

Effects of Migration on Children's Private and Social Places

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EFFECTS OF MIGRATION ON CHILDREN'S PLACES

Effects of Migration on Children's Private and Social Places

DISSERTATION

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Dedication

To the memory of my grandfathers Ali Rıza and Nuri.

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Abstract (English)

YATAĞAN BAUMEISTER, DENİZ. Effects of Migration on Children's Private and Social Places. (Under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Riklef Rambow)

Every year, hundreds of millions of migrants are on the move. This research aims to understand the effects of migration on children's private and social places, to find out what kinds of places they lose or lack, and how they compensate for this. It examines the roles of culture and environment in this process and looks at how the initial migratory experience and the culture of the ancestors may influence the places of subsequent generations, with the aim of gathering knowledge that will help architects create spaces that can help children live and form communities in an intercultural environment. For this qualitative research, 34 persons from different migrant generations were interviewed, all of which had Turkish cultural backgrounds. The in-depth interviews gave a better understanding of the relationship between children and their places, and about the desires and needs of migrant children in urban areas. Additionally, three case studies were conducted in schools and a day care centre in order to validate the interview findings through the observation of children's behaviour, which was analysed via behavioural mapping. The research showed that migration mainly affected children's private places: They lost outdoor spaces they used to have, and cultural differences and the shift from rural to urban life kept them from finding replacements. Results show that these issues did not just affect the initial migrants but persist through generations. Findings suggest that architects and urban designers may use features such as cave-like designs in semi-protected areas to give children both with and without migratory backgrounds greater opportunities for the creation of private places. The research gave an understanding about the influences culture and environment have on children's private places, and these results may be of use for future projects in urban or multicultural environments.

Abstract (Deutsch)

YATAĞAN BAUMEISTER, DENIZ. Effects of Migration on Children's Private and Social Places. (Betreut von Prof. Dr. Riklef Rambow)

Jedes Jahr sind hunderte Millionen Migranten unterwegs. Diese Arbeit will erforschen, wie sich Migration auf die persönlichen und gemeinschaftlichen Orte von Kindern auswirkt – welche Arten von Orten sie verlieren oder vermissen, und wie sie das kompensieren. Sie untersucht die Rollen von Kultur und Umfeld in diesem Prozess ebenso wie auch Nachwirkungen, durch die Migrationserfahrungen und der kulturelle Hintergrund einer Generation die Nachfahren noch lange beeinflussen können. Ziel ist es, Wissen zu sammeln, das Architekten ermöglicht, ein gutes Umfeld für Kinder in interkulturellen Umgebungen zu schaffen. 34 Personen mit türkischen Migrationshintergrund aus unterschiedlichen Generationen wurden mit einem qualitativen Forschungsansatz interviewt. Die detaillierten Ergebnisse erlaubten, die Beziehung zwischen Kindern und den ihnen wichtigen Orten besser zu verstehen, ebenso wie die Wünsche und Bedürfnisse migrantischer Kinder in einem städtischen Umfeld. Zusätzlich wurden Fallstudien in zwei Grundschulen und einer Kindertagesstätte durchgeführt. Die Beobachtungen, die mittels Verhaltenskartographie ausgewertet wurden, sollten die Ergebnisse der Interviews erhärten. Es zeigte sich, dass Migration die privaten Orte von Kindern beeinträchtigt. Sie verlieren Orte im Freien, und kulturelle Unterschiede und die urbane Realität verhindern, dass sie sich neue schaffen. Diese Probleme betreffen nicht nur die eigentlichen Migranten, sondern auch nachfolgende Generationen. Die Resultate zeigen, dass Designlösungen wie z.B. höhlenartige Bauten in halb-geschützten Bereichen migrantischen und nicht-migrantischen Kindern helfen können, ihr Bedürfnis nach privaten Orten zu befriedigen. Die Ergebnisse geben einen Einblick in den Einfluss von Umfeld und Kultur auf die Ortsvorlieben von Kindern und können für zukünftige Projekte in urbanen oder multikulturellen Umfeldern von Nutzen sein.

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1 Introduction

In 2015, the worldwide migrant population was estimated at about 244 million individuals – in other words: About 3.3% of the world's total population (International Organization for Migration, 2017). As a percentage of total population, this share has been relatively stable for many decades, however the overall population increase means, of course, that the total numbers have slowly risen over time (International Organization for Migration, 2017).

In recent years, however, there has been a significant change in the patterns and targets of migration: In spite of the relatively stable overall numbers, some countries have seen notable spikes in the influx of migrants (OECD-ILO-IOM-UNHCR, 2019). In Germany, for example, the number of foreigners registered in the country has increased from 6.7 million in 2007 to more than 10 million in 2016, including 1.6 million persons who had applied for or had already been granted asylum (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2018, p. 48). For 2017, the German Statistics Office estimated that about 799,000 children under 16 years in Germany had a direct migratory experience themselves (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2018, p. 41).

Apart from the hardships and hazard of the migratory journey, this also means that these children have lost familiar places and environments in their old country. This is more than just a pragmatic and logistical concern: The ability and opportunity to conquer and create personal places for themselves is an essential part of a child's development, and children's experiences with places will play a part in shaping their identity (Derr, 2006).

The loss of important places at a critical phase of development can therefore have a significant effect on a child (Hay, 1998)– and in case of migration it may even be compounded by the overall task of transitioning into an environment in which both the built and natural environments as well as culture, lifestyle and language often differ markedly from those the children and their parents were born into.

In addition to the challenge of dealing with different cultures and value systems, migrant children may end up with not enough spaces that allow them to create personal places in their environments. Without having these private places for learning, private play, and as a recluse for themselves, children may find it difficult to form bonds with new spaces, lessening their chances to successfully integrate into the community.

1.1 Aims of This Research

This research examines the short- and long-term effects of migration on children's private and social places, taking under consideration the various cultural, social, and environmental influences that are connected to or a result of the migratory experience. In order to do so, it examines the place experiences of several groups of persons with varying types of migratory background:

- Persons who lived through a migratory experience as a child
- Persons who lived through a migratory experience as an adult
- Persons whose parents or grandparents lived through a migratory experience

Understanding the effects of a migratory background on an individual's place can help architects and designers to create private and social places that are specifically designed to address the needs and expectations of children with a migratory background and can encourage intercultural communication and understanding. This can be useful in the design of housing, schools, preschool childcare centres, and other semi-private or public spaces.

To aid this understanding, this research also analyses the real-world usage of several existing designed environments for children that were created with the help of a participatory design approach to which many children with a migratory background contributed.

1.2 Significance of This Research

This research takes a broad approach to its subject and fills several gaps that still existed in the scientific literature:

For instance, there has been research on the relation between culture and spatial formation in architectural design (Kent, 1991; Abu-Gazzeh, 1995), as well as on the influence of migrants' cultural background on their preferences for features and decorative elements of their built environment (Erder, 2006; Levin, 2012; Savaş, 2010). Also, there is a great body of existing research on the place attachment and place identity of immigrant people (Boğaç, 2009; Gustafson, 2008; Hack-Polay, 2012; Ilgın & Hacıhasanoğlu, 2006; Mendoza, 2006; Seamon, 1985) and on the identity and schooling problems of immigrant children (Abadan-Unat, 1985, 2006; Frey, 2010; Gökmen, 1972; Holtbrügge, 1975; Kudat, 1975b; Saunders, 2016; Vassaf, 2010).

However, none of these studies focused on migrant children's relationship to and problems with their spatial environments, their necessities for and possible lack of certain types of places. Even though the role of private places in a child's development has long been acknowledged, formation and location of private and special places for children with migratory backgrounds have not been researched. Existing research also does not give information about migrant children's relations and interactions with their places in the new and old countries, nor on the ways in which a migrant child's cultural background and its conflicts with the new country's culture would influence the child's choice of and relationship to their social and private places.

This research aims to supply information on all of these previously un- or underexplored topics, and it does so by combining architectural concepts and ideas with a qualitative phenomenological research approach that is complemented by analysis of several case studies.

1.3 Combining Different Techniques

As mentioned above, people's relationships to places are shaped by their experiences. For an architect designing a space, it is therefore important to properly understand the future

users' spatial requirements and experiences, because that makes it possible to design spaces that cater to these needs and wishes.

One of the most suitable ways to gather this kind of highly individual data is via qualitative research interviews (Kvale, 1996). Therefore, 34 persons with Turkish migratory backgrounds were interviewed for this research. They belonged, as outlined above, to different generations and were asked open-ended questions that allowed them to elaborate on their individual experiences. The answers help establish a deeper understanding of the locations and formation of migrant children's places in both Turkey and Germany, furthermore they provide insights into cultural, social and environmental effects on the private and social places of migrant children.

As previously mentioned, these interviews were complemented by case studies in two primary schools and one day care centre in Berlin, all of which were recently renovated. The renovation projects aimed to offer children both social spaces for small groups as well as opportunities for individual usage of places. The children were observed during their interactions with their physical environment, and the movements and interactions were recorded using behavioural mapping techniques and text protocols. In addition, designers and users of the places were interviewed in order to understand both the original aims as well as the actual outcomes of the projects.

1.4 Learning About the Past to Prepare for the Future

In spite of the increased number of contemporary migrants, this research intentionally focuses on individuals connected to a historical period of migration – namely, the labour migration from Turkey to Germany in the second half of the 20th century. There are several reasons for this decision:

The examination of this period allows to explore short-, mid-, and long-term effects. Adult interviewees can relate their childhood migration experiences and reflect upon them

from an adult perspective. Similarly, the research can include not just immediate effects but also examine the experiences of the subsequent generations. A focus on contemporary events precludes this approach.

The researcher herself is a native Turkish person who recently migrated to Germany. She thus has a shared background with the interviewees and literally speaks their language, both of which help establish greater trust and familiarity with the interviewees. This, in turn, can lead to more open conversations, in which the interviewees are more willing to share personal experiences (Van Manen, 2014).

1.5 Limitations Imposed by Method and Research Subject

While qualitative research via open-ended questions allows to collect and analyse highly detailed individual responses, it does not scale well. The effort involved in conducting the interviews and analysing the responses is too large to allow for a representative sample size. Conversely, of course, any large-scale study involving a representative sample of the migrant population would not have been able to go into great detail on any of the individual responses.

Fortunately, this methodological limitation aligns well with another limitation imposed by the subject itself: While this research aims to aid the designers of spaces for migrant children, the requirements users have these spaces are also highly individual, depending on both the users' backgrounds and the environment the space is located in. For instance, children living in an area with single family homes at the edge of a small settlement will likely have very different placemaking experiences and opportunities than those living in apartment blocks in a densely populated urban area.

Therefore, any project that aims to meet the needs of its intended users has to assess these needs as part of the planning and design process. Ideally, this research can help

architects and designers to ask the right questions and to learn about important aspects that should be considered in the design.

On the other hand, the research's focus on a specific period of migration and a specific cultural background should not be seen as an inherent limitation. The specific answers given may sometimes be highly connected to the interviewees' individual socio-cultural backgrounds. However, the underlying concepts of space and place are common among all humans, regardless of their cultural background (Tuan, 1977). Similarly, all children will have to cope with similar issues, if they are forced to move from familiar places into an unfamiliar environment (Hay, 1998).

Thus, even though migrants from different backgrounds may not give the same answers as the persons interviewed for this researched, they are likely to give importance to the same questions and issues. For designers and architects, knowing these universal questions and issues is the first step in finding the individual answers that right for their particular project.

2 Literature Review

Since this research encompasses a broad range of topics, the literature review will also touch upon a number of different subjects and research areas. First, it will summarize the research and findings on Place Attachment, followed by an examination of the nature of private and special places for children, the criteria according to which children select places in different stages of childhood, and their importance for a child's development.

In order to gain a full understanding of the interviewees' backgrounds, this is followed by a summary of the different historical phases of labour migration from Turkey to Germany, and an overview of the research regarding its effects on the people migrating. Lastly, in order to understand the places that influenced the migrants' ideas about and usage concepts of places and spaces and to understand the ways early migrants would utilize the spaces in their homes, there is a brief introduction into the history, design, and usage patterns of the Vernacular Anatolian House.

2.1 Place Attachment

This research focuses on people who either lived through a migratory experience themselves or come from a family where the migratory background of one or more previous generations is still seen as a significant aspect of family culture and history. These people tend to form bonds to different kinds of places during their lives:

1. "New" or "current" places, which would be the places they are living in now. These will usually be the centre of their professional and/or social lives.
2. "Old" places – the places they or their ancestors used to live in. The memory of them is still being kept fresh by either telling stories about them within the family or regularly visiting them, for example during vacation times or holiday festivals. In many cases, there will also be relatives still living in the old places, either because they never left or because they returned after having spent some time living in other countries themselves. The

research subjects may have regular contact with those relatives, either by visiting them in person or by communicating via internet and/or telephone.

To understand the nature and importance of the bonds that are being formed through this kind of situation, it is necessary to examine the concept of place attachment, which will be done in this chapter. First, the definitions of place attachment in the existing literature will be reviewed, followed by an exploration of the current research on the development of place attachment and on how the social, cultural, personal and ideological aspects of a person's identity are shaped and changed by interactions with other humans or with their environment. Furthermore, existing literature on the ways place attachment affects people's identity and their personal and social characteristics will be summarized. Finally, the different types of place attachment will be explored, as well as their relation to people's cultural, social and economic backgrounds.

2.1.1 Definition of place attachment. In order to understand the nature of place attachment, firstly, the meaning of place attachment must be explained and the structure of the person's connection to his/her environment and to other people.

Low and Altman (1992) offer a definition of the linguistic meaning of the term "place attachment":

The word "attachment" emphasizes affect; the word "place" focuses on the environmental settings to which people are emotionally and culturally attached. The question arises, however, as to what is meant by the word place. Place, in our lexicon, refers to space that has been given meaning through personal, group, or cultural processes. (p. 5)

So, according to Low and Altman (1992), place attachment would be having bonds to the places that are meaningful for oneself. They also add, again from a purely linguistic point

of view, that the term implies that the bonding is predominantly focused on features of the environment.

Di Masso, Dixon and Durrheim (2014) approach the term from other disciplinary perspectives: According to them, psychologists describe place attachment as a strong emotional bond between humans and their places. Looking beyond psychology, they also mention research on human geography, which has been dealing with the idea of place attachment for a long time, be it as a weak and temporary association with a locale or a strong and lasting bond to a place of origin, emphasizing the “phenomenological significance” of the concept of place attachment as a quintessential part of being human. Di Masso et al. (2014) uses these as a basis to develop “social perspective on place attachment”, which will be further discussed below (p. 81).

2.1.2 Benefits of place attachment. If place attachment is such an integral aspect of the human psyche, this leads directly to another question: Why is it so important and what are its benefits? Brown and Perkins (1992) point out how often this question is not even asked. According to them, often, people will not realize that personal places are more than mere locations until a disruptive event – such as a break-in or a forced move – alters or destroys the connection to those places. Even then, those who did not directly experience this loss will often not be able to understand its psychological effects (Brown and Perkins, 1992).

Since this research focuses on design solutions for people who may have had such a disruptive experience in their past, it is important to understand the nature of what has been lost or damaged in order to allow for solutions addressing and alleviating those issues. This means that it is necessary to understand the positive effects of intact place attachment first.

One significant benefit of place attachment is that it helps people to form a personal identity. This topic will be examined in greater detail in the following section. Here, however, is a short summary of those effects. Cooper Marcus (1992) explains how people will express

themselves by organizing and arranging their environments, turning them into places that reflect their personal identity and serve as a home. This is a process that starts in childhood and continues throughout a person's life: Adults' place preferences and furnishing and decoration decisions are influenced by the places that held importance to them when they were children (Cooper Marcus, 1992). Cooper Marcus (1992) is of the opinion that the purpose of this is "anchoring [oneself] to times, people, and places in [one's] personal past", which helps to establish a "continuity with the past" that allows people to reassure themselves of their identity in spite of any extreme changes that may occur in their lives (pp. 88-89). This exemplifies the importance of place attachment for this research, since a complete change of physical, cultural, and linguistic environment can definitely be considered to be an extreme change.

Low and Altman (1992) extrapolate that place attachment fulfils this purpose not only for personal identity but also for larger groups: Important places may serve as cornerstones to reassure communities, such as nations, religions, or cultures of their common heritage (Low and Altman, 1992). It is a concept that will be re-visited in the discussion of place identity below.

As Di Masso et al. (2014) explain, the attachment to these places can result in specific social interactions that signal a person's connection to that place: They may show behaviours affirming their status as an inhabitant of the place or engage in activities meant to protect or preserve the place (Di Masso et al., 2014). As Lang (1987) puts it: "There is a correlation between our ability to call an area our own and our psychological comfort with it and our willingness to look after it" (p. 156).

Di Masso et al. (2014) specifically offer the example of inhabitants "picking up litter" in their neighbourhood (p. 81), leading to positive effects not only for the individuals engaged in the activity but also to the place and community as a whole.

Research not only states the importance of place attachment but also tries to understand the ways in which these bonds between humans and their environment are formed and maintained. Sobel (2002) stresses the importance of childhood places for the sense of place in adults and its positive effect on the community:

Feeling a sense of place in adulthood leads us to a commitment to preserve the integrity of the communities we live in. Developing this sense of place depends on the previous bonding of the child to the nearby natural world in middle childhood. The sense of place is born in children's special places. (pp. 160-161)

Jack (2010), also stated that, starting from early childhood, children will use their experiences in a place to assign positive or negative meanings to it. Positive experiences, according to Jack (2010) create positive meanings, which in turn may trigger positive place attachment.

This creation of meanings for a place can happen through both social interactions as well as interactions with the environment. Jack (2010) argued that social interactions might be more important, stating that good social relations in a physically less-than-adequate place can lead to positive place attachments, whereas the attachment might not form in a place with good physical conditions but negative social relations.

These results tie in with Di Masso, Dixon and Durrheim's (2014) social approach to place attachment alluded to above: Social interactions in a place are a way to both express as well as secure attachment to it (Di Masso et al., 2014), so it stands to reason that the frequency and quality of those interactions should have an effect on that attachment's intensity.

The importance of social interactions does not imply that the physical characteristics of a place are completely unimportant, though. Direct physical interaction with a place can help creating or strengthening a bond, such as in the case of someone remodelling a place in

order to make it suit their personal preferences and tastes. Fidzani and Read (2012) conducted research on adolescents between 14 and 18 years of age in Botswana. According to Fidzani and Read's (2012) findings, allowing children to personalize their private bedroom through the use of items and creative works helped them gain a "sense of stability", which triggered place attachment; whereas those children who were not allowed to do so displayed a lack of place attachment to their rooms (pp. 86-87).

The creation and maintenance of place attachment is a dynamic process: If a person changes, they will often strive to change the places they feel attached to in order to reflect those changes – neglecting to do so can actually hurt the attachment felt towards a place and may even cause people to lose the place attachment (Brown & Perkins, 1992).

For the purpose of this research, designing place for children in intercultural environments, these findings indicate that care should be taken to allow children to both form new, positive social connections as well as interact with the physical environment itself in order to make it conform to their individual identities.

2.1.3 Place identity. Identity is a term connected to place attachment in personal, social, cultural and ideological ways. The experience of migration can have a strong impact on a person's identity, with the external changes in place and environment requiring corresponding internal psychological re-definitions to incorporate the new environment into the established personal identity. This section will explore how place identity and place attachment are related to each other and also how attachment to a place helps people to form their identity.

Even though the term may seem to suggest otherwise, place identity does not refer to the identity of a place but rather to the way a place may be perceived as part of a person's identity. This will often happen due to recurring and meaningful interactions related to that place – either with the environment itself or with other people in that place.

By providing both the opportunity as well as the setting for meaningful interactions, the place itself becomes meaningful and part of a person's identity (Seamon, 2012). This echoes Belk's (1992) declaration that the places people are attached to become part of their "extended self" – their psychological body. Tuan (1974) elaborates on how a person's relationship with such places mirrors that of their attachment to personal objects such as clothing, which may also become part of their identity. The author draws the comparison that just as some people may not want to replace treasured but old pieces of clothing with new ones, some – especially elders – may also not wish to abandon an old and familiar environment in favour of a newly built one (Tuan, 1974).

As mentioned before, place attachment plays a significant role in both forming one's personal identity as well as the shared identities of communities, and it may also have a positive influence on the self-confidence of individuals and groups. Low and Altman (1992) explain this connection as follows:

One can infer from many writings that place attachment may contribute to the formation maintenance, and preservation of the identity of a person, group or culture. And it may be also that place attachment plays a role in fostering individual, group and cultural self-esteem, self-worth, and self-pride. (p. 10)

Cooper Marcus (1992) lays out how these effects are connected to the success of a person's first place making experiences during their childhoods. She states that, for children and adolescents, their rooms or personal furniture are often the first places they can decorate and change with their decisions. According to Cooper Marcus, they can use these places to show "who they are". Cooper Marcus also explains that if, for some reason, such as family or school rules, children are not able to represent themselves through their places, this may have negative effects on their future ability and willingness to shape their surroundings according

to their wishes and thus to their general sense of place identity. This echoes Fidzani & Read's (2012) findings regarding place attachment, which were discussed above.

Burger (2011) similarly states that a person's "self-concept" and their dwelling are connected to each other: If a person wanted to understand who they were at their childhood, they would want to re-visit the house that they lived in as a child (Burger, 2011).

If people manage to form a positive bond to their childhood environment, such as the house they grew up in, this will influence the way they relate to and change their places and social relationships throughout their lives in order to maintain the sense of "continuity with the past" touched upon in the previous section (Cooper Marcus, 1992).

When researching migration, it is important to not just look at identity on an individual level but also on a group level. After all, migratory processes often involve large groups of people. Often, these people will share more than just the fact that they are migrants. They may come from the same or similar national, cultural, religious, or linguistic background, perhaps even from the same region or town.

As examined above, social, cultural, national and ideological identities are related to and may be strengthened by place attachment, and all of these factors are in play during such a migratory situation. Looking at this process from the perspective of place identity, it becomes clear that this also means that a person's or group's place identity in relation to this is strengthened, which results in stronger place attachment (Di Masso et al., 2014; Low and Altman, 1992; Seamon, 2012), although, in the case of a large group of migrants from a similar background, this would be attachment to their place of origin. One of the challenges of successful design for children with such a background is to transform or transfer this sense of attachment from the old place to the new one in order to avoid non-attachment or place disruption.

2.1.4 Non-attachment and disruption. Important as it may be, the process of place attachment is not always a successful one. People may not form attachment to a place for different reasons, or they may lose either their places or their attachment to them.

Losing or moving from their attached places is a common situation for first generation immigrants, while the children or grandchildren of immigrant parents and even further generations with a migratory background are under the danger of not forming attachments to the surroundings in the country their ancestors migrated to.

In order to address the issues, this section will discuss concepts related to non-attachment and disruption. Furthermore, it will examine existing ideas on how people can overcome the problem of lost or non-existing place attachment and how they can form or reform their attachment to their surroundings.

Brown and Perkins (1992) distinguish between alienation and disruption –with alienation being the opposite of place attachment and a result of negative experiences in a place and negative connotations to it. Place disruption, on the other hand, is described by the authors as the destruction of a previously existing place attachment. According to Brown and Perkins, attachments take a long time to build but can be destroyed much faster – triggered by physical or psychological transformations of a place (such as a large-scale remodelling or the psychological effects of a break-in into one's home). If these transformations exceed a person's coping capabilities, Brown and Perkins describe that this person's connections to that place will break, resulting in a long-term period of trying to cope with the impact of the change. To successfully master this period and handle the change, people will need to find ways to both accept the loss of the old situation as well as find positive and "meaningful" aspects in the new order of things (Brown and Perkins, 1992).

It is important to point out, however, that Brown and Perkins (1992) do not claim that every change at a person's place will automatically lead to disruption. As mentioned before,

Brown and Perkins also state that some changes may be necessary in order to maintain or even strengthen an existing attachment, because they can make places more personal and/or more useful to an individual. Thus, improving an apartment's infrastructure or changing the decoration to match the residents' tastes is unlikely to be a disruptive experience (Brown and Perkins, 1992). The danger of disruption mainly arises when persons are either unable to change a place according to their environmental needs or when changes are too big to reconcile them with a person's existing connection to a concept of a place (Brown and Perkins, 1992).

A loss of place is not just a loss in the physiological sense – it also has a distinct psychological dimension. This is not just because the memories of the old place serve as touchstone for a person's identity and continuity of existence, but also because of a place's social functions, i.e. its connection to the community living around and/or using it (Brown and Perkins, 1992).

2.1.5 Types of place attachment. So far, this overview has treated the term 'place attachment' as if it describes a singular, unchanging concept. This, however, is not the case. In fact, place attachment can take many different forms, depending on cultural, spiritual, and socioeconomic contexts. Differences in these may cause different types of place attachment and may affect how people behave towards both their environments and to other people sharing it with them.

Low (1992), Gustafson (2001) and Lewicka (2014) all offer definitions of types of place attachment, which sometimes overlap and sometimes emphasize different aspects. Low (1992) separates the types of place attachment largely by their origin. Her typology is rather complex and is represented here as an overview:

Types of place attachment according to Low (1992):

1. Social Aspects:

a. 'Genealogical' – The place has historical importance for the person or their ancestors.

2. Material aspects:

a. 'loss' – The place or its community does not exist anymore, but this loss has left a deep psychological scar in the person or community.

b. 'economical' – The place is a person's property or there are other economic ties to it.

3. Ideological aspects:

a. 'cosmological' – The person or community harbours metaphysical beliefs which assign the place some significance.

b. 'religious and secular' – The place serves as a centre for both 'religious and secular [...] cultural events'.

c. 'narrative' – The place has significance due to the 'stories' a culture connects with it. (pp. 166-167)

With this typology, Low (1992) focuses on the functional aspects of place attachment – the 'why'. Gustafson (2001), on the other hand, is more interested in the 'how': What are the different ways through which attachment may occur and which socioeconomic factors influence it?

Lewicka (2014) points out that so far, a lot of research has centred on duration of stay as a significant element in the formation place attachment. It may not be seen as a primary driver anymore, but is still considered to be an important factor (Lewicka, 2014).

Lewicka (2014) points out that the driving force behind attachment may not necessarily be time but rather memories and knowledge we have about it. She argues that these memories may either be formed in passive way, by simply staying in a place for a long time – which she called traditional attachment – or actively, by engaging in activities centred on the place, such as learning about its history, which she calls active attachment.

Gustafson (2001) proposes another distinction: 'place as roots' and 'place as routes'. The 'roots' type is in line with Lewicka's (2014) definition of traditional attachment as a sense of belonging to a place, which, due to personal history, familiarity and social connections, can serve as a home or base to people. Gustafson (2001) contrasts this with the idea of 'place as routes', which would apply to people leading more nomadic or mobile lives in which they have at least a degree of control over their choice of place. Gustafson (2001) contends that individual places may still carry importance for those persons: They may not be a reference to the person's origin, but were instead consciously chosen, thus they reflect a person's individuality and their path through life (Gustafson, 2001). He emphasizes that these two concepts do not exclude each other, and that individual people may attach to some places as 'roots' and to others as 'routes' (Gustafson, 2001).

Gustafson (2001) does not, unfortunately, address the issue of forced migration (e.g., due to war or poverty), which often does not allow for an individual choice of place or route. According to Gustafson's ideas of 'places as routes' these situations should make place attachment difficult. This is in line with Lewicka's (2014) findings who generally agrees as she points out that people on the move may well develop attachment to certain places but warns that involuntary changes of place could "... undermine attachment and lead to root shock" (p. 56).

2.2 Private and Special Places of Children

Children's private places and the activities they are used for are especially significant for this research, because these places are of strong emotional importance for children and play an important role in their development, and thus their loss due to a move is felt especially hard. Furthermore, as will be seen in the description of the results, migrant children's options for creating their own private and special places are often limited by both practical and cultural factors.

There is a general consensus among researchers that the physical characteristics of and children's' relationships to their private places can vary during different phases of childhood, however there no universally agreed-upon timeline or model for these phases, with each researcher applying slightly different criteria.

For the purposes of this overview, these stages in children's relationship to and usage patterns of private special places can be defined as early childhood, middle childhood, and adolescence.

2.2.1 Early childhood. In this phase, which lasts from birth until roughly the age of six, children are generally dependent on their parents and have only limited options for unsupervised activity. So, their first special places will usually be at locations where they can have contact with their parents whenever they want and where they can communicate to people from these places (Simms, 2008).

According to Simms (2008), children under the age of four do not really have secret places. However, they might occasionally still desire some time away from any direct interaction with others and might choose places such as "small window seats, platforms, cubbyholes, soft enclosed seating, and spacious stair landings" to slightly separate themselves from the company of others (Olds, 1987, p. 132). Olds states that these places, in which the children are not engaging with anyone but rather have time to focus on themselves, allow

toddlers to explore their emotions without being limited by direct adult interaction or the dynamics of group activities. Spending time without direct interaction can allow toddlers to relax and to learn by observation (Olds, 1987). They can explore who they are, making these places vital for the formation of a child's individuality and their sense of self (Olds, 1987).

When children get a bit older, roughly between three and five, their exploration becomes less introspective and more experimental. They start experimenting to figure out their bodies' physical abilities, for instance by trying to copy the exaggerated movements of cartoon characters to check if their bodies can do the same (Davids, 2010). Around the age of three or four, they also a time start to independently explore and discover their physical environments both inside and outside of the home, which is a necessity for the creation of new private places (Green, 2011). These places are not just limited to the interior of the home – children at this age also create special places for exploration of the exterior environment (Green, 2011). Curtis (1997) points out that especially the exploration of outdoor areas can help preschool children experience nature and gain an understanding of natural life.

Curtis (1997) argues that preschool children seek out and need spaces for playing and exploring that are hidden from adults' direct observation. The nature of private places at this age is still comparatively simple: They do not have to be defined by surrounded walls (Sanoff, 2016). Inside of the home, it might just a spot "under the table and behind the furniture" (Simms, 2008, p. 55). Generally, they are areas that can give children "a sense of physical privacy" but the same time allow them to observe the "playroom" from their location (Sanoff, 2016, p. 41).

Davids (2010) advises parents to allow children at this age to discover the world by themselves. Davids also states that parents can watch their children from a distance and answer any questions about the world or their experiences that may arise but should give children the opportunity to directly interact with the world.

Green's (2011) research suggests that allowing this type of individual and unguided interaction with private places has numerous psychological and developmental benefits for preschool-aged children: Apart from stimulating the imagination by allowing for the creation of imaginary worlds or play pretend games, special places cannot just be used for playing and hiding but also to recover from negative (Green, 2011). Even hiding activities may not always be purely a game to play but can also be a way for preschool children to gain some temporary privacy (Green, 2011).

Green (2011) also states that special places also allow preschool children to have autonomy over their decisions: They alone decide on where their places should be, which activities they want to undertake there, when to go there and which toys to bring with them (Green, 2011). These kinds of decisions reinforce children's "sense on individuality" (Green, 2011, p.128). Davids (2010) elaborates that giving children time and space for to experiment and explore by themselves helps them form their "unique creative self" (p. 34). She describes "[d]oing [as] a key element in the child's sense of being", stating that when children explore their own abilities, they also start to develop a realistic "sense of self" (Davids, 2010, p. 27).

The degree of autonomy over and ownership of objects and spaces provided by private places also has an influence on children's self-esteem: Sanoff (2016) found that if children in preschool environments perceived all accessible spaces, toys, and furniture to be under the control of the teachers, they did not create private places for themselves – leading to the children lacking what Sanoff called "primary territory" (pp. 41-42). Sanoff (2016) also argues that this deficit can eventually lead to problems with "self-esteem and self-identity" (p. 42). Similarly, Allen (2006) states that caretakers of preschool children should allow children some opportunities for being creative and expressing their fantasy worlds – otherwise, if caretakers behave too strictly and try to control all the children's activities – children would adjust to letting other people to make decisions for them and not develop self-esteem.

2.2.2 Middle childhood. In middle childhood, which lasts roughly from the age of six to the age of eleven, the concept of private places retains its importance, however several important changes occur: Children's relationship to their private places changes, as do the purposes for which they are used. Consequentially, they will seek out new places whose physical formation and locations fulfil the new requirements, and these start to be away from direct supervision.

Children at this age continue to extend the borders of what they perceive to be their home (Cooper Marcus, 2006). As such, they start to venture into outside spaces that they can explore by themselves, without adult supervision and in which they can spend time alone or with their friends (Burger, 2011; Cooper Marcus, 2006; Simms, 2008).

Cooper Marcus (2006) describes the private places children create for this as "homes-away-from-home", and states that children's desire to build them does not depend on any cultural or social background or gender but is a universal phase of development (p. 21). Sobel (2002), who uses the term "den" for this type of space, found that children start to create these truly private places around the ages of six or seven and that they gain their greatest importance for children around the age of ten, or, as Cooper Marcus (2006) puts it, just before the onset of puberty.

These secret private places may either be for an individual child's private use or for a group of children. Individual private places are most important around the ages of 10 to 11 years and allow a child to spend time alone in a silent atmosphere without disruption (Sobel, 2002). Group usage is significant during all of the "later middle childhood (ages eight through eleven)", and while the place is not for one individual, it is still considered private, that is the children aim to restrict its use to the members of the group (Sobel, 2002, p. 20).

For the construction of their "home away from home", children will use easily reachable materials: Sobel (2002) observed that primary school children between nine and

eleven years in Devon, England built their “dens” from elements and materials collected outside. These constructions may lack some of the perfection and comforts that could be achieved if parents were to help the children, however any adult involvement would take away from the control children have over these places, meaning that they would not be the children’s own creation anymore (Burger, 2011). This is echoed by Cooper Marcus (2006) who argues that private hidden places of children should be built by them, because those built by parents or grandparents are not as valuable to the children as the ones which they built for themselves.

Jack (2010) points out that if children at this age cannot extend the areas available to them beyond their school and home, it will negatively affect their formation of place attachment, the development of their identity and their general sense of security and belonging. Jack also states that adults should both encourage and guide this separation from adult supervision, so that it can be achieved gradually without overwhelming the child.

Cooper Marcus (2006) states that being able to spend time without adult supervision allows children to build their first hidden private places. According to her these allow them to start separating themselves from their parents.

The gradual shift away from permanent adult observation is a significant change in children’s lives, which also affects their private place preferences and their locations. Cooper Marcus (2006) found that many of children’s private hidden places were outdoors places. Similarly, Burger (2011) observed that primary school age children mainly picked outdoor locations for their private place, even though they tended to spend their most of their overall time inside. The reason for this preference towards outdoor areas is that these are more likely to be beyond direct adult control (Burger, 2011).

It should be noted, though, that “beyond direct adult control” does not imply that these places need to be far away from children’s familiar sites. In fact, when Sobel (2002) observed

what he called the „dens“ of primary school children between nine and eleven years in Devon, England, he found that most of them were in publicly accessible areas not far from children's houses, even though, as he theorizes, the places might have felt and remote and wild to the children. Sobel goes on to note, though, that the distance between children's houses and their private “dens” would tend to increase when with children's age.

While children prefer to extend the borders of their private and social places to public places, this is not always possible— particularly in urban environments (Cooper Marcus, 2006). Valentine (2004) describes how urban public space is mainly constructed as an adults' daily environment and that it is considered improper for children existence to encroach on this space. Additionally, as Cooper Marcus (2006) mentions, parental worries about the safety of public space, may limit children's options for independent outside play to private areas. In these cases, children may be restricted to interior options for their private places – which, according Cooper Marcus (2006) is more common for female children than for males. According to Burger's (2011) study, children who used indoor places for their private places mostly decided to use their room as their private place.

Just as in the early childhood, private place in middle childhood plays an important role in a child's psychological development: Children look for “privacy, independence, and self-sufficiency” at that age (Sobel, 2002, p. 47). They are trying to find a “place for themselves in the world” by building private places for themselves (Sobel, 2002, p. 47). The creative construction work involved can help them learn who they are (Cooper Marcus, 2006). As Cooper Marcus (2006) puts it,

Whether these places were called forts, dens, houses, hideaways or clubhouses, they were in the home or were found, modified, or constructed, they all seem to serve similar psychological and social purposes—places in which separation from adults was sought, in which fantasies could be acted out, and in which very environment itself

could be moulded and shaped to one's own needs. This is the beginning of the act of dwelling or claiming one's place in the world. (p. 25)

Sobel (2002) points out the importance of these places for the individual's future development: The question "who am I" that is explored to the construction of these places will gain greater prominence in the adolescence years. Along the same lines, Cooper Marcus (2006) argues that childhood private places play an important role in shaping an individual's personality, as they are the first places where "we are [...] at liberty to be ourselves", without any outside interference (p. 24). Finally, Sobel (2002) puts the significance of private times and places for children into a greater context by arguing:

Education in harmony with development should, among other things, create adults with both a sense of individual initiative and a sense of responsibility to the natural and social worlds. How do we accomplish this? One small way we can help is to acknowledge, in our education, the world-making tendencies of the individual. In middle childhood this means allowing the child to find and create private worlds. If we allow children to shape their own small worlds in childhood, then they will grow up knowing and feeling that they can participate in shaping the big world tomorrow. (p. 161)

Part of the importance of the places from middle childhood comes from the fact that they are usually among the first private places adults will remember vividly. Burger (2011) describes that while people do not retain memories from before the age of five, but they can recall many details from the time when they were seven years old. So, at adult age, people have a desire to visit the houses they lived in during their primary school age but not the ones they have lived in during the earlier years of their childhood (Burger, 2011). Places from middle childhood are the places where our contemporary self started to form; it is where we realized we are a unique person (Burger, 2011; Cooper Marcus, 2006). Adults may sometimes

re-visit their hidden childhood places either through their memories or in person, especially the latter can be a powerful experience for them, even though these places may have already been destructed or changed (Cooper Marcus, 2006). By revisiting these places, adults can directly experience their personal development story and compare the person they are now to the person they were during their childhood (Cooper Marcus, 2006).

2.2.3 Adolescence. When children reach the stage of adolescence, which is usually around the age of 12, their choice of and interaction with places changes yet again in order to adapt to their changing psychological needs and challenges. The previously established secret outside places now seem embarrassing to the child, and the focus shifts to having their own private room in the dwelling, in which they can spend time alone and engage with their dreams, hobbies, and interests (Simms, 2008).

The private room takes over the role the secret places played in middle childhood: It is a way for adolescents to separate themselves from their parents and to stake out their own space in the home away from the area controlled by their parents (Croft, 2006). Similar to the secret places of earlier ages, their room is now the space in which they can establish and form their own identity (Croft, 2006).

Croft (2006) states that physically and psychologically, adolescents are “fragile” at this phase of their life. While they still play, it is a different type of playing with a different purpose – adolescents no longer create imaginary worlds outside, but rather focus on their developing “inner self” (p. 212), or as Croft puts it, “daydreaming” may be the “playing” style of the adolescent (p. 213). This more intimate use of private place means that they desire spaces that are both secure and protected from disruption (Croft, 2006).

Similar to the “dens” and “homes-away-from-home” of previous childhood phases, adolescents will personalize their spaces – however unlike with the previous spaces, this time the personalization is significant not only to the adolescent themselves but also as a statement

they make to the outside world: As Lang (1987) puts it: “The personalization of places [...] serves many purposes: psychological security and symbolic aesthetic as well as the adaptation of the environment to meet the needs of specific activity patterns. Above all, however personalization marks territory” (p. 148). Music or posters in adolescents’ private places are a way for them to both explore and express their identity, and their room becomes the space for creative and explorative attempts to figure out who they are (Croft, 2006). Cooper Marcus (2006) agrees with this saying that adolescent children try to communicate to their parents through their bedrooms. They want to express that they are a unique person, but they do not yet know exactly who they are (Cooper Marcus, 2006).

While the specific characteristics of and requirements for children’s private places change over time, researchers agree that they play important roles throughout all stages of childhood. As this research will show, migrant children do not always have adequate access to spaces that allow them to create places necessary for their development. This potential lack of important spatial resources and opportunities should be taken into account in any projects that involve the creation of spaces for migrant children.

2.3 Migration, Place Attachment, Place Identity, and Sense of Place

Since migration is a significant threshold event in an individual’s life, it can significantly affect their place attachment, place identity, and sense of place. This sub-section will first summarize its psychological effects on migrants and their community. Following that, it’ll explore the factors that may help or hinder adaptation and place attachment at the new places, and finally move on to examine various proposed methods of helping migrants to achieve better place attachment.

2.3.1 Psychological effects of migration. The migratory experience – especially if it is over a long distance – can be seen as a kind of threshold event in a person’s life, since it consists of many individual moments that may form lasting memories: The initial decision to

leave behind the old home, the act of actually undertaking that journey as well as any positive and/or negative events along the way, and finally the confrontation with and adaptation to the new place – all of these experiences have the potential to stay with migrants for the rest of their lives.

Phases of migration. Even though each individual journey is unique, migratory experiences share some common features. Seamon (1985) outlined the different phases of a prototypical migration and adaptation process as follows:

- “Lack of dwelling and decision to go”
- “Preparation”
- “Journey and arrival”
- “Settling”
- “Becoming at home”
- “Coming together”
- “Creating community”
- “Re-establishing of dwelling” (p. 228)

Of course, many of these steps are either optional or they may fail. For example, a migrant may not have time or opportunity to undertake much in forms of preparation, and they are far from guaranteed to end up finding a home and becoming a member of the community in their new place.

Brown and Perkins (1992) similarly structure the typical inner journey of the migrant in terms of place attachment and relationships with the following steps:

- “Disruption”
- “Coping with lost attachments”
- “Creating new attachments” (p. 279)

Brown and Perkins (1992) caution that the intensity of disruption as well as the ability to create new attachments are correlated to how willing they were to undertake the journey in the first place, and how much they were able to prepare themselves for it. This would imply that involuntary migrants who had to leave quickly, such as, for example, war time refugees, may face a more difficult adaptation process than someone migrating out of their own free will and after a lengthy period of preparation.

The authors also stress that finding attachment to new places does not automatically mean that attachment to old places will get lost, instead – circumstances permitting – it is possible to develop attachment to a new place without completely losing one's attachment to the old home (Brown & Perkins, 1992).

On the other hand, migration may also lead to a complete loss of place attachment feeling at home neither here nor there. This can be especially the case with second-generation migrants who may feel like they belong neither to their parents' old home nor to the environment they grew up in. Ilgin and Hacıhasanoğlu (2006) interviewed second-generation immigrants in Berlin Kreuzberg and found that many of them lacked a strong place attachment and did not perceive themselves to be part of a community larger than their own local neighbourhood.

In this way, one generation's failure to achieve place attachment may be passed on to the next. The following section will examine some of the challenges migrants face when trying to achieve proper place attachment to their new home.

Obstacles and negative effects. The effects of the stresses associated with migration were already well-known in ancient times. According to Tuan (1977), in the antiquity, exile, i.e. forced migration, was considered to be one of the worst punishments to be administered, because it took a person away from the protection of their local gods. He also explains that many ancient Greek societies placed a high value on the concept of "autochthony", i.e. the

idea of belonging to a family that has lived in the same place or city for generations, as opposed to being a foreigner or the descendant of foreigners. Tuan states that, the people of Athens, for example, took pride in the idea of being the native and original population of the area instead of having migrated there from somewhere else. Exile or migration, by their nature would deprive a person of this value, robbing both them and their descendants of “autochthony” (Tuan, 1977).

Tuan (1977) goes on to elaborate that similar attitudes towards home and homeland can be found in many cultures all over the world, regardless of any differences in dwelling types or lifestyles:

The city or land is viewed as mother, and it nourishes; place is an archive of fond memories and splendid achievements that inspire the present; place is permanent and hence reassuring to man, who sees frailty in himself and chance and flux everywhere. (p. 154)

Even though travel and permanent moves are more much common nowadays, and exile is only rarely doled out as a deliberate punishment anymore, migration is still not unproblematic. As stated above, the journey itself as well as the loss of the old home may negatively affect migrants, and they may experience cultural and linguistic barriers as well as discrimination by locals and/or authorities in their target countries on the way there. Combined with the physiological and economic hardships that migrants often face, these stresses commonly lead to homesickness.

Homesickness may sound like a harmless common phenomenon at first glance – after all it is something everyone probably experienced at some time in childhood or maybe even as an adult during longer journeys. However, while it is indeed harmless as long as it is a temporary condition and as long as there is a safe and comfortable home the person can return to after a relatively short time, it does get problematic, if the homesickness is for a place that

no longer exists or is no longer accessible to the person. In those cases, the longing for the old place may actively interfere with the formation of bonds to a new home.

Migration may still cause people to lose a part of their identity connected to their home places, just as it did in the examples from ancient Greece cited above. As Tuan (1977) mentioned, some people see their places as a strong part of their private and social identities, they use them to explain, show and define both their view of themselves as well as their relations to other people. Losing the place through migration can trigger a painful psychological loss: A part of themselves has suddenly gone missing.

Brown and Perkins (1992) explained how people treated their homes as part of their identity. The authors stated that the houses' interior decorations corresponded to the residents' personalities, and people defined themselves and their community via various special features in neighbourhood; places of social interactions as well as the boundaries they built to separate their spaces and lives from those of their neighbours (Brown & Perkins, 1992). According to Brown and Perkins this led to an intimate relation between people and their places, so moving houses would hurt their personal and community identities.

These feelings of loss may be compounded by problems in adjusting to the new place. Hack-Polay (2012) examined homesickness in immigrants and expatriates in the UK, and found several common triggers, namely not being welcomed by locals, a fear of the new and unusual atmosphere, unfamiliarity with laws and living habits in the new country, a lack of sufficient language skills for both work and private time, lack of employment opportunities, or unhappiness at a person's workplace. All of these were found to increase the likelihood of homesickness, exhaustion, and/or feelings of 'dislocation' (Hack-Polay, 2012).

These findings are backed up by Hordyk, Hanley and Richard's (2015) research in Canada. They asked immigrant participants in their focus group about the main issues affecting their "settlement adaptation process", and the top responses were "social isolation;

language difficulties; underemployment or unemployment; inadequate housing conditions; noise pollution; transportation difficulties; and systemic barriers in health, education and government institutions” (Hordyk et al., 2015, p. 76).

All of these issues interfere with migrants' adaptation to their new places, making the process harder and more stressful. Yet, they will have to overcome them in order to be able to form place attachment to their new surroundings again.

Positive effects and chances. In spite of the many ways in which migration may damage people's lives, there is, however, the potential for positive effects of migration on the individual. In cases of voluntary migration, as discussed in more detail further below, a hope for these positive effects is often the reason to leave the old home: The expectation of a better life in a new place.

Brown and Perkins' (1992) research shows that, even though the initial post-disruption phase may still trigger different levels of homesickness for old places and social bonds, moves may indeed be an opportunity to find better place attachment and place identity in a new place.

Sonn's (2002) research emphasizes the importance of communities in this process. For example, Sonn's (2002) states that it is common for migrants to adapt “social and support systems based on the home culture to the new culture” (p. 205). In other words, to make the new place less foreign, migrants tend to re-create familiar social and community, which are, however, influenced by the new place's culture, as well, combining influences from both places (Sonn, 2002). In that way, a continuity between cultural identities and sense of place for the two places is achieved. Sonn (2002) adds that,

In a sense, immigrant-adaptation can be construed as a process of community making that involves the negotiating and integration of cultural systems and identities developed in one context to a new context and the development of ties with the new

country. Viewing the adaptation process in this manner means individuals and groups are positioned as dynamic and not passive recipients of acculturative forces. (pp. 205-206)

2.3.2 Factors affecting place attachment, place identities and sense of place with regard to new places. Every migratory experience is a mix of many different factors. There are some primary factors, i.e. factors that are directly connected to the migration itself, e.g.:

- **Willingness** – does a person leave their old home voluntarily or are they forced to do so?
- **Expectations** – what is it they expect to achieve by migrating? Mere survival, better economic standing, a more favourable cultural or political environment, etc?
- **Preparedness** – How much time and effort did they put into preparing for the migration? What do they know about their target place and the ways it differs from their old home, and how much of their belongings are they able to take with them?

In addition to these, there are also secondary influences – factors that exist independent from the act of migration but still influence it, such as:

- **Background** – The cultural and physical environment a person grew up in affects their reaction to a new place. This includes living styles, climate, as well architectural and social features of residential homes and neighbourhoods.
- **Age/Generation** – How old were persons when they experienced the migration? Or – since the effects and experiences of migration can be passed down from one generation to the next – did they not even experience to themselves but still feel the results of their parents' or grandparents' migration?

Lastly, there are external factors that come about as a result of the migratory process but cannot be directly influenced by the migrants themselves:

- **Attitude towards them at their new place** – How do locals and authorities treat them at their destination?
- **Distance** – How far away from their old home is their new place, and how easy is it to go back for visits or to return in case the migration did not produce the expected results?

All of these factors can have significant effects on how easy it is for people to form bonds to their new places, and whether they are able to develop place attachment and place identities there, and this section will explore them in greater detail.

Reasons for migration. This section looks at the many different reasons and motivations for migration, as well as the wide variety of expectations migrants might have.

For example, not every migration is a voluntary act. It may be brought about by natural disasters or man-made causes such as wars or conflicts. In other cases, however, people may decide to change places out of their own free will in hopes of finding some sort of better conditions elsewhere. They may have specific goals and plans for their new place, or they may just try to escape their current situation without a clear plan for what comes next.

All of these factors may affect people's place attachment and their eagerness to adapt and change their place identities.

Voluntarily, involuntarily, and forced migration. Brown and Perkins (1992) compared the effects of relocation on place attachment depending on whether the decision to leave a place was "voluntary" or "involuntary" and on how well prepared the individuals were for the move. It should be noted that the scenarios they examine are not directly related to international or intercultural migration.

Brown and Perkins (1992) state that the eagerness to move and people's psychological preparation for it and influence over it had a clear effect on the way the process affected their place attachment and place identity during and after the experience: Bad preparation or

involuntary or forced relocation made it harder for people to overcome the psychological stress associated with the move, and also caused a higher number of psychological and economic problems in the aftermath (Brown & Perkins, 1992). Well-prepared people would face similar situations and problems but would have an easier time handling them (Brown & Perkins, 1992).

Brown and Perkins (1992) cite research showing that voluntary relocation is usually a comparatively organized process. There may be a positive or negative reason for it – such as moving in with a partner or separating from them, graduating from school, changing workplaces, and many more (Brown & Perkins, 1992). While all of them tend to affect a person's social and/or economic position as well as their personal and community identities, they tend to come about comparatively slowly: and give people time to plan and prepare for the move.

Involuntary relocations, on the other hand, are caused by events that are forced upon the individual by outside powers. Brown and Perkins (1992) examine the effects of two natural disasters in greater detail: The 1972 Buffalo Creek Flood in West Virginia, as well as a 1970 landslide in the town of Yungay, Peru (Brown & Perkins, 1992).

In both cases, the events unfolded developed very quickly, so people did not have any time to prepare (Brown & Perkins, 1992). The resulting effects were both physical and psychological: In addition to lost or damaged property, people also had to deal with the sudden and unexpected loss of neighbours or family members, of community and neighbourhood attachments defining their identities and their daily behaviour settings (Brown & Perkins, 1992). Interestingly enough, the traumatic stresses associated with these losses were handled better by the people of Yungay, who had to organize much of the clean-up and rebuilding efforts themselves, than by the those affected by the Buffalo Creek flood, who were mainly forced into a passive role as authorities coordinated and undertook the necessary

steps (Brown & Perkins, 1992). According to Brown and Perkins, this may be partially due to a tendency for organized relocation efforts to underestimate the severity of any immaterial losses, since outsiders may not always be able to properly judge a seemingly ordinary place's or object's significance for a community.

While Brown and Perkins (1992) research focuses on a more local example, it is safe to assume that all of the factors mentioned above play into larger-scale migrations, as well: Migrants may be forced into their journey by wars, famines, or political pressure, or they may decide to search for a better life somewhere else out of their own free will. Sudden and unprepared departures with the corresponding loss of place and community attachment will have more traumatic results than a carefully planned trip with ample time for good-byes and a clear idea and perspective for life in the new home.

Aims and expectations. Even with voluntary migration, migrants aren't necessarily interested in making the new place their home but may come with very different aims and expectations.

Gustafson (2008) studied retirees from northern Europe who had moved to Spain in order to live in a warmer climate. He distinguishes their form of migration from "labour migration" or the involuntary migration of refugees, finding that, compared to the latter two, retired migrants were much less likely to learn the target country's language and integrate into its social and cultural life and tended to form their own social group separate from the majority population of the country. According to his research, several factors play into this: The retirees' age makes them less adaptable to new situations, the fact that they don't work means they don't have to come into contact with the local population as much as, e.g., a labour migrant, and since they will frequently travel back to visit their old place, they never quite accept the new place as an actual home (Gustafson, 2008).

In other words: These retirees came for purely practical reasons, namely the climate, and without the intention of becoming part of their new place's society, so they didn't make efforts to integrate themselves into it (Gustafson, 2008). While Gustafson (2008) focuses on migration of retirees to more pleasant climates, these findings could also be applicable to other forms of migration. For example, Abadan-Unat (2014) interviewed early labour migrants who came to Germany from Turkey, and found that, at the time, a large majority of the subjects intended to return to Turkey after working in Germany for a while. Similar to the retirees in Gustafson's (2008) study, they did not come to find a new permanent home; they came for practical (in this case economic) reasons.

Migrants' backgrounds. Another important influence on the migratory and post-migratory experience is an individual's background. This includes biographical, economic and cultural factors. In many cases of migration, a person's ethnic background will also come into play – although not as a factor by itself but rather in terms of its contrast to the predominant ethnic mark-up of their target country.

However, even migrants from a single culture and ethnicity do not necessarily form a homogenous group but may have very distinct backgrounds, which define their lives and expectations. Thus, a “one-size-fits-all” approach towards integrating or planning for any group of migrants will most likely be problematic, since it wouldn't account for his variety.

This part of the chapter will discuss these different background factors and their effect on migrants' place attachment and identities.

Social, cultural, ethnic and economic backgrounds. The environment and atmosphere in which a person grows up all affect their place attachment, mobility, and how their identity is connected to the places they grow up at as well as those they live at in later life. Specifically, the social, cultural and economic background will affect their attitude towards and behaviour at new places and their willingness and ability to accept them.

This influence can go both ways – it can mean that the migrants seek out environments which are similar to the familiar place – or try to create such an environment themselves – or it can be the exact opposite, with migrants consciously avoiding these kind of places in order to become a part of the new social and cultural environment as much as possible.

Savaş (2010) spent three years studying the living environments of Turkish migrants in Vienna and making in-depth interviews with the inhabitants. The immigrants who took part in her research, stated that they saw their homes as safe and comfortable places away from the rules of Austrian society. They all tended to decorate their homes in ways that correspond to an idealized image of what they conceived to be the “typical Turkish home” (Savaş, 2010). According to Savaş the resulting similarities between migrants’ homes helped establish a collective identity within the group and also made visits among each other more comfortable, since the environment would look Turkish instead of Austrian.

Savaş’s (2010) research shows a clear example of migrants trying to cling to as many familiar aspects of their original culture as they can. According to Savaş’s research, they consciously separate themselves from the culture majority population and use the interior design of their houses as a way to create community among their own kind.

At the same time, though, the common migratory identity does not erase or overwhelm the differences within the group: Sonn’s (2002) research on Chilean immigrants in Australia showed that even though they all came the same country and shared the experience of living in a foreign culture, there was still a significant differentiation within the group, based on, e.g., religious, political or socio-economic background. This also affected their behaviour when forming communities (e.g., by seeking out other migrants from a similar social background or with similar political ideas), how they experienced the general process of “adaptation” to their new home (Sonn, 2002).

Similarly, Mendoza's (2006) research in Albuquerque showed the different spatial preferences of Mexican immigrants depending on their socio-economic background: Among low-skilled immigrants, those living in "non-Latino" parts of the city displayed weaker attachment to their neighbourhood than the ones in predominantly Hispanic areas, with the interviewees pointing out how much more familiar the culture, customs, and greater sense of community of the Hispanic areas, when compared to the relative anonymity of the "white" suburbs (Mendoza, 2006).

"Urban professionals", had no such problem when living in "white" areas, stating that the atmosphere there reminded them of the situation in well-off residential suburbs in Mexico (Mendoza, 2006).

This is not only an example for the influence of socio-economic background on place attachment, but it also mirrors Hummon's (1992) differentiation between "active" and "traditional" place attachment as researched by Lewicka (2014), which was discussed earlier. Namely, Lewicka (2013) found at her research that she conducted in Ukraine and Poland that people with higher cultural capital and greater mobility were more likely bond with places through active engagement with the places cultural and social offerings, whereas older and less educated people would often form their place attachment "traditionally", i.e. through duration of time spent in a place. These tendencies and abilities, will, as shown by Mendoza's (2006) work, in turn affect a migrants' ability to attach to their new home.

Beyond the common cultural background, however, there is something else the residents of immigrant neighbourhoods in Mendoza's (2006) research have in common: They come from a similar ethnic background, in this case Hispanic, which is notably different from the majority population's ethnicity. According to Mendoza's research, awareness of ethnicity was high among all groups of immigrants, the ones living in Hispanic neighbourhoods as well as those living in "white" areas, and they tended to classify their neighbourhoods by the

number of “Mexicans” living there. When asked to draw maps of the city, they clearly identified different sections that, according to them, corresponded with different ethnic groups and income levels, giving, as a whole, the idea of “a city residentially segregated by race and wealth” as one of the interviewees explained it (Mendoza, 2006, p. 549). Mendoza’s research also highlights that this segregation did lead to conflicted sense of identity within the Hispanic community. While the Mexicans living in the Hispanic neighbourhoods would often state that the community within the Hispanic population had helped them to establish themselves in the city and would highlight the importance of a shared cultural background, they tended to blame the poverty and problems of the neighbourhoods on their Mexican neighbours (Mendoza, 2006). As Mendoza observes, this led to the paradoxical situation of immigrants blaming themselves for the poor state of their neighbourhoods instead of connecting it to larger political, social, or economic issues.

These findings are especially important for the subject matter of this research, since any attempt to improve migrants’ integration and place attachment has to take into account their own attitudes about their situation, which may significantly differ from the outsider’s point of view. Perceived problems will have to be either addressed or the worries about them dispelled, otherwise migrants may feel that they are not being listened to and consequently lose interest in the project.

While the subjects of Mendoza’s (2006) research generally tended to live in neighbourhoods similar to those they knew from their homeland, Levin’s (2012) study of Chinese immigrants in Melbourne, Australia, showed how migrants might intentionally chose surroundings different from those they grew up in and try to adapt their dwellings in order to better integrate into the new country’s culture. At the same time, they also exhibited a radically different attitude towards their places (Levin, 2012).

Levin (2012) studied 12 Chinese migrants who all moved to Melbourne during the 1990s and 2000s, and now all owned houses in suburbs of Melbourne. Levin (2012) herself cautions that these persons are “not a representative sample of all Chinese migrants in Melbourne” (p. 306), coming from a “middle-class and urban background” (p. 318). Levin (2012) also mentions that “a large proportion of recently arrived Chinese migration comprises business migrants who come with capital for investment in Australia, as well as professionals and urban people” (p. 306). Combining all this information, one can hypothesize that these subjects should, according to Lewicka’s (2013) research mentioned above, exhibit active place attachment, meaning they would form bonds to places through interaction rather than familiarity.

Indeed, Levin’s (2012) subjects did not try to re-create familiar environments. For example, the majority of participants in her research, owned “large houses”, even though apartments are the prevalent type of dwelling in China (Levin, 2012). Levin speculated that the size of the houses may even have sprung from a desire to notably improve their living situation compared to their home country. Also, the author also found that many subjects paid attention to their home’s backyards and gardens, with some even employing gardeners to take care of them, even though these are not common features in Chinese housing. According to Levin, this came from the migrants’ desire to adapt to Australian culture as much as possible, because backyards and gardens are considered important features in Australian homes. In the same vein, they did not adapt the outsides of their houses to reflect their original culture, opting instead to “fit in with the ordinary Australian suburban streetscape” (Levin, 2012, pp. 317-318). She observed that this adaptation was, paradoxically, an effect of their native culture’s attitude towards houses. According to Levin (2012), the migrants had already had a “utilitarian” approach to housing in their home country, so when they came to Australia, they considered their houses to be “a tool to advance future opportunities and accumulate

objectified cultural capital in order to become part of Australian society and achieve social mobility within it" (p. 318).

This idea of using one's home as a tool to achieve status may be unfamiliar to many Western readers. It sheds light on another issue migrants face when living in a foreign culture: Ideas and behaviours that are perfectly normal in their homeland, may be unknown, misunderstood, or even considered unacceptable in the new country. Ng (1998) gives the example of breastfeeding in a public place. This is completely acceptable behaviour in Vietnam but is seen as problematic and disturbing in Canada (Ng, 1998). If migrants' learned cultural behaviours repeatedly violate the customs of their new surroundings, this can lead to problems and prejudice in intercultural environments.

Educational and intellectual background. This research already examined some aspects of educational background as part of other concepts – for example, Hummon's (1992) distinction between active and traditional attachment, with the former being more common among highly educated people with "high cultural capital" (Lewicka, 2013, p. 48). Both Levin's (2012) and Mendoza's (2006) research also provide indirect examples for how this would affect immigrants' attitudes towards their new places and the culture of their new country. So far, however, however, this research has not examined how exactly these observed effects come about.

This section will focus on the ways, intellectual and educational background influences migration and shapes a person's way of connecting to their place.

It should be noted first, that, historically, the majority of voluntary migrants did not belong to the group of highly educated professionals Lewicka (2013) describes. For example, in early post-war Germany (both East and West), migrants were mainly hired for unskilled or low-skill labour, so the people responding to the call were usually those with little formal qualifications, hoping to earn more money in Germany than they could at home. The effect of

this is still visible decades later, as 2011 data from the Federal German Statistics Office (Statistisches Bundesamt) shows: 42.9 per cent of German residents without a school-leaving qualification were first generation migrants – even though first-generation migrants only make up 6.9 per cent of the total population in the country (Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, n.d.).

According to Lewicka's (2013) research, this group would tend towards traditional place attachment, which will be examined in greater detail further down. This section, however, will explore the ways active place attachment is formed, and thus focus on those migrants with an educated background and/or high cultural capital.

As a rule, better education or better economic standing tends to increase mobility. Gustafson (2009) examined the Swedish workforce and found that most of the international business travellers from the country were well-educated men who either owned a business or were in a good position within the company's hierarchy. This, again, corresponds to Lewicka's (2013) description of the urban professionals with high mobility.

A person's degree of mobility is also affected by the type of profession they are in. Faggian, Comunian and Li (2014) studied the effects of UK university graduates' fields of study on their mobility after graduation. The authors found that, in general, graduates from disciplines connected to arts and humanities were less mobile and more likely to live close to the university area or return to their hometown than those graduates who had studied, for example, business, management, or engineering. This correlation does not automatically imply that liberal arts graduates are less mobile by their very nature – rather it could be that economic realities mean that they are less likely to end up working in the positions Gustafson (2009) described and less likely to be offered well-paying jobs that would require them to migrate to distant places. In other words, there may be a higher economic demand for mobile engineers than for mobile artists.

Of course, economic demand is also the driving force behind much of the migration of unskilled workers. The main distinction of active place attachment is not the impulse that led to the migration but rather the way a person interacts with their new environment. This was demonstrated by Marton (2012) in a case study about her own connection to her family history.

Marton is a second-generation immigrant to the USA, with her mother having migrated there from Oslo, Norway, in 1923 (Marton, 2012). For Marton's (2012) research, Marton decided to go through a kind of reverse migration, visiting her mother's home country and getting involved in its traditions. She found the experience to be very emotional, and it increased her interest not only in the culture of her mother's homeland but in the history of her family as a whole, which also has connections to places in Poland and Scotland, so that Marton continued her research after her return to the USA.

While the nature of Marton's (2012) research, of course, makes it highly individual, it serves as an example for Hummon's (1992) active style of place attachment: Being a university researcher, Marton has an educated background, and her connection to her mother's country was not forged by finding places similar to those she knew from her American childhood but rather by immersing herself in the local culture and activities, and by the significance of the places for her family history (Marton, 2012).

This way of engaging with a place through its social and cultural life is also explored in Schade's (2010) analysis of Emine Sevgi Özdamar "autobiographical narratives" exploring "home and migration". Emine Sevgi Özdamar is a writer who experienced migration herself and used it as the basis for her novels (Schade, 2010). Thus, even though the events and characters in the novel are fictional, they offer a view of the way.

Even though Emine Sevgi Özdamar came to Germany first as part of the worker's recruiting agreement between Germany and Turkey, she is not the typical unskilled labourer.

Her biography at the Institute of Modern Languages Research describes her as “a child of the urban middle class” for whom the other Turkish working-class migrants seemed almost as foreign as the German culture (Stewart, 2017, para. 3). Consequentially, the way the migrant protagonist in her semi-autobiographical works – “Die Brücke vom Goldenen Horn” (The Bridge of the Golden Horn, 1998), and “Seltsame Sterne starren zur Erde: Wedding-Pankow 1976/77” (Strange stars stare towards Earth: Wedding-Pankow 1976/77, 2003) (Schade, 2010, p. 319) – deals with the new surroundings bears the hallmarks of Hummon’s (1992) active attachment style: While the protagonist does draw a parallel between Berlin and the streets of her childhood, this is only metaphorically and on emotional level (Schade, 2010). What she seeks is not the similarity of physical features but rather the similarity of emotions and experience (Schade, 2010). The way Özdamar’s character achieves this is by engaging with the cultural aspects of the new place, such as East Berlin’s theatre scene (Schade, 2010). Schade (2010) observes that these activities do not make the main character “cosmopolitan” in the classical sense, because her attachment is not one to the world as a whole but rather the interaction with culture serves as a way of strengthening the character’s place attachment to the new city.

This mirrors Lewicka’s (2013) findings that people with higher cultural capital may have an easier attachment process to new places, which led her to speculate that “liberal art education [...] may turn out to be an efficient way to make people feel at home even in new places and [...] avoid psychological costs associated with place alienation” (p. 52).

Age and generation. Lewicka’s (2013) description of the group most likely to exhibit active place attachment – young, mobile urban professionals with high cultural capital – also highlights another important background factor: Age.

Sonn (2002) studied South African immigrants in Australia and came to the conclusion that an individual’s sense of community and the way they related to the culture of

the origin country changed depending on the age they were when arriving in Australia. Unfortunately, he does not go into great detail about the exact nature of these differences.

Lewicka's (2013) research, on the other hand, provides us with a lot of data in this respect. As mentioned in Lewicka's research before, people of similar ages tend to have similar place attachment styles, with traditionally attached people tending to be less educated and from older generations, while the opposite is true for those exhibiting active place attachment. Actively attached people form bonds to their places out of their own will and through their own decisions, often by interacting with their environment through social and cultural activities (Lewicka, 2013).

Amount of preparation for the new place. Voluntary migration usually does not happen on short notice. If someone plans to move to a place, they will take their time to prepare themselves psychologically, gather information about the new place and prepare some belongings to take with them. This kind of preparation may ease the stress of changing places and allow for a better attachment process after arriving.

Still, even good preparation cannot prevent all surprises. For example, in Marton's (2012) research about her family's roots cited above, she spent some time getting prepared for her trip to Norway. Still, she discovered that reality did not align with her expectations – for example, based on her research she had assumed Norway to be a very safe country, yet during her stay she became the victim of a crime (Marton, 2012). So, just like with any undertaking, theoretical preparation for a journey can only do so much to eliminate the unknown and the element of surprise.

Environment at the places of origin. Even a well-prepared migration is still a drastic change. Migrants need to adapt to a new house, neighbourhood, perhaps a new climate and landscape, or a new culture. So, they will be confronted with many unexpected unfamiliar aspects of everyday life.

Design of residential houses. The principles for designing of residential houses can differ vastly between cultures and societies, affected by many social and cultural factors. As long as people stay close to their area of origin, they may not recognize the particularities of their own society, but those who move far enough away from there may suddenly encounter new methods of structuring the living space.

According to Kent (1991), the ways a society separates its various living spaces are influenced by social, cultural, political, economic and religious influences and traditions. For instance, Kent states that more mobile or nomadic societies tended to have fewer divisions between spaces in their residential areas. On the other hand, if a community had more complex rules for the relations and hierarchies between genders or different age groups, this would usually be mirrored by an increase in the complexity of residential architecture (Kent, 1991). Kent even goes so far as to say that one could understand societies gender roles by looking at the way its residential buildings are divided.

Kent (1991) found these customs to be so ingrained, that migrants from those societies who moved into places that did not adhere to these plans would add extra rooms or use curtains to separate existing rooms in order to create a familiar spatial organization.

Abu-Gazze (1995) made similar observations when studying houses of Muslims in Saudi Arabia: According to him, both plans and outside design of houses are strongly influenced by Islamic traditions and rules that dictate boundaries, levels of privacy and gender roles. When examining some Saudi Arabian houses that were designed according to western-style plans, Abu-Gazze found that the occupants would use curtains or similar materials in order to arrange the house in such a way that it would fit their cultural needs.

Thus, when planning or designing spaces for migrants, architects should make themselves familiar with their cultural expectations for living spaces. Obviously, architects may deliberately decide not to adhere to certain cultural ideas, for example, about gender

relations. Even then, though, it helps to understand the expectations of the future occupants, in order to find a good balance between their needs and the values and expectations of the local society.

Styles and types level of neighbourhoods and cities. Even within a given country or culture, different neighbourhoods and cities may have very different characteristics depending on their population density, access to parks and green areas or cultural and social events, people's communication styles, and much more. So, depending on the exact town and neighbourhood a migrant comes from, they may have very different preferences and expectations for their new places, which will influence the likelihood of attachment.

Feldman (1990) studied the past and current settlement types of people in Denver, Colorado, and the influence of these settlement preferences on subjects' future preferences for their neighbourhoods, if they were to move somewhere else. According to Feldman's research, the majority of the subjects identified themselves with a specific type of settlement, viewing themselves as as suburb people, city people or small-town people. These kinds of defined identities show that people's existing or previous bonds to a type of settlement can have a strong influence on their preferences for future settlement environments, and that they may seek continuity in their types of settlement environments (Feldman, 1990).

Of course, it will not always be possible for migrants to move to places that resemble their old homes. Labour migration might bring people from small villages into big cities, and someone who grew up in a spacious house might find himself living in a shared apartment. These changes may eventually still lead to adaptation and acceptance, however they may also cause nostalgia for the old home and eventually place alienation.

Hummon (1992) gives an example of such a case in his 1992 research in Worcester, Massachusetts. One of his subjects who is had moved from a medium-sized mid-western city to the larger, busier and more industrialized Worcester more than ten years ago, but she still

did not feel at home there citing a dislike for both physical and social aspects of life there and a nostalgia for her old hometown (Hummon, 1992).

Of course, not all migrants may even want to live in place that resemble their old home places – sometimes people deliberately change their environment in order to find a place that fits their expectations or to not be reminded of bad experiences they had at the old place. Lastly, they may consciously try to fit in with the culture at the new place, such as the Chinese migrants to Australia in Levin's (2012) study mentioned above, who purposefully tried to make their places appear as Australian as possible and did not want to stand out due to the appearance of their houses.

Old places' effects on perception of new ones. No matter whether they try to find a place similar to their old home or whether they consciously try to move to a very different place – the memory and experience of old place will always inform and affect the perception of new places. So, even for people living in or visiting the same place at the same time, individuals' perceptions may differ radically depending on their place history.

Hummon's (1992) study mentioned above shows examples for this, because while some subjects had great difficulty adapting to the town of Worcester, others found themselves to be very happy there.

Tuan (1974) also lists several instances of this effect. Tuan mentions, how tourists or new arrivals might perceive a town very differently from long-term residents, focusing on unexpected and surprising positive details while glossing over negative aspects that locals tend to see more. Also, to put the issue in a broader historical context, they draw on their earlier research about how the perception of the landscape of New Mexico differed between Spanish and Anglo-American explorers (Tuan, 1974). The former, coming from a Central American climate in search for minerals and thus being not particularly concerned with agricultural issues, described the area as cold but wet and rich in plant life, the latter – being

used to the wet climate and fertile lands of the North American east coast and in search of new area for settlements, found the same area to be rather dry and unsuitable for farming (Tuan, 1974). Both prior experience (the climate the travellers were used to) as well as expectation (the use they expected to make of the land) coloured their perception of the area (Tuan, 1974).

Climate and environment. Tuan's (1974) above-mentioned research on New Mexico also shows another important factor: Differences in climate and environment. Climate conditions tend to influence culture – for example, by determining which activities are likely to be held outside and how often that can be the case, so when people move to a climate that is notably different, it may impede their adaptation process and even affect their psychology and their social life.

For example, Ng's (1998) research describes how people who migrated to Canada from warmer and more southern regions would be affected by the differences in temperature and amount of daylight between Canada and their home places, causing them to spend more time inside than they were used to and leading to social and psychological problems.

2.4 Labour Migration from Turkey to Germany

In order to understand the situation of current migrant children, it is helpful to look back at the experiences of those who came before them. This section summarizes research on the effects of the migratory experience on Turkish migrant families and specifically on children. It is important to note that some of the details have, of course changed over time. For instance, attitudes and lifestyles in both countries have, of course, evolved over time, so a present-day migrant family might not have the exact same experience as one who migrated in the 1970s. Nevertheless, looking at the historical data serves two important purposes: It provides information about the socio-cultural background of today's third generation

migrants, and, secondly, the examination of past problems in the area migration can be helpful in understanding and countering current and future issues.

2.4.1 Short history of post WW2 labour migration to Germany. In Europe, the events of World War 2 had led to an overall lack of workers, triggering the start of a labour migration in the 1950s (Mortan & Sarfati, 2011). This involved mainly workers from southern, Mediterranean countries moving to “Western European” countries, with Germany being a popular destination (Mortan & Sarfati, 2011; Şen, 2002). The migrants generally were “unskilled workers” from rural villages, and the jobs they accepted in their destination countries were typically those with a comparatively lower social status (Erder, 2006).

Turkey was one of the countries sending immigrant workers to Germany. In the 1950s, early Turkish migrant workers went to Germany through “private organizations” or “personal entrepreneurs” (Abadan-Unat, 2006). However, on December 31st, 1961, Turkey and Germany signed an official agreement on “labour immigration”, which started a period of larger, organized migration (Mortan & Sarfati, 2011). The majority of these workers were unskilled males: Between 1961 and 1973, 30% of the Turkish labour migrants were “skilled workers”, and 20% of the migrants were female (Eryılmaz, 2002, p. 64).

The Turkish migrants who arrived before the 1961 agreement were allowed to apply for permission to bring their families over to Germany, as well (Abadan-Unat, 1976). Those who arrived under the initial terms of the 1961 agreement did not have that option, as the relocation of other family members was specifically prohibited, even though similar agreements with other countries had provisions to allow for such cases (Eryılmaz, 2002). Thus, according to Kudat's (1975a) study on 1565 Turkish workers in West Berlin, the overwhelming majority of Turkish first-generation migrants in Germany went there without their partners. Abadan-Unat's 1964 study (as cited in Abadan-Unat, 2006, p. 114) titled “Problems of Turkish workers in West Germany” conducted on 494 Turkish male and female

workers living in different settlements in Germany, states that at the time “only 17% of Turkish immigrants live[d] with their families in Germany”.

The reason for this restriction was that the move to Germany was originally planned to be temporary affair (Mortan & Sarfati, 2011). Workers were called “Gastarbeiter”, literally “guest workers”, and were expected to only work in Germany until “the labour market adjusted itself”, after which they would return to their home countries (Şen, 2002). The 1961 agreement greatly limited the time individual Turkish workers were allowed to stay in Germany, and the expectation was that they would learn skills during what time which would then “benefit [...] the Turkish industry” (Eryılmaz, 2002, p. 63). However, things did not work out as planned. Workers wanted to stay for longer periods than initially agreed upon and save up more money for their eventual return, and employers did not want to lose the workers they had just trained for their jobs (Abadan-Unat, 2006). A 1964 revision to the initial agreement lifted many of the above restrictions and also provided greater leeway for bringing family members to Germany (Eryılmaz, 2002).

In 1966 and 1967, the German automotive industry encountered economic problems (Abadan-Unat, 2006). Since many car companies employed migrant workers, this led to 70,000 Turkish migrant workers losing their jobs in Germany (Abadan-Unat, 2006). This situation has also been cited as the beginning of negative sentiments against foreign workers in the native German society (Abadan-Unat, 2006). Due to the on-going economic crisis in Europe, Germany stopped taking on new immigrant workers in 1973 (Abadan-Unat, 2006; Eryılmaz, 2002; Mortan & Sarfati, 2011). The workers already in the country were asked to return to their home countries, however they were not forced to do so (Abadan-Unat, 2006). Many Turkish workers decided to stay in Germany – this was partially due to the political situation in Turkey in the 1970s (Abadan-Unat, 2006; Eryılmaz & Kocatürk-Schuster, 2011)

and partially because there was a lack of employment opportunities for them in Turkey (Abadan-Unat, 2006).

On the 1st of January 1975, there was a change in German laws regarding child support payments for immigrants (Abadan-Unat, 2006). Under the new regulations, children of immigrants received full financial support, if they, too, lived in Germany; with only partial payments for children living outside of the country (Abadan-Unat, 2006; Eryılmaz, 2002). Up to this point, in spite of the earlier changes regarding the reunification of families, many Turkish migrants still had not brought their children to Germany (Eryılmaz, 2002). The effects of the new law, however, combined with all the other factors that made a return to Turkey look unattractive, caused many Turkish immigrants to bring their children from Turkey to Germany (Abadan-Unat, 2006; Eryılmaz, 2002). This would often lead to Turkish-born children continuing their education in Germany (Eryılmaz & Kocatürk-Schuster, 2011). At the same time birth rates of Turkish immigrant families increased, as well (Abadan-Unat, 2006).

Another source of continuing migration were marriages: Unmarried Turkish migrants from the first or second generation would marry a woman from Turkey and bring her home to Germany (Şen, 2002).

Apart from this family-related migration, Germany still received a number of political asylum seekers from Turkey, with a wave of "left-wing political refugees" coming in the early 1980s (Mortan & Sarfati, 2011; Şen, 2002), and many refugees in the 1990s, who fled the armed conflicts in South East Anatolia (Şen, 2002).

To reduce the number of immigrant families, the German Government passed a law in 1983 encouraging workers from Yugoslavia, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, Morocco, Tunisia and Korea to return to their countries (Abadan-Unat, 2006). The law offered monetary compensation for returning workers and their children as well as the return of any money they

had paid into German retirement funds (Eryılmaz & Kocatürk-Schuster, 2011; Mortan & Sarfati). In 1984, 250000 Turkish workers went back to Turkey in order to stay and live there (Abadan-Unat, 2006). According to Eryılmaz and Kocatürk-Schuster (2011), the law mainly motivated those immigrants to leave who had already been thinking about returning anyway, since those who took advantage of it knew that they would not be able to come back and work in Germany again at a later time. Thus, there were many migrant families who still chose to stay in Germany. According to Şen (2002), immigrants had various reasons for the decision to settle and live in Germany:

- Not wishing to interrupt their children's education,
- Not enough savings for a fresh start in Turkey,
- Hearing about negative experiences of people who had returned to Turkey,
- The different "cultural and social environments" of the two countries,
- Improvements in telecommunication and media infrastructure allowed them to stay in Germany and still keep in touch with people and events in Turkey,
- Turkish quarters provided a good Turkish infrastructure in Germany (shops, doctors, etc.) (Şen, 2002, pp. 29-30).

2.4.2 Migration from small settlements to big cities. When looking at immigrants' places of origin, it may initially seem as if many Turkish labour migrants originated from big cities in Turkey to Germany. Abadan-Unat's 1964 study (as cited in Abadan-Unat, 2006, pp. 113-114) states that "51% of Turkish immigrants migrated from Turkish cities with a population of more than 100000, 7% from cities with a population between 20000 and 50000, 11% from cities with a population between 2000 and 20000, and 18% migrated from villages with less than 2000 people".

However, while these numbers may seem to indicate that the majority of immigrants originated from larger cities, a closer look reveals that this is not the case. The time of the

initial Turkish migration to Germany coincided with a time of intra-Turkish migration from small settlements to larger cities (Abadan-Unat, 2006). For example, more than half of the subjects in Abadan-Unat's 1964 study (as cited in Abadan-Unat, 2006) stated that they had lived in the industrial centres of Istanbul or Thrace before they moved to Germany, however; only 17% of them were actually born in Istanbul or in Thrace, indicating the scale of the intra-Turkish migration. Tekeli (2011) describes Turkish urban areas in the 1960s as being "under stress" due to the newcomers from small settlements. Consequentially, for many migrants, big cities in Turkey were just an intermediate stop between their home villages and European cities. Kıray (1976) details the background for this intra-Turkish migration from small settlements to bigger ones: Around this time, Turkish agriculture switched from small individual farms to large-scale cash cropping operations, which made it difficult for small landowners to compete (Kıray, 1976). Small farmers could not earn enough from their harvest anymore and had to look for other opportunities to make a living, with some of them even finding themselves in debt after trying and failing to switch to the new agricultural business model (Kıray, 1976). This situation also triggered the migration from smaller settlements to cities in Turkey, since larger settlements tended to have more employment opportunities (Kıray, 1976). However, these opportunities were still not enough to offer work for all those who needed it, which is why some of the job seekers migrated to other countries that were in need of labour for their industries (Kıray, 1976).

Even a move within the country exposed migrants to significant cultural changes: Not only were there regional cultural differences, but there were also significant differences between the life in Turkish cities in the 1960s and 70s and that in small settlements, as well as between different regions of the country.

Abadan-Unat's study (as cited in Abadan-Unat, 2006) on Turkish migrant workers from 1964 give an example for this: When asked about their opinion on friendships between

men and women, 51% of the first generation migrants in the study considered those to be normal, especially in urban areas with a “European lifestyle”, while 44% stated that not even a distant friendship between the genders was acceptable. According to Abadan-Unat (2006), the workers who were responding positively to the idea were all from the Marmara Region and all between 23 and 27 years old. The Marmara Region is the part of Turkey geographically closest to Europe, and – since it includes Istanbul –also is the most densely populated part of the country. This shows how even in Turkey, lifestyles and culture differed from one region to another and between urban areas and rural areas.

Stirling's (1965) research on village life in middle Anatolia in the 1950s highlights the social, economic and educational differences between villages and cities and emphasizes that, at the time, city dwellers were largely ignorant of the lifestyle in small settlements, even though in these days the majority of the population was living in villages.

As has been described, the majority of migrant workers came from small settlements, and when they moved to big cities in Turkey or Western Europe, they encountered a completely different culture and lifestyle. Kıray (1976) observes that this situation pushed the affected people into an outsider status both in their old home place as well as in any place they would migrate to: The inability to live off their farm affected their standing within the village society (Kıray, 1976). Kıray also states that, if they then decided to migrate to larger Turkish cities or a different country to find work, the cultural and social differences between their hometown and the city made them outsiders there, too.

In order to better understand the problems migrants faced in their new places, it is important to know about the socio-cultural environment that shaped them – in other words, the culture and traditions in rural areas of Turkey in the mid-twentieth century.

Regarding Turkish culture in general, Holtbrügge (1975) observed what he called a “half feudal and agricultural” lifestyle, in which people also gave large importance to religion.

At that time, there was also a strong separation of gender roles that was being passed on from the generation to generation. The responsibilities of women and men in the village were strongly separated with men being considered the leaders of the family and women being delegated to an inferior role (Holtbrügge, 1975; Kudat, 1975b; Stirling, 1965). In addition to their role as leader of the family, men would perform agricultural work at the more remote fields outside of the village, conduct financial transactions, and make economic decisions for the family, while women would do housework or work in fields closer to the home (Kudat, 1975b; Stirling, 1965).

Interestingly, the mother still had a notable emotional authority over the family: When families were separated due to one parent's migration, husbands and children would define "home" as the place that the mother was living at (Kıray, 1976).

In some cases, women in traditional families were allowed to take on paid employment outside of their homes, but other family members would still try and control all of her activities outside of her work time (Abadan-Unat, 2006). In the traditional Turkish culture, this was not considered to be an interference with the woman's personal life and freedom but rather a necessary part of being a female member of the family and an important aspect of keeping the family together (Abadan-Unat, 2006).

In addition to the gender separation, there was also a significant age-based hierarchy in both male and female social life (Stirling, 1965). For instance, older brothers were in a hierarchically better position than younger ones (Stirling, 1965). Stirling also states that younger ones would not address their elder brother by name but rather use the respectful term "ağabey" when talking to them. There was a similar age-based hierarchy among the women in a household, with the oldest woman having the most authority (Straube, 1987).

The gender-based roles were passed on to children starting at a young age. Very small male and female children would spend time playing together, but soon the genders would be

raised separately, with female children spending time with their mothers, and male one with their fathers (Stirling, 1965).

Once a young woman got married, she would move from her parents' home into her husband's parents' residence and become the hierarchically lowest woman in that household (Kıray, 1976; Straube, 1987). She was expected to obey her parents in law as well as her husband and to do hard and tiring work (Straube, 1987). Over time, and especially after giving birth to a son, her position would improve (Straube, 1987). Because women and men's worlds are divided, the oldest woman is also the most important person of the female group (Straube, 1987). She can have this position after her son marries and brings his wife to the household (Stirling, 1965).

In traditional Turkish families, female children were prepared for this role from a very early age on. Straube (1987) explains that female children would learn cooking, do housework, and help taking care of younger siblings in order to prepare them for a future as a daughter-in-law and a mother. Here, too, there was an age-based hierarchy, with the oldest daughter being expected to take over the mothers' duties whenever the mother herself was absent (Straube, 1987). Straube adds that once the oldest daughter had moved in with a husband's family, these duties would be transferred to the next-oldest daughter, and so on.

Abadan-Unat (2006) describes a daughters' situation as being a kind of "guest" in her parents' residence –always expected to eventually move out to a husband's home at some point in the future. In other words: She needed to be prepared herself to live in a different social environment with a potentially different lifestyle, to which she had to adapt in way that would gain her the acceptance of her parents in law (Abadan-Unat, 2006; Kıray, 1976). Kıray (1976) argues that this preparation may inadvertently have helped migrant women to better cope with the challenges of adapting their lives to the new environment in Germany.

The traditional family structure in small settlements was often accompanied by traditional housing arrangements: Even though individual houses for nuclear families were already starting to become common at the time when migration began, multi-generational housing was still in wide use, as well. The parent generation would live together in one house with their own unmarried children and the nuclear families of one or more of their married male children, and this arrangement would continue until the parent couple died and the house was passed on to the next generation (Kehl, 1991). This arrangement did not just mean that family members would share their living space and social life – the three generations would pool their economic resources, as well (Stirling, 1965; Vassaf, 2010). The harvest from the farm was shared among all family members (Kehl, 1991), and the food was shared and being eaten together, symbolizing the general economic community (Stirling, 1965). Any other money earned by family members was also shared with the other generations (Kehl, 1991).

At least for married male children, staying in these multi-generational houses was not a strict requirement: They and their families would sometimes move to their own residences (Kehl, 1991). Often, this would be due to some kind of conflict: The son's wife might have a problem with a sister-in-law or her mother-in-law, the son might have problems with his siblings, or the younger family might just want to achieve more personal freedom by living apart from the older generation (Kehl, 1991).

It should also be noted that, even though these multi-generational houses are a traditional way of life in the small settlements of rural Turkey, they were already becoming less common by the end of 1960s. According to study of Timur (as cited in Tekeli, 2011) in 1968 slightly less than half of the nuclear families in small Turkish settlements lived in multi-generational houses.

According to Kudat (1975b), multi-generational house became even less common after the start of migration, to the point that it was rare to have three generations living

together. However, this should not be taken as an indicator that inter-generational relationships had lost all importance, as it was still common for different generations' individual residences to be in very close proximity to each other (Kudat, 1975b).

2.4.3 Communication and relationships between people. As has been described, a large number of Turkish first-generation migrants came from rural areas. Similarly, their approach to social places and their communication habits also resembled those of rural areas in Turkey at the time of their migration.

At the time of the first post-war migration wave, rural communities in Turkey generally tended to strictly separate social places for male and female residents. The home was considered to be the social place for females, with either women or children always being welcome to visit there (Stirling, 1965; Straube, 1987). Visits were encouraged, and guests were free to come by at any time without prior appointment, as it was considered to be inappropriate for a woman to spend time alone by herself (Stirling, 1965). Therefore, women also are not alone when going around in the village or doing agricultural work at nearby farms (Stirling, 1965; Straube, 1987). Men, on the other hand, spent most of their time during the day outside of their residences, either at work or spending time with other men at male-only cafés (Stirling, 1965; Straube, 1987). The community did not approve of men spending time at home in order to help their wives (Straube, 1987).

According to Stirling (1965) the most important community relationship in those villages was the one between relatives, as they help each other whenever necessary time and spend time together. The other significant social relation was the one between neighbours (Stirling, 1965; Straube, 1987).

Close relations and communication within the local community and between relatives also played a significant role in people's decision to migrate to Germany and in the process of finding a job there: Abadan-Unat's study from 1964 (cited in Abadan-Unat, 2006) states that

a person's decision whether or not to migrate was mainly influenced by conversations with relatives and friends, as well as compatriots who had already personal experience as migrant workers in Germany. Abadan-Unat's study in 1964 (cited in Abadan-Unat, 2006) also states that media and radio advertisements had much smaller effect than these personal contacts.

This type of personal advice also directly shaped the patterns of migration: A newly-arrived migrant from a small settlement in Turkey would often initially stay at the residence of an already migrated relative, neighbour, fellow townsmen, or otherwise affiliated person until they had found work – which naturally led to local clusters of migrants with some kind of pre-existing relationships (Kudat, 1975b).

The research of Straube (1987) in Berlin and Erder (2006) in Rinkeby, Stockholm, shows that migrating workers brought the traditional structures of family and community with them. Just as in Turkey, Turkish men in Berlin would spend the time after work in men's cafes (Straube, 1987). Erder (2006) observed that migrant housewives would spend large parts of their social lives visiting each other. In wintertime, they would meet at one of the women's homes, spending their time doing needlework and talking to each other, and in times of warmer weather they would sit outside in yards or parks (Erder, 2006). This is mainly a weekday activity – on weekends, on the other hand, whole family would socialize – either just with each other or by undertaking family visits to friends or relatives (Erder, 2006).

Straube (1987) noted that in the first generation, unannounced visits were just as common in Germany as they had been in Turkey, however their connotations had slightly changed: Where visits in Turkish villages had a large "formal" element of presenting the best side of one's own home to the visitors, visits between migrant workers had more of an informal social character (Straube, 1987). Straube also made it clear however, that members of the second generation tended to feel more uncomfortable about the idea of visitors dropping by unannounced.

In general, migrants would not need to travel far for these visits, because – just as in traditional rural settlements in Turkey – it is common for relatives in Rinkeby to live close to each other (Erder, 2006), albeit in nuclear family residences instead of multi-generational houses (Erder, 2006). In addition, migrants also formed close relationships with other Turkish people in their neighbourhood – often those who had come from places near their own region (Erder, 2006), which, as described above, was not uncommon.

Overall, compared to Turkey, Erder (2006) observed that migrants' social lives are broadened, with less of a focus on close family relations. The shared experience of the difficulties brought on living in another country as well a common cultural background and similar lifestyles serve to increase the unity and support within the Turkish migrant community (Erder, 2006; Straube, 1987). Erder (2006) describes that Turkish migrants would display pride about the strong social bonds within their community and compare it favourably to the interactions they observed in other groups, such as immigrants from other backgrounds or the local Swedish people, and that Turkish migrants would describe members of these groups as being “lonely” due the perceived weaker social bonds.

While Turkish migrants' social bonds were generally found to be strong within their group, the same cannot be said for their relationships to people from other backgrounds: Abadan-Unat's 1964 study (as cited in Abadan-Unat, 2006, p. 125) says that at that time “77% of Turkish workers had not visited any German families in their residences before”. Holtbrügge (1975) similarly states that Turkish migrants would greet their German neighbours but that there were no close relationships with or visits to German neighbours or German colleagues.

2.4.4 Temporary family separation. Another issue affecting the social relations of the migrant community was the temporary separation of families caused by an individual's migration. Eryilmaz (2002) states that there are no definitive numbers on the subject, but she

does cite experts' estimates according to which the average Turkish worker spent between 8 and 10 years separated from their family.

This type of family separation was already occurring in Turkish communities before the post-war period of large-scale migration to other countries (Abadan-Unat, 2006). Men would need to fulfil their mandatory military duty, or they might need to leave in order to find work – either temporarily for seasonal employment or for longer times if they migrated from rural areas to bigger cities (Kudat, 1975a, 1975b). In all of these cases, it was common for family fathers to leave their wife and children with the husband's relatives (Abadan-Unat, 2006; Kudat, 1975b). There were rare cases in which the female partner would live with her own parents, instead of the husband's, but those were exceptions (Kudat, 1975b).

The post-war migration to Germany started out in a similar way, with mostly males leaving the country in order to work in Germany (Kudat, 1975a). However, after a while there was also the new phenomenon of married female migrants migrating to Germany, leaving behind their husbands and children in Turkey (Abadan-Unat, 2006). This mostly occurred after 1967, when the situation on the German job market offered more employment opportunities for women than for men (Abadan-Unat, 2006). Because of this, many families encouraged their female relatives to go to Germany, with the hope that they would be able to eventually find jobs for male relatives and other family members, which could then join them (Abadan-Unat, 2006). It should be noted that the overwhelming majority of female labour migrants was unmarried (Abadan-Unat, 1976).

Under the terms of the original migration agreement, couples also did have the option of migrating together, and it was also possible for spouses to join their partner at a later time if they had managed to get offer for themselves – often with the help of the partner (Abadan-Unat, 2006).

Initially, there was no such option for the children of migrants: Abadan-Unat's study from 1964 (as cited in Abadan-Unat, 2006, p. 171), states that at the time "56% of the immigrant people were married and on average had three children". At that time, these children would have to stay in Turkey— either with the remaining partner or, if that was not possible, with other relatives (Abadan-Unat, 2006).

As outlined above, family reunifications for Turkish migrant workers became possible in 1964, however many Turkish migrants decided not to bring their children to Germany, because the parents were planning to return there themselves soon, making them want to spare their children the disruption of having to change countries (Eryılmaz & Kocatürk-Schuster, 2011). A 1974 study by Kudat (1975a) on 3327 children of Berlin migrant workers found that, at that time, less than half of these children were living with their parents in Berlin, the others were living in Turkey, separated from at least one, if not both, of their parents. The author also found that the majority of migrants' children living in Turkey were in the care of their grandparents, and that only less than a third of them were living with a parent who had stayed in Turkey (Kudat, 1975a).

As explained before, the number of children joining their parents increased notably after the legal changes in 1975. At any time, however, a successful family reunification depended on a number of factors:

If only one partner (usually the father) had already migrated to Germany, that partner would need to earn enough money to bring family to Germany and to support them there (Kıray, 1976). To improve the chances, the partner who had stayed behind in Turkey could try and find work in Germany, as well, with the combined incomes allowing for an improved economic situation (Kıray, 1976).

Another factor were the number and age of the children: Women with a greater number of children were more likely to stay in Turkey with them (Kıray, 1976). The same was common for women with pre-school-aged children (Kıray, 1976).

On the other hand, women whose children were old enough to attend primary school would often leave them in Turkey to stay with the grandparents while the mother would join her husband (Kıray, 1976).

Similarly, if children were born to working immigrant women in Germany, their mothers would often send them to Turkey when they were only a few months old where they would live with their grandparents (Straube, 1987).

Also, some migrants would send their children back to Turkey once they reached school-age, because the parents specifically wanted them to be educated in the cultural, linguistic, and religious environment of Turkey (Eryılmaz & Kocatürk-Schuster, 2011).

Lastly, male children who were fifteen years or older would often also be sent to join the family in Germany because they were expected to support the family's income by working in a paid job there (Kıray, 1976).

A later section of this paper will outline research that shows some of these decisions, such as deliberately sending babies to live with their grandparents, are connected to a family model shaped by the economic and socio-cultural situation of Turkey at the time, and how and why migrant parents' attitude towards their children may have changed since then.

2.4.5 Residences of first-generation migrants. When immigrant workers came to Germany, they had to adapt to very different living conditions. Commonly, they would live in dormitories (Kudat, 1975a). Abadan-Unat 's 1964 study (cited in Abadan-Unat, 2006, p.117) says that at that time "85% of the immigrants lived in collective dormitories that were part of their work agreements, 53% of them were sharing a room with four or five other workers".

The rooms in these dormitories were furnished with bunk beds, and many did not provide enough personal space for the individual worker (Eryılmaz & Kocatürk-Schuster, 2011).

Once immigrant workers started bringing their families to Germany, they tended to leave the dormitories and move to family residences. Kudat's 1974 research about Turkish migrants in Berlin shows a direct relation between the number of children and the size and type of their residences: Childless migrants were the group most likely to live in dormitories, whereas migrants who had children would "almost always" live in private residences (Kudat, 1975a). Generally, though, expenses for housing were still kept to a minimum, since the idea was to save up money for an eventual return to Turkey (Abadan-Unat, 2006).

Unlike the comparatively stable arrangement of the traditional Anatolian multi-generational house, influenced only by "deaths, births, and marriages", the composition of the early migrant household was often a changing one, both in terms of overall numbers as well as with regard to the persons living there (Kudat, 1975a). Kudat (1975a) states that sometimes, members of the nuclear family who had joined a migrant might need to leave again, such as spouses who couldn't manage to secure a more permanent residence permit, or children who could either not adjust to the new environment or could not be given the required care under the circumstances. As was already mentioned above, Kudat adds that, the household could serve as a temporary residence for persons beyond the nuclear family. The author explains also, this might include relatives, such as, for instance, a male sibling of one of the partners, who would live in their family household until he could find a job. Kudat (1975a) highlights that first-generation migrant households would frequently also take up non-relatives, such as "close friends, neighbours and countrymen" – a practice sometimes observed in the of Turkish "poor" city-dwellers but "widespread and clearly visible among migrants" (p. 80). Generally, though, these stays of residents beyond the nuclear family would

be temporary (Kudat, 1975a) – as the people given shelter to would either have to find a job and a place of their own or return to Turkey (Kıray, 1976).

2.4.6 The idea of a return to Turkey. In the early stages of migration, Turkish workers often thought that they would not be staying in Germany for a long time, so they should try and spend as little money as possible during their stay, saving it for their return (Abadan-Unat, 2006; Straube, 1987). This was another reason that prompted them to seek out city quarters with more affordable housing. They would send their money to their families who were still living in Turkey, or they would buy or build residences in Turkey (Kıray, 1976; Vassaf, 2010).

The initial furnishings of first-generation migrants' residences in Germany were often rather simple and inexpensive – again in order to save money for the eventual return (Straube, 1987). If migrants already had a residence in Turkey they wanted to return to, they would sometimes buy furniture in Germany and already bring it to Turkey, even though they themselves were not yet living there (Straube, 1987). Similarly, Erder (2006) observed that Turkish migrants in Rinkeby, Stockholm, would buy furniture in Sweden in order to decorate the interior of homes they owned back in Turkey. Bringing the new and foreign furniture to their old home settlements made it serve as a status symbol, as evidence to the community there that the migrants' work in another country was improving their economic and social situation (Straube, 1987).

As outlined above, many first-generation migrants stayed far longer than they had initially planned, and this also affected their attitude towards their German homes: The longer they stayed there, the more comfortable they started to furnish them (Straube, 1987). Yet the idea of an eventual return to Turkey did not vanish completely.

Bürkle and Erdem (2016) explains that, first and second-generation migrants who did eventually return to Turkey often planned their houses there with the idea in mind that their

children and their families, who were currently living in Germany, would one day move in with them there. The authors also state that, while some of the returnees chose apartment-style layouts with entirely separate living areas for the different generations, most plans featured separate bedrooms with attached bathrooms for the individual families but a shared living room and shared kitchens. Bürkle and Erdem cite mainly economic reasons for this preference for shared rooms: It is, e.g. cheaper to have a shared kitchen than to provide each generation with an individual one (Bürkle & Erdem, 2016). However, the designs also bring to mind the traditional multi-generational Anatolian houses, which, as mentioned before, also feature a mixture of private rooms for the different generations and rooms designated for public use.

In some cases, the idea of an eventual return to Turkey would also influence the way immigrant parents raise their children while in another country: Vassaf (2010) describes that one of the common reasons migrant parents bring up against marriages between their children and local persons is that they still think about returning to Turkey someday, and that a non-Turkish partner of their child might not agree to move their generation there.

2.5 Effects of Migration on Turkish Migrants and their Children

The previous sub-section already showed several examples of how early generation migrants tried to continue traditions they knew from their home country, and how their social circles were mostly comprised of other migrants. In light of the return they were planning, they tried to preserve as much of their cultural identity as they could. This, however, would sometimes conflict with the values of the culture they migrated into. In addition to that, the move from a rural, agricultural type of existence to an urban, industrial one also challenged some established traditions. All of this, subsequently, would also affect the cultural and place identity of the children of migrant families. This section examines both the causes and effects of these conflicts, as well as the underlying mechanisms.

2.5.1 Clash of culture and values. As mentioned before, Turkish labour migrants commonly came from small settlements and agricultural families from Turkey. They grew up with the values of traditional agricultural lifestyle. When they came to Germany, they had to contend with suddenly living in urban areas, which – as described earlier – they found to be very different from their familiar environments. Similarly, those who were living in these urban areas perceived the newcomers different than themselves as being different and unfamiliar. Öymen (2002) explains,

The Turkish side tends to portray the German attitude towards the Turkish community as being determined by a general lack of understanding for Turkish culture and traditions. The German side on the other hand, tends to see the Turkish community as a primarily inward-looking group that is unwilling to integrate the German society due to their religious or traditional values. (p. 45)

In other words: Each side recognizes the existence of a divide; however, each side also places the blame for this divide on their respective opposite.

There were a number of reasons for the underlying conflict:

As noted above, religion played an important role in many Turkish migrants' lives. Eryılmaz (2002) explains that, since Turkish migrants were now living in a “Christian country”, religion took an even greater importance as a means to preserve the migrants' cultural identity. However, the dormitories and workplaces in Germany did usually not provide for the time and space the workers needed for praying (Eryılmaz, 2002). In addition to that, the native German society's attitude towards Islam was shaped by “historically embedded prejudices”, which, of course, made the subject even more difficult (Eryılmaz, 2002, p. 65).

Navigating everyday German life was a challenge for Turkish migrants, as well: Most of them had little education and especially did not speak the German language, making it

difficult for them to communicate with Germans (Eryılmaz, 2002). Language classes were sometimes offered, but they were not widely accepted, since most migrant workers preferred to spend their time either on earning more money or relaxing after the taxing labour (Eryılmaz, 2002).

Supermarkets often did not stock the fruits and vegetables Turkish migrants were used to, which, in turn, led to the emergence of Turkish markets, which arguably represented a further step in step the migrants' creation of what Eryılmaz (2002), calls "a Turkey-based world of their own" (p. 65).

Another point was the prohibition of family migration in the initial agreement: Migrants from other countries, such as Greece, Spain, or Italy, were allowed to bring their families over to Germany while those from Turkey were not, which led to the characterization of the initial Turkish-German agreement as a "second class agreement" (Eryılmaz, 2002, p. 63).

The original migration agreement also specified that German companies should train migrant workers enough to give them extra qualifications, which would later give them an advantage on the Turkish labour market (Abadan-Unat, 2006). However, in most cases, workers never received that promised training (Abadan-Unat, 2006).

Lastly, the official position of the various German governments until the 1990s was always that Germany was not a country for immigration and that the migrant workers were not long-term immigrants – implying that migrants were not really at home in Germany (Eryılmaz & Kocatürk-Schuster, 2011).

All of these factors led to a situation, in which the Turkish migrants found themselves staying longer than they had intended in a country in which they did not feel welcome (Eryılmaz, 2002).

2.5.2 Migration as source of intra-family conflicts. During the migration process, family separation caused problems for children and adults alike: It could put a significant strain on marriages and estrange children from the absent parent(s) (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1985; Kudat, 1975a). Yet, especially for women, the migratory process could also result in positive effects, depending on the circumstances. For instance, in some cases, the temporary separation during the migration period could strengthen a woman's role: If the husband initially went to Germany by himself, that could give the wife more responsibility for the day-to-day affairs of the nuclear family – she would have to assume more economical responsibilities and handle official paperwork, which normally would have been taken care of by her husband (Kıray, 1976). Even though friends and relatives might assist her, these additional responsibilities could help increase her status within the family and make her less dependent on her husband (Kıray, 1976). Similarly, if the female partner went to Germany before her male partner, she had much more time to gain experience in the new country, which could give her an advantage over her partner, once he joined her there, and provide her with more authority than she would have had otherwise (Kıray, 1976).

However, there were also many families in which the women's situation did not change or got even worse after migration. Circumstances were especially difficult for Turkish women who became the wives of men that had already migrated: For them, life could be harder than it would have been in a comparable marriage in Turkey (Straube, 1987). According to the traditional hierarchy, she has a lower status than her husband and any other members of his family who might already happen to be in Germany, the language barrier restricts her ability to get by in the unknown country, and the distance to the home country means she cannot get support from her own family and relatives (Straube, 1987). While a traditional Turkish village would have given her some opportunity for activities outside her family home, such as working in nearby fields or being able to visit neighbours during the

day, the situation in the new country mostly restricts her to housework, her only human contact being her children – if she has any (Straube, 1987; Vassaf, 2010). This isolation also made it easier for husbands to hide incidences of domestic violence, and the overall situation could cause both physical and psychological harm to the women (Vassaf, 2010).

Overall though, research indicates that the net effect of migration might have been a positive one for women: According to Erder (2006), migrant women in Rinkeby, Stockholm stated that women now have better a positions in the family hierarchy and a more independent lifestyle than they had at the beginning of the migration.

Apart from the changes in the dynamics between partners, the migratory experience also affected the way children grew up.

With smaller children, if both parents were working, they had to find someone who would take care of the children when there was no-one else at home (Straube, 1987). The German society already offered nurseries and kindergartens for exactly this purpose, but Turkish migrant parents often regarded them with scepticism. They would often not see kindergarten as places that were significant for their children's development and regarded them as "playing places", so if their small children had elder siblings, they would often just let them stay at home with them (Straube, 1987; Vassaf, 2010). Other migrant parents realized that kindergartens could help their children learn German, which in turn would help improve their further education, but even they often only considered sending their children there, if they needed a place that at which could safely leave their children while they were at work or otherwise too busy to take care of them themselves (Straube, 1987).

Attending day care or kindergartens also greatly affected the cultural and religious influences the children would grow up with: If, for example, the parents decided to send their children to a German day care facility, this not only created extra expenses but meant that the children had to accept that their children would grow up under the influence of German

culture and lifestyle (Straube, 1987). Since, as has been explored earlier, the idea of an eventual return to Turkey persisted even after the decision to re-unite the family in Germany, not all first-generation migrants wanted this to happen.

According to Straube (1987), this was partially driven by a general scepticism about the style of education at German kindergartens. The author explains that Turkish parents perceived them to “lack discipline” and thought they would let children behave however they wanted to behave. Straube adds also that, this clashed with the traditional ideas of Turkish family education, in which children were prepared to be a part of the family instead of encouraging their individuality. Turkish parents regarded children's personal ideas and decisions as insignificant, so they often believe that kindergarten could be a bad influence on their children, encouraging them to speak up against their parents, hurting their authority at home (Straube, 1987).

These considerations led a number of migrant parents to the decision to bring German-born infants to their relatives in Turkey a few months after birth, with the idea that being brought up by the older generation would allow the children to grow up in the traditional Turkish culture and with its lifestyle (Eryılmaz & Kocatürk-Schuster, 2011; Straube, 1987).

This was often a source of emotional stress: According to Straube (1987) mothers who sent their small children to Turkey shortly after birth would feel guilty and miss their children. She also states that the children, on the other hand, would initially suffer the negative effects of being separated from their parents at an early age, but because they hardly ever saw their parents, they would later tend to not recognize them when they to Turkey came for visits, which, in turn, caused more stress for the parents. Straube adds that sometimes, suffering through caused parents to reconsider their decision. They would attempt to find bigger apartments in Germany, arrange for a trusted person there to take care of their children, or change their mind and send the children to a day care facility (Straube, 1987).

Similar problems could arise with older children whom parents left in Turkey so that they could continue their education there: They were only able to meet their parents during school holidays (Eryılmaz & Kocatürk-Schuster, 2011). Due to their frequent travelling between Turkey and Germany, these children became known as “Kofferkinder”, literally “luggage children” (Eryılmaz & Kocatürk-Schuster, 2011). Just like with the infants raised by grandparents, the lack of contact with their parents shaped these children's relationships to them (Kudat, 1975a). These children mainly perceived their parents as people who visited them on holidays on brought gifts with them but did not experience most of the emotional and social aspects of a regular parent-child relationship (Kudat, 1975a).

The division in the family could extend to siblings, as well: Some migrants left some children with relatives in Turkey and brought others with them, others had so many children that they were split them between different caretakers in Turkey – either variant would negatively affect the relationship between the siblings (Kudat, 1975a).

If children were raised in Germany or moved there at a later age, other issues arose, some of which were gender-specific:

For instance, even though it is not allowed in Germany, some Turkish families did not send their daughters to school (Kudat, 1975b). Instead, they would stay at home in order to look after their younger siblings while both parents were at work (Abadan-Unat, 2006; Kudat, 1975b). Assuming this kind of responsibility was especially hard for girls who had not grown up in the destination country themselves (Abadan-Unat, 2006). Being in a foreign country, they could not rely on the familiar support system of the community they had grown up in back in Turkey (Abadan-Unat, 2006).

In addition to that, they would often feel at a disadvantage compared to younger siblings who had grown up in the destination country, because those would be more familiar with the language and lifestyle there than the older siblings (Vassaf, 2010). In eye of the

younger siblings, the older sister's lack of knowledge would make her appear naïve and funny (Vassaf, 2010).

This was compounded by the fact that, as discussed earlier, in a traditional Turkish household, female children were subject to similar restrictions as adult women, with other family members frequently limiting or controlling their social lives. Vassaf (2010) describes how these restrictions would increase with the onset of puberty. While younger girls would be allowed to spend time with their or visit neighbours' houses by themselves, older ones are forbidden to do so – except for the time they spend at school, they are not allowed to leave the house without their parents (Vassaf, 2010).

As outlined above, Vassaf (2010) described how the position of migrant women had improved compared to that in the traditional Turkish family. However, this, in turn, could make male members of the families nervous about the clues their female children were brought up with (Erder, 2006). Therefore, fathers would sometimes send their daughters to Turkey for further education or decided to marry off into another Turkish family at a young age because of male member's concerns (Erder, 2006).

On the other hand, according to Vassaf (2010) male migrant children who only moved to Germany late in their development would sometimes have difficulty in accepting their father's authority, because he was not the authority figure they grew up with and because. In some cases, the conflicts arising from this were so great that the children ended up running away from their homes (Vassaf, 2010).

2.5.3 Socio-economic changes and their effects on the family model. The above section outlined ways in which the migratory experience can directly cause changes and conflict in a family. There are, however, indirect effects, too. Labour migration is usually undertaken with the hope of improving one's own socio-economic situation. However, these

changes may cause other, unintended side effects. This section highlights one particular hypothesis about these effects and how they shape the migrant families' lives.

Kağıtçıbaşı (2003) collected data from various studies on how migration from rural to urban areas (both intra-Turkish and international) affected the dynamics of Turkish families and used it to create an alternative model of family dynamics.

According to Kağıtçıbaşı (2003), the established "Modernization Theory" assumes two family models: The "Model of Interdependence" and the "Model of Independence" (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2003). According to Kağıtçıbaşı's 1985 study, "Model of Interdependence" is common in underdeveloped, agricultural and rural societies (as cited in Kağıtçıbaşı, 2003). This model also characterized by strong emotional and economical dependencies of family members on one another (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2003). Kağıtçıbaşı (2003) explains that, by contrast, the "Model of Independence" is said to be common in "urban" settlements and "industrialized and Western" societies. Kağıtçıbaşı (2003) adds that, it is characterized by placing a higher importance on one's personal life than on that of the family and an overall "individualistic" culture. According to Kağıtçıbaşı (2003), the traditional "Modernization Theory" assumes that the transition from rural to urban areas will eventually result in a transition from the "Model of Interdependence" to the "Model of Independence".

Kağıtçıbaşı (2003), however, proposes a third model, the "Model of Emotional Interdependence", in which the family members are not economically dependent on each other, but are still connected by strong emotional bonds.

Kağıtçıbaşı (2003) centres this theory around what she describes as the "value of children. In the "Model of Interdependence", as it can also be found in the traditional Turkish rural lifestyle, every family member was expected to contribute to the family economy (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2003). This is similar to Vassaf's (2010) description of the traditional Turkish child-rearing approach as one that places a higher importance on the family's needs and on its

unity than on personal freedoms. He describes the family life of some Turkish migrant families as still being in a kind of “half feudal” tradition, in which children’s “behaviours and ideas” are mostly judged and evaluated with regard to the unity and interests of the family (Vassaf, 2010). Children would help out on in the household or on farms, or earn extra income for the family, and parents relied on them for financial support in old age (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2003). Therefore, it was an economically decision to have many children, as they had a large “economic or utilitarian value” (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2003, p.23). For residents of modern urban areas, higher incomes and the better infrastructure and educational opportunities largely eliminate many of these factors, diminishing the “economical and utilitarian value” of children (Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2017). This is in line with Vassaf’s (2010) description of “western” societies, in which the concepts of personal rights and freedoms are considered to be more important.

However, Kağıtçıbaşı (2003) proposes that this does not take into account the emotional and psychological aspects of family life. This led Kağıtçıbaşı (2003) to propose the “Model of Emotional Interdependence”, which assumes that improved economic conditions or urban environments do not diminish the need for “emotional or psychological connectedness”, especially in cultures which were already characterized by strong family structures (p.21). The author proposes that the traditional models fall short because of their focus in the economical aspect of children; while according to her parents also attribute a “psychological value” to a child. Kağıtçıbaşı explains that, just like individualism, this would still to lower birth rates, since, unlike material returns, emotional needs don’t necessarily require a larger number of children to be fulfilled. It would, however lead to a different approach of child-rearing than either of the other two models: While the “Model of Interdependence” focuses on obedience and model of “Model of Interdependence” values autonomy, the “Model of Emotional Interdependence” would try combine both values, giving

children some degree of autonomy while still satisfying the need for the emotional connections to a greater family framework (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2003).

Kağıtçıbaşı (2003) claims that Western observers fail to understand why Turkish families don't develop towards the "Model of Independence" and postulates that the "Model of Emotional Interdependence" is a better fit for what she calls the "Turkish family culture of relatedness" (p.30).

While she describes the transition from Interdependence to Emotional Interdependence as an emergent phenomenon, brought on by migration from rural to urban areas, she cautions that it may be slowed down by the inertia of traditional Turkish family culture, with migrants trying to preserve the values and traditions they grew up with (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2003). This is in line with Vassaf's (2010) observations that some migrant families were stricter about children's independence than families living in Turkey (Vassaf, 2010), and that this attitude highly restricted children's acceptable behaviours. Similarly, Lundt, Tolun, Schwarz and Fischer (1992) describe how some Turkish migrant families in Germany would raise their daughters with more restrictions than would experience in Turkish cities. These parents were mostly from small settlements in Turkey, and since they were unaware of the permissive attitudes found in larger Turkish cities, they would try and raise their daughters according to the only concept of Turkish culture they had experienced, namely their childhood village lifestyle (Lundt et. al., 1992). The authors speculate that the migrant-specific situation of being surrounded by another culture may have served to increase the intensity with which these families tried to preserve their concept of Turkish culture (Lundt et. al., 1992).

Kağıtçıbaşı (2003) comes to the conclusion that families in these situations should not be expected to adopt the "Model of Independence" but rather be encouraged to implement the "Model of Emotional Interdependence" (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2003).

2.5.4 Children's competing cultural identities. Apart from the cultural conflicts within the family, second generation migrant children also could not avoid cultural contact with the outside world in the same way some first-generation migrants were able to. Kindergartens, schools and other activities brought them into contact with the native population, so children with a Turkish background would have to switch between two different cultures every day, each with its own language, lifestyle and sets of values – German at school and Turkish at home (Abadan-Unat, 2006; Lundt et al., 1992).

Abadan-Unat (2006) even counts three different educations and lifestyles Turkish immigrant children were expected to cope with: In addition to German and Turkish culture, the author also includes the religious classes many Turkish migrant children would get enrolled in. In these courses, they would have to memorize Arabic prayers, learn the religious rules of Islam, and generally encounter a rule set that differs from both the German culture that surrounded them as well as the usually more modern and secular Turkish culture of their homes, and they would be expected to be able to switch between those contexts and display proper behaviour in each of them (Abadan-Unat, 2006).

The strength of religious influence on migrant children's identity depends on individual factors, such as the religious ideas of their family, the social environment they children grow up in, the media they consume, and, as mentioned whether they attended religious education classes (Abadan-Unat, 2006). Many Turkish children in Europe attend religious courses in mosques (Vassaf, 2010). According to Vassaf (2010), the aim of this education in mosques is to provide children with a religious identity. The difference in religion may cause them to perceive themselves as being different from their classmates (Vassaf, 2010). While some children try to play down or hide their religious backgrounds, others may be proud of their religious identity in order to overcome any embarrassment they might otherwise feel because of their migratory background (Vassaf, 2010).

According to Abadan-Unat (2006) this situation became more complex after the attacks of September 11th, 2001. The author states that, the terror attacks increased the fear of Islam in the European countries' majority populations, and negative opinions about Turkish migrants and Muslims gained more acceptance. According to her, as a result, the previous acceptance of multi-cultural societies often gave way to an increased pressure on migrants to completely integrate themselves into the host countries' culture. Paradoxically, the more the majority society started to scrutinize migrants' religious identities instead of their national identities, the more migrants themselves started to define their identity via their religion (Abadan-Unat, 2006).

The above issues were even more complex for those children who did not grow up in Germany but instead had spent some part of their childhood in Turkey before coming to Germany: After initially growing up in Turkey and with the traditional Turkish culture, they had to cope with an entirely different culture and lifestyle in Germany, and would go to school or spend their spare time with other people from completely different backgrounds (Straube, 1987).

The greater contact to the German society also meant that second generation children were more aware of the differences between Turkish and German families. Abadan-Unat (2006) states that, initially, first generation migrants did not aim to become a part of the target country's society. The author adds that, these migrants had come with the idea of a temporary stay and only wanted to earn enough money to improve their social status in Turkey. Second generation migrants, on the other hand, would not compare their family's status to that of other people in Turkey – growing up in Germany, they would notice that the socio-economic status of immigrants was lower than that of the native population (Abadan-Unat, 2006).

Immigrant children who were born in Germany had arrived there at an early age would often have no language problems and also perform well at school (Abadan-Unat,

2006). At the same time, they would notice that their parents would have problems with basic daily tasks, such as talking in the country's language (Vassaf, 2010). While they are very small, they might find this situation amusing, however it eventually might make them feel ashamed (Vassaf, 2010). This could lead to migrant children avoiding social contacts with European friends or trying to hide their background from them (Abadan-Unat, 2006; Vassaf, 2010).

On the other hand, their parents may dislike it if their children act "too European" compared to their family traditions (Vassaf, 2010). Turkish migrant girls' lives, for instance, were more limited and controlled than those of both their male siblings and their non-Turkish peers, with, for example, the girls being expected to fulfil many household duties (Mushaben, 1985). Thus, they had so little spare time that it was hard for them to keep up their non-Turkish social connections (Mushaben, 1985). Vassaf (2010) describes how Turkish migrant girls in Netherlands observed that their native Dutch friends were granted more independence by their parents and would, as customary in Dutch culture, generally move out around the age of 18, often sharing an apartment with other young people. When Turkish parents noticed this, they forbid their children to spend time with these Dutch friends (Vassaf, 2010).

Turkish parents would encourage activities that they hoped would strengthen their children's group identity and Turkish identity. Football or karate lessons are common activities for young Turkish males, and female children may join traditional dance groups, with their male siblings often attending, as well (Straube, 1987). The parents' hope is that contact with Turkish music or folklore will help children to grow up with a strong "Turkish identity" (Straube, 1987).

Vassaf (2010) describes second generation children as being torn between two extremes: Keeping their national and religious identities vs. completely adapting and integrating into the community of the country they live in, with their parents exercising

pressure into one direction and the local population into the other (Vassaf, 2010). Since they do not completely fit into either of the cultures that others are imposing into them, they are perceived as being problematic (Vassaf, 2010). It should be noted that this resembles the theory of Kağıtçıbaşı (2003) who similarly postulates that migrant families were torn between two mutually exclusive family models and had to find a third way.

Researchers are divided on the overall relationship between younger migrant generations and their German peers: According Holtbrügge (1975), Turkish migrant children in the mid-1970s had more contact with German friends than their parents, and there were regular visits between them. On the other hand, Vassaf (2010) describes second generation migrant youths as spending their time mostly with other migrant children, and as not having any friends from other backgrounds. Similarly, according to Wilpert's (1980) research, half of the Turkish children he interviewed had not visited any homes of German children.

Of course, it is hard to compare these results, since all of these were unrelated studies that were conducted in different places, and were years, or sometimes decades, apart. Additionally, the differences might be caused different school systems or school locations. For instance, some second-generation children attended regular German primary school lessons, while others attended special preparation classes for children with little German skills (T.C. Ankara Üniversitesi, 1979). While the former children would have German classmates, the latter would only be able to meet German children during break times (T.C. Ankara Üniversitesi, 1979). Even then, the lack of language proficiency and the fact that they hardly knew the German children would often result in Turkish children being too shy or too nervous to make German friends (T.C. Ankara Üniversitesi, 1979). Instead, they would mostly spend time with other Turkish children (T.C. Ankara Üniversitesi, 1979).

Frey (2010) conducted interviews with Turkish males from the second and third generation who were between 15 and 20 years old. In her analysis she differentiates between three identity types for young Turkish males in Germany (Frey, 2010):

- The “German cosmopolite”
- The “person between two worlds”
- The “Turkish traditionalist” (p. 197)

Frey (2010) explains that, the “German cosmopolites” can speak fluent German and use it their daily life without any problems. The author continues that, they are successful at school and have social relations with both German people and people with other backgrounds. She also states that, “German cosmopolites” rarely experience situations in which their background has negative consequences for them. They are not strongly religious, visit Turkey mostly for holidays and do not feel at home there (Frey, 2010).

Frey (2010) also explains the “persons between two worlds” that they possess good language skills and are successful at school, and they, too, have social relations with people from different backgrounds. The author adds that while they may have had a few bad experiences because of their backgrounds, these situations did not socially isolate them. Unlike the “German cosmopolites”, they define their national identity as Turkish person – even if they have German citizenship – and consider moving to Turkey at some point in the future. The author also states that they may desire to have sexual and romantic experiences before marriage but want to marry a woman who did not have any other relationships before. They consider Islam to be a very significant part of their lives and their identity (Frey, 2010).

Lastly, the “Turkish traditionalists” are explained by Frey (2010) that they may have an acceptable command of the German language, but they speak mostly Turkish in their everyday lives. The author adds that, while they do not actively reject Germans, they feel a greater connection to with people with a Turkish background, which is why their social

circles consist almost exclusively other Turkish youths. The author also states that they are not successful at school. Frey says that, due to their often "dominant" demeanour and the protection from other group members, they generally did not have any negative experiences because of their background. Regardless of their citizenship, they consider themselves to be Turkish, although only few of them have plans to move to Turkey in the future (Frey, 2010).

Vassaf (2010), on the other hand, states that while some second and third generation migrant children may behave like Western European children, they are still fond of their families' cultural background and are looking for their roots. The author postulates a new "hybrid" identity for these generations, regardless of the apparent differences in individual integration, which, to him, are just the results of different experiences with the community. According to Vassaf, migrant children's problems at school or in social environments may be the result of the experience of being judged as not good enough or not being excluded from the community. Over time, Vassaf expects the cultures of migrant children and European children to merge and to create a new "European" culture, which differs from all of their parents' cultures.

2.5.5 Education. While schools, as described, offer an important opportunity for children from cultural backgrounds to meet each other, their main purpose is, of course, the provision of education. In case of children with a migratory background, this has remained a controversial subject, especially because education is generally considered to be a significant part of the integration process (Saunders, 2016). While, for example, Hornfeld (2002) lauds the improvements in the education level of Germany's Turkish migrant population, others, such as Saunders (2016) point out there are still many difficulties and challenges that specific to the education of migrant children and may hamper their chances of academic prowess.

Abadan-Unat's 1964 study (cited in Abadan-Unat, 2006), on 494 Turkish male and female workers living in different settlements in Germany, which found that 49% of them had

not had more than 5 years of general education. Notably, Abadan-Unat's 1964 study (cited in Abadan-Unat, 2006) also found the women she interviewed were on average better educated than the men. At the same time, lower educated first-generation migrants tended to have larger families: In 1974, Kudat (1975a) conducted a study with 1565 Turkish workers in West Berlin and found that the more educated participants tended to have smaller families, and that, vice versa, members of smaller families tended to be better educated than those coming from larger ones.

Since most first-generation migrants had a low level of education, and since migrants with lower education levels tended to have larger families, this data implies that the majority of second-generation migrant children grew up in households in which the parents had a low level of education. This, in turn, could influence their children's academic career.

The exact magnitude of this influence is debatable: Data from the Federal German Statistics Office (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2018), seems to indicate a strong correlation between the highest educational level achieved by children and the level of their parents' education (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2018). Children whose parents had completed a higher-level education are much more likely to attend similar institutions themselves (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2018). And an international twin study conducted by Ermisch and Pronzato (2010) also found similar correlations. The authors concluded, though, that while the effect of parental education was notable, it should also not be "overstated" (Ermisch & Pronzato, 2010).

Apart from the educational background of the family, migrant children's education can also be affected by their linguistic and cultural background.

According to Abadan-Unat (2006), the majority of immigrant workers expected their stay in Germany to be merely temporary phase of their life such as "army work" and therefore did not want to invest time into studying the language. The author adds that only a minority of

young workers were interested in learning German, with female workers often showing more interest in it than males. As discussed earlier, when immigrant workers started to move out of their dormitories and into residential areas with their families, they would move to specific parts of the towns and cities, creating an environment in which they could communicate between each other in their native language (Abadan-Unat, 2006). According to Abadan-Unat, this made it less necessary and less attractive to learn German.

However, not everything could be undertaken in these districts and among their countrymen. Since their children would usually pick up the new language faster than adults, parents would use them as a “translator”, if they had to communicate with Germans (Holtbrügge, 1975; Kudat, 1975a; Straube, 1987; Wilpert, 1980). For example, children would help their parents (often their father), relatives, and other adults in their social circle to understand German official documents and to communicate with German government agencies, banks, post offices, or similar institutions (Abadan-Unat, 1976). As outlined above, the children often were embarrassed or ashamed that their fathers were unable to perform basic tasks, which their German classmates' fathers could easily master (Vassaf, 2010). According to Vassaf (2010), this could negatively impact these children's ability to identify themselves with their fathers, which, according to him, which is an important part of a childhood.

For the children, the degree of language ability of second-generation children depended both on the age at they came to Germany and the prevalence of German language communication in their social and daily life (Abadan-Unat, 2006).

For, immigrant children who were born in Germany or came there at a young age, the attendance of kindergartens could make a big difference: On average those who did attend a kindergarten would have little language problems and be comparatively successful at school,

whereas those who did not attend any education before primary school would have language problems (Abadan-Unat, 2006).

Language problems could also manifest themselves in the Turkish language. For instance, as will be discussed later, some female children had to look after their younger siblings at home instead of attending school (Abadan-Unat, 1976). Since they could neither improve their German at school nor get Turkish-language input from their parents, skills in neither language could properly develop (Abadan-Unat, 1976).

The family's living conditions could also sometimes have a direct effect on children's access to education: Abadan-Unat's (1976) research on first-generation migrants describes that, if the available space and overall quality of a residence were not in line with German government regulations for households with children, "parents [were] disinclined to register their children" with the government in order to avoid scrutiny, which also made it impossible to send them to school (p.40).

Similarly, the influences of the traditional culture many parents had grown up with could affect children's education – especially for female children. Holtbrügge's (1975) research in the mid-1970s found that second generation Turkish migrant girls had fewer opportunities and chances to reach their education goals than daughters of German parents.

Abadan-Unat (2006) describes that, even though German laws specify a minimum compulsory education for children, these were often not strictly enforced for immigrant workers' children, so that a number of migrant families made their oldest daughter stay at home in order to look after her younger siblings.

Sending children to school did still not remove all migration-specific factors. As described previously, Vassaf (2010) also states that certain districts of cities would attract a higher density of immigrant workers, which in turn led to a larger percentage of students with migratory backgrounds at the schools there. The author adds that at some primary schools in

these areas, the rapidly growing share of migrant children led to changes in their educational system in order to accommodate the needs of these children. Vassaf also states, this, in turn, worried parents from the native population, who were afraid that the new system might negatively affect their own children's education, prompting them to try and transfer their children to other schools. The effect was the emergence of "ghetto" schools (Vassaf, 2010).

One way to introduce migrant children to the German school system was via the creation of Turkish-language preparation classes that aimed to teach Turkish children the German language and get them used to the German education system (Gökmen, 1972). The previous section already explored how these classes could make it harder for migrant children to find non-migrant friends, but in some cases they also made it harder for them to get accustomed to the culture of the new country: The teachers of these classes had to be able to speak Turkish, so they were usually either Turkish migrants already living in Germany or teachers who were specifically sent from Turkey for this purpose (Gökmen, 1972). The latter, however, usually did not receive any education about the country they were sent to and were not familiar with the children's migration-specific experiences (Vassaf, 2010). Vassaf (2010) therefore supports the idea of having the classes taught by teachers with a migratory background who grew up in Europe themselves, so that teachers could relate to the children's experiences and yet at the same time be able to teach them about the new country's culture.

If the migrant children were significantly older than primary school age when they arrived in Germany, the stress of the migration itself as well as the language barrier could prove hard to overcome (Abadan-Unat, 2006; Straube, 1987). Especially for teenagers, learning German was of great importance, in order to allow them to earn good degrees and find a good job (Straube, 1987). Not all of them managed to succeed, and in some cases this

led to otherwise healthy children ending up at schools meant for the children with special needs (“Sonderschule”) (Abadan-Unat, 2006).

Migrant girls who did attend school often did not enjoy as much parental support as their male siblings, since the parents’ expectation for male and female children differed (Wilpert, 1980). In line with the parents’ traditional culture, females were prepared for future roles as housewives, so they would be expected to cook and tidy up, so they did not have much spare time to play or focus on their education (Straube, 1987; Wilpert, 1980).

Even though not all families followed traditions to this extent, it was a common expectation that both male and female children who went to school would take care of their younger siblings in the afternoon. In an interview with German, Turkish and Yugoslavian children, Wilpert (1980) asked about the three most common activities that they would do after school. According to Wilpert’s research, Turkish children commonly listed taking care of younger siblings as one of these regular activities. The answer was given nearly as often as the answer “playing”, and not quite as often as “resting” (Wilpert, 1980).

Generally, older children needed to take care of younger siblings if both parents had paid work – and for the same reason, older children without siblings would end up staying at home by themselves in these situations (Straube, 1987; Vassaf, 2010). Staying alone meant they had to do their homework without parental help (Straube, 1987). Even if parents were there, the language barrier meant that they were often unable to help their children with their homework, and the jobs they were too busy to arrange for professional tutors (Straube, 1987). While parents would state that their children’s education is important to them (Holtbrügge, 1975; Vassaf, 2010), they would not give enough attention and time to it (Vassaf, 2010). For instance, some would take children out of school for a few days in so that they could travel to Turkey to visit relatives (Vassaf, 2010).

Lastly, the cultural differences could lead to conflicts between teachers and Turkish migrant parents, which could also affect children's education. According to Vassaf (2010), teachers would complain that Turkish parents were not eager to talk about their children's situation at school, while, on the other hand, Turkish parents would express scepticism about Western European teachers because of their religious and cultural background (Vassaf, 2010). These types of interaction could negatively impact teachers' opinions about the children, which could be especially harmful in those German states in which the ability to attend advanced secondary education ("Gymnasium") would be contingent on the teacher's recommendation (Abadan-Unat, 2006).

2.6 The Vernacular Anatolian House

The interviewees in this research have a Turkish migratory background and either grew up in vernacular Anatolian houses or came into contact with them during visits to friends and family living in areas such as rural Anatolia. If one aims to understand their relations to housing, one has to understand this style, because if someone grew up in a certain housing style, they will often try and adapt later houses to match this familiar environment, because – according to Yürekli and Yürekli (2007) – “the philosophy of life reflects in and on the buildings via thought, design and technology” (p.49).

Therefore, it is important to examine the history and spatial features of Turkish vernacular housing, and the lifestyle that came with it, in order to better understand the housing preferences and lifestyles of Turkish-German families and the kind of spatial specifications that make them feel comfortable.

This chapter will first examine the history and general typology of Anatolian vernacular housing, as well as its architectural features and main elements, the private and social life in the house and the cultural, social, and religious background that shaped the lifestyle of the region.

2.6.1 History and general description.

Nomenclature. The style of building that this chapter focuses on can be found throughout a wide area – according to Bektaş (1996) buildings of this type occur all the way from eastern Turkey to the west of former Yugoslavia. Considering this large area, it is perhaps not surprising that there is no single agreed-upon name for this type of house within the existing body of research. Common terms include “Hayatlı Ev” (“House with a Hayat”), “Türk Evi” (“Turkish house”) or “Ottoman House”, depending on the background and approach of the researcher, the location of the building (e.g., the country and the size of the settlement). Since this the aim of this chapter is to understand the architectural features and lifestyle of people in vernacular houses in small cities, villages and rural areas of Anatolia, this paper will generally refer to these houses as “Vernacular Anatolian Houses”. When summarizing and discussing individual findings of different researchers, however, the respective terms used in their papers may be used here, as well.

General description. While the individual construction techniques differ from region to region, depending on climate, local materials, topography of the area and cultural differences (Baran & Yıldırım, 2008), these vernacular houses still share many common architectural features (Bektaş, 1996; Bertram, 2008; Küçükerman, 1988) and similar design principles (Bektaş, 1996). Bektaş (1996) argues that this is the result of the common cultural and economic background formed by the Ottoman Empire.

The houses generally have at least two levels: a ground floor and at least one upper floor (Bertram, 2008). The ground floor will usually contain storage rooms and animal stables (Eruzun, 1989; Bertram, 2008), and in some cases a living space for use during wintertime (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007). The exact types of rooms on this floor may vary from one house to another depending on the particular needs of the owners (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007).

Stairs from the lower level lead to the upper level(s), which contain the living quarters (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007). If there is more than one level above the ground floor, the floor directly above the ground floor will be the only one in use during colder seasons, while any floors higher than that will only see use in warmer times (Bertram, 2008).

The living quarters on the upper floor(s) generally comprise the following elements: “oda” and “hayat” (Baran & Yıldırım, 2008). In terms of layout, the “hayat” is a half-open gallery, from which doors lead into one or more fully enclosed rooms (“oda”), with each room being directly connected to the “hayat” and only to the “hayat”. The following sections will examine these features in greater detail.

Kuban (2010) calls this style of building “Hayatlı Ev” (“House with a hayat”) and describes that it combines concepts and influences from different regions and cultures. In particular, he connects the concept of the “oda” as a single living space for a whole family to that of the “yurt” – the style tent that the nomadic ancestors of the Turkic population used to live in, while he relates the construction technique of the building to that of pre-Turkic Anatolian buildings. According to Kuban (2010), none of the elements of the “Hayatlı Ev” are completely original, as each can be found in other architectural traditions in the Near East and/or the Mediterranean, he does, however single out the “Hayatlı Ev” as a unique synthesis of these different, pre-existing concepts, and places its origins in the rural Turcoman settlements of Anatolia during the Ottoman period.

Bektaş (1996) points out how the principles of Vernacular Anatolian Houses remained common for generations, and how even today some houses are still used in accordance with their original intentions.

According to Eruzun (1989), construction of buildings of this type declined in the 1950s, since the plan and organizational style of the Vernacular Anatolian House were ill-suited to the demands of increased urban development in the region.

2.6.2 Shape and exterior. The house is designed according to its functions (Bektaş, 1996). Its façade does not feature ornaments (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007), and its outside shape is determined by its internal space organization, and an observer could read the plan of the house from outside (Bektaş, 1996). Yürekli and Yürekli (2007) call it “volumetric architecture instead of an architecture of facades” (p.31). At the same time, they observe that these houses do not have a strong separation between inside and outside (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007). For instance, the wall between the “oda” and the “hayat” is both an interior wall (because the “hayat” is not a public space and, therefore, part of the family’s living area), as well as an exterior wall (because the “hayat” is a half-open gallery, and therefore not an enclosed space (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007). Yürekli and Yürekli (2007) describe this as continuity between inside and outside spaces.

2.6.3 Rooms and spaces in the house. This section examines the main spaces of the Vernacular Anatolian House – “oda” and “hayat” – in greater detail and will also give a quick overview of other important elements, such as kitchen and service rooms.

“Oda”. “Oda” is the Turkish word for “room”. Like the “hayat”, it is located on the upper floor of the house. Bertram (2008) describes the “oda” as the self-sufficient element of a house in which a “nuclear family” can live. It is the most closed and “isolated” element of the house, separated from the outside areas (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007).

The “oda” can provide many functions for its inhabitants, such as cooking, eating, sponge bathing and sleeping (Göker, 2009). Its interior shows and defines the family life of the people who live in it (Kuban, 1995).

A Vernacular Anatolian House may have one or many of these, with each “oda” having a separate door that connects directly to the social space of the house (Bertram, 2008). If several generations share a vernacular house, each nuclear family will have their own “oda” that is considered to be their private room.

In some houses, one “oda” is distinguished by larger dimensions, elaborate decoration and a location chosen to get as much daylight as possible (Bertram, 2008). It is the largest and most elaborate room in the house (Bektaş, 1996). This room is called “başoda” (main room). It is the home of the heads of the household, generally the father and mother of the family living in the house (Bektaş, 1996), and it is also the room into which guests are invited (Bektaş, 1996).

It is, however, not a dedicated guest room or reception room. Its general function is the same as that of the other, more modest “oda” in the house (Bektaş, 1996): To provide living space for a nuclear family (Bektaş, 1996).

The other rooms provide the same functions for the people or nuclear family that lives in them, but these rooms are more modest compared to the main room (Bektaş, 1996).

Spatial organization of the “oda”. The overall shape of the “oda” is either square or a nearly square rectangular shape (Bektaş, 1996; Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007), with each side measuring between three and four meters (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007). These dimensions are independent from the overall size of the house: A larger house will have a greater number of “oda”, but the size of each individual “oda” will still be similar to that of a smaller house (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007).

The entrance of the “oda” separates the public life of the “hayat” from the private life of the “oda”, therefore it is designed to protect the privacy of the oda’s inhabitant. As Küçükerman (1988) points out, there are different ways to achieve this, but the aim is always to prevent a direct line of sight from the “hayat” into the “oda”, even if the door is open. This is accomplished by having an element in the “oda” that would block this view (Bektaş, 1996). This protects the privacy of the “oda’s” inhabitants and gives them an opportunity to prepare themselves and the room for any visitors (Bektaş, 1996).

Traditionally, the interior of the “oda” is divided into two separate sections, which are marked by different heights of the floor and ceiling: “seki altı” (“below the platform”) and “seki üstü” (“on the platform”) (Göker, 2009).

Upon entering the room, people find themselves in the “seki altı” section. It is here that they can take off their shoes before proceeding to the “seki üstü” (Göker, 2009). “Seki altı” also serves as the service section of the “oda”, with cupboards and sometimes an oven (Kuban, 1995; Göker, 2009). The ceiling of the “seki altı” is lower than that of the “seki üstü” (Kuban, 1995).

The “seki üstü” section is a sitting section with a window overlooking the street, garden, or “hayat” (Kuban, 1995). It contains the “sedir”, a low bench made for sitting onto in a cross-legged position (Göker, 2009). Both “sedir” and floor of the “seki üstü” are covered with elaborate textiles (Göker, 2009).

Unlike rooms in European houses, the “oda” is designed to be a multifunctional space (Bertram, 2008), useful for sleeping, eating, sitting alone or together with others, and for cleaning one’s body (Bertram, 2008; Baran & Yıldırım, 2008).

In order to allow for that many different cases of use, most of the furniture of the “oda” is highly mobile and can be moved and stored away when not in use (Baran & Yıldırım, 2008; Bektaş, 1996). The design of the “oda” provides an open space in the middle of the room, which can be used for the placement of whichever mobile furniture is currently needed (Baran & Yıldırım, 2008). For instance, instead of a permanent dining table, large trays with meals would be filled in the kitchen and brought into the “oda” at mealtimes (Bertram, 2008; Eruzun, 1989). At night-time, blankets and bedsheets could be taken out of the cupboards and arranged on the “sedir” and / or the open space on the floor (Bektaş, 1996).

Around this open space, more permanent furniture is arranged (Eruzun, 1989). Unlike its mobile counterparts, which usually serve very specific tasks, the permanent furniture is

multi-purposed (Eruzun, 1989), and there is no unnecessary piece of furniture in the “oda” (Bektaş, 1996; Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007). For example, the “sedir” serves as a sitting place but is also used for sleeping (Eruzun, 1989), and its interior is designed as a storage space (Bektaş, 1996). The open shelves at the wall allow for storage of the daily-use plates (Bektaş, 1996), which then serve as decorative elements (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007). Ovens could be used for both heating and cooking (Eruzun, 1989), and a small place for sponge bathing is tucked away inside one of the cupboards (Eruzun, 1989), often close to the oven (Bertram, 2008).

Kuban (1995) points out that the design of the “oda” was very much attuned to a specific lifestyle and culture. Later developments, such as urbanization and European style furniture clashed with the original intention and use of the “oda” (Kuban, 1995). For example, the whole construction of the “oda” and all of its furniture has been designed under the assumption that its occupants would sit either on the floor or on low sitting furniture, such as the “sedir” (Bektaş, 1996). If one furnishes this room with European-style furniture instead, the dimensions do not fit anymore (Bektaş, 1996).

Social and private life in the “oda”. As mentioned above, adoption of European-style furniture clashes with the original usage of the “oda” (Bektaş, 1996; Kuban, 1995). It should therefore be noted, that a lot of the customs and traditions in this section are not common anymore. However, Kuban (1995) noted that by the time of his research there were still some people who used it in the traditional way. Hence, especially older migrants from Anatolia will often have experienced them.

As described in the previous section, the “oda” is arranged in a way that allows a nuclear family to accomplish many different tasks without having to leave it (Bektaş, 1996). Thus, some people in Turkey even refer to their family’s “oda” as their “house”, since it provides them with all these necessities (Bektaş, 1996).

Whenever a new nuclear family is established within the extended family, they are given a separate “oda”. So, after a son has married, he and his wife would get a private “oda”, with the wife being in charge of the room’s décor (Birkalan, 1998). This “oda” is purely the domain of the new nuclear family. Any social life involving the extended family, for example the new bride interacting with the son’s parents, will take place in public spaces, namely the “hayat” (Birkalan, 1998).

Kuban (1995) explains that, in the traditional, patriarchic Anatolian lifestyle, the most comfortable and decorated seating place in the “oda” would be reserved for the father of the nuclear family. The author adds that, this place would be on the “sedir”, and the father would be joined there by older members of his family. Kuban also states that younger adults in the family would also get space on the “sedir”, however their position would be closer to the door, while children would be seated on pillows on the floor. If they had servants, those would take their place at the entrance of the room (Kuban, 1995).

All of the above also applies to the “başoda”, should there be one, except that it would additionally be used as a more private place to receive male visitors of the family (Bertram, 2008).

“Hayat”. Outside of the “oda” lies the “hayat” (Turkish for “life”), the main social space of the house. Other common names for the “hayat” are “sofa”, “sergah”, “serge”, “seyvan”, “cardak”, and “divanhane” (Küçükerman, 1988, p. 53). It is an open gallery (Kuban, 1995) that serves as a central space for social life and provides access to all of the “odas” (Küçükerman, 1988). The stairs coming up from the ground level end at the hayat, so any visitors would have to pass through it. There is no hallway separating the “hayat” from the “oda” – if a person exits one, they will directly enter the other. Even though the “hayat” is not as private as the “oda”, it is not a completely public space, either. Depending on the local

circumstances, it will face the occupant's garden or the courtyard of the house, protecting people's privacy (Kuban, 2010).

Spatial organization. The "hayat" is an area that is functionally located between the inside and outside (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007). It does not, however, directly face the street but instead provides a view of a private area such as a garden or courtyard (Kuban, 1995).

Its form is shaped by the locations and number of "odas" a house has (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007). However, its shape is not random or the result of chance – on the contrary it has a clearly designed form (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007).

The hayat provides circulation between the different areas of the house (Kuban, 1995). It provides access to the private "odas" (Bektaş, 1996; Bertram, 2008), but it also has a sitting area with carpets and pillows on the floor (Göker, 2009), and it may provide space for a kitchen and/or a small bathing cubicle ("güsülhane"), and its floor can be used to dry fruits and vegetables in preparation for storage (Kuban, 1995).

The "hayat" of many Vernacular Anatolian Houses also features at least one "eyvan" (Turkish for "porch" or "balcony"), which is a niche in the "hayat" that is located between two "oda" and ends in a porch with a wooden railing that serves to open up the "hayat" to the world outside the house (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007). Depending on the layout of the house, an "eyvan" might provide a view of the garden (this is often the case in large houses in which the "hayat" itself faces an inner courtyard), or it might open up some part of the closed space of the "hayat" to the street (Kuban, 2010).

Social and private life in the "hayat". With all its different functions, the "hayat" is the part of the house in which most of the daily life takes place (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007). The "sofa" is the part of the house in which members of the family meet in order to spend time together or for big family events (Eruzun, 1989).

Since it is a place with a view of the garden (Bertram, 2008), mothers can do housework there and at the same time keep an eye on the children playing in the garden (Kuban, 1995). It is also a place to which men may invite their friends to have a coffee (Kuban, 1995). During times of warm weather, people may prefer to sleep on the “hayat” instead of in their “oda” (Kuban, 1995). In that way, the space can even become a “continuity” of the interior rooms (Kuban, 1995).

Kitchen. Although each “oda” has its own oven, which may be used for food preparation, there is a separate kitchen (Eruzun, 1989). Depending on the region, it may be on the lower floor among the service rooms, or in a room on the upper floor (Eruzun, 1989). Every kitchen also provides a space for eating meals there (Eruzun, 1989). Bektaş (1996) states that the kitchen, laundry and hamam (bath) are the common facilities shared by all nuclear families in the house.

Ground floor. The ground floor is half open – after entering through the main door from the street, a visitor would look at the garden (Bertram, 2008). It is a service area (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007), and its floor is made of stone to allow for easy cleaning (Bertram, 2008). Apart from the stairs leading up to the “hayat”, its main features are stables, depots, and potentially a winter room that is easier to keep warm than the “oda” upstairs (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007). Not all of these rooms are present in every house – it depends on the individual design and the needs of the family living there (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007).

Toilets. The toilets are not part of the main building but are instead placed separately, usually in the part of the garden which is farthest away from the house. While large houses may feature a “hamam” (Turkish bath) for full body bathing, residents of smaller houses would instead use a public hamam located in the neighbourhood (Bertram, 2008).

Areas for food production and preparation. The garden has space for both flowers and food crops, such as fruits and vegetables (Bektaş, 1996). This allowed residents of this

type of house to produce at least some of their own food, potentially augmenting it with produce from the local market (Kuban, 2010).

In order to preserve the harvest, certain areas of the house are used to prepare food for storage. The exact areas used for this and the methods involved differ depending on the region.

For instance, many houses feature a half-open space directly under the roof that can be used for drying fruit and vegetables (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007). Another common area for the preparation of foods is the stone floor on the entrance level of the house, directly next to the storage rooms (Bertram, 2008).

Lastly, the “hayat”, with its open space that is located close to both kitchen and washing facilities, may also be used for this purpose (Kuban, 1995).

2.6.4 Cultural, social and historical background of the Vernacular Anatolian House. Anatolia is a region that has seen and continues to see people from many different cultures, lifestyles and religions. This mix also influenced the architectural features of its vernacular houses and the ways people live in them. Küçükerman (1988) lists the following major influences:

- The lifestyle of the pre-Turkic Anatolian population, formed by local culture and environment,
- Originally nomadic traditions and customs introduced by the nomadic Turcoman immigrants
- Islamic culture and traditions, which had been acquired by the nomads during their westward migration (Küçükerman, 1988).

This section explores how different aspects of life in the Vernacular Anatolian House – and hence the house itself – were influenced and shaped by these and other influences.

The house as part of the rural and agricultural life and of nature. Two major influences on any building, regardless of cultural background, are location and purpose. As mentioned above, the “Hayatlı Ev”, as Kuban (2010) calls it, is a design that was mainly found in small settlements and rural areas. Consequently, as Kuban describes, the design is suitable for people doing agricultural work as it provides a direct connection to the natural environment for its occupants.

Bektaş (1996) agrees with this, saying that one of the principles of this type of house is being “respectful” to the environment in harmony with nature. According to Kuban (2010), this relationship to nature also has many similarities to the culture of the Turcoman immigrants.

Nomadic life and other cultural connections to vernacular housing. The migration of Turkic people from middle Asia to Anatolia was very powerful in shaping Anatolian culture. This migration brought many aspects of nomadic culture and lifestyle to the region, which had a lasting impact.

In fact, as Küçükerman (1988) and Eruzun (1989) point out, even in modern-day Turkey there still are some groups who live in tents and keep practicing the nomadic lifestyle of their ancestors.

However, even those who settled down did not let go of all aspects of their nomadic past with them. One example of this was already mentioned above, with Kuban (2010) pointing out the conceptual similarities between the “oda” in the Vernacular Anatolian House and the nomadic “yurt”, both of which are single rooms serving as a complete living space for an entire nuclear family (Kuban, 2010).

There are other aspects of Turko-Anatolian culture that bear resemblance to nomadic traditions:

- In some parts of the region, it is customary for people to have two houses – one serves as their residence in warmer months, the other during the cold season (Küçükerman, 1988; Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007; Kuban, 1995). As part of these moves, the residents may bring along a significant amount of furniture and personal items (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007), similar to the way nomads travel with their belongings.
- Yürekli & Yürekli (2007) found that the houses often do not contain any purely decorative objects, such as artworks. The authors add that, instead, functional objects will have a secondary use as decorative items, for instance they observed residents keeping their daily use plates on open shelves along the walls, so that the décor would remain visible. Yürekli and Yürekli also explain that other items, such as pillows and carpets, would similarly have both a practical use and a decorative or atmospheric function. When moving between houses, these items would be brought along, effectively taking along the atmosphere from one house to the other (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007).
- Kuban (1995) observes that the “oda” would traditionally have very little furniture items. He describes that cupboards and ovens are usually already built into the structure itself, likening this again to the interior of nomadic tents (Kuban, 1995).
- Kuban (1995) also observes that the Turkish word for the type of cupboards in these rooms is “yükçük”. According to Kuban this is related to the word “yük”, which is the term for a load of cargo carried by an animal. For Kuban, this is another remnant of nomadic culture, specifically a reminder of how they used to transport their belongings.
- What little permanent furniture exists in the “oda”, such as, for example, “sedir”, would be arranged along the walls, leaving the central space empty (Kuban, 1995). This space would be used for eating, sitting, working, and sleeping (Küçükerman,

1988; Kuban, 1995). Both the spatial arrangement of the “oda” and its multifunctional nature are similar to nomadic tents (Kuban, 1995).

- The furniture in the “oda” is designed with the assumption that people in the room will be sitting, not standing (Göker, 2009; Kuban, 1995). Kuban (1995) argues that this may be related to the occupants being tired after a hard day of agricultural work, however he also likens it to the usage patterns of nomadic tents, pointing out that sitting was still preferred to standing in Turkish culture at the time of his writing, at least outside of modern urban areas (Kuban, 1995). Occupants and guests of the Vernacular Anatolian House would sit in a cross-legged position (Kuban, 1995), either on the floor or on the “sedir”, a traditional type of sitting furniture that provides a low and deep platform about 30 to 40 centimetres off the ground for cross-legged sitting (Göker, 2009; Kuban, 1995).

- Lastly, Kuban (1995) observes that the concept of the half-open “hayat” does not fit into some of the regions in which it became common and stayed popular until recently. Namely, he argues that the climate in parts of Anatolia and the Balkans is comparatively cold, and thus more suited to fully enclosed structures. Kuban theorizes that the insistence on the half-open “hayat” may also be a carryover from nomadic traditions, and that it allowed for the “oda” to have a door that would lead directly outside, similar to how a nomadic tent would have a direct passage to the outdoors.

Religious and family traditions as an influence on house design and layout. The design of the Vernacular Anatolian House has also been affected by the traditions and customs that the Turkoman migrants brought with them – both in terms of Islamic religion, as well as in regard to family structure.

In traditional Islam, public and private life are strictly separated. Thus, as Kuban (2010) points out, the design of the ‘Hayatlı ev’ is largely closed to outside views. Even the

half-open hayat overlooks a private area: the home's own garden or courtyard, allowing the house's occupants to spend time in open or half-open areas, as would be common for an agricultural lifestyle, while at the same time having their privacy protected by the closed nature of the design (Kuban, 2010).

This is achieved by the use of high garden walls, which separate the house from the street (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007). Additionally, in some regions, the street side façades of the houses do not have windows on the ground floor, further protecting the privacy of the inhabitants (Küçükerman, 1988). On the other hand, the upper floors do have windows, allowing the house's occupants to see the street without being seen themselves (Yürekli & Yürekli, 2007).

Kuban (2010) points out that the overwhelming majority of "Hayatlı ev" do not separate their rooms according to the occupants' gender – as it was common in more urban areas such as Istanbul. Instead, as he describes it, all of the house and garden was considered to be the domain of women, with males being more like "guests" (Kuban, 2010).

On the other hand, women did not leave this space nearly as much as men (Kuban, 2010). While men would leave the house for work or business during the daytime, women generally spent their time at home (Küçükerman, 1988). The design of the "Hayatlı ev" and its garden was set up in a way that would let women do all the work they were expected to do, such as farming, taking care of animals, preparing food for the wintertime, or doing textile work, without having to leave the property – effectively providing another kind of gender-based separation (Kuban, 2010). Küçükerman (1988) makes a similar assessment, he does, however, point out that the design of the Vernacular Anatolian Houses also provided for the women's recreational needs and social life, providing space for relaxation as well as social gatherings.

While women were, as mentioned above, the primary deciders for day-to-day matters regarding the smooth operation of life within the house, it was men who had the final say in important matters regarding the family.

The highest position in this hierarchy would traditionally be assumed by the oldest man in the household (Birkalan, 1998). Married adult sons would usually continue to live in the same house with their brides, having their own “oda” as a private space, however the son would still accept his father’s authority as head of the family (Birkalan, 1998).

Küçükerman (1988) likens this to older traditions of nomadic families setting up their tents next to each other – in the more permanent construction of the Vernacular Anatolian House, the “oda” has taken over the role of the tent. It serves to protect the privacy of the nuclear family (Bektaş, 1996).

In the social spaces of the house, on the other hand, the family would come together to share housework and life (Küçükerman, 1988). Apart from the already mentioned spaces, the common facilities also included “kitchen, laundry, and hamam” (bath) (Bektaş, 1996). Apart from the shared bath, though, every family also had the option to use a private sponge bathing place (“yunmalık”) located in their own “oda” (Bektaş, 1996).

An interesting feature of the Vernacular Anatolian House is its ability to extend or modify its layout if more rooms are needed.

Since, as stated above, it is not customary in Turkish culture for a married child to move out and get a house of their own, the design of the Vernacular Anatolian House is flexible enough to adapt to the consequences of this lifestyle (Göker, 2009).

It may start out with only one “oda” and a “hayat” (Bektaş, 1996), with more “odas” being added as the family grows (Bektaş, 1996; Kuban, 1995). If necessary – and practical in terms of space – the whole house may even be divided into smaller houses (Bektaş, 1996), with each house having the full set of features described above.

3 Methodology

This research explores the effects of migration on children's private and social places in outdoor and indoor environments as observed over multiple generations of Turkish migrants in Germany, taking under consideration the various cultural, social, and environmental effects that influence children's choice of and relation to their places. The scope of study ranges from the beginning of post-World-War-2 Turkish-German labour migration to today.

The aim of this research is to give architects and designers a better understanding of the specific challenges when creating spaces for children and families in an intercultural environment and enable them to work together with the future inhabitants or users of a designed space in order to provide solutions that allow children from different cultural backgrounds to interact and create private and social places for themselves. Furthermore, the research aims to provide some architectural suggestions for creating spaces that address the place needs of both children with and without migratory backgrounds.

In order to collect detailed individual experiences and gain deeper understanding of the social and private places of children, a qualitative approach was chosen. The researcher conducted in-depth interviews with migrants from several generations, focusing on their childhood experiences and environments in both Turkey and Germany. The responses were then analysed according by applying a phenomenologically based meaning condensation method.

In addition to these interviews, three case studies were undertaken to observe and analyse the place-related activities of children in school and day care environments that had recently been re-designed in participatory design process that aimed to create spaces that catered to the children's spatial needs and wishes. These case studies were necessary to learn about children's preferences and understand their interactions with the built environments. A

triangular method was employed for these case studies, combining protocols and behavioural mapping of the observations with interviews of the designers and adult users of the spaces.

The findings of the case studies not only helped learn how children use these renovated corridors as private or social places but serve as a way of validating the interview results about children's private and social place needs.

3.1 Choosing a Qualitative Approach

The research for this dissertation was conducted by employing a qualitative approach. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) define qualitative research as follows:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. They turn the world into a series of representations; including field notes interviews, conversations, photographs, and memos to the self. At this level qualitative research involves an interpretative, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. (p.3)

In this definition, Denzin and Lincoln explain the characteristics of the qualitative research approach. According to them, the qualitative approach with its diverse methods focuses on human's "interpretations" of their world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Qualitative research concentrates on "things" in their authentic environment and the "meanings" that humans give them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). According to Creswell (2007), qualitative research is a method of gaining insight into an issue by using techniques that focus on "social or human" aspects. Qualitative researchers should do their studies in an authentic environment and consider and collect many different facets of a subject (Creswell, 2007). They should make extensive records of their interviewees' personal interpretations and opinions and should pay attention to the phrases being used (Creswell, 2007).

Seamon and Gill (2014) describe qualitative research as an observation of actual people in their actual environments. The authors consider it to be "inductive", since it creates its theories by deeply exploring individual circumstances in order to develop "descriptive generalizations". The authors contrast this with the quantitative approach, which cannot capture the nuances of the human existence, since it has to sort them into a limited number of categories for analytical purposes. According to Seamon and Gill's definition, the qualitative methodology is not forced to restrict itself to these tools but can instead use a number of different methods (such as "interview transcripts, field notes, video recordings" and many more) to describe a subject or situation in a detailed manner in order to gain deeper understanding, find non-obvious relationships between seemingly separate aspects, and gain insights that are applicable in broader contexts.

This research focuses on childhood experiences of people with migratory background at their social and private places. It observes and analyses children's interactions with their architectural and urban environment, and it explores the connections that children and adults with migratory backgrounds have to their present and past environments. These are "social or human" (Creswell, 2007) aspects that need to be explored in people's natural settings, and they need to be explored in depth and with a focus on the individual experience rather than on a large set of standardized data. For these reasons, a qualitative approach was chosen for this research.

3.2 Employing the Phenomenological Method

In conducting the interviews and analysing the data, phenomenological methods were employed. As outlined by, for example, Shirazi (2012), the use of phenomenological methods has a long tradition in architecture. For this research, the choice to employ them was made due to the nature of the data collected. The aim of the interviews was to gather and evaluate detailed individual accounts and experiences that happened over several generations and thus

in different time periods, in order to recognize underlying patterns and principles. This aligns with the strengths of phenomenology, which, as Kvale (1996), puts it, “studies people’s perspectives on their world; attempts to describe in detail the content and the structure of the subjects’ consciousness to grasp the qualitative diversity of their experiences and to explicate their essential meanings” (p. 53). Kvale (1996) also elaborates that applying phenomenologically based meaning condensation “may serve to analyse extensive and often complex interview text by looking for natural meaning units and explicating their main themes” (p.196).

3.3 Selection of City and Districts

For this research, case studies and in-depth interviews were conducted in Berlin, mainly in districts that used to be part of West Berlin during the time of the division of Germany. This choice was made both because of the city’s demographic structure and especially because of West Berlin’s special situation and role during the first decades of labour migration.

The case studies examine children’s private and social places in intercultural environments and how children experience these places. For this type of research, Berlin has the advantage of having a high percentage of children with migratory backgrounds – their number is significantly above the German average (Göttsche, 2018). According to data reported by the Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, in 2017 slightly more than 36 % of the children in all of Germany had a migratory background (Göttsche, 2018). For Berlin, the same report stated a share of 47.2 % of children with a migratory background (Göttsche, 2018).

These numbers are the result of multiple decades of immigration into West Berlin, which had started in the 1960s. In 1971 already, 20 % of the children born West Berlin had parents whose nationality was not German (Pugh, 2014).

The choice of Berlin was also ideal for the in-depth interviews, which form the second part of this study. These interviews were conducted with three generations of people from a Turkish cultural background; with the aim developing a deeper understanding of the way children with a Turkish migratory background from different generations experience their places. Berlin also has dense population with people with Turkish migratory background.

From early on, West Berlin was a favoured target for Turkish migrant workers (Jurgens, 2012). This long history of immigration means that it was an ideal fit for comparing the experiences of multiple generations of migrants in the same city.

Arriving migrants did not spread out evenly across all districts of (West) Berlin, though. They rather tended to cluster in certain areas and districts. This research focuses on several Berlin districts that have dense populations of people with a migratory background. It should be noted that the number of districts in Berlin was significantly reduced in 2001, often by combining two or more old districts into a new one. Since most of the migration that shaped the population of the immigrant districts occurred before this reform, this text will mention both the old and new district names wherever applicable.

The case studies were conducted in two primary schools and one day care centre. These were located in the former district of Kreuzberg (nowadays part of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg) and the former district of Wedding (nowadays part of Mitte).

The in-depth interviews were conducted with interviewees who live or work in the former districts of Kreuzberg (nowadays Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg), Wedding (nowadays Mitte), Schöneberg (nowadays Tempelhof-Schöneberg), and Neukölln (no change). The aim of the interviews was to understand and describe the place experiences children with a Turkish migratory background, in order to find design solutions.

At the time of 20th century labour migration, Kreuzberg and Wedding had two characteristics that made them attractive to migrant workers: They had a long history of being

working class districts, and they were, at the time, located directly adjacent to the Berlin Wall (Jurgens, 2012; Mennel, 2004; Brown, 2013). Both of these factors meant that they offered inexpensive accommodation for arriving migrants (Jurgens, 2012). In the early 1970s, Kreuzberg had the biggest population with migratory background, followed by Wedding (Hinze, 2013).

From 1975 onwards, there was a restriction that forbid foreigners in Germany cities to settle in districts that already had more than 12% of non-German population (Hallenberg, 2016). Districts affected in Berlin were Kreuzberg, Wedding, and Tiergarten (Hallenberg, 2016). As a result of this ban, migrants with Turkish background started to settle in the districts of Schöneberg and Neukölln (Hinze, 2013).

Today, these old districts still have a high percentage of residents with a migratory background. In 2007, 44.5 % of the residents of Mitte (which includes the former district of Wedding) had a migratory background, and in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (which includes the old Kreuzberg) the percentage for residents with a migratory background was 36.6 % (Bömermann, Rehkämper, & Rockmann, 2008). Data from 2010 about residents' citizenship from the *Zeitschrift für amtliche Statistik Berlin Brandenburg* shows that many of these persons have Turkish roots (Gyapay, 2012). According to this data, in some areas close to the former Wall in Wedding, Kreuzberg and Neukölln more than 40% of the residents were Turkish nationals (Gyapay, 2012).

The district of Kreuzberg has another characteristic that makes it especially significant for this research. As mentioned above, Kreuzberg originally was a neighbourhood providing accommodation for low-income people (Haxthausen & Suhr, 1990). During the 1960s and 1970s, the low rents due to its adjacency to the not only attracted migrant workers but also West German "Bohemians" (Brown, 2013). Thus, in the years before the Wall came down, the district was known not only as a place with a dense Turkish population – earning it

nicknames such as “Little Istanbul” or “Turkish Ghetto” – but also as the centre of “alternative culture” in Berlin (Haxthausen & Suhr, 1990). In addition to that, it was also an important centre of Berlin’s left-wing movements (Hinze, 2013).

Hinze (2013) states that after the fall of the Berlin Wall came down, the attractiveness of former border districts changed drastically. The author explains that Kreuzberg was suddenly not located at the fringe anymore but rather right in the centre of Berlin. Hinze also adds that large numbers of students and artists started moving into affordable apartments there as well as into the former East German districts of Prenzlauer Berg and Mitte. According to Hinze, this resulted in a process of gentrification that during the early 21st century, which negatively affected, low-income residents who were already living these areas – which, in Kreuzberg, included many Turkish-German residents. On the other hand, those Turkish-Germans who were still able to afford their apartments in Kreuzberg in spite of the gentrification continued to live in the multicultural environment of the district (Hinze, 2013).

While Kreuzberg has now a reputation of being a successful multicultural district, those Turkish Germans who could not afford living there anymore often moved to Neukölln, which is known as a district of working class and low-income people (Hinze, 2013).

3.4 Interviewee Selection

As Kvale (1996) points out, the number of subjects for any research study varies depending on its purpose. Qualitative studies, due to the complex and individual nature of the interviews and responses tend to have much smaller sample sizes than quantitative studies, with Kvale (1996) giving the average sample size of qualitative research qualitative interview as being between 5 to 25 interviewees. For this research, 34 persons with Turkish migratory backgrounds were interviewed. This comparatively large sample size was chosen to reflect the internal variance of the ample group, which included interviewees from several different generations, which may have caused them to have different experiences.

Subjects for the interviews were selected via multiple avenues: The researcher approached persons in Berlin she was already familiar with but also contacted the owners and employees of neighbourhood cafés in Berlin that preliminarily catered to the migrant population. All of these persons were not just asked to participate but also to recommend additional candidates, with whom the process was then repeated.

The researcher's aim was to assemble a group of interviewees that included a relatively balanced number of participants from various generations, genders, residential areas, and origin places, in order to capture a wide variety of experiences. This was mostly achieved, except for the fact that females were more likely to agree to an interview than males, which made it impossible to achieve a perfect gender balance.

Altogether, as stated above, 34 persons participated in the interviews. Their ages ranged from 16 to 70 years. 24 of the interviewees were female and 10 of them were male.

3.5 Structure of the Interview Process

The initial contact between researcher and interviewee was made either in person or via telephone, however the actual interviews were all conducted in person, as face-to-face conversations between the researcher and the interviewee.

In order to create a more comfortable and personal atmosphere for the interviewees, all interviews were conducted in environments familiar to the interviewees. 9 took place at the interviewees' houses, 4 at their workplaces, 2 at houses of interviewees' relatives, 4 at houses of their neighbours, and 15 interviews were conducted in cafés familiar to the interviewees.

Before the start of the interviews, the research and its aims were explained to the interviewees, and they were asked if they were willing to participate. For interviewees aged under 18 – which was the case for some third-generation subjects – the researcher also asked for parental permission before conducting the interview.

Interviewees were asked if they allowed the researcher to record the interview on an audio recording device. If they did not agree, the researcher used pen and paper to take notes during the interview, otherwise the audio recorder was employed. 30 participants gave permission to capture the audio of their interviews – in those cases the audio was later transcribed. 4 interviewees declined to give permission, so the answers were directly recorded in written form.

The interviews all featured open-ended questions, and their duration varied from 13 to 72 minutes, with an average duration of 40 minutes.

3.6 Selection of Interview Topics

The interviews did not follow a strict script or a pre-determined sequence of questions. Instead, the researcher would address a topic of interest via open-ended questions and then ask follow-up questions in order to get a more detailed response. The number of topics addressed and the depth with which they explored varied between interviews, partially due to external factors – such as an interviewee's schedule – and partially due to differences in the amount of information interviewees were willing or able to give regarding a subject.

Topics covered included,

- Interviewees' private and social places both now and in their childhood
- How they defined and experienced these places
- The significance of their personal and private places to them
- Their place identity
- The Meaning of "home" for them
- Interviewees' emotional bonds to their current childhood places
- Neighbourhood relationships and their effect on children's social places

3.7 Analysis of Responses

For the analysis of the responses, the phenomenological meaning condensation method was applied (Kvale, 1996). As a first step, a transcript was read three times in order to get a general sense for the whole text. Afterwards, the text was divided into “natural meaning units”, each representing an individual statement given by the interviewee. In doing so, the researcher tried not to lose any information and not to interpret the statements.

Although the interviews were conducted in German and Turkish, the “meaning units” were translated into English and organized with the computer program ‘NVivo’.

Next, these “meaning units” were manually categorized and grouped into common themes, which were then organized into chapters.

In addition to the results that came about as direct answers to questions by the researcher, this process also allowed to record and categorize data on additional positions or ideas that were stated independently by many interviewees without having been prompted by specific questions about the subject.

As part of the process of analysing the responses, the interviewees had to be grouped into migrant generations. For this purpose, the following rules were applied: A person was considered a first-generation immigrant, if there were no prior migrant generations in their family, or if their migration occurred completely independent from that of older generations.

A child who migrated to Germany together with their parents or joined them there a few years after the parental migration, was counted as a second-generation immigrant, even though they were not born in the target country, because there already was a parental migrant generation. Conversely, if a child immigrated to join a first-generation immigrant sibling already living in the new country, the child would also be counted as a first-generation migrant, because both siblings were from the same generation and there was no previous migrant generation in their family.

Initial analysis of the results made it clear that the group first-generation migrants needed to be separated yet again into three groups with decidedly different characteristics:

- First-generation migrants who arrived as part of the labour migration from the 1960s to 1980s
- Women who immigrated after they got married to a 2nd generation husband
- One student who arrived in 2012

This sub-categorization was necessary because the reasons for and contexts of the migration were decidedly different for each of these groups. When sorted according to these criteria, the interviewees fell into the following categories:

- 9 first-generation migrants who arrived between the 1960s and late 1980s as part of labour migration
- 3 women who immigrated after they had married a 2nd generation husband
- 1 arrived as student in 2012
- 12 second-generation immigrants (i.e. children of 1st generation immigrants)
- 9 third-generation immigrants

3.8 Case Study

In addition to the interviews, a case study was conducted in order examining children's actual space and place preferences.

Groat (2013) summarizes the characteristics of a case study as follows:

- “1) A focus on either single or multiple cases, studied in their real-life contexts
- 2) The capacity to explain causal links
- 3) The importance of theory development in the research design phase
- 4) A reliance on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion
- 5) The power to generalize to theory.” (p. 419)

Stake (2005) has a shorter definition: According to him, a case study is both action and data, it is the act of gathering information as well as the information that was gathered as a result. Finally, Yin (2009,) defines case studies as the comprehensive examination of a current "phenomenon" within its normal environment and adds that they will often be employed when there is no obvious border between the "phenomenon" and its environment (p. 18).

This case study employs methodological "triangulation" (Stake, 2005, pp. 453f.) in order to validate its findings. The necessary data collection for answering the research question is made via three different research methods:

- Observation of students in order to understand which kind of design objects or architectural features they are selecting as their personal and private places.
- Structured and semi-structured interviews with schoolmasters and employees, of the schools and day care centre in order to gather their impressions about children's usage preferences of the spaces.
- Semi-structured interview with the schools' and day care centre's architecture office (Die Baupiloten) to learn about the aims, features, and expected usage patterns of their designs.

Comparisons of the data gathered via the three different methods allow for additional insights and data verification.

Yin (2009) outlines the following conditions for the use of the case study method: The research question should take the form of a "how" or "why" question, it should "focus on contemporary events" and – unlike an experiment – it should deal with events that cannot be directly controlled by the researcher (p. 8).

The research question for this case study conforms to these criteria, as the study aims to determine how children in an intercultural situation use the architectural and design

features of the studied built environments to create private and social places, specifically noting how these designs trigger communication between them.

Even though the observations for this study were conducted before the start of the interview process, their intended function was to provide a practical validation for the interview results regarding private and social places of children. For instance, they allowed to compare the characteristics of childhood places described in the interviews with the places the observed students picked for their private and social activities.

Furthermore, the direct observation of children gave an opportunity to evaluate to which degree these architectural projects addressed the needs of children in an intercultural environment as identified via the interviews.

3.8.1 Site selection. Since it is hard to draw general conclusions from a single case, the author conducted a multi-site case study. The schools and day care centre used were not selected randomly but rather picked according to certain criteria outlined below. Stake (2005) explains the importance of purposeful selection of cases in qualitative research:

In the beginning phenomena are given; the cases are opportunities to study the phenomena. But even in the larger collective case studies the sampling size usually is much too small to warrant random selection. For qualitative fieldwork, we draw a purposive sample, building in variety and acknowledging opportunities for intensive study. (p. 451)

Stake (2005) adds that the aim should not be to include as many completely different cases as possible but rather to arrive at a selection that will be most helpful in answering the research question. Stake (2005) says that, "Balance and variety are important; opportunity to learn is often more important" (p. 451).

The criteria for selecting schools in this study were,

- Schools or day care centre should be in a district with inhabitants who have different cultural backgrounds.
- School or day care centre buildings should be built recently, renovated or should have new interior design.

The author initially selected 16 schools, kindergartens and day care centres in Berlin and sent letters to their schoolmasters or directors asking for permission to conduct a case study there. The letters also included a message from the researcher's supervisor that explained the purpose of the study and asked for permission for conducting the research.

Five of the institutions, unfortunately, did not respond to the queries, four stated that they did not want to participate, and two schools stated that while they would have liked to participate, they were unable to do so due to ongoing construction work. Four schools and one day care centre agreed to cooperate.

However, in order to conduct a case study, it was also necessary to interview the architects or designers of the projects. The researcher contacted all of the architecture firms involved in the initially selected projects at the same at which she also contacted the schools. Two firms agreed to be interviewed, and both interviews were conducted. In the end, however, only one of these two interviews could be used for the study, because the school that the other office had re-designed was not among those that agreed to participate in the study.

This reduced the final selection of sites to two primary schools and one day care centre, all of which were recently renovated by the office "Die Baupiloten" (see Table 1): Traumbaum Day Care Centre in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, Galilei Primary School in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, and Erika Mann Primary School in Mitte. All institutions were located in districts with a high percentage of residents with migratory backgrounds. At each institution, the majority of attending children had a migratory background, as well.

Table 1: Share of persons with migratory backgrounds in the participating primary schools and day care center and in their respective districts

School or Day Care Centre	District	Pct. of students with mig. background	Pct. of people with mig. background in district
Traumbaum Day Care Centre	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	75% ^b	36,6% ^a
Galilei Primary School	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	92% ^c	36,6% ^a
Erika Mann Primary School	Mitte	80% ^d	44,5% ^a

Note. Data from Bömermann, Rehkämper, and Rockmann, (2008)^a, S. Söhring (personal communication, June 4, 2013)^b, G. Sinzinger (personal communication, April 18, 2013)^c and M. Loeppke (personal communication, May 22, 2013)^d.

Yin (2009), describes 6 potential sources for collecting data: “documents, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observations and physical artefacts” (p. 99). As outlined above, this case study employs three sources:

- Observations of children in a day care centre and two primary schools
- Interview with a member of the architecture office responsible for the designs
- Interviews with users (a schoolmaster, a day care centre director, and a special education coordinator).

These three different steps are significant not only as means of data collection. Having separate sources also plays a significant role during the findings and verification phases of the case study. As Yin (2009) states,

The case study inquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interests than data points, and as one result relies on

multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result benefits from the prior developments of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis. (p. 18)

Preliminary visits to schools and day care centre were made in order to arrange dates for observations and interviews and to get allow researchers and staff to get acquainted with each other. During these preliminary meetings, the schoolmasters and day care centre director were informed about the aim of the study and the observation and interview techniques. They were also given the opportunity to ask further questions about the research. The interview with the schoolmaster of Galilei Primary School was already conducted during the preliminary visit. For the other two institutions, the interviews were conducted at a later date.

The interviewees included, as mentioned, the headmaster of Galilei Primary School, the Special Education Coordinator of Erika Mann Primary School, and the director of Traumbaum Day Care Centre.

3.8.2 Staff interviews. The purpose of the staff interviews was to learn about the impressions and opinions regarding the newly designed physical environments from people who were daily interacting with them and the children they were designed for. For each facility, one staff member was interviewed via structured and semi-structured research questions, in order to learn how children were using the recently designed built environment, to find out how design approaches and decision-making processes of architects and designers affect children's attachment to a designed environment. This data was later compared with the observations and the interviews with the designers.

Another aim of the interviews the schoolmasters was the collection of general data about the schools and projects, children's cultural backgrounds and learning about the school's relationship with its neighbourhood. Seamon (2014) recommends structured interviews for gathering this type of general data about a subject, especially since it allows for

easy comparisons between different sources who have been asked the same or highly similar questions. Therefore, this part of the interview was conducted with the use of prepared, structured questions.

The interviews were conducted by appointment and in face-to-face situations between researcher and interviewee. Interviewees were asked if they accepted the researcher's use of an audio recorder during the interview. The interviewees at Erika Mann Primary School and Traumbaum Day Care Centre agreed to the use of a recording device and the interviews were recorded. The headmaster of Galilei Primary School asked the researcher not to record the interviews, the researcher took notes on paper during the interviews.

The interviews at Traumbaum Day Care Centre and Galilei Primary School were conducted in German, the one at Erika Mann Primary School in English.

3.8.3 Architect interview. As mentioned above, the researcher also contacted several architecture offices connected to the schools that were selected for the study. The initial queries for the architect interviews were sent as a letter that explained the research subject and asked architects to agree to a 1-hour interview. After the initial letters, further communication was conducted via e-mail. As outlined before, two offices accepted to be interviewed for the studies. Dates for these interviews were arranged, and the interviews were conducted by the researcher in a face-to-face setting. Before the start of the interview, the researcher introduced herself shortly to the interviewee, and the study was explained to the interviewee again. The researcher then used a prepared list of questions that was printed out in advance. During the interview, the researcher noted the answers of the interviewee on that paper.

For the reasons described above, only one of the two interviews conducted could be included in the study. That interview was the one conducted with Martin Janekovic, one of the members of Die Baupiloten Architecture Office. It took place in the office of Die Baupiloten in Berlin, and its aim was to learn more about the intentions behind the design and

about the participatory methods used during designing and decision-making processes of the project. He was also asked about the company's aims and goals when designing buildings in neighbourhoods comprised of people with different cultural backgrounds. His answers were compared with the observations and the interviews with the schoolmasters, in order to understand the effects of design processes and children's preferences of experiencing their built environment.

3.8.4 Conducting and analysing observations. The final aspect of this case study is the observation of children in renovated spaces of the primary schools and the day care centre. At each of the two primary schools, the researcher spent several days conducting the observations. At the day care centre, organizational made it necessary to conduct all observations over the course of a single day.

The direct aim of the observations was to find out which architectural and design features are attractive to children and which features of their built environment they would select in order to stay alone or to communicate with other children. As described above, the results of these practical observations could then be compared to the findings derived from the interviews with migrants in order to understand whether the spatial specifications described by the interviewees match the places these children in an intercultural environment picked for their private and social activities.

Teachers and pedagogues were informed about the research and the researcher's visit by the administrators of the institutions.

Behavioural mapping was used to record and visualize children's observed interactions with architectural and interior design features surrounding them. According to Cosco, Moore and Islam (2010) "behavioural mapping is an objective method of observing behaviour and associated built environment components and attributes" (p. 513). The authors

describe it as an inconspicuous and straightforward way to note both the position and "activity levels" of the observed persons (p. 514).

During the observations, a protocol and a notebook were used to take notes. The observational protocol included date and durations of observations. For Erika Mann Primary School and Traumbaum Day Care Centre, it also included plans of the areas that were observed. These were acquired from the institutions or the designers ahead of time and used with the knowledge and permission of the schoolmaster and the day care facility's director. Afterwards, the maps were copied to a computer via scanner and the positions were correlated to the observations noted in the protocol. For organizational reasons, the use of maps was not possible during the observations at Galilei Primary School.

In all three facilities, Traumbaum Day Care Centre, Erika Mann Primary School, and Galilei Primary School, the majority of the re-designed areas were corridor spaces. While two projects included additional spaces – a staircase in Galilei Primary School and the activity rooms of Erika Mann Primary School, these were areas were much smaller than the corridors.

Furthermore, the other designed spaces each had certain disadvantages for this research: The multi-floor nature of the stairwell would have made observations problematic, furthermore it was not designed as anything other than a transitory space and did not include any features that would encourage children to stay there and engage in place making activities. The leisure rooms, on the other hand, were only accessible to students under certain conditions that were laid out in the school's rules. It had therefore a higher barrier of entry and more regulated times of usage, which limited the number of the students that the researcher would have been able to observe there.

For these reasons, the researcher decided to conduct the observations in all three facilities in the re-designed corridors. They were the largest re-designed areas in all three facilities, sported a large number and great variety of features designed for placemaking

activities, and offered a combination of transiting and stationary children that allowed for both pre-planned and spontaneous social interactions.

In the corridors, the researcher was free to select a place for herself. When doing so, she made her choice according to the following criteria:

- The place should offer a clear view of the complete area she intended to observe from there.
- The place should be one that would not draw much too much attention to the observer.

Creswell (1998) notes that the position of an observer is anywhere between “complete participant (native)” and “complete observer” (p. 125). In this research, the researcher started out as a complete observer at each location, and she tried to be passive and non-engaging. However, in some situations, especially when re-visiting observed facilities during multi-day observations, children started to engage with her. Thus, her position sometimes slightly became that of a participant who made social communication in a designed environment.

The researcher did not initiate any conversation with children during the observations in order not to affect their activities. However, if children made contact with her, she would briefly answer their questions as to why she was there and what she was doing but would then explain that the observation process meant that she should not talk and just quietly take notes. The researcher decided to engage in the short conversations both because the researcher is the opinion that the children had a right to know that the observations were conducted and also because she felt that giving a short answer that satisfied children's curiosity would be less disruptive than if she had refused to communicate and her presence thus remained a complete mystery to the children.

This approach proved successful: The majority of the children accepted her response and did not attempt any further communication. A few children briefly continued to ask

further questions but were eventually deterred by the researcher's friendly insistence that she could not have a conversation with them.

The duration of the observations in the corridors was decided upon by the researcher and varied depending upon external circumstances, such as the institution's schedule and the total time available for observations. Observation periods lasted between 20 minutes to 130 minutes.

After the observations were finished, the observation maps – if available – were redrawn on a computer. For the graphical representation of the mapped observations, the observation periods were divided into shorter sequences, usually 10 minutes each. For each of these sequences, the researcher drew a plan representing the movements within that time. These plans show the observed area and the movements and positions of the children and other users. All the movements and static or dynamic activities of children were encoded with different representative symbols in the graphics.

In addition to these plans, the researcher also created are graphics that show users' interactions over a complete period of observations. These graphics show the duration and frequency with which children were using each designed feature as their private or social places and whether or not any given feature was preferably used for only one of these functions.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

For this research, numerous ethical aspects had to be taken into consideration:

For any interviews, the researcher followed the ethical guidelines laid out by Kvale (1996), specifically focusing on obtaining any interviewees' informed consent as well as ensuring that confidentiality regarding the subjects' responses was maintained at all stages of the post-interview process.

Potential interviewees were informed of the nature and purpose of the research and asked if they were willing to participate. The researcher made it clear that participation was completely voluntary, and interviews only took place after an interviewee explicitly agreed to participate. For interviewees that were younger than 18, parental permission was obtained.

Audio recordings of interviews were only made with the informed consent of the interviewee. If this consent was withheld, the researcher took notes on paper instead.

Because some migrant interviewees shared highly personal details of their lives in the interviews, the researcher took special care to preserve their anonymity. One of the first steps in analysing the responses was to replace interviewee's names with unique random codes that did not contain any information about the interviewee's identity, age, place of residence, nor any other personal details. The key for this code was kept personal possession of the researcher at all times and not shared with anyone else.

Whenever the research directly quotes from the in-depth interviews, the researcher was careful not to include passages that revealed any kind of potentially identifying information about interviewees or would allow readers to extract such information via the cross-referencing of multiple quotes.

Before conducting the observations at schools and the day care centre, employees and administrators of the institutions were informed about the research and their consent was obtained. If the staff or the children in the institutions had any questions about the research in general and the researcher's related activities in particular, be it before, after, or during the observational process, the researcher always answered them precisely and honestly.

At the schools and the day care centre, photos were only taken with permission from the administrations, and the researcher made sure not to take photos in which any children were recognizable.

3.10 Limitations

There were limitations to both the in-depth interviews as well as the case studies – some of them were natural side-effects of the chosen methodology, others the result of forces and events outside of the researcher's control.

As already described in the introduction, an in-depth qualitative study, by its nature, cannot and does not aim to provide a representative sample of a large population. Therefore, the answers given by the interviewees should not be interpreted to be those that a hypothetical "average Turkish migrant" would give. However, given the highly individual nature of the experiences covered in the interviews, any such average result would likely be of very limited use anyway. Instead, these results should be treated as personal in-depth accounts related to childhood place activities, which can then serve as inspirations for further research, and as starting points for communicative processes between architects and future users of designed places.

For the observational parts of the case study, the researcher aimed to observe the same spaces on more than one day and during different times of day – both to learn how the interactions between children and their designed environment might change from one day to the next and also to increase the sample size in order to improve the general reliability of the data. In practice, however this was not always possible to make repetitions, since some institutions only gave very limited permissions for observation periods.

Limited permissions may also have affected the activity profiles of children at the primary schools. While the children at Traumbaum Day Care Centre were free to use the corridors at any time and for any purpose, the students at the two primary schools were subject to greater restrictions. During class hours, students generally needed their teacher's permission in order to use the corridor spaces, and this was usually only given for certain types of activities, such as working as a group on specific study projects. Therefore, unlike

the children at the day care centre, those observed at the schools often did not have the freedom to choose the activities they engaged in and whether those were private or social in nature.

Both in-depth interviews and case study were also limited by the number of subjects willing to participate. As already outlined, the researcher was unable to create a sample with a perfect gender balance, because women were notably likelier to participate in the research than men. Similarly, as mentioned before, many potential sites for the case study could not be included because either the institution or the architects were not willing to participate in the research. One especially unfortunate result of this was that all the re-designs included in the study were done by the same firm. Including a variety of different architects and approaches would have been desirable and was attempted, but, unfortunately, it could not be achieved for this study.

Lastly, one additional in-depth interview was conducted but had to be discarded due to technical difficulties: A technical glitch had made the audio recording unintelligible, and the interviewee did not agree to a repeat-interview.

As with any study, readers should be conscious of these limitations when using and interpreting the results of this research.

4 Findings From In-Depth Interviews

Since the analysis of the interviewees' responses produced a large body of data, the findings are organized and arranged in a number of sub-sections which explore various themes that are related either the direct experiences of children with migratory backgrounds or to the cultural forces and traditions that helped shape that background and thus influenced the children's experiences.

4.1 "My First Days Were a Disaster" – Migration During Childhood

While all of the interviewees had a migratory background, about half of the second-generation migrants interviewed for this research lived through a personal experience. The same was true for two first-generation interviewees who were still children when they joined siblings who were already living in Germany.

This section examines the ways these interviewees experienced such a divided childhood and the effects it had on them.

4.1.1 The disruptive experience of changing places. Most of the interviewees who came to Germany during their childhood said that they did not come to Germany out of their own free will. Moving from one country to another was a disruptive experience for them. Their physical environment, human relations, as well as their whole educational and daily life would change from one day to the next.

A second-generation interviewee who was brought to Germany when he was seven, describes it like this:

The trip to Berlin and my first days there were a disaster for me. Our family drove there from the village in Turkey with our car. I felt stuck in the car during the whole trip; I could not go out. I had a slingshot in my pocket during the whole trip, because on the day we left, I had been meaning to go bird hunting with one of my friends from the village. But then my parents took me, and we got into the car.

Children would not always travel together with their parents or other adults. Instead, older children might be dropped off at an airport in Turkey by their relatives and then welcomed by their parents at the destination in Germany. Since most of the interviewees came from small, rural settlements, the journey was a foreign experience for them that left lasting impressions. One second-generation interviewee who arrived as a teenager could still recall his embarrassment and discomfort about having to cope with the greatly unfamiliar situation:

Before this trip, I did not even know what a plane was. My uncle took me to the airport in Izmir and left me there [...]. On the plane, they gave a meal with chicken to all passengers. I was quite hungry. However, I did not know how to eat with the plastic knife and fork that they gave me. I had not used or seen them in the village before, and I would have preferred metal ones. I also found it quite embarrassing to eat the chicken with my hands. [...] There was a boy from Izmir next to me. He could eat his chicken. I gave my chicken to him, as well.

Many of the interviewees did not know what kind of environment and life to expect, before they moved to Berlin. They came from small settlements with traditional houses or single-family homes and did not know how the house plans in Berlin differed from the ones they knew. The outside environment of city also differed greatly from that of the children's home places: Instead of gardens, forests and farms, they found themselves living in an urban environment with multi-storey buildings, populated by people whose language they did not speak. All of this greatly inhibited children's freedom to explore outside spaces without worry.

One second-generation interviewee came from a small rural settlement in Turkey to Berlin at the age of six. He described his experience as follows:

I came with my mother, and we joined my father who was already here. At first, I did not like Berlin and did not want to come to Germany. I had difficulties in the beginning, and I found Berlin to be quite different than my village in Turkey.

However, over time I got used to living here. In the beginning, it was strange to be in an unknown residence in a foreign city. When I wanted to do something, I noticed that everything in Berlin worked differently compared to my village. Life was different, and my friends were different. The behaviours of my friends here were totally different from my friends in the village. I had to adapt to this place, and it was difficult for me. The first example that comes to my mind is the language problem. I had to learn German. In Turkey, we also had our own family house with our own garden. There was a big difference between the freedoms I had there and the strict rules I had here. In Turkey, I could play wherever I wanted without worries. Here, I had to be careful not to disturb other people. Neighbours would get angry if we played at the inner yard, and my father punished me because of that many times. In Berlin, we had to play on the street. In Turkey I would play in the house, in the garden, at mountains, farms, or in the forest without any worries.

The previously cited second-generation interviewee who came to Germany at the age of seven recounted similar initial impressions of Berlin:

Finally, we arrived, and my father parked the car in front of the apartment building in Berlin. My parents started to carry the things we brought from the village. I did not know what to do in Berlin. I got out of the car. When we got into the apartment, a German lady greeted us. I looked at her face. She was around my grandmother's age, but she was not my grandmother. My grandmother was more beautiful than her. I noticed that my father and her were talking in German to each other, and I could not understand that at all at that time. I later learned that my family was sharing the

apartment with her, and she had been greeting my father. She was living in two of the rooms, and my family was living in the other two rooms. When I entered our part of the apartment, I went into the living room and sat in the corner of the room, next to the window. I was looking around confused. I wanted to go to the bathroom, but I did not know where it was. I was scared to go out of the apartment, but I later learned that the toilet was outside. I was scared and wanted to go back to village, but that was impossible. Over time, I developed a very good relationship with this old lady. She would look after me when my parents were at work. She taught me the German language and bought me very nice gifts that my parents would not buy. She became just like a grandmother for me.

Another second-generation interviewee described his surprise when he saw apartment buildings with many floors:

I lived in a small village before I came here. The houses that I saw in my village had two storeys at most. When I looked at the buildings in Berlin, I started to count the stories. One, two three, four five, and I still had not come to the last floor. In the beginning, I felt I had come to another world.

This new world into which the children came was not necessarily one they regarded as pleasant. The previously cited second-generation interviewee who came as a teenager described his initial negative reaction to the city:

At the end of the flight, my father welcomed me at the airport in Berlin. It was a rainy October day. I felt that the city was so dark. He brought me to the place where my family lived. It was unlike any apartment I had ever lived in or even visited before in my life. It was a totally new world for me. It took quite long time for me to get used to living in Berlin.

After the embarrassing situation of not knowing the proper etiquette for the in-flight meal, he suffered the disappointment of arriving in a city with dark, unwelcoming weather – this was how his migratory experience started, and it is something he still recalls decades later.

These initial impressions sometimes provoked strong reactions and conflict within the family. One first-generation interviewee, who joined his older brother in Germany when he was 15 years old, recalls how he even tried to run away to get back to Turkey:

During the years when I came to Berlin, there were political problems in Turkey. I came here due to the insistence of my older brother. My father had died when I was twelve years old. My brother was afraid that I could be put in danger by the political developments in Turkey. The situation was chaotic in those years; there were fights everywhere. When I first came [to Berlin], we lived in an apartment in an old building. The apartment had windows looking out into the backyard. In the first week after I had come to Berlin, I even made even plans to run away back to Turkey. My brother was strict, and he punished me when he found out about that. Afterwards, I slowly got used to living here over time. I visited some family friends who had come to Berlin from the same town as I had. In spite of these visits, I felt lonely at first. I missed my mother, my older sister, and other siblings from Turkey. Months passed, years passed, I had to get used to living here, and I did.

4.1.2 Positive aspects of the new home. Many interviewees described how, after the initial shock of the arrival, they slowly started to discover positive aspects of the new place. Apart from the already-cited experience of one interviewee who developed a positive relationship with the old woman his family shared the apartment with, interviewees mentioned how they quickly learned to appreciate the shopping options and product diversity

in Berlin, which were very different from what they knew from their home towns in Turkey, and several interviewees stated that this helped them to feel better about their new home.

One second-generation interviewee described how she was fascinated by the urban environment and how her father deliberately used the greater variety of available products to give her and her siblings a better impression of the city:

On the plane, I was nervous and scared, because it was my first flight. I saw the city lights of Berlin from the plane. There were no streetlights in the village that I used to live in, so I found the streetlights quite exciting when I first came to Berlin. Coming to a big city was for me as if someone had come from the darkness and suddenly entered a bright room. Everything was different from the village I used to live in.

Neighbourhood shops and grocery shops were all different. There were fruits and vegetables that I did not know. The day after we arrived, my father took my siblings and me shopping. He told us we could buy whatever we wanted. Supermarkets and clothes shops were different, too. In the village, we would only go shopping with my grandmother before festivals. We were even happy whenever my grandmother bought us plastic shoes. On the other hand, at the shops in Berlin, there were 100 even 1000 different shoes. When we had been living in the village, we did not know there could be that kind of diversity. My grandmother would only take us to the one shop she found to be most affordable.

4.1.3 Missing the house, they grew up in. In spite of these positive experiences, many interviewees also mentioned that they still continued to miss the houses in which they used to live in Turkey. Their responses indicated that this was not merely a temporary condition right after their arrival but rather something that was still ongoing for them. Some of the interviewees still have the opportunity to visit these houses today, while others cannot

do so, either because the houses do not exist anymore or because of other factors that prevent the interviewees from visiting them.

One second-generation interviewee who came to Berlin when he was 14 years old explains his feelings about the house that he grew up in with his grandparents:

I miss the house that I grew up in. I still feel relaxed and comfortable in the house in which I grew up, in the village. I feel safe and protected there. Everything flies away from my mind. I do not think about anything when I am in that house. I feel even more peaceful when I talk to my relatives and friends there.

For this interviewee, that house is a very special place. His reactions and emotions when visiting there are not a direct result of any objective qualities of the place, but rather stem from the personal and subjective experiences he had there during his childhood.

These emotional bonds were also acknowledged by interviewees who were unable to visit their old childhood homes in Turkey. One interviewee described it as follows:

My grandmother's old house is not there anymore. It was torn down, and a three-storey apartment building was erected instead of it. I miss the old house. The new building does not have any special character. I understand that it is good and comfortable for my grandmother to live in an apartment with central heating, however that apartment does not have the atmosphere of the old family house. I had very nice childhood days at the old house.

Interviewees' responses indicated the special meaning these childhood had for the respondents. They not only mentioned the physical properties of the house, but also the private and social life they had in it, which, for them, was directly connected to that particular space and that particular structure.

However, even interviewees who had already had negative childhood experiences in Turkey still felt nostalgic for the country when they moved to Germany. One first-generation

interviewee who came to Berlin from the Turkish city of Eskişehir at the age of twelve described how she was unhappy to leave the familiar country behind, even though she had lived through her parents' divorce there and afterwards grew up mostly under the care of her relatives:

I always liked it in Eskişehir. In my childhood, there were beautiful family houses with gardens there. I had a dog. We also had ducks, chickens, and sheep in our garden. I was busy with the garden and the animals during my childhood. When I was six years old, my parents got a divorce. After that, I spent my time mostly alone. My mother was mainly at work, and my older sisters were already married. Because my mother was working, one of my older sisters would take care of me in Eskişehir. When she moved to Berlin with her family, I joined them as well. However, I loved living in Turkey. In my first year in Berlin, I cried every day.

4.1.4 Having to adapt to parents they hardly knew. The memory of places and social relations was intertwined – apart from the physical locations, interviewees also missed their grandparents, uncles, aunts, or other family members that had looked after them in Turkey.

One second-generation interviewee described this:

I mostly missed my grandmother and my uncle from Turkey. I also missed my aunt. She looked after me very well during my childhood. She did treat me like one of her own children and sometimes looked after me even better than after her own children. I think it is because of their religious worldview. From their point of view, I was an orphan. She probably thought that it was a good deed to look after a child that was in my situation.

When the interviewees came to Germany, many had not seen their fathers or both of their parents for a long time, and some said they initially found it hard to form bonds to their parents. Again, these were not necessarily temporary phenomena.

One interviewee described having stronger bonds to his grandmother than to his own father for all of his life, saying,

I have some pictures from old times on my walls. I have my grandmother's photos, but I did not hang my father's photos. The reason is, I grew up next to my grandmother and I did not know my father well. I do not know my father well as a person, and I do not have emotional bonds with him. Even though he died twenty years ago, I did not hang any photos of him on my walls. Sometimes my siblings ask why I do not hang any of his photos. I told them; they can hang his photos on their walls if they want to.

Some interviewees said that it was hard for them to get used to living with their parents after having been separated from them for a long time. They found it difficult to communicate with them and felt shy next to them. One second-generation interviewee, who had been separated from her parents for several years before joining them in Germany, gave an example of this, when she was too embarrassed to ask her parents to explain an unknown feature of the apartment to her:

When I first moved into our apartment in Berlin, I would stare at the big ceramic stove for hours. [...] I liked the stove so much; it had nice decorations. However, I did not know that it was a stove. Nearly one week passed, I was still fascinated by the stove, but I could not ask my parents what it is. I thought that it might be a closet, but it was not. It was higher than the door to the room, and it had beautiful ornaments. I did not dare ask what it is for. Later, I learned what it was, when I overheard my parents talking about it to each other. I do not know why I could not ask my parents directly. I think I was too shy and embarrassed to ask. I had not seen my parents for long time.

When I moved to Berlin, it the first time I had seen my father in ten years. I think that is why I was shy.

4.1.5 Spending their free time performing chores. Several female interviewees mentioned that, after they had migrated to Berlin as children, they had to look after their younger siblings, nephews or nieces, or do housework. This was usually the case if all the adults in the household were working during the daytime.

Some female interviewees had to look after their siblings or their nieces and nephews. In some cases, this duty could conflict with the legal requirement of having to go to school. One first-generation interviewee who came at the age of twelve years described her initial situation when living with her sibling's family:

When I first came, I lived in a third-floor apartment with my sister's family. [...]

Police said that I had to go to school if I wanted to continue living in Germany.

Otherwise I would have to return to Turkey. So, I started to go to school, however I had to bring my sister's child to the nursery every day, as well. I had to carry the baby and the baby carriage three stairs up and down every day. It was so tiring. I thank Allah that those days finished.

A second-generation interviewee also described how she had to look after her siblings and the household, saying,

I had painful days in my childhood. I did not know German and had to [...] take care of my siblings and the apartment. My mother was working during my childhood. I had to take care of my younger siblings and light the heater every day. I was eleven years old and had the responsibilities of a mother. The apartment had no central heating, no interior toilet and no dedicated bath. It was very hard for me.

4.1.6 Feeling inadequate due to the language barrier. Outside of their home, one issue described by several interviewees who migrated in their childhood was the language

barrier. One second-generation interviewee explained that her language problems led to her being transferred to a school for the children with learning disabilities ("Sonderschule"):

When I first came to Germany, I went to the third grade of a primary school. However, I could not follow the lessons because I did not know any German. They sent me to a school for children with learning disabilities. They told us the school's name but neither my parents nor me knew that it was this kind of school. When I learned this after I started school there, I got angry that I had been sent to this school just because I could not speak German. On the other hand, this situation motivated me to become a successful student. Nowadays, there are many language courses, but when I was a child there were no language schools for children. Children who came to the country tried to join normal classes. If they could not manage, they got sent to a school for children with special needs.

The interviewee continued, stating that she managed to transfer from the special school to a regular "Hauptschule", the lowest rung of the three-tiered secondary school system common in Germany at the time, and got married afterwards. She added,

It was a very painful experience for me to go to this school [for children with disabilities] during my childhood. I felt as if my parents and me were being degraded because of our language skills. First-generation migrant parents had to work hard in those days, and they did not have time for their children. I think first-generation people had to overcome many difficulties when they first came to Germany.

Some interviewees also mentioned that their lack of language skills as children had caused problems in their daily life or made them feel inadequate. One second-generation interviewee explained,

I knew that I was in a foreign land and I could not speak the language. When I went out with my mother, I felt as if everybody on the streets was looking at me. I could not

understand anything people were saying to me. I always thought that they were saying something negative about me. However, this idea and situation changed later, after I had learned the language.

Another second-generation interviewee, however, did not experience any problems related to his knowledge of German. This was, however, because he was able to get by without ever having to learn it. As he describes it:

When I came, they sent me to a school. It was a two-storey building. Upstairs, there was a nursery for small children. Downstairs, there were three classrooms for students who had come from Turkey and other countries. We had four teachers, one of them was a German, the rest were Turkish. Even our German teacher could speak a bit Turkish. Our lessons were also all in Turkish not in German. Even though I lived in Germany, German was a foreign language for me at that time. Even when I was working in a German company's factory in Berlin, I never needed to learn the German language for my work.

Overall, the interviewees who came as children were able to recall many specific moments of the early phase of their migration, some of which left lasting impressions on them that served to colour their subsequent experiences in their new home country. In this way, any adverse encounter or experience during the migration – a sudden departure against their will, an awkward situation during the journey, the helplessness of trying to communicate with parents they hardly knew or neighbours whose language they could not speak – could have repercussions that might echo through large parts of their lives.

They also still had bonds to the places they originally grew up in and tended to connect the memories of these places with positive emotions and experiences. Conversely, the obvious differences between the small, rural settlements they grew up in and the urban environment they migrated into, served to increase the stress of the migratory experience.

Identifying these stressors makes it possible to develop individual mitigation strategies that address the sources of discomfort for migrant children, e.g., by addressing specific cultural differences that might cause confusion, or by designing spaces that feature elements familiar to the children.

This, however, is only possible if one has an understanding of the culture the children are coming from and might still experience at home. The following sections will therefore explore the socio-cultural context in which the migratory experiences described above took place.

4.2 “Home is Life.” – The Importance of Home and Family

A very prominent theme in the interviewees' responses is the significance of family. Many subjects mentioned family atmosphere and family life as well as close relationships among family members and relatives. The importance that interviewees give to these values means that they also affect their life, rituals, and place experiences. They help shape people's usage of places and thus also shape their life in these places. Knowing the importance of these topics can help understand the interviewees' attitudes regarding children's private lives and private places.

4.2.1 Definition of family and home. As a starting, it is helpful to define what exactly the interviewees had in mind when talking about the concepts of “home” and “family”, because both of these are very subjective terms, and – as it is going to be seen – their definition and interpretation can vary between different cultures.

In this context, “family” is used to describe an inner circle, which, depending on the case, may or may not correspond with the idea of the “nuclear family” – father, mother, child. It is an emotional concept, and interviewees often connected it to feelings of togetherness and to the sharing of both time and belongings. This in contrast to the wider concept of

“relatives”, which is more of a descriptive term for anyone related through blood or by marriage.

Some interviewees argued that maintaining good relations within a family is part of Turkish identity and culture, with one second-generation interviewee declaring that “Turkish identity includes following Turkish traditions, being respectful to others and keeping attachment to family members.”

The exact composition of the core family depends on circumstances – usually interviewees would mention at least the nuclear family, but the definition would often be extended to some or all of the grandparents, as well, and sometimes even further than to include children, partners, parents, siblings, cousins, and uncles and aunts.

Connections between “home” and “family” were made by a number of interviewees, with the most common definition of “home” being the place at which the family lives. Thus, like the definition of “family” above, it is one that is based mostly on emotional connections. Interviewees described their homes as “nest” and emphasized that an atmosphere of warmth, protection, and togetherness and peace in the family were significant factors for creating a home. One first-generation interviewee described it like this:

Home reminds me of a happy and regular family, in which all family members are together. Home reminds me of togetherness. Home reminds me of many good things. The main elements of family are mother and father. They try to teach their children being a family, if they can manage to do so. Children also should have the opportunity to learn how to form a family and a home. Home for me is a memory of my childhood home that is shaped by peace, happiness, love and trust. I grew up in a home like that, but I could not manage to build this kind of home. I married and had a child, but [the household] did not turn into a home.

Especially the last sentence shows the importance of the emotional component for this definition of “home”: The interviewee’s own family dwelling may fit all the superficial definitions of a home in the colloquial sense of the word – a place of residence – but she feels that it lacks a certain quality that would turn it from a place of residence into a true “home” in the emotional sense, and that it would have been her responsibility to provide this quality.

In this example, the idea of home also has an undercurrent of nostalgia and tradition: It is described as a “memory of [...] childhood”, and the knowledge needed to create it should be passed on from one generation to the next.

As a contrast, a second-generation interviewee stated “When you say home, my happy and peaceful home with my children comes to my mind. My children fill the home with life and joy. It is nice for a person to have such a home.”

In this view, “home” is also an emotional concept, but it is described as emergent rather than purposefully created – brought about by the presence of children and their activity, that is, as an effect of having a happy family. Furthermore, the example used to describe it is in the present, not in the past, so the elements of nostalgia and tradition are not evident in this description.

In spite of these emotional definitions of “home”, there were also spatial aspects in the answers given by the interviewees. Most commonly, they would state that they felt at home in their own residences, with some specifying that they would need their family members around them to feel at home there.

One first-generation interviewee stated, “Home is life. Even if you work outside, you need to have a home for your peace and rest when you return from work. Home should be with your children. I feel at home in my residence with my children and husband.”

This view represents a combined definition of home, encompassing both people and place.

Some interviewees stated that they felt at home even in other family members' or relatives' residences. Other than in their own residences, people mostly mentioned feeling at home in their parents' houses. All interviewees except one interviewee moved from their parents' residence to the residence with their partner after they married.

One third-generation interviewee explained,

I feel at home at my residence and my parents' residence. I married four years ago. In the beginning it was hard for me to get used to my new residence with my husband. During the first years of my marriage, I felt more comfortable at my parents' residence. Now, when I visit my parents, I miss mine and my husband's residence.

4.2.2 Multi-generational houses and proximity to family members. For a few interviewees, their permanent idea of home encompassed more than one generation. As explained in the section about traditional Anatolian house, multi-generational living was common in the traditional Anatolian house.

Some of the interviewees had lived in multi-generation houses for some part of their lives in Turkey or Germany, and one first-generation subject lived in a multi-generational household at the time of the interview, sharing an apartment with her daughter's family.

Another first-generation interviewee, whose children lived apart from him and his wife, nevertheless defined "home" as a place for three generations:

Home is a place in which all family members live together. The new generation defines home in a different way from my generation. My wife and me did not separate our home from my parents' home. We lived, ate and sat all together with my parents, until my wife and I moved to Germany. Now my house belongs to my children. Even though they did not economically help me to build this house that my wife and I live in, I do not own it. The house belongs to my children, not to me or my wife. I plan my life with my children and grandchildren in mind.

One interviewee who came as a student and is married to a German man argued that multi-generational living could be beneficial in cases in which two parents of young children are working: If grandparents live nearby or in the same house, they can look after the children during the parents' working hours:

It is hard to leave your child with somebody you do not know well while you are at work. It is a difficult situation when your own parents are not living nearby. Modern life burdens you with so many responsibilities and stresses. I asked my [German] husband's parents to live with us for a while and look after our child, but they did not accept. This concept does not exist in German culture. I used to dislike the idea of many generations living together in the same residence, but now I want my child to have this kind of experience. I want my child to spend some time with all grandparents. My grandmother looked after me when I was a child that is why I want my child to be close to their grandparents as well. Sometimes I am thinking that it would be easier for us to live in Turkey, so that my parents could help us look after our child.

This quote also highlights a perceived conflict between the cultures and its effect: The traditional Turkish concept of multi-generational living is apparently rejected by the German relatives, which only serves to reinforce its value for the interviewee and making her feel closer to what she feels to be the Turkish way of doing things. Similar to the above quote regarding the definition of home, this interviewee also draws from her own childhood experiences for her own concept of an ideal multi-generational environment.

Other interviewees shared their own experiences from the times they spent living in multi-generational houses. Especially among first-generation interviewees, growing up in these houses was common. One interviewee stated, "When I was a child, we had two rooms,

one for the family the other one for the guests. We slept in the same room with my eight siblings, parents, and grandparents. I had a big family.”

Some second-generation interviewees also spent part of their childhood in multi-generation houses in Turkey before joining their father or both of their parents in Germany.

One second-generation interviewee who lived with his grandparents and aunts' family in Turkey before moving to Germany explained,

My uncle and his family were living in one part of the upper floor of our house. The other part of the upper floor had three rooms. My parent's furniture was stored in two rooms of this part, so that they could use it after their return [from Germany] to Turkey. Me and my grandparents were mainly living downstairs, and we also used one upstairs room at my parent's part.

Some second-generation interviewees also lived in multi-generation apartments for some time in Germany, usually with them and their parents sharing an apartment with their sibling's families.

One interviewee who came to Germany as a spouse described her experience living in a multi-generation apartment in Germany:

When I married and [joined my husband in] this apartment, my parents-in-law and siblings-in-law were living here as well. My parents-in-law and sister-in-law were sleeping in one room. My husband and me had a room, and my brother-in-law was sleeping in the living room.

Another interviewee who came as a spouse had a special case of, multi-generational living: For a while after her marriage, she lived with her husband's family in Turkey before moving to Berlin to live with her husband. In this particular case, the multi-generational experience did not feel like a “home” to her, because there was no emotional bond between the residents. In her words:

Even though I like the city that my husband's family lives in, I could not like it much when I was living there with his family. I think I did not like living away from my husband. I did not know my husband's family before my marriage, and suddenly I had to live with them. After some time, I got on well with my husband's parents and sisters. However, I had a nicer life after moving to Berlin to live with my husband.

To quote the first-generation interviewee cited above: "The new generation defines home in a different way". While multi-generational living was common during the childhood of first-generation migrants, none of the third-generation interviewees experienced it, and, as mentioned before, only one first-generation interviewee currently lives in a multi-generational household. Nevertheless, some first-generation interviewees mentioned ideas for future dream houses in which they could live together or close to the families of their married children, either in one structure or in separate family houses with a shared big garden.

One first-generation interviewee described it, saying,

I do not value monetary gains. I wish health from Allah. I only would like a house with four rooms. I would like my children next to me. Each child should have a room with their partners and children. I would always be able to see them, and they should not move far away from me.

Another first-generation interviewee similarly described an ideal house in which she could live close to her children:

I would like to have a one storey family house with a garden. My children could have separate family houses with their families next to my house. We should have a big shared garden together. In the summertime, we would all be able to sit and eat together at our garden.

This latter situation – having relatives or family members as close neighbours – was commonly described by interviewees who lived in smaller settlements in Turkey as well those

who visited these kinds of settlements during vacations. So, again, interviewees' desires to live in these kinds of arrangements is likely to be at least partially rooted in their own childhood experiences.

Several second-generation interviewees said that they currently live near their parents' apartments in Berlin. Other interviewees also liked the idea that their children could live nearby after marriage or wished that they themselves were able to live closer to their parents' residences. One third-generation interviewee who lives with her parents in Wedding said,

My mother is not happy that my brother lives in Tegel with his family. It is hard for her to visit her grandchildren as often as she wants. My other brother and his family live in another apartment in our building.

Another third-generation interviewee's parents live another state in Germany, and she described her ideal house as a small residence close to her parents' residence.

So far, the answers analysed regarding multi-generational living have mainly mentioned cases of married persons living with either their own or their spouse's parents. There is, however, another aspect to it: The place of residence for unmarried adult children.

Several interviewees stated that in Turkish culture children were expected to live with their parents until they married. They compared this to their perception of German culture, in which, according to them, children were expected to leave their parents' residence as soon as they were 18 years old.

One second-generation interviewee explained it like this:

When I compare German and Turkish culture, I noticed that I find family relations in German culture to be distanced. A German person thinks that when a child turns eighteen years old, they become an adult and do not have to live with their parents anymore. [...] In our culture, children leave their parents' residences after they marry.

There is no connection with leaving the parents' houses and age in our culture. I

personally would not like my children to leave our apartment once they are eighteen years old.

Overall, these answers are consistent with the earlier findings about the importance of family community and sharing time and space: If one places a high value on spending time and sharing one's life with the family, then it only follows that one would vouch to maintain close contact for as long a time as possible and would dislike any attempts of separation. In fact, this idea of maintaining close contact between family members goes even further – it affects not just the place of residence but even the living and sleeping arrangements inside of that residence, namely the question of whether children should have their own private rooms. The latter, however, is a complex question which will be explored in its own section.

4.2.3 Everyday family life in the Turkish home. Interviewees mentioned family rituals, family rules, and other characteristics of Turkish culture which are related to family or family life. One commonly mentioned ritual was eating dinners together. Every member of the family was expected to be at home before dinnertime.

While the general importance in the culture will be examined in detail in a separate section, other details of this ritual also show an important aspect of Turkish culture: Showing respect to older people in the family. One interviewee described how his family had exchange students from Spain as guests to their apartment. He said,

I think their relations with their parents are different than ours. They were curious about how we behaved to each other within the family. Some of them were surprised, some of them respected. When we sit for dinner as a family, children cannot start eating before parents take their seats at the table. Younger ones should wait for older family members. Our exchange students quickly learned these rules and they respected and followed our family rules as well.

There were several general ideas about family culture that interviewees kept mentioning: sharing within the family, close relationships between family members and relatives, being respectful to older family members, and loving and protecting younger relatives. As mentioned before, several interviewees also mentioned that is common to live at one's parents' residence until marriage.

One first-generation interviewee mentioned his father's role and authority in the family:

When I was a child, we were supposed to obey my father, whatever he said. However, my father was not a dictator in the family, he was a democratic person. Even though he was a religious person, he behaved fairly and righteously to us; that is why we liked him. He sometimes punished me, but we were generally happy with our life as family.

We had very nice days as a family.

Even though these traditions and rituals are often mentioned by interviewees, they are not as common as they used to be, and younger generations didn't experience them as much as older ones. One third-generation interviewee talked about having problems with his Turkish grandfather when he visits them in Germany. He says,

My grandfather annoys me sometimes. I am coming from school to home, and I'm very tired. I want to go to my room and have a rest for a while, but he expects me to spend time with him right away and complains if I do not. When he visits us in Berlin for one week, it is nice; he does not disturb me much. When he stays longer, I start to feel uncomfortable.

This is an example of how diverging ideas about the balance of social and private life and places can cause problems between generations – and may be exacerbated for migrants by the overall cultural differences between Turkish and German culture.

4.2.4 Longing for family members, relatives and relationships. The cultural importance of having a close relationship between family members is not limited to the nuclear family. Interviewees from all generations also expressed longing for family members and relatives living in Turkey. The desire to meet them regularly means that families would frequently travel to visit those relatives during holidays or vacation times. Since most of the interviewees' relations in Turkey live in small, rural settlements, children growing up in Germany would not only meet their relatives and grandparents in Turkey but also have numerous opportunities for place experiences in an environment very different from the one they are used to.

While the experience of such visits is common to all generations, the particular backgrounds change: First-generation migrants grew up in the area they would later visit. They left their relatives, some even left their partners behind there for few years, so the connection to the places in Turkey was very intimate.

One first-generation interviewee stated,

When we first arrived, we had better comfort conditions in Germany [than in Turkey]. We had hot water, central heating in nice apartments, but our psychological condition was worse [than in Turkey]. We were longing for both our families and our home country.

First-generation interviewees say that they still miss their siblings and relatives and – if they are still alive – their parents living in Turkey.

Some second-generation interviewees were in a similar situation: They, too, had very personal ties to Turkey, as they spent part of their childhood growing up there at their grandparents' home before moving to Germany, spending some part of their childhood in one country, and the other part of it in another country. These subjects commonly mentioned that

they had strong bonds with their grandparents, and some of them also had bonds with their aunts and uncles who looked after them in Turkey.

Unlike the first-generation migrants, these children did not decide to come to Germany by themselves. Their parents made the decision, and the children had to follow them. After they came to Germany, they missed these people as well as life in Turkey. Some of these subjects even had problems adjusting to finally living together with their parents and forming bonds with them.

One second-generation interviewee explained, "When I first came to Germany, I missed my grandparents a lot. I could not get used to my parents for quite a long time. I could not form a bond with them." She went on to mention her current emotions in that matter, as well as how they shaped her general attitude towards migration:

I miss the sun, my home, and my relatives from Turkey. Even though I talk to them on the phone, it is not the same as seeing them in person. [...] It is a very nice feeling, when I am with my relatives there. I also miss visiting the graves of my family members and relatives. It is so sad. I wish families were not separated. I wish there had not been any migration to Europe, so that families could have stayed together in the same place. I wish nobody had separated from their grandmother or their father. Even if I wanted to return to Turkey now, my children are going to marry somebody from here. I wouldn't be able to get used to living in Turkey because I would miss my children here. It is a very hard and complicated situation. A person in my situation would want to live in both Turkey and Germany at the same time. I wish the first generation had not come here in the first place.

This subject group's longing for their childhood places and life is going to be explored more detailed in later sections.

Interviewees from the third generation as well as some from the second generation grew up in Germany but would often visit their grandparents and other relatives in Turkey during their childhood, and they also had the opportunity to experience rural life during their visits. These interviewees mentioned enjoying the time they spent with their grandparents, parents, cousins, and other relatives. Some stated that they had close relationships with their relatives there and liked the warm-hearted environment there. They also mentioned spending time in gardens, farms, and nature, which will be discussed in greater detail in later sections.

One second-generation interviewee said,

I went to Turkey [...] with my husband and two of my children. We visited our surviving parents as well as the graves of the ones who had already passed away. I try to keep contact with both my own and my husband's relatives in Turkey. We regularly visit our siblings, so my children won't forget their relatives and can form bonds with their uncles and aunts. At the last visit, my daughter spent so much time with my mother, and this makes me so happy. She also spent time with my nieces and nephews.

One third-generation interviewee said,

When I get bored at my grandparents' house in Turkey, I visit my great aunts. They live across the street from my grandparents' house. One of my great aunts is so old. She cannot visit my grandparents, that's why I visit her. The other great aunts are sometimes in her house as well. We sit and talk. I like visiting them, they are so warm-hearted.

Other interviewees also mentioned relatives and family members living close to each other. These kinds of living arrangements are common in rural areas of Turkey.

Overall, third-generation interviewees who did experience the relations between relatives in rural areas often mentioned how much they liked the communication and warm

relations between different generations. Interviewees from younger generations mentioned that they liked visiting older people and spending time with them. Some of them also said that they could not find the same atmosphere in Berlin. This points to a general unfulfilled desire for stronger family and/or community ties that should be acknowledged when planning spaces for people from these generations.

Interviewees from all generations also mentioned spending a lot of time with their cousins during childhood. Both in Turkey and Germany, children would visit their cousins' houses during childhood, and they would play outside together: in Turkey that would happen at each other's gardens, in Berlin in other outside areas where they were under parental supervision. In Berlin, they also mentioned going to the zoo, going swimming, or visiting parks for playing or having picnics.

Third-generation interviewees also mentioned meeting their cousins from Turkey at their grandparents' houses during holidays spent in Turkey. One interviewee described it: "When we meet with my cousins in the village at my grandparents' house, I have so much fun and enjoy it. We eat and spend time together."

4.2.5 Giving time and attention to children and their education. Even though most interviewees think that togetherness and close relationships within the family are significant, some said that they could not spend enough time with their children. While some interviewees said that they frequently would spend time together as a family after dinner and watch TV or play games together with their children, many first-generation interviewees mentioned that they could not have as much time as they would have liked for their children when they were young, because they had to work hard. So, they would mainly spend time with their children over the weekends.

One first-generation interviewee said,

When we were young, both my husband and I worked hard. I sometimes worked evening shifts. When the children were small, we would regularly bring them to the nursery (Kita), and pick them up at 4 pm. On weekdays, we ate dinner together, children would be doing their homework, and everybody would go to bed. It was only on weekends that we had time to do some activities as a family. We would have picnics, go to the cinema, theatre, parks, or dinners together. We regularly went to Turkish theatre together, and children liked that a lot. We would play games, such as Monopoly at home. [...] Our children did not get bored. We always found some activities for them.

Some interviewees also felt that Turkish parents did not give enough importance to their children's education. One interviewee who came as a spouse to a second-generation immigrant said that when she had school-age children herself (around 10 years ago), she noticed that some Turkish-German parents did not know which school their children were attending. Some second-generation interviewees had similar complaints about situations during their own childhood. One second-generation interviewee explained it like this:

German parents start to educate their children right after they are born. Turkish parents feed their children, and they can crawl, they let them go wherever they want. A German parent will arrange regular meal and sleeping times for their children. They will bring their children to school and teach them nicely. Turkish parents do not ask children about their day at schools or their lessons, they also don't ask whether their children need help for their homework. My parents only asked me whether I went to school that day, but they never asked about my lessons or if I needed help. During my childhood, when I visited one of my German classmates, his mother asked him if he did his homework and added that, if he needed help, she would be able to help him. At

that time, my mother could not read or write or solve mathematical problems, and my father and my mother never asked me, if I had good or bad school grades.

4.2.6 Future plans for living places. Most of the interviewees stated that they would want to live in Germany after reaching their retirement age. The reasons given by first- and second-generation interviewees and spouses of second-generation interviewees usually involved their children's or grandchildren's future plans in Germany. Also mentioned, but less often, were social rights, general living conditions, healthcare, freedom, or the ownership of businesses in Germany.

First- and second-generation interviewees and spouses of second-generation immigrants commonly stated that their children want to live in Germany in the future, and that was the main and most common reason for them to stay in Germany, as well. Some interviewees also said that if their children wanted to live or study in Turkey in the future, they would go with them, otherwise they would stay in Germany with their children.

One interviewee who came to Germany as spouse of a second-generation interviewee said,

My children want to live here, that is why I do not have any plans to live in Turkey in the future. I cannot leave my children here and go to Turkey, and I won't go anywhere my children don't want to live. Also, I find the living conditions and healthcare in Germany better than in Turkey. Before our children were born, my husband and I thought about going back and living in Turkey. Now, I would go now only if my children wanted to live there, as well, so I cannot leave Germany.

Corresponding to this, a majority of third-generation interviewees also said that they wanted to live in Germany in the future. The reasons they gave were focused on the economic situation, or their personal, cultural and language bonds to Germany.

On the other hand, a few interviewees said they would want to live in Turkey in the future or have the opportunity to live in both countries, because they wanted to be close to their family members and relatives. One second-generation interviewee said,

I miss my mother and my childhood from Turkey. I am 41 years old now; I want to spend the rest of my life with my mother, aunts, siblings, and my husband's family in Turkey. I like my husband's family and relatives as well; they are nice people. I want to return, if Allah lets me.

Another second-generation interviewee also explains her situation of being in between two countries:

I want to have a small family house with a garden in Turkey for my family. My husband also says that we are going to return to Turkey, however I think I do not have enough courage and will to go and live in Turkey. I look at my parents in law. They are in a good economic situation and own two houses in Turkey, one for winter and one for summertime. In spite of their old age, they live in Turkey during some part of the year and live in Germany at other times. They would be able to live in very nice weather conditions at their houses in Turkey all year along, but their children live in Germany. They cannot cut their ties with Germany. They also have an apartment in Berlin. When they were young, they worked with the dream of having a nice life in Turkey at retirement. In the end, they are living partially at both places. I think my future will be like theirs and I will be living in both countries. I think even if you're in a good economic situation, you cannot choose where to live. In our situation, you are always stuck in between.

4.3 “Our Family Had Two Rooms” – Spatial Constraints and Multi-Purpose Rooms

In order to design spaces for intercultural environments with children, it is necessary to understand the space and place experiences these children have in their everyday lives.

These, again, are influenced by the spatial situations at their homes, which, in turn might be a reflection of their parents' ideas regarding space and place, which, in case of the interviewees for this research, have been shaped by the situation in Turkish settlements.

This section, therefore, first examines the ways people use rooms for different functions in Turkey. Then, it will explore in which ways these usage patterns were carried over to migrants' apartments in Berlin.

Special attention will be paid to the way these rooms influenced children's private and social places, since that is the most significant aspect of the subject for the purposes of this research. Knowledge about this can be helpful to understand migrants' attitudes and perspectives on the subject of private rooms for children.

As has been discussed before, it is a feature of vernacular houses in Anatolia that rooms are being used for different functions at different times of day. When first-generation migrants came to Germany and started to live in apartments, some of them maintained this usage pattern in their new dwellings, even though those had not been built with such usage in mind.

4.3.1 Family houses in Turkey. All of the interviewees who personally underwent a migration experience at some point in their life used to live in family houses with gardens in Turkey before they came to Berlin. About three quarters of the interviewees were also closely familiar with the principle of multifunctional rooms as seen in Anatolian vernacular houses, having either lived in or around houses with multifunctional rooms during their childhood or visited them while travelling to Turkey.

The scenarios in which interviewees encountered the use of multifunctional rooms can be summarized into two general types: Some interviewees encountered or lived in houses in which many generations were living together (such as in Vernacular Anatolian Houses). For the purpose of this research, "many generations living together" is applied to any scenario in

which the dwelling is shared with any relatives who are not part of the nuclear family – which in the descriptions given by the interviewees usually involved either grandparents, or the spouses and children of siblings. Others described houses, which were only occupied by one nuclear family but were so small – possibly only sporting a single room – that the lack of space had to be compensated by using the available room(s) for multiple purposes depending on the time of day. In both cases, children did not have a private or shared room that they would be able use all day only for their own daily activities.

As mentioned before, multi-generational houses were the most common occurrence of multipurpose rooms. One interviewee from the second generation used to live with his grandparents and his uncle's family before joining his parents and siblings in Berlin. He stated, "I grew up with my grandmother and grandfather, we were all living in one room at the downstairs level of the house. There was a storage room next to the room that we lived in." He also described that his uncle and his family lived on the upstairs level of the same house.

In the case of families living in small houses with only one room, all interior activities happened in that room. One interviewee, who came as a spouse, said that she lived with her siblings and parents in a one-room house before she married and came to Germany. In this situation, the whole family had to use the single room for all kinds of daily activities during the day and for sleeping at night. In all usage descriptions concerning multifunctional rooms, they were used by at least two generations together.

While most of the houses described by the interviewees featured a dedicated room for the kitchen, in some houses it, too, was part of a family's room. In others, the kitchen was a corner in the half open area of the house. One first-generation interviewee described her family's house during her childhood:

Our house had two rooms, and there was a terrace with a concrete floor in front of the rooms. The kitchen was at the corner of that terrace. The terrace was protected by wooden railings in order to stop animals who tried to get in.

Even though many of the houses described were not in the style of typical vernacular houses, many interviewees described that people used the terraces in these houses in a way that is reminiscent of the usage of “hayat” – a significant area that in between outside and inside in vernacular housing. In addition to the use as a kitchen described above, interviewees described the half open spaces of terraces being used as living room, dining room, and as a place people would entertain their guests. One second-generation interviewee described the use of the terrace in front of the room at his grandmother’s house that he stayed in: “We always drank our tea and coffee at the terrace. My grandmothers’ friends would visit her, and they would always sit on the terrace. While they were talking, they prepared corn, beans and okra for the wintertime there.”

Overall, many responses indicated that, during good weather conditions, the houses’ half open and open spaces were used as an additional room. One interviewee even mentioned that during a visit to Turkey she would use the “hayat” as a bedroom when the weather was warm, saying, “I slept at the hayat when I was in Turkey during Ramadan. I thought, why I should sleep inside when the weather is so warm.”

As will be explored in the next section, it was very uncommon for first- and second-generation interviewees to have separate children’s bedrooms. Some interviewees, who lived in houses multifunctional rooms stated that the thought that a child could have a private bedroom felt foreign or impossible during their childhood, as it was a concept that ran counter to the multifunctional room idea around which their houses were designed. One second-generation interviewee describes this from her childhood in Turkey:

I certainly would have liked it if I had had my own bedroom in my childhood, however it was impossible at those times in the village in Turkey. I knew that it was impossible; I did not even have such a wish at my childhood. Our housing conditions were quite different. My family's bedroom, living room and guest room were all one and the same room.

4.3.2 Living situation in Germany. After their migration to Germany, some interviewees transferred these multifunctional usage patterns of rooms to their new apartments in Berlin and in some cases; they also continued the tradition of many generations sharing a single residence. Often, the multifunctional use was born out of necessity: The size of their apartments did not allow for enough dedicated bedrooms, so interviewees had to use some or all of the rooms of their apartment for both daytime activities and sleeping. This type of situation was most common for families living in two-room apartments: One room was used both as living room and bedroom; the other room one as dedicated bedroom for parents or children. Similar arrangements were made when sharing the apartment with other generations or other people.

One second-generation interviewee explained the setup of his family's shared apartment in his childhood:

Our apartment had two rooms when I was a child. We were sharing the apartment with an old lady. She had two rooms and our family had also two rooms. My elder sister, my elder brother and I were sleeping at the living room at nights; my parents had their own bedroom. [...] When the old lady moved out, my father rented her part of the apartment as well so our family could use all four rooms.

In the childhood days of second-generation interviewees, some apartments did not have dedicated children's bedrooms. They would use other rooms of the apartment for playing. One second-generation interviewee stated,

On my childhood, we did not have a separate children's room in our apartment. When my friends visited me, we could play together in any room of the apartment. We would put handkerchief packages in the middle of the dining table, to use them as netting, and then would play table tennis there. We would string a rope in the living room and play volleyball there.

Several first and second-generation interviewees mentioned that there was no separate bathroom in their apartments in the early years of migration. They had to use a mobile tub, which they would temporarily put it into one of the rooms if they wanted to take a bath.

One first-generation interviewee explained the situation about toilets and bathrooms in apartments in Berlin in the 1970s:

When I came to Berlin, there were no bathrooms or toilets in the apartments. We would put a plastic tub into one of our rooms and clean our body there. [...] Initially, there was an outdoors toilet in the backyard that all neighbours would share. Later, there were restrooms in the staircases, with two neighbours sharing one.

On average, the apartments interviewees used to live in during the first decades of migration to Germany did feature fewer rooms and less space than the ones interviewees are in living in today. More than two thirds of the interviewees who lived in these early apartments stated that they either all or at least some of the rooms would be used for multiple purposes depending on the time of day.

They gave several reasons for this multifunctional usage:

- Wanting to share the apartment with relatives from other generations,
- Intentionally picking a small and cheap, supposedly temporary dwelling to save up as much money as possible for an eventual return to Turkey,
- Moving in with spouse or relative into their existing apartment,
- Not being able to find a bigger apartment on the market,

- The wish to separate the bedrooms of children according to their gender.

In the following paragraphs, each of these reasons will be examined in greater detail.

Several interviewees from the first and second generation as well as the interviewees who came as a spouse said that they used to live in apartments in Berlin that were shared by more than two generations.

When people live together with three or more generations, there may not be enough rooms in the apartment, to allow for dedicated bedrooms for each couple and an additional dedicated for children's room. Furthermore, even if there would be enough space to allow for dedicated rooms, older generations who grew up with the concept of multifunctional rooms in Anatolian vernacular architecture might just continue to employ the same usage patterns in their new homes.

One common example for multifunctional usage in migrant's apartments in Germany was the use living room as a bedroom at night. An interviewee who came as a spouse explained the usage pattern of her husband's family's apartment when she married and joined them there: "My parents in law shared their room with my sister-in-law, my husband and I had a bedroom, and my brother-in-law would sleep in the living room."

Most second-generation interviewees did not live in multi-generational households. The ones that did, mainly did so after one of their siblings got married and brought their spouse to their house. In these apartments, children might not have had an opportunity to have private places.

In the present day, only one interviewee lives in a multi-generational arrangement, sharing an apartment with her daughters' family. This particular apartment, however, has enough space to allow each room to be used for a specific purpose.

Another reason for multifunctional use was given by some interviewees, who said that they or their parents thought that their stay in Germany was of a temporary nature, and so they

saw no need to pay for a bigger apartment. In these cases, people wanted to save their money for the planned return to Turkey, preferring to rent cheaper or smaller apartments. For the same reason, they would also prefer not to spend money on new furniture, using second-hand items instead. One second-generation interviewee described her early childhood's apartment, which contained a multi-functional room:

The first apartment that I remember from my childhood was a two-room apartment looking at a backyard in Schöneberg. It was an apartment in an old building. I have faint memories about this apartment. The rooms were connected by doors. Namely, you had to go through the living room in order to get to the bedroom. We were mostly living in the living room. It was used as a children's bedroom, and as a guest room, as well. There was no bath either. When we want to take bath, we would lay linoleum on the living room floor, put a plastic tub on it and take a bath. The apartment was heated by a masonry heater. It had quite bad standards, compared to the apartments nowadays, however it was obvious why my parents picked it. They wanted to earn as much as money as possible in Germany in a short time, and then quickly return to Turkey. They did not want to spend much money on the apartment or anything else. They thought that living in this apartment would only be a temporary arrangement. They did not even want to spend money on quality furniture.

A scenario described by a few interviewees was that initially only part of the family would come to Germany – either only the father, or father and mother but without any children. So, they would rent an apartment that was big enough for one or two persons. Eventually, the rest of the family would join them, at which point the apartment would get too small to allow for individually purposed rooms. One second-generation interviewee came to Berlin with her mother and sibling in order to join her father in his apartment. She described it as such:

The apartment had two rooms. It was quite small compared to our family house in Turkey. [...] There was an entrance hall as big as a table. From the left side of the hall, you could enter a room. It was a rather small room, as well. There was also a restroom connected to the entrance hall. It was about one square meter and had a toilet and a very small sink in it. You could hardly wash your hands and face. In the beginning, I did not like the apartment; it was so small and strange. I thought my father could live comfortably there by himself. It was enough for one person. However, it was small for a family with four people. I liked it there later, though.

Another reason given for multifunctional usage was the inability to find a larger apartment. A few interviewees said that their families were unable to move into an apartment of the desired size, even though they could have afforded to do so. One third-generation interviewee stated,

When I was born, my parents lived in a one-room apartment. Afterwards, with a lot of effort, they managed to move into an apartment with two rooms. It was hard to find an apartment in those years. People even gave extra money to estate agencies to find an apartment to rent. Nowadays, if you have the money, you can find an apartment the way you like it. When I was a child, immigrant families were only allowed to rent apartments in some specific districts. In my childhood, our apartment had two rooms. As three siblings, we were sleeping in one room. My parents were sleeping in the living room at nights.

Finally, multifunctional usage could occur to allow families to separate sleeping accommodations for children of different genders. Namely, if people did not have apartments with at least four rooms and still wanted to separate children's bedrooms according to their gender, they had to use the living room for sleeping at nights, as well. This situation can be seen in more recent generations as well, unlike the other reasons outlined above, which were

mainly common in earlier generations. One interviewee, who came as a spouse, separated her children's bedrooms according to gender after a certain age. She has one son and one daughter, and the family lives in an apartment with three rooms. She said,

My children shared a room until a certain age. We had arranged our rooms as children's bedroom, parents' bedroom and living room. But now my daughter is 15 years old. She wants to lie down or change her clothes, but she cannot do that next to her older brother. It does not fit our customs, traditions and lifestyle. That is why I separated their rooms. Each of my children has their own private room now. Every child is different from each other; it is good for children to have a private bedroom. However, if my children were both of same gender, I would not separate their rooms, because we only have limited rooms in the apartment. The way it is, however, I gave our bedroom to my son, so my husband and I use the living room as our bedroom at night. We don't have a separate bedroom.

All of these were reasons why, during first decades of migration, interviewees lived in smaller apartments compared to their current situation. When they first moved to Germany, it was common for them to live in apartments with only one or two rooms.

Single-room apartments were most frequently mentioned by first-generation interviewees, and a few second-generation interviewees mentioned them as well. However, none of the third-generation interviewees' families lived in one room apartments in Berlin.

Those first-generation interviewees who lived in one room apartments said that they moved from these apartments to bigger ones when they had opportunity or after they brought their children to Berlin. One first-generation interviewee explained how she changed her apartments over the years:

When I came to Germany in 1988, it was problematic to find an apartment. In order to find one, you had to pay extra money to real estate agencies. My husband and I had to

stay at my cousin's one -room apartment for three months. We worked during the daytime; my cousin worked the night shift. That way, we could use the room together. Later, my husband and I rented an apartment in Wedding with one room and a kitchen, we got it by paying an extra 3000 Marks to the real estate agency. I could finally bring my children to this apartment, as well. They had stayed with my mother until we had found it. We stayed in this apartment for 18 months, because it was still hard to find a bigger apartment without paying so much extra money. My husband and me slept on the sofa bed in the kitchen. The main room was big, and my two children slept there. Afterwards, we managed to find a three-room apartment in Schöneberg. One room was the children's room, one room was the parents' bedroom, and the other one was the living room. My children moved out from that apartment when they married.

Over the years, multifunctional usage of rooms in German apartments has gotten less common. It was frequently mentioned during interviews with first-generation interviewees. Some second-generation interviewees and interviewees who came as a spouse also experienced it, although less commonly than those from the first generation, and it was quite rare among third-generation interviewees.

The decision whether to employ multifunctional or dedicated-room usage patterns in a home has not only a direct effect children's ease of access to private places, it even influences a child's fundamental understanding of the concept of private places and whether it'd be appropriate and desirable for children to have them. In the context of this research, this especially affected first- and second-generation immigrants during their childhood. This is mostly due to the spatial organisation in the houses they grew up in: Family houses in small settlements in Turkey, which often did not even have a dedicated children's room they would share with their siblings, let alone a private room for each child. Thus, during their childhood, some first-generation interviewees did not even harbour the concept that a child could have a

private room or place. The idea of giving each child a private room is mainly common among third-generation interviewees – all of which, of course, grew up in Germany.

On the other hand, as has been discussed before, interviewees also specifically associated the spatial structure of multifunctional houses with positive qualities – which also might be useful for understanding why it was often transferred over to the new country.

Even though the usage was partially driven by spatial constraints, the sharing of rooms with family members and other generations was also seen as strengthening a family's bonds and sense of togetherness, as has been explored before. Following these traditions and understandings about the use of spaces may have caused some early migrants to not to place a high importance on providing a dedicated space for children in the apartments.

4.4 “You Should Not Separate Siblings” – Children's Rooms: Private, Shared or Multifunctional

One of the direct questions to the interviewees was their opinion about children having their own private rooms. Interviewees' positions in this regard are diverse. Among other factors, they are influenced by the person's environment, the generation that belong to, and their own experiences. Therefore, this section will cover not only the ideas the interviewees expressed regarding private rooms and private places but also their individual histories.

4.4.1 Current ideas about private rooms for children. In absolute terms, the number of interviewees who supported the idea of several children sharing a room was nearly the same as that of interviewees who preferred giving each child a separate room. Between these concepts, there was a generational divide: The majority of interviewees who supported the idea of sharing a room were from the first and second generations, while the majority of interviewees who in favour of individual rooms were from the second and third generation.

One common argument for shared rooms was that they would facilitate togetherness and sharing in the family. A first-generation interviewee explained this idea as part of their local culture:

It is a positive thing that siblings share a bedroom until a certain age. You should not separate siblings. When parents die, the oldest sibling should take the responsibility of their parents. So, when children are growing up, they should already learn to be respectful to the oldest sibling. That's what we were taught, and we grew up like this. I have a sister; she is the oldest between my siblings. She has right to scold me when I do something wrong, and I should follow her orders as much as I can. Even after we all got married, we kept our good relations between siblings and did not grow apart. This respect and bond were formed while growing up together. In order to form such an atmosphere in the family, you should not separate children's rooms till they are seventeen or eighteen years old. If you separate children's rooms when they are three, four years old, there won't be time for love and sister - or brotherhood to form between the siblings. They would grow up as strangers to each other. I enjoy my life with my siblings. This lifestyle is part of the culture of our society.

While this was the most common reason interviewees stated, they also mentioned other benefits of having children share a room:

- Children can watch each other when parents are not around,
- It helps children who are scared of sleeping alone,
- Children can learn from each other,
- Children can learn how to share with other people.

One second-generation interviewee explained her thoughts on sharing a room and the benefits it would provide for a family atmosphere.

I like it better when several children grew up living in the same room. My daughters do not want me to be in their rooms except when they want my help. Sometimes one of them talks to their friend on the phone, but I cannot hear what they talk about because I am not in the same room with her. In these kinds of cases, the other sister can listen and observe her. I think two siblings of the same gender should share a room. Even if I had the opportunity to provide my children with separate bedrooms, I would not do it. When you separate children's rooms, their life separates from their siblings' life, and you lose family atmosphere. It becomes like living in a shared apartment. Everybody closes their door and lives in their own private room. I feel that this is an excess of luxury. You should experience the warmth of family. When somebody in the family cooks a soup, the others can smell it, grab a spoon, and eat the soup together. I think warmth and togetherness in the family are more important than a life of luxury.

Another reason given in favour of sharing rooms was that it would teach how to share with others, whereas, according to some interviewees, private rooms would make children more likely to be materialistic and unwilling to share with others. One second-generation interviewee talked about how he shared a room with his siblings during his childhood:

Even though we shared a room, we had some personal things as well. But by sharing a room, we learned to share our belongings. [...] In my opinion, children who have private rooms are fonder of monetary gains. Sharing a room helps children to learn sharing in general.

Some interviewees stated that it would be more important for a child to have enough space than to have a room of their own. One second-generation interviewee said that a children's room should be sized according to the number of children. He explained,

We are seven siblings and grew up living in the same room. Each of us had their own space and belongings in the room. When children have a private room, they learn to give more importance to monetary things and belongings. When they share a room, children can learn how to share.

A few interviewees went into greater detail about how shared rooms for children should be organized, mentioning, for example, their idea about the ideal number of children per room or whether they should be separated by gender.

One first-generation interviewee argued,

I think children should share a room with their siblings until a certain age. For instance, if there are two female children, they can share a room as long as neither is married. However, if there is one male and one female child, their rooms should be separated above a certain age.

(Note again the definition of “child”, which includes persons old enough to get married and thus may go beyond other common understandings of the word.)

Similarly, one second-generation interviewee stated,

I have three sons and a daughter. Our apartment is small, that is why my sons share a big room together. [...] My daughter has a small private room. That room was a storage room before. I think she needs privacy.

Another second-generation interviewee was in favour of dedicated shared children's bedrooms as well as separation by gender:

I think children should have a shared children's bedroom [instead of sleeping in the same room as their parents]. After a certain age, children don't feel comfortable next to their parents. They don't want to change their clothes or cross their legs in front of their parents [because it would be disrespectful to do so in front of older people]. It is especially uncomfortable for them [not to have some dedicated children's space] when

older people visited the apartment. In these cases, they can behave more comfortable in their own room. They can also invite their friends to their room and parents can invite their own friends to the living room. I think having a children's room in a house is a good thing. It's even better to separate them according to gender. After a certain age, a girl cannot live in the same room as her brother.

The arguments given in support of individual private rooms, mainly focus on children's personal needs, and support for their personal life and development. Subjects opined that personal rooms would allow each child to focus on their individual hobbies and interests. Moreover, some interviewees said each child should know they are a unique person with a private life and personal belongings.

One third-generation subject supported the idea of having private rooms even though it was different from her own childhood experiences:

I think every child needs a separate room. Everybody has different hobbies and different interests. I like reading books and doing jigsaw puzzles so normally I would need a lot of space. When I was a child, we did not have enough space, so I shared a room with my three other siblings. I knew and accepted that sharing was necessary in those conditions.

Another second-generation interviewee took this idea further, highlighting that children do not only have individual hobbies but should learn to develop into individual and independent persons:

A child should learn that they are an individual person. My daughter has her own room in our apartment. She has her own belongings in her room. Even though one should observe one's children and keep them under control, one should also know that they have some personal belongings. One cannot touch their belongings without their permission. This approach helps my daughter improve her personality.

Another second-generation interviewee had a similar opinion, adding that the large age difference between his children made private rooms an even bigger necessity. (Notably, his definition of "child" included his twenty-three-year-old son.)

A twenty-three-year-old wants to go outside; on the other hand, a small child wants to play. In order to provide comfort for each child, a separate room for each child is necessary. Every child should have a private life, and they should also have the opportunity to create their own world. My older son feels comfortable in his room.

Another argument given for private rooms was that they would provide children with some needed time and space to be alone after discussions or conflicts in the family. One first-generation interviewee explained how her grandchildren would calm themselves down after family arguments:

In our childhood, we did not know that a child could have a private room. However, nowadays, every child should have a room. Children sometimes get angry at their parents or grandparents. In these situations, you can send them to their private room. They can cry alone or calm themselves down there. They can take some time for themselves there until they feel better, and then they can re-join the others.

One third-generation interviewee expressed his support for individual rooms, saying, When I was a child, I did not know any children with private rooms, but I would have liked to have one. Sometimes, I wanted to play alone or relax, but I could not do it in our shared room. I went to my parents' bedroom to stay alone, but it was not same as having your own room.

Another opinion stated by some interviewees was that children should have their own room after a certain age. One third-generation interviewee said,

At early ages, sharing a room is more beneficial for children, so that they can form bonds between each other. If you separate them at early ages, they will say that 'this is

my room' and they cannot understand the concept of being 'us' as siblings. My two children share their room now. Once they reach school age, they can ask to have private rooms. My two nephews are 11 years old now. They demand private rooms, but their parents cannot provide a room for each child, because they don't have enough space.

Although a majority of third-generation interviewees voiced support for the idea of private rooms for children, a few third-generation subjects were undecided in the matter. One third-generation interviewee who is sharing her room with her sister said,

I sometimes think, it would be nice if I had my own private room, but other times I do not like the idea. When you have a private room, you would have to sleep alone at nights, and I would not like that at all. Moreover, if each of us had our own room, my relationship with my sister would be different. She would spend most of her time in her room, and I would do the same as well. We could not spend as much as time together as we do now.

Another third-generation interviewee is also unsure which option is more beneficial for children and thinks that providing both might be an answer: "I think it depends on the specific situation [whether children should share a room or have private rooms]. It is good for children to have both a personal room and a room they share with others."

Finally, a second-generation interviewee described her ideas about the advantages and disadvantages of both options, but came out in favour of shared rooms in the end:

Private rooms for children trigger communication problems in the family. On the other hand, my children argue a lot with each other, and private rooms would prevent such a situation. I think private rooms are not necessary. I did not have a private room during my childhood, and my siblings and me grew up fine that way. [By sharing a room], we had the benefit of a warmer atmosphere in our family. Sometimes, we would have

wanted a private room. We wanted to have a place to cry alone sometimes or to listen to loud music. However, overall, we were happy during our childhood, and we knew to be happy what we had.

Overall, the answers make it clear that the decision whether or not to provide children with private rooms is not necessarily dependent on the available space in the residences. Rather, it influenced by the values and ideas of the parents, which they aim to pass on to their own children.

Namely, the answers indicate two different ideas about the ideal atmosphere for a child: One group of interviewees believes that their children should learn sharing and grow up with a sense of togetherness – they should know they are part of a family. In these interviewees' opinion, these aims are best achieved by having multiple children share a room, regardless of the spatial situation at their home.

By contrast, another group of interviewees places a high importance on children's individual personal development and providing them with private spaces. They want their children to learn that they are a unique person with individual ideas, interests, and hobbies.

While most interviewees argued for one of these two positions, a comparatively small number felt themselves caught between the two approaches, seeing benefits in each, or felt that it was best to combine them by providing children with a separate room once they reached a certain age.

There is a correlation between certain ideas and the interviewees' generations. Responses favouring the idea of private rooms for children mostly came from third- and second-generation subjects, while a preference for shared rooms was mostly expressed by first- and second-generation interviewees.

Almost a third of the interviewees brought up the idea of separating children's rooms according to their gender above a certain age.

4.4.2 Childhood ideas about private rooms for children. As already presented in some of the above answers, some interviewees mentioned not only their current ideas about the necessity of private rooms but also how they thought about this subject when they were children. Several interviewees said the idea of a private place for children wasn't something they even thought about during their childhood.

Interviewees commonly said that they never came into contact with the idea of having a private room or a permanent private place for themselves. Instead, they would search out places to spend time alone if they ever felt the need to do so. These kinds of places are going to be examined more closely in later sections. One first-generation interviewee explained,

In my childhood, I did not know that there was something like a place for spending time alone. We were a crowded family. I never thought about doing something by myself in a corner of the house or that I could sit alone under a tree. I did not have a private place or important private toys in my childhood. We would enjoy our time with our big family during the day. At the end of the day, I would be tired and sleep.

Apart from spatial restrictions or cultural conventions, some interviewees also said that they simply did not like or did not want to spend time alone at their childhood – especially when it came to staying alone at night. One interviewee who came as a spouse said, “I did not like to stay alone in my childhood. I was scared of staying alone somewhere. Especially at nights, I never slept in a room alone.”

A second-generation interviewee generally disliked the idea of being alone, saying, “I never liked staying alone. I always wanted people around me, both now and in my childhood. When I eat meals [both during childhood and nowadays], I always prefer if others sit at the table with me. I enjoy having my meals with other people.”

Some interviewees even described that conditions forced them to stay alone as a child when they didn't want to, and that this led them to dislike staying alone today.

4.4.3 Interviewees' own experiences regarding private rooms for children. Within the sample examined for this study, the majority of children from all generations did not grow up in private rooms, sharing them instead with siblings, parents, grandparents, or any combination of the above. Some interviewees slept in dedicated bedrooms, others in multifunctional rooms. A small minority of children from different generations did have a private room at some point during their childhood.

As explained earlier, most interviewees who grew up in Turkey lived in comparatively small settlements before they came to Germany. Local traditions in these settlements generally did not include the concept of private rooms for children, and many families did not have the necessary space to provide a private room for each child. For people living in vernacular houses, nuclear families would share a room. Other interviewees who lived in houses that could be seen as typical vernacular houses still shared a room with their parents or grandparents during their childhood. As discussed above, migrant families often would continue these traditional usage patterns for their dwellings after locating to a new country.

The most common sleeping arrangement for first-generation interviewees was sleeping in multifunctional rooms. Of these multifunctional rooms of first-generation interviewees, only one was located in Berlin, the others were in Turkey. The specific arrangements for the multifunctional rooms in Turkey varied – in some cases three generations might sleep in one room, in other cases the vernacular concept of “oda” applied, providing a shared space for their nuclear family, or a multifunctional room was only used as a sleeping place for the family's children. One interviewee explained, “When I was a child, our house had two rooms. We were five siblings, and I am the third one. At nights, all of us siblings were sleeping together in one room.”

During the day, multifunctional rooms were used for daily activities, which, as mentioned before, is also a common feature of the “oda” in vernacular housing in Anatolia.

One interviewee, who spent part of her childhood in a very typical vernacular house, said,

On the ground floor of our house, there were two rooms and a kitchen, and two more rooms were on the first floor. Our family lived in one of upstairs rooms, and my aunt's family in the other. Altogether, we were four families in this house. Nobody locked the doors of their rooms. We all ate together. It was a nice atmosphere.

Only very few first-generation interviewees described having an exclusive children's room, that is a room that they shared with their siblings. One female first-generation interviewee described it:

We did not have personal rooms at my childhood. I was sharing a room with my two sisters. I have two sisters, and three brothers. Including my parents, we were an eight-person family. My parents had their own rooms, my brothers had one and my sisters and me had a room as well.

Another first-generation interviewee who came to Berlin during her childhood described that she initially could not have a private room because she was living with her sister's family in a two-room apartment, so there was not enough space for her to have a separate room. Once the family moved to a larger apartment, however, there was enough space for her to get a private room, in which she stayed until after she got married. This made her the only first-generation interviewee who spent at least part of her childhood having a private room.

Most second-generation interviewees also experienced sleeping in multifunctional rooms during some part of their childhood. Some would sleep at night with their siblings in the living room of their apartments in Berlin; others would share a room with their parents or grandparents in villages in Turkey. One interviewee explained,

Our house in the village did not have a dedicated bedroom. We had two rooms. One was used as a bedroom at nights, but during the day we would sit there or use it for having guests. The other room was used both as a kitchen and a dining room. It was a typical village house.

As mentioned before, it was not uncommon for second-generation interviewees to live with their grandparents in Turkey for a while before joining their parents in Germany. One interviewee described the house he lived in with his grandparents:

The ground floor of the house had a cellar and another room. That was the room my grandparents and I slept in. My mattress was next to the door, my grandmother was sleeping next to the window and my grandfather on the other side of the room. It was a very small room. There was a big cupboard in which we stored our mattresses, pillows and blankets during the day. On warm days in the summer, we would eat our dinners in the room but otherwise mostly sit outside on the terrace.

This description is in line with the traditional usage patterns of vernacular housing in Anatolia. The usage of the “oda” was mostly described by those interviewees from the first or second generation who lived in Turkey at their childhood, but there were also some instances in which apartment rooms in Berlin were used in a similar multifunctional fashion. One second-generation interviewee stated,

When I was six years old, my youngest sister was born. We were six people as a family and had two rooms [in our apartment in Berlin]. My parents and the baby slept in my parent's bedroom, and my elder sister, my brother, and me slept in the other room [The room was used for daily activities during the day].

Only a few interviewees from the second-generation shared their bedroom exclusively with their siblings, that is, they had a separate children's bedroom with no other function. One

interviewee lived in Turkey with her mother, two siblings and her sister-in-law in Turkey before she joined her father in Berlin. She said,

We were four siblings. I am the youngest one. [In Turkey,] I shared a room with my elder sister. My elder brother married 16 years old and he had a room with his wife. My mother also had her own bedroom.

Another small group of second-generation interviewees shared a dedicated bedroom with their parents during their childhood. For example, one interviewee lost her father when she was a child and afterwards shared a bedroom with her mother. In the other cases, as further explained below, the families initially did not have enough space for a separate children's bedroom, so the children had to sleep in the same room as their parents. Later, after the families moved to bigger apartments, every child got a private room.

In summary, all second-generation interviewees shared a room with other family members during part of or all of their childhood, and only two of them had private rooms for at least part of their childhood. In both cases, the families moved to bigger apartments at some point, which allowed children to have their own private bedrooms. One interviewee explained,

We did not have a children's room in our apartment in Berlin until 1995. In our early apartment, we had only two rooms. We used one of them as living room and the other room as bedroom. In the bedroom there was my parents' bed and some bunk beds.

Some of the children slept with my parents, and one of the children had to sleep on the sofa in the living room.

[...]

When our apartment needed repairs, we temporarily moved to a bigger apartment.

Because both of my parents were working [and could afford the rent], they decided to stay in this apartment. It was also at a safer location for children, which my parents

liked better. The apartment had 111 m² of area, and each of us could have our own private room. My parents still live there.

While it was uncommon for first- and second-generation interviewees to have a separate children's bedroom or even a private room in their childhood, replies from the third-generation subjects showed a different situation:

All of the third-generation interviewees had a dedicated children's bedroom that they would share with their siblings for at least some part of their childhood. Two had a private room at some part of her childhood, and only one interviewee would sleep in the living room during part of her childhood.

The latter was the only case in this generation in which an interviewee experienced sleeping regularly in a multifunctional room. She explained, "Until I was ten years old, I shared a room with my other two brothers. Afterwards, I slept in the living room for a while. Then we moved to another room with my siblings and shared that room."

Similar to the replies in the second generation, the two interviewees who had private rooms at some point only gained these after their families had moved to larger residences. One of these interviewees lived in Berlin, the other in a small settlement close to Köln. This interviewee explained,

When I was a toddler, I shared a children's bedroom with my three siblings. A bit later, a three-storey house was built for my family. Each of us children had their own private room in this house. We were so happy with our rooms. I lived in that house for ten years of my childhood.

This person is the only third-generation interviewee in this study who spent her childhood outside of Berlin, and so this research cannot answer the question whether the size of settlements might influence the likelihood of parents giving private rooms to their children. Further research in this respect would be necessary.

While all third-generation interviewees had a shared children's room for part or all of their childhood, not all of them were happy with it. A few complained about having to share their bedroom with many other siblings. One interviewee said,

We shared one room with four siblings. Normal beds did not fit into the room that is why we slept in bunk beds. However, those were quite uncomfortable. Apart from the beds, there were also tables and cupboards in the bedroom as well. All in all, the room was too full and uncomfortable. I cannot remember how we could all fit in that room. Even after my elder sister moved out for university, it was still hard to fit three siblings into that room.

Apart from their own experiences, interviewees also talked about how they arranged or used to arrange their children's bedrooms in their apartments in Berlin. These children's generations are from second to fourth. Nearly half of the interviewees provided their children with shared bedrooms in which all siblings slept together.

Several first-generation interviewees stated that they either shared a bedroom with their children or only had one room and slept in this room as a family. Except for one, all of these situations happened during the families' first years in Berlin. Afterwards, families would move to bigger apartments, which provided shared children's bedrooms. The only case that does not fit this pattern concerns first-generation interviewee who came to Germany in her childhood. She experienced living in a one-room apartment after her marriage:

After I married, we moved to a one room apartment with my husband. My husband did not work at those times. We had a daughter, and my husband went to army in Turkey. He could not return for a long time. When he returned, it was forbidden [for Turkish people] to rent apartments in Wedding and Kreuzberg. I rented another one room apartment in Schöneberg. It was good for us because I was the only working person in the family. We lived in this apartment with our daughter until we could rent

also a two-room apartment in the same building. Afterwards, we used both apartments, because we had a child. We used the small one for storing coal and lived on the bigger one as a family.

Another interviewee from the first generation was the only one who stated that her children slept in the living room at night. This family, too, eventually got more space and instituted a shared children's bedroom. However, until then, her children had slept in bunk beds in the living room.

Some interviewees stated that they provided their children with private bedrooms. The reasons given for these decisions of private bedrooms included: having only one child, having two children with different genders, a large age gap between children, and simply having enough rooms in the apartment to allow for such an arrangement.

Overall, the answers indicated that the use of multifunctional rooms as children's bedroom greatly decreased over the generations, to the point of every third-generation interviewee having experienced living in an either shared or private dedicated children's bedroom during at least part of their childhood. However, for many interviewees the idea of giving children a shared or private room specifically meant for them to use both day and night is relatively recent. While shared rooms are common in the third generation, having a private room for each child is still rare. Even though nearly half of the interviewees support the idea of private room, this is not often practised.

The responses show that there are multiple reasons for a comparative lack of private children's rooms among the subjects' families. Sometimes it may just be the result of lack of space, but often there may be cultural or philosophical ideas behind it, such as strengthening family bonds or teaching children the value of sharing. Most of the responses indicate that in families with Turkish backgrounds place more importance on community and family than on helping children to develop as an independent person with their own interests and personality.

However, the changes in responses from the first to the third-generation also signal that these attitudes may be slowly shifting, with younger generations placing higher importance on individuality and private places.

4.5 “I would Sit There All Day” – Private Places Interviewees Picked In Their Childhood

As described in the previous section, only a few interviewees had private bedrooms during some part of their childhood. Therefore, the majority of interviewees had to find other private places, if they wanted to spend some time alone in their childhood.

Interviewees gave various reasons for wanting to spend time alone as children – such as reading, playing, listening to music, studying, or engaging in activities related to various hobbies. Some interviewees just said they sometimes wanted to stay alone as children, without giving a particular reason, and others needed time for themselves after they had had arguments with other family members, or when they were angry or unhappy.

In all of these cases, they had to find a private place that suited the intended purpose. The nature of these places varied – some were inside, others outside, and were in between inside and outside. One second-generation interviewee described the kind of places she would pick when she wanted to stay alone in her childhood apartment in Berlin:

I liked sitting in front of the bay window of our apartment. I watched people passing by on the street, and I watched trees. Sometimes, I pretended the bay window was a stage. I would close the curtains and use it as a stage for myself. Another corner that I liked was next to the heater. Our heater was elaborately decorated with beautiful, embossed tiles. I cannot forget these two places from my childhood. I have very nice memories of them from my childhood.

Sorted by popularity and excluding their own bedrooms, the following types of places were mentioned during the interviews as places children picked in order to stay alone:

- Empty or unused rooms
- Cave-like places
- Next to a window
- Next to a heater
- Sitting close to trees or climbing onto trees
- Nature, farms

4.5.1 Empty or unused rooms. Some residences had rooms that were not in use by other family members at the time. Some interviewees picked these as places to spend time by themselves. These rooms were usually not completely abandoned, but rather only meant for very specific purposes and thus sat unused the rest of the time. Interviewees specifically mentioned parents' bedrooms, guest rooms, dressing rooms, and study rooms. The interviewees that used these rooms to stay alone as children included subjects from the second and third generations, as well as an interviewee who came as a student. Some of the rooms mentioned were in houses in Turkey, others in apartments in Germany.

Interviewees stated they used empty rooms for learning, playing, engaging in activities related to their hobbies, calming down after family arguments, or to generally avoid meeting other family members for a while.

One second-generation interviewee described the place she found for herself in their apartment in Berlin:

When I wanted to stay alone in my childhood, I went to the study. After my brother had gotten married and my sister-in-law had moved into our apartment, everything in my life changed, and our apartment got crowded. I regarded my sister-in-law as a stranger in our family. Also, I suddenly had nephews, so I lost the privilege of being youngest child in the family. That meant less attention from older family members and more responsibilities. Sometimes, I wanted to hide from the crowd and those

responsibilities, so I would sit by myself at the table in the study, sometimes for hours. Sometimes, I would sit there all day.

Another second-generation interviewee described where she liked to stay alone at her grandparents' house in Turkey. She said that there were two guest rooms at her grandmothers' house, and she used one of them when she wanted to stay alone, and it was too cold to go somewhere outside.

One interviewee said that she would use the bathroom of their family house in Turkey in order to get away from her parents. She explained,

When I argued or fought with other family members, I would go into a cupboard or the bathroom in the house. I would run away and calm down there. The bathroom was the only room that had a lock at the door. I would run there before my parents could catch me and lock the door from inside. There I would stay inside until everybody had calmed down.

While these infrequently used rooms gave children an opportunity to spend time by themselves; there were fundamentally meant for a different purpose. Therefore, they were not the kind of places they could personalize with decoration. They always needed to be ready for their primary purpose so, they would usually need to be left clean and tidy, so were not necessarily suitable for all activities, such as drawing or certain types of playing. Moreover, there was no guarantee that the place would be available to them whenever they wanted or needed to have time by themselves, since it might already be in use. So, these rooms were, at best, temporary places that gave children an opportunity to stay alone.

4.5.2 Cave-like places. Another type of place commonly mentioned by interviewees were places resembling caves. These were not necessarily natural caves: Some interviewees built their own with items such as furniture, while others used existing cave-like structures –

either artificial (such as the insides of cupboards or an attic), while others were natural, such as the under the cover of bushes or grapevines.

One interviewee described how she had both created small-protected areas for herself inside of the house and picked a naturally cave-like space at the family's vineyard: "When I was a child, I would create a place by putting cushions next to each other. I also had a playing place under the grapevines at the vineyard." Grapevines sometimes form a shape like a very small cave. This area is a kind of cave-like space in between inside and outside: Neither completely open nor completely enclosed.

One third-generation interviewee said that she made a "house" for herself by putting chairs next to each other and covering them with a blanket.

Other interviewees mentioned ready-made cave like spaces, such as cupboards as places that they could hide in.

4.5.3 Next to the window. Places next to the windows were a comparatively common pick among who wanted to stay alone as children. They would use them for reading books, playing, engaging in hobbies or spending time alone without any specific activity.

One second-generation interviewee described his special corner in his childhood in the apartment in Berlin:

When I wanted to stay alone, I would sit under the curtain, next to the window. There, I read my books, played with my toy car, or tried to repair watches with screwdrivers. Sometimes, I would watch the street. I counted cars according to their colour. For example, how many red cars or how many yellow cars were passing through.

4.5.4 Next to a heater. Another popular place for interviewees was sitting next to a heater— not only for private activities but also for social ones. One second-generation interviewee described how she liked to spend time next to the heater especially while reading:

“I read romance novels when I was a child. I also did needlecraft. My best places for reading were next to the heater and in front of the window.”

4.5.5 Around trees or climbing trees. Several interviewees mentioned having fruit trees in their gardens in Turkey. As children, some of them liked to climb on them or collect fruits.

One second-generation interviewee said, “When I would wake up, I would go directly to the garden. We had a mulberry tree and a walnut tree in the garden. I liked using the branches of the trees as a kind of adventure playground.”

Another second-generation interviewee explained,

When the weather was warm, I would go to the mulberry tree at the garden and spend some time alone under it. I brought a kilim [a type of carpet] with me, and I would sit on it, read books, play or study for school there.

4.5.6 Nature and farms. Some interviewees picked places that were truly outside for spending time alone (that is, not enclosed or cave-like in any way) and not directly related to a tree. All of these interviewees lived in comparatively small settlements, and all but one of these places were in Turkey.

The exception is a third-generation interviewee who lived in a small settlement in Germany before she got married. In her childhood, she would go out by herself:

When I wanted to stay alone, I went to my room or to the green area close to our house. It was a park without trees. There were benches to sit on. I sometimes sat on a bench; sometimes I had a walk there. It was relaxing for me.

Many interviewees who grew up in villages in Turkey were able to move about by themselves rather freely. They mentioned spending time alone at farms, vineyards and mountains.

One second-generation interviewee stated:

I lived with my grandmother in a village in Turkey before I came to Germany. I remember my childhood days very well. I would go around the village by myself wearing only my pyjama – to the mountains, vineyards, and to my uncle's shop. When I was six years old, I would walk to farms at night all by myself. I wasn't scared.

Another interviewee worked as a shepherd during her childhood. She stated, "I went [out in the wilderness] in order to graze my lambs. I liked being alone there."

In contrast with these experiences, interviewees from all generations remarked how dangerous it would be for children to spend time alone outside in Berlin. Several second and third-generation interviewees who lived in Berlin mentioned that the kind of activities described above – children spending time alone in a public park – would be impossible there due to safety concerns. Interviewees who grew up in Berlin were usually not allowed to spend time alone outside until they had reached their teenage years.

As a whole, the answers show that a lack of individual private rooms during childhood did not necessarily mean that subjects did not have their own private places. Instead, interviewees would pick their own places for spending time by themselves or focusing on their interests and hobbies. For many interviewees who spend their childhood in Turkey, they did not find these private places in their houses but rather outside, such as in gardens, forests or mountains.

Interviewees often liked places that either provided a challenge and playing opportunities, such as trees that could be climbed, or places that were protected, such as cave-like structures.

Due to the socio-cultural differences between rural and urban areas, second-generation interviewees who moved from small Turkish town to Berlin during their childhood, would

generally not be able to re-create at their new home the type of outside private places they had been able to establish in Turkey.

4.6 “We Would Plant and Harvest” – Interviewees’ Attitudes Towards Nature and Rural Life

As outlined in the previous section, many interviewees who spent at least part of their childhood in Turkey chose outdoor settings for their private places – settings that would often not be available in Berlin.

This is just one example for something that is evident throughout responses from all generations of interviewee: The division between experiences in Germany and experiences in Turkey is, among other things, signified by a strong contrast between urban and rural life: The homes they are familiar with in Germany tend to be apartments in densely populated parts of Berlin, whereas the homes they know from Turkey – either from living in them or through visits – are private houses with gardens – mostly in villages and rural areas, or at the very least in low-density neighbourhoods of larger settlements.

This section explores, how interviewees from all generations perceive life in these more rural environments when compared to life in Berlin: Which aspects of rural life do they miss, and which ones are seen as negative or inferior compared to living in urban areas? This knowledge can inform architects and urban designers about the types of features children in intercultural environments might desire to find in their spaces.

4.6.1 Childhood memories of rural life in Turkey. Several interviewees who spent either part or all of their childhood in small settlements in Turkey expressed their strong bonds with these places. Positive associations included direct access to farm-fresh food, proximity to nature as well as favourable descriptions of the lifestyle and quality of human relations in these settlements, and general expressions of preference for the physical and social environment there.

One second-generation interviewee came to Berlin when she was 11 years old. Until then, she had lived in a village in Turkey with her grandparents. She described her attitudes towards rural life versus city life as follows:

I would like to live in a small settlement, in a farmhouse with a garden. I do not like living in the city. I deeply miss the village life from my childhood. For me, living in a village is like permanently being on holiday. I might miss it so much because I live in a big city now, when I used to live in a small village during my childhood. I like the atmosphere there. I also like that you can daily have your fresh milk from your farm animals and make your own yogurt and cheese from that milk at home. I enjoy the village lifestyle.

Overall, her ideas of village life are extremely positive, for reasons both tangible – farm-fresh food and a more self-sufficient lifestyle – and intangible – the atmosphere, which is the result of the sum of people's relationships within the village. While she conceded that her positive impression may have been influenced by her childhood experiences, she also pointed out that it is being reinforced by the visits she makes as an adult. Thus, her ideal house would be one in a small settlement, letting her experience life there.

This interviewee's associations with rural life differ notably from those of a first-generation interviewee who grew up in a rural settlement:

I did not play during my childhood. When I was nine years old, I started to work at the farm. The only time I had time to play was when I was working as shepherd. While my sheep and cows were eating, I could play some stone games with my friends. Nowadays, it is nicer to be a child, but I was born during hard times. When I came home from work, I would directly go to sleep. However, in spite of these hard conditions, I had a nice life in the village. I would not give my village for all of Europe.

Even though the interviewee herself uses a more negative way to describe her childhood life – emphasizing the tiring nature of her work and the lack of opportunity for playing – and acknowledges that current generations have it better than she had it, she still looks back favourably on her time in her home village and expresses strong attachment to it.

As mentioned before, all interviewees who experienced migration, used to live in houses with gardens prior to their migratory experience, which is why many of them mentioned these gardens when talking about their old country. They described gardens as places in which they liked for walking alone, but also for spending time with family, friends, and neighbours. They mentioned gardens as significant places for their childhood: They could play there, climb trees, or enjoy eating fresh vegetables and fruits.

One second-generation interviewee, who lived in a village till he came to Berlin, compared apartments in Berlin to his life in the family house in which he and his grandparents lived during his childhood:

I miss our garden in Turkey. Between the apartment buildings in Berlin, there is no green and nature. In my village, you get all kinds of food from the garden, from the beginning of spring till winter. For instance, you can pick a tomato, a few green leaves, and a pepper, and put them into some bread with a piece of cheese, and you have something to eat. There is nothing like that in Berlin. My grandmother used to grow many different vegetables at the garden of her house and in her vegetable garden. She was a very hardworking woman, but her daughters are not as hardworking as her. In my childhood, it was embarrassing to buy vegetables or fruits from the market or get your bread from bakeries. Only people who worked at desks all day would buy their food from the market or from bakeries. You were expected to grow your vegetables (at your garden or farm) and make your bread at home.

In accordance with the predominance of producing their own food as much as possible, people in rural areas of Anatolia would also prepare food for wintertime at home, using the vegetables and fruits from their gardens or farms. Interviewees mentioned drying vegetables, or dairy products, making marmalade and tomato paste, as well as baking bread. For most interviewees, this is not something they still engage in today. Only one second-generation interviewee said that she continues this tradition nowadays by preparing food for storage during her visits to Turkey. She also explained that she liked watching these traditional methods of preparation during her childhood:

One of my favourite memories from my childhood is watching the older women in the gardens in the village, when they were making marmalade and tomato paste and baked bread. As children, we liked helping them by carrying the necessary things for them. We also asked if we could help with the preparations and the cooking. They would use the fruits and vegetables from the garden to prepare winter food. [...] I like doing these things nowadays, as well. I will dry apricots, eggplants, peppers, and tomatoes. Every year when I go to Turkey, I make them. I also prepare homemade pasta in the village. It is a ritual for me.

It is notable that the significance of the act of preparing food for storage has changed. What used to be necessary work to keep the harvest from spoiling and to stockpile food for the winter has now become “a ritual” which the interviewee performs not because of any outside necessity but rather because the act itself carries importance for her due to the memories connected to it.

A number of interviewees who spent all or part of their childhood in Turkey mentioned memories of being at farms and vineyards as children. They said that they would play, eat, and work at these places. Several of them described these memories as positive, saying they appreciated living close to nature and being involved in nature.

One interviewee who came as a spouse said,

I had a nice childhood and youth. My siblings and me would often go to farms together. We would plant and harvest. This was a nice aspect of village life for me.

Another nice thing about village life was the communication between people. I do not know how this has changed through years. I did not visit there again after I got married.

Apart from farms, easy access to nature in general was also an important factor.

Several interviewees said that they could easily reach mountains and forests in their childhood. They could go there for playing, spending time by themselves, working as shepherd or having picnics with their friends or family. These kinds of places are harder to reach from big cities than they were from the interviewees' childhood homes.

One second-generation interviewee stated,

I miss the vineyards in the mountains, going to mountains, to the riverside and forests. When I was ten years old, I was going to these places for bird hunting and fishing, either with my friends or by myself. It was peaceful. I miss my peaceful life from my childhood.

One point that was already touched upon in some of the above answers were the close relationships between people in small settlements. This was something other interviewees also pointed out. One first-generation interviewee described it in this way:

What I miss most from Turkey is my mother. I also miss my friends and my old neighbourhood. I miss my childhood days. There were warm hearted and honest relationships between people, the kind of social relations I cannot find in Berlin today.

On the other hand, some interviewees who spent some or all of their childhood in Turkey found this aspect to be uncomfortable sometimes, as well. One second-generation

interviewee spent part of his childhood in a Turkish village, which he still visits nowadays, described his issues with the lack of anonymity that comes with small town life:

I feel more comfortable walking the streets of Berlin compared to walking around the village in Turkey. When I am walking in the streets of the village, I know that people are making up stories about me and gossiping with each other. Here (in Berlin), I am relaxed. Here, everybody is busy with their own business and their own life. Berlin is also more comfortable than many other places, because it is a multicultural city. It is easier to live here than in the village.

This was not the only negative aspect of village life pointed out by interviewees. Even though many interviewees said that they missed the way of life in smaller settlements; many also acknowledged that conditions in small towns can be harder. A few interviewees said that housework was harder in the villages that they came from. One second-generation interviewee compared the conditions of houses in some parts of Turkey to the apartments in Germany during first decades of migration.

In our house in Turkey, we did not have a kitchen. The houses were not properly designed for making daily work practical. Many women who migrated from smaller settlements in Turkey preferred to stay in Germany instead of returning to Turkey, because the apartments were much more well-organised here. They had proper kitchens with hot and cold water. During those times, the houses of some rural settlements in Turkey did not even have electricity.

4.6.2 Children's impressions of rural life during visits. Several third- and second-generation interviewees who did not grow up in Turkey mentioned how they experienced life in small settlements in Turkey during childhood visits. Moreover, some parents also talked about how their children enjoyed visits to Turkey.

Many of these responses mirrored those of interviewees who grew up in Turkey: Children liked collecting fruit, helping with garden work, and climbing trees. Many interviewees mentioned that it was important for them to be able to personally harvest and collect vegetables and fruits from the gardens. All of these were seen as opportunities to experience a life that was different from the one they had at home in Berlin. In Berlin, none of the interviewees have private house gardens, and all of them currently live in apartments.

One second-generation interviewee who was born in Berlin explained how she experienced life in the village in Turkey during holiday visits in her childhood:

In the village in Turkey, I would spend all my day in the garden. I would sometimes help collecting beans or harvesting potatoes. It was a very different and exciting experience for me. I could not do these kinds of things in Berlin. I was a bit of a crazy child. In Turkey, I was climbing trees all day. There were also far more kinds of fruit trees than I could find in the city in Berlin. It was very nice to collect plums and cherries from the trees and to eat them. I had such nice times in Turkey in my childhood.

A few first- and second-generation interviewees think that their visits to Turkey are good opportunities for their own children or grandchildren to learn about rural life. One second-generation interviewee said,

My children liked going to the village in Turkey for holidays. I think it is important for children to learn about rural life. This lifestyle helps them to understand and learn about nature. My children experienced planting and harvesting. I still teach them about agriculture and livestock.

Some interviewees also described how they would show the places they had spent time at during their own childhood to their children. One first-generation interviewee said, I have one son and two daughters. I went to the mountains with my son, and I showed him the places we used to have picnics at in my childhood. I also taught him where and how to collect wild spices and plants in the mountains. My son was happy to go with me and learn new things. He was imitating and admiring me. My daughters were more interested in seaside holidays and to fairs and carnivals in Turkey, and we would go to those with them, as well.

Several interviewees said that would divide their holiday time in Turkey between seaside holidays and visiting their relatives. Because interviewees mostly migrated from smaller settlements, their children would visit and experienced life in these small settlements during holidays, and interviewees mentioned that they found it important for children this aspect of life in Turkey, as well. One first-generation interviewee said,

My son in law takes my granddaughter to a village in Turkey every two years, so they can visit his parents. I think it is important for my granddaughter to have a complete idea about life in Turkey. She should not think that Turkey is only a place for seaside holidays. They will first go to the village and the city to visit her grandparents and other relatives. Afterwards, they will go to a hotel at the seaside for ten days, because sun and sea are important, as well.

Even though many interviewees said that they liked being close to nature, that aspect of rural life could also be unfamiliar or scary for some people. One third-generation interviewee stated, "I do not like going to the vineyards in the village in Turkey. I do not like spiders, and there can be some in the vineyards."

In general, though, children's experiences with animals during these visits were describe in more positive terms, especially when it came to contact with farm animals, or cats

and dogs. Interviewees mentioned that their children or grandchildren enjoyed spending time with the animals or watching them during their visits to villages. A few interviewees from the second and third generation also said that they themselves enjoyed having more contact with animals during their visits to villages in Turkey.

One first-generation interviewee said,

When we went [to Turkey] to visit my parents, my children liked spending time in the garden and at the stable in the village. They liked spending time with chickens and roosters. My daughter especially liked the cats. She fed stray cats at the village with cheese from my mother's house. [...] Nowadays, my grandson feeds the cats during our visits to Turkey.

Similar to the interviewees who grew up in Turkey, some visiting third-generation interviewees also had positive experiences regarding the relationships between people in villages in Turkey. They described them as more warm-hearted and closer when compared to relations between people in Berlin. They also positively mentioned that houses were always open and welcoming to spontaneous guests.

However, the third-generation interviewees also described negative experiences that were similar to those detailed by the earlier generation migrants. Some felt uncomfortable when walking through the streets of the villages they visited. A common complaint was that people were staring at them. One interviewee said,

I do not feel like a foreigner when I visit the village, except in one situation.

Sometimes, when I am on the street, people look at me as if I am a monster. Except for that, I feel good there.

Overall, interviewees from all generation generally relayed a positive impression of village life. For some of those who grew up in small towns, the longing for the village environment even triggered the dream of eventually living in Turkey at some point in the

future. While they did acknowledge that nostalgia may have played a part in that, and while members from all generations also brought negative points of village life, the responses across all groups do indicate that interviewees do find some positive aspects there that are missing from their life in Berlin. Future projects might benefit from trying to incorporate features that attempt to replicate these aspects of rural life in an urban environment.

For example, interviewees' description of social relations in small towns indicate that might benefit from designs that increase contact and interaction between occupants across all generations. At the same time, interviewees from all generations also criticised that a too tight-knit community can lead to social pressures, and they thus valued the privacy and relative anonymity they were able to enjoy in Berlin, so architects and designers would need to try and find a balance between those two competing needs.

Similarly, responses indicate that most interviewees across all generations valued easy access to gardens, nature, and farms. Since they provide placemaking opportunities to children from all kinds of cultural backgrounds and also appeal to adults who grew up in more rural environments, it might be worthwhile to design intercultural environments in ways that allow for open or half-open spaces with natural elements.

4.7 “It is More Dangerous Nowadays” – Safety of Children in Public Spaces and Semi-Protected Areas

As the previous section showed, interviewees generally gave great importance to outdoors experiences for children. However, especially in urban environments, such as Berlin, exterior spaces are usually public spaces – and the perceived safety of these spaces was one topic many interviewees talked about.

Safety concerns regarding outside spaces are a large influence on parental permissiveness and subsequently on the richness of children's outside experiences for both their private and public places. All interviewees who underwent a migratory experience in

their childhood described a change in the perceived safety of public spaces in Germany over time. Similarly, interviewees who visited relatives in Turkey during their childhood also noticed differences in perceived safety between the two countries and types of settlements.

Since interviewees generally perceived Berlin to be less safe than the settlements in Turkey, they also discussed way to mitigate the impact of that by letting in children spend in half-protected outdoor spaces that provides allow for some form of parental supervision.

It should be noted that the interviews focused on the perceived safety and not on official crime statistics. All statements regarding safety and danger of places are the subjective impressions of the interviewees. For this research, these assessments are more relevant than actual crime statistics, because, ultimately, it is not the actual safety but the parental perception of safety that is the deciding factor in how much freedom to explore parents are willing to grant their children. This will affect children's the scope children's interactions with their outdoor environments and thus the area and number of opportunities available for creating their social and private places.

4.7.1 Comparison of perceived safety conditions in public spaces. Interviewees not only compared the perceived safety conditions of public spaces in Turkey and in Germany but also the current ones to those from their childhood.

For second-generation interviewees who migrated to Germany during their childhood, the migratory experience happened in the 1970s or 1980s, and many mentioned that they would frequently return to visit their old home settlements after the migration. In the interviews, they compared the perceived safety conditions of outside places in both their old Turkish home settlement and in Berlin.

Talking about their childhood in Turkey in the 1970s and 1980s, these interviewees frequently described how they were able to freely move around explore outside places in and

around their small childhood settlements. None of these interviewees mentioned any dangers or dangerous situations at these outside spaces.

One of the second-generation interviewees who migrated from a small settlement in Turkey stated, "When I was 10 years old, I went to mountains and vineyards around the village with my friends. We would hunt birds with slingshot. I had a peaceful life there." Another interviewee who came to Berlin at 1980s at the age of 11 said, "In Turkey, the area around our house was spacious and green. Around the neighbourhood, I could freely play tag or hide and seek with my friends."

The urban environments these interviewees encountered after their move to Germany were markedly different from the places they knew from home. One second-generation interviewee described the contrast between the small settlement in Turkey he came from and the district of Wedding in Berlin that he moved to in the 1970s:

In the village I came from, there were no parks. None of the villages in Turkey had parks in those years. I would play in the forest, the mountains, or at gardens and farms. When I came to Berlin in 1971, there were no parks for children around our apartment, either. 80% of the parks here were built later. I played in the street. There also were muddy places with some trees. We would play in these areas. These kinds of areas were later turned into parks. We would play hide and seek there.

According to the interviewees' recollections, it was easy for children to access outdoor areas, and it was common for them to spend time there. When these interviewees moved to Berlin as children, they also tried to find places where they could spend time outside, just as they had done in Turkey. Some interviewees were able to have freedom to explore and spend time in public spaces of Berlin, while others had to cope with limitations that were imposed on their exploration of outdoor environments.

One second-generation interviewee who came to Berlin in the 1980s at the age of 11 would frequently play with her in the park during her childhood, without having any kind of adult supervision. She explained, "There was a park opposite of the building we lived in. I played in that park with my friends after school, from 2 pm to 8 pm. Even though there were not many toys in the park in those days, we would not get bored there."

Not all interviewees who grew up in Berlin the 1970s and 1980s were able to explore or play in public spaces without adult supervision. Some stated that their parents would only let them go out by themselves after they had reached a certain age. Additionally, some interviewees stated that they would only feel safe by themselves as long they stayed within their own neighbourhood.

Apart from these comparisons between Turkey and Germany, interviewees also compared the perceived safety of Berlin in the past with that of today. One first-generation interviewee compared the perceived safety of a park close to Dennewitzplatz during the time of her daughter's childhood in the 1990s with the situation today, stating,

There is a park close to my old apartment near Dennewitzplatz. My daughter was 11 years old when we moved to [the nearby] Bülowstraße. She would go to this park until she was 15 years old. She was playing there and using the swing sets. I could not go to the park with her, because I was working. Sometimes, when my husband was at home, he would look after our daughter. We told my daughter not to get into fights with other children, and we let her go to the park by herself. However, nowadays it is scary to let children go to parks by themselves. It is more dangerous nowadays. For instance, I did not let my grandchildren to go to that park by themselves. I was always going with them, because the situation [in Berlin] is getting worse every year.

One of the third-generation interviewees who experienced her childhood in the 1990s also described how the situation in the district of Wedding had changed since the time of her childhood. She now has a child herself.

In my childhood, I would play in streets in both Turkey and in Germany. In Turkey, I played with my cousins; we would go around and go to teagardens together. [...] Here [in Berlin], I often wouldn't return home from outside until after sunset, around 8-9 o'clock. Nowadays, I do not allow my child to go out without an adult after sunset. I think it is dangerous to be alone outside for children; not only in Wedding but in all of Germany. It was safer during my childhood. My parents allowed me and my siblings to go out by ourselves at those times. However, I do not let my son to go out by himself. If he were with his cousins, maybe I would let him to go out together with them. However, I do not know people around here well, that is why, I do not trust children [from the neighbourhood] to accompany my son outside. He is nine years old. Recently, my sister-in-law came, and I let my son to go out with her son who is twelve years old. A neighbour's child went with them, as well. When they were playing football, another group of children took the ball and did not want to give it back to [them]. One child from the other group threatened my son with a knife. The danger is quite big. Other districts may be safer than here [Wedding], however this is the situation here.

As these examples show, interviewees generally perceived a decline in safety. This was true for the comparison of Turkey to Germany (or, more specifically, their small settlements in Turkey to Berlin) but also for the comparison of the past to the present.

One second-generation interviewee mentioned that she even perceived the Turkish village she migrated from to be more dangerous for children today than it was in her

childhood, stating, "Nowadays, when we're in the village, I do not even let my children play in the garden by themselves. There is a danger of being kidnapped."

Those interviewees who are parents themselves commonly mentioned that they did not let their children to go out by themselves until they had reached a certain age. An interviewee who came as a spouse stated,

My son is now 20 years old. He was allowed to go out by himself once he was 14 years old. He went to the football pitch, which is close to our apartment. My daughter [15 years old] started to go out by herself this year. I did not allow her to do so before.

Another second-generation interviewee also recommended a similar minimum age for independent exploration: "When I was a child, our neighbourhood was safer. [Nowadays,] [p]arents should not let their children to go to parks by themselves until they are 14 years old. There are many kidnappings and rapes."

The perception that the streets of Berlin are too dangerous for young children is shared among the interviewees regardless of which district they live in, with one third-generation interviewee saying, "In Kreuzberg, it is dangerous for children to play in the streets."

4.7.2 Neighbourhood relations and safety of children. A large number of the safety concerns expressed by interviewees were connected to the anonymity of the city. In many cases, parents were not worried about specific individuals or groups harming their children but rather about previously unknown perpetrators emerging from among the anonymous masses living in the city. Consequentially, interviewees also described how stronger bonds and mutual support between people living in a neighbourhood made that neighbourhood safer for children moving about without direct adult supervision. For some neighbourhoods, interviewees mentioned close relationships between neighbours and people taking looking

after neighbours' children in public spaces. Notably, these descriptions generally concerned the past and not the present.

One second-generation interviewee described the atmosphere around his neighbourhood in Kreuzberg, Berlin, in the 1980s, stating,

In my childhood street, some second-generation children grew up outside. However, there was a system that protected the children. In many families, both parents had to work during the daytime. Neighbours would watch and protect the neighbourhood's children. For instance, in our building, the majority of residents stemmed from our village in Turkey. Children could not go unsupervised; neighbours would look after each other's children. It was an incredible sense of togetherness.

Judging from this response, these residents apparently transposed their home village's social structures and ways of living to the new apartment building. Since most residents in the interviewee's apartment building shared a common background and often had already known each other for years prior to migration, they felt safe to let them take care of their children.

Interviewees from Kreuzberg who talked about the first decades of migration, described close relationships between neighbours with a Turkish background, even if those people who had not known each prior to the migration. One second-generation interviewee shared his observations and experiences from his childhood days in Kreuzberg:

In the 1970s and 80s, people in Kreuzberg lived together very nicely. There was an especially strong feeling of togetherness among the people who had come from Turkey. There were no problems between people about their religion, denomination, or racial background in those days. Nobody would ask about these things, on the contrary, people would support each other. If somebody from Turkey needed help or had problems, others would come together and support and protect them. Nowadays, this situation has changed.

Interviewees also mentioned that children could feel protected in the immediate area around their apartments, allowing them to safely move about. In this area, neighbours knew the children and could keep an eye on them.

When I was a child, we [meaning: children from the neighbourhood] would rarely venture outside our neighbourhood [in Kreuzberg]. We would stay within an area of about one square kilometre in our neighbourhood. Staying there was safer. In those years [1980], people would discriminate against foreigners. For instance, if you went to [the Berlin districts of] Steglitz or Zehlendorf, you could feel that you were a foreigner. On the other hand, in Kreuzberg or other districts with a dense Turkish population, you did not feel as if you were a foreigner.

One first-generation interviewee who lives in Wedding described a similar situation in his neighbourhood during his children's childhood in the 1990s and early 2000s:

In our neighbourhood, people knew my children. My wife and I were active in both neighbourhood and school organisations. We knew many other parents and neighbours from these organisations. After they had reached a certain age, we allowed our children to play in the parks together with their siblings and friends from the neighbourhood. People in the neighbourhood knew our children, that was why we were more relaxed. Also, my children felt safer as well. We thought that if someone would have attempted to do something dangerous or bad to them, neighbours or friends would directly notice and protect our children.

4.7.3 Semi-protected spaces as a safer alternative. Due to the safety concerns mentioned by many interviewees, children and their friends often were not allowed to play in the streets or in parks of Berlin until they had reached a certain age. In order to still give them an opportunity for playing outside, interviewees described how they or their parents would use areas very close to home, such as backyards, inner courtyards, or the area directly in front

of the house, as semi-protected playing spaces. As long as neighbours were not disturbed, pre-teen children could play outside in these areas and still be within a safe distance from home.

In Berlin, this was an easily available option, since shared inner courtyards are a common feature of pre-war apartment buildings (known as "Altbau" in German) there. They could serve as semi-protected areas at which parents could watch their children from the windows of their apartments. One second-generation interviewee who grew up in Kreuzberg describe it as follows:

Till I was 13 years old, I would play in the inner courtyard. Before that age, I did not go out of the yard by myself. Once I was 13 years old, I was allowed to go with my friends to the bicycle park across the street from the building. I spent a lot of time with my friends at that bicycle park in my teenage years. I did not have any negative experiences [about safety] there.

Inner courtyards and backyards were used as safer playing area for several second-generation interviewees. One interviewee describes how the backyard was a significant place for him at his childhood:

I would play in the backyard of the building with my German and Turkish friends. It was in the 1970s. We would play hopscotch, and we sang. Neighbours were not disturbed by us. We would teach games to each other. An old lady would send us food down from the fifth floor. At those times, yards were more important for children than they are nowadays. Parents could watch their children from the windows. It was a safe place for children.

While children were able to play freely and safely in the yards, these places did have some downsides, as well. According to descriptions by the interviewees, the backyards and inner courtyards did not always have greenery in them. They were not designed as children's

playgrounds, and since they were surrounded by buildings, they could be comparatively dark.

One second-generation interviewee described playing in these yards as follows:

There were no parks or playgrounds at our apartment in Schöneberg. We did not go to those that were two streets away. Instead, we mostly played in the backyard of the apartment building. It was a very small yard with a concrete floor. On some days there wasn't any direct sunlight there, because the yard was surrounded by high buildings. There were trash containers in one corner, and there was a metal bar for hanging carpets for cleaning. We would invent our own games. We would draw on floor, play hopscotch, or play ball. On some days, we would play there all day. It was a very small area, but we were happy there as children.

Another second-generation interviewee also gave a description of the inner yard of the Kreuzberg apartment in which he lived during his childhood:

When I was a child, our yard was square-shaped, 15 metres by 15 metres. It did not ever get any sunshine. It was cold there, both in the summertime and in the winter. There were clotheslines there. Some neighbours also cleaned their kilims [a type of Turkish carpet] there. Nothing would dry there properly; there was so much humidity. My parents did not use these. We would play there as children.

Some interviewees also mentioned that adults would use the yards as socializing places for neighbours. Women would come there together with their children during the daytime. While the mothers were talking, eating, and drinking tea together, children could spend time together at the yard, as well. This use of inner courtyards and backyards fulfilled a function similar to gardens of family houses in Turkey. Even though apartment buildings could not provide a private environment for each family in the same way the gardens of family houses did, they were useful as a semi-private area for the residents of the apartment building.

Apart from yards, some second-generation interviewees also utilized the area directly in front of their apartment buildings as a semi-protected space, and one interviewee mentioned using the staircase of her childhood apartment building for this purpose. She compared the different playing areas in her response:

We also played at the staircase of the building and in front of the building. The staircase of the building was like a balcony, and it had a nicely curved wooden handrail. The space in front of the building was nice, too. It had more sunlight compared to the backyard. We could play hopscotch on the pavement or play hide and seek in the area in front of the door. I liked the space in front of the building better than the inner courtyard, however, if we wanted to play ball, we could only do it at the inner yard. I spent most of my time at the inner yard.

An interviewee from Wedding also described the space in front of the door as a safe playing place, because parents were able to watch the children, when they were playing there.

We would play in front of the building doors, under the eyes of our parents. It was easy for our parents to watch us, so that we wouldn't go somewhere else, and that nothing dangerous could happen to us. [...] We would play ball, run, or play with sand there. I liked being outside better than being inside, because my parents would punish me a lot in the apartment.

Third-generation interviewees also mentioned spending time in yards as outside spaces during their childhood. One third-generation interviewee who grew up in Wedding said, "There was a green park in our backyard when I was a child. We would play there." Another third-generation interviewee described playing in the backyard of her cousins' apartment building:

When I got bored in my childhood, I would visit my aunt and cousins. My brothers and me have spent all of our lives with them. We played with them in their backyard.

There was a nice playground at their backyard [in Kreuzberg]. Our backyard [in Wedding] had a playground, as well, but the floor there was made of concrete.

Even though playing in backyards was mostly mentioned as an activity during earlier decades of migration, some interviewees said that nowadays children would play in the yards, as well. One second-generation interviewee from Kreuzberg said that they keep an eye on children who play in the backyard of the apartment building he lives in:

In our apartment building, neighbours look after each other's children. I think it is our responsibility as neighbours to look after neighbours' children. If a child plays in our backyard, we will look after them, even if the child is not from our building. If a child cries there, we will ask what is wrong and will bring the child to their parents.

According to the interviewees' responses, parental worries about safety conditions for children in Berlin are widespread, especially if there are not many interpersonal relations between neighbours. At the same time, since children of different ages both need and want to spend time by themselves in outside environments for both social and private activities, it is desirable to either find or create an environment that allows them to do so without constant direct adult involvement. One solution that families came up with by themselves was the use of semi-protected areas in order to strike a balance between the two positions.

This approach may help inform the designers of projects that aim to build or improve environments for children in urban areas. Semi-protected spaces, such as the yards of apartment buildings or schoolyards can serve as places that allow children to play freely so while still under a certain level of adult oversight. Projects that encourage children to make use of these semi-protected areas can help broaden their opportunities for creating private and social places in outdoor environments. Additionally, projects that encourage supportive neighbourhood relations can help both children and adults feel more at ease about the safety conditions in the surrounding public spaces.

4.8 “You Could Visit Anybody You Wanted” – Neighbourhood Relations and Houses as Social Places

The idea of close relations with neighbours was actually a commonly mentioned subject in the interviews. Interviewees talked about their relations to neighbours in both Turkey and Germany. As will be demonstrated, the familiar childhood environments of first- and second-generation migrants greatly influenced the way they structured their social and private environments in the new country, which in turn helped shape the childhood experiences of later generations. Therefore, once again, examining the background of the older generations is helpful in understanding the social environment of more recent ones.

4.8.1 Community relations and openness of houses in Turkey. A large majority of interviewees were familiar with life in small settlements in Turkey: Most of the interviewees who experienced migration at some point in their lives, lived in smaller settlements in Turkey before migrating to Germany, and many of the other interviewees had visited friends or relatives in small Turkish settlements.

Most interviewees agreed that it is common for small settlements in Turkey that people can visit each other at any time without prior appointment and that relationships and friendships between people are generally closer than they are in Berlin. At the same time, relationships in Turkey's larger cities are – according to some interviewees – just as distanced as they are in Berlin, especially nowadays. And while many interviewees stated that they liked the tight community in small settlements in Turkey, several interviewees from the second and third generation also said that the added attention they experienced in those villages made them feel uncomfortable.

Several interviewees described the atmosphere in Turkish villages as more welcoming and warm-hearted than that in Berlin. People would make their guests feel welcome and offer them food for eating together. Interviewees also mentioned that, as discussed previously, it is

common for people in these small settlements to have relatives or family members living in the same neighbourhood, and they described how often residents would not even lock the doors of their houses.

One third-generation interviewee described her experiences in the Turkish village in which her grandmother lives:

The doors of the houses are always open, not locked. Anybody can come into the house at any time without hesitation. It is different from Berlin. I think people in the village trust each other more than people do in Berlin. I like the way it is in the village in Turkey.

A second-generation interviewee gave an example of the sense of community in the village:

The people in my region in Turkey always share their happiness and bad days together. They support each other in many ways. Once I went to Turkey and got a cold because of the weather difference between there and Berlin. I fell asleep on the sofa. When I woke up, my two aunts were next to me, and they had brought me some food. They worried that I had gotten sick. When I have a cold or a headache in Berlin, nobody even bothers to ask me how I feel, but in my village, people worry about you when you have a cold or a headache. In Berlin, you have to live on your own. When you get sick [in Berlin], only your partner and children worry about you, but nobody else.

While many interviewees from all generations opined that relationships between people are more warm-hearted in the villages in Turkey, a few interviewees were more critical of the atmosphere in Turkey. One second-generation interviewee, for example, differentiated between urban and rural life in Turkey:

When I go on holiday to Turkey, I notice that people's relations with each other are different from Berlin. [...] People still have close relationships in small villages in Turkey. I think cities in Turkey are more similar to Berlin when it comes to social relationships. You have to call people before visiting them. Once my son is married, I want to spend most of my time in the village in Turkey. One reason for this decision is that there are these good relationships between people there.

Lastly, some interviewees even felt that nowadays neighbourhood relations and friendships are better in Germany than in Turkey. One first-generation interviewee stated that she is unhappy with the way relations are in Turkey nowadays, describing experiences that were very different from the ones mentioned by the aforementioned interviewees. It is notable, however that these impressions were not formed in a small settlement but rather in a Turkish city and in a Turkish seaside town. She says,

I think neighbourhood relations in Berlin are better than in Turkey. When the immigrant people came to Berlin, they brought with them the good manners common in Turkey at that time, and they kept these manners until today. They are modest and loyal to their friends. However, people in Turkey have lost these manners over time. [Today] everybody is self-centred in Turkey, and they try to take advantage of Turkish-German people. On the other hand, in Berlin we help and support each other during bad days, and we share our happy days together.

Overall, most interviewees who commented on people's relations in villages liked the close relationships they experienced there. However, several interviewees from the second and third generation stated that they were bothered by the social pressure in small Turkish settlements, and how they disliked how their visits there would usually involve crowded gatherings of all their local relatives. It also noteworthy that due to the villages' low population count, residents will immediately notice an unfamiliar face and pay special

attention to the newcomer whenever they see them. To the visitor, this may easily feel as if they were being watched all the time.

One second-generation interviewee talked about his experiences during his visits to the village his parents live in:

When I go to Turkey, I miss my quiet life in Berlin. I have many relatives in Turkey.

On the one hand, it is nice to be together with them and have fun in a crowd; on the other hand, it is sometimes overwhelming. [...] I also feel uncomfortable when people give me strange looks in the village. When I sit in a café, I feel like everybody is staring at me. When I told my father about it, he said that people in the village like to gossip.

The different statements and opinions in this section all describe ways in which life in small Turkish settlements is influenced by the often very close relationships between neighbours and relatives. Considering that many first-generation migrants to Germany grew up in this kind of atmosphere, one could therefore hypothesize that these experiences may have shaped their early communities in the new country, as well, that is, that they may have tried to replicate the familiar relationship structures in the unfamiliar environment. This effect could even have been strengthened by the greater situation they found themselves in: Young, often without any knowledge of German language or culture – drawing on the support of one's compatriots might seem to be a logical strategy in such a situation.

As stated above, these are merely hypotheses, since any detailed large-scale research on the motivations first-generation immigrants would be beyond the scope of this work. As the following section shows, however, these hypotheses do work rather well within the confines of this research's sample group, giving credence to the idea that migrants' cultural and social backgrounds will have a strong influence on the way they form communities in their new country.

4.8.2 Neighbourhood relations between first-generation migrants in Berlin. For all first- and second-generation interviewees, most of their friendships and neighbour relations were with other people from a Turkish background. While they did have some relations with people from other cultural backgrounds – often due to their workplaces – those relationships were not as close as the relationships they had with their Turkish friends and neighbours.

A majority of first-generation interviewees as well as many from the second generation described how first-generation interviewees would often visit each other at home, and that relationships within the early Turkish migrant community in Berlin were closer than they are today.

Some first-generation interviewees even said that their relationships to their neighbours were as close as if they were family members, or that they would feel at home at each other's houses. One first-generation interviewee describes that there were nine apartments in his building, and how could go to his any neighbour's apartments as if he were going to his own. Another first-generation interviewee said, "I lived in the same apartment for 27 years. I had a neighbour there, and when our husbands were at work, we often would visit each other until late in the evening. We were like sisters."

Interviewees detailed their experiences with neighbours and friends in Berlin during the first decades of migration. Some second-generation interviewees also related childhood memories from this period. Commonly mentioned topics included:

- Visiting each other at home without prior appointment,
- Having meals or tea together at home,
- Visiting each other until late in the evening,
- Visiting each other both on weekdays and during weekends,
- Helping each other both financially as well as with housework,
- Looking after each other's children whenever necessary.

All of these factors helped turn apartments into more open and social places. Children would spend time with other people's children at their own apartment and some of them were accustomed to visiting their neighbours whenever they wanted to, without hesitation.

This habit of visiting each other without prior appointment was characteristic for the community of first-generation migrants. Several interviewees from this generation said that this now has changed, and that even their own children expected advance notice before visiting them. One first-generation interviewee described the difference between then and now:

Back then; there was a greater sense of community between people. There is no such thing nowadays. You could visit anybody you wanted, without an appointment.

Nowadays you cannot visit your own son without calling him before. If he says that he has time, I can visit him. It is not only like this with me and my son. Everybody says they are in the same situation. In the old days, apartments did already have telephones, as well, but we did not call each other to make appointments. For instance, on weekends, when my husband and me got bored, we would take our car and visit our friends one by one. We did not call any of them beforehand.

The majority of the first-generation interviewees also said that they would eat meals or have tea or coffee at other people's homes. One first-generation interviewee said,

We spent the time in our apartments with our friends and neighbours. We cooked together, ate meals together and had tea together. We had very nice days. Visitors sometimes brought cooked chicken, Turkish pizza or desert. Men played card games; women knitted sweaters and socks. We sat all together.

At that time, it was not common for members of the immigrant community to at restaurants or cafés. One interviewee who came to Germany as a spouse described that it would have been unusual at that time for Turkish migrants in Berlin, to dine out at a

restaurant out. They would eat at their apartments. Homes were the main indoors meeting place at this time – in the evening and weekends for families, during the day at weekdays for women and children.

Many interviewees talked about how it was common to visit friends and neighbours at late hours or stay there late or even until morning. These descriptions came from first-generation subjects as well as from second-generation migrants who remembered their parents, and from spouses of second-generation migrants who remembered their in-laws engaging in these activities. One interviewee who came as a spouse of a second-generation interviewee, lived with her husband's parents when she came to Berlin. She described how her father-in-law would announce his visits to their neighbours:

There are small dents at the ceiling of my parents in laws' apartment. My father-in-law made them, because he would knock on the ceiling with a rolling pin whenever he wanted to meet the neighbours upstairs. When he did that, it meant that they could visit us or that we were coming to them you soon. They would sit together till morning sometimes.

Interviewees mentioned that most of these kinds of visits took place on weekends, because people were working during the week. A few interviewees also described weekday visits, though. One first-generation interviewee said,

In the first years I spent here, my friends and me did not wait to visit each other until the weekend. Even though we worked on weekdays and had to take the train at five in the morning, we would visit each other on weeknights. We enjoyed our life every day, weekday or weekend. One day we might cook and eat at one family's apartment, the next day we would do the same at someone else's place. It was a very nice atmosphere in those times. Many of my friends from that group have since moved back to Turkey.

Even though some interviewees would visit each other on weekdays, the main visiting time was on weekends, so that people could spend their free time together. One first-generation interviewee explained,

When my children were small, nearly 15 to 20 years ago, families came together in one of the apartments on weekends. We were a well-liked and well-respected family, so we were part of many of these get-togethers. All of the families brought their children, so that they, too, could come together and enjoy themselves.

Some interviewees mentioned that neighbours would look after each other's children whenever parents were busy. If, for instance, a mother had a job, another neighbour would look after the children while she was at work. Similarly, if parents suddenly and unexpectedly had to go somewhere, their children would be able to stay at a neighbour's home. Children of neighbouring households often had friendships and would spend time together. One first-generation interviewee stated,

Between 1987 and 1992, I worked at the laundry in Wedding. When I was at work, one of my neighbours would come to our apartment and look after my children. Sometimes she would do that from 6 am to 9 am. It is hard to find such good relationships nowadays.

Because of these close relationships, second-generation interviewees described growing up with the children of their neighbours or their parents' friends. Children would get together at crowded family meetings, and they could easily visit their neighbours and spend time with children there. A first-generation interviewee described how these kinds of visits worked for her own children:

In my apartment, 17 or 18 children came together at the visits. We had only two and a half rooms. One of the rooms was full of bunk beds. The children would play together in this room, and parents were in the other room. Sometimes there were altogether 20

or 30 people in the apartment. We ate together and had a nice time. They were nice, those old days. These days, there is not as much community.

One second-generation interviewee said that her relations with her neighbours was very good when she was a child. Whenever she got bored, she would go to one of the neighbours and play with their children. She added, "Whenever my mother needed to go out, one of our neighbours looked after me in her apartment. Our neighbour had two sons who were a few years younger than me. I spent my childhood playing with them." She said that is still friends with some of the people she grew up with in this building.

Overall, a majority of first-generation interviewees had positive memories about these practices. They stated that they missed this kind of environment and togetherness in their social community.

Even though not all of the cited aspects the first-generation's social life and relationships survived into later generations, some practices did continue. For example, there were second- and third-generation interviewees saying that it was common for neighbours to look after each other's children, and a majority of third-generation interviewees recalled spending a lot of time with their neighbours' children while growing up. One third-generation interviewee said, "We had good relations with other neighbours' children during our childhood. We played together. However, nowadays we don't see each other anymore. We have different friends and interests." She added, "When we were children, neighbours looked after each other's children, whenever their parents were busy. Nowadays, sometimes our neighbours leave us their children and we will look after them, while their parents are busy."

4.8.3 Reasons for the decline of social activity at home. The data from the interviews shows a notable generational difference regarding relationships with friends and neighbours. One third-generation interviewee's response is characteristic for the commonly expressed idea that relations are not as close as they used to be:

When [I was a child and] my grandfather died, my parents needed to go to Turkey. My brother and I stayed at our neighbour's apartment with them for two weeks. We still have contact with that neighbour. I think it is rare today to find this kind of togetherness and close friendship like we had in old times. Everybody in Berlin is talking about the friendship and warm environment we use to have in the old days.

Interviewees' replies often revolved around the support, togetherness and warm environment between first-generation immigrants. Some interviewees also tried to give reasons for the worsening of relationships between people. Some proposed reasons are:

- People are busier than before
- People prefer to visit their family members and relatives during their spare time instead of friends or neighbours
- People watch TV instead of visiting others
- People have more health problems nowadays
- People learned to talk German, so they are not limited to having relations with Turkish people
- German culture has had a negative effect on people's attitude towards relationships
- People judge or discriminate each other more than before
- People do not have space in their apartments to invite other people
- Apartment may be too far away from each other to allow for easy visiting

The most common reason people gave for the change in relationships through generations was that people are supposedly busier than before. Some interviewees said that women would still regularly meet up, but getting together with whole families is not as common as before. A second-generation interviewee explained,

Neighbourhood relations were better during my childhood. We sometimes watch old home videos with my mother. People were coming together and enjoying themselves in my parent's apartment as if there were a wedding celebration there. They were full of energy and joy in the old days. In the videos, women and men danced together, some people made music. Nowadays people worry too much, if somebody invites them to come to their apartment. They worry about the time it would take, travel distance, and many other factors. Before, people did not have much, but they did have good manners and values. Nowadays, people own a lot, but they have lost their manners and values.

In spite of all this, interviewees described that people would still meet up with friends, relatives, and neighbours in ways that are similar to the social contacts of older generations, however these events are not as common as they used to be and usually on a much smaller scale. They may also not necessarily happen at home – interviewees described meeting up in cafés or restaurants, which was not common for older generations.

Notably, not all interviewees were nostalgic about the old days. Some second-generation interviewees found some aspects of the visiting habits of first-generation migrants uncomfortable. An interviewee who came as a spouse stated,

I found it silly that some guests would come to my apartment after midnight for a visit. I normally go to bed at midnight. I don't want to welcome guests and spend time with them at that kind of hour; I want to sleep. However, I don't mind it if guests are coming without prior appointment. I will offer them whatever food I happen to have at home.

Overall, the interviews show that some aspects visiting habits and relationships changed through the generations, while others were kept or slightly changed.

Especially first-generation interviewees recalled that relations within the Turkish community were quite close until about the 1990s. People could visit each other without appointments, and some interviewees described how people would regularly stay late each other's houses during their visits.

Most of the second- and third-generation interviewees, however, did not report having these kinds of close relationships within their migrant community. There are now stricter social limits on the times for visits and their duration; similarly, the boundaries of private place have become stronger. Overall, younger generations have a different of close relationships when compared to first-generation interviewees. Even though most of them stated that they miss having these kinds of close relationships and the atmosphere that comes with them, they also often felt that these strong community bonds could be uncomfortable and sometimes a disruption to their private life and time.

Generally, responses indicated that young generations place a higher importance on their private life than older ones, who devoted more of their time to social activities. And even though there are still visits, especially between women and children during the daytime, apartments are considered more of a private place for the family today than they were before, and it is more than before – especially for women – to hold get-togethers at public places such as cafés or restaurants.

4.9 “More Than Enough Food” – Places for Meals as Social Events

Throughout their descriptions of social relations, interviewees frequently mentioned meals or drinking tea or coffee together with family members, relatives, neighbours, or friends as a type of social activity. These were common in interviewees' lives during both childhood and adulthood. Furthermore, several interviewees stated that they considered the act of sharing food to be part of their culture.

The responses showed particular preferences for certain types of places when engaging in these activities, with the specific natures of these places depending on both the geographical and socio-cultural environment (Places picked in Turkey differed from those in Germany.) as well as the interviewees' generation. (Places picked by older interviewees were different from those picked by younger ones.)

4.9.1 Food as ritual of social life and tradition. Before exploring the place-specific aspects of the responses, it is first important to establish the overall importance of food and meals within the interviewees' cultural and social frameworks. Many of them highlighted the role of food in their social lives and traditions. They often stated that meals, especially dinners, were significant rituals for their family, and that sharing food with guests, even those who visit spontaneously, was an important part of Turkish culture. They contrasted this with German traditions, which, in their opinion, placed less importance and value on food and meals.

Several interviewees described dinner as a daily ritual for gathering the whole family, and stressed the importance of all family members joining in. One first-generation interviewee described the importance of it in her childhood:

All family members should sit down for dinner. Even if you just had had an argument with someone in the family, you were still expected to sit at the table with them. As a child, if you were angry with your parents, you should give them the cold shoulder; you were still supposed to sit at the dinner table.

Other interviewees described how this tradition continues to hold importance even today, with dinners being the main opportunity to gather the whole family, because family members will be at school or at work during the day. They describe it was a situation which allows for both serious conversation and for having fun. It also allows family members to

support each other or ease stresses that may exist between them, thus strengthening the family bonds. One second-generation interviewee put it this way:

My husband works, that is why we only come together as a family at the dinner table. We talk about how we spent our day. My son is a small child. He mainly talks about films that he may have watched during the day and does not yet realize how hard and difficult life can be. My daughters are more mature already, so we can talk to them about deeper subjects. They know that they should study well, so they can have a better life when they grow up.

Meals are not just important events within the family: Several interviewees stated that they consider it to be a part of their culture to offer food and drinks to guests, even if they came without prior appointment. One first-generation interviewee stated that it was quite important for her to offer food in these situations, adding,

When guests visit our apartment unannounced, I offer them cheese and bread and make tea. I would think they might be hungry and would not want to wait for me to cook them a big meal. I think it is better to give them something quick to eat.

However, if I already have a prepared meal at home, I would heat it up and serve it to them.

Several third-generation interviewees – who grew up in Germany – spoke positively of experiencing this tradition as guests while Turkey, and some of them are following it in their Berlin homes, as well. One third-generation interviewee explained,

When I visited people's houses in the [Turkish] village my grandfather lives in, people would behave more welcoming and warmer [than in Berlin]. They would immediately prepare a meal or some snacks for us. I did not see that kind of behaviour in Berlin. I learned it from the village and I'm doing it in Berlin, as well, when my friends are

visiting. I think that offering food to guests is our tradition in the village. I am not sure, if people do it in the big cities of Turkey. I guess they might not.

This idea, that sharing food is not a common tradition in Germany, was expressed by several interviewees, and some described how these differences could result in both positive and negative consequences.

For example, one third-generation interviewee described how she managed to greatly improve her relations to her German neighbours in Berlin by sharing food with them. She explained,

I sometimes prepare traditional desserts or pastries and bring them over to the neighbours in our building. In the beginning, they would find it strange, because they did not know these kinds of traditions. After a while, some of them started leaving some chocolate and notes in front of my door. I liked it. [...] I have an 80-year-old German neighbour who lives alone. I started to visit her sometimes, and we talk. She told to me she didn't know that there was an angel is living in the building. When I first moved here, she did not even say hallo to me when meeting in the corridor. In the beginning, people would approach me differently because of my headscarf. However, I managed to change their ideas about me over time.

On the flip side, the different local traditions and expectations might also to misunderstandings or become a barrier to communication. This was pointed out by one second-generation interviewee who described her experience when picking up her daughter from her daughter's native German friend's apartment:

One of my daughter's friends has nice friendly parents. One day, when I was picking her up after a visit to them, they asked me to wait for her inside. However, some of the parents' behaviour towards me was not friendly from my perspective. For instance, even though the mother invited me in, she did not give me any attention once I was

inside, just saying hello from her armchair. I can understand that she was busy with her child at the time and did not behave rudely on purpose. However, I still found their behaviour to be too relaxed. Her husband was still eating a meal at the time, and I waited till he finished it. I expected for them to offer me to join to the meal, or that at least they would offer me some tea or coffee while I was waiting. However, German people only invite someone for eating or drinking if they have really planned for that in advance. They generally do not ask you to join them or some have something drink [if you visited for other reasons]. I like the family of my daughter's friend, and I am sure that they did not mean to make me unhappy by behaving like that. However, when I am confronted with that kind of behaviour, I regret getting into people's houses. This kind of behaviour is foreign to me. I do not expect them to hug me or offer me some exquisite pastries, but they did not even give any importance to small gestures that would make me feel welcome.

This response shows the great importance many interviewees placed on food and meals as a tool of social interaction: Even though the interviewee did not assume any ill intent from the German hosts, she could still not help but feel slighted by a behaviour that in her cultural circles would be deemed highly offensive.

4.9.2 Social places for eating and drinking in Turkey. Interviewees described many different places for eating and drinking with family members, friends and neighbours in Turkey, some of them inside, others outside or in between. Common mentions included residences, terraces, as well as spaces in front of houses, at farms, in gardens, or out in the nature.

Generally, interviewees often talked about having meals in open or half open places in Turkey. This might well be related to the climate there, which is comparatively to increase outside activities. In addition to that, many interviewees also described having a close relation

to outside places during their daily life in Turkey. Many had gardens, some had farms, or vineyards, as well. Whenever they were working in these, they would also have their meals some tea there. In addition, they would also sometimes use these farms or vineyards as places for having picnics.

While some interviewees mentioned having social meals in Turkey inside of their houses, such as one first-generation interviewee who fondly recalled how her family would regularly have their meals next to the heater in their house during her childhood, the majority stated that – weather permitting – they would have those meals on terraces, in gardens or farms, or out in the nature.

One first-generation interviewee described how she enjoyed having breakfast in the garden of her house with her friends during childhood. Her mother was working during the day and her siblings were either working or already married. She said, “Because I was home alone, I would invite my friends from the neighbourhood to our garden in order to have breakfast with them. We would prepare tea on a coal fire.”

Several first- and second-generation interviewees mentioned having meals with their parents or relatives at farms or out in the nature in Turkey during their childhood. One first-generation interviewee said,

I missed the days during the summers in my childhood when we would go to the farm with my parents. We brought gas cylinder with us and cooked our meal, ate fruit there, and made tea, as well. We ate together, and my father worked there afterwards. I would be knitting and wait for my father to finish his work.

Apart from these kinds of work-related outings, picnics were also commonly mentioned as a recreational activity in Turkey. When the weather was warm, people would enjoy eating at a place somewhere in the nature, sometimes preparing barbecue. Interviewees took part in them during both childhood and adulthood. Picnics were not just family affairs:

Several interviewees mentioned that they would have them as children in Turkey together with their friends, going out to farms or into the nature.

This was not only true for those interviewees who spent all of their childhood in Turkey, but also for some second and even third-generation interviewees. These subjects stated that when they visited Turkey, they would meet up with their local friends and go out into the nature or to farms in order to have a picnic.

One second-generation interviewee who spent parts of his childhood in Turkey and other parts in Berlin said,

We would go and have a picnic with my friends in the mountains. We would buy pasta from the supermarket and boil in people's discarded pots. We would also go to vegetable gardens and barbecue seasonal vegetables. My favourites were barbecued fresh corn and fresh chickpeas. It was a luxury for me in my childhood. After I moved to Germany, I would visit my village during holidays. I was looking forward to barbecuing chickpeas during my holidays in Turkey. Sometimes, we were 20 or 30 children, all going to a chickpea farm together. These vegetables have a very nice salty taste after barbecuing.

And even a third-generation interviewee who only knew Turkey from visits during his holidays stated he would regularly have picnics with his local friends whenever his family visited the village in Turkey. They would buy meat and soft drinks and go to nearby mountains and forests.

Many interviewees – such as one already cited above – mentioned eating freshly picked fruits and vegetables at these kinds of meals. For some interviewees, picking or collecting these was a special activity they would perform together with friends or family members in their childhood. They liked going to farms to have seasonal vegetables or fruits or picking them in their own garden when the season was right.

In summary, interviewees' responses about eating spaces in Turkey indicated a strong preference for having meals in outside locations. As will be shown in the following subsection, the activities and preferences described here directly influenced the initial migrants' habits in their new home in Berlin, although differences in environment necessitated adjustments, which were over time compounded by both cultural and generational differences.

4.9.3 Social places for eating and drinking in Berlin. As has been discussed before, the majority of interviewees either came from small settlements themselves or are descendant from families that stem from these kinds of places. Therefore, the customs discussed in the previous section were suitable for life in those types of settlements and may not necessarily be applicable to life in a large city such as Berlin, which furthermore has a notably different climate from Turkey, leading to a different division between inside and outside activities. Data from the interviews shows that these differences had different effect on the various generations of interviewees.

For first-generation interviewees, it was common to have meals or tea and coffee together with friends, just as they knew it from Turkey. As already mentioned in an earlier section, these types of meetings would often take place in people's apartments, with several interviewees pointing out that Berlin's climate made it harder to find suitable days for outside activities. Just as in Turkey, these shared meals might be with external guests or just among family members.

These kinds of meals were mainly mentioned by interviewees from the first- and second-generation and the spouses of second-generation migrants. Interviewees also stated that, even though these types of gatherings may still happen occasionally, they are not nearly as common anymore as they used to be. One first-generation interviewee stated,

We did not have to think about what to do at weekends before. We would always go to a friend's apartment, or some friends would visit us. Because of our village background, we are fond of local foods and pastries. Different friends would make their different local foods [from Anatolia] and invite each other to eat together. Sometimes, we would even cook together. This was the way we socialized and got to know people. [...] Nowadays, this kind of communication, sharing and friendship between people doesn't happen as much as before. [...] We try to spend time together as a family during weekend breakfasts and sometimes during dinners. Nowadays, friends and neighbours do not meet at each other's homes and share their meals as often as before. People mostly meet for special occasions or festivals. Especially for men it's more common than before to spend time at men's cafes or clubs.

These statements align with those already mentioned earlier in the section about houses as social places, namely the observation that migrants' homes have generally become more private spaces over time, and the various possible reasons for this given there apply here, as well.

In spite of these changes, some first- and second-generation interviewees and spouses of second-generation interviewees stated that they still hold social meals for friends at their apartments. A few interviewees even stated that they would sometimes still have guests come over without appointment and be ready prepare a quick meal for them. However, they also said that these habits are comparatively rare nowadays. One spouse of second-generation interviewee explained,

When a guest comes to my house without prior notice, I do not have to worry that I might not have enough food to offer them. We are a large family, so I always cook more than enough food anyway. I share our meals with guests, as well.

Third-generation interviewees did not make any mention regarding the importance of meals at home as a social occasion, which might indicate that this particular tradition, after already being in decline among older generations, did not carry over into the younger one.

Homes were not the only places for social meals, though. The previous subsection already highlighted the popularity of outside meals in Turkey, and first-generation migrants tried to continue this habit in Berlin, even though several interviewees pointed out that the weather of Berlin made it harder to conduct outside activities. One interviewee specifically pointed out how the differences in climate lead her to try and have as many outside activities as possible when conditions are suitable:

Weather is generally not that good in Berlin, so when the weather is nice and it is a weekend, I do not want to stay at home at all. I like green places. From Turkey, we are used to living in a warmer climate. Here, it is mostly dark and rainy.

Outside activities described by interviewees often involved food and/or drinks. Sometimes it would be as a meal in the yard of the apartment building instead of up in the apartment. For example, one third-generation interviewee stated, "During Ramadan, when I was a child, my mother and her neighbours would bring all their families together for meals in the inner yard." A more commonly mentioned activity, however, were picnics in the parks of the city, which were described by interviewees from all generations.

Generally, picnics were described as affairs for the whole family, often with friends or neighbours joining, too. In some cases, such as during weekdays when the father was at work, mothers and children would go by themselves to have a picnic.

One first-generation interviewee described how she brought her children to the Humboldthain Park. If the weather was suitable, they would have a barbecue right there in the park, otherwise she would prepare some pastries at home and they would them in the park. Another second-generation interviewee highlighted the social aspect of these picnics for

relations with friends and neighbours: “We had very good relations with our neighbours in my childhood. We would meet with them on weekends and go to Tiergarten together to have a barbecue.”

Going by interviewees' descriptions, children generally tended to enjoy these picnics until their teenage years. One interviewee who came as a spouse described how her children would enjoy the family picnics: “My children had a lot of fun at the parks; they climbed the trees there. I think they had a better childhood than we had.”

Even though these outside meals are not as common anymore as they used to be in the early decades of migration, picnics or other outside meals with friends, family members, and relatives are still common among interviewees. With one interviewee stating that they would either still have picnics in the parks themselves or that they still consider it to be a popular activity for Turkish-Germans in Berlin.

One interviewee stated,

When the summer comes, I go to Humboldthain Park with one of my close friends, and with my children, as well. My son is 20 years old. For him it depends on the atmosphere whether he will stay – if he enjoys it, he stays with us, otherwise he goes somewhere else. My daughter is still a child, and she still enjoys spending time with us at the park. When both of my children were small, I would go to the park with them every day in the summertime. I did not work at the times. I would prepare food at home and give the children something to eat in the park. When we came back home, I would wash the children and bring them to bed.

Similar activities of bringing children to parks to have food with them were described as still being common nowadays. Apart from public parks, several interviewees also stated that they had allotments or private urban gardens and would have meals there, or drink tea together with others.

One first-generation interviewee gave an overview of how his family's style of picnics changed through the years:

When my children were small, we would have picnics with our neighbours, if the weather was nice. We went to [Tiergarten Park] every week for barbecue, because we did not have a proper place for barbecue in our neighbourhood. I got myself an allotment seven years ago. However, our children have grown up, and they don't join us at our garden as often as they would join our barbecues during their childhood. They liked going to barbecues at their childhood a lot, they would eat and play at the parks. In their childhood, we would go to parks with two or three families together. We would also go to [the more rural neighbourhood of] Lübars to have a picnic or to Pankow for swimming. Nowadays, I spend my weekends at our allotment together with my wife. Sometimes, the children join us, as well. I have told my friends that they can join us there without prior appointment. Sometimes, they bring some food for the barbecue or they bring some drinks. Even if they do not bring anything, we have everything ready for our guests.

Lastly, the responses indicated that while meals or drinks as a social event are still popular among the younger generation, they tend to take place in a different space: Third-generation interviewees showed a much higher tendency to meet at restaurants and cafés than previous generations. According to one interviewee who came as the spouse of a second-generation migrant, this is a comparatively recent development, and that even ten years earlier it would have been very unusual for Turkish-Germans to have social meals at a restaurant instead of at home. A second-generation migrant opined that the places Germans used to frequent were not the types of places Turkish liked to go to, namely pubs that served alcohol, and that there was a recent shift in behaviour with Germans being more likely to meet at, as she described it, "more decent" places, such as cafés or restaurants.

Responses indicate that the types of places younger Turkish-Germans use to meet range from those being mostly frequented by guests from the Turkish-German community to cafés or restaurants catering to a more general audience. However, one second-generation interviewee specifically stated that she avoided the restaurants in a nearby area mostly frequented by people without a Turkish background, since she felt “like a foreigner” there. She speculated that this might be due to her headscarf, which would make her visibly different from the other guests. She also stated that she still felt that Turkish-Germans as a whole were less likely to go out to eat than Germans.

The interviewees' answers do pose some avenues for future research: It appears as if, over time, the customs of Turkish-Germans became superficially more similar to those of the native population. However, this cannot automatically be considered to be a sign of lower barriers and more communication between the groups, as it still might be possible that both groups engage in similar activities but do so in separate spaces. An analysis of a larger sample might help reveal whether the different communities tend to frequent the same establishments or whether each group is still more likely to segregate itself into places mostly visited by their peers.

In summary, interviewees' responses showed that all generations placed a high importance on meals as a social activity, and that they tend to consciously choose particular locations for that, even though the exact nature of these locations may differ between generations. Furthermore, they perceive their own traditions and habits in this regard as being notably different from those of the native population. Facilities and organizations offering food to persons from various cultural backgrounds, might therefore want to attempt to learn as much as possible about each group's preconceived notions in this regard. While real-world constraints may not always allow for arrangements that would suit everyone perfectly, deeper knowledge might still enable organizers to reach compromises that at best could improve

understanding between the different groups (such as in the above example of an interviewee using food as a method to strengthen social bonds within her apartment building and at least avoid preventable errors that would hinder inter-group communications.) As the responses have shown, the social importance of food and meals is high for all generations. Thus, the importance of design and placement (that is, e.g., inside, outside, or in-between) of eating areas in buildings made for intercultural interaction should not be underestimated.

It would be conceivable that an arrangement for social meals at, for example, a school could lead not only to improved communication between children from different cultural backgrounds but also to improved relations between parents, as well. However, the importance of food itself is not the main focus of this study, and further research would be needed in order to reliably prove or disprove this hypothesis.

Furthermore, it should be noted that any particular project should always be tuned to its intended participants. Therefore, the findings of this or any other research should not be the sole guidance for any such undertaking. Rather, they should serve as a starting point for the individual lines of inquiry and discussion necessary to allow for a successful implementation.

4.10 “I Liked Men’s Work Better” – Places and Place Experiences of Female Children and Women

While this research has occasionally touched upon the subject of gender, e.g., regarding the topic of children’s private rooms, some gender-specific place-related aspects in the interviewees’ responses have not yet been mentioned.

As outlined earlier, traditional Turkish society has comparatively strong gender roles for men and women, many of which may limit the areas easily accessible to women and female children. This section summarizes interviewees’ responses regarding the female in

society and family and also examines how this affected their choice of private and social places both in Turkey and in Germany.

4.10.1 Roles of females and their situation in the family. Especially in the traditional Turkish family model, women and female children would often not enjoy the same opportunities and freedoms as men. Many interviewees mentioned that females in these families generally were expected to fulfil roles such as mother, grandmother, or older sister, each of with came with certain expected duties. One first-generation interviewee described her experiences as a female member of a Turkish family. This particular individual had gotten an early divorce from her husband and raised her daughter by herself:

I am a mother and a grandmother. My daughter grew up and now has a home and a family. [...] My daughter is 35 years old. She is now in a situation in which she can support herself; even something bad were to happen to me. I still care about her, but I do not worry about her future so much anymore. I worry about my granddaughter now. I pray to God that my granddaughter is going to meet a good man whom she wants to marry in the future. [...] [When I was pregnant], I hoped that I would have a son; I did not want to have a daughter. I thought that women were oppressed and would have unhappy lives. I still think that this is common for many women even nowadays. You know our Turkish traditions. However, women's overall situation is better today. I am always happy when I see educated and independent women. Young women do not let men degrade them anymore, but women still have not managed to reach total equality with men. Anyway, I did not want to learn my child's gender before she was born. I was quite disappointed when I learned I had a daughter. After my unhappy marriage, I saw men as my enemies. I believe that there are good men, but they are quite rare. Especially in our generation, females were so much under pressure because of men. I have hope for the young generation of Turkish women. I

think I did quite well within the constraints of my generation. I looked after my daughter as a single woman while still earning my money.

Several female interviewees gave gender-related reasons for not pursuing higher education: In some cases, the family gave greater importance to preparing them for their roles as married women and mothers, in others their parents objected because they wanted their daughters to wear headscarves, and female students at Turkish institutions of higher education were not allowed to do so at the time.

One first-generation interviewee described the perspectives for young women in her youth:

My older sister was a teacher. She told me that she would support me, if I wanted to continue to higher education. My dream was to become a female pilot, however that was not possible. I was not interested in any other profession, so I rejected my sister's offer. My family did not insist that I accepted it, because in my youth it was not important for women to have a university degree. As a young girl, you were supposed to sit at home, do chores around the house, and wait for some options to get married.

Another interviewee from the second generation explained that she could not continue her education because she had to fulfil her role as a mother after marriage:

When I came [to Berlin] at 13 years of age, I went to the preparation class and then continued on to Hauptschule. [The lowest tier of Germany's three-tiered secondary school system at the time, 5th to 9th grade, with an option to continue to a higher tier afterwards.] In the 9th grade, I was a successful student. In July 1990, we went on summer holidays to Turkey. The ignorance of youth led me to make a mistake: I already knew my husband, so I ran away with him and we got married. I was 16 years old, too young for a marriage. I could not fulfil my future dreams because of my

marriage. I was a married woman with the responsibilities of a housewife. Everything in my life went down a different path than what I had imagined before.

Another first-generation interviewee described how she was deprived of higher education because of her headscarf. She explained,

I had very beautiful handwriting at primary school. I was a very clever pupil.

However, I did not continue to secondary school afterwards. My mother did not let me continue, because I would have had to go without a headscarf.

Gender restrictions may not only affect female's career opportunities but also the places and occasions they are able to use for socializing. One female first-generation interviewee stated that she does not want to visit their neighbour's houses, because she does not want to be together with males who are not her relatives:

With my neighbours, we sit together in the yard. I do not like visiting them at home. I do not visit men at home, except for my nephews. Many neighbours' husbands come home after work, and they want to have a rest at home. I don't think it makes sense to visit people at home in that situation.

The reluctance to mingle with persons of the opposite gender can also deepen already existing intercultural divides. One second-generation interviewee described this regarding the situation at an urban garden she tends to:

Even though we grew up here, we do not have contact with German people. We take part in an urban gardening group, which has members from different backgrounds, for instance, German, Italian, Arabic or Turkish. However, people tend to stick with their own group. They do not try to contact with people from other groups. We only come together at garden meetings, because there we have an aim and topics to talk about. However, during our daily visits to garden we do not talk to each other. I think it is because how we grew up and were taught. I do not think German people at the garden

are bad people. For instance, there is a German urban gardener who has his space next to our garden. He says hallo to us [Turkish women] when we are having tea together and then continues to his garden. I cannot invite him to drink a tea with us at our table. First of all, it is because he is a male. Also, I worry that he might get bored because all women talk in Turkish at table. Because of this reason, even I worry to invite a German female neighbour. I think that we do not have right to disturb them by inviting in a group who talk only Turkish. Turkish women also worry that they cannot behave comfortable next to German neighbours.

While this interviewee does express a general reluctance for social interactions with people from other cultural backgrounds – mostly due to the language barrier her upbringing – she specifically singles out the German gardener's gender as the first and foremost reason why it would be improper for her to have any kind of social contact to him.

It should be noted not all interviewees expressed these discomforts. While gender separation does affect the social life of Turkish immigrants, interviewees also commonly mentioned that different families would frequently come together at families' homes, with both male and female family members joining meetings and dinners. The strength and extent of gender-related social norms and taboos strongly depends on the individual family's approach to religious or traditional rules and may thus differ significantly from one person to the next.

As the interviewees' responses will show, socio-cultural restrictions on women and girls had a direct effect on their daily activities. This, in turn, affected the places they would or could spend most of their time at, which, finally, influenced their attachment to these places. The following sub-sections will examine these responses in greater detail.

4.10.2 Houses and private gardens. Female interviewees were more likely than males to have their spaces at homes or private gardens. They described that women in Turkey

would both work in these places and also used them social spaces for entertaining guests there. They would do housework and cooking, and some female interviewees would plant fruits and vegetables in the gardens or keep livestock there. Interviewees also mentioned that housework and cooking were still considered female duties in migrant families living in Germany. While these were mainly described as tasks for adult women, several female interviewees – some of which grew up in Turkey and others in Germany –also described doing these kinds of chores during their childhood.

Homes as childhood playing places. The interviewees' responses indicated a strong gender-specific division in the choice and/or availability of playing spaces for children growing up in Turkey. Male interviewees who grew up in Turkey exclusively mentioned exterior childhood playing places away from home, and none of the interviewees from the first and second generation gave any mention that male children in Turkey would play at home. This does not necessarily indicate that boys in Turkey do not play inside at all, however it does suggest that other places for playing were far more significant for them.

On the other hand, several female interviewees who grew up in Turkey described playing "house" or stone games at home. While both female and male interviewees described playing spaces away from home, only females talked about playing at home. One first-generation interviewee stated, "We would play "house" at home or in the garden. We would make the dolls ourselves. We would sew clothes for them, too. These games taught me sewing in my childhood."

Homes as places for chores and housework. Only female interviewees mentioned doing housework at home. Several female interviewees also did housework and chores during their childhood. Some of the persons reporting this had grown up in Turkey, other in Germany.

One first-generation interviewee who lives in Berlin described the amount of housework she has to do as a mother for a family with five children:

I have to do a lot of tiring housework every day, because I have young children. I have to wash clothes, dry them and prepare necessary things for my children. Even though it is tiring, I have to do all of these things for my children.

She also described having to do housework agricultural work during her childhood in Turkey before she migrated to Germany:

I am the second child of the family. In the village, there was always so much work.

That is why, as a child, I thought that life only consisted of work. When I was small, I did housework with my mother. Later, I worked outside in the farms and gardens.

Especially cooking was often mentioned as a female responsibility by the interviewees, and one female interviewee described how much importance her mother gave to preparing her for this role:

When I first came to Berlin, our apartment was too small for playing there. For all of our family, we had just two rooms and a kitchen. I was thirteen years old when I came [to Berlin], and I was not considered a small child anymore. My mother taught me how to cook. That was normal for my age. During the weekdays, I would go to school, learn German and learn cooking. I would look forward to the weekends that are when I could spend some nice time with my cousins.

Three of the female interviewees described that, even as children they would already frequently do cooking chores for the family. One of them described that she would do so in order to help her parents and siblings who were doing farm work in the fields in Turkey.

The amount of time spent in the kitchen, as well as the responsibility for cooking and feeding the family, could turn kitchens into special places for women. One interviewee who arrived in Germany as a spouse said, "I spend most of my time in the living room and in the

kitchen. The kitchen is the most beautiful place in the apartment, even though I do not like the kitchen work at all.” A second-generation interviewee stated that she feels at home when she is in the kitchen, adding,

I feel peaceful in the kitchen. I spend most of my time there. I like spending time in the kitchen. I cook my food there every day. Some people feel peaceful when they are cooking, I feel peaceful when I am sitting in the kitchen and thinking.

Another commonly mentioned working place for females in Turkey was the garden of the house, which was mostly used as a farming area. Interviewees mentioned that women would do vegetable and fruit farming there, bake bread in outside oven, and dry or pickle food for the wintertime. As one second-generation interviewee put it, “We had a big garden in Turkey. My mother planted everything in the garden. As far as I remember, we had onions, tomatoes and parsley.” Similar to the responses regarding cooking, this work was mostly described as a task for adult women, however some female first-generation interviewees also described working in their gardens as children.

Children working at home for the family business. One female first-generation interviewee described how, during her childhood in Turkey, in addition to doing farm work, she and her siblings would regularly work in the family’s carpet workshop, which was located in a room in the family house:

We would weave carpets in our childhood. In the summertime, we would go to the farm for work. We also did not have tap water in our house that is why we had to carry water. We had to do many jobs in my childhood. We did not play games, but we looked after children. I looked after my nieces and nephews. I knitted and weaved carpets a lot. We would visit [friends’ houses] but would not play games at all.

Knitting, sewing and needlework in the residences. Some female interviewees mentioned doing needlecrafts at home in Turkey. Unlike the previously described chores,

these tasks could include at least an element of play for the children, as several female interviewees stated that they, their daughters, or their granddaughters, would sew clothes for their own baby dolls in their childhood. Some of the interviewees also described constructing their own dolls from materials at home. For example, one second-generation interviewee said, “We would play inside the house. We made our own baby dolls from wood pieces, and we would sew clothes for them. We made really beautiful baby dolls.”

Homes as a social place for women and children. As has been described before, many interviewees stated that it was common for them to visit others at home – both in Turkey as well as among migrants in Germany. This was particularly common in earlier generations, and especially females would regularly visit other women, often accompanied by their children. Nowadays, these visits do not happen as often as they used to, however some female interviewees stated that they regularly visit others at their homes during the daytime, or alternatively are hosting visitors themselves. One second-generation interviewee said,

I have some friends whom I have known for twenty years. We regularly get together, either in the backyard, at one of our homes, or we go to a café, or walk around together. We will call each other and make plans.

Interviewees also mentioned females in Turkey would often meet at their homes or in their gardens in order to spend time together or to prepare food for the wintertime together.

4.10.3 Females' use of exterior spaces away from homes. According to the interviewees' responses, women's usage of outside spaces away from their homes in Turkey would mostly involve some kind of work or task, such as working in the fields or bringing food to the workers there ... taking their children along in some cases. In Germany, on the other hand, it was more common for female interviewees to spend time socializing in public or semi-public spaces, such as parks and the yards of buildings, often bringing their children along.

Farms and mountains in Turkey. The extent to which women in rural Anatolian settlements would work in places away from their homes differed between families and also depended on the local social approach to these kinds of situation. In some families and areas, women were mostly limited to indoor environments and private gardens, but in others it would be common to see women or female children working outdoors. Six female interviewees states that they worked outdoors during their childhood in Turkey: Two of them as shepherds in the mountains, and four worked at farms.

For children in Turkey, social or recreational activities in farms or mountains were far less common among female interviewees than among males. One female interviewee who grew up in a small settlement in Turkey described how her mother would try to dissuade her from spending time in the fields together with the rest of the family:

When I was a child, I spent most of my time in the fields. I went there with my mother and my other siblings. I could not work in them [at that time]. However, I stayed there with the rest of the family. My mother or me would cook for everyone and bring the food to the farm at mealtimes. We would eat there together. At that time, outdoors work was done mostly by men. There were not many women on the field. However, I liked men's work better. My mother told me that I should stay at home, however I was always outside. I did not like staying in the house at all, I liked being outside. My life at the village was nice.

Parks, yards and urban gardens in Germany. As outlined in previous sections, Turkish migrants came from a society in which many social activities took place outside – in gardens or on the terraces of houses. Since migrants' apartments would usually lack these features, migrants would often use public or semi-public spaces instead. Interviewees commonly mentioned using parks and yards as social spaces, and – more recently – urban gardens started to become popular for the same purpose.

According to the interviewees, women would commonly take their children to parks and gardens on weekdays. One first-generation interviewee described how going to the park was mostly a task for the females in his family, "After my daughters were born, I was quite busy with my work. My wife would go with them to the park when they were children."

For some female interviewees, going to the park with their children was also a social activity – they might go or meet up with other mothers and their children. One second-generation interviewee described this as follows:

We were seven or eight friends, and we would regularly go to Kleistpark [a public park in the neighbourhood] together. We [brought food that we had] cooked at home and ate it there together with the children. We would look after each other's children as well.

Several female interviewees also said that they met at the yards of the buildings and spend time together with other female neighbours. A first-generation interviewee said, "We had places to sit at our yard. Neighbours made tea and we all brought food from our apartments. We brought our children as well and ate and drank together at the yard." Even it is not as common as early generations, few female interviewees said that they still meet at the yard with their neighbours.

Interviewees stated that men would mostly just join these kinds of picnics on holidays or at the weekends – either just for their own family or as a joint event with several families. It was also described that men would also sometimes take children to places further away from home, whereas females would usually only take them to parks close to their apartments. For instance, one second-generation interviewee said,

When my children were small, I would mostly take them to Kleistpark and another park around Martin Luther Street. When my husband had a break from work, he would take the children to the parks around Potsdam [which is about 30 km away]. He

would also take them to swimming pools. However, they have grown up and do not want to spend as much time with us as before. They go to these places by themselves now.

4.10.4 Sense of comfort or discomfort in public spaces. Female interviewees' choice of places was not only affected by gender-specific socio-cultural norms but also by their subjective level of comfort – this was specifically true regarding public spaces. When asked whether they felt more comfortable in public spaces in Turkey or in Germany, the answers differed: Some female interviewees stated that they felt more comfortable in public spaces in Turkey, while stated that they felt more comfortable in Berlin.

Notably, though, these perceptions themselves may again be shaped by the norms and gender roles a person grew up with, as illustrated by this response from a female first-generation interviewee:

I returned from [a visit to] Turkey 16 days ago. Since then, I have been outside [in Berlin] three times. However, I did not say hello to anyone outside during those three times. In my village in Turkey, I say hello to the people in the streets and talk to them. Even in cities in Turkey, you talk more and say hello to people on the street. In Germany, it is as if you are as in a jail, even though you are not guilty of anything. You only get to know people here via your job. You see people from work on the way to work. My husband did not let me work. I really wanted to have a job, but he did not allow it. I realize that he had a reason not to give me permission. Now, even if I wanted to have a job, I am too old. I am not even healthy enough to walk.

Her response combines a number of different explanations for the perceived differences in her levels of comfort and social interactions in public spaces: She acknowledges that social contacts in cities differ from those in smaller settlements yet rejects that as the only reason for the discrepancy. Instead, she points towards perceived cultural

differences between Turkey and Germany and ultimately to the gender-specific norms imposed upon her by her (now deceased) husband. While she stops short of assigning any blame to him, she nevertheless does express that, in her opinion, his intervention limited her ability to have social interactions in public spaces. Later in the interview, she described that he had placed even stronger restrictions on her:

My neighbour would go to the market for me. I did not go myself. My husband did not let me to go to the market. I told [my neighbour] what I needed, and she bought it for me. I paid her when she got back. I would look after her children while she was at the market. She was my close friend, as well.

According to her, she spent most of her time inside her apartment or visiting her female friends. She also took part in some meetings of females in the yard of their building.

One second-generation interviewee who was born in Berlin also stated that she preferred the public spaces in Turkey to those in Germany, however she gave a very different reason for it:

When we are in Turkey, we may go for a walk with the children or go shopping. We sometimes sit in a tea garden as a family and play rummikub. We do not do these kinds of things in Berlin. I do not know why. Maybe we don't need to do them, or we are not accustomed to go out in Berlin. Here, we just go to work, or we are at home. These days, I do not work, but I spend my time with my neighbours. [The apartment complex] is like a small village for me. When you get used to living here, and if you have a few good neighbours, you start limiting yourself to this environment. I am sure it is not the same for everybody. I started to have less contact with my friends who live in other parts of the city. I even have less contact with my family [who lives in another part of Berlin]. I do not visit my friends from [my old neighbourhood in] Wedding anymore. During the week I visit a few friends, and they are all my neighbours.

This interviewee's account differs from the first one in several key points: While the first-generation interviewee clearly described the lack of social interaction as the negative result of outside forces – cultural differences as well as her husband's pressure – the second-generation interviewee states that she does not feel the need to leave her immediate neighbourhood – a large apartment complex that houses many residents with a Turkish migratory background – to get all the social interaction she needs, and even neglects visiting old friends and family members because of this. She contrasts this, however, with her family's times in Turkey where they engage in activities which they could just as easily do in Berlin, as well, but never actually do there. The reasons for this become clear at another point of the interview where she describes her discomfort with public spaces in Berlin:

I like the summer culture in Turkey. There, we can go out as a family in the evenings. There are teahouses, and street sellers that you can buy corn from, or sunflower seeds. I can go to 80% of the restaurants or cafes in Turkey. I do not go to pubs in Turkey that do not fit our lifestyle. In Turkey, I like going out both during the daytime and at the evenings. Here [in Berlin] we have a limited social life. Our outside activities are so limited. We mostly visit friend's apartments. I rarely go out for a walk with my friends. I cannot go to the restaurants around [nearby] Nollendorfplatz for instance. I think it is because of my appearance. I wear a headscarf. That takes people's attention. I feel as if everybody is staring at me. Moreover, some of the restaurants and cafes do not fit into my lifestyle. Even though there are some places I feel comfortable at, I feel uncomfortable at most of them. In Turkey I do not feel like that. I may have a similar feeling in some parts of Istanbul, but I am mostly comfortable, and I go out more in Turkey. My daughter has noticed this situation recently. She asked me why wouldn't going out at night here [in Berlin]. I told her about the situation that I just described. They have German evening culture here. Germans used to go to local pubs after work.

Nowadays, they usually go to cafes and restaurants. They are acting more decently nowadays, but they still go out at night more often than us.

Even though the interviewee stated at another point that she did not know why they did not go out more in Germany, she gives several reasons here – all of which are the result of perceived cultural differences: She feels as if Germans would not accept her due to her headscarf, and at the same she time she does not feel comfortable going to the cafés and restaurants that Germans frequent and specifically rejects the idea of alcohol consumption at pubs.

It should be noted that the area the interviewee is talking about features a number of different cafés and restaurants offering different styles of German and international cuisine, including two Turkish ones, all of which serve alcohol. It is also located at the edge of the “gay quarter” of Berlin, and several of the businesses advertise themselves as being gay-friendly.

This interviewee was not the only one who described how headscarves would have a noticeable effect on the way she was being perceived and treated at public spaces in Germany. A second-generation interviewee who started wearing a headscarf comparatively late in her life explained how it changed people's attitudes towards her:

I have been wearing a headscarf for fifteen years now. Before I wore it, people's approach to me was different. They would talk to me in normal, fluent German. After I started wearing a headscarf, people started talking to me in a strange, broken German. When they talked to me like that and I answered them with perfect German, they were surprised.

In this interviewee's experience, the Germans she encountered implicitly assumed that a woman with a headscarf would be unable to communicate in fluent standard German. As the research discussed earlier shows, this type of othering can negatively affect place attachment.

On the other hand, another second-generation interviewee with a Turkish background had the opposite experience. She had lived in France before and moved to the Kreuzberg district of Berlin after she got married, at which point she also started wearing a headscarf.

She described her experience as follows:

I did not wear a headscarf in France. I knew that people in the village there would stare at women with headscarves. I started to wear a headscarf after I moved to Berlin. I felt comfortable in Berlin with my headscarf. Nobody was staring at me. Nowadays, I wear a headscarf when I go and visit my family in France, people look at me strangely there. [In contrast to the village in France] I did not feel like a foreigner in Berlin at all. [...] I feel more comfortable in Germany than in Turkey or France. In France, my parents were with me, but we lived there in a small village. Everything was limited there. I very rarely went out by myself there. Once I went out for a walk with one of my friends after my parents gave us permission. However, I felt guilty and we made the walk quite short. There was an understanding there, that females do not go out by themselves. By contrast, I feel so comfortable in Berlin. Here, I do not have my parents interfering with my outside activities. I have my husband; he does not limit my activities. I can go out by myself both during the daytime and in the evenings. I did not have this option in France. French girls could go out freely which was different than us. The reason that I did not go out in France was not that my parents are strict people. The reason was that the Turkish community there thought that it was not normal for a female to go out alone. I lived there until I was 19 years old. There was a monthly market in the village. I never went there by myself or with my friends. If I had asked, my parents probably would have let me go, but it did not even come to my mind that I could go there. Nobody around me did it.

While this interviewee also acknowledges the cultural differences between Turkey (or, in her case, the Turkish migrant community in her French village) and Germany, she comes to a very different conclusion for herself than the other two women quoted in this sub-section: The first interviewee felt that Turkish traditions kept her from participating in social life in Germany. The second one the German lifestyle around her was incompatible with what she considered to be a Turkish lifestyle. This third interviewee, on the other hand, used the environment of Berlin to combine aspects of both her Turkish heritage and Western lifestyle, feeling free enough to both wear a headscarf in public as well as go out by herself at any time without having to ask for permission or feel as if she were behaving inappropriately.

Overall, the responses outlined in this section show that the female interviewees' attitudes towards and choices of spaces and places are shaped not only by their individual characters but also by their families' ideas, and by social pressures from both the migrant community as well as German society.

Architects planning or designing spaces used by female migrants should consider the specific spatial wishes, needs, and dislikes that may arise from this situation in order to find a design is familiar enough to feel non-threatening but also open and flexible enough to accommodate native Germany as well as persons from other backgrounds to encourage interactions and communication between the different groups.

4.11 "I Said 'Both Countries'" – Place Identity Through the Generations

Due to the nature of the research, the majority of questions in the interviews were related to the interviewees' migratory background. In other words: They were interviewed because they had a connection to a non-German culture, even though they lived in Germany.

With this in mind, interviewees were asked what they would someone who asked them where they were from.

The replies were very diverse. Some respondents would identify themselves with one place in one country, others would feel that they were from several different places, which again could be either all located in one country or spread across both their old and new home countries. Finally, a few interviewees saw themselves as placeless or could not give a concrete answer about their place identity. In spite of this diversity, the sum of each generation's answers tended to have certain recognizable characteristics that separated them from the answers of other groups.

Looking at the results in detail, one of the most notable findings is that is no third-generation interviewee would define their identity as being exclusively "from Turkey". In fact, the majority of third-generation interviewees defined their place identity only via places from Germany – either a single one or several.

Their most common place identity definition was derived from districts in Berlin. The Berlin districts mentioned were Kreuzberg, Wedding and Schöneberg. Other than specific district names, respondents identified themselves as either being "from Berlin" or simply "from Germany".

One third-generation interviewee stated, "I am a German person from Wedding. I love Wedding so much." Notably, she was not living in Wedding anymore at the time of the interview. While she had lived there during all of her childhood, she subsequently moved to the Berlin district of Neukölln, yet she still defined her place identity as being "from Wedding". This kind of response indicates how much people's place identity is shaped by the place they spent their childhood at.

Three third-generation interviewees described their place identity as being connected to places in both Turkey and Germany. One third-generation interviewee stated,

I am from [Berlin] Schöneberg. However, when I visit Turkey, I feel something special. I think I am in between two countries. I miss Turkey, when I am here, on the other hand I miss Germany, when I am in Turkey.

Similar to the above example, this interviewee also identified with the Berlin district she grew up in – Schöneberg, in her case. At the time of the interview, she lived in Wedding.

Lastly, one third-generation interviewee stated uncertainty about her place identity, saying: “In Germany, I am a foreigner, and in Turkey, I am from Germany. I am either a person without a country, or I am from both countries.” From her response, it is unclear, how much of this uncertainty is due to outside forces – i.e. the way she is being treated by locals of both countries – and how much might be due to her own feelings towards the countries’ respective cultures and lifestyles. She did elaborate, though, that, ideally, she would like to have houses in both Turkey and Germany, but she also expressed a slight preference for the lifestyle in Turkey.

Compared to third-generation interviewees, respondents from the second generation were more likely to express a Turkish place identity. In fact, among all groups, they were the most likely ones to describe themselves as being partially or completely from a place in Turkey, even more so than first-generation interviewees.

One second-generation interviewee who came to Berlin when she was 11 years old said,

I am definitely from [the Turkish city of] Kırşehir. My grandmother there looked after me during my childhood, that is why I do not want to forget my life there. I am attached to that place, and the pleasure and fond memories of my life there mean more to me than the comfort I have here. I am peaceful there.

Just like the third-generation interviewees from Wedding and Schöneberg, this interviewee feels strongly attached to the place she spent some part of her childhood at – in

her case a city in Turkey. Her emotional bonds to her grandmother, who took care of her there, also affect her bonds with the place – in a way, some of the attachment to her grandmother has been carried over to the place as a whole. As a result, she even feels uncomfortable to declare attachment to a place in Germany or define her identity via places in Germany, since that would, simultaneously, feel like she was rejecting or devaluing the memories of her grandmother.

Another interviewee, who also grew up in Turkey with his grandparents and came to Berlin in his teenage years, said,

At first, I am from my village in Turkey. Secondly, I am from the Aegean Region in Turkey. I got used to life in Berlin as well, but whenever I am in the village in Turkey, I forget everything about here. When I am there, Berlin is totally erased from my mind. The only thing I miss sometimes is the organised life and traffic in Germany. There are other positive things about Germany as well. However, the way I feel is that I am from my village in Turkey. I feel more comfortable there.

Apart from childhood places, some interviewees also took other factors into consideration, for example, quality of life. One second-generation interviewee described it as follows: “I am firstly from [the Turkish city of] Sakarya, secondly from Turkey, and thirdly from Germany. Moreover, I am also from Berlin Neukölln.” She added,

There is a saying that ‘The place you are full and satisfied at is more important than the place where you were born.’ My home country is half Turkey and half Germany. My husband agrees, as well. As a family, we earn our money in Germany and earn our living here. My husband works in Berlin, my children grow up in Berlin. That is why I am both from Germany and from Turkey.

Unlike the previously mentioned interviewee who valued her childhood memories higher than her present “comfort”, this interviewee gave equal importance to her old places in

Turkey and the new place in Germany, which she associated with both material wealth and her own family, leading her to declare herself as being half from Turkey and half from Germany.

Three second-generation interviewees, however, defined their place identity exclusively via places in Germany, all of which were districts in Berlin. The districts mentioned were Wedding, Reinickendorf, and Kreuzberg. One interviewee who came to Berlin when he was 6 years old stated, "I am from Wedding". He added,

I grew up in Wedding. It is as if Wedding is my village. I cannot live somewhere else. I tried to live in [the Berlin district of] Neukölln. I could stand it only for three months. Even when I was living in Neukölln, I would only go to my apartment there for sleeping. I would spend most of my day in Wedding. I know nearly everyone in Wedding. There are only very few people here that I do not know.

For this interviewee, place identity is not derived from shared culture or the general atmosphere of a place – both Neukölln and Wedding are big-city districts in Berlin with large immigrant populations, and also share many other characteristics – but rather from direct personal connections that in some cases reached all the way back to his childhood days. One thing makes every district and every village unique are the individuals living there, and for this interviewee, these individuals were the defining feature of his home place. Thus, a move to a similar but different district could not satisfy him.

Two second-generation interviewees were unsure about their place identity, although for very different reasons:

The first interviewee was born in Berlin but lived with relatives in Turkey for the first six years of his life before returning to Berlin. During his childhood in Berlin, he was often cared for by an elderly German neighbour who did not have any migratory background. He says that until around the year 2000, he felt as if he was from his old village in Turkey, and

that his “ideas and behaviours fit there”. Then, however, he decided to move back to Turkey and had to realize that he had been wrong: “I moved to Turkey at that times, but the people did not accept me there. I noticed we already separated from Turkey and I am from here. I returned to Berlin and I live here now.”

While he stated that he now feels that he is “actually from Berlin” and “think[s] and behave[s] like a person from [Berlin]”, he also said that he still was “following Turkish culture and traditions, not German ones”, and also described himself as being “from many places together”, which included his home village in Turkey, the Berlin district of Kreuzberg, as well as the countries of Turkey and Germany. He also mentioned that he had social contacts in all of these places.

Taken together, this interviewee’s uncertainty about his place identity seems to have been caused by the attempt to combine the numerous different locations and cultures that were part of his upbringing, which resulted in a sort of multi-cultural identity.

The other second-generation interviewee with place uncertainty was also born in Berlin, but, unlike the other interviewee, she stayed there and did not live in Turkey for any part of her childhood. Her difficulties, however, appear to come from a very different source, and she explained them as follows:

Until now, I had never asked myself where I am from. Recently, however, somebody gave me a paper questionnaire, and one of the questions was where I was from. I could not answer. I said ‘both countries’. He told me that I must have adapted to German culture and life, because I accepted Germany as one of home countries. But I do not want to accept this idea. I agree that I live in Germany. However, in general, German people live in Germany. And while my family and I live in Germany, I do not feel as if I really live in Germany. I do not have contact with German life or German people, and I do not feel connected to German life or culture. I do not identify myself with

Germany, with the German society and political system. I am from here, because I got used to living here, not because I like it here. Living here has become a kind of habit.

Moreover, my family lives here. I don't know anyone in Turkey. Who should I go to there? Everyone I know lives in Germany.

Unlike with the previous interviewee, the reason for this person's uncertainty about her place identity is not a kind of divided loyalty between two countries. Rather, she does not identify at all with the culture of the country she was born in and grew up in, but states that it "has become a kind of habit" for her to live there. In fact, she states she actively rejects German culture and does not want to be a part of it. From the context of the whole interview, it is also clear that she and the other two generations she lives with are purposefully isolating themselves from contact with native Germans as much as possible and try to limit their social relations to people with a Turkish background. She also stated that she feels that her religious and national identities are closer to those of Turkish people than those of Germans. At the same time, however, she does not actually have any strong personal connections to anyone living in Turkey. So, even though she feels a stronger connection to that country than to her place of birth, she would not have anyone to turn to, were she ever to move there, leaving her stuck in an undesirable in-between situation.

The three interviewees, who came as spouses to Germany, all defined their place identity with only one place. For two of them, that place was in Turkey, for the other one in Germany. The interviewee who came from Istanbul defined her place identity via a district in Istanbul. Another interviewee defined her place identity with the city she spent her childhood in, saying, "I am from Erzurum. I always feel that I am a person from Erzurum. I am always full of memories from there. I am definitely not from Berlin."

The third interviewee who came as a spouse defined her place identity as being from Berlin. Incidentally, she is the only one of the three who has her own workplace in Germany, as she managed to start a successful business in Berlin.

In contrast to this group, first-generation interviewees often defined their place identity as being from both Turkey and Germany. Many of them stated that they had spent many years of their life in Germany, often even more than they had in Turkey, and that they had built a home for themselves there. On the other hand, they also described themselves as still having strong bonds with places in Turkey. One first-generation interviewee who had moved back to Turkey after living in Berlin for a long time, described it as follows:

I am from Turkey and I am a Turkish person. However, I am also from Berlin in Germany. I lived in Berlin for 38 years, and now I live in Turkey. I miss Berlin now. 38 years is not a short time span in the context of a human life. It means that I lived in Berlin for more than half of my lifetime. Just like a German person can say that they are from Berlin, I can also say that I am from Berlin. When I travel to Berlin now, I feel like I am in my hometown. I am not a German person, but I am from Berlin. When somebody asks me in Turkey, I say that I come from Berlin.

He also specified that he feels more attached to the district of Kreuzberg than to Berlin as a whole. At the time of the interview, he had already moved back to Turkey after retirement from his German job and divided his time between living in a city during winter times and in his childhood village in the summer. He went on to compare Kreuzberg to both of these places:

Kreuzberg for me, is in a similar category as the place where I was born. I don't feel close attachment to a neighbourhood in the city in Turkey that I currently live in. But for Kreuzberg that I feel for the neighbourhood in my childhood village. Sometimes, to me, Kreuzberg is better than my village. When I go to Kreuzberg to visit my

children and grandchildren, and I collect my grandchildren around me, I am very happy. The village is the place that I was born, and when I first moved to Kreuzberg, Kreuzberg was a foreign place for me. However now, Kreuzberg is my hometown, as well.

This interviewee's attachment to his Berlin district, and his likening of Kreuzberg to his childhood village has many similarities to the above statement from the second-generation interviewee who could not feel at home anywhere except in Wedding. Like him, this first-generation interviewee's place identity in Berlin is related to a specific district rather than to the whole city or the whole country, and – also like that second-generation interviewee's – it is at least partially tied to personal connections to people living there. In this case, the first-generation interviewee's relatives. However, while the second-generation interviewee had grown up in Wedding and did not have attachment to any other place, this first-generation interviewee still had ties to his childhood home in Turkey, which he subsequently moved back to. Notably, however, he describes his relation to Kreuzberg as just as strong and deep as the one to his childhood home.

Of all the first-generation interviewees, only two defined their place identity exclusively via their villages in Turkey. One first-generation interviewee said, "I am from Serik village in Antalya. I was born there." She also described herself as not having any attachment to her house in Berlin: "My apartment in Berlin is just pieces of wood in Germany. For me, it does not matter whether or not it exists." Overall, she described the childhood in her village in Turkey as hard, but she also stated that she had nice childhood days there. On the other hand, she had bad experiences in Berlin after her marriage. It seems possible that these personal connotations may have influenced her place attachment, however, the information she gave in the interview is not enough to validate or invalidate that hypothesis.

All first-generation interviewees' descendants also live in Germany. As mentioned before the interviewees have mostly strong bonds with their relatives and family members. They also lived long time with their family in Germany. The place their descendants live can be a factor for a place to be part of their place identity.

Overall, the answers indicate that the formation of place identity depends on many different influences:

Good childhood experiences at a place seem to be a significant factor, as well as the memories of parents or grandparents who lived there. Similarly, having descendants or other close family members living at a place will also affect people's attitude towards it, and so will the experience of family life and togetherness. Several interviewees also highlighted the significance of having built a life for themselves and their families at a place – especially for first-generation interviewees, this experience seems to play a large role in the formation of place identity. Lastly, for some interviewees, religious and national identities also had an effect on their place identity.

It is also notable that the definitions of place identity tended to focus on a local level. Interviewees would usually describe themselves as being from a specific village or – for bigger cities – from a certain district. This was common for all generations and irrespective of the country in question: Just as many interviewees would describe themselves as being from a certain district in Berlin, the interviewee who migrated from Istanbul after her marriage defined her place identity through the specific district in Istanbul that she used to live in.

Finally, the interviews showed that there were certain aspects of place identity that member of one generation tended to have in common and which separated them from other generations.

Specifically, all of the third-generation interviewees strongly defined their place identity via places in Germany. They were all born and raised there and experienced Turkey

and its culture only during holidays or while visiting family members. While this amount of contact can lead to positive associations with places in Turkey (as described by many third-generation interviewees) is likely not enough to establish these places as part of a person's place identity. Third-generation interviewees therefore have a close knowledge of certain places in Turkey, but they do not see themselves as being from a place in Turkey. In fact, while the interviewees were not specifically asked about their perceived national identity, some third-generation interviewees volunteered the information that they saw themselves as having a German national identity.

First-generation interviewees, on the other hand, were born and raised in Turkey, and thus have very strong connections to places there. Furthermore, as outlined by Abadan-Unat (2006), they usually only came to Germany with the expectation of a temporary stay, and most of them did not have strong contact with the native German population. Instead, they established a migrant community that brought over familiar practices and traditions from Turkey. One might therefore expect the interviewees from this group to have a Turkish place identity and express little attachment to their places in Germany. However, surprisingly, the opposite is true: While all first-generation interviewees would describe themselves as being "Turkish" in terms of cultural or national identity, most of them still described their place identity as being either connected to places in both Turkey and Germany or, in some cases, even as being exclusively to places in Germany.

Further research is needed to determine the exact causes for these seemingly paradox results. It is, however, possible, to develop a hypothesis based on combining the answers in this research with Abadan-Unat's (2006) ideas: First-generation interviewees were generally able to improve their economic status through their work in Germany, achieving a standard of living that was better than what they knew from their home places in Turkey. They established families that were able to provide for, and often formed close communities with

other migrants, allowing them to preserve their cultural or national traditions in the new place. Once their children grew up and had families of their own, they, too settled in the new place, giving interviewees direct family ties to their self-chosen home. All of this may have led to positive associations with the places this happened at – which, in this case, were districts in Berlin. These positive associations, in turn, may have triggered greater place attachment and, over time, place identity.

Note, in this context, how the experiences of a first-generation interviewee cited above, who had positive memories of her hometown in Turkey but no positive associations with places in Germany, and who, in spite of living in Berlin, did not express any form of place identity regarding Berlin or Germany.

A similar explanation could be the key for interpreting the results from second-generation interviewees. As mentioned before, interviewees from this group were most likely to describe themselves as being partially or completely from a place in Turkey – even though they had spent a higher percentage of their lives in Germany than interviewees from the first generation. Unlike first-generation interviewees, however, those from the second generation did not necessarily come to Germany out of their own free will. Often, they spent a sizable portion of their childhood in Turkey before moving in with their parents in Germany. This change from a rural environment to an urban one and from a familiar country and culture into a foreign one was not always well received and might have brought on its own difficulties. Furthermore, while first-generation interviewees may have compared their standard of living favourably to the one they knew from their home villages, second-generation interviewees might have been more likely to compare the social and economic situation of the migrant community with that of the native German population – and in that comparison, the native population was likely to come out ahead (Abadan-Unat, 2006). All of these factors combined may have led many to identify more with the place of their positive childhood experiences in

Turkey than with the difficulties and negative experiences in the German place they had to move to. As cited above, this led some interviewees to a general uncertainty about their place identity, or – as seen in one case – even to an outright rejection of German culture and values; a result which, from a perspective of integration efforts, is not desirable.

It should be stressed, though, that the latter case is an outlier. Conversely, many interviewees expressed place identity involving their districts in Germany. This indicates that efforts to improve intercultural communication and understanding may be able to leverage existing and place identification at the district level.

5 Case Studies

The case studies were conducted in two primary schools and one day care centre, all of which were located in districts with a large percentage of children with a migratory background, and all of which had recently been renovated in a process that included input from children and pedagogues utilizing the space. All three projects were planned and executed by the same Berlin architecture office, “Die Baupiloten”. This section will first give a general overview about Die Baupiloten and its approach to participatory design, followed by an interview with a member of the office, which outlines the ideas, and aims of Die Baupiloten’s projects. This is followed by three sections which examine how successful the projects were in achieving those aims, both through interviews with personnel of the different facilities and observations of the children’s utilization of the spaces and design features.

5.1 The Architecture Office “Die Baupiloten”

The general origins of the office are outlined in Susanne Hofmann’s book “Architecture is Participation” (Hofmann, 2014). According to her descriptions, Die Baupiloten was originally established in 2003 as a “study reform project”, in which the Berlin-based architecture office Susanne Hofmann Architects collaborated with students from the Technical University of Berlin. Hofmann explains that the project allowed the students to participate in the complete development process of real-world architectural projects. After the initial “study reform project” finished in 2014, the office of Susanne Hofmann Architects changed its name to “Die Baupiloten BDA”.

5.1.1 Work principles. According to Hofmann (2014), participatory design plays a significant role in Die Baupiloten’s design process. She says that the office develops and applies individual approaches to encourage involvement by the users of the spaces, tailored to the number of users, their cultural and social backgrounds, their age groups, and also the time and budget constraints of each project. Hofmann also states that in their approach users are

not asked for specific design features they would like to see implemented but rather to develop an idea about the desired atmosphere of the space. The author explains that, combined with an analysis of the users' needs, the office then works together with the users to create an overarching narrative that serves to unite the various design elements and gives a theme to the whole project, such as, for example, a dragon for Erika Mann Primary School. As Hofmann (2014) describes it: "In our work, participation using atmosphere and a development of a shared story or fiction has proven to be most useful: 'form follows fiction'" (p. 26).

According to Hofmann (2014), Die Baupiloten developed 'four principal categories of participation method modules' – that is, four categories of workshops that are meant to determine the character, spirit and 'atmosphere' of the place (p. 27). The author points out that during these phases solid data, such as the exact dimensions of the space, is not yet relevant, as the aim is to gather abstract information about the user's needs, intentions, and wishes. Hofmann describes these categories as follows:

- "Atmosphere": These workshops are mostly used to establish "trust and openness" between users and architects and lay a foundation for the process (Hofmann, 2014).
- "Users' Everyday Life": The workshops combine different ways of observing and recording details of the users' everyday lives in the built environment and to incorporate the findings into the participatory design process (Hofmann, 2014).
- "Wunschforschung": Literally 'wish research' – these workshops seek to determine the desires users have for the space and, based on that, develop the underlying story of the project (Hofmann, 2014).
- "Feedback": These workshops give users the opportunity to comment on and evaluate the architects' designs, making sure that the proposals match their desires and needs (Hofmann, 2014).

During the design process, several workshops of each category are held (Hofmann, 2014). The exact methods employed depend on the individual workshop's theme, purpose, and participants (Hofmann, 2014).

5.1.2 Interview with Martin Janekovic. For this research, architect Martin Janekovic from Die Baupiloten was interviewed in the project's Berlin office on December 11th, 2012. This section summarizes Janekovic's statements in this interview.

The visit to the office and the interview altogether took around 40 minutes. The aim of the interview was to gain deeper insights into the group's projects involving spaces for children, and to learn more about their approach on designing children's spaces for culturally diverse environments and how children were involved and able to express their ideas during the design process of these spaces.

Spaces at schools and day care centres are significant for this research, because they can trigger and shape the communication and social interactions between children and provide room for them to create private places in which they can spend time alone to learn, read, or focus on their hobbies and interests.

While the Die Baupiloten group also was involved in the design of construction of new buildings, the three cases examined in this research all were renovations of pre-existing buildings. In these situations, there may be a challenge in re-purposing parts of the spaces, since, as Janekovic pointed out in the interview, the Berlin school system recently changed: While children used to go home at noon time, they now spend a large part of the day at school. Thus, as he explained, school buildings would need to feature cafeteria facilities, which were not necessary before, as well as spaces that allow children to do their homework in the afternoon.

Janekovic described that during the projects; architects would not ask children directly about their wishes, preferring an indirect approach instead.

This approach of Die Baupiloten is in line with Hofmann's (2014), according to which asking users for specific ideas about a space and its functionality during the design process may limit users' ideas, because they would only think of features, they had seen before. By focusing the conversation on the desired atmosphere of the space, users are not limited by the familiarity with specific features and may reveal their unconscious wishes about their future places (Hofmann, 2014).

Janekovic laid out some of the methods the office uses to evoke and gather these abstract ideas. He explained that they would employ different methods for children and adults, but the aim was always to engage the users in non-architectural ways to avoid anything that would lead them to limit themselves to suggestions for specific design features.

According to him, children might inform architects about the kind of atmosphere they desire for the space by drawing non-architectural pictures or creating collages. Thus, children's drawings would not be used as a one-to-one template for a design, but architects would instead use more abstract wishes about the atmosphere of the space as their foundations.

For adults, as he explained, the office might offer specifically designed games to play or have them fill out questionnaires about their wishes for the space.

Janekovic went on to explain that these inputs are then used to develop the story or fiction of the project that ties together the various design elements. He gave the Traumbaum day care centre as an example. "Traumbaum" literally means "tree of dreams", and the theme of the day care is a tree. He described how children can climb into movable seating modules that are designed as the tree's flowers, and how their motion triggers mechanics that produce a sound meant to signify the snoring of the sleeping tree. He said that these modules were invented based on the desires collected from the users, and the architects' aim was that users should be able to identify themselves with the project by recognizing that they contributed to

it. At the same time, Janekovic pointed out that the group tries to collect input from as many different sources as possible, because most of the users of schools and day care centres will only be there temporarily, so it is important to create a design that appeals even to those users who were not around when it was conceived. According to Janekovic, the process may incidentally include input from different cultures, because the participants of the design process may come from different backgrounds, however, Die Baupiloten are not specifically aiming for an intercultural design process. As Janekovic put it, they are combining ideas suggested by different people, not different cultures.

At the same time, the intercultural nature of the spaces may manifest itself in certain design features. As an example, Janekovic mentioned a multilingual installation in the Traumbaum Day Care Centre, in which families from different backgrounds submit basic words from their first languages that are then displayed at the day care centre.

He also pointed out some of the design features meant to encourage the creation of both social and private places in the projects. He mentioned that some spaces were designed to be suitable for hiding and relaxation, thus inviting children to use them as private places. He also said, others encourage communication or group play. An example he gave was the snoring effect mentioned above. He explained that in order to trigger this effect, two or three children have to work together, encouraging communication and social interactions.

5.1.3 Relation to intercultural design. Many of the ideas and principles used by Die Baupiloten correspond to the research reviewed earlier in this paper: Children can have the ability to create spaces that they can use to build “homes-away-from-home”, and the participation in the design process means that they will have a stronger bond to the finished spaces. Furthermore, while the group does not directly focus on intercultural design, the participatory design process means that the various backgrounds may still find a way into the finished project, especially if it was undertaken in a culturally diverse district.

5.2 Case Study 1: Traumbaum Day Care Centre

The Traumbaum (Tree of Dreams) Day Care Centre was selected for this research because it is utilized by children coming from different cultural backgrounds and was recently re-designed with the aim of providing more opportunities for children to socialize as well as to have temporary places that allow them to be alone.

The two-storey building was designed in 1987 for the International Building Exhibition, Berlin (IBA) and it was built in 1989 (Orte für Kinder GmbH, 2014, p. 7). It is located in a comparatively quiet area of the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, Berlin, among residential apartment buildings. The building has a back garden of its own and is also in walking distance of one of the city parks, Mendelssohn Bartholdy Park. The roads around it are closed to car traffic.

The day care centre accepts children from the age of one up until the age at which they start primary school (Orte für Kinder GmbH, 2014). The children are coming from families with many different cultural and economic backgrounds: 73 % of them have a mother language other than German (Orte für Kinder GmbH, 2014, p. 8). Turkish and Arabic cultural backgrounds are the most common ones, but there are a number of others, as well children from multicultural families (Orte für Kinder GmbH, 2014, p. 8). Because of this, language training is one of the main areas of focus for the day care centre (Orte für Kinder GmbH, 2014). The centre's concept aims to respect the significance of a child's mother language for their development and integrate into their work with the children but also seeks to bring the children's command of the German language to a level that is sufficient for them to succeed in their future lives (Orte für Kinder GmbH, 2014). Therefore, the centre aims to encourage communication between the children in order to improve their language skills (Orte für Kinder GmbH, 2014)

5.2.1 Description and aims of the re-design project. The re-design project of the facility was led by the architects Susanne Hofmann and Martin Janekovic from Die Baupiloten in 2005. This included a modernization of the corridors, that allowed more daylight into them and provided a lively environment with group and single seating options for the children (Die Baupiloten Architektur, n.d.-b). The stated aim of the project was to design a space based on the children's desires and fantasies that would trigger more communication between them (Die Baupiloten Architektur, n.d.-b).

5.2.2 Interview with day care centre director. For this research, the day care centre director Susanna Söhring was interviewed on June 4th, 2013, about her impressions and experiences with the project. This section summarizes her statements during this interview.

Söhring stated that at the time the project started, 95% of the centre's children had a migratory background. She mentioned that due to external factors, such as gentrification in the neighbourhood, this percentage decreased. She added that at the time of the interview, about 75 % of the children attending the day care centre had a migratory background. She said also that the centre does not have any special contact with the neighbourhood apart from the parents who bring their children there.

Söhring said that, Traumbaum Day Care Centre was renovated in 2005. When she was asked about reasons for the renovation, Söhring explained that, in 2004, fire regulations forced the centre to remove furniture from the corridors. She added that this made them appear dark, dirty and unattractive for the children. She continued that, shortly afterwards, two architects and several students contacted the day care centre in order to conduct a project with them and after obtaining the necessary permissions, the project was started. She explained that, the architecture students worked with children and used the ideas from their imagination to design a model, which was then discussed with both children and personnel.

Söhring explained that, the re-design used brighter wall colours and reflection panels in order to counter this, and that new textile seating, plasterboards and light control panels were added in order to create a livelier and more welcoming atmosphere. She stated that it made the centre more attractive, and brighter. She mentioned also that parents' reaction about the re-design was mixed: Some liked it better than the previous interior, however others felt that the new colours were cold and not as comfortable before. In her opinion, however, looking back eight years after the start of the project, the re-design was a success.

According to Söhring, the name Traumbaum (Tree of Dreams) existed before the project, and it was used as a source of inspiration. She explained that the tree theme is used throughout the design. She added that panels in the hallway reflect sunlight during the day, making the corridors brighter, these panels are designed as leaves of the tree and connected to them are seats, which form the flowers of the tree. Söhring added that when children move forwards and backwards in the seats, these are designed to make mechanical noises representing the "snoring" of the "sleeping tree" moreover, smaller leaves are making noises, as well, which are considered to be the tree's heartbeat. She continued that, there is also a "talking pipe" between the entrance area and the first floor of the building, moreover, its openings are designed as flowers of the tree, and the pipe allows children to talk to each other from the two openings.

In Söhring's opinion, these designs improve children's communication options in the centre's space. According to her observations while children can sit in the flowers by themselves to read a book or rest there, most activities need more than one child: The "flower" seats are designed in such a way that one child does not have enough power to move them, so it takes at least two children in the seat to move them in order to hear the noise of the tree (its heartbeat or snoring). According to her, this is supposed to bring children together at get them to communicate in order to achieve a common goal.

Söhring also explained that children can use the corridors any time they like, as they are part of the general play area of the centre. She added that they can sit in the flowers (textile seats in the corridor), run around, ride toy cars through the long corridor, or utilize the motion opportunities of the design.

She acknowledged, however, that children tended to forget the special capabilities of the designed objects, such as the moving seats or the “talking pipe”. She added that, therefore, adults periodically remind children about them and show them how to use these abilities.

Söhring also mentioned that, in addition to these architectural and design features, Traumbaum uses other ways to encourage and improve children's communication skills. She said that the centre focuses on language and movement, and especially aims to trigger communication between children and all the rooms are organized in a way that is meant to encourage communication. Söhring gave the example that the centre has many photos on display in the rooms, since these tended to encourage conversation and communication. According to Söhring's estimates, the new designs did not lead to an overall increase in communication or communication skills in the children, when compared to the previous situation, but they did add more variety by giving children and day care practitioners more options to choose from.

When asked what changes she would propose in the day care centre, if she had a chance, Söhring responded in more general terms, stating that she would appreciate it if children and users of the building had been incorporated into the design process from the very beginning, that is, even before construction had started. According to her, through discussion before and during the design process, users and architects can identify the specific needs, and then design rooms according to their purposes. She added that, for example, rooms designed for activities involving movement may benefit from design decisions that are different from those for spaces used for quiet or solitary activities. According to Söhring, by structuring

rooms' interior designs, placements and dimensions according to the insights, opinions, and wishes of both day care practitioners and children, the concept would have a higher chance of succeeding in the real world.

5.2.3 Observations. The purpose of this observation is to investigate whether the new renovation project improved the communication of children, and whether the new design features are used by children. Furthermore, it aims to determine children's place preferences for social and private activities.

The visit to Traumbaum Day Care Centre took place on June 5th, 2013, and the observation period was between 9:40 am and 11:50 am. The data was collected through the observation of children in the renovated corridors. During the observation period, the movements of children in the renovated corridor were noted and photographs were taken. A selection of these photographs can be found in Appendix A.

The observation only notes children who spent some amount time playing or sitting in the observed area, not those who were merely using it as a transitory space to get from one place to another.

For the graphical representation depicting the usage of the renovated space, the 130 minutes of the observation period were divided into 10-minute-intervals. All the graphic representations are based on a ground-level plan of the renovated corridors. Classrooms, service rooms or other areas unrelated to the renovation project are not shown. The plans are not to scale and only intend as a graphical representation of the observed behaviours of the children.

For features that allow for both social and private activities, the types of the observed activities or interactions are noted.

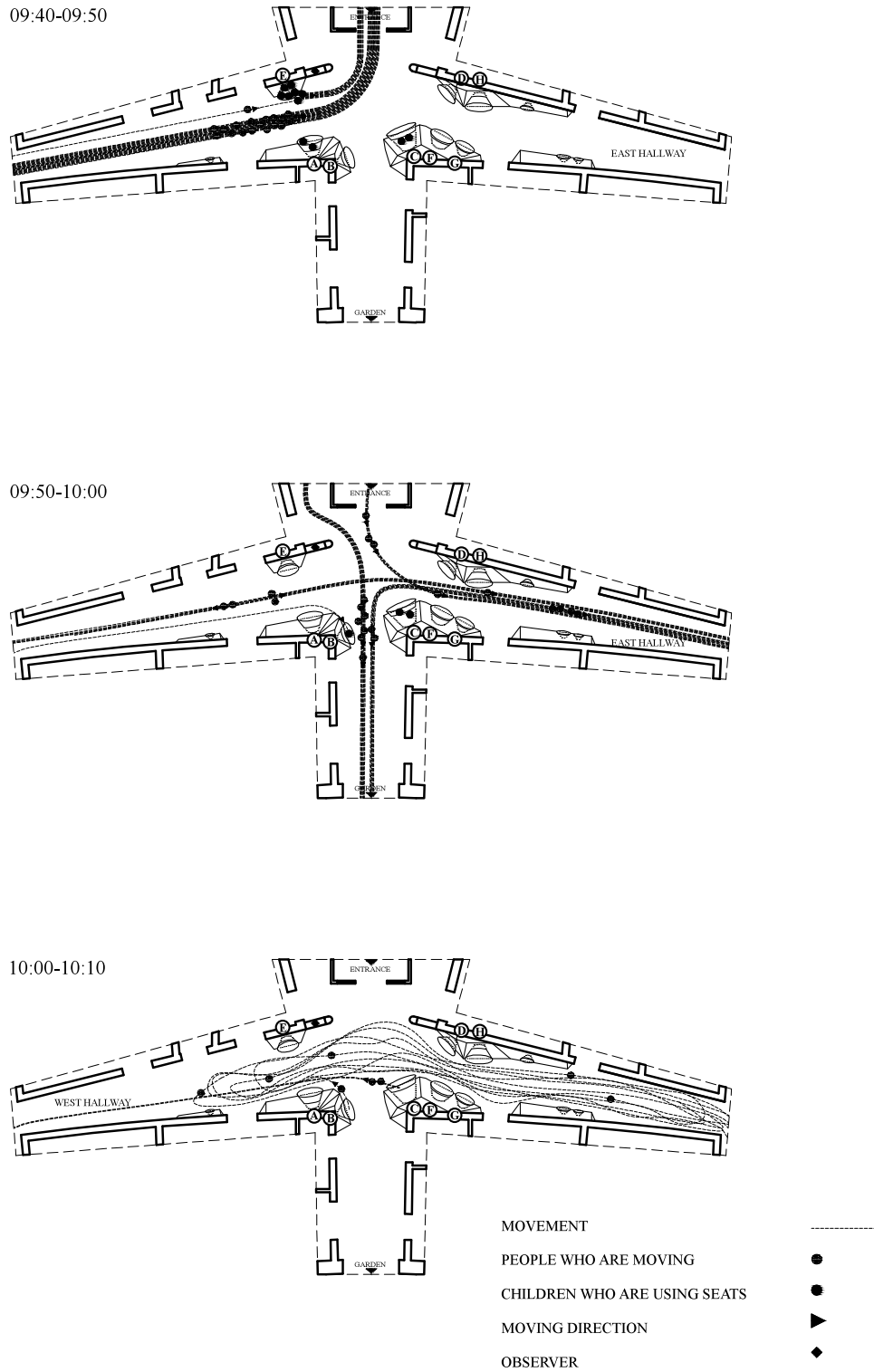


Figure 1: Movements at Traumbaum Day Care between 09:40 and 10:10

9:40 – 9:50:

Social activities: At seat A, two children sit together and talk, then go to their group room. At seat E, seven children sit inside or stand around the seat and talk. They then join a passing group of children with a day care centre practitioner and leave the building with them.

Private activities: Two children sit together inside of seat C, with each reading a book. They do not communicate.

9:50 – 10:00:

Social activities: The children at seat C stop reading their books and start talking to each other while climbing around on seat C. They jump up and down in the seat (designed as a flower) to make the leaf-shaped panels move and have the structure make noises.

Private activities: One child comes in via the western hallway and sits on seat B. He sits there and relaxes without any specific activity.

10:00 – 10:10:

Social activities: The two children playing at seat C stop doing so and leave via the western hallway. Five other children come into the corridor and start playing with toy cars.

Private activity: The child sitting in seat B gets up and leaves via the western hallway.

10:10 – 10:20:

Social activities: Two more children join the group playing with toy cars, bringing its size to seven. All seats are empty.

Private activities: None.

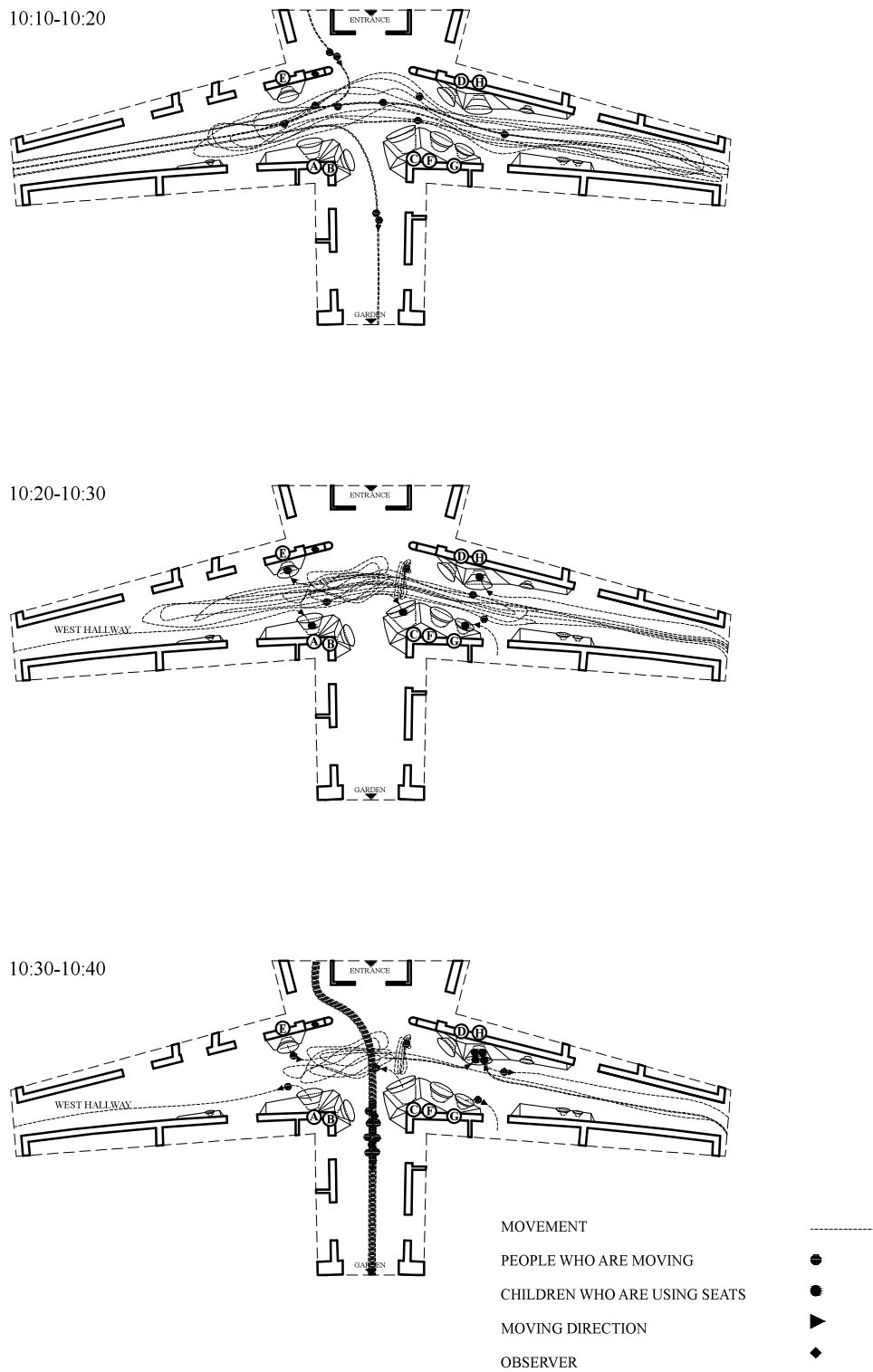


Figure 2: Movements at Traumbaum Day Care between 10:10 and 10:40

10:20 – 10:30:

Social activities: Two of the children playing with cars sit down on the seats, one on seat C, the other on seat E. Both continue talking to the children playing with the cars.

Another child leaves group playing with the cars and returns to his group room. Eventually, two more of the group stop playing with cars and start riding skateboards together instead.

Private activities: Three children come from group rooms, all independent from one another, and sit down separately at seats A, G, and H. All of them start climbing around on the seats and play balancing games by themselves without talking to others.

10:30 – 10:40:

Social activities: The two children sitting at seat C and E get up and start playing football together in the corridor. A third child comes from a group room and joins them in their play.

The two children riding skateboards take a break and sit down together at seat H (already vacated at the time, see below under 'Private activities'). After a few minutes, the two children who are playing with cars stop doing so, and come over to join the children in seat H. All four talk to each other.

Private activities: The three children playing balancing games at seats A, G, and H all return to their group rooms.

10:40 – 10:50:

Social activities: The four children talking at seat H all climb into the seat and start moving around in it. One of them then joins the three children playing football in the corridor.

Private activities: Another child from the group at seat H eventually leaves that group and sits quietly by himself in seat F.

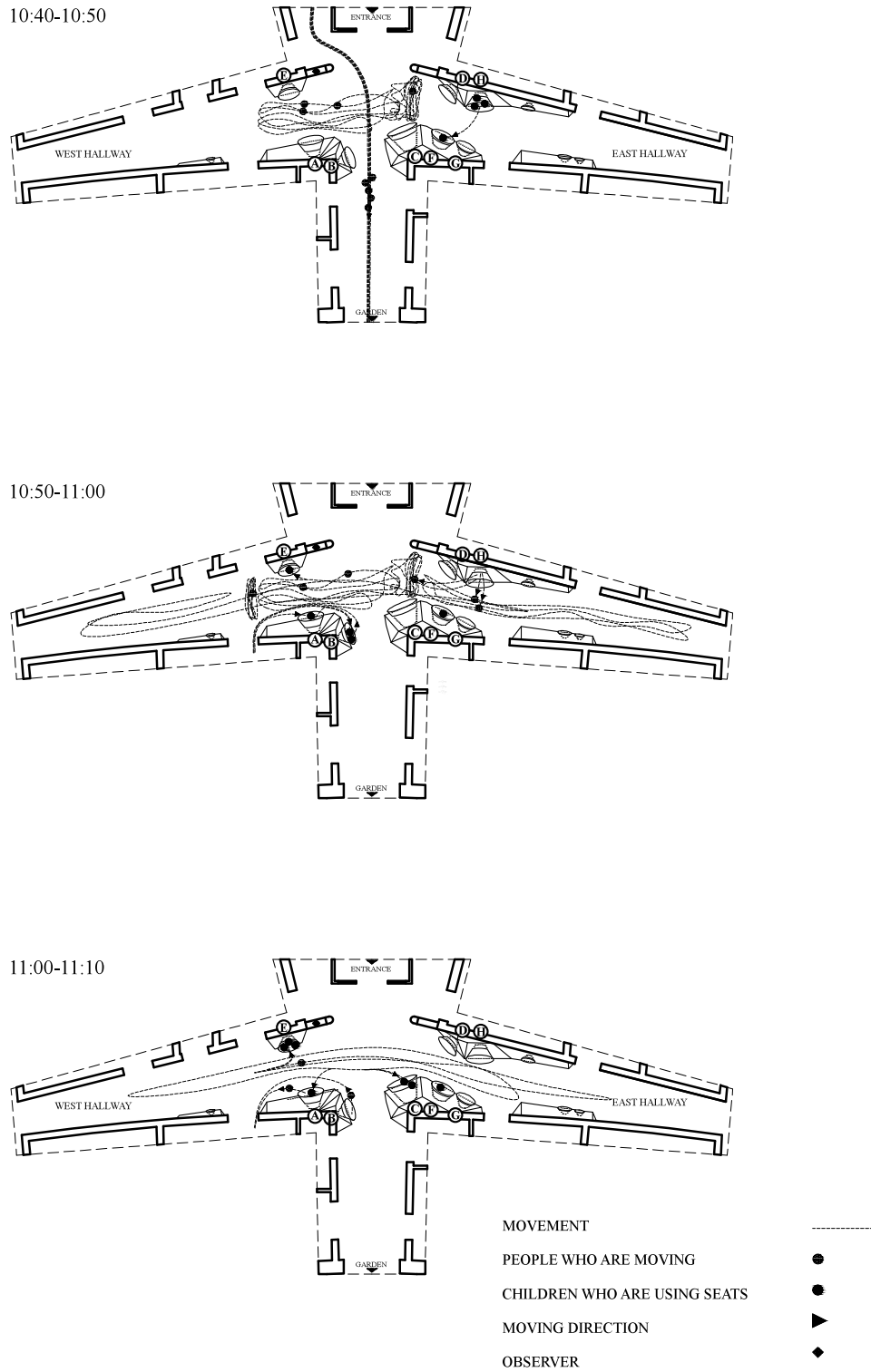


Figure 3: Movements at Traumbaum Day Care between 10:40 and 11:10.

10:50 – 11:00:

Social activities: The two children sitting at seat H get up and start riding skateboards again. The group of four children playing football continues to do so. Two children come from the group rooms, sit down at seat B, and start talking.

Private activities: After a few minutes, one of the children from seat B goes back to the group room. The other child stays by herself in seat B. She lies down in the seat and relaxes. Another child comes out of a group room and sits down in seat E. Independently, yet another child also comes from the group rooms and sits down in seat A. Both of these children relax quietly by themselves.

11:00 – 11:10:

Social activities: Two of the children playing football go over to seat E and join the child already sitting there. All three talk sometimes run around in the corridor, then return to seat E to have a rest together. The other two children playing football sit down together at seat C. One of the two children riding skateboards sits down at seat A, which is already empty (see below under 'Private activities'), the child starts talking to the children in seats E and C. One child continues to ride a skateboard in the corridor.

Private activities: At the beginning of this time slice, the child who had been sitting alone at seat A returns to the group rooms. The child lying down on seat B also gets up and returns to her group room.

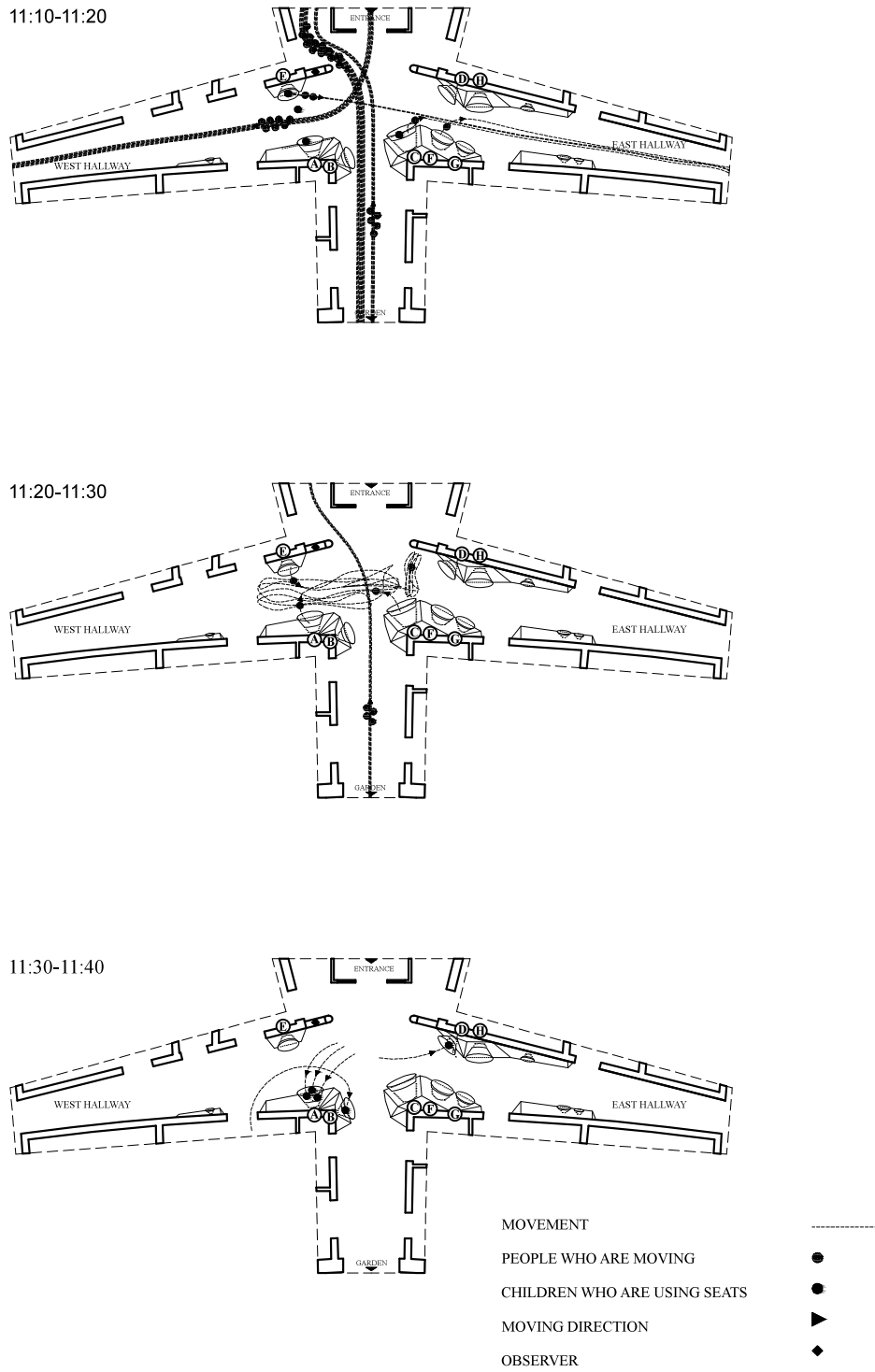


Figure 4: Movements at Traumbaum Day Care between 11:10 and 11:40

11:10 – 11:20:

Social activities: Two children from seat E and one child from seat C leave the group conversation and return to the group rooms.

The child on seat A, the remaining child on seat E, and the child who had been riding a skateboard all talk together, with the skateboarding child sitting on the skateboard and talking to the others from there.

Private activities: The child sitting at seat F gets up and returns to the group rooms. The remaining child at seat C sits there and relaxes.

11:20 – 11:30:

Social activities: The children from seats A, C, and E all get up and play football in the corridor, the child who had been sitting on the skateboard joins them.

Private activities: None

11:30 – 11:40:

Social activities: Three of the children playing football sit down at seat A and talk to each other.

Private activities: The fourth child who had been playing football sits down at seat D, relaxing quietly. Another child comes from a group room and quietly sits at seat B.

11:40 – 11:50:

Social activities: The children from seat A return to their group room.

Private activities: The child from seat D returns to his group room. The child sitting at seat B continues to do so.

This concluded the observation period.

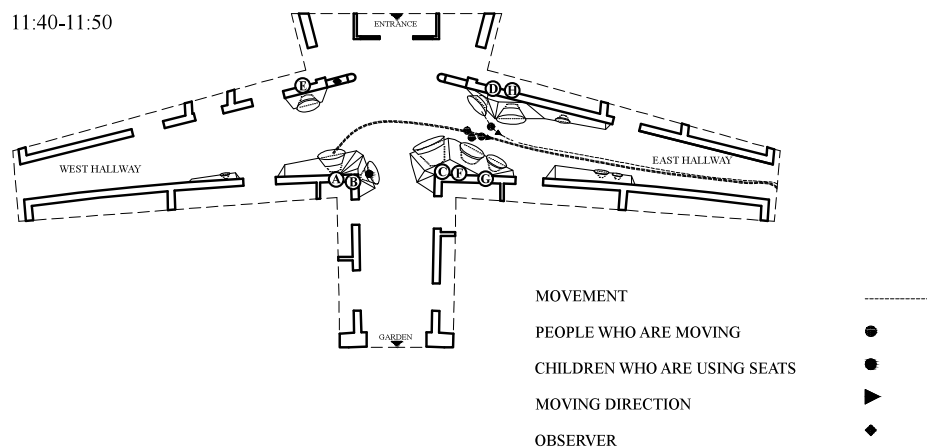


Figure 5: Movements at Traumbaum Day Care between 11:40 and 11:50

5.2.4 Analysis. As the observations show, children use the renovated corridor for both social and private activities. While the floor space was mainly used for social activities in the observed period, the seats were used as both social and private spaces.

Observed social activities in the seats were conversations, climbing around on the seats, and moving backward and forward in them. Private activities in the seats were reading, climbing, balancing games, and resting by sitting or lying in them.

During the observation period, the number of occupants in a seat did not necessarily correspond to the type of activity the occupants were engaged in. Children sitting alone in a seat might still take part in social activities by having conversations with children in other seats or playing in the corridors. Conversely, children sharing might still each be engaging in individual activities. In one case, during the observation, two children were initially sharing a seat without communicating with each other, each focused on reading a book. After some time, however, they started talking climbing around on the seats shifting from two separate private activities to a shared social activity within the same space.

Table 2: Active vs. Transiting Persons at Traumbaum Day Care

Time Period	Active Persons	Transiting Persons	Total Persons
9:40 – 9:50	11	19	30
9:50 – 10:00	3	22	25
10:00 – 10:10	8	0	8
10:10 – 10:20	7	4	11
10:20 – 10:30	10	0	10
10:30 – 10:40	10	12	22
10:40 – 10:50	7	5	12
10:50 – 11:00	10	0	10
11:00 – 11:10	9	0	9
11:10 – 11:20	8	24	32
11:20 – 11:30	4	4	8
11:30 – 11:40	5	0	5
11:40 – 11:50	5	0	5

Social activities on the floor space of the corridors included playing with toy cars, running, playing football, and riding skateboards. These activities involved conversation and communication between the children. If the activities got too tiring, children would go to the seats to have a rest, often doing so either with several members of the group or in a way that still allowed them to stay in contact with the group they had played with before.

While people passing through the hallway were not recorded in the detailed observations, their total numbers were noted for every time period. Table 2 gives an overview of the total number of people present in the corridors at each time slice of the observation

period, and whether they were occupied with activities within the corridors or merely passing through.

This data shows that the renovated corridors were in use for activities of children at all times during the 130-minute observation period. At the least crowded times were 3 children active in it, and during the most crowded period there were 11 children. The number of people varied greatly according to the centre's schedule: Apart from individual children moving about, parents would drop off their children at certain times of the day, at other times, practitioners would lead and company groups of children to go to outside activities or move with them from one room to another. During the observation period, this type of transitory traffic did not interfere with the children using the space for their activities.

During the observation period, a total of 118 uses of the corridors were observed. In 90 of these cases, a person just passed through the corridor, while 28 children used the corridors for specific activities or to relax and rest. Figure 6 illustrates the private and social use of the corridor's various features by these 28 children.

During the observation period, 16 children used the corridors for social activities only, 6 children were there exclusively for private activities, and another 6 children used the corridors partially for private and partially for social activities. Of these, two children were initially reading books started interacting and communicating at their seats. Another child initially sat together and interacted with a friend, and when that friend left she stayed behind and relaxed by herself for a few minutes. The other three children all spend time playing at the floor but took breaks at certain points and separated themselves from the rest of the group to sit alone in one of the seats.

In the context of social activities, children from different group rooms frequently interacted and communicated with each other.

In the limited time frame of the observation period, the seats were more frequently used for activities than the floor space. While most seats show a mixture of social and private uses, seat B was almost exclusively picked for private activities. There could a number of reasons for this: It is located so that there is no other seat directly opposite of it, so children sitting there cannot see other children and are comparatively hidden from anyone sitting in the other seats. This may grant some privacy and also make the seat less suitable for interaction with children sitting at the other places. Futhermore, the part of the corridor the seat is located in did not see social activity during the time of the observations.

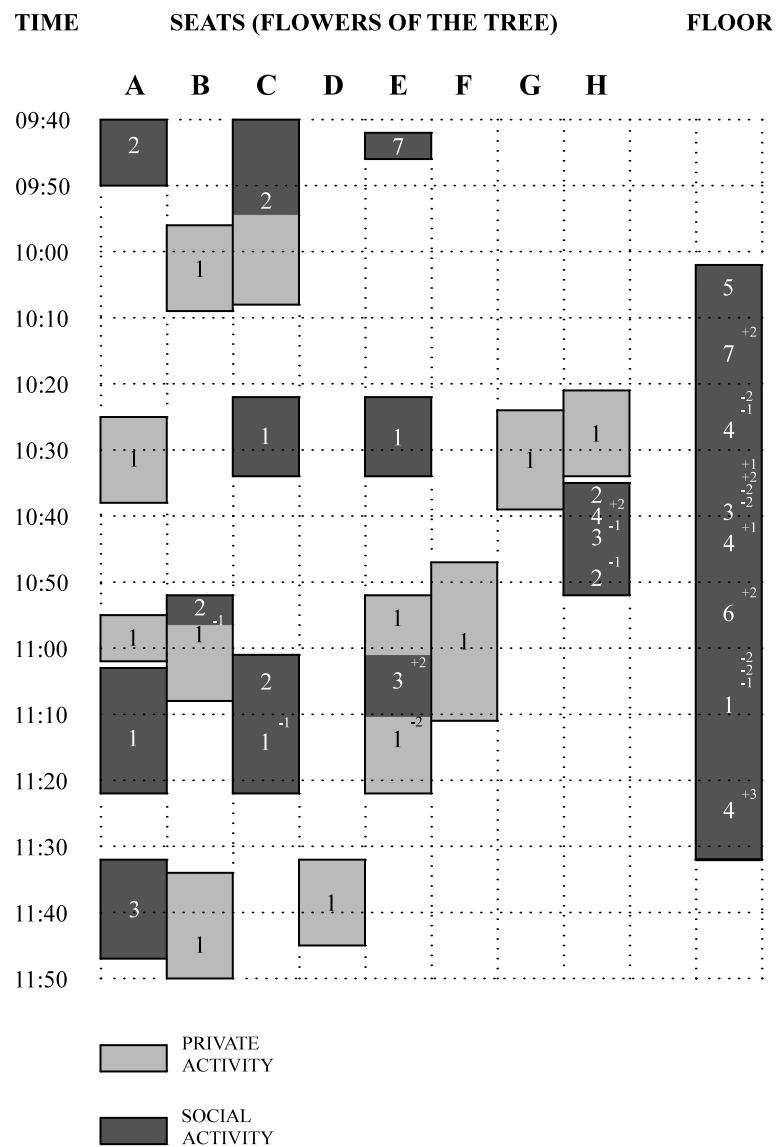


Figure 6: Activity Types at Traumbaum Day Care by Time and Place

Lastly, the seat also offers a good view of garden which children sitting there may like looking at.

Seats A, C, and E were preferred locations for social activities. Their locations are more central, and they are designed with bigger dimensions, making it easier for them to be used by groups of children. Seats D, F and G saw little use during the observation period. Seat H was also empty for most of the observed time, however for much of the short time that it was in use, it hosted a comparatively large group.

Almost 50% of the children used the space either exclusively or partially for private activities. Even some of the children who mostly busied themselves with games needed some private time and a place for themselves to take a break from the social activities and temporarily separate themselves from rest of the group.

5.2.5 Case findings. The observations support S. Söhring's (personal communication, June 4, 2013) statement the interview that children tend to use the renovated corridors for both social and private activities. During the observation period, social activities were slightly more common than individual usage. This indicates that both architects' aim of providing spaces for small groups of children as well as the day care centre's focus on improving communication between children were successful.

Children also used some of the designed features meant to trigger social activity, such as the moving seats and the snoring noises of the tree.

During the observation period, children tended to pick seats specifically according to their activity type. For social activities, central seats with bigger dimensions were most popular, and the floor space in the corridor was used for social activities that needed bigger areas, such as playing football or skateboarding. On the other hand, the most popular seat for individual use was located in a part of the corridors with less activity. It also did not have another seat opposite of it and provided a view of the garden.

Overall, the observations tend to confirm both the architects' aims as well as S. Söhring's (personal communication, June 4, 2013) positive impression of the result of the participatory design process, as the children tended to utilize the space to fulfil their needs for both social and private activities.

It should be noted, though, that an observation period of 130 minutes is far too short to reach a comprehensive evaluation of this particular design. At the same time, the observed activities do indicate that the participatory design process used for this project may indeed lead to positive results. This will be examined further in the following case studies.

5.3 Case Study 2: Erika Mann Primary School

Erika Mann Primary School is located in a residential area of a Berlin's Mitte district. Until 2001, the region the school is situated in used to be its own district named Wedding.

The school building opened in 1916 and was initially designed a pair of two schools, separating the students by gender – a separation which has long since been abolished (Hayner, 2016).

Due to its location in what is termed a “social hotspot” (“sozialer Brennpunkt”), the school has to contend with problems such as high rates of crime and violence, a comparatively large shares of students from low-income families, students with relatively uneducated parents, and students who are not able to speak German at a native level (Erika Mann Grundschule, 2016). The school considers itself to be a “lighthouse project” – that is, it aims to offer high-quality education that attracts families from all backgrounds and serves to improve the quality of life for the whole neighbourhood (Erika Mann Grundschule, 2016). Part of that is a language concept that combines language development courses for non-native speakers with a general “language awareness” program that aims to improve the communication and social interaction skills of all students (Erika Mann Grundschule, 2016). This concept is embedded and utilized in all of the school's classes and activities.

Since 2005, Erika Mann Primary School has been operating on all-day schedule (Erika Mann Grundschule, n.d.). Parents can drop off their children starting at 6:00 am, and the morning schedule is a complex arrangement of learning periods, breaks and shared mealtimes, which is arranged slightly differently for different ages (Erika Mann Grundschule, 2016). At 1:30 pm, after lunch, those students on a semi-day schedule leave the school (Erika Mann Grundschule, 2016). However, the majority of students – 80% of them in the year 2018 – is also enrolled in the afternoon activities, which last until 4:00 pm (Erika Mann Grundschule, n.d.). These include workshops related to the current curriculum, as well as group activities regarding arts, science, sports, and more (Erika Mann Grundschule, 2016). After the workshops finish at 4:00 pm, the school still stays open until 6:00 pm for those children who don't have an opportunity to go home until then (Erika Mann Grundschule, 2016).

5.3.1 Description of the project. Die Baupiloten undertook two renovation projects at the school, both of them led by Susanne Hofmann. Concept design for the first phase started in 2002, and the aim of this phase was to extend the school's learning environment beyond the classrooms and into the school's corridors and escape routes in order to accommodate a new education concept that called for the ability to learn in small, individual groups (Hofmann, 2014). Die Baupiloten designed modules suitable for sitting and studying as well as new cloakroom elements for the corridors on each floor, with the school's students participating in the design process via workshops and discussions with Die Baupiloten architects and students of TU Berlin (Hofmann, 2014). The design process resulted the theme "Silver Dragon World" which was used to as a guiding principle for the designs of both this and the second phase of the project (Hofmann, 2014, p. 212).

The second phase of the project started in 2006, and involved not only the redesign of the corridors in another wing of the building – adding differently seating modules that can be used by groups or individuals for playing, studying, or relaxation – but also the addition of

two “leisure rooms” (Hofmann, 2014). The additional spaces gained through this re-design were meant to complement the newly-introduced all day school concept (Hofmann, 2014). Writers for the online journal ArchDaily called the resulting spaces a “home-away-from-Home” for the students (“Erika Mann Elementary School / Die Baupiloten”, 2009).

According to Hofmann (2014), the re-design had an impact far beyond the confines of the school corridors, because she puts it, “The transformation of the Erika Mann Elementary School has become an example of social integration through participation, and shows that even on a small scale, architectural interventions can act as a social catalyst for the neighbourhood” (p. 210).

5.3.2 Interview with special education coordinator. In order to gather more information about the project and the school, and to understand the project’s effect on the students, the school’s Special Education Coordinator Maren Loeppke was interviewed on May 22nd, 2013. This section summarizes her statements in this interview.

Loeppke stated that, at that time, about 80 % of the school’s students had a migratory background, and around 55 % of children came from low-income families.

She explained that the corridors had been olive green before the re-design, resulting in a very boring environment for the children. She added that when Die Baupiloten was tasked with to come up with a new design, they sent students from the TU’s architecture faculty to the school to spend time with the students. She continued that they did workshops with them that let them explore the ideas by writing different stories. She said that this is also how the concept of the Silver Dragon was created – it is based on a story written by the children and was developed into the idea that the dragon was flowing through the school building. She added that, in the next phase, the university students came up with ways that would apply the children’s ideas to the available spaces and created a model based upon that. This model was

then used to gather feedback from the children, the result of which were again incorporated into the model.

Loeppke emphasized the project's positive influence on children's behaviour at school, stating that it helped to create an atmosphere in which students behaved friendlier towards each other and that it reduced fighting between students. In her opinion, the design helped children to calm down and made them feel protected in the school.

When asked about the designed features, Loeppke stated that she believed children enjoyed spending time at the new modules. According to her, they give them the opportunity to learn or explore in a place that is partially hidden from their teacher's eyes and they can decide for themselves what they want to do there. She mentioned that sometimes they would talk there, or just study quietly. According to Loeppke the modules gave children a new space in the school that they can use.

Loeppke also explained that sometimes, small groups of children will leave of the classroom during the lesson and study on one of the modules as a group. She also said that children can also use these spaces as well as the leisure rooms during the breaks. She added that, in all of these cases, they will be under the oversight of teachers. She also said that there were special rooms that were renovated as part of the project that children spend time in these rooms under the supervision of teachers or pedagogues. If children were to ask to spend short periods of time alone and without supervision in these places, that might be possible, according to Loeppke, however she added that such an arrangement would require special trust between teacher and child.

Overall, Loeppke described the newly designed spaces as being almost like having an additional pedagogue on duty. She said they would capture children's attention, and that children were eager to come to school and enjoyed using the new spaces for studying.

Additionally, Loeppke pointed out that both the new pedagogical concept and the new design also had a positive effect on the relationship between school and parents. According to her observations, parents were particularly pleased that their children were spending their time at school in the afternoons. She added that even in cases in which one of the parents stays at home could look after their child, some would prefer to let them stay at school instead, so that they can participate in the activities there.

When asked for possible improvements, Loeppke said that one negative aspect of the corridor design is that children who are using the modules for studying may be distracted or disturbed by other children passing through the corridor. According to her, calmer and quieter new places for learning would be helpful in the regard. Furthermore, she stated that the corridors were not always suitable as learning environments in the wintertime, because it could get too cold in there.

Loeppke also stated that, the number of students at school was increasing and that they needed more space to divide the classes into small studying groups. She continued that, if she had the opportunity and budget, she would like to have additional rooms, that, however, was too expensive at the moment.

5.3.3 Observations. The observations at Erika Mann Primary School took place over three days, from May 22nd, 2013, to May 24th, 2013. The data was collected via the observation of children in several of the renovated corridors. During the observation period, movements of the children in renovated corridor were noted and photographs were taken. A selection of these photos can be found in Appendix B.

Over the course of the three days, three different corridors on three different floors were observed. Days 1 and 2 each focused on one floor, whereas the observations on day 3 took place on two floors.

While all movements in the corridors were recorded, the analysis focuses on those persons interacting with designed features in the corridor or with other persons who already are using one of those features. Therefore, individuals and groups who are merely passing through the corridors, such as groups of students leaving their classroom in order to go outside, are not mentioned below unless they interacted with features of the hallways or with students using those features.

Altogether, there were seven observation periods, with a total time of 343 minutes. One observation was undertaken on day 1, two on day 2, and four on day 3. For analysis, the observation periods were divided into smaller intervals. In most cases, there are 10 minutes in length, although there are some exceptions, which are noted in the protocol.

First Observation Period: Day 1, 9:25 – 10:25 (60 minutes), Second Floor

9:25 – 9:35:

Social activities: Two students are talking at module A. One teacher and two students are learning together at module B. At 9:33, the group at module B gets up and leaves.

Private activities: None.

9:35 – 9:45:

Social activities: The two students at module A continue their conversation. At some point, one of them gets up but stays close to the module.

Private activities: None.

9:45 – 9:55:

Social activities: The two students get up and go into a classroom.

Private activities: None.

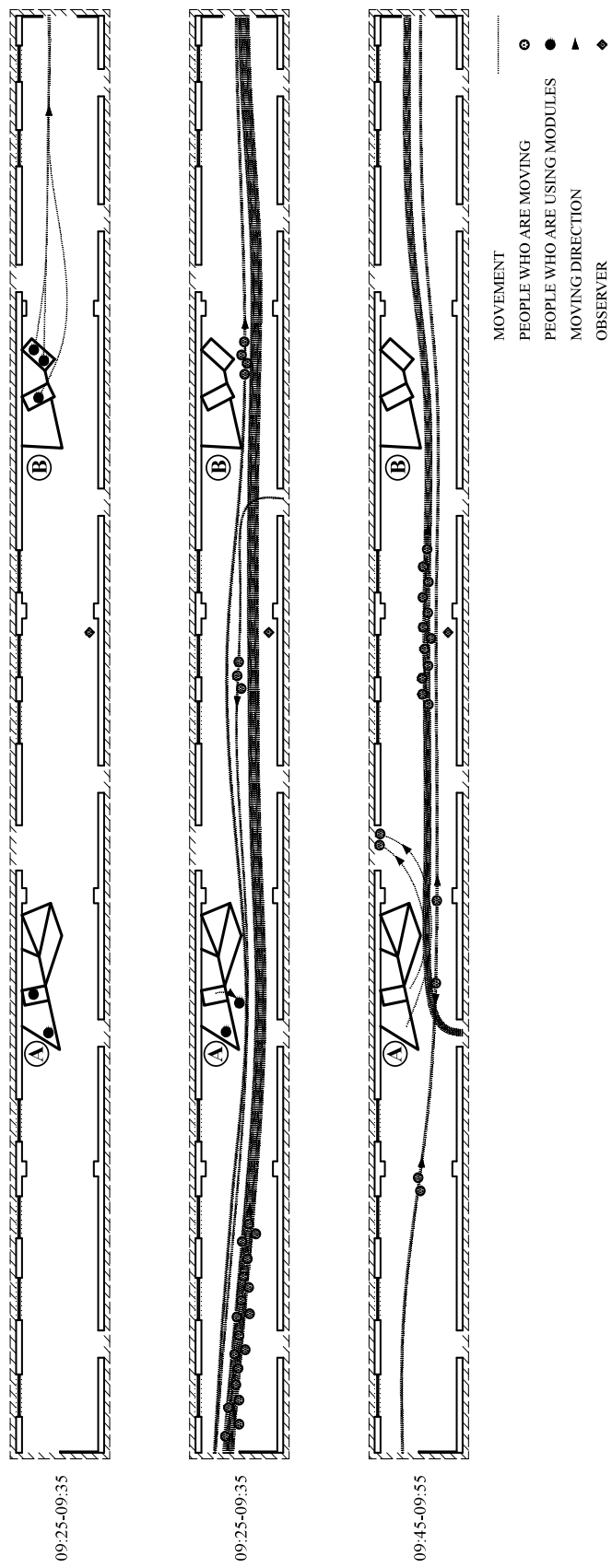


Figure 7: Movements at Erika Mann School between 09:25 and 09:55, Day 1

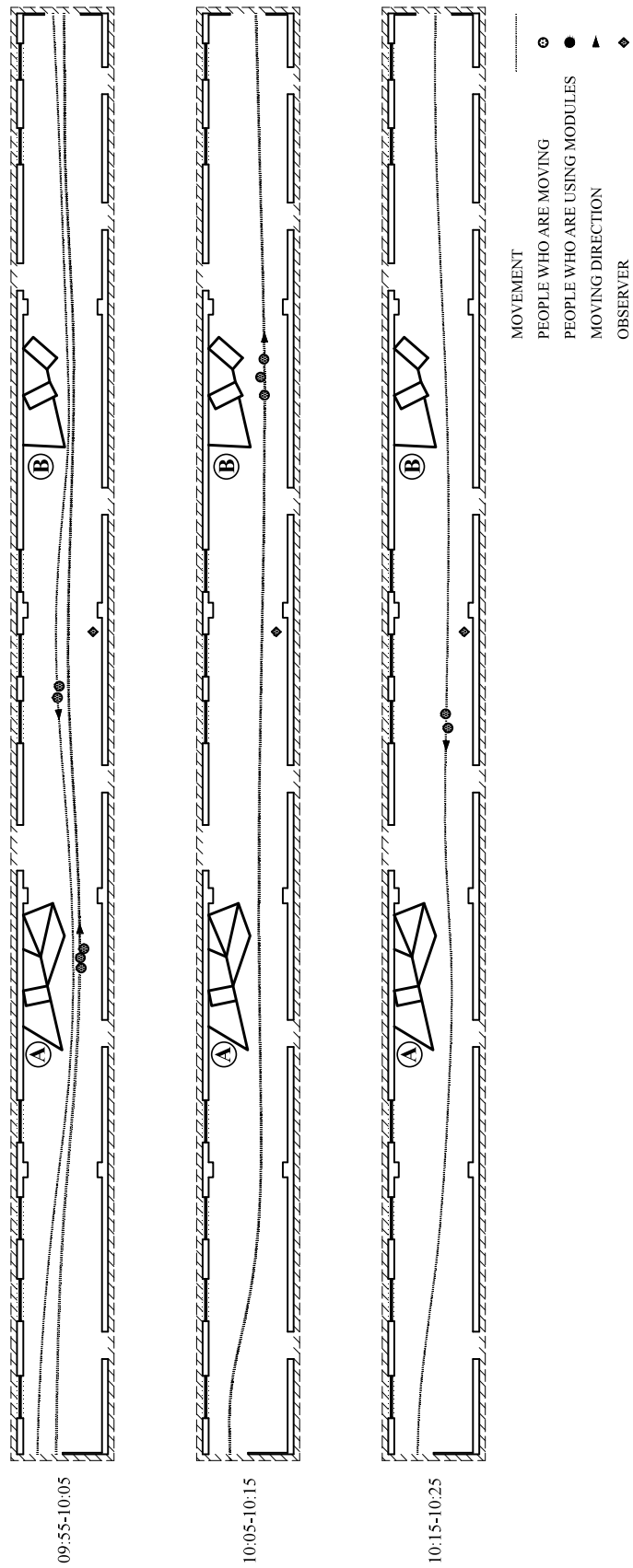


Figure 8: Movements at Erika Mann School between 09:55 and 10:25, Day 1

9:55 – End (30-minute interval!):

In the remainder of the observation period, students occasionally pass through the corridor but do not interact with any of its designed features.

Table 3: Active vs. Transiting Persons during Obsv. Period 1 at Erika Mann School

Time Period	Active Persons	Transiting Persons	Total Persons
9:25 – 9:35	5	0	5
9:35 – 9:45	2	25	27
9:45 – 9:55	2	16	18
9:55 – 10:05	0	5	5
10:05 – 10:15	0	3	3
10:15 – 10:25	0	2	2

Second Observation Period: Day 2, 10:40 – 11:45 (65 minutes), First Floor10:40 – 10:45: (5-minute interval!)

Social activities: Three students are learning together at module E. A group of three students is talking at module D, and another group of three students is talking at module F.

Private activities: None.

10:45 – 10:55:

Social activities: The group at module E gets up and leave the corridor. The groups at modules D and F continue their conversations, with some of the students at module F getting up but remaining close to the others. Two other students enter the corridor and stop in front the windows opposite of module F. They start a conversation with each other, with one student standing, the other one sitting on the windowsill. They do not engage in any communication with the group at module F.

Private activities: None.

10:55 – 11:05:

Social activities: The two students at the window end their conversation and leave the corridor. Two large groups of students come into the corridor, use the wardrobes next to modules C and F and enter their classrooms, with two students playing football in the corridor for a few minutes before entering. Six children are standing in front of the two different windows and talking before entering their classrooms. The students who are talking at modules D and F end their conversations and also enter their classrooms.

Private activities: One child is standing in front of a window before entering her classroom.

11:05 – 11:15:

Social activities: When a large group of students exits one of the classrooms and leaves the corridor, five of them talk in front of the wardrobes for a few minutes before leaving. Another student who had been leaving the classroom sits down at module E and starts studying. He is quickly joined by four students leaving another classroom, and they all study as a group. Two students who had been leaving a classroom talk to the group at module E for a few minutes, then leave the corridor.

Private activities: None.

11:15 – 11:25:

Social activities: Two children leave a classroom and start studying together, sitting in module C. The group at module E continues studying there.

Private activities: None.

11:25 – End (20-minute interval):

For the remainder of observation period, the groups at module C and module E continue studying.

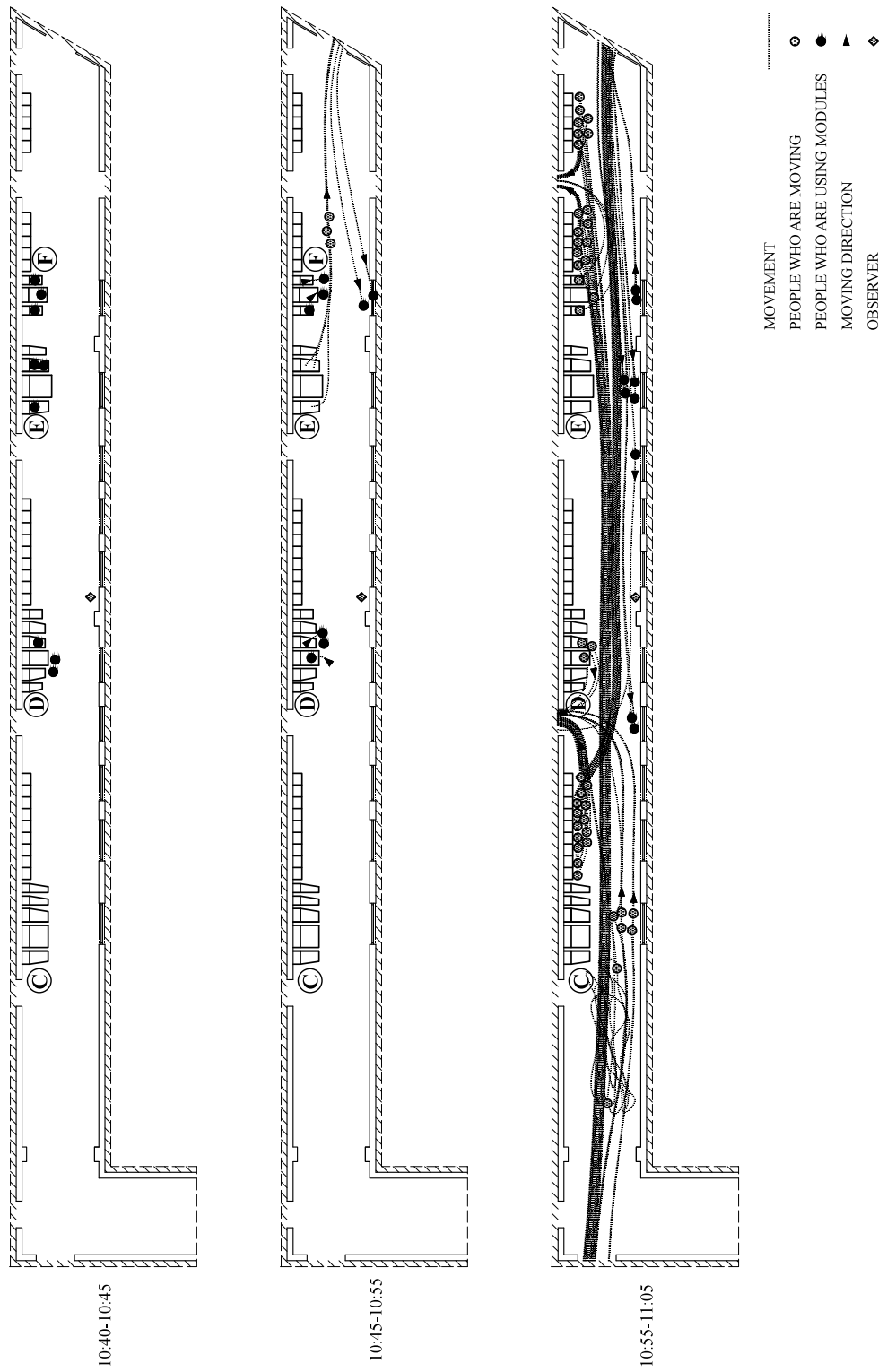


Figure 9: Movements at Erika Mann School between 10:40 and 11:05, Day 2

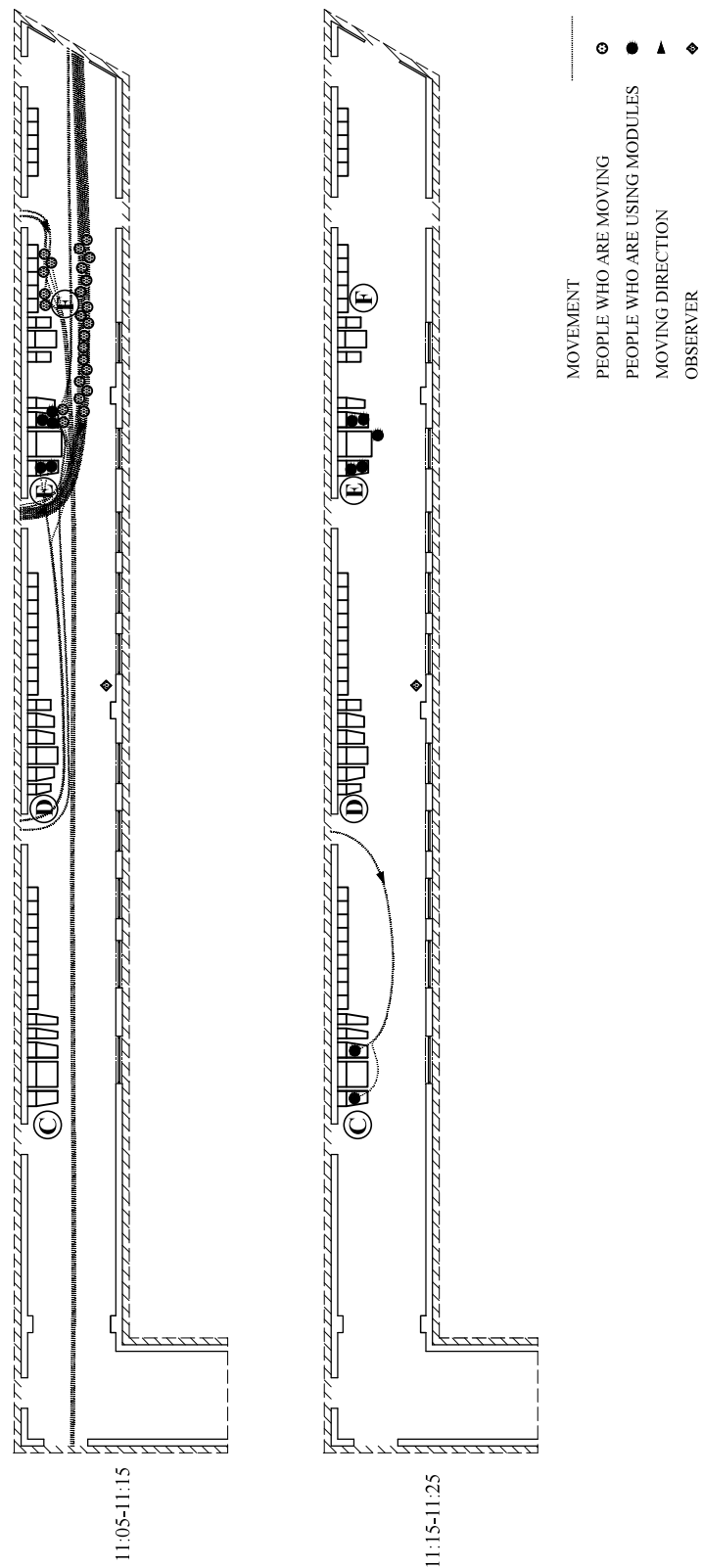


Figure 10: Movements at Erika Mann School between 11:05 and 11:25, Day 2

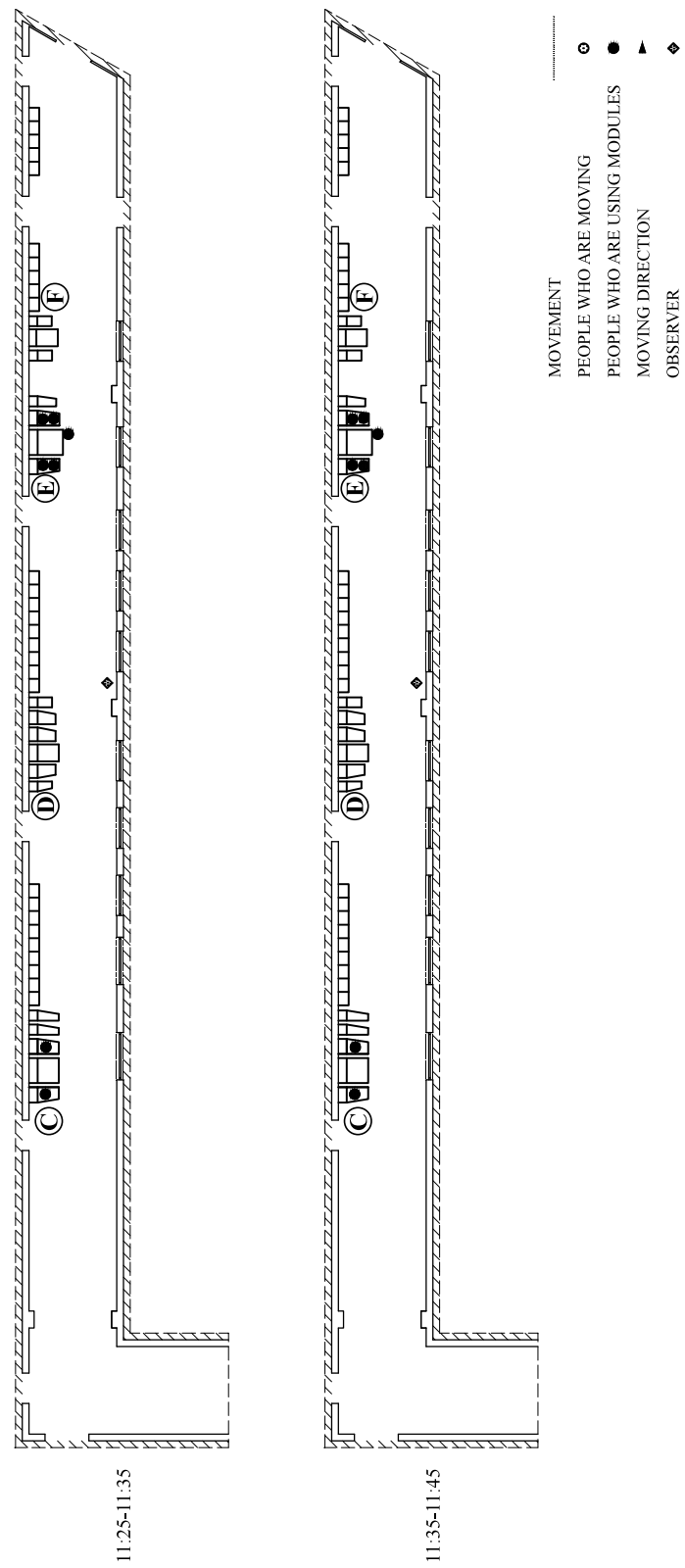


Figure 11: Movements at Erika Mann School between 11:25 and 11:45, Day 2

Table 4: Active vs. Transiting Persons during Obsv. Period 2 at Erika Mann School

Time Period	Active Persons	Transiting Persons	Total Persons
10:40 – 10:45	9	0	9
10:45 – 10:55	11	0	11
10:55 – 11:05	17+35	0	52
11:05 – 11:15	12	17	29
11:15 – 11:25	7	0	7
11:25 – 11:35	7	0	7
11:35 – 11:45	7	0	7

Third Observation Period: Day 2, 12:26 – 13:26 (60 minutes), First Floor

12:26 – 12:36:

Social Activities: Two students are studying together at module C. A few minutes later, a group of students exits a classroom together with their teacher. They get their clothes from the wardrobe, and five children from the group briefly interact with the students at module C. Then all of the children who came from the classroom leave the corridor with their teacher, and the students at module C continue their studies. Shortly after that, children start to arrive in the corridor and enter another classroom, with some leaving their clothes at one of the wardrobes.

Private activities: None.

12:36 – 12:46:

Social activities: The two students studying at module C return to their classroom.

Private activities: None.

12:46 – 12:56:

Social activities: Two students exit a classroom and start studying at module E.

Private activities: None.

12:56 – 01:06:

Social activities: The students at module E continue their studies.

Private activities: None.

13:06 – 13:16:

Social activities: The students at module E return to their classroom.

Private activities: None.

13:16 – 13:26:

For the remainder of the observation period, various students pass through the corridor, but none stay and interact with the features there.

Table 5: Active vs. Transiting Persons during Obsv. Period 3 at Erika Mann School

Time Period	Active Persons	Transiting Persons	Total Persons
12:26 – 12:36	7+34	10	51
12:36 – 12:46	2	10	12
12:46 – 12:56	2	0	2
12:56 – 13:06	2	7	9
13:06 – 13:16	2	8	10
13:16 – 13:26	0	14	14

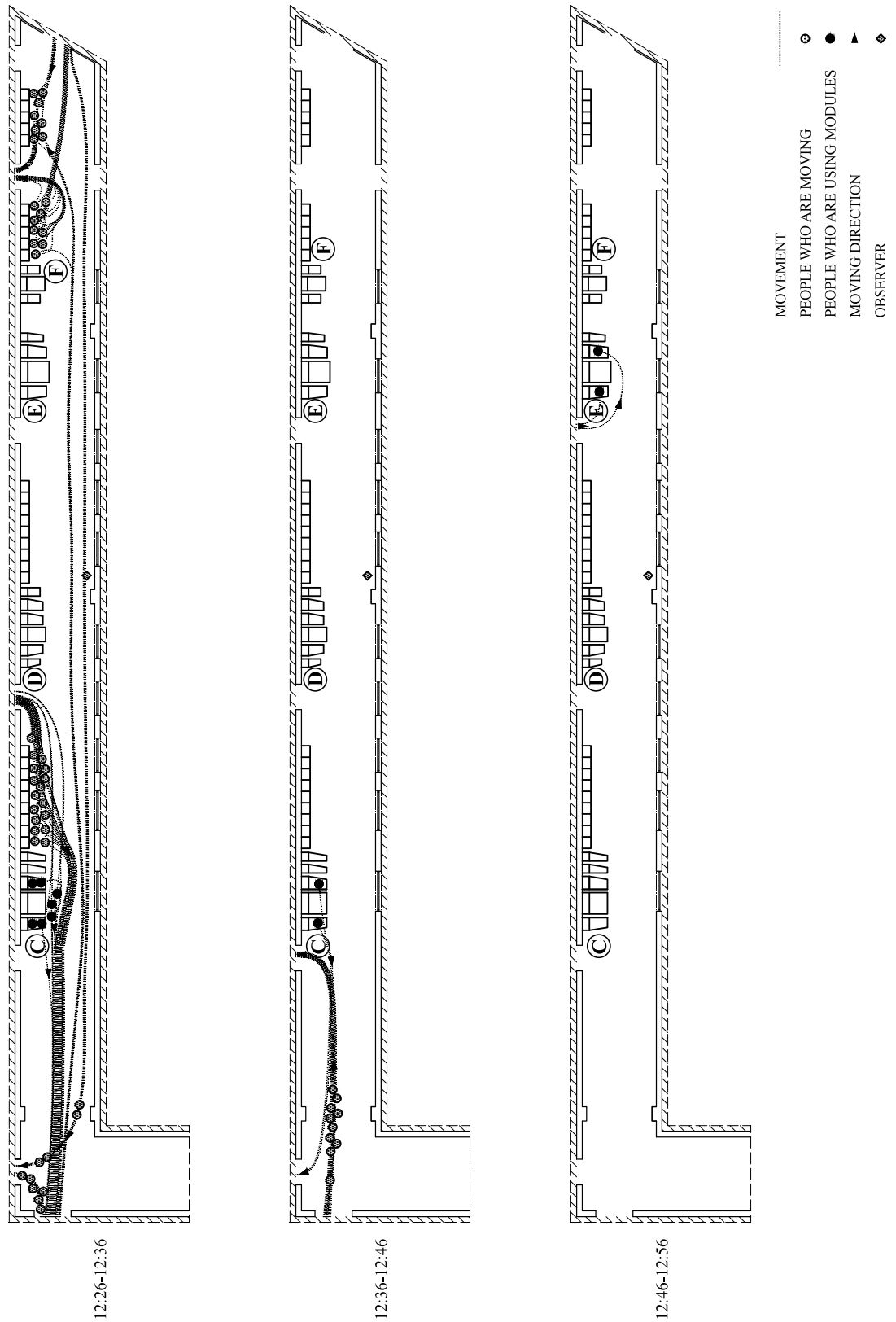


Figure 12: Movements at Erika Mann School between 12:26 und 12:56, Day 2

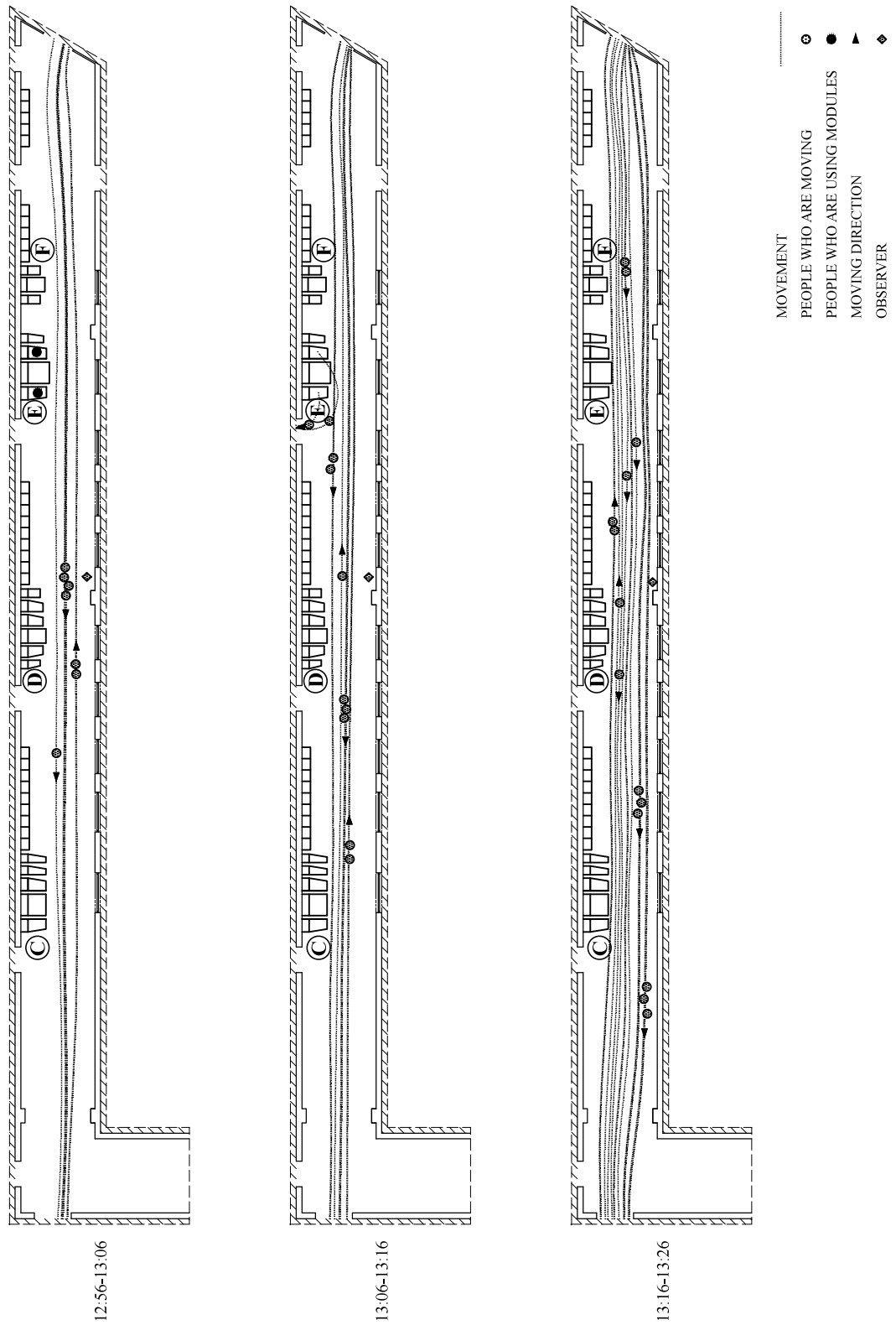


Figure 13: Movements at Erika Mann School between 12:56 and 13:26, Day 2

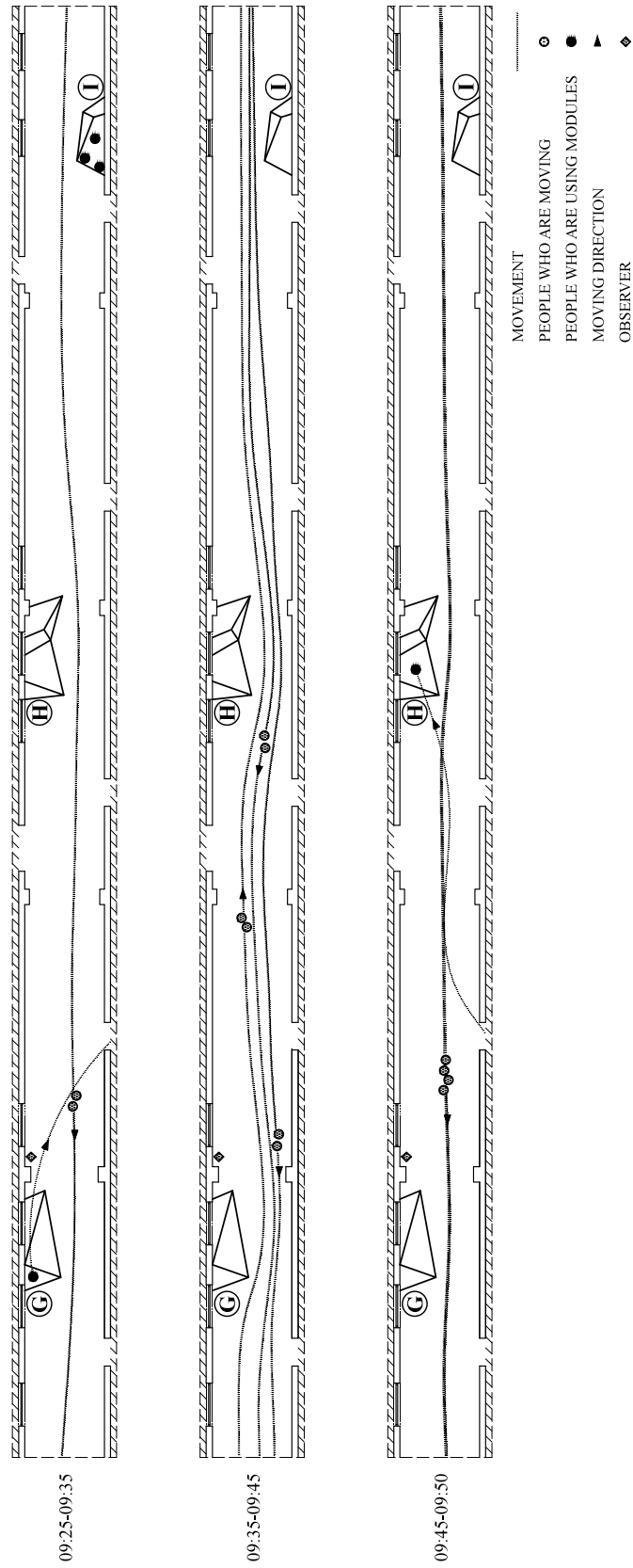


Figure 14: Movements at Erika Mann School between 09:25 and 09:50, Day 3

Fourth Observation Period: Day 3, 09:25 – 09:50 (25 minutes), Ground Floor09:25 – 09:35:

Social activities: Three students are playing together at module I. After a few minutes, they go into one of the classrooms.

Private activities: One student is slightly sick and resting at module G, after a few minutes, she returns to her classroom.

09:35 – 09:45:

Students pass through the corridor but do not stay there or interact with any of its designed features.

09:45 – 09:50 (5-minute interval!):

Social activities: None.

Private activity: One student sits down in module H and quietly stays there.

Table 6: Active vs. Transiting Persons during Obsv. Period 4 at Erika Mann School

Time Period	Active Persons	Transiting Persons	Total Persons
9:25 – 9:35	4	2	6
9:35 – 9:45	0	6	6
9:45 – 9:50	1	4	5

Fifth Observation Period: Day 3, 11:10 – 12:00 (50 minutes), Ground Floor

Note: At the start of the observation period, the following private activities are already underway: One student is sitting at module G, another student is lying down at module I, and a teacher is sitting at module H. Shortly after the start of the observation (and before the children mentioned below arrive at module H), the teacher gets up and leaves.

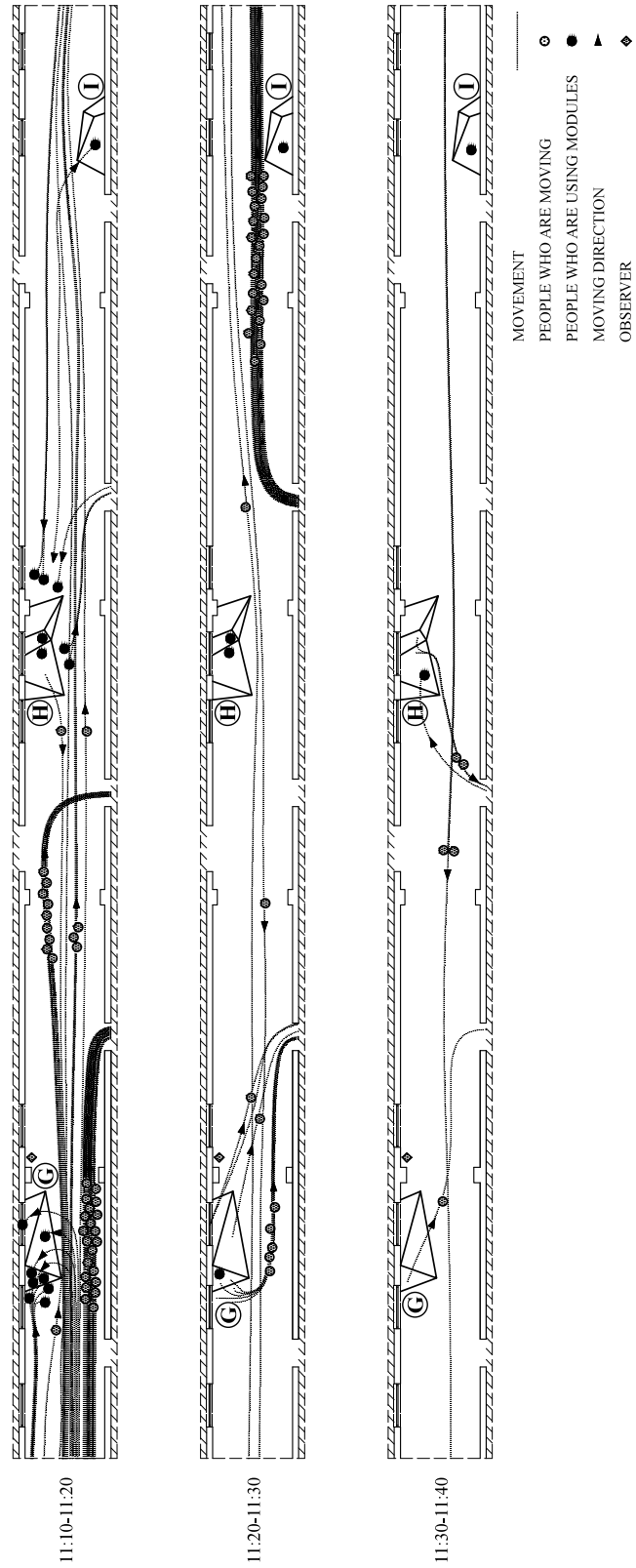


Figure 15: Movements at Erika Mann School between 11:10 and 11:40, Day 3

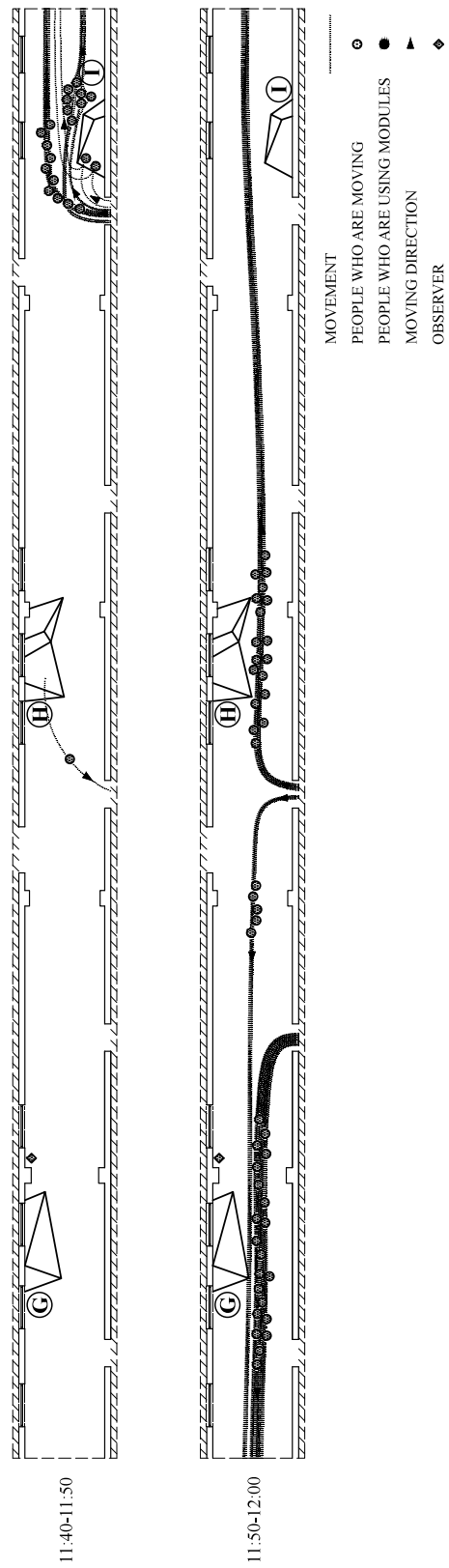


Figure 16: Movements at Erika Mann School between 11:40 and 12:00, Day 3

11:10 – 11:20:

Social activities: Seven children enter the corridor and form a group at module H. Two of them sit on one side of the module; three on the other, and two stand in front of it. A few minutes later, the child lying at module I gets up to come over and talk to them for a few minutes before returning to module I. Afterwards only two of the children sitting at module H remain there, the rest of the group leaves. Around the same time, a group of seven students gathers joins the child at module G, with one student sitting on a nearby windowsill and six others (plus the original user of the module) sitting on various parts of module G.

Private activities: After the visit with the group at module H, the student at module I lies back down again there.

11:20 – 11:30:

Social activities: Most of the group at module G leave, just one student stays behind. The two students at module H continue to have a conversation there.

Private activities: The remaining student at module G stays there by himself. The student at module I is still relaxing there.

11:30 – 11:40:

Social activities: The two students at module H go to their classroom.

Private activities: The student at module I and the student module G independently also return to their respective classrooms. Another child exits his classroom, takes out a notebook, lies down at module H and starts to study in this position.

11:40 – 11:50:

Social activities: When a group of students exit a classroom together with their teacher, two of the students sit down at module I to put on their shoes while talking to two other students. They all leave the corridor together with the teacher and the rest of their group.

Private activities: The student at module H gets up and returns to his classroom.

11:50 – 12:00:

For the remainder of the observation period, various students pass through the corridor, but none stay and interact with the features there.

Table 7: Active vs. Transiting Persons during Obsv. Period 5 at Erika Mann School

Time Period	Active Persons	Transiting Persons	Total Persons
11:10 – 11:20	17	35	52
11:20 – 11:30	11	2	13
11:30 – 11:40	5	2	7
11:40 – 11:50	5	16	21
11:50 – 12:00	0	44	44

Sixth Observation Period: Day 3, 12:03 – 12:30 (27 minutes), Ground Floor

Note: For organizational reasons, the observation had to be interrupted at the end of the fourth period. Three minutes later, it resumed with this period. At the beginning of this period, a student was already sitting at module I.

12:03 – 12:10 (7-minute interval!):

Social activities: Three students join the student sitting at module I. They all talk to each other for a few minutes, then the three new arrivals leave the corridor.

Private activities: Apart from the short communication with the three other students, the student at module I is sitting there by himself.

12:10 – 12:30 (20-minute interval!):

For the remainder of the observation period, the child at module I sits there by himself. Others pass through the corridor but do not interact with him or any of the designed features.

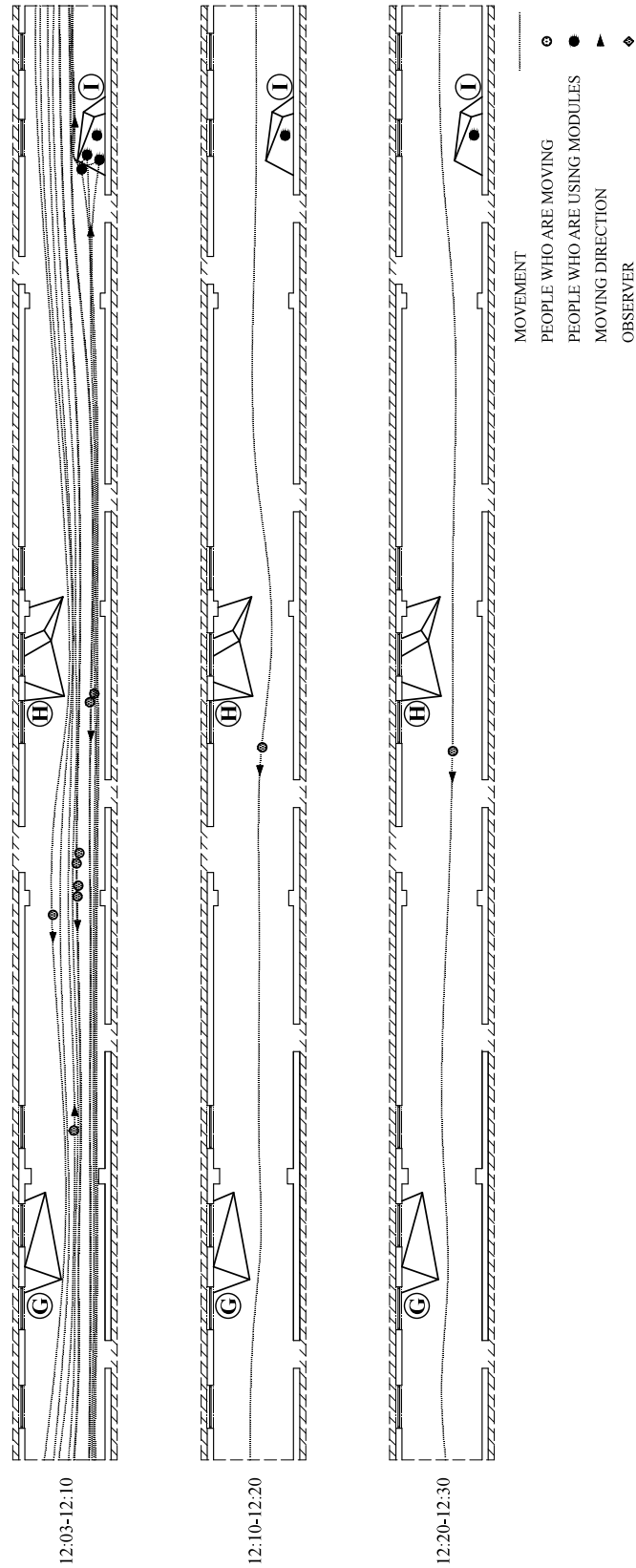


Figure 17: Movements at Erika Mann School between 12:03 and 12:30, Day 3

Table 8: Active vs. Transiting Persons during Obsv. Period 6 at Erika Mann School

Time Period	Active Persons	Transiting Persons	Total Persons
12:03 – 12:10	4	8	12
12:10 – 12:20	1	1	2
12:20 – 12:30	1	1	2

Seventh Observation Period: Day 3, 12:35 – 13:30 (55 minutes), Second Floor

Note: The final observation period took place, once more, on the second floor. At the start of the observation period, four students were already studying at module A, and two students were studying at module B.

12:35 – 12:40 (5-minute interval!):

Social activities: The groups at modules A and B continued studying.

Private activities: None.

12:40– 12:50:

Social activities: The students at module A return to their classroom. Two minutes later, the students at module B also return to their classroom.

Private activities: None.

12:50 – 13:00:

Social activities: Three students come from one classroom, sit down at module A and start studying.

Private activities: One student comes from another classroom, sits down at module B, and starts studying.

13:00 – 13:10:

Social activities: The students at module A return to their classroom.

Private activities: The student at module B returns to his classroom.

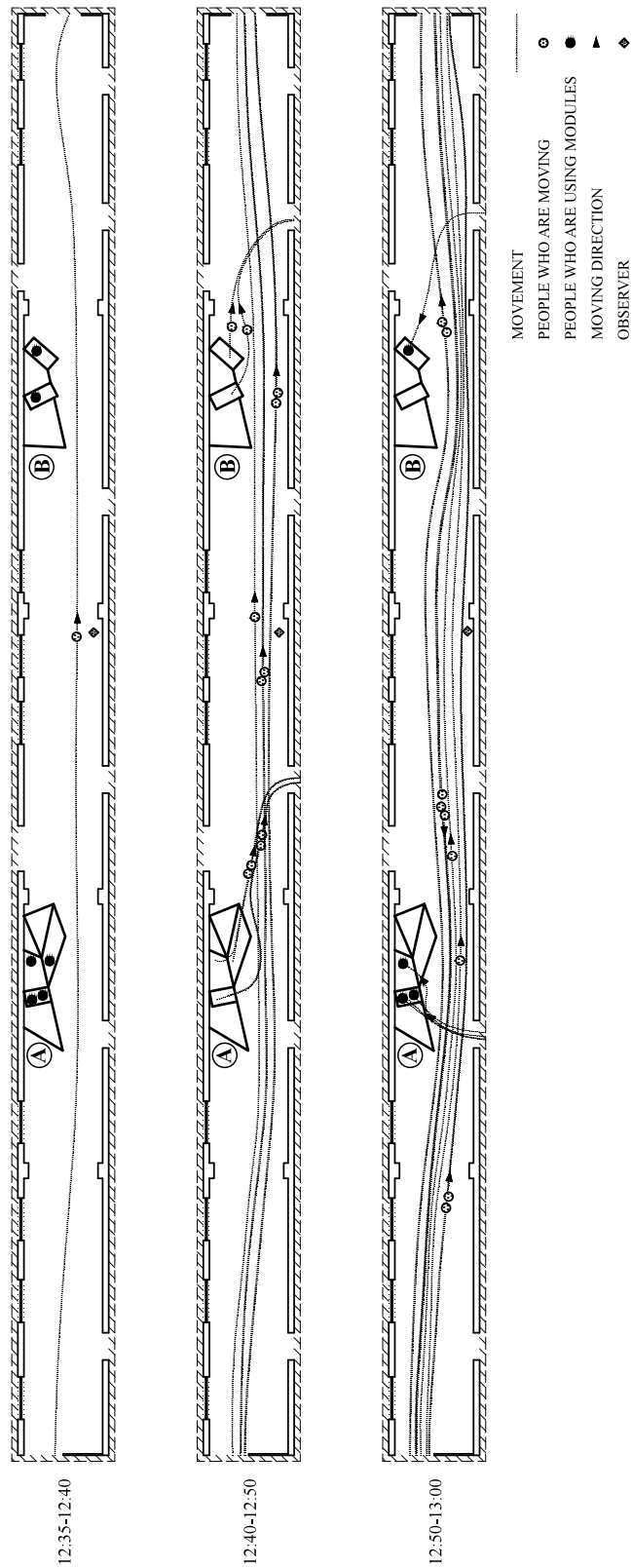


Figure 18: Movements at Erika Mann School between 12:35 and 13:00, Day 3



Figure 19: Movements at Erika Mann School between 13:00 and 13:30, Day 3

13:10 – 13:20:

Social activities: Ten students arrive in the corridor, waiting for a leisure room to open. Three sit at module A, the other seven wait in front of the door. When the door opens, the students enter the leisure room.

Private activities: None.

13:20 – 13:30:

Social activities: Two students arrive from different sides of the corridor and sit together at module A.

Private activities: The first student at module A arrived two minutes before the second one, spends that time sitting there by himself.

Table 9: Active vs. Transiting Persons during Obsv. Period 7 at Erika Mann School

Time Period	Active Persons	Transiting Persons	Total Persons
12:35 – 12:40	6	1	7
12:40 – 12:50	6	5	11
12:50 – 13:00	4	9	13
13:00 – 13:10	4	38	42
13:10 – 13:20	10	27	37
13:20 – 13:30	2	11	13

5.3.4 Analysis. As Figure 20 shows, children utilized the designed modules both for social and private activities. Their social activities included studying in groups, talking to each other, and playing together. Private activities included studying, sitting and relaxing, lying down, and sleeping.

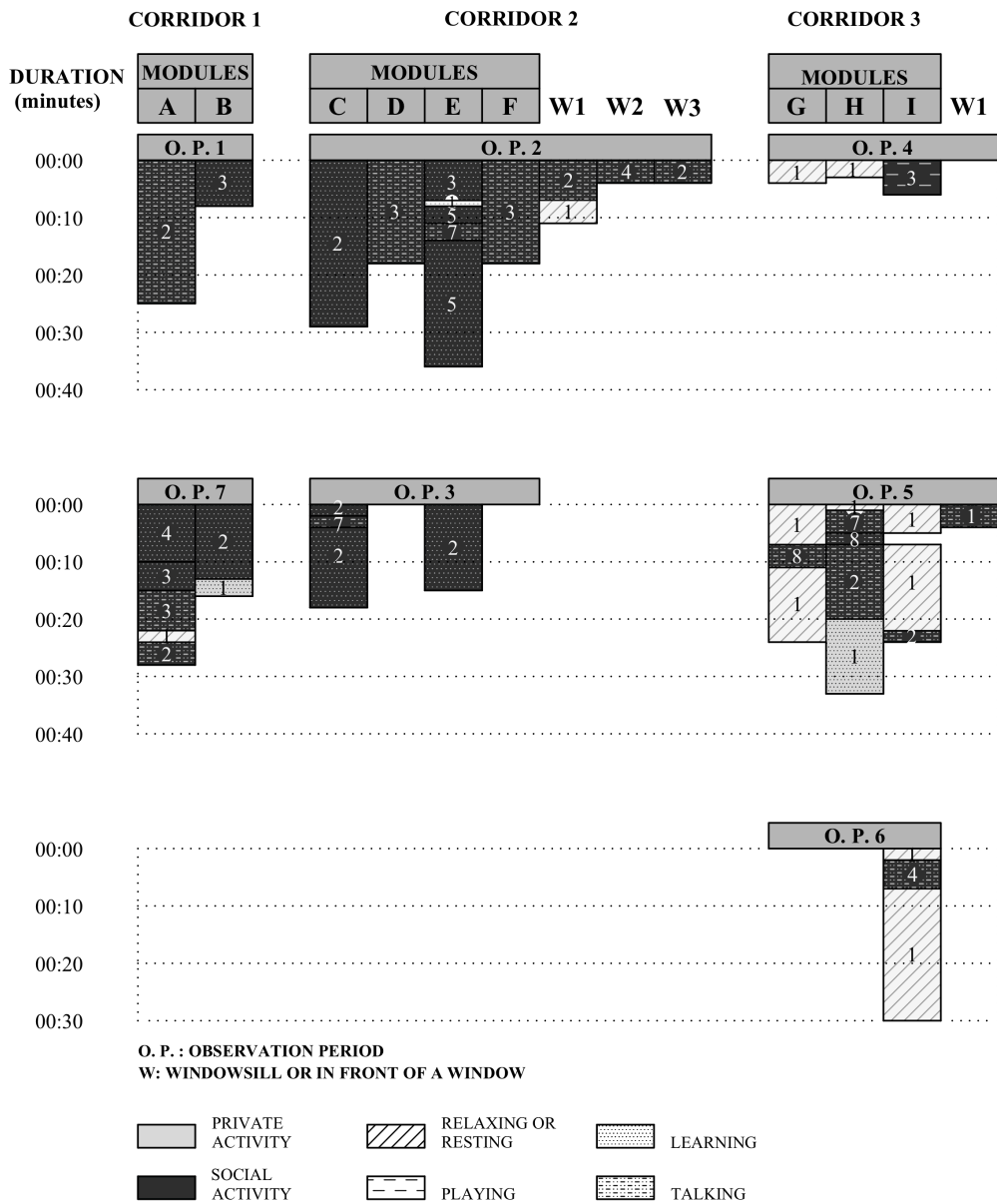


Figure 20: Activity Types by place and time at Erika Mann School

Social activities were more common than private ones, with the largest amount of time being spent studying. These studying activities were mostly arranged by teachers who separated students into small groups for learning. Apart from the seating modules, the

designed areas in front of the wardrobes were common spaces for communication whenever children were entering or leaving the classrooms.

While the area near the windows in corridor 2 did not feature a custom design, nine students preferred to stand near the window for a while during the first observation period in this corridor, even though there was still space to sit at the modules.

For private activities, the most popular ones were sitting and relaxing, as well as lying down. The observation of private activities was most common in corridor 3, even though this was very busy during the second observation period in this corridor. It did, however, feature cave-like design modules, which were very popular for private activities.

5.3.5 Case findings. Architects and administration had stated that the aim for the re-design was to encourage the use of corridors for social activities. Additionally, M. Loeppke (personal communication, May 22, 2013) had described the modules in the corridors as meant to provide learning spaces for small groups. The observed activities matched these expectations, with social activities being more common than private ones and the modules being frequently used for studying by groups of students with or without teachers and one student studying by himself.

M. Janekovic (personal communication, December 11, 2012) had explained that the different design features were supposed to trigger different types of activities. Some of them were designed to trigger group activities, others private ones. During the observations, this division of purpose was evident, with the table- or desk-like modules C, D, E, and F being popular picks for studying or sitting and talking. Modules A and B could be used both for studying and for lying down. Finally, modules G, H, and I had cave-like designs and were commonly picked for private activities, even if the corridor was busy.

Even though this was only observed for a short time, the window area was the only non-designed area that children seemed to specifically seek out.

The observer did notice incidents of students studying being disturbed by others who were passing through the hallway, which matched M. Loeppke's (personal communication, May 22, 2013) complaint in the interview.

5.4 Case Study 3: Galilei Primary School

Galilei Primary School is located in the Berlin district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. Until the administrative reform of 2001, the area the school is located in was part of the district of Kreuzberg. The direct neighbourhood of the school is considered to be a "social hotspot" (Sozialer Brennpunkt), with a high number of welfare recipients (Galilei Grundschule, 2016). In order to improve the quality of education, the school cooperates with the district-run neighbourhood-improvement programs as well as various other public and private partners (Galilei Grundschule, 2016).

The school is located in an area with a high number of migrant residents. In 2014, 95.7% of its students did not have German as their first language (Galilei Grundschule, 2016).

The school building was originally designed in the 1980s for the International Building Exhibition Berlin (Die Baupiloten Architektur, n.d.-a), and the school moved into it in 1991 (Galilei Grundschule, 2016). The Galilei School shares the building with another school, the Liebmann Primary School, that it also cooperates with (Galilei Grundschule, 2016).

The school also provides optional afternoon care, as well as activities during the school holidays (Galilei Grundschule, 2016). In 2014, about 139 of the school's 349 students attended the afternoon care (Galilei Grundschule, 2016).

5.4.1 Description of the project. The re-design, which was executed in 2008, was prompted by noise problems: The existing design made the corridors and the stairwell very noisy, so these areas needed to be renovated using materials with good silencing properties (Die Baupiloten Architektur, n.d.-a). As part of this project, the school aimed to re-design the corridors to make them more attractive as places to stay and also allow them to be used as additional learning spaces (Die Baupiloten Architektur, n.d.-a). In a participatory design process, the students came up with an ocean-related theme, which was then further developed into three separate sub-themes, one for each floor, and each with its own base colour (Die Baupiloten Architektur, n.d.-a).

The walls in the corridors were painted in those colours, pre-existing niches with benches were re-designed to accommodate small groups and painted with motifs based on students' drawings, and a new "leaning bay" was installed in a corner space of each floor, giving enough space for medium-sized groups to learn or play (Die Baupiloten Architektur, n.d.-a).

Additionally, a noise-reducing installation was put into one of the stairwells (Die Baupiloten Architektur, n.d.-a). This re-design only affected three of the corridors in the building – a number of others, which shared the original design, were not altered.

5.4.2 Interview with headmaster. In order to gather more information about the project and the school, and to understand the project's effect on the students, the school's headmaster Gerti Sinzinger was interviewed on April 18th, 2013. Her statements in this interview are summarized in this section.

Sinzinger did not permit the use of an audio recording device during the interview; therefore, the researcher took notes on paper.

When asked about the general challenges at the school, Sinzinger stated that the high number of children that did not speak German at a native level proved to be a challenge. She

described that at the time of the interview, 92% of the students did not have German as a first language. She elaborated that there were altogether children from 20 different linguistic backgrounds, with the most common first languages being Turkish and Arabic.

Sinzinger also stated that it was hard to encourage parental involvement, saying that many parents did not sufficiently care about their children's education. She added that parent-teacher-conferences would usually only be attended by about 10 percent of the parents.

Regarding the re-design, Sinzinger stated that the project was realized in two phases, and that its budget was limited, because the city's neighbourhood improvement offices were not able to grant large sums for it. She explained that, in order to gather children's ideas, Die Baupiloten held several workshops at the school, the results of which influenced the final design.

Overall, Sinzinger described herself as happy with the project's outcome. She said that the corridors were cleaner and tidier than before, and that the added seating areas gave teachers more flexibility during lessons by using the corridors as additional learning spaces.

Sinzinger pointed out, though, that the school's rules limited the use of these spaces during school hours: Since children were not allowed to stay in hallways during breaks, the use of the spaces during school hours was mostly limited to teacher-induced learning activities

In spite of her happiness about the corridors' re-design, Sinzinger said she still wished for bigger and more flexible classrooms. According to her, the current interiors are too small and do not provide enough flexibility for different learning concepts and situations.

5.4.3 Observations. Unfortunately, the researcher was unable to obtain the floor plans of this building. For this reason, there will no illustrations of the movements during the observation. The researcher was, however, permitted to take photos, a selection of which can be found in Appendix C.

Because the re-design had only included part of the building, this project provided the unique opportunity to conduct comparative observations: Four observations (named Observation Period 1 to 4 in the protocol) were conducted in the re-designed corridors, while another two (named Observation Period A to B) were conducted in corridors that had remained in their previous condition. It was the researcher's hope that this comparison might give insight into the impact of the new designs on children's place-related activities.

Observations in re-designed corridors:

Observation Period 1: Day 1, 9:15 – 9:45 (30 minutes), Corridor A, 2nd Floor

9:15 – 9:25:

Social activities: None

Private activities: A child is sent out of a classroom, sits in niche next to classroom door. A few minutes later, he changes place to the learning bay in the corner, then, two minutes later, back to the niche.

9:25 – 9:35:

Social activities: Lessons in two classrooms finish at the same time, as students pass through the corridor, two of them play and jump on the learning bay for a short time, then continue on their way, leaving the corridor.

Private activities: The child at the niche is still sitting there.

9:35 – 9:45:

Social activities: Students from one classroom enter the corridor for a short break. Six of them are in a group near a window, talking and playing, with four of them standing and two of them sitting on the windowsill.

Private activities: The child at the niche is still sitting there.

9:45: End of observation

Table 10: Active vs. Transiting Persons during Obsv. Period 1 at Galilei School

Time Period	Active Persons	Transiting Persons	Total Persons
9:15 – 9:25	1	0	1
9:25 – 9:35	3	33	36
9:35 – 9:45	7	9	16

Observation Period 2: Day 1, 11:45 – 12:15 (30 minutes), Corridor A, 1st Floor

11:45 – 11:55:

Social activities: A group of children return from their break before start of the lesson: 10 of them sit down on the windowsills, filling all space available there, 7 of them sit in two niches, and three are standing in the corridor. While the windowsills are full, there is still available seating space in the niches.

Private activities: None.

11:55 – 12:05:

Social activities: Children slowly enter the classroom for their lesson.

Private activities: None.

12:05 – 12:15:

While some children pass through the corridor, there are no more significant interactions until the end of the observation period.

Table 11: Active vs. Transiting Persons during Obsv. Period 2 at Galilei School

Time Period	Active Persons	Transiting Persons	Total Persons
11:45 – 11:55	17	3	20
11:55 – 12:05	17	0	17
12:05 – 12:15	0	19	19

Observation Period 3, Day 2, 12:10 – 12:48 (38 minutes), Corridor A Ground Floor

12: 10 – 12:20:

Social activities: At the beginning of the observation, 2 children are studying at a niche, sitting on the floor and using the bench as a desk. 4 children and a teacher are studying at the learning bay. After a few minutes, the children at the niche get up and go into a classroom.

Private activities: None.

12: 20 – 12:30:

Social activities: The 4 children and teacher stay at the learning bay and continue studying there.

Private activities: None.

12: 30 – 12:40:

Social activities: The group at the learning bay gets up and leaves the corridor.

Private activities: None.

12: 40 – 12:48 (8-minute interval!):

Social activities: A few minutes after the students from the classroom have left the corridor (see 'private activities' below), three children enter the corridor and play at the learning bay. After a few minutes, one of them gets up and leaves the corridor; another child comes in and joins the group.

Private activities: When exiting their classroom with the other students, 2 children separate from the large group for a short time, each doing an independent activity before following the group: One jumps around on the learning bay a few times, the other one uses it as a slide. They do not interact with each other and follow the group after their short activities.

12:48: End of observation

Table 12: Active vs. Transiting Persons during Obsv. Period 3 at Galilei School

Time Period	Active Persons	Transiting Persons	Total Persons
12:10 – 12:20	6	0	6
12:20 – 12:30	4	0	4
12:30 – 12:40	4	0	4
12:40 – 12:48	6	0	6

Observation Period 4, Day 2, 13:10 – 13:30 (20 minutes), Corridor A, Ground Floor

13:10 – 13:20:

Social activities: None.

Private activities: When a group of children passes through the corridor, one child separates himself, climbs onto the learning bay and stays there for less than a minute. Then he gets down again and follows the group out of the corridor.

13:20 – 13:30:

Social activities: When leaving the classroom at the end of the lesson, children put their belongings onto the benches in the niches or sit on them while putting on their shoes. Afterwards, they leave the corridor.

Private activities: None.

13:30: End of observation.

Table 13: Active vs. Transiting Persons during Obsv. Period 4 at Galilei School

Time Period	Active Persons	Transiting Persons	Total Persons
13:10 – 13:20	1	7	8
13:20 – 13:30	11	44	55

Observations in corridors that were not re-designed

Note: The non-re-designed corridors also feature niches with benches. The benches are generally narrower than in the re-designed sections, however, and the niches have a plainer design. (For a comparison, see Appendix C, Figure 31 and Figure 32.)

Observation Period A, Day 1, 10:35 – 11:35 (60 minutes), Corridor C, Ground Floor:

Note: This corridor features additional small rooms on the side. They do not have doors, provide just enough space for a few desks and chairs, and can be used by individuals or small study groups.

10:35 – 11:25 (50-minute interval!):

During the 50-minute interval, several groups of children (more than 20 students in total) passed through the corridor, entering or leaving classrooms, but none of them engaged with the features or furniture of the corridor or stayed there to play.

11:25 – 11:35:

Social activities: 2 children come into the corridor and playfully hide in one of the small rooms. Then they get up, one of them sits in the small room, the other one stands and talks to him from the corridor. A group of 15 children exists a classroom and runs around in the corridor

Private activities: None

11:35: End of observation period

Table 14: Active vs. Transiting Persons during Obsv. Period A at Galilei School

Time Period	Active Persons	Transiting Persons	Total Persons
10:35 – 10:45	0	2	2
10:45 – 10:55	0	0	0
10:55 – 11:05	0	18	18
11:05 – 11:15	0	1	1
11:15 – 11:25	0	0	0
11:25 – 11:35	2	15	17

Observation Period B, Day 2, 10:10 – 11:30 (80 minutes), Corridors C, 2nd Floor

10:10 – 11:00 (50-minute interval!):

Several children pass alone or in groups through the corridor, but there is no interaction with any of the features or furniture in this time interval.

11:00 – 11:10:

Social activities: When a group of children leaves a classroom, three of them stay behind and start talking in front of a window, one sitting down on the floor, the other two standing initially, but after a minute, of them sits down, too.

Private activities: Another child from the group leaving the classroom also stands close to a window and starts to eat there.

11:10 – 11:20:

Social activities: The group of three children leave the corridor.

Private activities: The child eating by himself leaves the corridor.

11:20 – 11:30:

Several children pass through the corridor, but there are no interactions with features or furniture until the end of the observation period.

Table 15: Active vs. Transiting Persons during Obsv. Period B at Galilei School

Time Period	Active Persons	Transiting Persons	Total Persons
10:10 – 10:20	0	1	1
10:20 – 10:30	0	5	5
10:30 – 10:40	0	0	0
10:40 – 10:50	0	12	12
10:50 – 11:00	0	0	0
11:00 – 11:10	4	6	10
11:10 – 11:20	4	0	0
11:20 – 11:30	0	10	10

5.4.4 Analysis. The observations were conducted in two groups of corridors, each of which included several floors. The Corridors named “Corridor A” all were re-designed, and each included renovated niches and a learning bay. The corridors named “Corridor C” had not been renovated. They included smaller niches than the re-designed corridors, and one of them offered separate small rooms for learning.

During the observation period, social activities were much more common than private ones. The types of social activities observed differed slightly for the designed features: The niches were commonly used for studying and for conversations between students, whereas the learning bays were popular for studying and playing.

The few private activities that could be observed in the designed features were students sitting in the niches or playing by themselves in or on the learning bays.

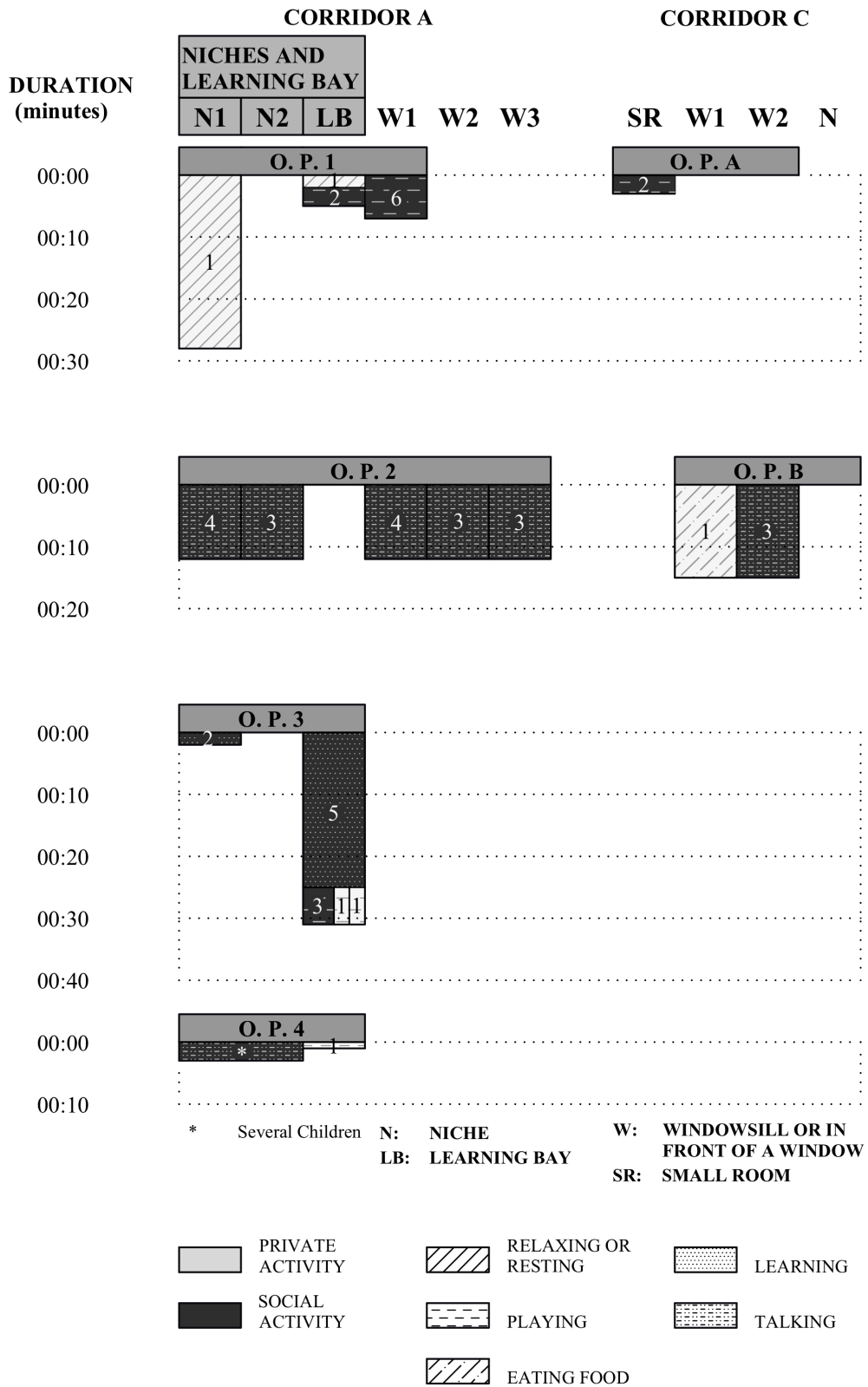


Figure 21: Activity Types by place and time at Galilei School

In addition to the designed features, the windowsills and spaces near the windows were used for social and private activities. Social activities there included talking, playing and sitting, while the only private activity that occurred there was one student who was eating something there for a few minutes.

The small rooms on the ground floor were only used on one occasion by two students who were playing and talking there.

5.4.5 Case findings. Overall, the researcher could not observe many activities in the corridors. This may be due to the school's rules which prevent students from using these spaces during longer breaks and only allow their use during lessons as directed by teachers.

The majority of activities that were observed occurred in the re-designed corridors, while it was rare for students to use the non-renovated corridor as anything other than a transit space. However, the limited observation time available to the researcher does not allow for a conclusion about the source for this difference. It is possible that the environment in the re-designed corridors triggered greater engagement, but the difference could also be coincidental or the result of external factors that may have made it more likely for students to spend time the re-designed corridors. More observation time would be needed to control for these possibilities.

For the designed spaces, students did not seem to prefer specific niches or learning bays for specific private or social activities. This may be because the niches are share a nearly identical design, marking nine of them as specifically suitable for private or social activities.

The small semi-separate rooms in one of the non-renovated corridors were apparently designed as learning spaces for small groups or individuals, but the researcher did witness any such usage during her observations. They were only used once by two children playing there.

The non-designed areas for near the windows and the windowsills themselves were significant places for social and private activities in both the re-designed and the non-renovated corridors, with students sometimes preferring them over the re-designed niches.

Overall, the data shows that the re-designed corridors were used more frequently than the non-renovated ones, which is in line with the schoolmasters wishes and expectations for the project. However, the limitations for this study outlined above have led to a sample size that is too small to allow any conclusions. A proper evaluation of this project would need more observation time and should include a larger number of corridors.

At the same time, however, the data gathered during these observations is still useful and meaningful in the greater context of this research and will be evaluated accordingly.

5.5 Overall Findings of Case Studies

Bearing in mind the limitations already laid out, the observations did yield some interesting results.

The features of re-designed spaces were generally accepted by the children. They used them for both private and social activities. This indicates that it can be prudent to include such features in projects for intercultural environments.

At all three institutions, both administrations and architects had aimed for the re-design to provide spaces for small group activities. Observations showed that children did use these spaces as intended, utilizing them as places for learning, playing or talking to each other.

Unfortunately, the lack of other design approaches in the study makes it impossible to say to what extent the participatory design approach may have contributed to these successes. One hypothesis would be that the inclusion of children from different backgrounds may have resulted in a design appropriate for intercultural needs, but further research would be needed in order to verify or falsify it.

The stated goal of the architects was to design different features in order to trigger different types of activities. The observations showed several examples for this. For private places, children would often pick cave-like features, ideally in smaller modules, they would seek out more quiet areas, and prefer locations near windows or with a view to the outside.

On the other hand, the social places picked were usually in more lively areas, would be located in bigger modules or even on the floor, which allowed for easy face-to-face communications.

Notably, the corridors in Galilei Primary School did not feature highly differentiated designs for private and social places, and this was also the only institution in which the researcher did not observe any specific preferences for certain types of activities in certain designed modules.

Areas at or near windows were popular locations for activities in both Erika Mann and Galilei Primary School, even though neither project had any designed features relating to them.

The use of re-designed corridors was higher in Erika Mann Primary School and Traumbaum Day Care Centre than it was at Galilei Primary School. However, the data does not allow to conclude whether this was due to differences in design or a result of different institutional rules. Similarly, re-designed corridors at Galilei Primary School saw greater utilization than non-renovated ones, but the data is again not sufficient to establish a clear causality.

6 Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to examine the effects that migration can have on a child's social and private places – both for children with a personal migratory experience as well as for the children of subsequent generations, with the hope that these results can help guide both future research as well as architecture and design projects regarding places for children and families in intercultural environments.

Statistics show that the number of individuals with a migratory background in Germany has risen notably in recent years (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2018). Examining the experiences of past migrant generations can be helpful in identifying upcoming challenges and provide an opportunity to learn from possible mistakes that may have been made.

6.1 Research Questions

In order to gain the desired insights, a number of questions had to be answered:

What were the childhood and adulthood place preferences of migrants for private and social places?

What effects did the loss of important places have on persons who migrated, and how did they try to compensate for the loss once they were in the new country?

Is there a connection between a child's cultural background and their place preferences? If so, how does that connection manifest itself, is it affected by the migratory experience, and does it persist or differ over several generations?

How do the bonds of people to their places and their definition of their place identity differ between generations?

6.2 Research Method and Study Design

Since these questions required specific and individual information the researcher decided to employ qualitative research methods, because these were best suited to capture detailed and individual information (Seamon & Gill, 2014).

The main body of research consisted of in-depth interviews with 34 persons with a Turkish migratory background who came from different migrant generations all of whom lived or worked in areas with large migrant populations.

The number of interviewees was chosen as it was high enough to ensure a sufficient variety regarding factors such as age, gender, and area of residence, but low enough to allow for an in-depth qualitative approach. The choice of a Turkish migratory background was made because it was the researcher's own background, as well. This aided the research process, because it not only gave the researcher a better and deeper understanding of the interviewees' cultural background but also made it easier for her to establish trust with the interviewees when arranging and conducting the interviews.

The interviewees' responses were analysed using phenomenology-based meaning condensation as described by Kvale (1996).

In addition to that, a case study was conducted in two primary schools and one day care centre, using a triangular approach (Stake, 2005), that combined on-site observations and interviews with both the design office responsible as well as administrative staff of the institutions. All of the schools were located in areas with dense migrant populations and featured children from numerous cultural backgrounds, and they were all recently re-designed via the use of participatory design processes that aimed to improve the environment for the children.

One of the most significant functions of the case studies was to validate and amend the results of the in-depth interviews via direct observation of children's interaction with their designed architectural environment in an intercultural situation: How did they use the private and social places the design offered them? What kind of architectural features trigger them to pick places?

Additionally, the triangular approach allowed for the comparison of the designers' intentions with the actual results.

6.3 Limitations

In order to responsibly interpret the results of the study, it is important to realize the limitations inherent to the methods applied as well as those that resulted from practical considerations that had to be made during the research process.

Due to its nature as a qualitative study, the results cannot and are not meant to be representative of all migrants with a Turkish background. It conducts an in-depth examination of responses from a small sample from the Turkish migrant population to gain a deeper understanding of the cultural influences prevalent in that group, all of which have implications for children's private and social places.

The selection process of the interviewees, unfortunately, did not result in an ideally balanced gender distribution.

Since the case study required the co-operation of both schools and their architects, the number of institutions that were willing and able to participate in the study was smaller than the researcher would have wished and unfortunately, only included facilities from a single design office.

The administrations of the schools and the day care centre only provided limited time windows for the execution of observations. This meant that the researcher was not always able to collect as much data as she would have desired and had only limited opportunities for repeat observations of the same space.

At the two schools, students were often limited in their use of the designed features by the rules of the schools or the need to follow teachers' instructions. As such, their observed activities were not always the expression of their personal desires and needs.

While all three participating institutions had large shares of children with a migratory background, it was not possible (and likely would have been ethically questionable) for the researcher to determine the migratory background of any particular child.

6.4 Discussion of Findings

When analysing the data gathered during the research, it became clear that the impact of migration-related effects on children's places was different for private and social places.

6.4.1 Private places. For private places, the effects of culture and migration combined to produce surprisingly strong restrictions for children. In terms of culture, these restrictions manifested themselves mostly with regard to the importance of family.

First- and second-generation interviewees would usually describe that they had no private room of their own as children, even if there would have enough space for them to have one, because sharing a room was considered to be a way to strengthen the bonds of the family, and even among third-generation interviewees, private bedrooms for children are comparatively rare.

Culturally, this may hark back to the concept of the Vernacular Anatolian House, which also kept family members together via the use of shared spaces, such as having two generations sleep in one room (Bektaş, 1996). In these houses, the idea of private indoor places does not exist, and private rooms are not part of their plans.

Even those first-generation interviewees who did not grow up in typical Vernacular Anatolian Houses would commonly still sleep in multifunctional, multi-generational rooms during their childhood in Turkey, and the same was reported from many second-generation interviewees for both family houses in Turkey and apartments in Germany. It is not until third-generation interviewees' childhoods, that dedicated children's rooms are becoming common at their apartments, and those are usually still rooms that are shared among multiple siblings, with few reports of truly private individual rooms for children.

The housing designs in Anatolian settlements typically did not provide private or special indoor places for children, which may have prompted children to look for such places outside of the house.

Many interviewees who grew up in such dwellings mentioned engaging in individual activities in outdoor areas, such as gardens, farms, vineyards, or nearby natural environment. They used these private or public spaces to fulfil their need for private places, which is universal among children (Cooper Marcus, 2006). The interviewees described it, this was helped by both the unproblematic safety situation in their settlements and the Anatolian climate, which was mostly mild throughout the year. This combination meant that children had many opportunities to spend time outside.

An additional benefit was that these environments provided challenges for the children that made it exciting for them to spend time outside by themselves: Interviewees mentioned creating private places at the top of a tree or exploring natural cave-like spaces. Migrating to Germany robbed children of most of these possibilities.

Interviewees reported that both climate and safety conditions in Berlin made parents reluctant to allow their children to spend time outside by themselves. In the interviewees' dwellings in Germany, private gardens did not exist, and urban public spaces were neither as safe nor as conducive to exploration and placemaking as the rural and natural spaces in Turkey. When interviewees from early migrant generations talked about children being allowed to move around in public spaces in Germany without adult supervision, it was often only after a certain age was reached, or with the restriction that the children would stay in their immediate neighbourhood area. Furthermore, they would usually be in groups and thus engage in social activities instead of having the freedom to be outside by themselves.

According to interviewees, this loss of outside places after migration was not compensated by interior private places. Instead, parents most continued the traditions they

knew from their home country. They may not have realized the importance of providing private places for their children, or they may have decided that it was more important to strengthen the family bonds via sharing than to provide spaces for individual development. The interviews indicate that especially the members of earlier generations often actively rejected the idea of private rooms for children, and many of them supported that idea that their children should stay in shared bedrooms until they got married. And even if these parents had supported the idea of private rooms for children, many of the early migrant apartments as described by first- and second-generation interviewees mainly would simply have not had enough space to allow for individual private rooms for children.

Gender can also have an influence on migrant children's access to private places: Several interviewees from different generations supported the idea that children's rooms should be separated according to gender after a certain age. In some responses, this was considered to be even more significant than idea of reinforcing family bonds via shared bedrooms. Thus, depending on the available space and the number and genders of siblings, children could sometimes end up with a private room, if they were the only boy or only girl in the family.

The interviews also contained examples of ways in which children without private rooms tried to create private places for themselves inside of their apartments. Interviewees who grew up in Berlin mentioned retreating into areas or rooms that were temporarily available to them, such as cupboards or their parents' bedroom, building caves out of blankets and furniture, or finding a comfortable and quiet place near a window. However, none of these places were permanent and always available to them. As they were only temporary spaces, children did not have opportunity to personalize them, which is a strong trigger of place attachment (Fidzani & Read, 2012).

Even though the current apartments of interviewees are usually larger than those common during the first decades of migration, private children's rooms were still rare even for third-generation migrants. Additionally, parents perceive public spaces as even less safe for unattended children than they were in the 1970s and 1980s. This combination of factors means that even third-generation migrant children still often suffer from lack of private places.

6.4.2 Social places. Analysis of the responses with respect to social places showed a less pronounced effect of the migratory process itself on the various generations of migrants. It did, however, reveal the lasting impact of a migrant's cultural background on the availability of such social places.

Interviewees from all generations remarked upon the social relationships in Turkey, mentioning the high frequency of relatives visiting each other's homes. Interviewees described that these visits would often occur without prior appointment, and the doors of houses in small settlements used to be kept unlocked – and in some instances still are today. These responses mark houses in Turkey as social places – particularly as social places for members of the extended family. Half-open spaces and outside areas were commonly mentioned as social places, too – families would have picnics in farms or gardens, and women would get together on porches or balconies to talk while preparing food for the wintertime.

For children in Turkey, almost anywhere was a potential social space: The frequent visits meant that homes were social places anyway, and, just as for private places, the perceived safety and mild climate in small, rural Anatolian settlements meant that they could also easily meet and play with their friends in gardens, farms, or out in the nature.

As the interviews show, early migrants attempted to transfer their social traditions to the new homes in Germany. Especially regarding the early phases of migration to Germany, many interviewees mentioned frequent visits between members of the migrant community –

these would often include not only family members but also friends, neighbours, or people who hailed from places close to the migrants' home settlement.

This also had an effect on early migrants' children: As discussed above, their opportunities of playing outside were limited. So, they would commonly either go out with their parents to visit other people's apartments or be at home when other people with their children come over to their house. That meant that it was easy for children to forge friendships with the children of neighbours, relatives, or their parents' friends. Because children were limited in creating their own outdoor social places, the social places of the adult generation effectively became their social places, too.

Migrants' social places were not entirely limited to interior areas, though. Interviewees' answers indicated that parents would regularly take children to parks, and that – weather permitting – especially early-generation families were fond of organizing weekend picnics in public parks. Many second- and some third-generation migrants also mention the yards of apartment buildings as social places of special importance for children: While streets and parks were often considered to be too dangerous for unattended children, yards were semi-protected spaces: Children would play there with their siblings, friends, and other children from the neighbourhood while the parents could watch over them from the windows. In houses with good neighbourhood relations, parents could even take turns watching over each other's children. Adults thus were easily available in case of need, but they did not constantly monitor their children's activities, because the enclosed nature of the yard limited the perceived dangers. This gave children more control over their social activities and thus – within the limits of the yard – more freedom to create their own social places.

Interviewees also mentioned the shortcomings of this arrangement: Yards often were not designed to be children's spaces, so they would frequently lack vegetation or other natural elements. (Some did feature those, and interviewees would mention them as positives.) On

the whole, though, interviewees talked favourably about their childhood experiences at these yards, indicating that even an imperfect semi-protected social place was considered to be better than none.

This function of yards as a social environment was mostly mentioned by second-generation interviewees, although some third-generation interviewees also experienced similar arrangements. Interestingly, though, yards were only mentioned in the context of social places – never as a location for private places.

Even though the situation in small Anatolian settlements generally provided children with more freedom for their social and private places, it should be noted that not all preferred the overall social atmosphere situation there, with some second- and third-generation interviewees complaining that the lack of anonymity led to increased social pressure, and that especially their status as a visitor made them stand out and gave them a feeling as if their every move was being watched.

6.4.3 Case studies. The case studies allowed validation of the findings from the interviews by comparing the interviewees' responses with the actual activities of children in an intercultural environment.

One important observation was that the children felt a need to create private places for themselves. There were several instances in which children consciously decided to find a private instead of engaging with others who were in the same time. Sometimes, they would even interrupt a social activity to spend some time in a private place. This is in line with the positions outlined in the literature review that describe the necessity of private places for children.

The spaces the children picked as private places, often had cave-like formations, a view of the outside, and, if possible, were located in less busy areas, facing in a direction in which the children did not have any eye contact with children sitting in other modules.

All these characteristics are similar to features of private places described by the interviewees. They, too, described seeking out or creating cave-like private places, as well as distancing themselves from other people by, for instance, venturing into remote areas or climbing onto a tree. Trees also provided good views of the surrounding area, and so did windows, which were also mentioned as private places by some interviewees who grew up living in Berlin apartments.

These similarities validate the results from the interviews and indicate a common preference of children for the location and physical formation of their private places, regardless of whether they belong to natural environments or are results of architectural design.

For their social activities, children preferred more central and more spacious options, if they had a choice to do so. The designed modules they picked would commonly allow face-to-face communication either within the module – for instance by sitting around a table – or from one module to another. If neither of these options were possible, some children would position themselves on the floor, facing the module, to allow for a face-to-face situation with the others.

Places at or near windows were also a popular option for social activities. Children stand near windows or sit on windowsills. In some cases, they preferred a location with not designed elements that was to a window to other available places with designed features but away from the windows. During the in-depth interviews, interviewees often mentioned picking social places in exterior areas or place in-between exterior and interior environments. The preference of locations close to windows over those away from them may indicate a similar tendency.

6.4.4 Other observations. As a by-product of the main research questions, this research also yielded several other interesting observations. It should be noted, though, that

none of these issues were central to the research and that the study design thus did not gather enough data about them to allow for any definitive conclusion. They should therefore be considered potential areas of interest for future research.

A potentially interesting result is the difference in the self-defined place identity between generations. Namely, second-generation interviewees were most likely to define their place identity exclusively through a place in Turkey and not through any place in Germany. By contrast, most first-generation interviewees described themselves as having a dual place identity which involved places from both Turkey and Germany. This drop in Germany-related place identity was present in spite of the fact that second-generation interviewees had generally spent less time in Turkey than first-generation interviewees and had had been in Germany for at least part if not all of their childhood. Due to the small sample size and the fact that this research did not focus on this aspect of the migrant experience, it is impossible to say whether this was just a random clustering in the sample or a result of the processes outlined by Abadan-Unat (2006), which would lead to second-generation migrants feeling rejected and disenfranchised in the country their parents migrated into. Further research would be necessary to confirm or reject this hypothesis.

Similarly, it is notable that all of the third-generation interviewees exclusively or partially defined their place identity via places in Germany. This could indicate that migrants of that generation have less difficulties bonding to their environments in Germany than their parents had. Again, though, further dedicated research would be necessary.

Additionally, interviewees from all generations were more likely to express place identity at the level of city districts or small settlements. This may indicate that any efforts to trigger migrants' place identity and place attachment might have a higher chance of succeeding if they target hyper-local levels.

There were also frequent themes in the responses, which, according to the interviewees, were related to their cultural background. One of these themes was the importance of family and the impact it had over many aspects of the interviewees' lives. Having children sleep in shared bedrooms was justified by the belief that it would strengthen family bonds. Many interviewees stated that they had more contact to family members than to friends and neighbours, and first-generation interviewees would describe their desire to live close to their children in old age. Notably, these statements were more common among first- and second-generation interviewees than among those from the third generation. The research does, however, not provide enough to determine if this difference between the generations is an indicator of generational change in attitudes regarding the importance of family, or whether the different results are merely related to the large age differences between the interviewees or even just coincidental.

Finally, another common theme in interviewees' responses was the importance of food and drinks, especially with regard to social activities. This, too, was described by some interviewees as a specific trait of their cultural background. Social activities involving food, such as picnics, were popular childhood activities among all generations, and many interviewees pointed out that people in Anatolian settlements would always offer food and drinks to guests, even to those who appeared uninvited. This was usually described favourably regardless of the interviewees' generation, and one third-generation interviewee sought to copy this behaviour at his own home in Germany. Another response confirmed the social importance of food when she described how improved the relations with her initially distrustful German neighbours by offering them homemade food as a gift. Apart from using food as a tool in social contexts, persons involved in intercultural projects may also try to find similar elements in other migrants' cultures that could be used to improve relations between the different groups.

6.5 Implications

When conducting projects aimed at intercultural target groups, it is important for architects and urban designers to consider the different spatial needs and expectations that may be present among the group's members. They should develop an understanding of the way, a migrant's cultural background may influence their usage of a designed space, and that places that were designed for specific purpose according to the customs of one culture may be re-purposed for completely different aims by persons stemming from another culture. Especially the distribution and even existence of social and private places can differ significantly from the local majority culture.

Conversely, people migrating from rural to urban areas or from warm regions to more temperate ones may need clear indicators that allow them to adapt their familiar usage patterns of spaces to the requirements of the new country.

Architects and urban designers should consider including spaces that allow for the types of places necessary for children. If local building designs are unlikely to provide them in migrant families' homes, these necessary places should be provided at schools, kindergartens or day care centres in both interior and exterior spaces.

Architectural and urban design solutions should aim to allow children to come into contact with nature at their private and social places.

Architects and urban designers should consider that migrant children may have lost some significant indoor and outdoor places through the migratory experience and should give special attention to the inclusion of potential replacements in their designs.

Both the interviews and observations can provide some clues and starting points due the specific formations and locations of children's preferred private and social places.

6.6 Suggestions for Architects and Urban Designers

Based on the findings and their implications, the researcher has compiled a number of suggestions that may provide further inspiration for future architecture design and urban projects:

1. Realizing the potential of yards as spaces for children's private and social places.

The research showed the advantages of the semi-protected nature of yards. For children they combine the safety of having adults in close physical proximity with the freedom of being able to explore a space on their own. At the same time, they can be more convenient for parents than visiting parks or playgrounds, because parents can still do other tasks at home while their children are playing downstairs.

Ideally, a yard that is suitable for children should feature natural elements, since children prefer using these for both private and social places. Furthermore, it should include areas conducive to social activities as well as those more suitable for private placemaking, such as cave-like spaces or small, slightly separated areas, as well as other features laid out in the research.

The opportunity to create private places and "homes away from home" would be especially advantageous for children who are unable to create private places in their apartments, as the creation of and attachment to private places is necessary for their development, particularly in middle childhood (Sobel, 2002).

While this research focuses on the place experiences of migrant children, child-appropriate shared spaces for the inhabitants of apartment buildings would likely be attractive to all children, regardless of their backgrounds. Establishing them can increase contact within the neighbourhood and thus strengthen the local community.

2. Improving the indoor and outdoor environments of schools, day care centres and kindergartens to encourage the creation of social and private places for children.

Many children may not only be unable to create the types of places they need at home, they also may spend a significant time of their days at schools or other facilities. In the schools and day care centre visited, it was common for children to stay there until late in the afternoon, several hours after their classes had finished. This time can not only be used for additional workshops and guided activities, it can also a time for children to create and use private and social places at their schools, giving them a “home away from home”.

Similar to the yards of apartment buildings, schoolyards and schools buildings are semi-protected areas that can allow children freedoms while still keeping them under the watch of adults. And similar to the previous suggestion, they could include features specifically designed to encourage the creation of children's private and social places.

Compared to building yards, they even have an advantage, namely that they are already spaces meant to be used by children and do not have to serve other purposes, whereas yards of apartment buildings might also need to serve as access to other parts of the building, location for trash containers, or fulfil any number of non-child-related functions.

Additionally, new and existing interior design elements can be employed to allow for the creation of places in indoor spaces. The research indicates that children may have a strong preference for outdoor environments, however it might still be prudent to provide suitable interior options, as well, to give them more options.

3. Developing semi-private designs for children's rooms.

In cases in which the designers or architects of an apartment can anticipate that a child living there may not be able to have their own private room, they can incorporate this anticipation into their design by increasing the size of the children's room and providing

semi-private spaces, for instance via the use of partitions. This would allow children to combine private and social spaces into a single room.

This approach may also be useful for cases that do not involve intercultural situations, since rising rents and high urban population densities may lead to more situations in which children may need to share their bedroom due to spatial constraints.

6.7 Directions for Future Research

As already described, one aim of this research was to provide starting points for future research projects. The results of this study do indeed open the door for further research into specific details regarding the creation of designed spaces not only for intercultural environments but also for densely populated areas in general:

1. Rising rents and an increase in urban density may affect children's ability to find space for the creation of private places, regardless of a child's cultural or economic background. The creation of spaces in urban environments may therefore become increasingly challenging for children from with and without migratory backgrounds. Additional research could use the findings from this study as a starting point to develop a broader perspective on the effects of urbanization on childhood places, utilizing both the experiences of migrant and non-migrant children in Germany as well as examples from high-density residential areas in cities around the world, in order to find solutions that empower children to create their own places even in situation, in which space is at a premium. The findings from this research could be a starting point for an investigation into child-appropriate design solutions for areas with a high population density.
2. The researcher suggested to utilize semi-public spaces such as yards or schoolyards as locations for the creation of children's private places. However, the semi-public nature of these spaces means that they are accessible by multiple users

and may thus not allow for the kind of highly individual and permanent personalization a child could achieve in their own private room. Therefore, further research is needed to develop methods and concepts that allow for permanent personalization of private childhood places by multiple users in semi-public spaces. This would encompass research into appropriate technologies and design concepts as well as into methodologies that could be employed to determine user's specific needs and expectations regarding such a solution.

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Appendix A: Images from Traumbaum Day Care Centre



Figure 22: General view of the Corridor



Figure 23: Seat (designed as flower) connected to panels (designed as leaves)

Appendix B: Images from Erika Mann Primary School



Figure 24



Figure 25



Figure 26



Figure 27

Children using various modules at the corridors for individual activities.



Figure 28: Corridor with children learning in a small group

Appendix C: Images from Galilei Primary School



Figure 29: "Niche" from a renovated corridor



Figure 30: "Learning bay" from a renovated corridor



Figure 31: View of a renovated Corridor



Figure 32: View of a non-renovated Corridor



Figure 33: "Small room" in the non-renovated corridor