere dair anılarınızı anlatır mısınız?

Cevap: ocukken ok hareketli bir ocuktum, nereye gidersem gideyim kořtuđumu hatırlıyorum. Yeni Mahalle'de bir okula bařlamıřtık, yryerek yaklařık 15 dakika tutardı, ama ben okuldan eve, evden okula hep kořarak giderdim, derslerim de iyiydi, beni hep kořarken gren đretmenlerim bir an nce ders alıřmak iin eve ya da okula kořtuđumu zannederlerdi ama aslında sadece ok tez canlı bir ocuktum. Kalabalık bir aileydik, zellikle kıř aylarında hepimiz sobanın olduđu odada otururduk, babam radyo dinler, annem bir Őeyler diker, bizler de artık o gn ne yapmamız gerekiyorsa onu yapardık. Ben genellikle ders alıřırdım. Bir gn babam televizyon almıřtı, hepimiz ok sevinmiřtik tabii. Babam bir zamanlar yazlık sinemada alıřmıřtı, onunla beraber film izlemeye giderdik, Őimdi artık evimizde de izleyebilecektik. Akřamların birinde, sırtımı televizyona dnp ders alıřtıđım iin babam kızmıřtı bile hatta, televizyona sırt dnlr m diyerek. Őimdi ok yanlıř ve de komik geliyor, bu zamanda artık ocuklarımıza televizyon izlememesini đtleyerek yařıyoruz ama o zamanlarda izlemediđim iin babam kızmıřtı. Ben de rahat ders alıřabilmek iin kmrlđe giderdim, babam baheye bir depo alanı inřa etmiřti geldikten bir sre sonra, orası kalabalıktan kamak iin gittiđim sıđnađım olmuřtu bir zaman sonra. İki kk kardeřim oyun evi yapmıřlar orayı kendilerine, kmrlđu kimin hangi sırayla kullanacađı kavgaya sebep olurdu bu yzden. Kardeřimin ađatan dřmesini de hi unutamıyorum, evdeydim, kimseler yoktu, kardeřim de bana emanetti. Ben ders alıřırken o da bahede oynuyordu, baheye bakan pencerenin yanına masa kurmuřtum ben de onu gzleyebilmek iin, bir an bir baktım ađacın tepesine ıkmıř, grmemle dřmesi bir oldu sanki, yere dřnce nefesi kesilmiřti. ok korkmuřtum, ben de

küçüktüm daha, öleceğini sanmıştım. Neyse ki hiçbir şey olmamıştı ama komşulardan ağlaya ağlaya yardım istemeye gittiğimde herkese Nazım'ın öldüğünü söylemişim.

Soru: Kayseri'ye alışma süreci nasıldı?

Cevap: Utangaç bir çocuktum hemen arkadaşlık kuramadım kimseyle, zaten Türkçe'yi de tam konuşmıyordum, derslerde öğretmenlerin sorduğu soruların cevabını bilsem de, utangaçlıktan elimi kaldırıp söz hakkı istemeye çekinirdim. Okulun ilk zamanları bizimle dalga geçen çocuklar olmuştu, ben ablam ve kız kardeşim aynı okula gidiyorduk, ama ayrı sınıflardaydık. Zaman içinde sınıftaki çocuklarla arkadaşlık kurmaya başladım, öğretmenimiz çok destek olmuştu bu konuda. Çalışkan ve gayretli bir öğrenciydim, bu yüzden öğretmenlerim de beni çok severdi. Yavaş yavaş, okulda kurduğum arkadaşlıklar Kayseri'ye de alışmamı sağladı, artık ortaokula başladığım sıra şehirde hemen hemen her yeri biliyordum, Teksas, Tommiks çizgi romanları olurdu, Kale'nin orda takas yaparlardı, oraya giderdim takas için; babam şehir merkezinde bir dükkân tutmuştu, saatçilik yapardı, ona öğle yemeğini götürürdüm, alışverişe çıkar evin eksiklerini alıp dönerdim. Böyle böyle alıştım, alıştıktan sonra da gitmek istedim.

Soru: Ev dediğimizde aklında ne canlanıyor?

Cevap: Bahçeli bir evde büyüyünce açıkçası bahçesi olmayan evler pek ev gibi gelmiyor. Kayseri'den ayrılana kadar mahallede yaşadım, daha sonra İstanbul'a yerleştiğim çok ev değiştirdim, hiçbirini de evimmiş gibi benimseyemedim. Şimdi bahçeli bir evimiz oldu nihayet, ama bu sefer de yaşlandık artık, bahçenin işleriyle uğraşmak yorucu geliyor. Gene de apartmanda oturmaya tercih ederim bahçeli evi. Apartman tipi evleri sahiplenemiyorum, aynı evi birkaç aile kullanıyormuşuz gibi hissettiriyor, alt katta birileri, üst katta birileri, komşu evlerden gelen sesler, gürültüler, ama bahçeli ev öyle değil. Kendi arsası var, senden başkası bahçene giremiyor bile, ev demek benim için tamamen kendime ait bir yer demek.

Hürmet Ünal, evli, 60 yaşında, emekli öğretmen

Soru: Nerelisiniz, Kayseri'ye neden ve nasıl geldiniz?

Cevap: Uygur Türkü'yüm, ben yaklaşık 2 yaşlarındayken memleketten ayrılmışız. Afganistan'da bir süre yaşadık sonra, Kayseri'ye geldik. Kayseri'ye geldiğimiz zaman 6-7 yaşlarındaydım.

Soru: Kayseri'ye gelmeden önceki yaşamınıza dair neler hatırlıyorsunuz?

Cevap: Az biraz Afganistan'ı hatırlıyorum, kalabalık bir evde yaşıyorduk, benim bir küçüğüm olan erkek kardeşim orda doğdu. Oyuncak bebeğim olduğunu düşünmüştüm ilk zamanlar, ona çok düşkün olduğumu anımsıyorum. Afganistan'ı düşününce sarı-sepya renkler geliyor aklıma, toz içinde, eski manzaralar hatırlıyorum.

Soru: Kayseri'ye ilk geldiğinizde izlenimleriniz nasıldı?

Cevap: Herkeste büyük bir heyecan dalgası vardı Kayseri'ye geleceğimiz için, ben de tam anlamıyordum ama onların duygularını paylaşıyordum. Hep bir ağızdan kurtulduğumuz, artık bizi çok daha iyi bir hayatın beklediği konuşuluyordu, tam olarak neyden kurtulduk emin değildim ama belli ki korkutucu bir şeydi kurtulduğumuz şey. Kayseri çok soğuktu, kocamandı, doğrusu bana burası da korkutucu gelmişti, büyük binalar sanki üstümüze yıkılacak gibiydi, anne babamın neden bu kadar sevindiğini çok anlayamamıştım, ama onlar mutlu diye ben de mutluydum. Sonuçta artık kalıcı bir evimiz olacaktı. İlk birkaç ay otelde kaldık, benden büyük iki ablam dışarı gezmeye çıkardı, ben onlarla gitmek istemezdim, annemin yanında otelde kalırdım, erkek kardeşimle ilgilenirdim. Şehir beni korkutuyordu, ablamlar her gün başka bir hikaye anlatırdı, dışarıdan döndükten sonra, onları dinlerdim.

Soru: Yerleştiğiniz eve dair ilk izlenimleriniz nasıldı?

Cevap: Evler sanki hiçliğin ortasında gibiydiler, yakınlarda bir mahalle vardı, bir de fuar alanı, ama evimiz olduğu için sevinmişim çünkü etrafta oyun oynayabileceğimiz boş alanlar vardı, otelde kaldığımız sıralarda dışarıda oyun oynamazdım çok. Mahalleye taşınınca hepimizin kendi bahçesi olmuştu ama, sokaklarda oynamak korkutucu da değildi, pek araba geçmezdi, dilediğimiz gibi koşup, oynayabilirdik. Zaten tüm Uygurlar olarak aynı mahallede oturuyorduk, yabancılik çekeceğimiz kimse de yoktu. Biz taşındıktan yıllar sonra deprem nedeniyle evsiz kalan bir grubu daha mahallede boş kalan evlere yerleştirdiler, o zamana kadar mahallede bizden başka kimse yoktu. Uzun süre otelde tek bir odada yaşadıkten sonra, evimiz olunca ben ve iki ablam birlikte bir odada kalmaya başladık, o zamanlar buna çok sevinmiştik, yıllar geçip büyüdükçe ev küçük gelmeye başladı tabii, ama o zamanlar için radikal bir değişimdi ayrı bir odamızın olması. Erkek kardeşim salonda yatıyordu, onun bizim gibi sadece kendisine ait bir odası olmamıştı, gündüzleri oturma odası, akşamları onun odası olan büyük odayı kullanıyordu ama en azından geceleri uyurken kendi başına olabiliyordu.

Soru: Yerleştiğiniz yere dair anılarınızı anlatır mısınız?

Cevap: Bahçede havuzumuz vardı, bahçeyi sulamak için yapmıştı babam, herkesin bahçesinde vardı. O havuzda oynamayı çok severdim, ablam gemi yapmayı öğretmişti, onları yüzdürürdüm kardeşimle beraber, yarış yapardık. Yıllar yıllar sonra aynı havuzda benim çocuklarım da oynadılar, mutluluk duyuyorum bundan. Yeni Mahalle'ye gezmeye giderim, oradaki evler çok güzel görünürdü gözüme. Bir keresinde benden bir büyük ablam evde aynayı kırmıştı, sonra da annem kızacak diye korkup kaçmıştı evden, onun peşinden koşmuştum da biraz uzak bir yerde bir akarsu vardı, oraya kadar kaçmış o da evden çok uzaklaşıp bu sefer de kayboldum diye ağlamıştım. Ağlayınca ablam sesimi duyup gelmişti, eve geri götürmüştü beni. Fuarın açılış zamanlarını hiç unutmam bir de havai fişekler atılırdı, ilk gördüğümde çok korkmuştum tabii, ama sonra çok sevmiştim, her yaz başını iple çekerdim, havai fişekleri tekrar izleyebilmek için. Babam arka bahçeye atölye yapmıştı, orda çalışırdık tüm kardeşler. Ablam okula çok düşküdü, torna tezgahında çalışırken bile tezgâha yapıştırdığı kağıtları okur, bir yandan ders çalışır bir yandan somun yapardı, onu hayretle izlerdim ben de. Zaten daha sonra makine mühendisi oldu, ben kömürlüğe saklanıp resimler yapardım, atölyede çalışmak istemezdim. Ben de resim öğretmeni oldum zaten. Çocukken sokaklarda oynardık tabii, şimdiki çocuklar evlerinde çoğunlukla, ama biz çocukken gecelere kadar sokaklarda oyun oynardık, herkesin evinin kapısı açık olurdu, zaten tüm mahalle birbirini tanırdı. Deprem sebebiyle mahalleye yeni gelenler olmuştu, onlarla pek anlaşamadık, ama büyük bir problem de yaşanmadı.

Soru: Kayseri'ye alışma süreci nasıldı?

Cevap: Evimize taşınıp da okula başlayana kadar geçen sürede pek zorlanmadım aslında, mahalle zaten tanıdıklardan hatta akrabalarımızdan oluşuyordu, herkes herkesi tanıyordu. Sokakta, bahçelerde oyunlar oynardım. Okula başladıktan sonra, yerli çocuklarla da arkadaşlık yapmaya başladım. Türkçe'yi tam öğrenememişim, başta biraz zorlandım o yüzden, ama kısa sürede de öğrendim. Mahalle dışından arkadaşlarım da olmaya başlayınca kendimi daha rahat hissetmeye başlamıştım, değişik bir tipimiz olduğu için dikkat çekiyorduk. Görenler nereli olduğumu sorarlardı hep, hikayemizi dinlemek isterlerdi. Bir zaman sonra insanlarla konuştuğça, anlattıkça daha da yakın olmaya başladık.

Soru: Ev dediğimizde aklında ne canlanıyor?

Cevap: Ev benim için, ailemle birlikte yaşadığım sıcak bir yuva. Mutfakta yemek pişsin, torunum bahçede koşuştursun, çocuklarım etrafımda olsun, o zaman kendimi evde hissediyorum.

Galip Batuhan, evli, 52 yaşında, iş yeri sahibi

Soru: Nerelisiniz, Kayseri'ye neden ve nasıl geldiniz?

Cevap: Doğu Türkistan'dan gelen muhacirleriz, ben Kayseri'de doğdum ama ailem ben doğmadan önce Kaşgar'da yaşıyorlarmış ama Çin hükümetinin uyguladığı asimilasyon projesi sonucu oradan ayrılmak zorunda kalmışlar.

Soru: Kaşgar'a dair neler hissediyorsunuz?

Cevap: Kaşgar hiç görmediğim memleketim, uzun yıllar boyunca oraya dönmemiz yasaktı, bu sebeple hiç ziyaret edememiştik, memlekete tekrar girebilmeye başladığımızda annemi gönderdik giden birkaç kişiyle beraber. Annem döndükten sonra orayı hiç tanıyamadığımı, çok değişmiş olduğunu anlatınca, gidip görmek için de bir hevesim kalmadı. Mahallenin büyükleri, Kaşgar'ı görmüş olanlar hep anlatırdı nasıl bir yer olduğunu, şimdi bile orayla ilgili hikayeler anlatılır, küçükken çok özlenilen bir yer olarak yer etmiş aklımda, sanki Dünya'nın en güzel yeri gibi gelirdi. Hiç görmemiş olmama rağmen, çok severdim, ama sanki hiç olmayan da bir yer gibiydi. Uzakta, kayıp bir memleket, zaten annem gidip gördükten sonra çok değişmiş olduğunu söyleyince de benim için tamamen hayali bir yere dönüşmüş oldu. Kayıp kıta mu gibi.

Soru: Kayseri'ye dair düşünceleriniz nelerdir?

Cevap: Kayseri, modern, temiz, güzel bir şehir. Doğduğumdan beri hep burada yaşadım. İki ablam üniversite okumak için Ankara'ya gitti, gittikten sonra da başka şehirlerde çalıştılar bir daha dönmediler, hayatlarını oralarda kurdular; bir ablam Kayseri'de okudu ama o da mezun olduktan sonra İstanbul'a yerleşti, bir daha gelmedi. Tek gidenler onlar da değildi tabii, zaman için de mahalleden ayrılan bir sürü hemşerimiz oldu, ama biz burada kalanlar, Kayseri'yi ikinci memleketimiz olarak bildik.

Soru: Büyüdüğünüz eve dair neler hatırlıyorsunuz?

Cevap: Bahçeli, küçük bir evdi. Evin benim hatırladığım haline gelmesi yıllar almış. Benim hatırladığım daha çok, babamın atölyesi. Babam işine çok düşkün biriydi, sürekli çalışmak onun için alışkanlıktı, bizden de aynısını beklerdi. Ben okulda çok başarılı

değildim, dersleri sınırda geçerdim, zaten babam da bizi atölyede isterdi. Kömürlüğümüz vardı bahçede, orayı oyun yeri yapmıştık abimle, bazen orada saklanıp oyun oynardık. Herkesin bir sulama havuzu vardı, orda gemi yüzdürürdük yazları. Ben abimle oturma odasında uyurdum, ablamlar da mutfağa yakın odada. Ablamların odası doğrudan oturma odasına açılırdı, benim okulum öğleden sonra başlar, ablamlarınki sabah başlardı. Haliyle onlar sabah erken kalkardı, henüz uyuyor olurdum. Mutfağın hemen yanındaki oda onlarındı, yani mutfakla ortak bir duvar vardı, babam da o duvara bir geçit açtı, kapı takıldı. Böylece odalarının hem oturma odasına hem mutfağa bağlantısı olmuştu. Sabahları mutfaktan çıkan geçişi kullanırlardı, ya da eve bir misafir geldiğinde salona girmeden odalarına gidebiliyorlardı.

Soru: Yerleştiğiniz yere dair anılarınızı anlatır mısınız?

Cevap: Mahalle hepimiz için bir sığınak olmuş, şimdi bile mahallede artık yaşamadığımız halde arkadaşlarımız, akrabalarımız orda, onlarla görüşmeye gidiyoruz, bahçede mangal yapıyoruz. Özellikle benim gibi burada doğanlar için mahalle çok değerli. Mahallede doğup büyüdüm, 1986 yılında mahalleden taşınmıştık ama, atölyemiz evimizin arkasında olduğu için her gün mahalledeydik gene de. Eskiden hem evimiz hem iş yerimizdi, sonra sadece iş yerimiz olmuştu, 1994'te başka organize bölgesine taşındık atölyeyi de ama evi bahçeyi kullanabilmek için tuttuk. Hiç unutmam, bir gün kömürlükte saklanıyordum, okuldan gelmişim ve oyun oynamak istiyordum, ama babam atölyede beni bekliyordu. Misket oynamayı çok severdim, kömürlükte misketlerimi sakladığım bir kutu vardı, onu alıp kömürlükte oyun oynayıp çıkacaktım, sonra da okuldan yeni gelmiş gibi yapacaktım. Oynarken uyuyakalmışım, babam bulmuştu beni uyurken.

Soru: Kayseri'ye alışma süreci nasıldı?

Cevap: Ben burada doğup büyüdüm, mahallemiz zaten memleket gibi bizler için, o yüzden alışmakta da hiç zorluk çekmedim. Annem alışmakta zorlanmış olabilir bilmiyorum, çünkü her zaman memlekettten özlemlerle, hasretle bahsettiğini hatırlıyorum, ama benim için bir zorluk olmadı.

Soru: Ev dediğimizde aklında ne canlanıyor?

Cevap: Ev çekirdek ailenin bir arada yaşadığı yer. Üç tane çocuğum var, onlar da evlenip kendi ailelerini kurdukları zaman kendi evleri olacak. Evlendiğimde annem ve babamla yaşamaya devam ettik, evin en küçük çocuğu ben olduğum için, evlenince de

anne babamla oturmaya devam ettik, onları yalnız bırakmak istemedim, onlar da istemedi zaten ama yıllar içinde çok sorunlar da yaşandı tabii. Şimdi ki aklım olsa, ev üstüne ev olmaz diye düşünürdüm ama o zamanlar daha genciz tabii, aileyle yaşamının daha hayırlı olacağını düşündük hep.

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