TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF HOW LONDON TURKISH CYPRIOT YOUTH 'PERFORM' THEIR DIASPORA IDENTITIES THROUGH EMPLACEMENT AND MOBILITY

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Declaration of Authorship

I understand the School's definition of plagiarism and declare that all sources drawn on have been formally acknowledged.

Signed: Canan Salih

Date: 17 November 2014

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Abstract

Towards an understanding of how London Turkish Cypriot youth 'perform' their Diaspora identities through emplacement and mobility

The London Turkish Cypriot (LTC) community has been described as 'invisible', a community at the point of eradication (Aksoy and Robins 2001). For three generations of LTCs the process of cultural identification has seen an evolution from migration and 'homeland' association, to critical displacement, assimilation and different perceptions of what is 'home'. The growing diversity in cultural identification is further reflected in enhanced access to spatial consumption, mobility and choices of emplacement for its younger generations.

This PhD is driven by practice-as-research. The practice, and therefore line of reasoning, behind this research is an ongoing, organic process that has shifted throughout the course of the thesis. The documentation of the practice-as-research is included in the accompanying DVD and is integral to the findings of this thesis.

The thesis asks how LTC youth 'perform' their identities and negotiate a diaspora identity that is in constant flux. The enquiry consists of two main lines of enquiry. First, I am exploring how young people use public spaces through mobility and a 'mobile' culture, using mobile initiated technology to further explore the idea of movement and flux. Second, I progress towards a greater understanding of the participating young LTCs' concept of 'home' and what elements of their every day performative behaviour, their environment and relational spaciality construct and support these home-making practices.

The thesis addresses complex issues arising out of auto ethnographic practice-as-research of the LTC community, conducted through applied drama practices with its youth. Issues include identifying young participants' relationship to cultural space, place making and notions of 'home' as part of their identity construction process. The thesis also discusses the 'fit' of applied drama as a qualitative research tool within this context and the fluidity of changing technologies that can be, and are at times, used to document examples

of practice.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Figures	5
Preface	8
Introduction	16
Construction of the thesis	18
The Practice	19
Summary of the theoretical fields	20
Outline of the thesis	22
Chapter 1: Histories	28
Diaspora	30
The Cyprus Problem	34
The Family	35
The Rag Trade	38
Language	42
The Homeland	48
Belonging	54
Religion	58
Conclusion	62
Chapter 2: Considerations of Practice-as-Research Methodologie	s
Introduction	65
Practice-as-Research	66
Applied Drama	73
Ethnography and Auto Ethnography	78
Psycho Geography	82
Psycho Geographical Homes	89
Youth Media Culture	93
Ethical implications of using technology with young people	94
Final thoughts	100
Pauses in public spaces	101

Chapter 3: London Turkish Cypriot's Performance of Publ	ic Spaces
Introduction	104
Participation and context of practice as research	107
Authority gendered space and territorialism	114
Gendered consumption of space	117
Authority and public spaces	120
Complexities of 'spatial' and 'platial' differentiation	122
Relational space	128
Detachment of cultural identity through mobility	130
Glocalisation	138
Extinction or distinction	145
Citizenship and empowerment	149
Conclusion	155
Chapter 4: Private Places: Home Making Practices of LTC	Youth
Introduction	159
Context of Practice	161
LTC Diaspora youth's mobilization of home	163
Home as non-tangible place	178
Dwelling and the performance of home	189
Assimilation and the performativity of home	194
Conclusion	205
Conclusion	207
Performance of space and place	208
Home thoughts	210
Temporariness	212
Further questions	214
Broader implications of the research	215
Limitations	216
Areas for further development and research	218
Bibliography	221

Appendix A – Context of Participants	237
Appendix B – Cyprus Timeline	240
Appendix C - Disgraceful Waste of Space (DWOS) - 2009	250
Appendix D - Disgraceful Waste of Space (DWOS)	266
Appendix E – Home Projects Workshop Plans 2012	275
Appendix F – Home 1 Project Workshop Plans 2011	283
Appendix G - Notes from Home 2 Project - Panel Discussion	289
Table of Figures	
Figure 1. DVD Map	09
Figure 2. Signposts in Innes Park (DWOS 2009)	86
Figure 3. Dilan's Bedspread Installation (Home 2011)	92
Figure 4. DWOS 2009 Project Outline	110
Figure 5. Innes Park Boys' Plaques (DWOS 2009)	112
Figure 6. Haileybury Girls Palimpsest Mapping (DWOS 2009)	113
Figure 7. Planning Maps (DWOS 2010)	114
Figure 8. Palmers Green Map (DWOS 2010)	140
Figure 9. Zehra's Mobile Phone Installation (Home 2011)	170
Figure 10. Safi's Photo Display (Home 2011)	171
Figure 11. Selen's Home Exhibition (Home 2011)	181
Figure 12. Dilan's Bedspreads (Home 2011 & 2012)	185
Figure 13. Dilan's Home Exhibition (Home 2011)	187
Figure 14. Dilan's Home Exhibition Continued (Home 2011)	187

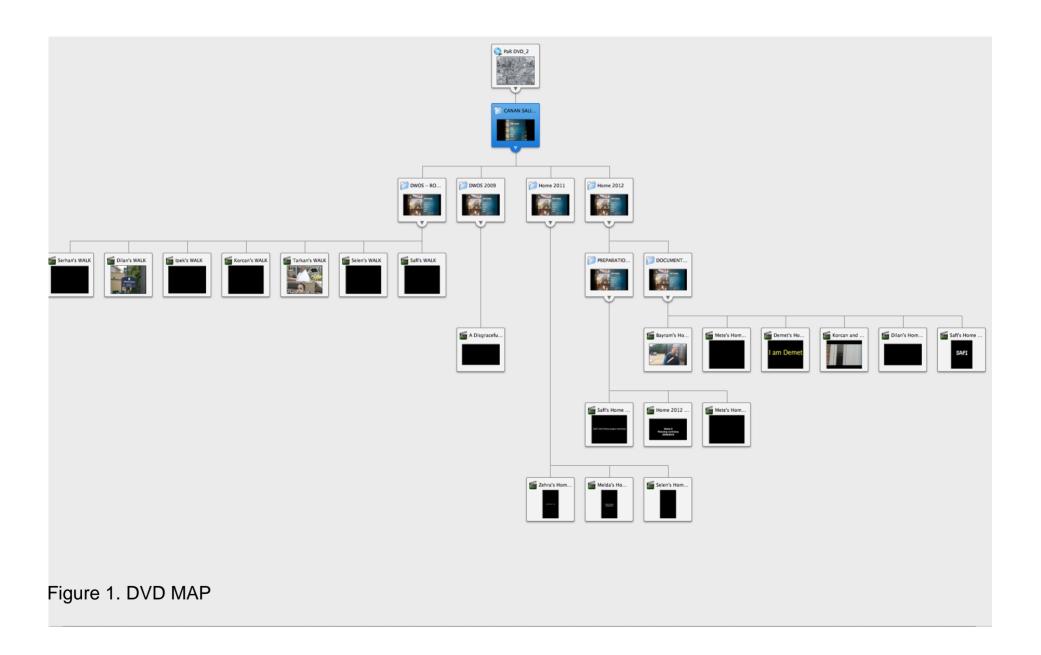
Preface

This thesis uses applied drama practice as research to explore the place making practices of a select number of London Turkish Cypriot (LTC) youths. The purpose of this preface is to guide the reader through the mechanics of the PaR and the DVD. This PaR thesis is 75% written document and 25% practical.

The practice of applied drama that operates as research, has taken place in three different contexts. In the first I led the research as youth arts officer for London borough of Tower Hamlets (LBTH) (see appendix C and Chapter 3). This involved working with two youth groups, one was a group of young Bengali women, set in a youth centre, the other a site-based group of young Bengali men that occupy a public park in Tower Hamlets. The project took place as part of a summer project called *A Disgraceful Waste of Space* (*DWOS*) in 2009. In the beginning of summer 2010, I embarked upon *A Disgraceful Waste of Space - Roots to Routes* (*DWOS-2*). This project was a replica of the first *DWOS* but as an independent project in which I worked as a freelance artist with eight second and third generation LTCs. The project looked at how young LTCs use public spaces to inscribe cultural and social identity. The LTC spaces were spread around four different regions of North London.

On the following page is a map of the DVD menu. The DVD map (Figure 1) outlines the chronological journey of the PaR. Following this is a detailed breakdown of how to use the DVD to access each clip when using a standard DVD player, a Mac computer or a PC.

Please note: the detailed guide below is a precaution. The clips are easy to access and are explained throughout the thesis. The guidance below is not necessarily needed at this stage.



DVD Menu

You will be given clear guidance for accessing the practice throughout the written document. To view clips from each project when asked to do so you will start from the main DVD menu as outlined below (Screen 1). This menu will automatically appear upon inserting the DVD into any Mac, PC or DVD player.

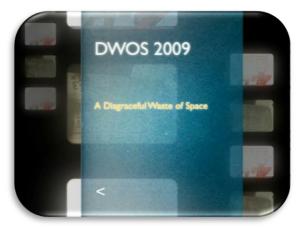


Screen 1.

As illustrated above, all the PaR projects are listed in chronological order. By clicking on any particular project title you will be led to another menu.

DWOS - 2009

- 1. When you click on the 'DWOS 2009' button (highlighted above in Screen
- 1) the menu below should appear with the choice of clicking 'A Disgraceful Waste of Space' button to access the film clip associated with this project (Screen 2).



Screen 2.

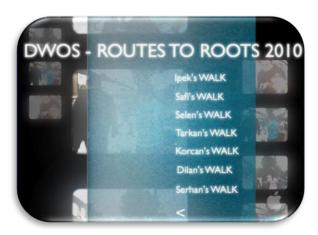
DWOS - ROUTES TO ROOTS - 2010

1. When asked to view the scenes from the *DWOS-2* project, please go to the 'DWOS – Routes to Roots - 2010' button on the DVD menu (highlighted below in Screen 1)



Screen 1.

2. You will then have a choice of buttons to select from. Each 'WALK" has a participant's name next to it (Screen 3).



Screen 3.

By selecting any particular WALK the reader may access that participant's film clip. Upon completion of a clip, the DVD automatically returns to the above menu (Screen 3).

HOME 2011:

1. When asked to view the scenes from the *Home 1* project, please go to the 'Home 2011' button on the DVD menu (highlighted below in Screen 1)



Screen 1.

2. You will then have a choice of three buttons to choose from, with each participant's name next to it (Screen 4). Each button will lead to a short clip of film that maps out each participant's reflective process that has led to the project.



Screen 4.

HOME 2012:

1. When asked to view the scenes from the *Home 2* project, please go to the 'Home 2012' button on the DVD menu (highlighted below in Screen 1))



Screen 1.

2. Another menu will appear (Screen 5) offering a choice of two buttons, 'Home Preparation Workshops' (the process) and 'Documented Digital Performances (DDP). Each button will lead to a submenu.



Screen 5.

3. By clicking on the first button 'Home preparation Workshops' you will be lead to another menu (Screen 6) with three options. You will then have three buttons to choose from, two of which have participant's names next to them.

The 'Home 2012 Planning Workshop' button (highlighted below) will lead to a short film clip of the planning and preparation process of the DDPs.



Screen 6.

The two buttons below (highlighted) each lead to a short film of the planning and process of the named participant's DDP.



Screen 6.

4. When asked to click on the 'Documented Digital Performances' button in Screen 5, you will have a choice of six buttons to select from (Screen 7). Each button has a participant's name next to it and leads to film clips of their performances of Home.



Screen 7.

Note: The < button on any screen will always bring you back to the previous menu.

Whether played on a standard DVD player, Mac or PC, each clip must be played to its completion in order to automatically return to the main menu (Screen 1).

INTRODUCTION

The Turkish Cypriot community of London has been described as 'invisible', a community at the point of extinction (Aksoy and Robins 2001: 692). For three generations of London Turkish Cypriots (LTC) the process of cultural identification has seen an evolution from migration and 'homeland' association, to critical displacement, assimilation and a different form of 'homing desire' (Brah 2003:197). This thesis investigates whether the eradication of the LTC identity, through a growing diversity in cultural identification, has become a genuine threat, and whether enhanced access to media technology, spatial consumption, mobility and choices of emplacement for its younger generations may be some of the key causes of this eradication, therefore provoking further scrutiny.

The thesis investigates the ways in which second and third generation Turkish Cypriot youth, living in London, perform, through everyday practices and performative behaviours (repeated, habitual practices) their diasporic identity. In other words, this enquiry is interested in how, why and where young LTCs 'make place,' with the focus on 'place' as a site that carries a sense of belonging. Alongside this, the movements of the young LTC participants are also interrogated, as they 'make place' through everyday performative acts of spatial engagement.

Through out the thesis, I refer to participants' social practices as 'performances' or 'performativity'. For the sake of clarity, it is worth explaining, at this point, the distinction between the two terms. In the context of this thesis, 'performance' refers to conscious acts of presentation and demonstration, usually as part of creative, artistic invention. 'Performativity', on the other hand, points more towards personal acts of identity (like gender and – in the case of this thesis – ethnic culture), normalised by the hegemony of society and the status quo (Butler 1996). A strong resonance to this thesis is Judith Hamera's linking of performance and performativity to the production of place. She states:

I would argue that the construction and reproduction of place from space can be explored in performative terms [...] Individual performances, I suggest, do make performativity material but such negotiations are not always risky; they may be, or seem, perfectly banal. The performative production of place in one example.

(Hamera 2006:51)

It is implied that the performativity is a subconscious, habitual practice, whilst performance constitutes towards a conscious framing of the everyday; somewhat like an awareness of a form of role-play. The two terms, their definitions and their contributions to the practice of this thesis are further discussed in *Chapter Three – Considerations of Practice-as-Research Methodologies*.

A substantial level of the theory and any new knowledge in this thesis is underpinned by the practice-as-research. The writing is about the practice; the practice <u>informs</u> the writing. It is only through using applied drama activities with groups of young LTCs, that issues around emplacement, territorialism, mobility and gendered space, among other key themes, emerge and are discussed. Throughout the enquiry the reader is continuously directed towards the documentation of the practice, via the attached DVD, which is central to the whole thesis. Clear instructions on how to navigate the DVD itself, as well as the contents of the DVD, are set out, both in the preface and within each chapter, in the main body of this written document.

The thesis addresses complex issues that have arisen out of LTC participants engaging in various adaptations of psycho-geographical practices. This includes issues around identifying young participants' relationships to cultural spatiality and place making practices as part of their identity construction process. Through a thorough interrogation of applied drama practice-as-research (ADPaR), one of the key outcomes surfaced in the thesis is a query into whether any possible de-ethnicisation of this diaspora group may come about as a result of the amalgamation of various cultures that lead to a dilution of any probable ethnic cultural identity.

Whilst this PhD is a PaR thesis, from the start I had considered it an *Applied Drama* PaR (ADPaR). Its evolution has led to the conclusion that there is no one firm methodology that can be classed as ADPaR. Through the theory and discourses that I refer to in my writing, as well as the various methodologies I have drawn from through my practice, it has become apparent that applied drama PaR is something not yet fully articulated and is

quite embryonic in the academic field of practice. I acknowledge that each PaR thesis differs depending on its subject matter, theoretical framework and practical approach. I offer to this argument the consideration of an insufficiently explored aspect of applied drama within the current landscape of PaR that would benefit from further debate.

Notwithstanding, this thesis will reflect on the use of ADPaR as a means of acknowledging distinctions between the research process and my auto ethnographic involvement, both as researcher and as a member of the LTC community. I make reference to the inevitable implications the binary role of the researcher - as cultural insider/academic outsider - has on objectivity, accuracy and any possible 'contamination' of research material.

The title of this thesis indicates an investigation into the sociological development of LTC youth, in particular, their identification process through an engagement in spatial conduct and performance of place. Additionally, this investigation is directed through applied drama practice as a research method and further implies an engagement in performative and performance practices. This thesis, therefore, is situated within sociological, geographical, anthropological, ethnographic and applied drama fields of study. Furthermore, the thesis' investigation through applied drama practice as research carries with it implications of methodological and ethical issues around interrogations of aesthetic excellence and authority. Each chapter in this thesis outlines the various components that contribute to the composition of the enquiry. These include the context of practice, the relevant theoretical frameworks within which the practice is embedded, and the various outcomes of the practice-as-research (PaR), with the various areas of attained new knowledge that have arisen out of the enquiry.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE THESIS

There are autobiographic elements within my thesis and these factors contribute to the construction of the thesis. During my MA studies in Theatre and Performance Studies, I conducted research on youth performances within nightclub settings and their analogous relationship to theatre settings. This research was undertaken through various applied drama activities and practices that I had not knowingly adopted as research methods. It was

because of the fact that I had engaged in applied drama practice for over eighteen years in my profession as Youth Arts Officer for Tower Hamlets Council and Youth Arts Facilitator within various professional contexts. This MA research, however, introduced me to notions of *performativity* and the similarities between young people performing in night club settings, and their performing in theatrical settings in general. I considered the idea that if young people perform their *imagined* selves in night clubs, and this performance of self can be extended to one's gender (as proposed by Judith Butler, 1997), is it then possible to suggest that the performance of ethnic identities may fall into the same area of research? This made me question to what extent society defines our ethnic identities and how, therefore, may we be able to describe such identities as the diasporic ones of London Turkish Cypriots?

Before I coined the term *London Turkish Cypriot*, I had to consider how I would define myself, both for the sake of this thesis, and beyond. At first I considered myself British; 'British' was an articulation that did not sit comfortably with me, however, and evoked a sense of betrayal to my ethnic heritage. I then contemplated defining myself as 'Turkish'. This seemed to somehow negate my history and experience of being born and bred in the UK, as well as the fact that my family were actually from Cyprus not Turkey. Furthermore, being 'Cypriot' had national, political and geographical implications that evoked complex feelings of belonging, displacement, nostalgia, indignation and despair (the reasons for these responses are further discussed in Chapter 1 - *Histories*). Yet the term 'Cypriot' also encapsulated my ethnic-national identity, as well as my forbears' national, geographical and political associations. I felt that a hyphenated identity that included *London, Turkish and Cypriot* within it, therefore, was key in ensuring that a comprehensive biographic narrative of my identity was represented.

In particular, the reference to 'London' and 'Cypriot' within this hyphenation held strong links to space and place both socially, geographically and performatively. I came to the conclusion that my identity was clearly associated with spatial occupation and mobility. These factors were key in determining how I might be able to research other LTCs' performance of *their* diaspora identities and, by association therefore, place. This was my process of finding the 'most important filters' (Behar 1996:13) to use within my thesis.

THE PRACTICE

My enquiry relies upon Practice-as-Research (PaR) that includes two specific projects of several parts, spanning over four years. The first project of this thesis took place over the summers of 2009 and 2010 and was entitled *A Disgraceful Waste of Space* [DWOS]. The aim of this two-part project was to identify how young people make 'place' out of 'public spaces' (out of doors, in their everyday environment), focusing on LTC youth as the project advanced. The 2009 project sought to identify memories of events, moments and incidents that cause participating young people to create 'places' within the built environment of the London Borough of Tower Hamlets. The 2010 project (*DWOS-2*) used techniques in applied drama, filming, Podcasts, PowerPoint, and music production to create performed 'walks' that route the journey of each LTC participant's memorable sites in the North London borough of Enfield.

The second PaR project took place over the summers of 2011 and 2012 and was entitled *Home*. This stage of the enquiry focused on notions of 'private places' and aimed at identifying how second and third generation LTCs make and perform 'Home'. In 2011, using film, applied drama processes and imagery each LTC participant presented an installation/display that communicated their notions of homemaking. These installations were presented in the 2012 PhD *Collisions Festival* at Royal Central School of Speech and Drama (RCSSD) (an annual PhD festival that takes place at Royal Central School of Speech and Drama, providing a platform for PhD candidates to present their research and practices to the public and academics).

In the summer of 2012, through an initial series of drama workshops with seven young participants, notions of home were eventually interpreted as a place of belonging. I then worked with five households out of which six Documented Digital Performances (DDPs) were produced. The presentation of these DDPs took place at the 2013 PhD *Collisions Festival* at RCSSD with the idea of inviting deliberately selected, diverse members of society to observe them, as an attempt to glean responses from individuals who may

offer me alternative ways of responding to the young people's work. This process was part of the practice and integral to my research.

This thesis charts the findings of each practice within thematic headings, which echo the chronology of the practice, although at times there are inevitable crossovers.

SUMMARY OF THE THEORETICAL FIELDS

The changes in human geographic patterns (human global mobility), and the impact on the development and defining features of diasporic communities over the past two decades, have led to an extensive degree of analysis and writing in the fields of sociology, geography, cultural studies and anthropology. Furthermore, the changes that have occurred and continue to occur within youth cultures, as a result of technological advancement, spatial practices and mobility, are also key factors in this enquiry. There has been much written on these technological, sociological and geographical developments and their impact on diasporic groups, both within Britain and more widely afield. Within this thesis I refer to certain key ideas and theorists in order to situate my own research within the existing, relevant fields of practice and theory. For example, when discussing the diasporic framework of the LTC, I reference Avtar Brah (e.g. 1996) in particular, as this literature proposes a rethinking of how diasporic communities may be defined and investigated post-21st Century. More specifically, there has been some literature written on Turkish Cypriots living in London (Abdullah, H. (ed.) 2006; Canefe, 2009; Kaya, 2011; Issa, 2006; Aksoy and Robins, 2001; Küçükcan, 2004; Mehmet Ali, 2001; Ramm, 2008). These sources have helped focus my initial understanding of LTCs for this enquiry. To some extent, each study, however, reflects the author's personal experiences, research interests and/or expertise. Some of the works on LTCs, although invaluable in its investigation, are quite dated (for example, Aksoy and Robins, 2001). Some are at times age specific (Abdullah, H. (ed.) 2006), and combined with other Turkish speaking diaporas. For example Tayfun Atay (2010) writes more about mainland Turks living in London, whereas Aysel Aybil Göker (2007) significantly incorporates narratives from Greek Cypriot Diasporas in her PhD.

Moreover, none of the above sources have approached the research of their respective fields through applied drama practice as a research methodology.

The ethnographic nature of this enquiry required an interrogation of existing ethnographic practices and research as a means of both understanding the various methods in which I may conduct my research with the LTC youth, as well as recognising that certain issues around the ethical and critical analysis of the subject matter would arise and require addressing. Although I have referred to numerous sources in the fields of anthropology, ethnography and auto-ethnography, the two key sources that have been helpful in my investigation of LTC youth have been Ruth Behar (1996) and her auto-ethnographic examination of her own life and journeys across two continents and Deidre Heddon (2008) whose preoccupation with auto-topography as a means of articulating auto-biographical, gendered and spatially led narratives of the self.

When talking about space and place, and the investigation into the participating LTCs' place making practices, there have been a considerable number of theorists and practitioners that have inspired, excited and engaged me in this area of practice and research. For example, Misha Myers' (2004) Way From Home project, as well as Mike Pearson's (2000) Bubbling Tom performance, have been inspirational and valuable when I was considering how to devise and facilitate both practices and documentations of the DWOS 1 and 2 projects. Hava Gordon's (2005) allusion to young people's sociospatial occupation of adult-dominated public spaces, as a means of contesting adolescent subordination in society, was useful when scrutinising each performance outcome from both DWOS and Home projects. Gill Valentine's (1996) consideration of public spaces (such as streets) being utilised as private places for young adults, suggests a resistance to the public 'gaze' of adults within spatial constructs as the home and school. Valentine's theories challenge the validity of the public/private dichotomy within academia and underpin the choice of Home (a place of belonging) of the participating LTCs of Home 1 and 2. Doreen Massey's (1994, 2005, 2008) various writing on globalization and the re-conceptualisation of place has been influential in my considerations of how LTCs make place and what is considered place in these contexts. Tim Cresswell's (2006, 2008) consideration into the role of 'place' and its relationship to 'space', as well as the impact of mobility on cultural life, has helped me structure a framework within which to investigate the mobility and culturally led emplacement and place-making practices of LTC youth of this thesis.

The respective fields associated with this thesis are broad and always evolving. The work of this thesis *draws* on these relevant fields but *focuses* specifically on a small group of participating LTC youth (in particular second and third generations) over a four-year period of practice.

OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

Chapter One - Histories

The first chapter in this thesis is entitled *Histories* and sets out to outline the context and background of London Turkish Cypriots as a diasporic community. It is a contextual chapter. I wrote *Histories* whilst considering what it might mean to be Turkish Cypriot living in London. Before the issues, theories and findings that emerged from the practice-as-research were identified and analysed, the *Histories* chapter set out to provide a premise from which an understanding of the LTC diasporic culture may arise.

This chapter follows the history of the LTC diaspora, highlighting four key factors that may have led to the current context within which LTC youth exist. The first of these addresses how Turkish Cypriots came to be a diasporic group in Britain. I look at how the political climate of Cyprus, over the past 40 years, has affected Turkish Cypriots as a whole, and in particular how it led to the LTCs' migration to Britain. I highlight the significance of Cyprus being a former British colony, and consider how this may have impacted upon the migration process of first-generation LTCs.

The second theme of the *Histories* chapter is family. I outline the migration patterns of LTC families over the several decades, and consider how 'family' may influence the LTC diaspora. I suggest that the family can be perceived as a diasporic space in itself, significantly influencing the LTC identification process, as well as the generational evolutional process of what is considered as LTC. I present a number of examples of various familial progressions from first to third generation LTC experiences, and outline how

these experiences differ according to the individual family's narratives on family, migration and employment.

A significant factor that played a key role in the employment aspect of these narratives is that of the Rag Trade (textile industry), which was a common space for a majority of first generation Turkish (and Greek) Cypriots; it forms the third section of the chapter. The Rag Trade affected the socioeconomic life of the first generation LTCs and was an integral part of their diasporic framework. Further discussions in this section focus on the economically driven reasons behind the LTCs' occupation of these spaces.

Another key factor that aided in the forming and sustaining of the rag trade communities was the common languages Turkish Cypriots were familiar with. Some first generation Turkish Cypriots are fluent in both Greek and Turkish, whilst others were more eloquent in Turkish and English (as a result of the colonially British-led school education system in Cyprus at the time). I discuss the distinction of first generation LTCs' knowledge of English assisting the types of employment and socioeconomic levels they fitted into, whilst those with language barriers struggled to find an appropriate place in British society. I discuss the means in which young LTCs acquire knowledge of Turkish language, such as attending supplementary Turkish schools, and the impact these organisations have on young LTCs' understanding and perceptions of cultural identification.

Similar to the discussions had around the rag trade, the LTCs' spatial relationship to homeland is discussed in the next section of this chapter. Notions of homeland, and therefore home, and what is perceived as home, changes according to each generation. The conventional sense of homeland as an entity left behind, geographically, shifts as each generation's association with home evolve according to their changing environment. Consequently, what used to be perceived as homeland to first-generation LTCs might perhaps be considered a 'homing desire' (Brah 1996) to second-generation LTCs. This then puts into question whether any notion of homeland is relevant to later, third generation LTCs. Another key aspect of

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¹ Chapter 4 − *Private Places* further discusses notions of home in relation to third-generation LTCs, where it becomes apparent that home for these youths is something entirely different, complex and strongly connected to youth cultures.

this discussion on Homeland is that the idea of a homeland shifts from generation to generation and country to country. Britain's role in Cyprus' past political and social landscape has, therefore, as much of an influence on LTCs' notion of home, as the current proximal relationship between Northern Cyprus and Turkey. Within this section, religion is also briefly discussed as I explain how most Islamic Turkish Cypriots in London are commonly considered more secular than practicing Muslims.

Chapter Two – Considerations of Practice-as-Research Methodologies

The second chapter of the enquiry is a retrospective look at the methods and methodologies of research that form this thesis. This chapter commences with discussions on what is considered practice-as-research (PaR) in the academic field, interrogating PaR with reference to a number of practitioners and academics that currently contribute to the PaR debate. These include the five-year enquiry into PaR of the PARIP team (2001-2005), deliberations by Baz Kershaw and Helen Nicholson (2011) on existing PaR research, as well as current considerations by Robin Nelson (2013) of performance based PaR.

I then contemplate a series of questions around the use of applied drama as a PaR methodology in this enquiry, presenting a brief background into the construction and development of the term 'applied drama', referring to key theorists in this field (Nicholson, 2005; Thompson, 2003; Etherton and Prentiki, 2006; and Shaughnessy, 2012). By placing applied drama practice as research within an auto ethnographic framework, and investigating the spatial practices of participating LTCs, psycho-geography and aesthetic practice emerge as potential interesting cognate practices (or perhaps methodologies) from this enquiry. I outline what is considered psychogeography, its earlier formation as a preoccupation of Guy Debord and the Situationist movement (1957) to the cinematic presentation of Patrick Keiller's London (1994), and Misha Myers' (2004) online cartographies of refugees' walks' in Way from Home, as a technological advancement of investigations into psycho-geographical inflected performances of place. My interest in technology is further developed here through discussing its impact on the

identification of and youth cultural mobility of the LTC participants in this thesis.

Chapter Three - Public Spaces in 'A Disgraceful Waste of Space'

Chapter Three of this thesis presents an investigation into the spatial performance of LTC youth identities that have emerged from the first PaR project A Disgraceful Waste of Space (DWOS). This chapter (and Chapter 4) are directly integrated with the PaR activities. Although the works in this phase are introduced somewhat chronologically, the findings of the PaR are presented thematically. I begin by looking at some of the issues that arose from the DWOS (2009) project, which was set in London Borough of Tower Hamlets. I draw on the writing of Valentine (1996) and Heddon (2008) when notions of belonging and gendered spatiality are investigated initially, in the section titled Authority of Gendered Space and Territorialism. I look at the differences, proposed by different theorists and practitioners, between place and space (in particular Cresswell, 2008; Tuan, 1977; Taylor, 1999). I highlight that most of the work presented in the 2010 DWOS-2 project are significant indicators of relational and social spaces, referring to Henri Lefebvre's (2007, [1991]) theory of space as a social reality and, therefore suggesting a more place-making form of practice.

The following section of this chapter examines what specific sites and spaces emerge from the selection, preparation and rehearsal of each route undertaken by the LTCs in the 2010 *DWOS-2* project. The final section of the chapter examines ways in which perceptions of place may influence performative activities that are politically and culturally defined as changing diasporic identities. In particular the concept of ownership and youth territorialism of public space against notions of belonging (or displacement) is further explored. Valentine (1996) and Gordon's (2005) theories on young people's inhabitation of adult spaces as a means of youth democracy and political autonomy reinforces this section as I aim to identify what forms of performative behaviour both define and are produced through a sense of belonging and/or displacement, particularly of LTC youth.

Chapter Four – Private Places – At Home

Chapter Four investigates how the performance of Home demonstrates globalisation and mobilisation of youth cultural practices (Bourne, 2008; Stald, 2008). I look at why some participants present their Home-space as a performance of 'temporary place' (Mackey, 2009), perhaps indicating an increase in changing, global youth cultural influences. Consideration is also given to participants presenting notions of Home through less tangibly spatial means, but rather through the relationships they have through time, reiterating the notion of relational space as an alternative to place bound concepts (Gren, 2002; Nilan and Fexia, 2006). Furthermore, a reflection on participants who consider Home as their place of abode are considered against the preceding works in this second phase of PaR, looking at what factors influence participants to perform 'dwelling' and emplacement within this context (Ingold, 1995). Finally, the chapter concludes with reflecting on why a sense of belonging, initially agreed as the identifying factor of Home by the LTC participants, may carry with it a vulnerability arising from risk and displacement.

Conclusion

In the conclusion, I summarise the research practice and methodology, as well as the findings, from the thesis. I propose, first, that, by amalgamating research methodologies in this enquiry, a hybrid spatial methodology has evolved. This enables both ethnographic research and analysis as well as a realm of active participation and change, facilitated through applied drama and psycho-geographical practices.

I suggest the investigation into young people's mobility impacts upon their process of personal identification and *becoming* (Massey, 1994). I offer the idea of an inevitable 'heightened temporariness' (Urry, 2000:121) that may come with notions of movement and an increase in ephemeral cultures of taste. I suggest that this temporariness may also be a consequence of contemporary globalization, putting forward the idea that the changes in global forces may have led to the eradication of a cultural LTC diaspora. All these considerations are denoted by the PaR of this thesis, and a selection of practitioners, academics and theorists that have underpinned and contributed to these debates.

CHAPTER ONE - HISTORIES

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will analyse selected critical thinking around the concept of Diaspora², in conjunction with chronological narratives of four third generation London Turkish Cypriot's (LTC) family histories, compiled through various interviews with the young people and their family members. Much of these 'interviews' have been conducted through informal conversations that have been lead by key themes of class, language, employment, religion and different trajectorial histories of each family. Steiner Kvale states that '[c]onversation is an ancient form of obtaining knowledge' (1996:8). Conversation is a communication method mostly associated to the humanities. It is also a familiar form of communication, understood and practiced by the older generation LTC family memebers who participated in the interviews. Although I had set questions I wished to ask the participants I did not have a formal interview structure or context within which to address these questions. Rather, I felt it more productive to encourage interviewees by conducting the conversations in a familiar domestic setting of each individual's home (as abode), in (mainly) the Turkish language. Through anecdotal re-telling of their past, over cups of tea and biscuits or börek (feta cheese filled pastry parcels), I was able to capture experiences of diaspora Turkish Cypriots arriving in London (or growing up in London), on my mobile phone's voice recorder. The combination of oral history and new media technology is a subject that is touched on throughout this thesis, in particular, the use of communication technology as a research tool.

It is worth noting that the family members were selected through personal association. They are either related to close friends of mine, or directly related to me. This has also been the case in my engagement with the young LTC participants in the practice as research projects to come.

 $^{^2}$ As the term Diaspora is under scrutiny in this chapter, it will be presented as a proper noun for the duration of this chapter.

Although my close association to some of the participants was key in their agreeing to participate in the research, I am aware they are by no means representative of the LTC Diaspora as a whole. Shakuntala Banaji (2006) asserts a smiliar point in the preface of her book *Reading Bollywood*, pointing out, however, that

... lest it been assumed that the very particularity of the data limits it excessively, it should be recollected that qualitative research describe *processes* - of interpretation, identity formation, psychosocial relations as well as relations between variables such as pleasure, knowledge, experience and belief - that are not accessible with quantitative methods that might appear to guarantee representativeness.

(2006: xvii)

The qualititative research method of conversation has been an effective way of attaining knowledge of first and second generation LTCs. It has been one way in which I have managed to encourage and enable participants to verbalise self-reflexively. Another means of research has been to facilitate young participants in applied drama practice as a research method through the two practice-as-research projects *A Disgraceful Waste of Space* (of which they produced Performance Walks, or WALKS) and *Home* (which resulted in Documented Digital Performances, or DDPs).³

I will refer to these young people by their first names (Dilan, Ipek, Tarkan and Korcan) and their family members in association to them (e.g. 'Dilan's mum'). I will also include my own narrative and understanding of the Diaspora experience as a second generation LTC. The aim of exploring the diasporic practices of the selected first, second and third generation LTCs is a way of identifying why and how factors such as language, family, religion and the 'rag trade' (clothing factories) have influenced the spatiality and mobility of today's LTC youth. By exploring these factors, it is then perhaps possible to acquire a better understanding of the overarching matters of this

³ These practical outcomes are an integral part of this research and are further discussed in chapters two, three and four. In this contextual chapter, I make reference to some of the practice because the comments and actions of the young people offer interesting 'postscripts' to the context of first generation histories. To ignore this contribution would reduce the weight of the discussion. The content of this chapter did not arise from the practice itself, however, but from some of the conversartional interviews conducted with the young people and their families. These are unlike the mode of discussion in chapters three and four, so I do not introduce the practice here, only refer to some points made by the young people to supplement my key points.

thesis: the driving force behind mobility in migration and human geography, the place making and emplacement practice of third generation Diasporas within London's spatiality (or spatial relations), and the powers that influence the performance and performatives of third generation Diaspora and migrant identities.

Initially, I will highlight the pathways via which the many meanings of Diaspora have taken shape, whilst looking into how the everyday practices of LTCs affect and are affected by an understanding of this term. I will query whether it is feasible to rely on one word as a mode of reference to encapsulate the growing social, geographical and demographic practices that have resulted in changes to the way the term and meaning of Diaspora are viewed, or whether a number of various references and terms might be more useful. I will then suggest ways in which diverse modes of representation may perhaps inform a more coherent understanding of current LTC Diaspora through applied drama practice as a mode of research. By doing this, I hope to raise the question of whether 'Diaspora' manages successfully to describe the LTC community, or whether the term helps in further obscuring the LTC identity within the context of London. Exploring the micro, or 'local', manifestation of this term within the context of the LTC is a useful way of examining whether the term Diaspora, on a macro level, is as convoluted as is being suggested, in addition to considering how the practice of spatiality and mobility within the LTC and its youth affect the performance of Diaspora identities.

DIASPORA

The LTC emplacement and mobility in London suggest this community's engagement as part of a Diaspora. A closer examination of the term Diaspora is useful, therefore, for understanding where and how the social practices of three generations of LTCs are positioned in an international social order. It is my argument that the more the term Diaspora refers to an increasing divergence of identity practices, the more it has become insufficient, failing to identify adequately shifting community identities such as that of the LTCs.

Three key reference points have helped shape a core meaning of Diaspora. From the earliest expression of the Jewish dispersal, to the African slave trade, and subsequently, to forms of dispersal that involve trauma and 'forced' repositioning of various cultures and contexts, 'Diaspora' has been used as a term describing significant demographic and geographic changes that have occurred through social mobility and movement in the last century. This includes the mobility to and within London of the Turkish Cypriot community (Brubaker 2005).

Literary critic Braziel's description of Diaspora as 'a naming of the other ... displaced communities of people who have been dislocated from their native homeland through migration, immigration, or exile' (2003: 1) depicts the Jews of Israel exiled in 607 BCE by the Babylonians, and by the Roman Empire in Judea in 70 CE, conveying the predicament of Jews living outside of Palestine (Boyarin & Boyarin in Brubaker 2005). It also has resonance with the black Diaspora's enslavement and shipping of Africans to America, and later on Europe and the Middle East as part of the slave trade.

The Diaspora of the Jews and, later, the black Diaspora, as well as diasporic practices evoked through war and national/political conflict, inevitably imply trauma (Hall 1990, Gilroy 1997, Cohen 2007). Yet, the term Diaspora has since developed to the point where it extends beyond an assumed trauma. 'Diaspora' might be described as having outgrown itself: research across disciplines has generated more complex and diverse sets of meanings attached to the term. As Brubaker states:

As the term has proliferated its meaning has been stretched to accommodate the various intellectual, cultural and political agendas in the service of which it has been enlisted. This has resulted in what one might call a 'Diaspora' Diaspora - a dispersion of the meaning of the term in semantic, conceptual and disciplinary space.

(Brubaker 2005: 1)

Examples of this 'dispersal' can be seen in the critical thinking of Cohen's (2007) notion of Diaspora as a relationship between 'home' (homeland) and 'away' (host state), or Vertovec's (1997) suggestion of Diaspora as a transnationalism that takes into consideration cross national influences. Hall (1996) describes Diaspora as hybridism whilst Braziel (2003) describes Diasporas as 'other'. Brah's (1996) suggestion of a 'homing desire' to replace

later Diasporas notions of a longing for a homeland seems to take into account a shifting notion of what is considered 'home', and this will be further discussed in detail in Chapter 4. Further examples of alternative perceptions of Diaspora, suggested by Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin's (1998), associates Diaspora with colonialism.

Diaspora, the voluntary or forcible movement of peoples from their homelands into new regions, is a central historical fact of colonialization. Colonialism itself was a radically diasporic movement, involving the temporary or permanent dispersion and settlement of millions of Europeans over the entire world.

(Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin, 1998: 66)

Adamson and Demetriou (2007) propose that globalization and the use of media technologies (Werbner 2002) like satellite television and the Internet have benefitted communities with political opportunities across states. They put forward a notion of Diaspora whereby, though remote, diasporic groups play an active part in the political and social development of the homeland.

Ahmed and Fortier (2003) argue that 'difference' and 'otherness' are common factors that can define communities '...the promise of living together without 'being as one', as a community in which 'otherness' or 'difference' can be a bond rather than a division.' (Ahmed & Fortier 2003: 251). The idea here is that 'difference' and 'otherness,' rather than alienating, could be considered to be pulling diasporic communities together. An example of this could be considered in the Cypriot, Bengali and Jewish Diasporas who differ in religion, language and origins of a homeland, and yet the dynamics of being the 'other', along with the common purpose of engaging in and dominating the textile industries of the 1970s - 90s, drew these communities together within the textile industries. The tensions between 'difference' and 'otherness', against similarity and familiarity, are key aspects of diasporic practices that make for interesting research. Current social practices may suggest perhaps that both polarities must exist within Diasporas like the LTC today. As exemplified in this chapter so far, the concept of Diaspora has and continues to change and negative, one-way notions of alienation and otherness do not do justice to the complexities that make up London Diaspora identities that include the LTCs. Yet perhaps otherness may not only be perceived as alienation. Arendt (1991) states:

In man, otherness, which he shares with everything that is, and distinctness, which he shares with everything alive, becomes uniqueness, and human plurality is the paradoxical plurality of unique beings.

(1991: 176)

Arendt considers otherness as something that is universal in that it is everywhere or, as Amanda Stuart-Fisher suggests 'We are all "other" to each other' (2009). Yet, although Arendt's notion of otherness still has validity, Suzan Ilcan's (2002) notion of a 'longing for belonging' suggests that perhaps any distinctiveness we may possess goes hand in hand with a need for social, communal connection. It could be argued that this need to connect and belong is one of many key factors that define communities that both carry forms of similarity and familiarity, whilst at the same time being an 'other' to each other.

Similarity can arise from class, language, religion, history and race, while familiarity is more prominent through power relations, ritual, tradition, time and place. Diasporas have varying levels of similarity/familiarity and difference/otherness. Symbolisms that create community vary according to the diverse narratives of identification constructed by different people's trajectories (Cohen 2001). This constant layering of the Diaspora experience can threaten to blur the process of consolidated identification. Vertovec (1999) refers to Appadurai and Breckenridge who acknowledge this palimpsest form of Diaspora:

More and more diasporic groups have memories whose archaeology is fractured. These collective recollections, often built on the harsh play of memory and desire over time, have many trajectories and fissures, which sometimes correspond to generational politics. Even for apparently well settled diasporic groups, the macro-politics of reproduction translates into the micro-politics of memory, among friends, relatives and generations.

(Appadurai & Breckenridge 1988: 5-9)

This chapter will aim to address the diversity in the use of the term Diaspora by looking through the tri-generational lens of the London Turkish Cypriot Diaspora using a chronological approach. The 'Cyprus problem', family, and economic wellbeing were three key reasons for migrating to London for many Turkish Cypriots, especially between the 1950s and the 1980s. The impact first generation Turkish Cypriots' move to London has on

language; notions of a 'homeland', and a sense of belonging are then discussed as consequences of the migration process. All these key factors, have significant roles in the sequential development of this particularly Diaspora group and will head each subsection of this chapter. The Chapter will start with the 'Cyprus problem' and a brief introduction into the political and social climate of Cyprus that inevitably affected many Cypriots. The family and its influence on the migration and settlement process of the first generation LTC are addressed, followed by a concise look at the 'rag trade' and its contribution to a sense of belonging and economic wellbeing.

By discussing and exemplifying each of these factors, I will attempt to show how language, relational space and emplacement play a key role in creating a sense of belonging, whilst aiming to gain a better understanding of the factors that have contributed to first generation LTC Diaspora's adaptation to living in London and how this, in effect, has influenced the ways in which later generations have performed their diasporic identities.

THE 'CYPRUS PROBLEM'

The story of the 'Cyprus Problem' is a complicated one, riddled with competing narratives and biases, heavily dependant on who is doing the narrating. It is difficult to outline a brief breakdown of Cyprus' conflicting past without taking into account the fact that, as Dogus Derya (2007) points out, '... the Cyprus Problem was a problem of two conflicting nationalisms (Turkish and Greek), [and] thus was a matter of two opposing imaginations which emerged during the 1950s and lasted until today' (2007: 4). Outlined below is a brief breakdown of the context within which the 'Cyprus Problem' emerged, drawn from numerous resources and narratives. For a more detailed outline of Cyprus' history, please refer to Appendix B.

Following the onset of inter-communal conflicts during the 1950s and early 1960s there was an increase in the migration of Turkish Cypriots to the UK that also coincided with the independence of Cyprus from British colonisation in 1960 (King, Thomson, Mai and Keles 2008:7). 1955 saw the start of years of ethnic conflict between the British, Greeks and Greek Cypriots who desired unification with Greece (*Enosis*) as the 'motherland' (Kyles 1983). Britain's refusal of this idea resulted in authorities arming a

paramilitary police force, which included many Turkish Cypriots, consequently placing Turkish Cypriots in the front line of the conflict (Navaro-Yashin 2003:111). The results of this discord saw an eventual end to British colonisation in 1960 when Cyprus became independent, after Greek and Turkish communities reached an agreement on a constitution. In 1963 Greek President Makarios raised Turkish fears by proposing constitutional changes, which would abrogate power-sharing arrangements and, as a result, intercommunal violence erupted with the Turkish side withdrawing from power sharing. Many Turkish Cypriots withdrew into enclaves and were subjected to attacks by terrorist group EOKA-B (who targeted not only Turkish Cypriots but many Greek Cypriots and members of Makarios' administration).

This conflict resulted in an influx of migration to Britain of many Turkish and Greek Cypriots (Mehmet-Ali 2001). Furthermore, the 'British colonial legacy' in Cyprus meant Britain was the destination of choice for many Cypriots (Aksoy and Robins 2001:690). Britain's withdrawal from Cyprus in the early 1960s also meant a loss of well-paid jobs for many Turkish Cypriots, who decided to migrate to London where their main objective was to 'make good money' (Ladbury in King 2008:7). The political economic problems of the 1970s and 1980s that led to the partitioning of Cyprus further impelled many Cypriots to settle in the UK in order to escape persecution and economic deprivation. For example, 'I came in June 1956 ... I was a policeman in Cyprus. I unavoidably had to desert Cyprus after a situation during the course of duty. ... Along with this reason, finding myself in the Turkish and Greek events, I was forced to come to England.' (Abdullah (ed.) 2006:29).

The stories of those choosing to leave Cyprus, for whatever reason, vary in context, and circumstance. However, many Cypriots admit to relying on a network of friends and relatives in order to acquire safe passage to the UK and, upon arriving in the UK, obtaining employment and accommodation.

THE FAMILY

As Küçükcan's research shows, almost all migrating generations of LTCs had family in the UK already, migrated with their family, or later on brought their family over to live with them: 'Social networks such as family and kinship ties, village connections and friendships influenced the migration flow'

(2004:248). This is illustrated by Ipek's narrative. Ipek is one of the third generation LTCs who took part in the practice as research of this thesis. Ipek's grandparents both migrated to the UK in 1960 in order to join her grandmother's older sibling who had already settled in the UK in the 1950s. 'They were British Nationals and moved to London to be with my great uncle Cemal who came to London in the 1950s' (Ipek. E-mail note sent on Dec 17th 2010). Dilan, another of the young LTC participating in the practice of this enquiry, informed us that her grandparents also migrated to the UK in 1970, as they too were British Nationals and most of Dilan's grandmother's siblings had already moved to the UK by the time they decided to migrate. The legacy of British colonialism is reflected in Dilan's grandmother's outlook where she states in an interview 'we were British anyhow and had as much right to be here as anybody.' (Özgerek, translated in an interview on Jan 4th 2010).

As indicated by Aksoy and Robins (2001) below, the status of many Turkish Cypriots as British colonial subjects enabled them to migrate to Britain and established a clear distinction between themselves and mainland Turkish (who have never been British colonial subjects). 'Cyprus was a British colony for over 80 years, and there has been a sense of affinity with British culture among many Turkish Cypriots as a consequence of this historical subjection - and a strong desire to be accepted by the British.' (Aksoy and Robins 2001: 692).

Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (1998) state that, under colonialism, Diaspora became a diverse development that led to the displacement of many people across the world under various circumstances and compulsions. According to Ashcroft et al, these circumstances and compulsions exemplify 'the capacity of colonialism to produce so many varied forms of power that compel people to move' (Yew 2002). As a result, the development, and diversity, of diasporic cultures derive from the process of this movement.

The descendants of the diasporic movements generated by colonialism have developed their own distinctive cultures which both preserve and often extend and develop their originary cultures. Creolized versions of their own practices evolved, modifying (and being modified by) indigenous cultures which they thus come into contact.

(Ashcroft et al. 1998: 62).

It can be argued that the colonisation of Cyprus by the British, meant

that being in contact with the British, before any international migration, created further distinctions between mainland Turks and Turkish Cypriots. In addition, being British colonial subjects meant that those wishing to leave the island, for whatever reasons, were more readily provided with a place to flee. Therefore, during and after the colonisation experience, many Turkish Cypriots migrated to the UK and found work, before sending for their families to join them.

My paternal grandfather sent for his wife and five children after having acquired accommodation and work for himself through other Turkish Cypriots living in London. However, being married with young children meant finding accommodation was difficult. As Ipek also points out, the main challenge her grandparents faced was 'finding a place to rent, as landlords refused to rent to foreigners with children' (Ipek. E-mail note sent on Dec 17th 2010). Many LTCs resided with family upon first arriving in London before finding their own housing. Ipek's grandparents resided with her great uncle until they could acquire the appropriate accommodation for themselves. Dilan's grandparents rented the upstairs rooms from her grandmother's older sister, who owned her house in Wood Green. The family was a key factor in preserving the Turkish Cypriot Diaspora identity. The family created a place of belonging for the LTC.

This genealogical sense of belonging can also be seen in other studies of Diaspora families. For example, Tina Campt (2012) proposes the family portrait as a space of belonging, whilst Mary Chamberlain examines empirical, personal narratives of the Afro-Caribbean Diaspora of London. She focuses on the significance of the matriarchal family (an alternative perception of the western nuclear family) and on the identities of its youth Diaspora in various social and historical contexts. Zygmunt Bauman (2000) argues that an urgent need for a sense of belonging arises as a response to 'liquefaction', whereby social modernity has become an un-fixed, permeable response to globalisation.

We associate 'lightness' or 'weightlessness' with mobility and inconstancy: we know from practice that the lighter we travel the easier and faster we move. These are reasons to consider 'fluidity' or 'liquidity' as fitting metaphors when we wish to grasp the nature of the present, in many ways *novel*, phase in the history of modernity.

(Bauman 2000:2)

Individual freedom and responsibility becomes a paradox against the erosion

of security and communitarianism. He goes on to say that the family home, '...a home *into which one is born*, so that one could not trace one's origin, one's "reason to exist", in any other place' is an imagined space that is outside the realm of experience, an idealised space. (Bauman 2000:170-171)

In her exploration of Diaspora, Avtar Brah (1996) presents the family as a metaphoric 'Diaspora space', evocative of Bauman's notion of the 'family home' described above. Brah argues that

... the identity of the diasporic imagined community is far from fixed or pre-given. It is constituted within the crucible of the materiality of everyday life; in the everyday stories we tell ourselves individually and collectively.

(Brah 1996: 183)

The 'Diaspora space' of the family is presented as a blurring of genealogical mobility and emplacement that is socio-economically implicated. Administration of the 'everyday stories', or, 'narratives of journeying and home' (Tsolidis 2003) by members of the families of a 'Diaspora space', particularly in communities like the LTC, are distinguished locally and globally according to generations. For example, as the term Diaspora moves on from the notion of dispersal from outside national boundaries to include in-state boundaries, the journeying by means of international migration, that is resonant in first generation LTC narratives, may no longer have a place in those of second and third generation collectives. Therefore, according to Brah, the family 'Diaspora space', as with the term Diaspora, changes through generational, political, economical and socio-cultural differences.

Although the importance of family support was indisputable for first generation LTCs, there were many more who relied on non-family members for work and accommodation. These people tended to be from the same villages and neighbourhoods in Cyprus. The significance is that the close-knit nature of the Cypriot community in London at the time extended to non-family members, even to Greek Cypriots, who offered accommodation and work, particularly in the clothing factories, known as the 'rag trade'

THE RAG TRADE

⁴ In this chapter the term 'rag trade' is used as a synonym for the clothing industry.

Although focusing on the Rag Trade is of particular importance when discussing the result of the practical research with the younger LTCs, the impact of 'clothes' is also a multi-faceted area of consideration for each LTC generation. In the case of first generation LTCs the rag trade was a key aspect of many LTC's lives and affected their economic materiality.

A large majority of first generation LTCs worked in the rag trade and often interactions in the factories led to marriages, affairs, friendships and, at times, conflict. The rag trade was also a key source of income for most Turkish Cypriot migrants. The lack of education and knowledge of the English language for many Turkish Cypriot migrants meant that the rag trade was a place that offered opportunities that were not limited to the advancement of financial prospects but the development of a social network as well. '... [F]irst when we came to this country, in factories there were mostly Cypriots. That is to say, we didn't have any difficulties because we didn't know English.' (Abdullah 2006:82).

There is a strong implication that the 'rag trade' was a space in which the Turkish Cypriots re-imagined a community in which they belonged. In other words, in this alternative community they interacted with other Cypriots (both Greek and Turkish), spoke their own language, and preserved personal and communal understandings of what the Turkish Cypriot nationality advocated. As Seton-Watson suggests: '[A] nation exists when a significant number of people in a community [imagined] themselves to form a nation, or behave as if they formed one.' (1977:5).

It could be argued that the rag trade formed a kind of 'symbolic community' for the LTC, as proposed by Anthony Cohen (2001):

[T]he community as experienced by its members – does not consist in social structure or in 'the doing' of social behaviour. It inheres, rather, in 'the thinking' about it. It is in this sense that we can speak of the community as a symbolic, rather than a structural construct.

(Cohen 2001)

Applying this theory to the LTCs of the rag trade community implies a relational space constructed through symbolic meanings, meanings that are construed by its members and determine the boundaries and codes of behaviour that evoke a sense of the familiar, which, in turn, induces a sense of belonging. The environment within the rag trade factories, however, was for

many LTCs, not only a work place and a means of economic attainment, but also a social space within which they may continue to practice transported etiquettes, languages and social customs replicated from their homeland, both with other LTCs, as well as other diasporas (like Greek Cypriots). For the first generation LTCs the factory spaces of the rag trade did not so much create a symbolic community but support an idealised and somewhat replicated one of the homeland.

Possibly – and despite there being good reasons for leaving Cyprus - some of this generation of LTCs considered Cyprus as a utopian location. The remembering brings with it its own individual narratives and experiences that are perhaps key in adding to the diversity of what is perceived as LTC identity today. In the case of some first generation Turkish Cypriot migrants of London, specific narratives were created and formed through remembered tastes (food), smells, sounds (language, music, films) and social etiquettes, like gendered division of social spaces, warm hospitality over cups of coffee and food, and a real sense of family loyalty.

Although some of these notions of Cypriotness⁵ were formed through remembering, those that 'cannot be remembered, must be narrated.' (Anderson 2006 [1983] 204). The act of narrating an idealism of being Cypriot, for many, meant a re-thinking and, perhaps a transformation of those factors that form the Turkish Cypriot identity. 'All profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristic amnesia. Out of such oblivions, in specific historical circumstances, spring narratives.' (ibid). Language and dialect, food, music, and certain elements of social etiquette were both remembered and most times adapted (and therefore modified) in order to create a space of belonging for a Diaspora community. Inevitably the rag trade was one of the key sites in which much of this process of re-thinking and modification took place. For later generations, the consequences of these kinds of Diasporic ventures (which will be discussed below in this chapter) varied because the notions of what it meant to be Turkish Cypriot were perhaps as 'diasporic' as its people. It could be argued that the rag trade became one of many 'local,' centralised sites from which an imagined

⁵ In this chapter the term 'Cypriotness' refers to individual's idealized notion of what it means to be Cypriot.

community began to emerge, out of which new sets of rules and codes of conduct, drawn from the 'homeland' and yet re-invented, were generated.

The rag trade factories were important examples of sites of work where communal cultural preservation by way of earlier 'homeland'-based (Turkish Cypriot) identity construction would take place with sharing memories and cultural familiarities as well as recognising similarities in language, history, religion and traditions: all facets of a *diasporic* cultural identity. The factories, as well as the home, were key sites where these practices were carried out, a space that enabled the LTC to make the kinds of 'place' that Cresswell describes: 'a particular location that has acquired a set of meanings and attachments ... Places are practiced. People do things in place. What they do, in part, is responsible for the meanings that a place might have.' (2004:1-2). The factories were not only functional in enabling economic attainment but also the attainment and sustainment of a cultural identity, therefore. It could be suggested, however, that this spatial sustainment of cultural identification was problematic.

First generation LTCs nostalgically holding onto practices, attitudes and traditions from a time when they had left their 'homeland' can be perceived as an attempt at freezing time, a way of sustaining a cultural coherency that was perceived to be threatened by mobility, assimilation and disregard. Looking back, nostalgia is a way of recognising that the past is not fixed, nor is the 'self'. Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer (2002) suggest that 'a past reconstructed through the animating vision of nostalgia can serve as a creative inspiration and possible emulation within the present' (2002:258-9). Yet Doreen Massey (2005) argues that 'Static time slices, even multiplied to infinity, cannot produce becoming' (Massey 2005: 23). In other words, repeating ideals, actions, traditions and rituals of a past cultural context cannot sufficiently act as a preservation of the past when time is in continuous motion and therefore subject to change. Preserving bits of the past cannot actively make a future.

The rag trade factories were, for some, sites within which it was possible for first generation LTCs to practice and establish homeland-based ideals and customs, as a means of cultural preservation. They were, initially, sites of belonging that had engaged the familiar and difference of many

Diasporic communities. They enabled many LTCs and other Diasporas alike to attain economic autonomy that would lead to an improved social-economic status and a shift in the types of jobs later generations would engage in (Atay 2010). However, the end of the rag trade in the early 1990s, as well as a shift in family values by later generation LTCs, meant that the 'imagined community' that had become an established LTC cultural identity for many, underwent another form of fracturing. This rupture did not so much imply geographical or demographic mobility but the recognition of the movement of time.

Dilan's grandparents were both tailors by trade and immediately joined the family rag trade business, owned by Dilan's great uncle, upon arriving in the UK. Lütfiye (Dilan's mother) states that, following the collapse of the rag trade in London (in the case of Dilan's grandparents, this was in 1996), they did not go into any other employment, as the rag trade was all they knew, and they were limited by language barriers. As Beiler points out below, the changes in the rag trade in Britain affected many Cypriots from both Greek and Turkish descent. 'It has hit hard the Greek and Turkish communities - where it was 70 percent of their employment or more. For a machinist who is 40 or 50 years old, the rag trade is all she knows. Many don't even know the language.' (Beiler 2000: 39).

To summarise, I am suggesting that the rag trade was viewed as a familiar trade from the homeland, and used as a versatile and multifaceted space by Diasporas like the first generation LTC. Both as a work space for economical attainment and a site where nostalgic memories of a homeland were ascribed, the preservation of cultural identities through common language, remembrance of homeland and a ghettoization of collective mobility from one factory to another meant that the factories of the rag trade were key places in which the Diasporic LTC identity was played out.

LANGUAGE

Language is a complex issue in the London Turkish Cypriot community. Its importance to this thesis is also multifaceted. In all the practice-based research conducted within this enquiry, language seems to be a constant, predominant factor in the identification process of the participating

LTCs. From a fluency in Turkish or English to bilingualism, monolingualism, tensions surrounding the differences in dialect between Turkish and Turkish Cypriot speech, and the authority of what is considered to be 'correct' or 'pure' Turkish - all have impact on how the LTC are perceived and how they identify themselves as LTC. As Aydin Mehmet Ali (2001) states 'Language cannot be divorced from culture and culture is not uniform' (p.95)

For many first generation LTCs English was taught as part of secondary school education in Cyprus, a further reminder of the colonial experience. As a result, for some, the migration process was made, if not easier, at least bearable by the capacity to engage in forms of dialogue with English speaking communities. For others, a language barrier was (and in some cases, still is) something yet to be overcome (as exemplified in the passage describing Dilan's grandparent's predicament following the end of the Rag Trade era). Many Turkish Cypriots who arrived from rural Cyprus not speaking English and not educated in the English language were isolated and, initially, somewhat ghettoised through concentrated demographical emplacements in North London (Hackney, Haringey, Islington) and South London (Peckham, Elephant and Castle) (Ladbury 1977). To some, it could be argued that the concentrated spatiality of the rag trade further added to this ghettoisation. Language was an additional barrier, as exemplified by Dilan who points out that her grandparents 'only mixed with the Cypriot/Turkish people as they could not speak English.' Although language was, and continues to be, a hindrance to her grandparents, Dilan's mother (Lütfiye) states that the Turkish language spoken at home was one of the key factors in enabling her to preserve a sense of national Turkish [Cypriot] identity (Dilan's grandfather is a main-land Turk from Mersin, South Turkey).

In an interview with Ipek's great-aunt Hasibe Yilmaz and great-uncle Cemal Murad, great-aunt Hasibe states 'we relied on language and our food to keep our children Turkish, but we did very little else for them' (Yilmaz, Hasibe. Translated in an interview on Dec 27th 2010). As far as Ipek's aunt and uncle were concerned they were more interested in attaining economic wellbeing than preserving a cultural identity. They had no intention of returning to Cyprus and therefore looked to set firm financial foundations for their family. First generation LTCs, like my father's family, also wanted to

forget their experiences in Cyprus and start afresh in the UK. As a result of this decision my father was the only sibling of eight children who returned to Cyprus at some point in his life. The rest of my father's immediate family never went back home, even to visit. Dilan's grandparents also migrated to the UK with the intention of never going back.

The variability in patterns of behaviour in the Turkish language multiplies with each generation. Second generation LTCs have shifted to increased levels of bilingualism, particularly once entering mainstream education (Edwards 1984:80, Mehmet Ali 2001: 95). As a result, most second and third generation LTCs speak English as their first language, in some cases at the cost of a 'reduced competence in Turkish' (Mehmet Ali 2001:91). However, in 2008 the Institute for Policy Studies in Education (IPSE) was commissioned by the London Mayor's office to carry out research that explored the educational attainment of young people from London's Turkish, Turkish Kurdish and Turkish Cypriot communities. These studies have suggested that although generational differences between the three subcommunities include the varying use of Turkish language and dialect, concurrently 'the Turkish language is an increasingly unifying factor' (Issa, Allen and Ross 2008: 6). This suggests something of the importance of language in identification issues for second and third generation Diaspora communities like that of the LTC in this enquiry.

Third generation LTCs' language patterns vary according to their family backgrounds and teachings. Some are fluent in both English and Turkish with a Cypriot dialect, others can only understand Turkish but not speak it, and there are those who speak with a broken Turkish Cypriot dialect and engage in conflict with main land Turks over the 'authenticity' of their Turkish language. The Turkish Cypriot cultural history and identity is significantly tied to its specific dialectic vernacular. The Turkish Cypriot (TC) language has been in constant evolution since its Lusignan, Byzantine, Venetian and Ottoman rules (Pantelides 2011). Research into the Turkish Cypriot language, by the Turkish Language Society in the 1970s revealed that much of the Turkish of our Turkish Cypriot grandparents were 'pure' versions of Turkish (Mehmet Ali 2001:89). The point here is, the Turkish Cypriot dialect of all three generation LTCs that have been and are still considered by some to be

'broken' Turkish or incorrect are actually a language that reflects both historical and geographical differences to the standard, national Turkish of mainland Turkey. How fluent second and third generations of LTCs are in the Turkish Cypriot language is dependent on individual family upbringing and a commitment and interest in one's cultural identification process.

One way of acquiring the Turkish language has been to attend supplementary schools in London. Many supplementary Turkish schools believe that teaching the Turkish language to its youth Diasporas is an integral part of their identification process. However, there is much debate around whose culture is actually being taught. In many educational and social spheres, the Turkish Cypriot dialect/language is not considered by mainland Turkish to be uncontaminated by diasporic influences and geographical differences (Mehmet Ali 2001). I have experienced this attitude/perspective when initially undertaking the first year of practice with Southgate Turkish School, when the chair of the school criticised a script I had written in the Turkish Cypriot dialect. The Chair and other members of the school committee felt the Turkish Cypriot language was inaccurate and did not represent the school in a positive way. The sensitivity of this argument became clear when other Cypriot member of the committee took offence at this and felt compelled to defend the Cypriot dialect. Whereas the Turkish committee members felt obligated to defend their language as a representative of their national identity, they failed to recognize that the Turkish Cypriot language is equally imperative to the Turkish Cypriot identity. In particular, the LTC youth have referred to the Turkish Cypriot language as a key signifier of their cultural identity, and to know the language (whether this includes to speak it or not) is, in their view, to know who you are. 'For each community the identity debate centres on the use of Turkish language. For the Turkish Cypriots this is the preservation of Cypriot variety of Turkish, defending its legitimacy against attempts at its standardisation.' (Issa, Allen and Ross 2008: 7)

Dilan's mother remembers the language spoken at home, and the Turkish film rentals her parents would bring home, as key references to her and her brother learning about their cultural heritage. (Akkar, Lütfiye. Interviewed on Jan 3rd 2011). This has resonance with memories of my own

family, who would also take out Turkish film rentals each week as a means of both maintaining a connection with the Turkish cultural media as well as ensuring the Turkish language was embedded in our upbringing as LTCs.

These rentals were an early indication of the impact and influence of Turkish media on Turkish Diaspora communities in Europe and particularly in London. The effect of Turkish cultural media on all three generations of LTCs is diverse. It might be argued that, as Wilhelm Heitmeyer (1997) suggested, the introduction of Satellite Turkish television in the early 1990s has meant that Diaspora Turks are less likely to integrate and incorporate themselves into the host-state social system. Heitmeyer refers to this Diaspora group as a parallel society (Kaya 2011:86). Among many practices, Heitmeyer et al believe that, as well as Islamic fundamentalism, the introduction and development of new Turkish Media across Europe is catalytic in creating boundaries between a Diaspora group and the dominant society (Aksoy and Robins 2000). Heitmeyer's views are problematic in their alarmism, and he is mainly referring to mainland Turkish youth Diasporas of Germany. These youth tend to be second generation Turks from Turkey - rather than second and third generation LTCs. However, Heitmeyer's argument may be relevant to first generation LTCs who engage in Turkish television and media in London, where it is implied that a ghettoisation of this generation has increased because of Turkish media, a ghettoisation that includes language barriers. The first to third generation LTC's use of media is further discussed in Chapter Three.

Alec Hargreaves (1999) argues 'there is a broad tendency for the importance of Turkish channels to weaken through succeeding generations of the diaspora' (Hargreaves in Aksoy and Robins 2001: 357). There has been a development in the Turkish television culture over the past decade. This has given rise to an increase in reality TV programs similar to those in Britain. For example *X-Factor* style programmes and *Come Dine With Me* exist, as well as drama and comedy series that are largely based on everyday issues universal to both Diaspora communities and daily Turkish life in Turkey. Additionally, the once evasive pop culture of Turkey that was scarce even on national television in Turkey has become more and more widely broadcast both in Turkey and Europe (Aksoy and Robins 2000:359). Perhaps, however, these

types of programmes are more likely to influence younger generation LTCs to engage in Turkish media, rather than respond to a driving need for cultural identification through language. Aksoy and Robins claim that the Turkish Diaspora's choices of whether to watch, and what to watch, on Turkish television is a reflective practice that involves 'difficult negotiations between spatially and historically different cultures and life worlds.' (2000:358). They go on to reiterate this notion by suggesting that perhaps the decision making process of whether to watch Turkish or host state television is one that is part of the reflective consideration of identification amongst younger generation Turkish Diasporas (including LTCs). This reflection is an integral part of the negotiation process third generation LTCs engage in on a daily basis supporting the idea that 'identities no longer remain given and fixed – they are thought about, changed, abandoned and reclaimed' (Aksoy & Robins 2000:238).

A similar point could be made about the choices young LTCs make with regards to language outside the media. In an article that maps out the findings of a micro-research project on the changing patterns of language in the work place of Turkish Cypriot Londoners, Tozun Issa (2006) states that, on a global scale, the Turkish Cypriot language is considered a 'smaller language' and therefore at threat of extinction (2006:2). Issa goes on to point out that, through his specific research, intergenerational differences occurred whereby Issa observes the younger participants in his research enquiry employ an increased use of English, with a borrowing of Cypriot Turkish terms and words. He also states that 'borrowing and mixing of English and CT [Cypriot Turkish] is less likely to be in formal situations than in localized economic entities such as the hair salon in this study.' (Issa 2006: 18). An example given by Isaa that has also been observed in the devising process of A Disgraceful Waste of Space is that 'children preferred to use CT in their regular interactions with their parents and grandparents (Issa 1993)' (Issa 2006: 5). Ipek's interaction with her grandmother during the filming of her performance walk exemplifies Issa's point when the dialogue automatically switches to Cypriot Turkish so that lpek ensures her grandmother is included in the overall process of the project.

Dilan also tended to interact with her grandmother through a mixture of English and Cypriot Turkish during the interview with her grandparents. However, Dilan's use of the Cypriot Turkish language is much more limited than lpek and she uses the English language more in order to articulate her thoughts.

Cypriot Turkish is used and reproduced, as the language of bargaining, argument, local gossip, politics, etc. As it is used, it undergoes changes. These changes reflect its close association and consequent adaptation to the English mainstream society, reflected through the processes of code switching and borrowing.

(Issa 2006: 18)

Issa's observation of the Cypriot Turkish language, used by the LTC Diaspora, have resonance with Aksoy and Robins (2000) above statement around the choices made in regards to the ongoing process of constructing identity.

Kevin Robins (2000) working paper, as part of the Transnational Communities Programme, urges us to forget notions of an *identity* altogether as they imply a static, fixed utopia, and instead move onto *identification*, which takes into account the complexity of chosen, negotiated and discarded factors, like language, as a means of constructing, transforming and developing ones identity.

The complex impact of language on the identification process of third generation LTC is an inevitably significant factor that cannot be ignored, yet requires further research and study in order to comprehend. The complexities lie in the increased elements that contribute towards the identification process of third generations in particular. Institutional support, demographic concentration and host state influences are but some of the issues that affect the ways in which third generation Diasporas, like the LTC, practice identification through negotiating, abandoning and transforming notions of what it means to be LTC, and language plays a key part in this process.

THE HOMELAND

The practical enquiry into place-making performances and practices of LTC youths has invoked such issues as language and family at various points in the thesis and are addressed in chapters three and four. As well as language and family, 'homeland' as a recurrent theme of the first generation

LTC Diaspora is modified into notions of 'home' in later generations and was at the core of the later part of the practical research. The shifting notions of Home evolved and derive from the initial question of what is 'homeland'. This theme and the practical research around it are explored in more detail in chapter four.

Sociologist Robin Cohen's (2008) attempt at developing a framework, or a set of criteria, within which the term Diaspora could be applied, involved a relationship between 'home' and 'away' (Cohen, 2008: 17). This implies a relationship with a 'homeland' that problematises first generation LTCs like my father's family who renounced any association with Cyprus, Ipek's great aunt and uncle who have placed more emphasis on their lives in London, and Dilan's grandparents who never planned to return to Cyprus. The relationships of these three first generations to the place of migration and place of origin differ to each other. It could be argued, for example, that each generation LTC experiences different circumstantial relationships to space, place and notions of 'home'; this is central to the enquiry of this thesis of course. Therefore, interrogating the relationship between 'homeland' and host state is useful.

Brah's (1996) insistence on overthrowing the foundational idea of 'homeland' and putting in its place a 'homing desire' that does not necessarily mean the desire for a 'homeland', is one way of approaching a less binary interpretation of homeland and host state. LTCs' notion of 'homeland' and host state differs according to generational, social, religious and political links. Younger generations may view Cyprus as merely an annual holiday location, and connect more with the UK as home. Yet a similar point could be made with first generation LTCs who may have detached, vague, or disturbing experiences and memories of Cyprus, which could affect their views about Cyprus as home, if we apply Brah's 'homing desire' to this point. All LTC generations' relationship with Cyprus varies according to their memories, experiences, familial ties and teachings as well as geographical, social and political links to the island. If, therefore, emotional, cultural and political links to a 'homeland' are what define a diasporic condition then there are complexities within the Turkish Cypriot Diaspora in London where the notion of 'homeland' varies in meaning to different people anyway.

Doreen Massey's (1994) analysis of the global notions of place and space connects with Aksoy and Robins' (2001) argument on changing identities, whereby with the rise in awareness and information technology, we now tend to consider, use, abandon and repossess various components that construct our identities. Massey states 'If it is now recognized that people have multiple identities, then the same point could be made in relation to places' (Massey 1994:6). For example, as was pointed out earlier, Turkish media broadcasting in London has had a significant impact on the identification process of many multi-generational LTCs. This impact suggests the importance of 'homeland' to LTC Diasporas. In the early 1980s TRT (Turk Radyo Televizon) introduced broadcasting to Turkish communities outside of Turkey and Cyprus with the aim of encouraging Diasporas from engaging with the 'homeland' under a unified national identity (Robins 2000). By the 1990s commercial broadcasting whose main aim was 'driven more by market opportunity than by national identity' appeared to take over the national agenda (Robins 2000: 3). Robins goes on to suggest that the building of a 'transnational community' and the building of 'a new transnational Turkish space' began in broadcasting, and with it, a shift in 'homeland' perceptions (9).

First and second generation Turks and LTCs in London are now more synchronised with the day to day politics and social life of Turkey and Cyprus, enabling a new kind of shift in perceptions of one's notion of home and 'homeland' space. Through this commercially driven media force, could this exposure, as well as the ease in which it has become possible to travel to and communicate with the 'homeland', contribute towards a moderation in the need for first generation LTCs to return? Identities are adapting, increasing and shifting according to generational, social and geographical context, and have been for a while. Has the ease in mobility and information about the homeland, therefore, made a particular kind of amalgamated identity possible? Consideration of the use of media technology and its implications on the practices of the younger LTCs (specifically the 13-19 year old PaR participants) is further discussed in Chapter Two, under the heading *Youth Media Culture*.

Vertovec's (1997) definition of Diaspora as a transnational community 'whose social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nationstates or, indeed, span the globe' (1997: 1), slightly shifts the assumption of a relationship to a 'homeland' to include a relationship between host state and place of origin. A complicated example of this can be seen in the way the LTC Diaspora negotiate their relationships between Britain (host state), Turkey (contested motherland) and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (homeland). The complication lies in the variety of relationships LTC communities have with the three states. These variations differ according to experiences, histories and generations, making it difficult and unreasonable to assume any essential concept of a LTC Diaspora. The relationship between these three states is not fixed but is in constant flux, suggesting something of Brah's 'ethnicity' according to shifting political, social and economical climates (1996:161). As a result, the relationship between the LTCs and Britain, Turkey and Cyprus varies such that LTC Diasporas experience Diaspora differently and according to their own positioning within the tri-state correlation. Some may have a more dominant influence of the mainland Turkish cultures, whilst others may lean more towards a 'British' identity. One example of this can be seen in the lives of third generation youths like Tarkan, Serhan and Korcan (three brothers who took part in the PaR projects, Disgraceful Waste of Space in 2010 and Home 2 (see Appendix D). These young men have a second-generation LTC mother and a mainland Turkish father. Their relationships to Britain, Turkey and Cyprus are predictably complex and resonant, therefore. Through their participation in the DWOS-2 project, each individual demonstrated complex and distinct relationships with the three states. For example, in his WALK Korcan asserts 'I'm not just Turkish Cypriot, because I'm also Turkish ... born here in England with a British passport' (Tana 2010).

This comment about possessing a British passport is one that has been repeated by two other participants on the project (two second generation LTC sisters Selen and Safi), and it appears that to these young people, the British passport is a tangible signifier of their possession of a British citizenship rights and status. Korcan, nonetheless goes on to state that he feels he is 'more visible' by being perceived as 'Turkish' as opposed

to British, because of the low demographic concentration of Turkish Cypriots in his neighbourhood. This statement is contradicted by his brother, Tarkan, however, who initially affirms in his performance walk that 'there's a lot of Turkish people around here ... it makes me feel at home' (Tana (b) 2010). Tarkan then concludes his walk by stating 'Turkish Cypriots are dispersed everywhere ... that's why you don't find a concentrated number in certain areas like Southgate and Oakwood.' When asked why this discrepancy Tarkan replied 'there's a lot of Turks around this area, but not necessarily Turkish Cypriots' (Tana 2011). Tarkan also seems to have a more articulate understanding of his Turkish Cypriot identity, stating 'Turkish Cypriots ... have a natural wanting to be noticed ... and that's because we're not represented in the community by adults who should really represent us ... in that aspect we have to represent ourselves' (Tana, DWOS 2010).

In the matter of identification Korcan seems to understand his position in relation to his micro community as 'different' because of the diversity of influences that form his 'self' (second generation Turkish Cypriot mother, first generation Turkish Father, British passport). Tarkan, on the other hand, challenges the effectiveness of those he feels responsible for representing his Turkish Cypriot identity, articulating that a familiarity in the Turkish Cypriot language is one effective way of connecting Turks in London, and therefore widening the representation of the Turkish speaking community. Both brothers' declarations signify them as socially and politically conscious youths that are not only relying on cultural identification, adopted through family and community, but also an awareness of their civic rights as British citizens. Citizenship primarily thought of in political and economic terms, has, since post 9/11 begun to focus more on notions of *cultural citizenship*. According to Renato Rosaldo cultural citizenship is:

[t]he right to be different (in terms of race, ethnicity, or native language) with respect to the norms of the dominant national community, without compromising one's right to belong, in the sense of participating in the nation-state's democratic processes.

(1994:57)

It could be argued that the LTC youths participating in the PaR of this thesis are not only exploring their cultural identities that class them as LTCs, but are also articulating their awareness of the rights they have as Turkish Cypriot

cultural citizens within the youth democracy of London. The concept of Cultural Citizenship is further explored in Chapter Four - *Private Places*.

The oldest of the siblings, Serhan, however, demonstrates confusion in what he considers or associates with being Turkish. His performance walk developed into a psychologically abstract performance whereby he chose not to deconstruct the tri-state influences (or any other various elements that contribute towards his sense of cultural identity). Instead, Serhan presented his walk as a personal battle between the 'self' and his conscience. Using his youngest sibling, Bilcan as a symbolic conduit towards what he considers cultural legitimacy, Serhan's performance within his walk exemplified his anxiety in getting to the local Turkish grocers, a signifier that represents a familiar cultural space that can perhaps be perceived as Serhan's idea of 'home' if not 'homeland'. Although his performance walk was somewhat simplistic in its implication, Serhan highlights an important issue around the semiotics of what young LTCs may recognize as cultural signifiers in their everyday lives. The significance of this lies in the fact that, whereas many first generation LTCs may have perceived the 'homeland' as a signifier of the cultural identification factor, later generations have evolved to incorporate different symbolisms around what it means to be 'Turkish'. Serhan's walk is just one example of these symbols, as is Palmers Green's Yaşar Halim Turkish food store to Safi Arioglu in her performance walk (2010).

There are first-generation Turkish Cypriots who carry a stronger affiliation to Britain rather than Turkey or Cyprus, perhaps because of a desire for integration and belonging in the UK. F.M. Bhatti (1981) wrote 'Turkish Cypriots have developed a high degree of adaptability, and their chief priority is success in this country' (Bhatti 1981: 8). Aksoy and Robins (2001) reinforce this observation two decades on, implying an integration that not only challenges Vertovec's notion of cross state association but also of a threat to the Turkish-Cypriot identity in London. 'In our interactions with people in the Turkish- Cypriot community in Britain, what came across very strongly was an anxiety about losing their culture, and sometimes the sense of it already having been lost.' (Aksoy and Robins, 2001:692). However, many first generation LTCs did not adopt the British inspired perceptions of the more hyphenated second and third generations. The act of remembering

Cyprus, and what it represented as a national identity was, for many a way in which they could create a neo-Cypriotness and therefore, experience a sense of belonging. In most cases, Turkish (and Greek) Cypriots have already undergone a diasporic experience through the division of Cyprus. Yet there is a definite distinction here between uprooted displacement that implies trauma, (as was the case for many during the Cypriot population exchange agreement in 1974), and a transnational identity that defines many communities that nevertheless exist under the umbrella of Diaspora. In all cases, the personal experiences of first generation LTCs interviewed relied on some aspect of relational space as a means of belonging. These were either through the family and home life or the factories and other Diaspora communities.

BELONGING

In order to understand the complexities that contributed to younger generation LTCs' sense of belonging, it is useful to explore earlier generations' experience in this area, how their sense of belonging associates with place, and the impact this has had on the diasporic practices of second and third generation LTCs.

In some cases, first generation LTCs, upon arriving in Britain, lived with the longing to return to the 'homeland' where they felt they belonged (Georgiou 2000). This has been the case even when 'home has become a blurred place', as in the case of Cyprus (as explained in Appendix B – Cyprus Timeline) (Göker 2007: 22). Emine Ahmet, one of the first generation participants in a Turkish Cypriot Heritage project, initiated by The Turkish Cypriot Community Association (TCCA 2006), described the contrary and dislocated nature of being part of a Diaspora in the 1960s. 'First work kept us here and now children and grandchildren. We were going to go back after five years. Those five years still didn't come' (Abdullah 2006:219).

Georgiou reiterates this by stating:

Many of the [Cypriot] Centre's habitués say that they plan to return to Cyprus as soon as their children settle down in their own families in Britain. Many more than those who do go back to Cyprus, are the ones who say they want to return, but since their family lives and 'belongs' to Britain, they don't have a choice but to spent all their life here. This conflict is a conflict of desire and

reality, but also it is a choice that people feel they have to justify by saying it's not their own. The attachment to the country of origin is sacred for the migrant generation and their ethnicity is based to a large extent to the preservation of this imagined belonging. At the same time, the 'inescapable' belonging of their children in Britain is the real bridge of their own dual belonging, even if they ideologically reject it.

(2000:13)

Many of the migrating generations learned to adapt and settle, with later generations' attachment to Britain a stronger tie than their attachments to Cyprus. The fact that many changes have taken place within Cyprus since the time of migration for many first generation LTCs has perhaps made returning an even more fragile venture.⁶

Ilcan (2002) asks 'is there a politics of location and displacement, of movement, that not only underlines migrant populations but shapes ethnographic practices?' (Ilcan 2002: 48). In answer, perhaps we could argue that 'ethnographic practices', whilst creating a sense of 'otherness', may also produce shared experiences of displacement, mobility and a reconfiguration of ethnic practices. These in turn may generate a sense of belonging through their 'lived spatial politics' (Ilcan 2002: 49). In other words, the experiences mobilized communities bring to a location, although durational, through relative positioning perhaps define spatiality as 'lived place'. And perhaps it is this 'lived place' that evokes a sense of belonging, an evocation that is also durational and open to change, perhaps, through mobility.

The fluctuating spatial positioning of the first generation LTC Diaspora has derived from a mobility that is ongoing. Attempting to preserve, or even define, this sense of being Turkish Cypriot means that we risk losing any understanding of that which in flux. There is more than one story to tell, more than one experience to understand and more than a singular trajectory that represents a viewpoint of being Turkish Cypriot. Each trajectory is continuous and forward-looking, and therefore impossible to have history, a past, as

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⁶ Although I am specifically referring to the LTCs sense of belonging, and longing for return to a homeland, there has been much written on this subject in relation to other Diasporic groups and cultures (e.g. Braakman 2005, Brah 1999, Anthias, Cassarino 2004, Issa 2008, Erdemir and Vasta 2007, Enneli, Modood and Bradley 2005)

becoming (Massey 2005: 23). How then can these trajectories be defined or identified as Turkish Cypriot and how do they fulfill a sense of belonging?

Examples of the difference in trajectories can be witnessed in the three narratives of Ipek's grandmother, Dilan's grandmother, and Serhan, Tarkan and Korcan's grandmother (who is also my mother). Please refer to Appendix A for a full breakdown of all participants and their relationships to each other and me. Each of these women were individually interviewed in their homes where they were asked, among other questions, where and how they feel or felt a sense of belonging that is associated with their understanding of being Turkish Cypriot.

Ipek's grandmother consciously made an effort to maintain and preserve a Cypriot identity for her children through the language spoken at home, the Cypriot cooking and the family values that they brought with them in the 1960s. Ipek's mother explains how her father would keep the family constantly moving from one location to another in London. Ipek's grandmother relied on practices at home as a means of emplacement and ensuring a cultural foundation. Therefore, although the location of the home shifted, the practices within the home were set. This ensured Ipek's mother and her siblings benefitted from a clear social and cultural sense of belonging (Yilmaz 2010).

Dilan's grandparents, on the other hand, were very keen on setting a sound financial foundation for their children in the UK, and were not too particular about the specifics of maintaining a Turkish Cypriot identity. Dilan's grandmother believes 'A person cannot forget where they come from, so we weren't too worried that our children would lose their Turkish identity' (Özgerek 2010). Their mobility and spatial engagement could be seen to have taken place within the rag trade, and when this engagement became uprooted in the 1990s with the closing of the factories, because of language barriers, their trajectories experienced ruptures that have isolated them from the wider community. The language barrier was and continues to be a hindrance to Dilan's grandmother. She feels cut off from other cultures because of her inability to communicate, even after 55 years in the UK. She states, 'I wish I had learnt better English and forgotten Turkish' (*Ibid*).

Throughout my youth, my parents (Serhan, Tarkan and Korcan's

maternal grandmother) again lived with the notion of returning to a 'homeland', but return to where? Cyprus, to my mother, represents a precarious history and an even more uncertain future. Living with not being nationally acknowledged by an international community (other than Turkey) has left a sense of additional displacement that has been reconciled with an affiliation to Turkey as the 'mother land'. Her reason is that she feels her affiliation to being *Turkish* cannot be contested in comparison to being *Cypriot* in the context of the Cyprus problem. The 'lived place' of my immediate family remained closely knit to other Turkish communities in London (we lived in Hackney for most of our youth, later on, moving to Enfield). However, within these locations, a Turkish cultural authority heavily influenced our home. Family holidays were always made to Turkey, not Cyprus. My parents had even considered investing in property in Turkey with the strong belief that their rights to ownership of their land and property could not be disputed (Thorpe 2010).⁷

Nevertheless, the idea of returning has resulted in my parents acquiring transnational identities that are characterised by their constantly travelling between Turkey, Cyprus and the UK. The history of the first generation's experiences in a 'homeland' will differ from the next generation, and further generation's notions and experiences of 'home'. This is unavoidable and inevitable in the diasporic context, perhaps, as indicated in recent research conducted on Turkish speaking Diaspora in London, The Change Institute states:

In common with many other migrant communities, early Turkish migrants were preoccupied with the idea of working in the UK for a few years, saving money and then permanently returning to their country of origin. However, this "myth of return" has disappeared for the majority, with the establishment and emergence of second and third generations and an unwillingness to leave their children and grandchildren behind. The older generation, if they are able to, will often split their time between the UK and Turkey or Cyprus.

(2009)

How then, in this instance, can first generation LTCs, like those

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⁷ This is what has been happening in Northern Cyprus. The sale of property previously owned by Greek Cypriots, before 1974, now owned and sold by Turkish Cypriots are being disputed in Republic of Cyprus courts and the European court.

discussed in this chapter, negotiate a relationship with the 'homeland'? Adamson and Demetriou identify that 'Globalization has made it possible for dispersed communities to pool their assets and take advantage of variations in both community resources and political opportunity structures across states' (2007: 510). Werbner (2002) suggests that Diaspora in the 21st century is about those who are still actively engaged in the politics of the 'homeland' through the use of global media and communication technologies (a point reiterated by Göker 2007:120, and Aksoy and Robins, 2001:351). Most LTC are still engaged in the political and social climate of the 'homeland' via satellite television. The three main Turkish Cypriot channels broadcasting from the island are BRT (Bayrak Radyo Televizyon), ADA TV (Island TV), and Genç TV (Youth TV). Each channel broadcasts political and social programmes that update home based and diasporic viewers on the ongoing turbulent political climate of the divided island. The distinction lies in the style of each broadcast. BRT presents conservatively political talks between various political parties and power figures in Northern Cyprus. ADA TV tends to broadcast programmes that follow the lives of the people on the island, and their views on the current state of affairs. Genç TV holds late night talk shows that provide a platform for both resident and diasporic Cypriots to call in and debate issues that are relevant at the time of broadcast. Diasporic viewers contribute to ongoing debates via telephone links and text messages, exemplifying the fact that there are Turkish Cypriot Diasporas interested and involved in the running of the political and social conditions of the 'homeland'. 8

RELIGION

So far in this enquiry, the LTC Diaspora appears as a complex and non-essentialist community with 'internal fragmentation of generation, gender and class [that] need to be recognised as dynamic engines of social mobilisation and key sites of identity negotiation' (Husband 2002:156). In other words, there is no 'common core culture' (*ibid*) that essentialises the

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⁸ There has been, and continues to be, considerable interest and literature on political interventionism arising from the use of new media, by other Diasporas in Europe and the wider global field. See, for example, Georgiou 1998/99, 2000, 2001, Sreberny 2001, Aksoy and Robins 2001, Appadurai 1996, Tsagarousianou 2004, Robins 2001, Husband 2002.

LTC Diaspora. Through different histories, narratives and experiences as well as motivations for mobility, emplacement and belonging, it could be argued that the LTC Diaspora has become even more diasporic in its position in the host state. The various factors that include language, family and trade (e.g. the 'rag trade' and restaurants) have facilitated a hybridism. A further factor contributing to this diversity of the LTC identity is that of religion. By looking at the broader London diasporic experiences of religion together with LTC experiences (which will include my family's experiences and those of Dilan and Ipek's grandparents), the aim is to identify the relationship between religion and the LTC as far from straightforward - as the dearth of literature might suggest.

Turkish Cypriots are considered the most secular of the Turks. Birol Yeşilada (2009) notes that '[m]any observers have concluded that these people are among the most secular Muslims in the world' (2009:52). In Yeşilada's World Values Survey (2006), it was reported that, although many Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus have a strong belief in god and religion, only 7.9% attend religious institutions like mosques on a regular basis. According to this survey, the majority of Turkish Cypriots, researched in Cyprus, also contest any religious studies of Islam being taught by Imams (religious figures) in schools. A high percentage also felt there should be a division between religion and politics. 'Some 70% of respondents support limiting the influence of religious leaders on voters and 76% support limiting religious leaders' influence over government' (Yeşilada 2009:57). Yeşilada suggests Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus represent a more secular Muslim community because of 'religious values that can be traced back to their Alevi or Bektaşi ancestry' (*Ibid*), but what of the London Turkish Cypriots? Küçükcan (2004) suggests that 'Turkish Muslims make up a changing diasporic community that defies clichés and common stereotypes in Muslims.' (Küçükcan 2004:245). Marriages and other traditional institutions are considered important for socializing and an expression of Turkish identity. But although these practices may define the Turkish Cypriot cultural identity, the religious identity of most Turkish Cypriots does not follow strict Islamic beliefs. First generation attitudes towards women in the family differ from those towards men, for example. In Islam, it is considered haram (forbidden) for men and women to

engage in any acts of a sexual nature before matrimony. Particularly within the first generation LTCs, however, this rule as well as words like 'honour' and 'reputation' (*namus*) was mainly applied to the women of the family.

This matter is not isolated to LTCs and Turks alone, of course. Jawad Syed (2006) points out the inequality in the context of gender division of labour in Islamic societies. Syed observes that the importance of family and the nurturing role of the mother have seemed to enforce an informal system of labour division in many national and diasporic Islamic communities. This is echoed in Nilufar Ahmed and Ian Rees Jones' (2008) study of first generation Bangladeshi women in Tower Hamlets where Ahmed et. al. note cultural and religious practices, derived from the homeland, are significant in establishing a sense of belonging and identification, 'as a role to retain familiar customs and rituals' for this Diaspora group (2001:119). Hasmita Ramji (2007) interviewed twenty Muslim men and women in a study that explores the gendered stereotypes of South Asian Muslim Diasporas in London. He points out the inequality of gendered roles as a 'misinterpretation of Islam by patriarchal structures.' (Ramji 2007:1176). This misinterpretation is sustained by particularly male participants in this study who 'shared a set of attitudes, particularly towards Muslim women, which created a boundary around their religion as a cultural capital which gave them more status, and women less.' (Ramji 2007: 1177).

Vertovec (2000) argues that:

In many cases more significant and decisive functions of women arise in religious community associations and affairs: women often take the lead in the organization and management of collective religious activities. What remains central, or indeed may be enhanced, following migration is the key role women play in reproducing religious practice -- particularly by way of undertaking domestic religious practice (for example among Hindus, see Logan 1988, McDonald 1987, Rayaprol 1997).

(15)

In the case of first generation LTCs, although the majority believes in God and religion, they are known not to practice, fully, the 5 pillars of Islam.⁹

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⁹ These include: Believing in God (*Allah*), Praying five times a day, Fasting during the holy month of Ramadan, Giving to the poor and Taking a pilgrimage to Mecca (known as *Haj*).

My mother, however, like the Bangladeshi women in Ahmed's study, identified religion as an effective answer to moral, spiritual and social recognition. Although things like *namaz* (prayers), *oruç* (fasting), and Haj came later, our principles and values, from an early age, were driven by religion rather than cultural traditions. My parents associated more with mainland Turkish people, whom they felt were more Islamic driven, and our summer holidays were predominantly spent in Turkey rather than Cyprus. This experience helped us understand a different kind of Islamic identity to many other young LTCs of our generation, living in London. It also meant we were very much distanced from Cyprus as we grew up.

Later, my parents associated with an Islamic organisation, whose leader is a pious Şeyh (sheik) of Cypriot origin. 'Nazım Kıbrıs-i, ... lives in London and has a following in the TRNC centred [sic] on Lefke' (Yeşilada 2009:52). Sheik Nazim's group comprises Muslims from various national, cultural, ethnic and racial backgrounds (Küçükcan 2004:255). My parent's connection with this all-embracing organisation, with its Cypriot base and strong roots in Sunni Islamic practices, seemed to accommodate their transnationally driven, idealised notion of religion. This LTC Muslim identity, however, added to our sense of division within the LTC community in some ways, and yet, also encouraged and exemplified adaptability into western cultures. Avtar Brah (1996) states 'ethnicities are not fixed but constantly in process.' (1996:175). Boundaries of various criteria may be drawn so one becomes a part of different ethnicities, Turks, Cypriots, and so on. 'These criteria and boundaries are subject to economic, political and cultural contingencies' (*Ibid*). In the case of my family, boundaries were constructed to create a somewhat hyphenated sense of cultural identity. My parents preserved an ideal notion of a hybrid identity within which we had the religious practices, music, films and other media driven products of Turkey, alongside the Cypriot dialect, food, and a distinct Mediterranean approach generally understood to comprise warmth and proximity to friends and family and a somewhat straightforward, frank attitude towards people that somehow always managed to divide us from mainland Turks. These diversities

consisted of the need for economical attainment that led to migration to Britain, the politics of Cyprus that drove them to favour a non-contested, Turkish national identity, and religious values and beliefs that reinforced their affiliation and association with the Turkish culture

When scrutinising other LTC trajectories, religious practices differ. lpek's grandmother was and is as religious as my parents and her daughter and granddaughters consider themselves semi-practicing Muslims (Yilmaz 2011). Dilan's family refers to Islam as a fundamental basis for cultural identity construction, non-practicing but acknowledging some of the values of Islam nonetheless (Özgerek 2010). Küçükcan argues that 'Traditionally loaded meanings of some concepts and symbols may lose their importance with the fusion of novel ideas through acculturation, social interaction and schooling in Britain.' (Küçükcan 2004:249). However, according to Yeşilada, and through research-based observations, it seems the Turkish Cypriot community has placed very little importance on the *practice* of religion in London, if not on its values and customs. Such values and customs include an inequality of the roles of women in the community, celebration of religious festivals, and certain etiquette of respect towards family and elders that shows a cultural emphasis on the preservation of a cultural identity in flux. Furthermore, these customs and traditions tend to focus, primarily on the home.

CONCLUSION

The Turkish Cypriot Diaspora of London has a history that encompasses and embraces the evolving nature of diasporic identification. Examples of this have been seen early on throughout the various migration stages of the 1950s - 1980s of its first generations. The acculturation and emplacement undertaken by first generation LTCs in British society exemplify practices that cultivate a need to belong. Later generations' (predominantly second generation LTCs) adoption of tri-state influences (Turkey, Cyprus and the UK) and the capacity to discard or retain multiple habits, operations and thoughts that affect what is considered to be LTC, exhibit an aptitude in ongoing negotiations. Current, younger generation LTCs (most of whom are third generation, though some are second) have extended their negotiations and transfers of a tri-state influence to include global forces that affect their

local and personal spatial practices.

The *Histories* chapter has been a contextual analysis of most LTCs histories that include, but are not limited to, factors such as the 'Cyprus Problem', family, economics and trade (the rag trade in particular), language, association with a homeland, a sense of belonging, and religion. These factors are key to each generation of LTCs' process of identification and are, therefore, relevant and important foundations upon which the research of this thesis is built.

The rest of the thesis sets out to outline how the above factors have impacted upon, specifically, second and third generation LTC youth. Conducting practical research of their place making, emplacement, and mobility practices, within their local and personal spaces, will carry this out. Chapter Two discusses and evaluates the methodologies used in the practical research by contextualising how applied drama practice has been used as a research method, and how various other fields of practice have contributed to the methodology of this enquiry.

CHAPTER TWO - CONSIDERATIONS OF PRACTICE-AS-RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES

INTRODUCTION

From its inception, this enquiry intended to use Applied Drama practice as research for investigating the diasporic, place-making spatial practices of London Turkish Cypriot youth. The epistemology of the methodology, however, has shifted throughout the 4 years, as a result of the direction the practice has taken. The outcomes of each set of practices have, of course, impacted upon the direction of my enquiry and, in turn, the methodology has changed accordingly. This has been akin to a palimpsest layering process: practice, charting, analysing, reflecting and changing direction at certain points as each new facet of the process nuanced the next. A retrospective articulation of key aspects of the methodology – quite often most visible in the moments of change - forms this chapter. It is worth noting that there is a kind of roundness to the thesis. This chapter might just as well sit at the end of the thesis because so much of it refers to work that will be debated later on in the written document. Whilst a reader may, indeed, wish to postpone the chapter, I have chosen nonetheless to situate it more conventionally near the start of the thesis, partly to emphasise the importance of the PaR to the overall thesis, as well as to contextualize the trajectory of the PaR through the research period.

I begin this chapter by discussing the ongoing debates of what is considered practice-as-research (PaR) in the academic field, as well as the challenges and issues that have arisen out of embarking upon a research thesis that is, indeed, practice-led. With an interrogation into PaR, I refer to a number of practitioners and academics that currently contribute to the PaR debate, including the Practice as Research in Performance (PARIP) team and their five-year enquiry into what is warranted as PaR within the academic framework, and the various considerations of the PaR discourse proposed, for example, by Robin Nelson (2013), Baz Kershaw and Helen Nicholson (2011).

I then discuss issues that have arisen out of using applied drama PaR to research a select group of young London Turkish Cypriots' (LTC) performativity and related identification process, and their diasporic status within particular places and spaces. I address various questions around the use of applied drama as a PaR methodology in this enquiry offering a brief relevant background of the conception and evolution of the term 'applied drama', drawing attention to its (perhaps now accepted) characteristics that provide a basis from which applied drama practice is recognised. Following this, I discuss an auto-ethnographic framing of applied drama practice as research referring to existing ethnographic PaR as a means of locating the participants of my enquiry, and their work, within a research field. The spatially relational positioning of the researcher and the situational spatiality of the participants are included in this debate. From this investigation into spatiality emerges an interest in psycho-geography as a possible methodology and aesthetic practice, pertinent to this research enquiry and therefore potentially useful in considering different emphases in applied drama PaR.

As the focus of my research is on the emplacement and mobility of young London Turkish Cypriots, a preoccupation with the use of media and communications technology and its impact is, perhaps, inevitable. Its presence has contributed to aspects of psycho-geographical methodology within this thesis. I briefly discuss the emergence, flux and fluidity of such technology and its impact on identification and youth cultural mobility that impacts upon LTCs. I address, also, the concerns and implications around documenting the PaR through film cameras and smartphones. ¹⁰

The aim of this chapter is not to analyse and draw conclusions about the various findings that have arisen from the PaR. That forms matter for the subsequent chapters although, inevitably, the method of research must make some reference to the research findings. The focus in this chapter is to examine the chosen (as well as rejected) methodologies of attaining knowledge and understanding, the reasoning and justification behind the

¹⁰ Smartphones are handheld devices that integrate mobile phone capabilities with more common features of a handheld computer. Smartphones can be used as mobile phones as well as store information, e-mail and install applications.

selection process, the key issues and concerns that have arisen out of the research practice, and how the research practice has influenced the information acquired through its implementation.

PRACTICE - AS - RESEARCH

PaR is central to this chapter, but also central to the entire thesis. This research enquiry could not have been conducted without practice being undertaken; I could not relate the place making, performative aspects of LTC youth with their identification processes unless we experimented with practical, 'performed' making of places.

Yet, what does the term 'practice-as-research' convey currently? What progression has performance-related PaR undergone in the past two decades and what implications and challenges are presented in theses whose conclusions rely on practice based investigations and reflection? In order to address some of these questions, I outline, first, some key questions that have provoked debate in this field. Included in this discussion are the deliberations of the working group PARIP (2001- 2006) and the various interchanges that have emerged from this group of academics committed to questioning PaR in live media, theatre and dance. I discuss notions of praxis, in particular Nelson's (2013) proposition of *Praxis* as theory embedded within practice and consider how youth media cultures become significant factors in the shift in methodology in my PaR.

Perhaps PARIP offers a succinct entry into key debates circulating about practice-as-research over the last fifteen or so years. PARIP was a five-year project (2001 – 2006) directed by Professor Baz Kershaw and the Department of Drama: Theatre, Film, and Television at the University of Bristol. Funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board, PARIP's main aim was to 'investigate creative-academic issues raised by practice as research, where performance is defined, in keeping with AHRB [Arts and Humanisities Research Council] and RAE [Research Assessment Exercise] documentation, as performance media: theatre, dance, film, video and television' (PARIP 2013). One of the main aims of PARIP was to look at 'developing frameworks to facilitate performance practice within broadly academic contexts' (*ibid*), helping to ensure PaR PhDs had a clear supporting

structure within which such practical research could be validated within the academy. PARIP also set out to devise a recognised taxonomy and database of PaR PhDs in the UK's higher education institutes, again supporting PaR PhD students through a network of information, collaboration and discourse. At the PARIP Symposium in 2001 Nelson's contestation on PaR and Practicebased-Research was that 'if we are serious about these modes, we need as a community to promote a shift in the academy concerning 'knowledge" (Nelson 2001). By this, Nelson draws on the distinction between positivist knowledge that he felt conveyed through most conventional PhDs and reflective knowledge whereby 'work begins with the experience of process and moves outwards rather than applying a 'grand narrative' from without' (ibid). The process of the practice is as significant to the attainment of new insight as the reflectivity of this practice, articulated through the means of writing. It is this principle of PaR – as offering the new knowledge through the practice – that was core to my own research for this thesis. I was not able to understand how performance-related activities impacted upon LTC diasporic youth's understandings of 'their place' without engaging with experiments in practice. It is, nevertheless, worth noting that not all traditional PhDs present grand narratives by which the research is lead.

Perhaps most interesting to this thesis from the work of PARIP has been Caroline Rye's (2003) investigation into the advanced uses of digital technologies for the purpose of documentation and distribution of processes and outcomes. As a case study, Rye uses her own PhD *Living Cameras* to exemplify the usefulness and limitations of using DVD footage to document live, and at times simultaneous, performances. Rye's (2003) critical analysis of using such technology is entirely appropriate for her own research; her examples are based on the complex documentation of *live* performances. Studying Rye's work marked a moment of clarity, and a useful point of separation. I had been considering the recording of this practice as part of the PaR documentation, an archiving of the PaR. In fact, my own practice (or those of the youth participants) relies on media as an art form, with only a

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¹¹ Caroline Rye was one of the part-time Postdoctoral Research Associates on the PARIP team.

small degree that could be classified as documentation, (such as the *Home 2* projects initial workshops). Therefore, in the case of this thesis, the advanced uses of digital technologies form a part of the youth culture represented in the practice, in this case the LTC youth. In other words the mediatised context of the work becomes a part of the youth culture under scrutiny, and acts as another means of obtaining new insight, or *knowing* (Nelson 2013) about this group and not just a means of documenting practical processes.

The various uses of technology, both in the *DWOS* and *Home 1* and 2 projects, exemplify media technologies as a part of the art forms produced by the young LTC participants. These forms of practice are the young people's means of expressing their understanding of identification and place making. Rye's discourse on her work has enabled me; in my PaR to differentiate the distinction between technologies I use as applied drama PaR (ADPaR) and technology used as a form of art document. The challenges that arise in the blurring of this distinction between what is documentation and what is art are further discussed in the conclusion of this chapter.

PARIP worked as a valuable agency in initiating, addressing and deliberating on the complexities, challenges and ongoing shifts in practice within PaR and Practice-based-Research PhDs, whilst endeavouring to support and find a place for these growing modes of research within a recognised and progressive academic research framework. PARIP might be considered as formalising practical and performance based research enquiries, whilst recognizing that the process and development of those modes of research preceding it were ongoing and continuously shifting. In particular for my own research, PARIP's interrogation of PaR has helped me find distinctive qualities in my own PaR thesis and lead me to articulate an emerging model of ADPaR.

More recent debates into PaR have also been useful when reflecting on my own PaR. Nelson (2013) suggests that perhaps praxis may be considered to be the realisation of theory, through practice, as an imbricated process. Yet Nelson's notional imbrication is not quite enough to capture my PhD methodology. Sally Mackey's (2008) suggestion of 'polyphonic voices' as a description of the praxis within her PhD is more helpful. Mackey points out that these 'voices' are at times in conflict with each other, at times in

succession, other times simultaneous, but never set within any form of systematic process. Furthermore, Mackey constitutes these voices as practice, theory, action and reflection, encapsulating a more appropriate range of constituents for praxis.

This meshing and constantly shifting process of praxis, within my own thesis, has created a complex, and at times, difficult and conflicting position as an applied drama facilitator, within a PaR PhD that warrants further examination. The methods adopted and formed within this research have led me towards 'substantial new insights' (Nelson 2013:25) into the LTC youth's notions of their diaspora identities through articulations of their place making practices. There is also, however, something to be said about the methodology itself, being a new articulation, or at any rate opening up new articulations of PaR. It is a fluid, changing, flexible methodology, (perhaps, a *liquid* methodology). Although it consists of theory and practice, the polyphony of 'voices' that come about, both as a result of the employment of theoretical discourses and practices from many different fields, as well as the complex outcomes of the PaR itself, render this research different to most PaR PhDs.

Mackey's current AHRC funded project is titled 'Challenging concepts of 'liquid' place through performing practices in community contexts' (2011 – 2014). This is a PaR endeavour that asks:

...to what extent contemporary theories of dislocation and transience are evidenced in particular 'real world' contexts, how performance practices can be used to consider relationships to place and how dislocation can be eased through such practices.

(Mackey 2013)

Through collaborations between CSSD, Aberystwyth University and three community organisations, Mackey's role within the enquiry is a complex one. Although leading the research project as a whole, Mackey's role is not necessarily as facilitator (although she facilitates the steering group and facilitators through a series of planning workshops), but as researcher. This complexity brings with it challenges that requires Mackey to consider and map out her role and input within the project in a paper entitled 'Identifying the Researcher' (2013). This document clearly sets out Mackey's significant involvement in the project, highlighting the complex layering of her role within the enquiry. I found comparing Mackey's role to my own, within my thesis,

useful in helping me clarify and acknowledge the various aspects of my own PaR in order to put this thesis together. This chapter maps out these 'aspects' and gives further insight into my role within the research.

Debates on praxis as PaR have taken me into a closer examination of performance within PaR; it has been relevant in my work. By looking at young diasporic LTCs' place-making practices, I am exploring performances of their identification processes, some of which could be considered *performative* (Butler [1996] 2006). The distinction between performance and performativity is further discussed throughout this chapter. It is useful, however, to consider what is meant by performance within the context of this thesis and its relationship with practice as research. Most performance based PaR theses consist of researcher/practitioners engaging in reflective practices (individually or in collaboration with others), as performance makers or performers *per se*. For example, in 2011, Roberta Mock, Plymouth University's professor of performance studies, gave an inaugural lecture to demonstrate what her work was about. This demonstration exemplified Mock as a performer. Yet Mock also made a point by stating that the performance of this inauguration was a form of research, which, therefore, also puts her in the role of researcher.

[It] wasn't just performance. The slippage between registers and voices was precisely what I wanted to show. It gave me a platform for reaching the people I wanted to reach, telling the academic community who have sat in committees with me at Plymouth for 20 years: this is research, this is what I do - deal with it!

(Reisz 2013)

Mock's example of research raises issues around the blurring of lines between artistic and academic practices. Yet what Mock presents is a form of auto-ethno drama where she is relying on her performance to convey information to an audience, as well as gauging what the audience's response may be. In this instance, Mock is considered a researcher within the role of performer. A similar paradigm is seen in Joanne 'Bob' Whalley and Lee Miller's PaR PhD *Partly Cloudy, Chance of Rain* (PCCR). PCCR was a collaboratively written thesis that explored, through performance strategies, Augé's notion of non-place, in particular a specific section of the M6 motorway, culminating in a large-scale performance in a service station that

Whalley and Miller hoped to redefine as 'place'. This thesis used performance in an unconventional, experiential way, drawing on various strategies to create segments of performances that informed the insight into the research enquiry. In many ways, I see a lot of similarities between the performance strategies of this thesis and that of my own. The various performative acts that Whalley and Miller employ throughout their PaR are similar to the psycho-geographical methodology I use in the *DWOS* projects. Furthermore, both theses draw on 'multi-modal' means of 'transmission', which includes DVD documentation and performance, a series of exhibitions and a written thesis (Kershaw 2011:73).

My point in the comparisons between the two theses, as well as the reference to Mock's work, is that although similarities of performance and performative strategies emerge between the researchers, the roles of the researcher differ. Mock, Whalley and Miller arguably facilitate their own performances, but they do so by embodying the research through their roles as performers. I, on the other hand, am doing this research through means of facilitation, as an applied drama practitioner. I am not necessarily participating in their performances, and neither am I merely observing the young LTCs perform themselves and their notions of belonging, home and cultural identity. I am, however, facilitating aspects of these performances and it could be argued that I am, therefore, contributing to the types of performances that are emerging, through my facilitation. John Freeman's (2010) concludes 'performance studies is more inclined towards the utilisation of performance as a means of viewing events that are not easily accepted within the usual theatrical terms' (2010:80). In the case of my thesis, performance is placed within a wider social context than the conventional, theatrical one. It is the application of applied drama's ethos of exploring social issues through drama activities, that informs this PaR as more process led research, however, rather than as conventional performance-led studies. Certainly, the performances that are generated through my facilitation, allow me to 'view events' relevant to my research enguiry (Freeman 2010). But the processes in which these performances are created are as important to this thesis and the 'key insights' into the LTC

youth's place making practices as the outcomes of this process (Nelson 2013:47).

As an applied drama facilitator engaged in academic research, it is worth considering the complexities within PaR from my role as facilitator, as opposed to performer, and the implications participatory modes of practice may have on the types of methodologies I employ. Jenny Hughes et al recognise that 'the diverse contexts and intentions of applied theatre practice has meant that multiple methods have been drawn upon in applied theatre research, sometimes, but not always, used in combination with each other' (2011:186). In the case of this thesis, the research has, at times, drawn on social science theories, if not methods, as well as 'participatory and action research, and discursive and non-discursive forms of reflective practice' (*ibid*). My role as applied drama facilitator, as well as the participatory nature of the PaR within my thesis, inevitably requires a careful consideration of the various disciplines involved in the enquiry and cannot be left out of the PaR discussion. An assumed distance, and facilitating of other people is not my praxis; I am doing a practice, but the facilitation alone is not the PaR. The PaR involves working with other people, facilitating participants, but it also involves bringing intellectual and theoretical ideas into the practice for exploration, requiring a level of reflectivity and re-thinking that appropriates Mackey's praxis of 'polyphonic voices' (2008); at times dealing with an unexpected shift in the research where 'It neither does what it is told nor does it go meekly in the direction one would usually expect' (Freeman 2010:81). As the researcher, I am responsibly reflecting closely on the 'accidentals' (ibid) of such research processes, bringing to bear the range of research ideas that inspired the research enquiry and directing a shift in the PaR such as leading to changed facilitation and new searches for meanings. Eventually, there is an imprinting of a part of myself within the work. This process is not only my particular praxis but is also under-debated research into the academic framing of PaR: applied drama practice as research (ADPaR).

The next section of this chapter looks at specific threads that have emerged from the PaR, looking at how certain concepts offered through the PaR are also key factors in re-directing the PaR to draw out these threads. I

will examine how the enquiry has taken an ethnographic and, to a certain extent, auto-ethnographic route of investigation through applied drama PaR, as well as auto-topography, that emerges from psycho-geography (as a form of methodology). I will then go on to discuss implications; challenges and opportunities presented through both the documentation of the practice, as well as the multi-media technologies that have emerged as art forms, exemplifying a culture of youth media technology. The praxis of this thesis has gone on for five years and, inevitably, changes have occurred. The fact that I am dealing with sociological concerns of LTCs, means that these changes are a part of a liquid and constantly shifting process. My aim is to give the story of my PaR a place in the bigger framework of various research fields, in particularly offering my practice as an articulation of just one form of ADPaR.

APPLIED DRAMA

This thesis is loosely in the field of applied drama. Here, the use of applied drama is considered, following a brief reflection into its 'background' and how it may be conceived, I suggest, as a form of performance and *performative* practice-as-research.¹²

The term 'Applied Theatre' or 'Applied Drama' refers to the application of drama methods, such as enactment, improvisation or verbatim, within the context of non-theatrical spaces, e.g. prisons, youth clubs, hospitals (Thompson 2003) or 'beyond conventional theatres' (O'Toole in Ackroyd 2007). Rasmussen, in 2000, highlighted the hierarchy of the term 'applied' as opposed to 'pure' theatre, stating 'I have always found it [the term] somewhat downgrading, implying that the applied stuff is second best, not quite as genuine as the essence' (Rasmussen 2000). Nearly a decade later Judith Ackroyd (2007) revisited the term, suggesting that 'Applied offers a more utilitarian concept, as we have seen in maths (sic) and research' (2007:5). She drew comparisons between the shift in the hierarchy of applied drama to

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¹² In this case I am proposing that performativity – *pace* Judith Butler (1996) – is an identity that is defined by a process of repetition that produces normative subjectivity and is '... the result of culturally available meanings and the open-ended, power-laden enactments of those meanings in everyday situations.' (Kondo 1990:24).

the same shift in higher education, under the New Labour governments, stating that 'Higher education requires preparation for life, and skills that will contribute to the job market and engender economic growth' (2007:5). In comparison she reflects on the utilitarian natures of applied drama practice as proposed by Helen Nicholson (2005) who argued that applied math 'is concerned with using theoretical models to solve practical problems' and 'Most practitioners working in applied drama are motivated by individual or social change and there is, therefore, a similar interest in the effects and usefulness of the work.' (2005: 6). James Thompson states, '... applied theatre programmes can be a vital part of the way that people engage in their communities, reflect on issues and debate change.' (Thompson 2003:16). Etherton and Prentiki reiterate this by stating: Through imagination and creativity, thoroughness of analysis, and participatory methodologies, applied theatre practitioners can contribute significantly to making lasting social change' (Etherton and Prentiki 2006: 154). More recently, Nicola Shaughnessy (2012) draws from previous practitioners and theorists of applied theatre and drama to consider the various factors that contribute to the definition of the term 'applied theatre'. She consolidates the definition of applied theatre into three main components: the unconventional context of applied theatre practice, the utilitarian purposes, and the active involvement of a participating audience (7). Shaughnessy then goes on to extensively discuss the various ethical, cultural and social challenges that offer new ways of thinking about applied theatre and performance.

Ackroyd also makes a very important point about those using the term 'applied theatre' or 'applied drama' originating from educational backgrounds (Nicholson, O'Toole, Mackey and Taylor, for example). Before embarking upon this thesis, my reference to my practice used to be 'community theatre' or 'youth arts'. It is only through my engagement in the academy, through this enquiry, that I have begun to adopt the term 'applied drama' as a description of the work I do with young people in the various contexts of community settings. It is, however, Ackroyd's interrogation of the term 'applied' altogether that has given me pause for thought. Ackroyd argues the case by stating:

I now wonder about the term 'applied theatre' (in the usage of Taylor, Nicholson and others), which assumes a consensus of

practice and indeed a perimeter of practice. Whilst there is occasionally a gesture towards different practices, the discourse emerging is one that embraces and focuses upon those that are designed to strengthen communities, transform specific groups, and give participants the chance to find their individual and collective voices.

(Ackroyd 2007:8)

For the sake of this thesis, Ackroyd has a point in that the use of drama in my enquiry has been predominantly for that, as a means of enquiring. Therefore, referring to the practice of this thesis solely as 'applied drama', or applied drama as research, seems somewhat misleading. If facilitators of applied drama practices primarily engage 'marginalised groups' and those at 'vulnerable points in their lives', aiming towards 'cultural engagement, social intervention and educational change' (Nicholson, 2005b: 119), then the ethos of applied drama is for it to be used as a tool for social revelation, transition and (perhaps) transformation (Nicholson 2005, Thompson 2003, Neelands 2007. Etherton and Prentiki, 2006). This thesis is not necessarily about creating social change, however. It is about enquiring into the spatial and cultural practices of young LTCs. In Schechner's (1988) polarity between efficacy and entertainment, it could be argued that applied drama leans more towards efficacy, an efficacy in acknowledging and understanding with the hope of transforming the status quo (Neelands, 2007). Moreover, according to theatre practitioner Philip Taylor (2003), the term, applied theatre refers more to performance driven practices (Taylor in Nicholson 2005: 4). This tends to imply an importance in process driven outcomes and yet a distinction is debatable, as both the process and outcome of applied arts practices are not only equally important to social and artistic development, but also contribute to the findings of the enquiry in this thesis. Although 'social change' is not necessarily the aim of this thesis, process driven features of applied drama is as significant to this enquiry as consequential work produced through an engagement in the practice. How young LTCs engage in the research method of applied drama practice is indicative of their attitudes towards, and responses to, some of the questions raised through this enquiry. The process of the PaR has as much value to this enquiry as the products, in this case the WALKs and the DDPs.

ADPaR can be invasive in that the impact of its use, to capture 'moments' of everyday life through performance, means that the researcher goes beyond ethnographic observations. ADPaR does not merely observe and collect data. It is an active form of research that requires participative involvement, including the researchers. In the LTC project, for example, participants are encouraged to actively articulate and demonstrate how they may understand their current status as LTCs. They are encouraged to explore their spatial engagements in various contexts and comment upon these investigations through the aesthetics of media technology, film, music, and drama. This research methodology (ADPaR) is not only about observing and collecting information, or pressing ahead with a purpose for social change. I am facilitating a self-awareness, cultural understanding, and perhaps social development of a participating group as representatives of the LTC identity. I am also developing the participants as artists and performers, particularly as some of them (Tarkan, Dilan and Korcan) practice various art forms outside of this research. Whether this process leads to a transformative experience is indefinite, but by engaging participating young LTCs in the applied drama process, raising the awareness of their cultural constructive mechanisms and subliminal performativity may be inevitable. (This line of enquiry then carries with it ethical implications that will continue to be addressed throughout this thesis).

ADPaR has enabled participating young people on both the *DWOS-2* project and the *Home* projects to articulate personal, investigative experiences in performing being LTC in a way that ensured they maintained control over what they choose to disclose through their engagement. The response to these projects exemplifies the fact that research practice constructed through the enquiry carries with it subjective 'mess' (Hughes *et al* 2011:186). In other words, what is deliberately selected and presented by the young LTCs, through the PaR, cannot necessarily dictate what spectators, or I as a researcher, will ultimately interpret and perceive from the practice. The matter of 'subjective mess' lies in the fact that any reflection of the researcher on the PaR is inevitably subjective, albeit through 'innately culture-specific'

emic reading (Freeman 2010: 181). 13 Interestingly, the audience's response to the work, however, is likely to be more etic. For example, in CSSD's 2012 Collisions festival, a panel of selected 'audience' members was invited to view and respond to the final Home 2 project's documented digital performances (DDP). The reason for this 'viewing' was in order to glean unconnected, 'impartial' observations through an etic response to the work, as I felt my interpretation of the work was too emic driven. At times, however, the panel made their own assumptions as to the personal issues and contexts around individuals' DDP, particularly when I did not feel it ethically appropriate to disclose certain information about particular participants. It is perhaps important to note, therefore, that ADPaR, although effective in its participative nature of engaging young LTCs in investigating their place making, identification processes, does also carry with it issues of subjective 'mess'. This puts into question how the work is read, both by an emic driven autoethnographer and LTC, as well as an assumed etic facilitator and researcher. Furthermore, this 'mess' can also be seen in the assumed etic audience of invited panels and spectators, who impose or bring their own assumptions to bear on the work they are asked to observe.

There are various components within the practice of the thesis that can be ascribed to applied drama practices (participants' marginality, non-theatrical contextual practice, for example). I am, however, a youth arts facilitator, and, therefore, adapting applied drama practice into a form of PaR research methodology in this thesis was an obvious method of enquiry. Fifteen years of experience in applied drama practice – albeit differently named - within various contextual settings, has reinforced for me that applied drama is 'a reflexive knowledge making practice that works to materialize, investigate and remake social experience narratives histories and contexts ...' (Hughes *et al.* 2011:191). That I am a second generation London Turkish Cypriot is also a key factor in the subjectivity of researching young LTCs. It

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¹³ Emic is a term used by social scientists, like anthropologists, to refer to the kinds of information attained from human behavior. 'The emic approach investigates how local people think' (Kottak, 2006). In other words, emic refers to localized culturally involved interpretations of meaning, observations of etiquette, tradition. The etic approach, however, shifts the gaze from the members of the culture under scrutiny to the anthropologist, or the 'outsider', assuming a more impartial approach to the interpretation of the said culture.

might be possible to argue that this thesis is an [auto] ethnographic study of London Turkish Cypriot youth, for example. This does not negate the 'applied drama' focus of the enquiry; it simply adds a further 'layering' of reflection into this research process and nuances the findings by emphasising the complexity of (auto) influences.

ETHNOGRAPHY AND AUTO-ETHNOGRAPHY

Within this thesis, applied drama is implied as ethnographic practice. The corporeal, participative nature of conventional ethnographic fieldwork is appropriated for applied drama practice, as it allows for an empirical understanding of cultural knowledge. This section explores the close connection between ethnography and ADPaR, offering further reflection on the choice of using applied drama practice as a means of researching the social and political perceptions and positions of LTC youth. Within the broader realm of ethnography, I consider 'auto-ethnography' as of particular interest to this research. I outline, also, how auto-ethnography may support the relationship between ethnography, as a contextual reference, and applied drama practice as a research tool.

Ethnography

Ethnography aligns with, and underpins, ADPaR methodology. With a profound history of disciplinary study (see, for example, the earlier work of Clifford Geertz), ethnography has become part of the languages of performance studies (see Mackey, 2007, for example). Performance scholar Dwight Conquergood (2006) describes ethnography, the study of *specific* human cultures, as a '... distinctive research method, participant-observation fieldwork, [that] privileges the body as a site of knowing [...] Ethnography is an *embodied practice;* it is an intensely sensuous way of knowing' (2006: 3). This is significant in the context of this thesis; a 'sensuous way of knowing' has been a route to understanding in this enquiry. Where anthropology looks at 'people and their customs' (Behar, 1996:4), ethnography privileges the 'naturalized domain' (Morley in Barker and Galasiñski 2007:18) and, as part of an empirical approach to research, positions the researcher within the everyday of the subject group, as I was with the LTC youth.

Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson (2007) acknowledge the various meanings of the term 'ethnography' and its association with qualitative research, fieldwork and case studies. They loosely describe ethnography as '... an integration of both first-hand empirical investigation and the theoretical and comparative interpretation of social organizations and cultures.' (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007:1). Yet they go on to reiterate that the complex history of ethnography in the western social sciences prevents any clear definition of the term. Rosaldo (1989) described ethnography in a similar manner.

The once dominant ideal of a detached observer using neutral language to explain 'raw' data has been displaced by an alternative project that attempts to understand human conduct as it unfolds through time and in relation to its meanings for the actors.

(Rosaldo in Conquiergood 2006:179)

Chris Barker and Dariusz Galasiñski (2007) state 'Ethnography research within cultural studies has been concerned with the qualitative exploration of values and meanings in the context of a 'whole way of life' (2007:18). How these 'values and meanings' seem to relate to the researcher's (and subjects') 'interpretive' understanding of culture (Geertz 1972: 4-5), therefore, suggests strong ethnographic resonances in the research methods of this thesis.

The fact that the young LTC participants and I share a Turkish Cypriot diaspora identity, further adds an additional layer to this enquiry. The LTC youth's ethnographic study of themselves, via applied drama PAR, as well as my role as an LTC facilitator and researcher, necessitates this research towards auto-ethnography.

Auto-Ethnography

Ruth Behar's (1996) empathetic writing of her ethnographic fieldwork in Spain, Cuba and the United States, combined with personal narratives of loss and death as a Cuban, Jewish, diasporic woman exemplifies a recognised form of auto-ethnography: her ethnographic studies are about herself. Deidre Heddon's (2008) preoccupation with issues around the challenges and misconceptions of gendered space, notions of what is defined and experienced as home and the ethical implications of autobiographical

articulations that concern others' stories exemplify another form of auto-ethnographic practice, in her case through 'auto-topography'. It could be argued that the same applies to the young LTCs who produce somewhat auto ethnographic and auto topographic performance pieces about themselves through the *DWOS-2* and *Home* projects. *My* role, within this framework may not be as distinct as the young LTCs, however.

Freeman suggests 'Auto-ethnography is a way of researching and writing that seeks to connect the personal to the cultural, placing the self at all times within a social context.' (Freeman 2010:181). If this is the case, then, as I am a second generation Turkish Cypriot, involved in the study of younger second and third generation LTCs, this research may be additionally perceived as an auto-ethnographic PaR. There is, however, only one, significant, characteristic of auto-ethnography that applies to me within this thesis and that is the fact that I, too, am a London born Turkish Cypriot. Whilst an aspect of auto-ethnography applies, this research is predominantly concerned with others rather than myself. There is a blurring here of which I am conscious. I was the lead researcher and the younger LTCs were the 'researched', the participants. I was not, in fact, researching my own responses to place and identity and the response of the younger LTCs would be different to my own, of course. As participants within a current youth culture of Britain, their perceptions and understanding of the every day, and specifically their experiences with the LTC identity differ to mine, (and to a certain extent, each other). In the case of this thesis, my role as a second generation LTC is not central to this enquiry; the identification process of those young LTCs engaged in the practice was at the core. I am aware of the significance of my role as a LTC to this enquiry, however, as well as the fact that it is because of this role that the enquiry has come about at all. I once again refer to Freeman who suggests that ...

... autobiography starts to morph into ethnography at the point where researcher/writers understand their personal history to be implicated in larger socio-cultural frameworks and take steps to make their own experiences a lens through which other experiences can be pulled into focus

(2010:181)

Freeman's point is useful when referencing the researcher as auto ethnographer. In this instance, the 'subjects' under scrutiny within this thesis are predominantly the young people participating in the PaR and the endeavour has been to present their work through their own lens rather than mine. Yet my subjectivity must influence the findings and I have sought to reference this in this written part of the thesis where I have felt it pertinent to do so. This was not auto-ethnography but there are aspects of it and a blurring between researcher and researched: these were my ideas about performing our identity and place as second and third generation LTCs; the participants are well known to me and I have been part of their lives outside the thesis; I led the work, and the research was partly to enquire into matters of history and present that concerned me. This 'grey area' within the auto-ethnographic field runs parallel to a similar interrogation into the role of applied drama facilitator within the PaR framework, as I have discussed at the start of this chapter.

The process in which the [auto] ethnographies of the young LTCs are presented allow for the creative contributions of planning, writing, directing, producing, performing and editing, all of which can be considered tools of ADPaR. These tools provide research and presentation possibilities. The LTCs are, however, challenged by the question of 'ethnographic authority' within the research. In other words, as Goldstein (2008) points out:

Ethnography is an interpretive, subjective, value-laden project. Writing up ethnographic data in the form of a play (in which the conflicts are real, verbatim transcription is often used...) reminds readers and spectators that ethnographers invent rather than represent ethnographic truths.

(Goldstein 2008: 87)

Where is the perception of Goldstein's 'truth' placed when confronted with the performance of ethnographic data by the *subjects* under scrutiny, as was the case in *DWOS-2* and *Home* projects? Does the presentation of the subject by the subject validate the data? Furthermore, James Clifford (1983) queried, almost thirty years ago, 'If ethnography produces cultural interpretations through intense research experiences, how is unruly experience transformed into an authoritative written account?' (1983:120). In the current context of this thesis, how can my interpretation of the auto-ethnographic data produced by the young LTC participants be acknowledged as 'an authoritative written

account' of the research? Where does this position the researcher's authorship? Where would I be positioned within the context of auto-ethnographer/ applied drama facilitator? The applied drama facilitator implies a distanced role, whereas the auto-ethnographic researcher suggests a more proximal position. Perhaps I am an amalgamated and modified version of all these roles?

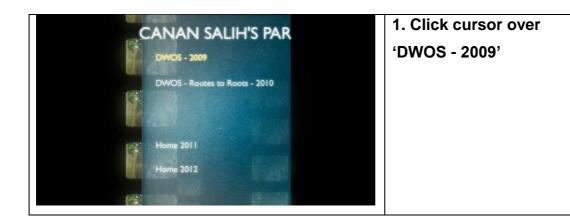
As part of retrospectively understanding the particular research methodology of this thesis, articulating it for future researcher-use, it is perhaps interesting to return to, and further articulate, the complex roles I play within this framework of performance/drama ethnography. I am a researcher, who is also LTC and therefore partially auto-ethnographic. But I am also an applied drama/theatre facilitator and practitioner who has facilitated young LTCs' auto-ethnographic performances of themselves, and, consequently, my own research based engagement with the said group. Through the various methods of applied drama PaR, any interpretations the participants that I facilitate may have, of what it means to be LTC, will inevitably produce subjective material from the participants, as well as a level of subjectivity through my reflective critique of this information.

Having discussed applied drama and PaR in general terms, and explored the progression of applied drama into a form of research methodology as well as problematise this with considerations of [auto] ethnography, I will now begin to reflect on a specific form of ADPaR that my thesis moved into. This form has some psycho-geographical conceits and, notably, moved into a digital media terrain – currently an increasingly interesting aspect of applied drama practice. The remainder of this chapter, therefore, will address, more closely, this particular mode of ADPaR that gradually became apparent through both an experimental approach, as well as, at times, accidentally. The chapter moves onto more specific models of methods and methodologies that help to make sense of my own research in this thesis. It allows, also, a closer look at the actual practice of the thesis.

PSYCHO-GEOGRAPHY

I am suggesting what might comprise 'applied drama practice-as-research' in this chapter is based on research with a select group of LTC youths, and the ways in which they may perform space and make place as part of their diasporic identification process. Within this, the nature of ethnographic studies as a whole, and auto-ethnography in particular, began to take shape through various applied arts activities in *DWOS* (2009) that eventually moved into living cartographies of performance in *DWOS-2*, themselves loosely based on psycho-geographical forms of practice.

I had a number of concerns about *DWOS (2009)* (the main aim of the project is detailed in chapter three); the fact the project was intended as a pilot project and therefore did not have any LTC participants; the way in which other collaborators on the project (Emergency Exit Arts and Ideas Foundation) managed to steer the project away from my original plans of cartographic performance activities, into more visual/creative arts practices; and the fact that the participation of the Haileybury young women did not take place in an outside public space, as originally intended, but within the walls of the youth club. Please refer to a short documentary, whose quality is as a result of being funded by the Ideas Foundation, which sets out the progress of the *DWOS* (2009) project.





2. Click cursor over 'A
Disgraceful Waste of
Space' (the < icon returns
to the main menu)



3. Disgraceful Waste of Space opening image

Although the engagement with the Haileybury Girls group did not reach its expected fruition, and albeit the performance element of *DWOS* (2009) seemed lacking, the production of the signposts in Innes Park prepared the foundations for *DWOS-2* in its psycho-geographical approach.



Figure 2

Psycho-geography resists definition in that it can apply to literary attempts at redefining urban spaces, political strategies that remark upon class and access of the public ramblers, as well as aesthetic approaches to 'new age ideas or a set of avant-garde practices' (Coverley 2010:9-10). Situationist Guy Debord describes psycho-geography as 'the study of the ... specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organized, or not, on the emotions and behaviour of individuals' (Debord 1955). In the case of this thesis, the construction of the signposts in Innes Park in *DWOS* (2009) represent the start of 'avant-garde practices' as political steps towards a psycho-geographical approach to investigating how the young men on the project used the park. The very nature of the signposts implied mobility and movement, whilst their positioning indicated a pause, an aesthetic observation of art work, and, more importantly for this enquiry, a reflection on the narrative of each signpost and what that narrative tells us about its relator.

It wasn't until *DWOS-2* when I facilitated a group of seven LTCs in exploring their everyday routes around their chosen location in North London, that the psycho-geographical approach to the research took on more resonance and the digression of *DWOS'* (2009) methodology rerouted back to the original intention of adopting and adapting some practical approaches to

walking, pausing and performing of mobility and place-making in public spaces. Some of the activities were derived from Wrights and Sights' Misquides to Anywhere (Hodge et al 2006), but most were my own devised ideas on walking, mapping and exploring routes through various places, familiar to the participating youth and myself. 14 All of these activities were carefully linked to the research questions of how young LTCs employ place-making practices in order to identify with their ethnic and cultural selves, to what extent the implementation of these practices are 'subconscious' performativity and to what extent conscious performances affected by themselves as artists; as well as how the young LTC perceive their notions of being London born Turkish Cypriots within, through and outside of certain spaces. By applying this type of methodology of observing and performing each individual's everyday routes, a series of Performance Walks (WALKS) resulted from this approach. These WALKS required a planning stage that was conducted through mapping exercises that comprised a series of questions about specific (no more than 3) public (outside) sites that held relevance to each LTC around the theme of ethnic cultural identification. This stage took place in my house with seven participating LTC youths and led to their selecting particular, familiar, everyday routes to and from these sites of significance. The presentation of each route was designed in creative and bespoke ways, in which these locales were performed in a quasi-psycho-geographical style. Please refer to appendix D for images and a more detailed account of the preparation of *DWOS-2*.

The resulting WALKS were framed performances of significant places that relate to each of the participant's sense of being LTC. Filmed, edited and presented onto iPods, the WALKS were presented at the 2010 *Collisions Festival* at Royal Central School of Speech and Drama (CSSD) in selected outside locations around the building, after careful consultation with the young participants of the project. Family and friends, academics and general public

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 $^{^{14}}$ I acknowledge that there sometimes occurs an unconscious adoption of current practices – such as in this field, where, even if seeming to be one's own practice, ideas may be absorbed from elsewhere.

experienced these WALKS in this setting and gave feedback after the event. The feedback, in the form of recorded interviews, has contributed to the analyses of each WALK throughout *Chapter Three – Public Spaces*. The Walks might be described as 'psycho-geography' in their expressions of redefining urban spaces, according to the participating LTCs, although there are some differences.

The DWOS-2 WALKS are not about wandering through, dawdling and casually exploring non-places and undiscovered urban sites of interest (exemplified through the Parisian stroller, the figure of the *flâneur*). They are not acts of revolutionary political radicalism (exemplified by the Situationist movement of the late 1950s, guided by Debord). Neither do they reflect aesthetic demonstrations of literary traditions as represented by such writing as Iain Sinclair's London Orbital (2002), a book that reflects Sinclair's 127mile walk around the M25 as a 'pilgrimage [to the] sprawl of London' (Lezard 2002). More, the WALKS are demonstrations of psychological and emotive responses associated with specific and well-known geographical locations, and presented through film and mobile technology. There are notes, perhaps, of an early work of Patrick Keiller, his 1994 film London. This film maps the journey of Keiller's literary creation, the unseen 'researcher' Robinson, and the film's narrator (presented by Paul Schofield) through the late Conservative period of the early 1990s, documenting the account of the narrator and Robinson's tour around various sites across London against a somewhat poetic journal-like audio narrative. The WALKS are clearly autobiographical, or rather auto-topographical (Heddon 2001) however, as they represent the journeys of real people. Most of the LTCs perform in their own WALK - and indeed, in each other's. The approach of each WALK varies and some are more performance based, whilst others are documentary in style.

The public space context and film methods used in the PaR offer a closer look at the LTCs' everyday routes and their relationships to their geographical and relational neighbourhood. Their experiences are performed like 'situationist cartographies' (Massey 2005109-111). In fact, they create 'situations' in the form of performed walks. These 'situations' are enacted topographic mappings of their daily routes, documented on film, and designed and shaped to make a statement on how their local environment defines their

understanding of being LTC. Although writing about more conventional 'theatre', Sartre's (1947) introduction to the 'Theatre of Situations' offers an understanding of how these walks may have a possible effect on the LTCs' awareness of self and local society.

... if it's true that man is free in a given situation and that in and through that situation he chooses what he will be, then what we have to show in the theatre are simple and human situations and free individuals in these situations choosing what they will be.... The most moving thing the theatre can show is a character creating himself, the moment of choice, of the free decision which commits him to a moral code and a whole way of life.

(Sartre 1947)

Building on Sartre's interpretation of situational theatre I am suggesting that by creating performed 'situations' via the WALKS, each young LTC is, therefore, creating, or enacting their selves, through both the performance and performativity of the WALKS, mapping the journey of the creation, enactment and progression of diasporic identification.

I am suggesting that a particular form of psycho-geography was a key aspect of this particular ADPaR. The LTC participants of the *DWOS-2* project subverted conventional mapping and performance practices through their own form of filmmaking, music making, animation, imagery and the use of iPods. The cartographies can be perceived as attempts in capturing trajectories of spatial engagements of their everyday lives. They communicate spatial relationships that they themselves have identified, determined and shaped. What these WALKS do not do is aspire to change the environments in which they take place. They are therefore less like the political psycho-geographies of the Situationists. Yet, Jen Harvie (2009) argues in *Theatre & the City* that theatre 'does more than demonstrate urban process [...] theatre is a part of urban processes, producing urban experience and thereby producing the city itself.' (2009:7). Could it be argued, therefore, that the WALKS may inevitably affect each person's environment that they represent, by influencing the ways in which the LTC participants use the environments on a daily basis?

In Debord's situationist era of the 1950s, psycho-geography looked at tackling *banality* and bourgeois capitalist consumerism of western society. The WALKs of *DWOS-2* are more preoccupied with the personal politics associated with youth cultures. (They may even be thought of as 'selfish',

perhaps rather than politically altruistic.) The narrative of each WALK addresses issues around ethnicity and diaspora, cultures of taste and class, as well as personal reflections of remembered meanings. Although the WALKS were not aimed at radically changing the urban landscape of each LTC's choice, or creating 'literary endeavours and political activism' (Coverly 2010:137), they were effective means of researching through mapping and performance, identifying how young LTCs might view and experience their public environment as diaspora youth. This is explored in *Chapter 3 – Public Spaces*. The WALKS were an important part of the ADPaR methods of enquiry. In asking how LTC youth perform place and articulate their shifting diasporic identities, the WALKS offered both a capturing of these quotidian operations as well as translating these into a performed presentation.

PSYCHO-GEOGRAPHICAL HOMES

Following the performance of place in public spaces in *DWOS-2*, at this point, the research aimed to consider whether the young participants' idea of a LTC identity modifies and, therefore, impacts upon their place making practices, when situated within what is considered a 'private' domain. In 2011-12, the *Home* projects looked at how LTC youth made place in private places and, in particular, places they considered Home; a place of belonging. The *Home* projects were not so obviously 'pyscho-geographical' ADPaR.

My initial plan was to hire an empty house and, with a select group of LTC youth, create performances around notions of Home. This idea, however, raised questions that made me review whether this was the best course of action for the research. For example, what relevant information around young LTCs' practiced, everyday notions of Home would I be able to glean from such an approach? Is the performance of an imaginary place, a 'utopian' place that is regarded as Home, an effective way of researching existing performative places? How relevant would the outcome of such performances be to this research? In other words, is it a 'real' lived place, or a creative output of young people's responses? And, if it were a creative response to the question of Home, how much of an impact would the resulting outcomes have on the knowledge sought in this enquiry? Furthermore, what kind of audience context would I be setting up? Would it be useful to the research I am

conducting in this thesis? In addition to these doubts, practical issues in funding a venue became problematic. I reconsidered the practice of the Home project, deciding, instead, to research participating young LTCs in various modes of applied drama practice, within the context of their existing notions of Home.

What I had failed to take into account was the fact that some of the participants considered Home very differently. It was not the conventional notion of home as abode, or place of dwelling, that most of the young people considered when asked the question 'what is home? Where do you belong?' In the first year of the *Home 1* project, not one participating LTC had presented their notion of 'home' in the conventional sense of their abode. The first year of the *Home 1* project did not have the same level of depth and performance as the *DWOS-2* project had but what it did bring forward was the idea of home as a very different sited place to each person. Because installations of *Home 1* -displayed in the *Collisions* festival at CSSD in 2011 - was not satisfying as research, I began to think of it in the same way DWOS (2009) had been viewed: as a lead into *DWOS-2*, as a form of pilot project, or first stage. *Home 1* was not so much about aesthetic excellence in practice but as constructive but embryonic research.

Two key issues arose in *Home 1* that would affect the Home project of 2012 (*Home 2*). First, as mentioned, the young participants considered notions of 'home' and what it means to them in a much more abstract way than I had anticipated when I began the project. This may have been influenced by the fact that when I invited an initial 10 young LTCs to participate in the project, I decided to show them clips of the *DWOS-2* WALKS as an example of previous practice. This was not so much an attempt to influence their notions of 'home', but to influence their notions of drama practice. The resulting installations and exhibitions varied in levels of engagement from Safi's simple display of photos that depicted what 'home' meant to her at the time, (also exemplifying her late entry onto the project and therefore not having participated in the planning stage with the rest of the group), to Dilan's bedroom installation that included projected images of her actual home, interviews with LTC friends, and a bedspread of photos that depicted 'home' as security.

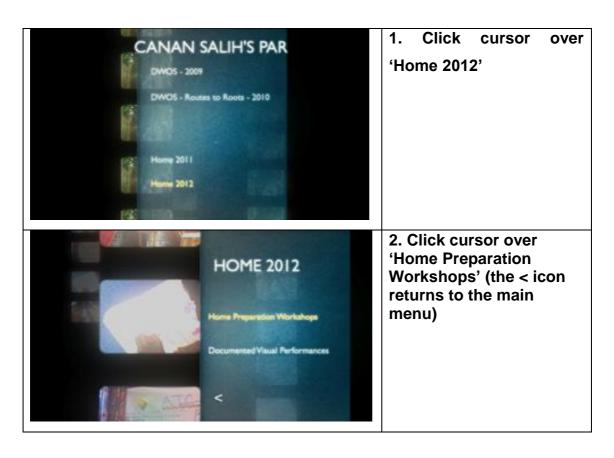


Figure 3

Second, an all-female demographic was engaged in the project and this raised questions around gendered notions of 'home.' By the second year of the project, however, an equal amount of young men and young women participated in the project, interestingly dispelling assumptions around home being a female dominated space (particularly when each participant seemed to have very different perceptions of what Home meant to them).

The second phase of the *Home* project, in 2012, commenced with a series of workshops that helped define a common association of Home as a place of belonging. These workshops consisted of a series of applied drama activities (see appendix E) that included young LTC participants responding to questions around cultural identity and inter-sectionalism (having more than one cultural identity) through devising tableaux and short drama sketches. We then focussed in on the question of Home and what it means to each

participant. After the *Home 1* project, where none of the LTC participants had chosen their abode as Home, I was much more conscious of facilitating the *Home 2* participants to extend their thinking (via applied drama practice) and identify multiple components that may signify their notions of Home. The activities (Appendix E) began by investigating how and where each participant placed themself within a cultural (LTC) and generational (youth) framework. The aim was to link these identifying factors with emotional, relational and geographical components that drive and influence their home-making practices. The resulting presentations demonstrated individual cartographies of belonging. Please refer to the short documentary that sets out the progress of the workshops over three workshop sessions. These workshops explore notions of Home and commence the initial ideas that develop into the Documented Digital Performances (DDP) discussed in *Chapter 4 – Private Places*.



 $^{^{15}}$ Please note the footage quality is poor because of the young people choosing to film, using an android phone.



3. Click cursor over 'Home 2012 Planning Workshop' (the < icon returns to the previous menu)

The shift from a psycho-geographical approach of ADPaR, as seen in the *DWOS* (2009-10) project, to an almost biopic style of documentation through film and imagery in both the Home projects (2011-12), all typify, not only the changes in young people's spatial engagement as an identification process, but also the various and fluctuating use of technology as a means of artistic articulation of each person's narrative. In looking more closely at matters of the digital and youth media culture at this point, as related to the research methods of this thesis, I am suggesting this as an emergent and important mode of ADPaR with young people.

YOUTH MEDIA CULTURE

The introduction of technology in ADPaR began in the *DWOS* project, through documenting the whole two weeks and compressing this experience into a 10-minute documentary that then became available on YouTube. In *DWOS-2*, the use of technology further expanded into a process that included filming, music making, editing, storyboarding and script writing. Each participant articulated his/her own personal experiences of the 'routes' they walk, on a daily basis, associated with their notion of being LTC. The use of technologies like high definition cameras, personal iPods (MP3 & 4 players), Smart phones, as well as the Internet, via YouTube and Facebook veer the applied drama methodology towards 'media action research' (Buckingham 2009)¹⁶. This shift in practice, or more to the point, *addition* to applied drama

¹⁶ Media action research refers to practically implemented active research using various means of media technology.

PaR is not so much a technological advancement as much as a cultural one, a youth culture.

The Youth Media Culture section of this chapter explores the types of technologies used throughout the PaR, highlighting the implications in using technology-dominant means of applied drama practical research. I look at how the use of standard documentation technologies like cameras and digital editing equipment give way to personal smart phones and internet accounts that raise questions around the ethics of private and public exposure of young people. I conclude this section by discussing my concerns around issues of artistic quality and sociological research, when young LTC participants use their own means of documentation and performance as a means of expressing notions of Home.

Ethical Implications of Using Technology with Young People Sociocultural anthropologist Heather A. Horst points out:

One of the fundamental shifts in [...] youth culture revolves around kids' engagement in what has been termed "Networked public culture," or "those cultural artifacts associated with 'personal' culture (such as home movies, snapshots, diaries, and scrapbooks) that have now entered the arena of 'public' culture (such as newspapers, cinema and television)" (Russell et al 2008)

(Horst *et al* 2009)

Horst *et al*, and others in the field of media research make a strong case for the use of such 'public culture' media forms used by young people in the western cyber platform (particularly in the U.S. and the U.K.) as a means of social and cultural development. The distinction between private and public becomes more and more blurred as young people use mobile technology (including the Internet) to maintain a level of control, or as they might perceive, power to 'perform' as they wish.

When I asked Dilan what her thoughts were, for example, around issues of privacy when presenting her idea of Home she states:

The home project does give me an element of power to change my life, because I am in control in [sic] what happens. There is no one else there to tell me what to do. It also gives me a way of looking back to see how I was and what has changed. My project is for any age group to see, I want

people to see how my life had/has an effect on me. I do share it online, my friends see how they affected me.

(Akkas 2013)

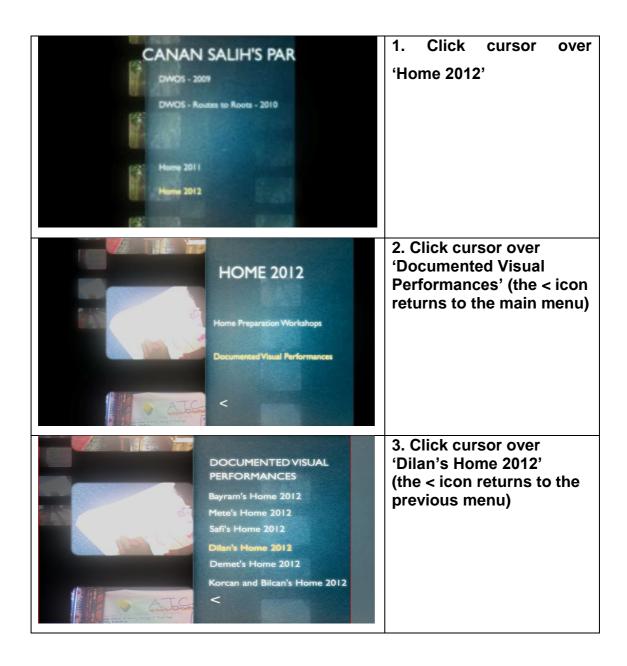
Megan Alrutz (2013) advocates the use of technology as (biographic) storytelling by stating 'Digital storytelling, as a performance process and medium, invites participants to reflect and archive, as well as (re)vision and construct, complex notions of who they are in the world' (48). It could be argued, however, that this level of confidence in technology as a medium of identification and expression is naïve when put against the ethical issues of privacy and exploitation. An insidious use of technology is a subject much debated by researchers and academics. David Buckingham (2008) refers to Nick Rose, who argues that technology, as a means of identification:

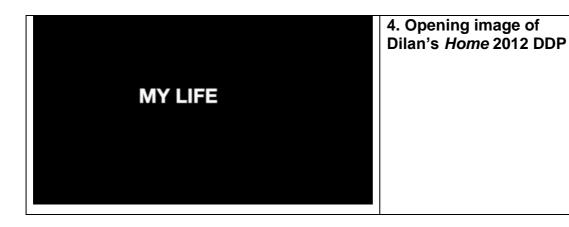
... seeks to regulate and control individual behavior in line with limited social norms. While appearing to act in the name of individual freedom, autonomy, and choice, such technologies ultimately give the power to experts to determine the ways in which identity can be defined.

(Buckingham 2008:10)

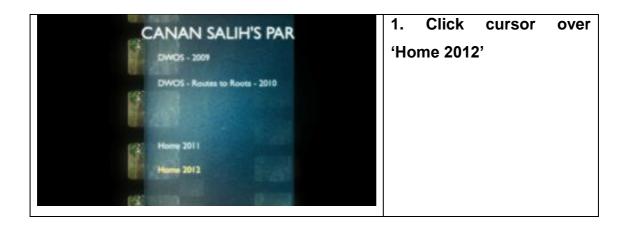
Yet Dilan's declaration that technology enables her to look back 'to see how [she] was and what has changed' suggests that she clearly advocates the digital for her generation.. As Susannah Stern (2008) states, ' ... recognizing youth authors as experts on their own experiences is crucial if we hope to fully appreciate how online content creation, adolescence, and identity intersect' (99). The same could be said of the use of technology in this PaR, as demonstrated by Dilan, where her access to 'techno-savvy' practices can be regarded as 'a force of liberation for young people' (Buckingham 2008:13). Please refer to Dilan's DDP in particular paying close attention to the content of what she has chosen to disclose. There is a clear transparency and an unguarded approach to her piece that is both candid, and yet vulnerable. Additionally, the way in which Dilan edited her piece by layering the various points in her life that have significance to her sense of belonging (which is what she perceives as Home), suggests an ongoing process of growth and social and cultural development. Dilan recognises and acknowledges, by her commentary and final phrase 'to be continued ...', that the performances of her identification process are ongoing. It could be argued

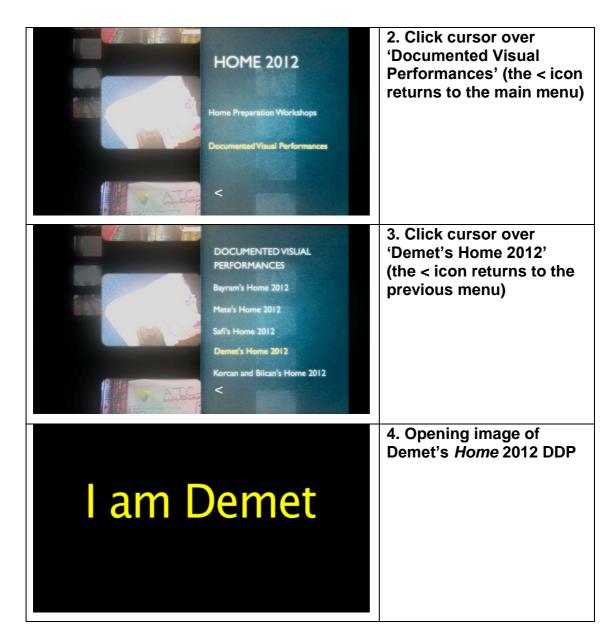
that Dilan's DDP is more of a documentation and commentary on her life, rather than Home. The DDP's relevance to notions of Home, however, is evident in the way that Dilan constantly returns to the patchwork blanket. The blanket exemplifies her need for comfort, safety and belonging, which also personifies Dilan's understanding of what Home means to her.





Similar to Dilan's DDP (documented digital performance), Demet also produced a highly edited, video effects- loaded DDP. This method of 'performance' - whilst demonstrating active participation - ensures that she, as a participant, has pretty much sole ownership of the way in which she wishes to express her spatial engagement of cultural identification. Notions of belonging and feeling 'at home' are portrayed in her presentation of an almost YouTube-like performance of Home. Yet, unlike Dilan, Demet tries to ensure a certain level of privacy is maintained through her almost invisibility in the presentation. Her voice is portrayed through a scripted, highly mediated monologue that accompanies captions of moving images (footage) and still images. Her selection of music and the final edited outcome manages to maintain her 'signature' on the work, deeming it a personal performance of 'Home' through her perspective. Please refer to Demet's DDP, again paying close attention to the way in which she uses media technology to portray her notions of Home.





Stern (2008) reflects on several years of interviews she conducted with young people around adolescent's online authorial experiences:

In descriptions of their decisions about what to reveal, exaggerate, and omit in their online communication, youth authors reveal a highly conscious process of self-enquiry. Adolescents consciously and conscientiously negotiate the boundaries of public and private spheres as they deliberate about who they are and who they want to be, within their local community and the larger culture. The Internet, young authors suggest, affords space and place for such complex identity work.

(2008:97)

In Dilan's case, the Internet presents her with the opportunity to disclose who she would like to be perceived as, whilst the same technology allows Demet the chance to withhold parts of herself she does not feel comfortable sharing in such a public domain. Inevitably, safeguarding issues involved in the exposure and disclosure of young people on the Internet, need to be taken into consideration as well.

The 'space and place for complex identity work' is also demonstrated in the ADPaR of this thesis, through the use of personal technology. In the Home projects of 2011 and 2012, the portrayal of personal and private spatial engagement, and its impact on LTCs cultural identification, is presented using personal mobile technology for camera and sound recording. This made documentation easier and more accessible for me as researcher, it was - of course - convenient for the young people but it also reflected a contemporary youth assurance and ease with such technologies, where they wish and choose to present footage and sound via their own recordings. Anderson et al refer to Marc Prensky's (2001) claim that 'that the current generation of learners is native to the technology, a fact that creates a generational gap between them and their teachers.' (2012:473). In the case of this PaR, however, I did not feel any friction between my knowledge of technology, in comparison to that of the young LTCs I worked with. Our shared knowledge of technology was a constructive factor in the practice and helped ensure a more extensive exploration of mediatized aesthetic expressions.

According to Joe Lambert (2010), digital storytelling grows out of efforts to situate digital media production in community-based settings and to engage the general public in representational practices traditionally reserved for elite groups of highly trained media specialists. The power that derives from this use of technology has been referred to as 'mediated mobilization' by Leah Lievrouw (2011) who argues that 'mediated mobilization goes a step further by using new media as the means to mobilize social movement — collective action in which people organize and work together as active participants in social change' (2011:150). Lievrouw is suggesting here that political active participation may be an effective means of instigating social change. Ethnic cultural identities like that of the 'in flux' LTCs, however, lends itself well to negotiations by a youth culture that can adapt the concept of mobility to mean more than 'movement in physical space' (Stald 2011:145). As Dilan's example above demonstrates, 'mobility is about being ready for change, ready to go in new directions' (ibid.).

In fact, the Home project could arguably epitomise this use of mobilised media as participative forms of action for change, but a change to what? And what are the ethical implications of change, which may lead to a rethinking of spatial and cultural engagement? Perhaps, instead of the use of new media technology being about change and building new cultures with each generation, it is more useful to consider this technology and its bearing on young people as a means of access and a way of looking at the plurality of subcultures within LTC youth culture. Technology might be seen, therefore, as a means of identifying and presenting youth cultures, and the dominant role of media within these cultures.

Although this section only offers a brief exploration of the current positioning of youth media utilisation as a means of identification, it does, however, point towards the implications of the digital in ADPaR. Married with an ethnographic use of ADPaR, technology facilitates documentation of discourses on relationships and roles, spatiality and emplacement, ethical issues and the validity of research material. These elements all provide this research with rich, complex and revealing considerations when looking at how third generation LTCs negotiate their diasporic identities, particularly in relation to particular places and spaces in London. It is through the use of media technology in AD PaR that the meanings underlining these sites and sources from which these meanings derive, whether consciously or subconsciously, can be productively explored and identified. The question of how these forms of media technology will enhance applied drama practice (and its research) need to be considered, however, as well as possible aesthetic compromises considered in the exclusive use of such technology by young people. I do this in the conclusion of this written document.

FINAL THOUGHTS

In this chapter I am proposing, through the PaR – with its nuances of psycho-geography and fuelled by contemporary technological mediums – one possible model of ADPaR. This PhD is a PaR based thesis and much has nuanced the 'PaR' such as issues of identity, race and culture. Furthermore, the fact that it is *my* culture under scrutiny, suggests an auto-ethnographic and auto-topographic approach to the PaR. Psycho-geography, applied

drama as well as aspects of youth media cultures are manifest in the practice and its documentation of this PhD over its five-year duration.

Through the theory and discourses that I have referred to above, as well as the various 'methodologies' I have drawn from through my thesis, it has become apparent that ADPaR is something not yet fully articulated, and in some ways problematic. For example, there are two main issues that have arisen from the ADPaR of this thesis. The first issue is something that has led me to think more broadly about the methodology and in particular ADPaR. The use of media technology and the somewhat documentation-like quality of some of the young people's work begs the question; to what extent is this work characterised as applied drama practice. In some cases of the PaR there was very little preparation - via applied drama workshops - involved in the creation of the work (as in *Home 1*). Or, as in the case of *DWOS* (2009) project, most of the work revolved around visual arts, as opposed to performing arts practices. As discussed at the start of this chapter, applied drama itself is a continuously evolving and acquiring form of practice. Could it be argued that the inclusion of such work as the WALKS of DWOS-2 and DDPs of *Home 2* add to the evolution of applied drama practice? Are they examples of the types of vicissitudes that occur when applied drama practice is used as practical research within additional fields such as ethnography, geography and even sociology? How does the amalgamation of the various fields of study affect the conceptions of ADPaR, and in particular, the role of the researcher/facilitator?

The Pauses in Public Spaces

The latter question of the researcher's role led to the second issue that concerned me during the later stage of the research. The *Home* projects of 2011 and 2012 were presumed to relate to a notion of 'pause', against a 'mobility' associated with the *DWOS* projects. The purpose of the research was to explore young LTCs' engagement *within* space, 'inside' rather than the 'outside' spaces of the preceding *DWOS* PaR. The *Home* project, however, has been problematic since its conception because of its propensity to push against boundaries of *private* space. By *Home 2* (2012), the participating LTCs' notions of Home developed from conventional assumptions of abode,

to unpredicted public spaces like a Shisha Bar, an Air-cadet Training Centre and school gates. The challenges lay in how these public spaces could be performed as the 'private place' of Home (which is not necessarily the abode and certainly not always tangible space), using ADPaR; how may they be presented in a high standard of aesthetic quality by the young people; and how might they retain such quality whilst maintaining authority of ownership of the work produced?

At this stage, my role as researcher was in conflict with that of facilitator as I found it problematic in understanding that my desire to ensure each individual's authority of their creative output did not mean withholding ideas around the possibilities of what they could do to improve the artistic quality of their DDPs, for fear of imposing my own 'voice'. I was concerned that my input as facilitator would challenge the authority of ownership of the young people's work. Alongside this apprehension lay the question, would the young people's personal use of mobile phone technology and other forms of media technology (as seen in Dilan's DDP) be considered as ADPaR, and to what extent is the quality of this work important to the thesis anyway? The creative quality and performances evident in DWOS-2 were somewhat lacking in the 2012 Home DDPs. Controlled solely by the participating LTCs, the DDPs fell short in technical, as well as artistic quality, and one even tended to be more inclined towards a 'talking heads' type of documentation that was not justified as applied drama practice, or even psycho-geography. The DDPs that lacked artistic quality were those I had not led as an artist, because of my apprehensions of my role as researcher taking dominance.

The works produced by the young people were, however, PaR in that they produced interesting, viable research material to think and write about. It could be argued that the *Home* project, like *DWOS*, was, first and foremost, an endeavour of performative *research* rather than *performance*. Matthew Reisz (2013), for example, refers to the research of visual artist, Amanda Roberts, who states that if a drawing or painting is banal, as long as 'it gives you the findings you need, within a PhD it counts as a successful piece of work' (*ibid*). Although some of the documentation in the *Home* project is not 'quality' art, (not even art at all in some cases), the findings within this work are important.

The different practical outcomes of this thesis, both in quality but more significantly in material, suggest that ADPaR is a complex method of research. To define ADPaR is to risk: the amalgamation of other subject fields and practices; the fact that the subject[s] under scrutiny may also direct the nature of the PaR; and that the threads of individual histories, the social and global influences as well as various methods of practice (both artistic and performative) all contribute to the fluidity and novelty of PaR.

I have, now, an understanding of what ADPaR *might* look like, but just as each PaR thesis will always be different, depending on its projects, so too will concepts of ADPaR differ as well. My contribution to the argument is to open up debates on under-argued aspects of applied drama within the framework of PaR. Although more voices discussing this field would be useful, it is, however, worth recognising the need to maintain fluidity, as Freeman suggests:

Practice based research is concerned with the advocating of approaches that seek the indeterminate, the unfixed, the radical, and the ambiguous; it is an approach that regards attempts to settle issues conclusively as indicative of bad practice as well as false order.

(2010:195)

CHAPTER THREE London Turkish Cypriot Youth's Performance of Public Spaces

INTRODUCTION

The practices of emplacement and mobility of young Diaspora communities in London (in this case the London Turkish Cypriots) are significant indicators of how young people perform their diasporic identities through the act of 'making place' (Myers 2008:171). Hava Gordon's wellfounded argument that 'young people's use of space is integral to their development as political actors' (Gordon 2005: 1) indicates why this thesis is a useful contribution to understanding the performance of young London Turkish Cypriots' (LTC) spatial engagement in public places. The aim of this chapter is to reflect upon the practical research into the spatial performance of the LTC youth identities and what it showed about the LTCs' cultural identity evolution since the first generation Turkish Cypriots migrated to the UK. The two PaR projects discussed in this chapter begin to challenge some of the Diaspora frameworks examined in Chapter 1 - Histories. Furthermore, various leitmotifs emerged in the PaR that critique and at times challenge theories around gendered space, transient space, and ethnic cultural emplacement. LTC young people's use of space does appear to be integral to their development as political actors (sic Gordon, above) but not always in the way that some theorists might suggest.

The first of two PaR projects engaged with a select number of young diasporic youth, in particular second and third generation LTCs. The first of these projects was entitled *A Disgraceful Waste of Space (DWOS)* and was built in a two-year period (2009 and 2010). This project specifically aimed at exploring participating youth's movements and mobility within particular public (outside) places of attachment, exploring how young people create and use urbanised 'public space'. The second PaR of this enquiry concentrated more specifically on what young LTCs consider 'private place' within the context of

'Home' and is presented and analysed in Chapter 4 — *Private Places: Home making practices of LTC youth.* Public/private and space/place might appear to be binaries but they are subject to interpretation and contestation. Discourses around these 'binaries' are discussed throughout this chapter and the next chapter. Nonetheless, this chapter explores, primarily, LTC youth engagement with public spaces. The thesis would have been lacking as a whole if I did not include many of the areas that I talk about in Chapter 2. I did not consider the balance as such until the practices happened, but this chapter is substantial as a result of the areas of discussion

The chapter begins with the title *Participation and Context of the PaR*, outlining the groups of young people involved in this stage of the research practice. Figure 1 outlines the nature of the *DWOS* (2009) and *DWOS-2* projects as well offering detailing information on the participants.

A discussion follows around the key issues from the *DWOS* (2009) project in Tower Hamlets. After this section, the chapter is divided into themed sections, reflecting issues that arose through the PaR projects.

Authority of Gendered Space and Territorialism investigates notions of belonging in which comparisons are made between young women's mobility in public spaces and self-restrictions in mobility of young men. This comparison refers to issues of territorialism through observations of the performative behaviour of the participants in Innes Park and the Haileybury girls group of DWOS (2009).

The next section, *Relational Space*, introduces the issues that arose around the themes of social and relational space during the *DWOS-2* project (2010). In particular, this section uses Safi Arioglu's performance walk in *DWOS-2* (2010) to highlight the significance of personal narrative placemaking practices, referring to perceptions around relational and social space.

Complexities of 'spatial' and 'platial' differentiation offer an investigation into the impact of mobility and movement on participating LTCs' diasporic identities. Embedded within the PaR project discussed in this chapter is the question of whether and how these experiences affect and are affected by the diasporic framework discussed in the previous *Histories* Chapter and whether these changes imply a de-ethnicisation process.

The subsequent section headed *Cultural Emplacement* examines the specific sites and *spaces* that emerge from the selection, preparation and rehearsal of each route in the *DWOS-2* project. Thoughts, memories, impressions and experiences that gather in a particular configuration as an event, are verbalised, performed and documented through the practice. These events and performances demonstrate the resonant 'cultural identification' practices of each participant. These performances, however, are not suggested as an ontological study of permanency, but open to change. In other words, this enquiry looks at what factors make-up young Turkish Cypriots' sense of place, and the causes that constantly change this.

Citizenship and Empowerment of Urbanised Youth looks at how individual perceptions of place may influence performative activities that define political, cultural and diasporic changing identities as a means of empowerment and citizenship. In particular, the concept of ownership and youth territorialism of public space against notions of belonging (or displacement) is further explored through the three contrasting performance Walks by brothers, Korcan, Serhan and Tarkan, in DWOS-2. This section aims to identify what forms of performative behavior both define and are produced through a sense of belonging and/or displacement, particularly of LTC youth.

The significance of emplacement and mobility, particularly of third generation LTCs, is examined and discussed throughout the chapter. Although there has been considerable writing around the various social, anthropological and geographical subjects this chapter encapsulates, there is very little written about the LTC, and certainly none about current generation of LTC youth and their mobility and place-making practices. Theorists and geographers referenced in this chapter are particularly relevant to the emerging themes of this enquiry, as the PaR has progressed.

At specific points in the chapter, the different phases of the *DWOS* projects are presented for viewing: the documented video clip of the 2009 project and the seven 'performance walks' (WALK) on the *DWOS*-2 section of the thesis DVD. (Although location signs will be included in the relevant sections, the preface to this thesis offers a more thorough explanation of how the DVD clips could and should be viewed).

PARTICIPATION AND CONTEXT OF THE PAR

The PaR of this thesis informs the themes and subsections of this chapter, as well as the whole thesis. As briefly outlined below, and more comprehensively scrutinised in Chapter 2 – Methodology, DWOS (2009) begins to contribute to the shaping of this thesis and the various leitmotifs (Mackey 2002) that emerge as key findings. ¹⁷ There is also a shift in the PaR as each phase of the research changed course as a result of the preceding stage of the practice, shifting from public space to private place (as discussed in Chapter 4). This chapter, however, begins to deconstruct the themes that have emerged from the initial DWOS (2009) PaR, following its transition into the more performance based, technologically advanced second phase of the DWOS-2 (2010) PaR. I begin by acknowledging that each project was set in an equally urban, yet geographically different site, and, whereas DWOS (2009) began as a split gendered project of two large groups, DWOS-2 consisted of seven both male and female participants. Both projects involved young people of a single ethnic origin (Bengali youth in DWOS (2009) and LTC youth in DWOS-2), and the young participants in both projects ranged from 13 – 19 years of age, (an age remit require by Tower Hamlets Youth Services, which carried onto the *DWOS-2* project).

The first year (2009) of the *DWOS* project focused on two gender specific groups (young men engaged through grassroots outreach from Innes Park in Tower Hamlets, and young women based at the Haileybury Youth Centre in Stepney, Tower Hamlets). As already stipulated in the preface, for the sake of clarity, the title of the second year (2010) project is modified to *DWOS – 2* in order to differentiate between projects being discussed. *DWOS-2* worked with seven LTC youths based around the north London areas of Southgate and Palmers Green, outreached through my personal associations with their parents.

DWOS (2009) took place in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets and involved collaborations between my employers, 'A' Team Arts, Haileybury

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 $^{^{17}}$ These leitmotifs refer to specific strands or themes that have appeared throughout the PaR, warranting discussion and analysis through the writing

Youth Club, Emergency Exit Arts (EEA) and The Ideas Foundation. This was a pilot project methodology to working with the LTC youth in 2010. Although this project was *my* PaR as such, it involved a considerable amount of partnership and collaboration between the above organisations. As a result of this, there was both a fair amount of support and help given to me on the project, as well as conflict of interest as each organisation had their own agendas to meet. The project transpired by engaging two visual artists working with a small group of Bengali women in Haileybury Youth Club and Bengali young men outreached by one of 'A' Team Art's' youth workers on the project. These men invited us to meet and work with them at their regularly frequented site of Innes Park, in Bethnal Green. This project, those involved and levels of engagement are set out in Figure 3 below.

The Project

DISGRACEFUL WASTE OF SPACE 2009

A pilot project that uses applied drama to look at the ways in which young people (living in Tower Hamlets) perform and make place in public spaces – outside, in parks, streets, etc. as well as in transition.

The Researcher

Canan Salih

Working as Youth Arts Officer for Tower Hamlets Youth services under employer - 'A' Team Arts

The Partners

Emergency Exit Arts

EEA is an arts organisation, based in Greenwich, specialising in creative spectacle, site-specific festivals and cultural celebrations in public spaces. EEA provided two visual artists and a participation officer

(Chloe Osborne) to the project.

Ideas Foundation

An organisation that aims to increase diversity in the creative industry through working with industry partners and young people, 13 – 19 years of age. They provided a film documentary of the project and arranged a visit to the London Met architectural dept on the last day of the project. FULL WORDS not

The Participants

Haileybury Girls

A girls-only summer project based at Haileybury Youth Club in Stepney, Tower Hamlets. Head youth worker, Katie Burwood, outreached the girls specifically for this project. Burwood and the youth club's manager wanted to research why their girls-only provisions are so low attended. All the girls were Bengali.

The girls produced a number of

Innes Park Boys

The boys of Innes park were outreached by one of our volunteer youth workers, Mogol Miah. Studio engineer, Miah, had helped some of the boys record their rap/spoken word compositions. The boys agreed to take part in the project and chose Innes Park as the site they wished to work in. All the boys were Bengali

layered maps of their everyday routes and spaces, as well as fabric paintings with space related motifs. The boys produced plaques with their own individual designs on them – related to their use of public spaces and belonging. They also produced signposts that were then erected onto a park lamppost for public display.

The Outcomes

The Exhibition

The exhibition of the girls' work, and the boys' plaques were presented at the Brady Arts Centre, Whitechapel. The Brady Centre is the base for 'A' Team Arts. Members of the public and the mayor of Tower Hamlets attended the exhibition.

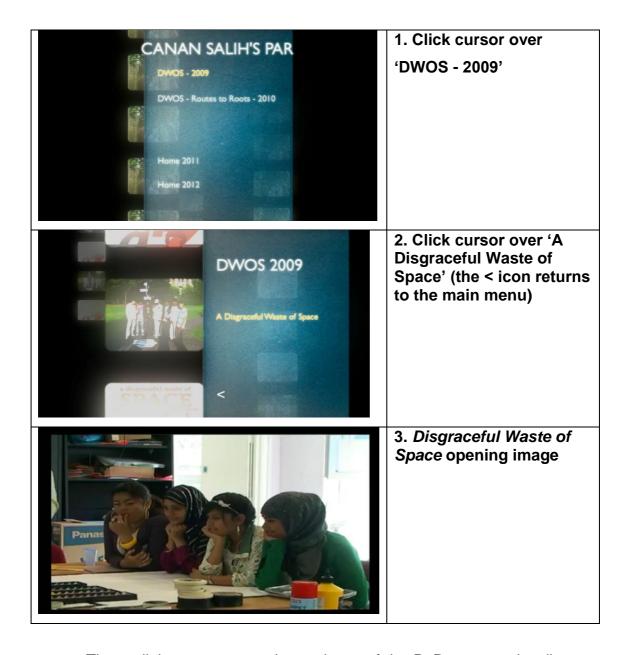
The Visit

On the last day of the project, both the young men and women visited the London Met architectural dept. and worked with an architect on producing their utopian public places. The images of this visit are available in Appendix C.

Figure 4

The *DWOS* (2009) project consisted of young people engaging in practical arts based activities that also generated informative dialogue with the participants, culminating in a short documentary that highlights the key points

made by the young people, on mobility, gendered space and emplacement. At this point the reader is advised to watch this documentary compiled from this engagement.



These dialogues were an integral part of the PaR, as was the diverse visual artwork generated by the young people as they engaged in various arts-based activities throughout their involvement in the project. For example, the Innes Park boys were encouraged to produce plaques (see Figure. 5 below), where each plaque signified its designer's response to various questions around spatial consumption. Some plaques represented direct references to the area, using images of a built environment, apartment blocks

and houses that seemed to represent the boy's homes. There were also suggestions of economic significance, like using the term 'Fat Kat' (which refers to wealthy individuals who exploit the community for their own personal gain), and drawing images of marijuana (of which the boys alluded to dealing with others). The word 'Food', slang term to mean drugs, also appears in one of the boy's plaque as a need (the individual was using a double entendre).



Figure 5

The Haileybury girls, on the other hand, created drawing of maps that depict particular sites they felt evoked feelings of safety, belonging, and security, as well as fear, threat and discomfort (see Figure. 6). These maps consisted of double layers of card and tracing paper, and were intended as a planning exercise that would lead to a performance of these places through walks to each site. A lack of time meant this transition into direct performance did not take place. Yet, the creative palimpsest cartographies and small fabric

paintings with space related motifs, created by the Haileybury girls, along with the plaques and signposts created and displayed by the boys in the park, were all important and informative parts of the PaR. Equally, the significant dialogue that took place during this engagement, between the boys, the girls, and the artists and researcher, were essential to the research and also a key part of the PaR. The themes that have emerged as a result of this dialogue and PaR will now inform the rest of this chapter.





Figure 6

In 2010, one year on from the 2009 *DWOS* project, I facilitated a group of 7 north London Turkish Cypriots in exploring their everyday routes around their chosen locations in North London. We adopted fragments of the Wrights and Sites *Mis-Guide's* methodology of observing and performing each individual's everyday routes through exploring the various ways of performing their routine practices of those places and their multiple meanings. Those who participated, the nature of this project and the types of outcomes are outlined in Figure 7, below.

The walks that did not transpire in the *DWOS* (2009) Haileybury girls project were finally realised in *DWOS-2*. Seven LTC youth of North London participated in creating maps of significant routes and places that have resonance to each of their sense of being LTC (see Figure. 7).



Figure 7

What resulted from these maps were short performance cartographies that were documented, edited and then presented as a *Performance Walk* (WALK) onto iPods (audio/visual MP4 players), where spectators could experience each walk by tracing the participant's steps in the same locations. The WALKs

were presented at the 2010 *Collisions Festival* at Central School of Speech and Drama, in selected sites outside the institution. These sites were carefully chosen through consultation with the young people who participated in the project. A small group of family, academics and general public attended the presentations of these WALKs and some of the spectators gave feedback after the event. Feedback came in the form of recorded interviews and is also a part of the PaR, contributing towards the analyses of each WALK throughout this chapter.

AUTHORITY, GENDERED SPACE AND TERRITORIALISM

DWOS (2009) was intended as a pilot project, a precursor to DWOS-2, in that I wished to test how arts practices may work as a research methodology in a supported and well-funded environment. The point was to ensure the quality and effectiveness of the methodology met the enquiry needs of this thesis. I would not have gained such support if the project had taken place outside of Tower Hamlets, in areas better populated by LTC youth as DWOS-2 was. It was also, however, useful to work with the young people of Tower Hamlets as they had similar issues to those of the LTC youth. They were another diaspora community (although not planned, all the DWOS (2009) participants were Bengali youth), and they lived in an urban environment.

This section of the chapter begins by examining how issues around gendered space and territorialism are evoked through the PaR of *DWOS* (2009), before considering if and how these themes carried through to *DWOS-2*.

DWOS (2009) was a pilot project that looked at using various arts based activities to explore ways in which young people perform place. Because of the separate gendered nature of DWOS (2009), (which was not planned but came about organically), the divided engagement of the boys and the girls in the project resulted in interesting *leitmotifs* arising. Issues of authority, gendered space and territorialism provoked questions around controlled performative spatial engagement. Who holds the authority in the space the young people engage in, for example? To what degree, if at all, is this power negotiable? What implications does this authority have on the young people's performative behaviour and relationships within the space? Considerations of these themes and questions have formed the structure of this section.

Controlled performative spatial engagement was demonstrated in two specific ways from each gendered group. For example, in Innes Park, an articulation of subtle, performative negotiations took place between the youth and the different members of the public who use the park and the youth club. During our engagement with the boys of Innes Park, a daily time was set up for working with the boys. This schedule was arranged by the boys themselves and was not really negotiable. There were several reasons for this, some of which involved the boy's own personal commitments to family and others. The boys would not be in the park any earlier than 2pm, at which time most of the users of the park were young mothers with children; the playground opposite the park bench that accommodated the majority of the participating youth tended to be crowded with toddlers and under five year olds. Even the far end of the park, specifically used by drug and alcohol users and dealers (referred to as 'winos' by the boys), did not tend to become populated before 4pm onwards. (Some of the boys in the group divulged that they engaged in dealing drugs with these 'winos', although we never witnessed this). It seems that the demographic network of the park was somehow negotiated such that different social groups operated according to certain times of the day. What isn't certain is whether the boys' own commitments and preferences meant they did not lay claim to their 'turf' at an earlier time, or whether they actually acknowledged and conceded the other park consumers as an act of underlying democratic practice. This idea of democratic practice challenges notions of territorialism that comes up during the work with this group of youth and is discussed further on in this chapter.

During the second week of the *DWOS* (2009) project, when we engaged the young women of Haileybury Youth Centre in various arts based activities, a different sense of controlled performative spatial engagement emerged. The fact that the youth club is a place that is provided specifically for young people means that it requires a different set of negotiations between the users themselves, and between the users and the providers (in this case Tower Hamlets youth and community services). The issue of gender differentiation, in the dialogue between the users, is a key factor in negotiating space consumption. In the last OFSTED inspection of Tower Hamlets Youth Service provision (2005) OFSTED recommended the youth

services 'increase the participation of all groups of young people (13-19 year olds), particularly girls and young women' (2005:c 58). At the time, the demographic framework of the borough consisted of 40% Bengali Muslims (4 years later, it is now above 45%). Whether it is because of restrictions in participation of youth provisions placed on Bengali women by their families that may be perceived as lack of uptake, or whether because of the attitude towards women's work by youth work providers in the borough, in 2009 there was a deficiency in single sex youth provision for women. This was also identified in the 2009 Equality Impact Assessment carried out by the youth services, which stated 'It has been identified that there is a gap with regards to Young Women's work, Somali and Faith based work in the Community. Therefore courses have been created to promote the equality and opportunity for these groups.' (Tower Hamlets 2009:14). The Equalities Impact Assessment suggests that at least plans were in place to address the deficiency in women's provisions.

WOS (2009) PaR challenges these statistics of inequality. Through the exchange of dialogue and the visual arts evidence generated by the PaR, reasons why young women of Tower Hamlets (TH) may or may not use provisions provided by TH youth services, emerge. Although, for me, *DWOS* (2009) was a pilot that offered an opportunity to try out various PaR methods, the reason for 'A' Team Arts, EEA and Ideas Store's support was because TH youth services funded the project as a means of identifying how and why young people use public (and provided) spaces in Tower Hamlets. As said in the documentary, the girls state that 'boys get more'. They discuss the reasons behind this inequality and express exasperation at the self-imposed restrictions the boys seem to place on themselves, through their territorial attitudes.

WOS (2009) suggested three main areas for consideration in the main PaR activity with LTCs, youth (and gendered) territorialism, gendered spatiality and spatial authority. These are not autonomous but interlinked through complex correlations of class, gender, and ethnic cultural agencies that affect the mobility, perceptions and expectation of Tower Hamlets youth. The

territorial attitude of the boys in Innes Park relies on perceptions of power and authority of spatial consumption that can arguably be construed as gender or non-gender based. The girls of Haileybury youth club may not experience this territorialism, but the challenges they face with spatial consumption at the youth club could arguably be as a result of gendered spatial performativity that forms a part of their social construction and, interestingly, appears to be reflected in the youth service provisions.

GENDERED CONSUMPTION OF SPACE

During the *DWOS* project of 2009, in Tower Hamlets, working separately with the two groups of Innes Park, (young men), and Haileybury Youth Club (young women) inevitably required an interrogation into the difference in spatial consumption and perceptions of each gendered group through dialogue and observations of the young participants. What emerged was an interesting paradox in how the young people in the project managed and negotiated their emplacement and mobility within the borough.

As all the girls in *DWOS* (2009) ended up being young Bengali Muslim women, it could be assumed that their encounters with spatial restrictions were dictated by religious, cultural or social conventions. It has been suggested in some writing, for example, that such restrictions in mobility of Bengali young women are as a result of religiously informed cultural expectations and practices that may dictate gendered space (Ullah 2007, Alexander, Firoz & Rashid 2010). Yet in the *DWOS* (2009) project, although both groups were from the same religion, religion was not an identifying factor in their mobility practices and the way in which they used the space. Through conversations with the young women, it became apparent that most of the restrictions in mobility in and around the borough were not so much dictated by their religion and cultural background, but by a fear of violence (although it is not necessarily clear by whom).

Gill Valentine (1996) suggests 'public space is not just "there," but is something that is actively produced through repeated performances' (1996: 216). This framework of repeated performance is a concept applied to gender studies, first proposed by Judith Butler in 1996 as a claim that, 'gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid

regulatory framework that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being' (Butler 2006:33). Valentine suggests that the production of space, like that of gender, is also a performative act that, through repetition, becomes normalised. An example of the normalisation of gendered space could be to suggest that the home is the female domain whilst the streets are 'boys' places' (Valentine 1996). When asked about the restrictions on their mobility by their families and cultural agencies, most of the young women of Haileybury youth club contested this claim, stating that their parents trusted and allowed them to move freely within their everyday routes. However, during the exercise of naming public places where they felt unsafe, many of the young women wrote 'outside', 'in an alleyway', or 'outside by myself at night.' This implied a sense of restrictions that challenge their sense of safety.

Deidre Heddon (2008) states:

Space is also gendered as it is raced, and the vast majority of women will have felt out of place at some time, with 'public space' having been historically constructed as masculine, with so-called 'private space', typically domestic space, perceived as the domain of the feminine (Duncan, 1996) [...] The continued fear that women experience in all sorts of so-called public places suggests that place, then as now, still does not belong equally to all.

(2008:112 - 114)

Yet Heddon's claim is challenged by the Innes Park boy's gang mentality that also evokes a fear of violence, in this case brought on by a territorialism that directs them towards *self-imposed* restrictions around where they can and cannot go in the borough. In other words, the so-called power of the male-biased inhabitation of public spaces bestowed upon the Innes Park boys that is supposed to signify a freedom the young women are expected to not have, is curtailed through their territorial attitudes. The Haileybury young women did feel, however, that they had more freedom to move about in public places, as they did not engage in the territorial practices adopted by the boys. It seems therefore to suggest that perhaps the young women in the project empower themselves through their disdain and rejection of territorial attitudes that would at any other time restrict their mobility around the borough and

beyond, whilst at the same time dealing with an inequality of public spatial engagement because of a fear of violence.

It seems that a fear of violence, therefore, may be considered a key form of restriction on spatial use for both the groups of young people in DWOS (2009), but for different reasons. Karin Grundstrom (2005) defines public space as 'often used to describe those spaces of cities such as streets, parks, squares and public buildings that are open to the public and accessible for everyone' (2005:1). Yet, comments made by the young participants of the DWOS (2009) project suggests that this assumed access to public space is denied to the young women of Haileybury Youth Club and the Innes Park boys as a result of the threat of harm that may be owing to their respective genders. According to the Haileybury girls, certain public spaces are considered a threat because of perceived violence associated with them being young women (a specific alleyway or late at night, for example). On the other hand, although the Innes Park boys do not necessarily divulge similar fears of threat directly associated with their gender in these spaces, they do suggest feeling threatened in certain public spaces, as a result of territorial practices.

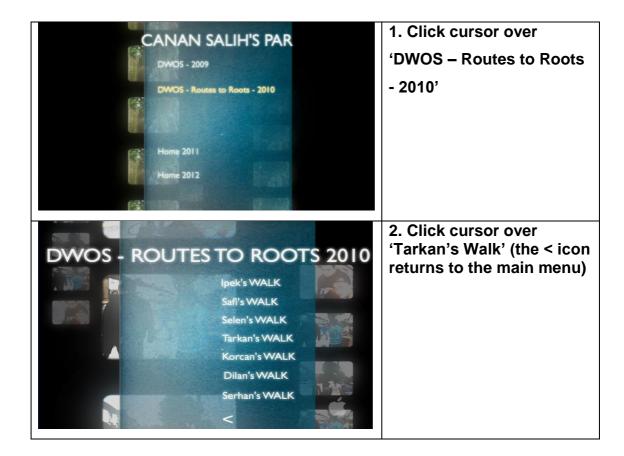
Although territorial practices were not evident in the Haileybury girls group in particular, this does not mean it does not occur within girls groups at all (Batchelor 2001). Equally, threats of violence associated with spaces perceived as unsafe are not restricted to women only. The suggested specificity of gendered restrictions in the *DWOS* (2009) project, however, exemplify a form of controlled performative spatial engagement in that perceived threats of violence, associated with specific genders, seemed to control where and how the participating young people of the *DWOS* (2009) project engage in public spaces.

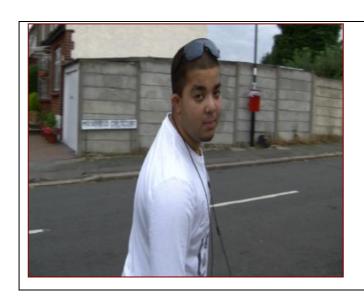
When it came to discussing gendered space in association to the *DWOS-2* project, I felt that the subject had become somewhat contrived and had less relevance to the work of the LTC participants. The thesis was becoming too dense and there were more important things to talk about. I, therefore, decided to focus on other specific aspects of place and space. In particular the power of authority young people experience in their place making practices.

AUTHORITY OF PUBLIC SPACES

The outcomes of the *DWOS-2* (2010) PaR saw a shift in notions of gendered space and territorialism from that of the Tower Hamlets youth in *DWOS* (2009). By looking at ways in which LTC participants of North London make place in various public spaces, and how routes from one site to another may specifically be informed by their LTC identities, the focus of gendered space and territorialism changed with the participating LTC youth.

For example, in *DWOS-2* Tarkan's WALK exemplifies a sense of 'ownership' that puts into question the *exclusion* of youth territories. Tarkan's WALK was filmed and edited by me, although the planning and decisions around the editing process were exclusively his contribution. Please now watch Tarkan's Walk, taking note of how Tarkan implies a sense of ownership of the sites he draws attention to in an inclusive and narrative manner.





3. Opening Image of Tarkan's Walk

Whereas the sense of 'ownership' within the temporary space of Innes Park implies territorialism from the boys, Tarkan's sense of ownership 'through his route' is different. It lacks a sense of territorialism that may impose restrictions to mobility. Admittedly Tarkan continuously refers to his sites as 'my journeys,' 'my property,' 'my house' and 'feel at home', all suggesting a level of territorialism that, although perhaps resonant in some of Britain's urban youth in general (Gordon 2005, Valentine 1996), also characterises Tarkan's own assertive personality. It is also worth noting that Tarkan has an active affiliation to Hip-Hop culture by the very fact that he writes, performs and records his own spoken word (rap) lyrics. This is seen in the way he presents his WALK. There is a sense of palimpsest in the way Tarkan has chosen to portray his understanding of the LTC culture through a WALK that carries undertones of the Hip-Hop genre. For example, the music Tarkan chose to use in his WALK is a version of Martika's Toy Soldiers, remixed by Eminem (a prominent white American rap artist). The original song depicts the struggle of a Cocaine addiction but Eminem's version tells the story of Eminem's attempts to calm a violent community of rappers who have territorial issues that have led to fatal consequences of rap wars. There is a marked allusion to one aspect of territorialism through the way in which Tarkan chose to present his WALK in a Hip-Hop style. The proximity of the routes in Tarkan's WALK and a lifelong familiarity with the area, however, are also key factors behind Tarkan's act of ownership. Nevertheless, rather than exclusionary, Tarkan's act of ownership evokes a sense of inclusion as he

talks and walks us through the public space of Masefield Crescent, transforming the space into a personal place through points of interest, history and narratives. This transient space, through Tarkan's narrative, becomes, as Sally Mackey (2007) acknowledges 'temporary and yet still meaningful: place as waystation' (2007:75).

COMPLEXITIES OF 'SPATIAL' AND 'PLATIAL' DIFFERENTIATION

This section will look at how the PaR of both *DWOS* projects generated a consideration of 'space' and 'place.' Theories are not cited in order to define 'space' and 'place' conclusively but to investigate the themes that arose out of the PaR.

In *DWOS* (2009), the political 'performance' of spatial consumption by the Innes Park boys demonstrated how sites like Innes Park are made 'meaningful places' through perceptions of territory and relational spatiality. In other words, as one of the participants states in the *DWOS* documentary 'this park has a strong mark in my heart [...] the centre of the park is the centre of our life'. Perceptions of territorialism and relational spatiality came from a sense of meaning the park had for these young men and the relationships they share within the parameters of the park that evoke this meaning. Yi-Fu Tuan ([1977] 2008) proposes that 'space is transformed into place as it acquires definition and meaning' (2004:136). Marcel Mauss (1950) defines place as 'culture localized in time and space'. He suggests '... locations in which individuals with distinct identities form human relationships that in turn accrete, creating the sediments of history ...' (Mauss in Varnelis and Friedberg 2008:41).

According to the dialogue exemplified in the *DWOS* (2009) documentation, the park seemed to serve as a *place* that declared and affirmed the boys' existence and, even though they were aware of the other park users, their sense of territorial control did not seem threatened by these users. Instead, there seemed to be unspoken negotiations taking place to share that site. Perhaps this was because other users appear to be of different social groups (young children, drug users and alcoholics, older people, parents, people in transition through the park). Yet, what if the other occupants of the park were of the same age or ethnicity as the boys? Would

their sense of territory perhaps provoke more antagonism and if so, why? A research report on urban youth territorialism, compiled by the University of Glasgow and funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation in 2008 states:

Interviewees in Tower Hamlets described how minority ethnic gangs formed in the face of racist attacks in the 1970s and 1980s. Protection was the main focus of these groups at this stage. As time passed, the ethnic make-up of the area changed and the minority expanded. Thereafter, racial friction subsided, only to be replaced by territorial conflict within ethnic groups. The sentiment of protection was wrapped up with an acute sense of place attachment and could quickly lead to revenge activity if one group thought that another had caused offence.

(Kintrea et. al 2008:28)

This 'place attachment' is an interesting reason for youth territorialism. The signposts erected by the boys in the centre of the park exemplified, not so much ownership of the park, as much as what the park means to them: a crossroads, a place to stop in transit from home, college and other places and 'hang-out,' a platform for them to declare their existence, reaffirm their identities and perhaps maintain a level of power against other agencies they may perceive as threatening the construction of their identity.

The signposts created by the boys seemed to propose the park as a temporary place, where one might pass through, stop at the signs, become aware of each individual's signpost and what is says about that individual, then move on, perhaps towards another place indicated by the signposts. The transience of the park in which people walk through, stop for short durations and pass by, a temporary abode, may suggest this space as a 'non-place' (Augé as 1995), perhaps. Marc Augé's, perhaps too simple, definition of nonplace is ' ... a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity ...' (1995:77-78). Augé ascribes non-places as a consequence of super modernity, very much class driven, in which transitional, temporary points of abode like hotels, public transport and even ATM machines are growing and contributing to consumption and commerce with no anthropological significance. Augé goes on to point out, however, that place and non-place are never pure points of a polarity, and meaning may yet be created in non-place through relational, everyday interactions. Through the PaR it became apparent that the ways in which the boys use and refer to the park are complex, exemplifying, both Auge's initial, over simplified concept of

non-place, as well as his reference to the grey area of relational place making practices within these non-places. For example, the ways in which the boys and other people in the park share the space with no apparent contact or interaction (other than the drug users), as well as the fact that the boys produced an installation that reiterates the park as a transit stop (the signposts), might suggest the park as a 'non-place'. Yet, the way in which the boys describe the park and the interactions and memories they share between themselves in the park suggests this location as more than a space to pass through. The transient nature of the installations, as well as the negotiated time frames of inhabitation discussed earlier, illustrate how the boys perceive the park as their momentary place of belonging.

Tuan described 'meaning' as relational experiences that are not tangible but make *place* intimate with experience (Tuan 2008 [1977] 182). Tim Cresswell defines place also as 'meaningful location' (2004 7-8). Cresswell breaks down the possible factors that transform an anonymous space into a 'meaningful location' by suggesting strategies like adding personal artifacts in order to 'make the space say something about you' and to wipe away, or layer over in a palimpsest-like manner, its past meanings to other people. The act of creating and erecting the signposts in Innes Park not only reflected how the participant boys felt about the site but also suggested a type of place-making strategy through the PaR. Both Tuan and Cresswell imply space as something that one moves through and around, suggesting mobility, whilst place is a realm within which one is inside of, suggesting emplacement. Tuan associates space with movement and place with pauses. ' ... If we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place' (Tuan 1977:6). The pauses caused by the signposts created by the boys can be considered one way of place making in a transit space, the park.

In his chapter on 'Spatial Stories', Michel de Certeau (1988) seems to take up a similar position on mobility and emplacement, swapping, however, space and place as terms. De Certeau states 'space is a practiced place,' whereby the street, for example, is 'transformed into space by walkers' (1988: 117). He suggests *place* as 'being there [...] constituted by a system of signs' (1998:117-8). In other words through the temporal practice of movement and

mobility space is, therefore, created through place, just as the conclusion of movement, according to De Certeau, converts space into place.

Safi's WALK (see below) refers to *Yaşar Halim* food centre in Palmers Green, North London, as a place that signifies her cultural identification.¹⁸ Looking back at the Diaspora section of Chapter One – *Histories*, food has been identified as one of the key cultural strategies of belonging. It is, therefore, no wonder that Safi chose *Yaşar Halim* as her site for cultural identification.

When applying De Certeau's concept of place-to-space/space-to-place transitions through mobility, could it be suggested that *Yaşar Halim* holds both *platial* and *spatial* features within Safi's documented performance walk? The mobility I am referring to is not of the people, and Safi herself, that is a certainty expected within the context of a thriving food centre. Instead, I am referring to, first the movement of food types that originate from Cyprus and Turkey (as well as other countries), through importing trade, and, second, the movement of the camera, whether by Safi herself, or through editing the footage and the music. Although the objects (most of which are cooked, dried or baked foods) remain 'beside one another ... [e]ach situated in its own "proper" and distinct location, a location it defines' (De Certeau 1988:117), the way in which Safi chose to present this *place* suggests a more *spatial* focus. At this point I would ask the reader to please refer to Safi's WALK, and when doing so, to note the various means of movement presented in this documentation.

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¹⁸ It is worth noting that in some of the WALKs (Safi's, Ipek's, Korcan's and (to a point) Selen's) there is very little or no 'walking' as such. In fact, most of the WALKs are presented through immobility and emplacement. It is, therefore, perhaps less confusing if we consider the term 'WALK' as a generic term given to a set of thinking and expositions of a geographical and demographic area and its link to the participating LTCs' cultural identities. Although they are more 'moments in lives' than 'walks', their reference as WALKs is owed to the psychogeographical school of thought, highly influential to the PaR as a whole.



1. Click cursor over'DWOS – Routes to Roots- 2010'



2. Click cursor over 'Safi's Walk' (the < icon returns to the main menu)



3. Opening Image of Safi's Walk

Safi's WALK (which is not strictly a 'walk' as such but a documented association of food to cultural meaning) presents an exemplification of linking narratives to mobility and spatial practices (or spatial consumption), whereby the narratives convert public spaces into meaningful places, for whatever reason, by the participants. For example, de Certeau's description of the 'tour' as an everyday narration of movement was contrary to that of a map's 'scientific representation that erases the itineraries that produced it, and whose history shows this process of disengagement' (Hubert 2011). The WALKs of the *DWOS-2* (2010) project might be regarded as 'tours' of each

participant's everyday walks, (or, as in Safi's case, spatial consumption) with the framed narratives of the documented and edited product a testimony to their LTC 'cartographies'. Another useful term that might help interpret these WALKS is Mike Pearson's *wayfinding*, a practice that 'more closely resembles story-telling than map-using', (Pearson 2011: 15). When applied to the *DWOS-2* project, each participant's WALK suggests a storytelling process - a narrative that represents each individual's spatial, and therefore cultural, comprehension of being young LTC. In other words, the performances of the WALKs, generated from the PaR, each address the LTC participant's perception of their chosen places. They are articulations of how the young people see cultural particularities of each local place they have selected, and this, in turn shows the nature of their engagement within those spaces (Kwon 2004:75).

As discussed in Chapter 2 (page 22), the work with the girls of Haileybury Youth Club did not extend far enough to explore, in practice, the mobility and movement of their everyday lives, and their space making practice (as de Certeau might call it). The youth club suggested an emplacement, however, that signifies what de Certeau considers place with 'a system of signs' being the building, the signs outside and inside the youth club, the very purpose of the club as a stopping point for young people in the area. Much could be said, however, about de Certeau's theory of space and place, when applied to the everyday practice of the Innes Park boys in DWOS (2009). For example, the boys' repetitive act of congregating in the park at a particular time in the day, over the summer break, may not only underline Valentine's theory of performative spatiality (whereby the production of space, like gender, becomes a performative act, naturalised; made normal), but it can also symbolize de Certeau's notion of space as a 'practiced place.' It is the people that come together and assemble at the park bench that changes this public space into a place of meaning. The social nature of the assemblage point acts as a temporary stopping place for the boys to feel a sense of belonging, lay claim to a 'patch' of space (and therefore power) for a duration negotiated, whether consciously or subconsciously, with other users, and accumulate memories and moments that will carry significance for them in other places and other times. Is this, however, problematic to the wider community who

may view these boys as a threat to public order? We did not engage the wider community in any discussions or interviews about the boys at the time; we were not aware of any conflict with the other park users.

Valentine (1996) makes an interesting case for perceptions of public and private spaces used by young people, however.

The space of the street, particularly after dark, when many adults have retreated to the sanctuary of the home, therefore, is often the only autonomous space that many teenagers are able to carve out for themselves (Corrigan 1979). In this sense, young people often paradoxically experience home as a public space and the street as a private space.

(Valentine 1996:213)

The dichotomy of 'public space' and 'private space' is further discussed in Chapter 4 when the outcomes of the PaR in the Home project raises interesting questions around young people's perceptions of what they 'private' and 'public' space with reference to belonging. considered Valentine's 'private space' implies personal space, a place of safety. Could this then be construed as meaningful and therefore, perhaps, 'place'? As proposed by theorists discussed in this section, the distinctions between what is considered space and place seem to posit 'place' as a location of meaning, pause and emplacement and space as abstract, of movement, open to collective negotiations. As indicated by my PaR, and further discussed in Chapter 4, however, these concepts are contestable, negotiable and fluid. They are merely effective, yet variable, lenses through which one may investigate the spatial engagement of the participants in the DWOS projects. Another lens through which the spatial practice of the *DWOS* participants may be scrutinized, as invoked by the PaR, is through the framework of social engagement, in particular looking at relational space.

RELATIONAL SPACE

The point of this PaR has been to experiment with how diaspora youth, and in particular LTC youth, perform their cultural identities through mobility and place making practices. A key point in the PaR, implied by some participants' engagement in the *DWOS* projects, is that a sense of belonging, which may

give meaning to place, may arise through *relational* interactions rather than through *location*.

Henri Lefebvre's discussions on (1970s') urban space in [his book The Production of Space posits the theory that space is a product of social reality, of relational interactions which suggest space is not an ontological phenomenon but relies upon human 'social practice.' Tuan suggests that '[t]he ideas of "space" and "place" require each other for definition' (Tuan 2008:6). Within Tuan's suggested oppositional reliance space is considered 'more abstract than "place" (2008:6). Geographer Peter Taylor encapsulates this theory by proposing 'space is everywhere, place is somewhere' (Taylor 1999:10). However can we not argue that relational space makes 'place,' or as Tuan puts it, 'humanised space' (2008)? Lefebvre stated: 'The formal relationships which allow separate actions to form a coherent whole cannot be detached from the material preconditions of individual and collective activity' (2007:71). By this, Lefebvre uses Marxist thought to suggest that activity leads to product and space is 'the rationality of activity' (2007:71). Social space, according to Lefebvre, is created by activities of dialectic and social relations and should not to be defined as an entity or as a means of classification. Instead, it is dialogue and social relations that have created layers of a knowledge that becomes that space. Lefebvre refers to this notion of space as third space. Third Space is opposed to first space, which Lefebvre refers to as 'espace perçu' (or perceived space), empirical space produced by human perceptions that dictate and frame social practices. Lefebvre refers to the codes and signifiers we recognize when talking about this space, and how they may represent production (and therefore class), as espace concu (or conceived space). This is a conceptual world of representations of how we may consider this space when speaking about it. (Rogers 2002). Third space, which Lefebvre refers to as espace vécu (lived space) is the make-up of interactive, social and dialogical activities that makes it possible for people to create this space, but as a result of these activities, not simply for the sake of creating the space, and therefore, also the power to change these space.

Lefebvre's theory inflects considerations of the WALKs of *DWOS-2*. First, the initial selection of each participant's sites for their walk may be considered

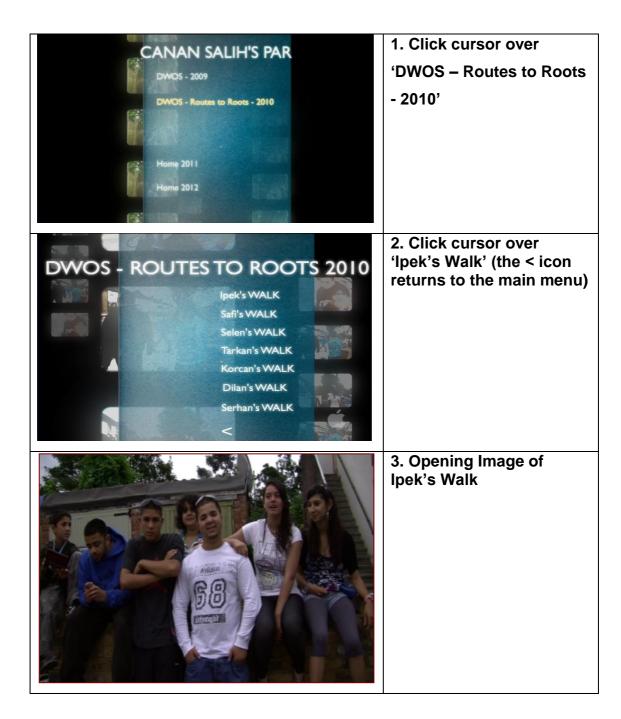
as 'espace perçu', a space determined by each young person's empirical perception of that site or route. Yet the process of the participants' involvement in the PaR may then create a different space to the one the young people initially enter or select to present. For example, Safi's perception of Yaşar Halim shifts when she begins to talk about what the space represents to her sense of being LTC. Through the devising of her WALK, Safi creates a new space (which could be argued as the second space - espace conçu). This 'second space', consequently, changes the perception of this space (espace perçu) because Safi shows the site, not as a production of commerce (as possibly perceived by the general public), but a production of memories, sights and smells that are signifiers to her understanding of being LTC. Subsequently, through the PaR, Safi's narrative, dialogue and documenting activities can transform the general perception of Yaşar Halim as a food store, into something somewhat different, personal and, perhaps, more meaningful. This suggests that perhaps, through the PaR, Safi's WALK, and subsequent interaction with her father and others in Yaşar Halim becomes a 'Social Space'. This 'third space' is, therefore, a socially produced space that is indicative of Safi's notions of being LTC. Through an emplacement and the journeys through the space, Safi's perception of Yaşar Halim affects her understanding and association to what it means to be LTC.

Lefebvre's concept of socially produced space, although somewhat dated in current social and geographical studies of spatiality, is still, nevertheless, a relevant and useful way in which to consider the ways in which young people engage and make place in urban locales today.

DETACHMENT OF CULTURAL IDENTITY THROUGH MOBILITY

Here, then, lies the interest in human relations within spaces that contribute towards young people's place-making practices. By inhabiting, acknowledging, using and narrating each of their sites [or spaces], each of the participants on the *DWOS-2* project created pockets of places that had meaning, memories and contributed towards diverse notions of being LTC. The performances of these places are based on relational spatialisation, repeated habitual practices and occupancy, as well as mobility and movement. Yet, what if the humanised space becomes uninhabited? Then

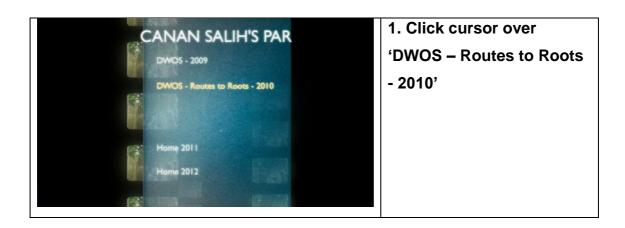
does the **memory** of that place not suffice in maintaining its *platial* (as opposed to *spatial*) status? At this point please watch lpek's WALK:



As indicative at the start of Ipek's WALK (and outlined in appendix A), all the participants of the *DWOS-2* PaR are either related to each other or friends. The beginning of the WALK tends to include attitudes and thoughts from some of the other participants, before moving onto Ipek's own family and the sites she chose to present in her WALK.

The drive through Buckhurst Hill in Ipek's walk, suggests a dehumanised (or perhaps de-ethnicised)¹⁹ notion of the location. It is interesting to note, for example, the way in which Ipek chose to present Palmers Green as a *place* through immobility, whereas Buckhurst Hill is presented *only* through movement (the camera is in a moving car), somehow de-humanising the location. The notion of the car as an additional mobile device to the camera is an interesting one. Kazys Varnelis and Anne Friedberg (2008) observe that 'Automobiles are, in a sense, transitional mobile devices, accustomising individuals to browsing while in motion and to the experience of mobility with access' (2008:320). It could be argued that the mobility of the drive through Buckhurst Hill acted as a safety measure for Ipek, enabling her access to the location, without stopping to personalise any particular place. Traces of memories, brought to life through Ipek's verbal narrative, however, maintain a somewhat *platial* condition of the area as each narrative reinvented the space into Ipek's own personal experiences.

Selen's WALK, although one of the most static WALKS of the whole *DWOS-2* project, seemed to lack the *platial* element that appears in Ipek's stasis in Palmers Green. This could be mainly because of panoramic shots of the park when there was a lack of auditory narratives. Please watch Selen's WALK.



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 $^{^{19}}$ De-ethnicization refers to the obliteration of 'social boundaries that ... protect the integrity of ethnic - cultural heritages' (Milikowski 2000)



2. Click cursor over 'Selen's Walk' (the < icon returns to the main menu)



3. Opening Image of Selen's Walk

Selen's WALK was a result of her decision to use Broomfield Park as a site that evoked nostalgic feelings and held resonance in her *feeling* LTC. She chose the bus stop in Palmers Green as the starting point of her WALK and wanted to show the long walk towards the park in order to clarify the context within which the park is situated, in comparison to the other participants' WALKs that take place in the Palmers Green area. Although Selen was quite haphazard about how the sites and dialogue in the WALK were documented, she did design the final product according to the footage produced and chose the music herself. Selen edited the WALK with some support from me on what she could do with the editing tools of the software.

It could be argued that without a personal (perhaps auditory) narrative applied to a specific places, sites like Selen's Broomfield Park (or even Ipek's Buckhurst Hill route) may be open to interpretation and amenable to new memories and trajectories and therefore perhaps reverting to becoming *space*, (with reference to Tuan's and Cresswell's interpretation). So, without Selen's narrative, Broomfield Park can be perceived as an indistinct, quite generic, park location. It is the PaR process of putting these sites firmly within

a framed context of 'performance' that makes them place oriented (as in, given meaning, a history, an experience and, therefore, a relational component).

Taylor (1999) draws upon Tuan's *Space and Place* ([1977] 2008) in order to construct a theory of 'identifying nation-state and home-household as exemplary examples of place—space tensions.' (1999:7).²⁰ Taylor (1999) argues that 'we tend to think of cultural landscapes and social areas as representing places while political territories and economic locations are viewed more as spaces' (*ibid*). In other words, Taylor suggests place is a relational composite that relies on human interactions, rituals and practices to characterise it as *place*, with larger, perhaps global, scale aspects of ownership and power associated with characterising *space*.

Taylor's interpretation of space and place can be a useful framework within which to scrutinize Diasporas like the LTC in their everyday spatial practices. In the DWOS-2 project Taylor's ideas contribute to an interpretation of Ipek's WALK. The memory of Buckhurst Hill, presented in Ipek's WALK by a drive through particular locations, maintains it as a place that holds memories and a history, but the method of driving through holds spatial connotations because of what it represented to lpek and, as seen in her documentation, her family. A constructive way of looking at lpek's 'drive through' Buckhurst Hill is to focus on its temporality as a means of progression. At one point in her review of documented landscapes, Doreen Massey (1994) interrogates Bergson's conviction of there being no stillness even in the most 'still' of documented film camera shots because of the forward moving of time and therefore becoming. Massey reiterates that 'for there to be time, space must itself be imbued with temporality. Space as a simultaneity indeed, but cut through on going histories. Not a surface but a simultaneity of stories - so - far' (Massey 2008:8). What Massey is suggesting is that becoming requires on going temporality in space. 'Space is a dynamic simultaneity'- in other words it is an on going trajectory, or a series of trajectories, not stasis. A photograph 'represents' a moment but the image that has been captured is still in motion, still has temporality. If this transition

²⁰ The significance of this theory on notions of home is further discussed in the next chapter entitled 'Home'.

through time (and therefore space) is not about movement *per se*, but about *becoming* could it be suggested that, although lpek does not imply movement and 'routes' in the main body of her WALK, she does portray the *becoming* within the context of her performance? In fact, all the participants engaging in the *DWOS-2* project show histories, trajectories and a future of continuous *becoming* that comes in multiple guises. In lpek's case, for example, as she captures her particular 'journey' on film, the movement of time and space continues, meaning her journey (or becoming) continues. Furthermore, lpek presents another form of becoming in her story of moving to and from Buckhurst Hill.

To lpek and her immediate family, however, the political and economic aspect of the Buckhurst Hill area suggests a level of economic attainment that seems to bring with it de-ethnicizing. In Ipek's documented WALK (2010), her mother (Cimen) states that her attempt at realising an improved economical position, through moving to the Buckhurst Hill area, consequently threatened her children's ethnic cultural consciousness. This threat of cultural extinction through assimilation is an on going issue that has been identified within particularly Cypriot Diasporas in a number of academic discourses (Issa 2006, Anthias 2002, Aksoy and Robins 2000, Mehmet Ali 2000). This perception also seems to exemplify that for Ipek's family Buckhurst Hill initially held meaning as a place that represented better economic attainment. Cresswell states 'Place, at a basic level, is space invested with meaning in the context of power' (Cresswell 2008:12).

This resonates with Avtar Brah's (1996) reference to power within racialisation and notions of ethnicity and minority. Brah argues that 'racialised regimes of power' are articulated in gender, class and other differences in economic, cultural and political spheres (1996:156). She focuses on this 'regime of power' throughout her book. Ipek's family appear to confirm this theory as their move to Buckhurst Hill signified a possible shift in social power, a power articulated through economic attainment. The search for this social power through economic attainment, however, was subsumed by the fear of de-ethnicisation. The question lies in whether places (like Buckhurst Hill) have the ability to enable the attainment of this power, and, if so, why the abandonment of one's cultural language or understanding (as discussed by

many of the above mentioned theorists) needs to be the price for this attainment? Cresswell (2004) briefly looks at the play on power by suggesting that perhaps how we view the world, whether as space or place (as in his example of Baghdad, p.11) can sometimes define whether we identify the 'complicated interplay of people' or think of the same area as 'facts and figures.' It could be argued that for Ipek's family, Buckhurst Hill was initially seen as the 'facts and figures' of a middle class area that has prospering residents (as featured in a number of ITV2 and Channel 4 reality TV programs like Essex Wives (2002) and The Only Way Is Essex (2010)). Yet, once the family lived in the area, the complication of trying to maintain a cultural heritage in a place lacking in attachments, connections, meaning and experience, and far removed from the culturally familiar bustle of North London (or, for example, Palmers Green), perceptions of the place changed to a form of cultural exclusion. The manner in which lpek chose to present Buckhurst Hill as a spatial realm is a significant indicator of the area as a perceived threat to cultural inclusion, and in particular the Diaspora of the LTC culture, according to lpek's family.

Although there are a number of interpretations of what differentiates place from space according to various theorists, the performance walks generated through the DWOS-2 PaR exemplify different performances of self-identification by the young LTCs. Whether consciously done or not, each participant implements a different approach to their consideration of self-identification through mobility and performance of place. At the same time, as exemplified in this section of the chapter, each WALK provokes consideration of the numerous issues around the space and place line of reasoning.

Also emerging from the PaR are very few similarities between the young people's WALKs in *DWOS-2*, suggesting perhaps a disruption of homogenised theories on LTC youth Diaspora discussed in the *Histories* Chapter? This diversity is further interrogated through addressing the diverse practices of cultural emplacement within the *DWOS-2* 2010 PaR.

CULTURAL EMPLACEMENT

In the next section of this chapter I will examine how participating young people on the *DWOS-2* 2010 PaR subconsciously, or consciously, conduct

place-making strategies through selecting and performing their everyday routes of cultural emplacement. I will discuss how the diversity of the WALKs can be construed as a form of emplacement that may contribute to potential de-ethnicisation. I will propose the concept of emplacement is challenged in a globalised age, adapting the now famous term *glocalisation* to describe the forms of emplacement presented by the WALKs of the PaR. I also will identify how 'time space compression,' 'liquidity of movement,' and multiple trajectories proposed as *globalised* practices may be causes leading to a dethnicisation of the LTC identity.

If, as suggested by Cresswell, Tuan and de Certeau's 'place' could be described as a space with meaning attached to it, then could it be argued that the act of attaching meaning can be viewed as a form of emplacement; in this instance, defined as positioning oneself on a spatial basis through a connection or attachment, to a culture(s)? Nicholas Entrickin (1991) argues that

Place presents itself to us as a condition of human experience. As agents in the world we are always "in place," much as we are always "in culture." For this reason, relations to place and culture become elements in the construction of the individual and collective identities.

(1991:1).

The WALKs of *DWOS-2* could be considered articulations of each LTC participant's relation to place and cultures that include a youth culture rich in the influences of global media, as well as localised concepts of a London Turkish Cypriot culture. J.E. Malpas's argument that '... it is not place as such that is important, but just the idea of emotional responsiveness – a responsiveness that need not itself be grounded in any concept of place or locality at all' (Malpas 2004:30). This challenges Enticken's concept of place as the 'condition of human experience' (1991:1). Malpas is suggesting that the 'emotional responsiveness' to a place is contingent on individual associations and experience, and not necessarily topographical. This brings into question what 'emotional responsiveness' derives from, if not from that specific place. In the age of globalisation²¹ it could be argued that Malpas has a point with

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²¹ 'Globalization can be thought of as the widening, intensifying, speeding up, and growing impact of world-wide interconnectedness' (Held, McGre, Goldblatt, Perraton, 1999)

increased globalising trends like mass migration, population growth and advancement in technology. Massey, too, suggests that through increasing mobility and globalisation, 'roots' has changed to that of 'routes' (Massey 2005). This suggests constant transition, geographically, culturally and individually, concurring with Brah's (2001) notion of a hybrid, ever changing Diaspora. It could be argued that the WALKS of *DWOS-2* are expressions of 'emotional responsiveness' to the cultural identity of being LTC, rather than any particular place as such. They are Performance *Walks*, which, of course, imply mobility in their concept of 'routes' to one or more various sites of attachment. But are they attachments to place, (or physical space), *per se*, or more a set of emotional responses linked to the enquiry of this thesis on LTC youth's cultural identification processes? This question is further examined in chapter 4, in particular when referring to the outcomes of the *Home* projects of 2011 and 2012, when conventional ideas of emplacement are challenged by the LTCs' expressions of place-making practices through non-physical space.

GLOCALISATION

Through the PaR the LTC participants produced their performance WALKs as a means of articulating their mobility and place making practices, which inform how they perceive themselves as LTC youth. These walks are part of the research of this thesis and the preferences in how they are performed, documented, when, and to whom, are all a part of the PaR. This form of emplacement suggests a global influence (technology) on the local (young LTC participants) that is perhaps best expressed through the term 'glocalisation.' Glocalisation describes a global product or service, or even viewpoint that is adapted to benefit local conditions (Robertson 1994). Rather than a suggested threat of cultural eradication of the LTC as a result of mobility, assimilation and integration, perhaps, as the WALKs illustrate, it is more appropriate to consider cultural emplacement as a socialised spatial process constantly in flux, changing and reconfiguring.

Doreen Massey (2005) recommends a rethinking of notions of space as a surface over which 'places, people, and cultures' exist as phenomena. Instead she invites us to imagine space 'as a meeting up of histories' whereby multiple trajectories and narratives exist to challenge the concept of turning

'geography into history, space into time.'(5). Massey further acknowledges that the concept of *place* may be generally perceived as the everyday, a familiar context with meaning that can also form contradictions between 'local exclusivities [...] against support for the vulnerable struggling to defend their patch' (6). Nevertheless, Massey asks that we rethink the conventional distinction between place as meaningful and space as abstract. Perhaps we may then propose that space/place is the product of interrelations, of interactions between various trajectories that are never closed, never finished and therefore constantly under construction. This observation has relevance for reflecting upon the interesting differences in trajectories of one particular site, Palmers Green (see map below). Palmers Green has a historical and demographic resonance with Cypriot Diasporas. In fact, today Palmers Green has the largest population of Greek and Turkish Cypriots outside of Cyprus (Aksoy and Robins 2001:690).

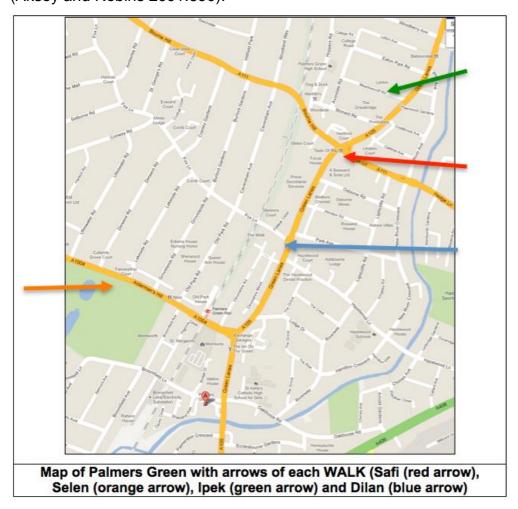


Figure 8

The routes of Dilan (green arrow), Selen (red arrow), Safi (purple

arrow) and lpek (blue arrow) have different meanings to each young woman, informing the structure of their WALKs. Their trajectories include an assortment of perceptions and histories that portray different forms of cultural emplacement set within a square mile of Palmers Green. This comprises their economic background, gender, ethnicity, age, attitude towards others, preferences and ideologies. For example, Selen's Palmers Green signifies a fusion of memory and space, differing to Safi's Palmers Green, where social interactions evoke cultural identification that are associated with food. Ipek's Palmers Green represents safety through the emplacement and proximity of her family, whereas Dilan's Palmers Green expresses a similar attachment to family, but through movement. Each young woman has a different location or memory, history and association with the Green Lanes stretch, as far as the 'Triangle' and beyond Alderman's Hill. It is worth considering what causes each young woman's use of a particular site. Safi and Selen's (two sisters) chosen sites seem to evoke feelings of nostalgia, comfort and belonging, which they identify as informing their notions of being LTC.

In her WALK, Selen chose the southwestern region of the square mile (Broomfield Park). This location is a site that evokes memories of both recent interactions with friends and family, as well as memories of life in the family village in Northern Cyprus. Therefore Selen's 'dis-embedded' notion of the family village in Cyprus is mobilized and 're-embedded' in Broomfield Park. In her Blog, Massey refers to this dis-embedding as 'the current cultural and social scientific obsession with liquidity and movement' (Massey 2008). Massey's 'liquidity and movement' perhaps references Zygmunt Bauman's (2000) 'liquid modernity'. Bauman describes earlier forms of modernity as progress through the consumption of space as a means of attaining power and materiality (i.e. spatial dominance through war or economic dominance through industrialisation). He uses the metaphor solid to refer to this era. In comparison, and somewhat sweepingly, Bauman refers to post-modernity, as liquid. As Dominic Boyer (2002) elucidates: 'The new ecology of modernity reflects above all the lightspeed (sic) temporality of power; it is light and liquid, focused increasingly on mobility, flexibility, and desocialized individuality.' Bauman consigns advanced technology, speed in information sharing and mobility as contributing factors to this shifted notion of power that has led to a transformation into 'liquid modernity' (2000).

The dis-embedding of experiences and memories in different contexts, like Selen's memories of Cyprus in Broomfield Park, may be one way of looking at a liquidity of memory and space. Safi chose Yaşar Halim supermarket, in the northeastern region of the square mile, to express the impact of food on her experiences of being LTC. The WALK of her particular Palmers Green area offers a similar response of 'liquidity and movement' in that the smells and tastes of various food sources sold in Yaşar Halim evoke memories of a different place, both the kitchen at home, as well as the cooking in her grandmother's home in Cyprus. With no dialogue (other than the introduction at the beginning), and its eruption of moving images across the Supermarket's fare and progressively upbeat Anatolian music in the background, Safi's WALK, is documented in such a way as to exemplify the significance of Cypriot food, both in the economical and cultural framework of her chosen space (Yaşar Halim), as well as a critical part of her own identification practice. The presence of her father in her WALK was a deliberate decision on Safi's part. She states in the preparation workshop for DWOS-2 that her father does what, in her perception, most Turks do: taste the fruit or raw vegetables before buying them. Furthermore, her father's confident interaction with other shoppers and staff at Yaşar Halim typifies to Safi the significance of social interactions associated with food in both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot community and culture – as Broome notes:

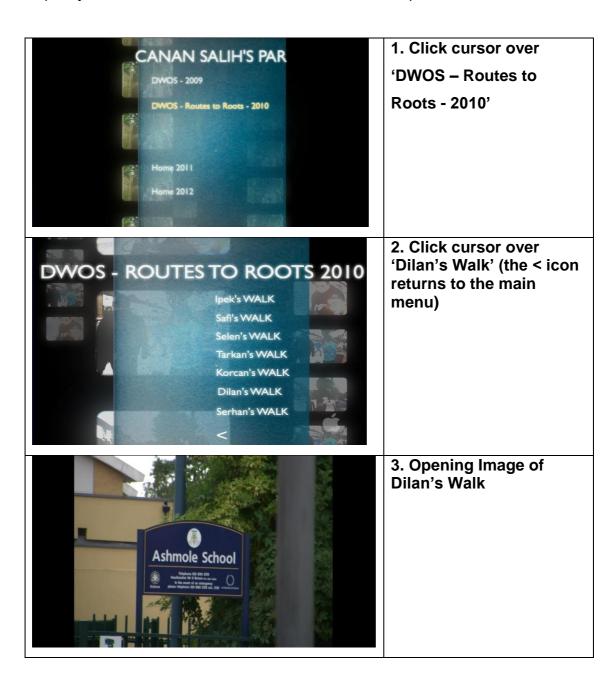
For both [Cypriot] groups much of life revolves around social activities, and food is a central feature of social gatherings. Although there are a few differences in the cuisine of each side, for the most part the diet is the same, and everyone will point quickly to their favorite Cypriot food such as *halloumi* (a special cheese)

(2004: 286)

Whereas Selen's cultural emplacement is represented through liquidity in movement of associating one site to another through memory, Safi's cultural emplacement suggests an alternative form of liquidity in movement, through the association with food. The memories evoked by Cypriot food made and sold in *Yaşar Halim* create an attachment to the source of this 'evocation', and hence suggests *Yaşar Halim* as a site for cultural emplacement.

As discussed earlier, Ipek views Palmers Green as a safe, familiar setting that poses no threat to her cultural upbringing, unlike Buckhurst Hill which Ipek views as the other extreme to Palmers Green's familiarity. This posits cultural emplacement on a clear geographical basis. Whilst Palmers Green becomes the place of cultural emplacement for Ipek, Buckhurst Hill becomes a threat to that emplacement (hence why, perhaps subconsciously, she presents the latter through transition and movement, perceived as the opposition to grounded emplacement).

Dilan's cultural emplacement is perceived through a different form of liquidity to Selen's. Please view Dilan's WALK at this point.



Concepts of glocalisation, or perhaps time-space compression help to interpret aspects of Dilan's performance walk, particularly when she draws attention to the various shops along Southgate Station and particularly Palmers Green High Road, including her mother's beauty salon. Time-space compression is usefully explored in Doreen Massey's (1994) essay, A Global Sense of Place, in which Massey states that the various effects of globalisation in today's current conditions, has shifted the relationship between time and space. As Tao Wang summarises, 'For Massey, places are constantly in flux and reflect hybrid forms of power and culture, and to see it any other way would gloss over the mobile, imaginative and unpredictable practices of everyday life' (2011). As indicated by Wang, Massey believes that time 'moves on', as do places, causing differences in notions of spatial and cultural understanding. This theory has been referred to as time-space compression - fast paced communication across the globe, driven by money and the advancement of technology. Massey argues that different groups of people have various levels of power that allow them to control this time-space compression, leading to local communities being disturbed by commercialisms through shifts in boundaries (national, imagined and geographical), and an increase in human mobility (1994: 3).

In the *DWOS-2* PaR, mobile phones, iPods, Internet and MP3s in the WALKs can be seen as one example of this technological advancement of communication. Furthermore, each participant of both the 2009 and 2010 *DWOS* projects exhibits a remarkable ability to exchange, navigate, negotiate and deal with flux in demographic and commercial movement. As a diaspora group the LTC are clearly a part of human mobility, and, as consumers of these various products, they are also an integral part of the commercialism that comes from the concept of time-space compression. Each person's WALK illustrates these changes simply because, by definition, the square mile of Palmers Green that is currently in discussion is also in flux, its representational function varying according to the individual. As a site of food (Safi's WALK), safety/danger (Dilan's WALK), nostalgia (Selen's WALK) and home (Ipek's WALK) other trajectories, cultural manifestations and

occupancies that exist within Palmers Green are taken into account through each young person's WALK.

Mike Pearson (2011) articulates this multifaceted process by stating:

Places are thus not so much fixed as implicated within complex networks which hosts, guests, buildings, objects and machinery are contingently brought together to produce certain performances in certain places at certain times. Places are about relationships, about the places of peoples, materials, images and the systems of difference that they perform

(Pearson 2011:13)

Pearson appears to draw upon Pierre Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' and 'distinction' in his idea of 'systems of difference'. Bourdieu's (1984) research shows that cultural choices are closely related to social positions. He describes how group culture develops on a spectrum from the 'legitimate' (related to taste in the arts, for example) to the 'personal' (related to domestic life whereby decisions are based on functional elements – such as food, attire and furnishings). Cultural choices along this spectrum differ depending on status and class. According to Bourdieu the two main causative factors of status and class are reliant on educational capital and social origins, and while the sources of these may have changed slightly over the years from their initial definitions, they remain surprisingly resilient. These factors interact with and impact upon cultures of taste. Choices in 'legitimate' culture (i.e. the arts) produce and are a response to educational capital; as Bourdieu puts it '[t]he 'eye' is a product of history reproduced by education' (1984:3). Whereas, he suggests, those within 'personal' cultures are, more likely to be influenced by social origins. Thus Bourdieu reminds us that class is not monolithic and entirely dependent on economic capital: educational attainment, for instance, can change one's habitus and move a person or family from one class to another. At the same time, social origins can remain highly influential to cultures and milieu-based performances of taste. An example of this could be found in Safi's and Selen's use of Turkish music in their WALKs.

The LTC youth's WALKs of *DWOS-2* resonate strongly with Bourdieu's notions of class distinction, cultural milieu and habitus. The choices the young people make in how they portray their walks reflects not only their generation

but also their educational and social capital (for example, their canny use of communication and media technology). The places in which they choose their walks; where they shop (Safi's choice of *Yaşar Halim*); where they reside (Ipek's home); the symbolism of the Turkish grocery store in both the Tana brothers' WALKs; and Dilan's fear of *The Pound Shop* are all resonant of the relationship between class, social origins and the maintenance of distinction. Pearson's reference to 'systems of differences' can aptly describe the LTCs' Palmers Green and the differences presented and performed through the diversity of each WALK in *DWOS-2*. Whether these 'systems of differences' contribute to a gradual de-ethnicising of a LTC diaspora or constitute a movement through social class is worth bearing in mind.

Considering each WALK with a focus on cultural emplacement has exemplified that each person's 'emplacement' will depend upon the 'cultures' that influence them. So, whereas Safi's cultural emplacement relies on food and the sensory memories evoked by food, Selen's cultural emplacement leans more towards spatial evocation that associates Broomfield Park with places within her grandparent's village in Cyprus. Dilan's cultural emplacement is inclined towards a form of glocalisation that takes into account access to diverse cultures to her own. Furthermore, as demonstrated in Ipek's WALK, emplacement may imply stasis yet represent mobility of some form. This notion of movement is illustrated in the various perceptions of Palmers Green, through Ipek, Safi, Dilan and Selen's WALKs. Each person's idea of Palmers Green differs and points to the subjectivity of cultural emplacement.

EXTINCTION OR DISTINCTION

In the varied trajectories presented through the performance walks, an interesting observation lies in the fact that, although each young person is present in at least one other's walk (excluding Safi's Walk), and although they are each considered LTCs in the context of this enquiry, the contents and presentation of each WALK is individual, unique and dissimilar to any of the others. There is a definite distinction of each WALK that is resonant of Bourdieu's (1984) theory above. The use of media technology, the preferences in cultural tastes in music and the different styles of each WALK,

all point towards a movement of social origin through educational capital. This distinction demonstrates the theory of *extinction* that has been written about by those who discuss the LTC Diaspora group (Mehmet Ali, 2000, Aksoy & Robins, 2001). In this section I will look at how the idea of extinction within the LTC community may be an outdated notion when compared with the flux of globalised practices like human and cultural mobility and advanced mobilised technology that are now contributing to hybridism. I suggest the term 'distinction', however, rather than 'extinction' is used to describe the growing sense of de-ethnicisation that may be taking place in the young LTC's cultural identity, as exemplified through their WALKs. The more young LTCs are exposed to the diversity of other cultural influences from the various sources within their chosen sites, the more they are *distinctive* to other LTCs. The LTC identity has progressed and metamorphosed and may carry foundational factors of Cypriotness (the language, the food, the history) but each LTC's trajectory carries a discreteness that highlights an equal amount of distinction.

Diversity occurs across many Diaspora groups, as it has become an inevitable product of mobility (Olwig and Hastrup 1997, Kanngieser 2008, Gilroy 1997, Hall 1990). Through the act of various modes of movement across spaces like Palmers Green and Southgate (as presented in the DWOS-2), this hybridism may suggest a transience that implies a lack of rootedness. Sally Mackey (2007) asks 'could a performance of place facilitate a familiarizing of the self into non-permanent places, creating a place of pause and settlement, a transient rootedness?' (2007:75). Although the context of Mackey's enquiry refers to people who are moving around, rather than those situated, as the young LTC seem to be, it would be interesting to apply this notion of 'transient rootedness' to the PaR in DWOS-2 WALKs. Can the careful selection process preceding the documented WALKs be perceived as a rehearsal process and the performance of the WALKs (which are then included in the filming and editing procedures) act as 'pause and settlement' as suggested by Mackey? If so, then one way of looking at the selection, repetition and performance of each WALK 'route' is an implication of placemaking practices, a structure that influences each LTC's identity. It is then worth questioning whether hybridism, de-ethnicisation or distinction derives from individual mobility of young LTCs, or could it be perhaps the mobility of

time that passes through these place-making practices, bringing with it the various cultural, social, political and economical trajectories, challenges, and influences that modify the LTC youth's notion of what it means to be Turkish Cypriot?

In her MA Thesis *Roots and Routes* (2005), Marije Braakman autoethnographically marks the journey of the Afghan Diaspora of Germany, investigating, through her anthropological research, the Afghan Diaspora's notions of home, emplacement and belonging. Braakman's research of first and second generation Afghans has also led to an observation of hybridism through the act of mobility and movement:

Along the 'routes' the respondents have travelled, geographically as well as mentally, something of the – more often imagined than real - pure 'roots' gets lost or mixed up with experiences of living in another society, another country, another culture. The metaphor 'routes' thus entails forms of diffusion and hybridism, intercultural movement and migrations (Armbruster 2002: 25).

(2005: 62-63)

Braakman's theory of hybridism through mobility is different to the sense of emplacement implied in the 'routes' that frame the above-mentioned four LTC girls' WALKs in DWOS-2. Traversing a hybrid environment like Palmers Green may signal change, development, and possibly even transition, because of the influences and experiences of that space. It could be argued, however, that the 'routes' of each WALK (which ironically imply habitual practice), conversely shape the cultural space of the Palmers Green site discussed in this enquiry. This suggests a reciprocal relationship between the subject and the space as Kwon suggests: 'habitual attachments to places regularly returns as it continues to inform our sense of identity (2004:165). As Pearson (2011) suggests, 'relations make spaces rather than occurring within them' (2011:13). The relationships that take place through movement across, emplacement within and development around the various public spaces of each WALK can be seen to transform the space into a place of meaning. The WALKs make place through personal narratives and perspectives of the participating LTCs and their embodiment of the space through their performance within and through it, on film. The places, in return, contribute to each young LTC participant's ongoing hybrid identity.

Deidre Heddon (2008) states 'performances that fold or unfold autobiography and place, particularly outside places, I have conceptualised them as being auto-topographic ... 'auto-topography' renders the self of the place, and the place of the self, transparent.' (Heddon 2008:90). In other words, Heddon writes of the subjectivity that comes together with place through autobiographical performances that imprint upon everyday sites. Auto-topography is a useful term that refers to 'performances that are dependent on being located in personalised space -- what could be called, then, site-specific autobiographical performance' (Heddon 2002). Each performance walk could therefore be considered an auto-topographical encounter with each participant's performance of the self. However, can the mobilisation within these performances, the characterisation of 'non-places' that are moved through - roads, walkways, parks - create 'personalised space' through the act of movement and performance? (Augé 1996:78) Or is the new LTC simply fitting into a nomadic form of spatiality and mobility, as proposed in The New Mobilities Paradigm by Mimi Sheller and John Urry (2006)? Sheller and Urry introduce the means of 'new mobilities' that are enabled through 'machines [that] are miniaturised, privatised, digitised and mobilised; they include walkmans, I-pods, mobile phones ... (2005:221).

The mobilisation of each WALK in *DWOS-2*, through traversing across literal space, as well as the transitions of edited work onto iPods (virtual space), is a key indication of how the young LTC generation have become quite comfortable and habitual in engaging with these 'new mobilities'. However, what implications does this interchange have on the place-making practice of the LTC youth? Varnelis and Friedberg (2008) highlight Victor Hugo's 1831 novel *Notre Dame de Paris*, set in fifteenth century France, where a significant point is made by the abbot of the church who states 'The book will kill the building.' Varnelis and Friedberg make an interesting analogy between Hugo's remark and the idea that new technologies are replacing real space. 'If Hugo was largely correct about the capacity of the book to replace the building as text, what about the possibility that the network might replace the building as dwelling place – that virtual space will replace real space.' (2008:377). The *DWOS-2* WALKs are indicative of real space interaction, presented through virtual space measures. Yet, is space/place making

appropriate in defining this constantly changing youth culture? Is it enough to consider a spatially driven means of looking at cultural identity? Or should the LTC youth be identified through the study of relations or 'trajectories' instead? (Massey 2005:185). Caglar (1997) suggests that 'a growing number of people define themselves in terms of multiple national attachments and feel at ease with subjectivities that encompass plural and fluid identities' (Caglar 1997:169). In the current pluralist society of London is the very act of definition even possible?

CITIZENSHIP AND EMPOWERMENT

The main aim of the *DWOS-2* project has been to identify how participating LTC youth perform place and how this impacts upon their self-identification. Floya Anthias questions the ontology of 'identity', instead, preferring to use locationality and positionality as analytical tools in identifying the characteristics of Diaspora youth that emerge from migration and settlement. Anthias (2002) uses 'translocational positionality' as a means of looking at how post-colonial Diaspora communities, in particularly the London Greek Cypriot youth, understand their sense of belonging (491). In relation to Anthias' viewpoint, some of the walks in *DWOS-2* can be seen as a way in which the 'translocational positionality' of the participating LTCs may be measured and captured.

Each WALK of the participants refers to their understanding of their environment. There is however one WALK that is constructed out of a *conflicting* sense of belonging. Serhan's WALK is the only abstract and expressionistic walk of the seven LTCs participating in this project that seems to question his understanding of the LTC culture. At this point the reader is advised to refer to Serhan's WALK.



1. Click cursor over'DWOS – Routes to Roots- 2010'



2. Click cursor over 'Serhan's Walk' (the < icon returns to the main menu)



3. Opening Image of Serhan's Walk

Serhan's WALK, when compared to those compiled by his two brothers, Korcan and Tarkan, suggests a struggle in his cultural identification process. The point of this assessment is to exemplify the differences between the three siblings, highlighting notions of empowerment, citizenship and ownership of space that in return can help a sense of belonging and therefore cultural comprehension.

The soundtrack, style of a grainy black and white effect and the 'hoody' mode of fashion in Serhan's WALK all exemplify his interest in the hip-hop culture. He chose to use this style to exemplify what seems like a sense of

traumatic displacement when asked to consider how he may perform his ethnic culture through the PaR. Serhan decided to present his search for a sense of the culturally identified (and therefore 'placed') self by way of a dramatised aimless searching through the streets of his neighbourhood. Included are metaphorical moments of deciding which direction to take, and the indecisions of his journey. Serhan wanted to signify his cultural 'bemusement' through a symbolic performance of an actual journey through his chosen route. This symbolism acted as a form of articulation, in comparison to the verbal means of communication in Tarkan and Korcan's WALK. The monotones in the colours of Serhan's surroundings seemed to make the chosen public spaces impersonal (some of which were, ironically, the same as his younger brother Tarkan's WALK). Whereas Tarkan's WALK illustrated a sense of ownership and consumption of the spaces selected, Serhan's WALK is a darker interpretation of the same public spaces. It is not until the very end of his WALK when Serhan uses the local Turkish grocers (the same grocers Tarkan visits in his WALK) to symbolise a sense of comprehension that the moving images revert to color and Serhan's 'character' (of himself) is finally content.

Serhan's WALK was his way of articulating an *atopian* (place-less) sense of spatiality. Mackey (2002) refers to this term by stating:

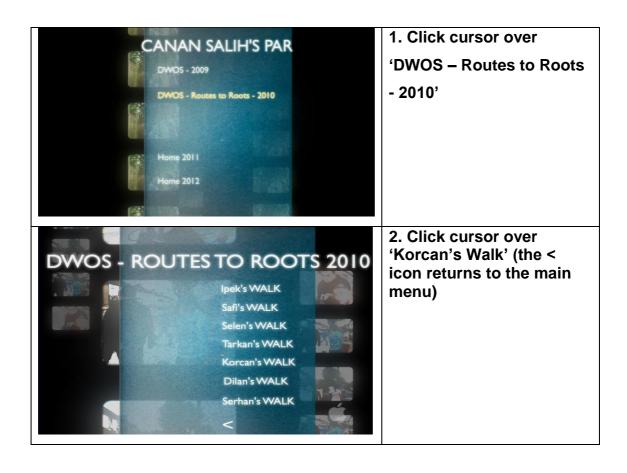
It *is* possible that the combination of postmodern fragmentation and the cybernetic age will lead to widespread atopia (literally "without place"). We are an increasingly mobile society inhabiting frenetic lives of constant motion. Added to this, when we *are* static, we open our computers and tap into knowledge or contacts somewhere in the placeless ether.

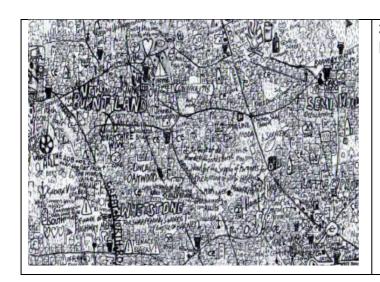
(Mackey 2002:22)

Mackey's interpretation of *atopia* locates the young LTC, and in particular youth like Serhan, in a precarious *platial* position, as exemplified in Serhan's WALK. The clashing of the cultural-conscience, (which Serhan chose to personify through the figure of his younger brother, who appears in the alleyway and at the cross roads near the end of his walk), with that of the spatial-conscience (personified in the grey scale images of his environment), can be perceived as a performance that exemplifies the spatial practices of being 'British' yet having an 'hyphenated identity' (Caglar 1997:169).

Hyphenation could be classified as the *performance* of one's ethnic culture (Turkish/Cypriot) next to the *placement* of one's national culture (British). Culture is not disassociated from territory, therefore; it is a part of territory (and vice versa). Multiple cultures emphasise, perhaps, multiple loyalties to people and/or territories and therefore hyphenated identities can also experience clashes and tensions between cultures. These can, for example, take place because of gender issues (Heddon 2008, Brah 2000) or religion (Kücükcan 2004), and can also evidently be present in the conscience of the self (as exemplified in Serhan's WALK). By understanding oneself as weak (or powerless), a person may then understand his or her position in his or her spatial and social milieu.

Korcan's WALK also touches on this notion of hyphenated identity yet it differs to Serhan's cultural sense of vulnerability in significant ways. Before these distinctions are discussed further, please watch Korcan's WALK.





3. Opening Image of Korcan's Walk

Korcan's identification process in his WALK is strongly based on relational spatiality rather than the signifiers that are present in his brother Serhan's WALK. His friends contribute to this relational space and, in his view, seem to put emphasis on, rather than dilute, his ethnic-cultural identity. Korcan feels that his acquaintances acknowledge him as a 'Turk' and he, therefore, sees that factor as an integral part of his identity. He also feels that he 'stands out' as he states 'there's not a lot of Turkish Cypriots'. Note that he does not say Turks but Turkish Cypriots. Around his environment Korcan feels more visible as his Turkishness is what defines him to his peers. Whereas Tarkan consumes his chosen space in the WALK as a means of identifying himself as Turkish [Cypriot], and Serhan looks to signifiers like the grocery store as a means of making sense of his cultural understanding of being Turkish [Cypriot], Korcan seems to consume relational spaces that he feels define him. In other words, it is the way in which others perceive Korcan that helps him comprehend his idea of being LTC. This relational aspect of selfidentification is missing in the isolation of Serhan's WALK, and seems unnecessary in Tarkan's WALK. Each brother's WALK exemplifies the differences between the siblings' notion of being LTC and highlights the fact that their histories, experiences and perceptions, although inevitably intertwined, diverge and fluctuate according to their own responsiveness to their spatiality. It is worth re-referring to Appendix A to compare each brother's ages.

In Korcan's WALK, his route concludes at his secondary school, which is also where he attends supplementary Turkish School on Friday evenings. In this case, the school acts as a dual cultural space for Korcan and he negotiates and adapts according to what he sees his role as in the context of that space. However Korcan states that he feels like he is 'performing' being Turkish when at Turkish School, whereas he is more himself when at mainstream school. What does it mean to perform being Turkish? And what does Korcan mean by being himself at mainstream school? Does he then not perform anything when at mainstream school, or is there perhaps still an element of performance, and if so, what does he perform? Is it even definable or is this framing performativity? At secondary school Korcan states that he seems to feel confined, yet comfortable with the English language. In the Turkish school space he feels 'different', less confident, as a result of language barriers. Clearly, language is a key factor in these feelings although Korcan also states that he feels more a part of the secondary school setting because of the concentrated time he spends in that context, compared to the two hours a week he spends in the Turkish School setting.

Korcan talks about being British by having a British passport, yet he categorises himself as Turkish because of his parental heritage, and the fact that his father is a first generation Turk. Where his mother is a second generation Turkish Cypriot he feels that the Turkish Cypriot identity is more diluted. This identification as a Turk influences how he sees himself. The insight into one's social identity and the rights and responsibilities that come from this awareness implies a form of active citizenship that Nadine Holdsworth (2007) argues is associated with 'ideas around empowerment'. She adds that 'young people must have access to, and creative engagement in, local spatialities if they are to develop skills of effective citizenship (2007: 295). Tarkan's WALK projects a similar sense of active citizenship and responsibility, as illustrated in his complaint of inadequately being represented as Turkish Cypriot by the adults of his community (see Tarkan's WALK 2:30sec). Serhan's WALK, on the other hand, indicates a sense of displacement that challenges this concept of citizenship. Perhaps the sense of displacement Serhan expresses in his WALK might be interpreted as inadequate access to an understanding and the empowerment of his rights in

society because of the way in which, as a member of youth polity, he is perceived to be challenging adult spatial hegemony.

Valentine (1996) argues that the way in which young people utilise public space is indicative of how they are placed and perceived by adults in society, and, perhaps, as in Korcan's case, their peers. The point is that young people in public spaces, (like the parks and streets of each WALK), are considered a threat as 'adult publics often read groups of adolescents in public spaces without adult supervision as "dangerous" (Gordon 2005). This sense of deficiency of spatial empowerment resonates with gendered spatial hegemony (Heddon 2008), as discussed earlier in this chapter. Even though there does not seem to be any indication of a deficiency in spatial empowerment within the girls of the LTC participants, when the girls sat in a group on the grass in the park in Selen's WALK, would they have still been considered 'harmless' if they had been boys? I am suggesting a reversed spatial empowerment in which groups of young women do not seem to pose as much a threat as groups of young men, and therefore the hegemony of the male space seems to be seen as a negative one when the males in question are youths. Serhan's WALK does not, so much, imply adult spatial hegemony as a threat, but non-Turkish Cypriot, or 'other' hegemonies of spatial encounters. It is the search for his understanding of being Turkish Cypriot that afflicts Serhan, not how adults perceive him in his chosen route.

The WALKs of the three brothers highlight the diversity of individual perceptions of belonging and cultural comprehension. Although raised in the same household with almost exactly the same social origin, cultural, educational and economical capital, each brother negotiates their processes of cultural identification on very different levels. Tarkan seeks recognition of his cultural identity through contact with other Turks, whereas Korcan comprehends his cultural identity through the way he is perceived by his non-Turkish friends. Serhan questions his cultural identity, seeking key signifiers, like the Turkish grocers, to appropriate his understanding of what it means to be Turkish [Cypriot].

CONCLUSION

This chapter has used theories on space, place and mobility as modes of

interpreting and reflecting upon the PaR in the DWOS projects. These have included considering notions of gendered spatiality and territorialism, in particular through analysis of the gendered group work that took place in the DWOS (2009) project. Additionally, the various means of distinguishing the differences (and suggested classifications) of space and place through theories proposed by Bourdieu, Tuan, Cresswell, de Certeau and Massey have revealed some interesting ways of interpreting or accounting for young LTCs use of space and place-making practices in DWOS-2. Emerging out of the PaR, are participants' place-making and spatial 'performances' that contribute to an understanding of LTC youth's identity. The outcome of the PaR suggests a diversity and flux in young people's mobility and emplacement that are associated with concepts like relational space (or Lefebvre's social space), in which the place/space distinction is defined by the social interaction that takes place within the space (or as Lefebvre perceives it, social interactions that create space). This is resonant and perhaps more significant in the DWOS (2009) PaR, as well as the WALKs of Korcan and lpek.

Each young person's WALK in DWOS-2 offers different modes of cultural emplacement. Their distinctions resonate discrete consumption of cultural and educational capital that both reflect and build their social status and class position. Through the choices and use of various modes of art forms like music and film styles and effects, as well as their awareness of and employment of media technology, 'personal' cultures (as proposed by Bourdieu) are presented through distinct cultures of taste. Examples of this diversity are discussed specifically using Ipek, Dilan, Selen and Safi's WALKs within the square mile of Palmers Green, North London. The diversity in the production of WALKs that derive from the same gender and geographical location of these young women underlines one of the key findings of this enquiry: The significance of notions of 'habitus' and 'distinction' in LTC participants' response to the use of space, and their practices of making place. This is particularly visible in relation to the three brothers' Serhan, Tarkan and Korcan's WALKs, where citizenship and empowerment are also discussed as potential markers of social capital.

Questioning whether gradual de-ethnicisation of the LTC identity is

taking place, suggests that some form of LTC identity exists to begin with. Chapter 1 – Histories set out to identify possible factors like the family, language, the homeland, religion and a sense of belonging that may contribute towards this ethno-cultural identity, mapping the trajectories of various families and individuals as examples. The PaR of this chapter, however, reveals that there are complexities involved in structuring youth identities that disrupt homogenized theories of Diaspora youth discussed in the Histories Chapter. The negotiation of social and relational space, as well as the diversity of each participant's cultural emplacement within DWOS-2 all point towards a number of multifaceted performances that reveals heterogeneous experiences of space and place. Why, then, is a supposedly similar group of people so diverse in their manifestations of cultural spatiality? Are the supposed similarities just 'supposed'? Or could it be that the triadic interchange between Turkish, Turkish Cypriot and English cultures, discussed in the *Histories* chapter, have initiated a rupture of the LTC identity that now sees this generation of youth to have access to a myriad of choices that enables them to choose the types of identity they wish to associate with? Where the influence is not just ethno-cultural but includes geographical, spatial, media driven, technologically affected, urbanized cultures, could it be that being born with LTC identity now has much less impact on LTC youth's life trajectories?

The complex forms of cultural hybridity performed in the PaR and reflected upon in this chapter seem to be linked to global youth subcultures. Even though the remit of this PaR was to investigate how young people perform place and, subsequently how this may inform how they may identify themselves as LTC, out of the many issues addressed within the WALKs, being Turkish Cypriot seemed a contrived one. If this factor is not as significant in their everyday lives as other dynamics, are we then observing a generational shift, resulting in a gradual de-ethnicisation within the space of 1st to 3rd generation LTCs? Are signifiers of the LTC identity (like Serhan's Grocery Store, Ipek's home and Safi's Yaşar Halim) forced because of the criterion of the PaR?

Furthermore, from the time when they engaged in the *DWOS* projects, all of the participants have since 'moved on.' The spaces they performed

might well be considered a holding space, a transitional space, and a place where they were, but are no longer. In regards to *DWOS-2*, the youth culture is as dominant if not more, than any LTC cultural impact because the young people are all changing, and are constantly in flux. The changes in the young people's trajectories are noted in the next chapter and the conclusion of this thesis. These changes that are affected and affect places highlighted in each PaR also imply shifts in territories of lived experiences (Massey 2005: 184-5).

The PaR leading this chapter was not so much about fixing young people into a time or place (by place I am including places of belonging and ethnically associated places), but capturing current 'locational positionalities' as a means of understanding how young people perform their interpretation of being LTC in space and place (Anthias 2002). *DWOS-2* was about tracking the 'routes' of each young person's trajectory as a means of positioning the 'roots' of their LTC culture within the Diaspora framework. What the young people's practices in *DWOS-2* have done is challenge my assumptions of being LTC in their generation. The PaR has shown that there are very few similarities between each participant's WALK and their response to the thesis enquiry.

A point worth considering is that this PaR focused on the mobility (and arguably emplacement) of LTC youths in *public* spaces, where a diversity of influences and impact on cultural identification is an inevitable factor. I assumed that this would differ, perhaps with a more concentrated input of the Turkish Cypriot influence, when looking at young people's place making practices in the private sector, more specifically in places they consider 'home'. The next chapter will look to outline how these assumptions were further challenged with the next set of PaR entitled *Home*.

Chapter 4 - Private Places: Home-making practices of LTC youth

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is asking how second and third generation London Turkish Cypriot (LTC) young people use space and 'make place' to perform their Diaspora identity through acts of mobility and emplacement and, to a certain extent, how they 'perform place'. This chapter will discuss the creative and thematic outcomes of the PaR over a two-year period of 2011-2012 which focused on young participants' understanding of 'private places', in particular aimed at identifying how second and third generation LTCs make and perform their notions of Home²². I will explore the performances and performative practices that have resulted from wanting to belong, and discuss possible reasons behind the public places and Homes chosen by each participant.

The aim of the *DWOS* project, discussed in Chapter 3 was to identify how young people make 'place' out of 'public spaces' (out of doors, social spaces that are accessible to the general public; places that young people use in their everyday environment) and how their LTC cultural heritage is associated with spatial practices. What has ensued from this PaR has led to considering a possible de-ethnicisation of current LTC youths participating in this research (as already discussed in Chapter 3). Upon reflection, I considered the significance of youth cultural influences found in public spaces as influential in this suggested de-ethnicisation, critiquing 'ethnic' definitions of diaspora youth in the process. The second phase of the PaR projects, which looks at young LTCs' concept of Home as a place of belonging, is not a reductive process aimed at generalising LTC home-making practices, but designed to encourage academic considerations on the practices of Homemaking in today's diaspora youth cultures such as the LTCs. The PaR and writing of this chapter will suggest that notions of what is Home are reflected

 22 As the term 'Home' is under scrutiny in this chapter, it will be presented as a proper noun for the duration of the chapter.

in how young people may identify themselves socially as well as spatially. This means that by identifying themselves through place, relationships, experiences, and through the power of choices, young people may develop a sense of self-recognition, identification, and where they feel mostly a sense of belonging (or exclusion). In the case of this thesis, this process of identification is interpreted and researched through the PaR, generating information on where LTC youth see themselves placed in a larger global framework of 'youth'.

The impact of globalisation is a key factor in the diversity of performances generated by the PaR in the *DWOS* projects (2010-2011). As Douglas Bourn (2008) states:

Globalization impacts upon young people in complex ways and forces them to constantly re-think and revise their sense of identity and place within society. Young people's lives are constantly being influenced by new trends, be they cultural, technological or social.

(Bourn 2008: 52)

Bourn suggests that young people identify where and how they belong in society as a result of diverse influences. This diversity of association is something that was manifest in the 2011 – 2012 *Home* projects and includes different notions of Home. Specific *leitmotifs* (Mackey 2002) and patterns were generated through the PaR, and are discussed throughout this chapter. These *leitmotifs* are divided into sub-headings that at times overlap, juxtapose and challenge each other. This chapter will investigate each, but will particularly focus on how the performance of Home might be said to demonstrate globalisation and mobilisation of youth cultural practices.

The first section is titled *Context of Practice*. Here, I outline briefly the background of the two-year *Home* projects and introduce the participants involved in each year's project. A more thorough description of the *Home* PaR is available in appendix 2.

In the *LTC Diaspora Youth Mobilisation of Home* section, I investigate why some participants indicate a temporariness of Home-space, particularly those young participants who are at a transitional stage in their lives and are moving up the educational system to college/6th form or university. These

changing youth trajectories seem somewhat indicative of shifting, global youth cultural influences. Examples of these influences and their impact on the participating youth are discussed further.

Home as Non-Place? gives consideration to participants who choose to present their interpretation of Home through relational means, rather than predominantly aligning with concepts of 'bounded place'. By relational, I am suggesting the progression of relationships that have impacted upon their idea of belonging and association with home making. Relational notions of Home are not so much presented as a documentation of physical spaces, but as highly mediatised montages of people, relationships and moments in time. In comparison, *Dwelling and the performance of Home* look at the participants that have opted for the conventional place of abode as Home. Factors that have influenced these participants to perform dwelling and emplacement within this context are reflected upon and compared to those performances of place that do not share this sense of home as living place.

Finally, the Assimilation and the performativity of Home investigates how a sense of belonging, agreed as the identifying factor of Home by participating LTCs, carries with it vulnerability, rejection and displacement. Each participant's choice of Home and the performance of this choice are considered against what risks may be involved in this disclosure of practice. This chapter addresses the findings of the PaR in an attempt to understand what the participating LTCs consider Home and how they perform this.

CONTEXT OF PRACTICE

In 2011 the first stage of the *Home* project consisted of, interestingly, five young women. Dilan, Selen and Safi had taken part in *DWOS* 2010 and wished to continue their involvement in this research. Zehra and Melda were my nieces by marriage and were interested in the fact that I was researching their generation and ethnic cultural group.

During the first introductory meeting with all participants of *Home 1*, each young person was given a white box and they were asked to put in objects, artefacts, anything that they felt had relevance to their sense of what made Home for them. This was then followed by a series of interviews with each individual where the contents of each box and the ideas of what they

considered home, were further discussed. The outcome of this engagement in the project resulted in a display of installations, inhabited by the LTC youth, presented at the *Collisions* Festival in October 2011.

In the summer of 2012, seven young LTCs, once again, explored performing home (called *Home 2*). This time, however, we spent more time developing the concept behind the enquiry through an initial series of applied drama workshops.²³ Eventually Home was defined as a **place of belonging** and, following these workshops, I worked with five households facilitating the production of six Documented Digital Performances (DDPs). The presentation of these DDPs were put before an invited, diverse group of people who observed and commented on them as part of the 2012 *Collisions* Festival at Royal Central School of Speech and Drama. This was an attempt to gain responses from individuals who may offer this research alternative ways of responding to the young people's work. This process was part of the practice and generated some interesting observations.

Peter Hopkins states:

For young people then, home can be seen as an important site for the construction of their identities and a place where they can escape from the pressures or attention sometimes associated with their lives outside home whether this is studying at school, college or university, volunteering or work, or even just hanging out with their peers.

(Hopkins 2010:96)

Throughout his publication, Hopkins refers to Home as a place of dwelling, and even refers to 'making home' as setting up their own Homes, after the familial home, in the spatial and tangible sense. Using the PaR of the Home projects in 2011 and 2012, I argue that young people are 'making home' much earlier than when they decide to leave their family's place of abode, and are doing so in unconventional places. Each LTC participant's representation of Home is unique and not necessarily a place in which they live and reside, for example. In some cases, Home is not necessarily a place at all, but a journey of various experiences that creates a sense of belonging in the young

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²³ These workshops are further outlined in appendix 2. A short documentation of the key points in this PaR process can also be found in the DVD under the title *Home 2012 - Planning Workshops*.

participant engaged in the research.

Rather than suggesting that plurality and public spaces are considered Home at the price of family and private place of abode, it is perhaps more useful to look at young participants' notions of Home by considering them a part of a globalised youth culture. In other words, instead of examining Home merely as *locational*, or as space driven by an ethnically cultural authority, the PaR outcomes have indicated that it is worth considering Home through the lens of youth today, as a sense of belonging. Home is often related to relationships, emotions, social constructs and at times locations. As Janine Teerling (2010) states 'home was said to be found in practices, shared and repeated habitual interactions, emotions, memories, or, as Berger (1984: 64) so nicely put it, in 'words, jokes, opinions, gestures, actions, and even the way one wears a hat' (162).

Studying *Home* in this way allows for a multitude of variations from the individuals in this PaR, whilst avoiding generalisations and contrived notions of what it means to be young LTC Diasporas in London today.

LTC DIASPORA YOUTH'S MOBILISATION OF HOME

In her investigation into notions of Home, Mary Douglas (1991) acknowledged that 'Home is located in space, but it is not necessarily a fixed space ... home starts by bringing some space under control' (Douglas 1991:289). Some of the various performances of Home observed in the PaR reiterate Douglas' idea of a controlled yet mobilized Home. This section investigates a mobile notion of Home among some participating LTC youth, exploring the idea that the Home is not necessarily defined in terms of fixed place, but in terms of relationships, experiences and spatial practices. Fleura Bardhi and Eric Arnould state that young people 'actively engage in practices that transform public, [and at times] commercial spaces, into private and salient spaces of home.' (2006:651). The observations that have emerged from this PaR indicate that this may be the case with the LTC participants of the *Home* project. The overall 'performances' that have emerged from the two-year PaR Home project surpass my initial assumptions of attachments to residential spatial sites. I assumed that young LTCs would exhibit their performances of Home as 'private place' in the homes in which they reside,

particularly on a cultural level, therefore revealing more about the LTC youth Diaspora identity than perhaps the *DWOS* projects had. The plan had always been, however, to present the outcomes of *Home* 1 at the Collisions 2011 festival. It is possible that the requirement to 'represent' home at the festival distanced the young people from the 'actual' home place and, perhaps therefore emphasised the 'mobile'?

For example, Zehra's installation of Home in 2011 (*Home 1*) was far removed from the concept of abode. Zehra, a third generation LTC, decided to construct a huge mobile phone installation from corrugated plastic. Zehra uses her mobile phone as a vessel that captures and contains her memories and associations with Home, in the same way one might conventionally use a house. She strategically placed meaningful photos of family, food, and JLS (a boy band that won the X-Factor talent show in 2009) displayed against written notes that include the only reference to religion in the 2011 installations. 'The one thing I'm scared of the most is "God", the reason for this is because I feel that God is so powerful. I'm scared of many things but their (*sic*) nothing when you compare it to god (*sic*)' (Zehra 2011). Mobile phones amongst youth are also markers of distinction.

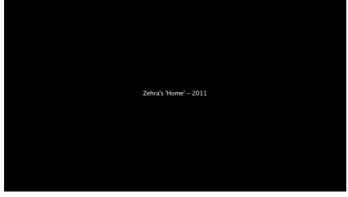
The reader is advised to refer to the short documentary devised on Zehra's installation at this point on the DVD.



Click cursor over 'Home 2011'



2. Click cursor over 'Zehra's Home project 2011' (the < icon returns to the main menu)



3. Opening image of Zehra's *Home* 2011

The images, notes and references on Zehra's phone all point towards an ethnic (Turkish Cypriot) concept of Home. The mobile structure, as a canvas for the notes and images, represents how Zehra sees her phone as containing much of the components that form her notions of Home as a place of safety and security. Zehra states (ironically) in a text message 'I see it as home because when I'm out and I need to contact my family or anyone, I can! So that makes me feel safe' (Zehra, text message sent at 15:31pm on Nov 9th 2012).

Zehra regards her mobile phone as Home, and her family as the main contact with whom she constructs this Home, therefore replacing the residential home for the unconventional means of mobile technology. Anthony Giddens notes:

The advent of modernity increasingly tears space away from place by fostering relations between 'absent' others, locationally distant from any given situation of face-to-face interaction. In conditions of modernity, place becomes increasingly phantasmagoric: that is to say, locals are thoroughly penetrated by and shaped in terms of social influences quite distant from them. What structures the locale is not simply that which is

present on the scene; the 'visible form' of the locale conceals the distanciated relations, which determine its nature

(1997: 18–19)

Giddens' notion of 'tear[ing] space away from place' is an interesting point that may aptly apply to Zehra and even other LTC participants of the *Home* project who construct and perceive Home as sociological phenomenon rather than geographical (or locational). For example, through the advancement of mobile technology, like Zehra's phone, young people are able to construct more figurative notions of Home. Gidden's reference to 'absent others' may suggest that relationships are built and cultivated, both through the communication between, say, Zehra and her family and friends on the mobile phone, as well as the social influence of others.

Through discussions with Zehra during the planning and construction of her installation, I gleaned that the three main components that direct Zehra's notion of Home are family, food and religion. Yet, the mobile phone concept implies that these components are not tangibly spatial but notional, emotional and mobile states of mind. In other words, Zehra mobilises conventional components of home making through her reference to her mobile phone. She uses the phone as a tool for collating the three main components of what makes home. This gathering is done through collecting images, means of communication, social media links and film footage. At the same time other, sub-cultural components, like music, fashion and media technology, are included as part of reiterating a youth culture that, through its use of media, has become constructed as a 'mobile identity'. I refer to Gitte Stald's definition of 'mobile identity' when she states:

"Mobile Identity," has a double meaning. On the one hand [...] it includes the idea that young people's identity is influenced by their use of media, in particular personal communication media such as the mobile phone. On the other hand, it also implies a view of adolescent identity as mobile, changing and developing moment by moment and over time, as very sensitive to changes in the relations between friends and families, and to the emotional and intellectual challenges experienced and mediated through the use of the mobile phone (among other factors).

(2008:143)

Stald's proposition of 'mobile identity' is not new and nor can it encapsulate all current youth cultures. Zehra's use of a mobile phone as a vehicle for expressing home however can be construed as representative of a global youth-culture in that young people's use of mobile communication devices has become a global practice across most parts of the western world (although not strictly everywhere).

The images and texts that Zehra selects and places over her structure, however, are more personalized exhibitions of what the idea of Home means to her. In particular, Zehra draws on the characteristics of being LTC through this selection process (for example family BBQs, Turkish food, Holidays in Cyprus, and even a picture of her and her friend's family playing the Turkish Saz). Alongside these images, Zehra stresses the importance of family and religion through various, strategically placed pieces of texts on the three front sides of the structure. Mixed in amongst these personal artefacts are small images of logos, most commonly found in smart-phone devices like iPhone and Samsung Galaxy . So Zehra amalgamates global, local and personal symbols that, put together, most accurately represent her notion of Home. Doreen Massey (1998) describes a 'spatial openness of youth cultures' that is exemplified by Zehra's installation. Massey goes on to reiterate that:

The youngest generations of diaspora societies wrestle constantly to find an enabling interlocking of the different 'cultures' in which they find themselves: it is a struggle indeed to build another, different – 'hybrid' – culture.

(1998:123)

Massey's reference to a youth generation, here, was written fifteen years ago and yet has as much resonance to today's youth cultures as ever. In fact, what is demonstrated through this particular PaR, is the presence of increased globalised cultural influences that, through the advance of communication technology, appears to have been inculcated into youth identity practices in general.

Stald (2008) suggests that, the use of personal communication media like mobile phones and the Internet implicates '... adolescent identity as

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²⁴ The *Saz*, sometimes referred to as *Bağlama* (which means 'to tie' in Turkish) is a family of Anatolian stringed instruments.

mobile, changing, and developing moment by moment and over time' (2008:143). It could be argued that, through the negotiation of subcultures a dispersal, assimilation and mobility of identities have rendered all youth as, in many ways, diasporic. Yet this is assuming that an indigenous purity of culture had existed beforehand. (The argument as to where the Turkish Cypriot culture may lie within the concept of an indigenous culture is further discussed in the *Histories* Chapter). Hybrid cultures have been constantly produced for years, through global and local 'systems of social interaction and symbolic meaning' (Massey 1998:123). Benaji (2006) whilst discussing the Hindi film viewing of South Asian diasporas in London and young Indian's in Bombay, compares the complex hybridity of the London youths to their Bombay youths, who may never cross national borders, have different kinds of hybrid identities that rely on class (wealthy/poverty), geographical (urban/rural) and educational (educated/non-educated) contingents (176).

The introduction and rapid development of communication media technology, made accessible and highly consumed by a (primarily western) youth generation, has increased this notion of hybridity. Zehra's use of mobile phone technology as a key factor in her home-making practices, for example, exemplifies a reliance on this technology, not merely as a functional means of communication, but as a socially relevant means of identification. Through this technology, youth cultures around the world now have access to sub-cultures on a global scale. This access enables them to produce diverse notions of identification and, in the case of this research, Home. Bourn states 'The internet and use of new technologies have been a major factor in enabling young people to recreate their own identities' (Bourn 2008:52). Zehra's installation might offer a useful example of this youth identity recreation.

Alessandra Buonfino contributed a paper prepared for a report by the Commission on Integration and Cohesion, (a fixed term advisory body, set up in September 2006 by the Communities Secretary of the Department of Communities and Local Government in the UK). The paper was called *Our Shared Future*, where Bounfino reiterates the impact of globalised practices, on the identification process of youth, by pointing out:

As travel becomes within the reach of most people and communication technologies enable people to be immersed in cultures located elsewhere, and to cultivate multiple identities, the question of belonging becomes more complex and more central to the debate on how we live together

(Buonfino, 2007:5)

Zehra tackles the 'question of belonging', Buofino describes above, by attaching her mobile phone device to her ideas of Home. This seems to work for her, as Zehra states that, since the 2011 PaR, nothing has changed in regards to her thoughts on what she considers Home. Furthermore, Zehra states that, given the choice again, she would still pick her mobile phone as the vessel that represents what Home means to her (2013).



Figure 9

Safi is a second generation LTC who took part in the *DWOS* PaR in 2010 and participated in both the 2011 and 2012 *Home* project. Differing from Zehra's consistency Safi's notions of home has shifted over the two-year period. In 2011 she showed home as relational, a montage of images that had

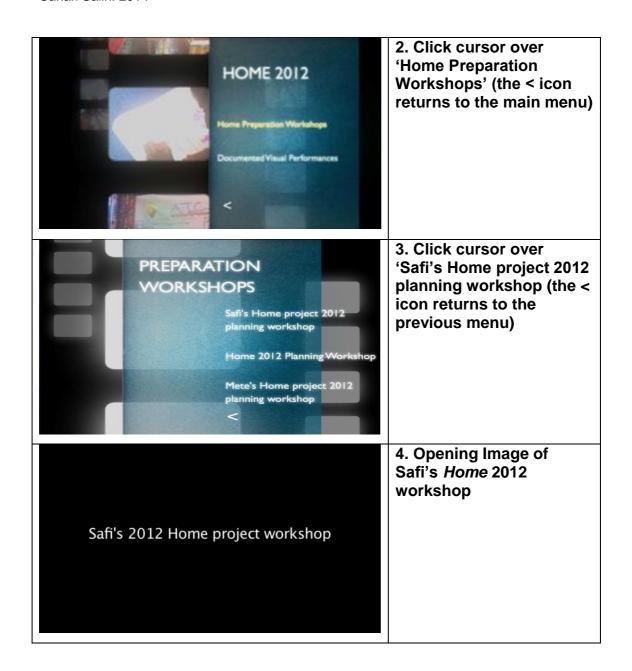
no place as such but people who made her feel 'at home'. This display was also exhibited at the *Collisions* festival at CSSD in 2011.



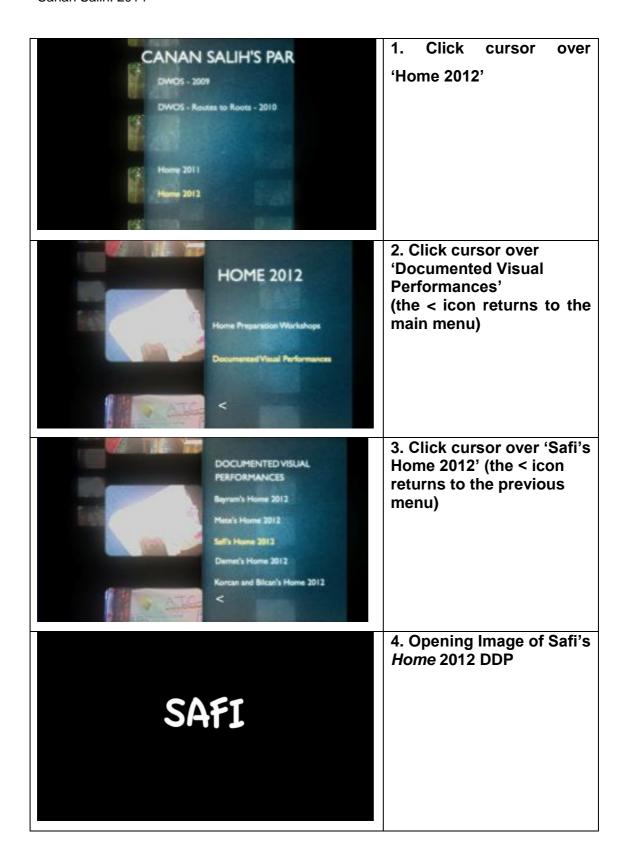
Figure 10

In 2012, when she once again participated in the research project (*Home 2*), Safi chose her college as her site for home making in the initial preparation workshops. Please refer to Safi's workshop presentation.





Safi's College site, in some ways, was, yet again, relational, as its resonance to Home had to do with whom she was with, as opposed to the location of her college in particular. This is reiterated by the fact that she then chose Fincan Shisha Bar, once again a temporary place of social importance, as her final documented performance of *Home (Home 2)*. Please refer to Safi's DDP of this site.



After the summer of 2012, Safi moved to Northampton to attend university. Her DDP shows that her idea of Home has, once again, changed although she does not seem to have a 'Home' site and states that she 'feels lost' (Safi 2012).

Safi's shifting understanding of Home might be interpreted as a result of the transitional period in her life, moving from college to university (and in this case, geographically 'moving home' as well). Yet, perhaps these changes may also imply a nomadic sense of Home. Perhaps Safi has yet to find (and therefore fix) where Home is for her. Safi's performances of Home over the two year research period seems to indicate that her association with Home is relational and closely linked to the people around her. Could it then be argued that Safi's act of mobilizing Home through association is a practice that may continue into her adult life? This is presumptuous yet indicative of living in a current globalised society where, as Bourn states:

Young people are most directly affected by globalisation and therefore central to current debates on identity. They are experiencing globalisation on an everyday basis through employment patterns, the friendship groups they develop, their usage of the internet (particularly for social networking) and wider cultural influences on their lifestyles ...

(Bourn 2008)

Safi's move to university, her attachment to friendship groups and contact with these groups through social networking sites like *Facebook* and *Twitter*, and the mobile phone (via photos) seem to symbolise Bourn's point here. This suggests that perhaps Safi - and therefore potentially other young people - is a part of a social pluralism that is symptomatic of contemporary life. Part of this process of globalisation is the addition of 'virtual' social pluralism to located and lived cultural pluralism in the UK's most diverse city, London. This implies that 'fixing' Home as a place or setting, for longer than any given transitional period, is not a feasible way of looking at home making when considering some adolescents. Some argue that the home is a representation of the self, is a construct of our identities. Fixing Home as a place might imply that Safi is fixing her own identity. At a stage in her life where changes are the most confounding, this is unfeasible. If we see identity as a process and not as a possession, does it not then seem inevitable that

Home, as a notion of belonging, may also be mobile and be perceived as a process that changes over time? (Teerling 2010:160) Robert Ginsburg (1998) argues 'How we function as persons is linked to how we make ourselves at home ... Our residence is where we live, but our home is how we live.' (1998: 31) Safi's changing ideas of what or where Home is may well reflect her journey into identifying what and where she herself is.

It is perhaps useful at this point, to take into account the sense of belonging that is a significant, influential factor in what young people consider Home. Brah argues that:

The problematic of home and belonging may be integral to the diasporic condition, but how, when, and in what form questions surface, or how they are addressed, is specific to the history of a particular diaspora.

(1996:193)

In the case of the LTC diaspora, the question of home and belonging is also reliant on which generation is responding. In 1996 Brah suggested that a 'homing desire' perhaps take the place of a 'back home' concept of belonging in later generations' diasporas, proposing a desire for a 'home' that is somewhat mythical, idealised and almost utopian; more a home constructed by the psyche than through the locale. This has been further discussed in Chapter 1 – *Histories*. The PaR of *Home 1* and 2 somewhat reiterate, yet modify Brah's concept of 'homing desire' as participating LTC youth's notions of belonging are what directs their performances of Home into such unusual terrains as Shisha Bars and Air Cadet Training Corps. Home becomes a state of being that encapsulates a sense of belonging.

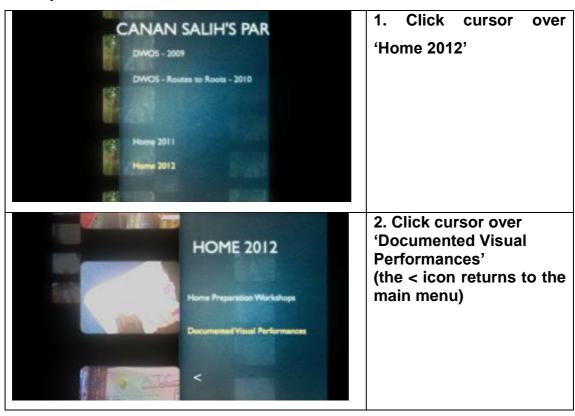
Bounfino says 'belonging is innate to human need' (2007:22) going on to state:

Intimate networks of support are still largely one of the key loci for belonging. Love, affection, happiness are all central to a person's identity and act as points of reference. There is much evidence that shows that having family and friends around can improve people's wellbeing and belonging to a place.

(2007: 14)

Safi's sense of belonging, which represents her idea of Home, has so far lain in her relationships with her friendship group. The location of the Shisha bar is incidental and somewhat irrelevant. The Shisha Bar was a location that she happened to associate with her friends, at that point in her life (and the project). This location could as well have been a park, a school or even her place of abode, if she was to have met her friends in these alternative locations on a regular basis.²⁵ This relational sense of belonging shifts as she progresses through university and onto the next stage of her life. According to this research, Safi's performance of Home, although spatially set, is determined by a relational sense of belonging.

Likewise, a similar relational notion of Home that is, at the same time, spatial, is evident in Bayram's DDP. At this point the reader is invited to refer to Bayram's DDP.



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²⁵ I am aware that there are 'hospitality' questions associated with 'home'. There is something to be said of being hosted in a known café that offers qualities of security, identity, and culturally associated social etiquette, as well as physical comfort. I am, however, also aware of the fact that if Safi's experience of hospitality at the Shisha Bar was to be linked to Derrida's notions of hospitality – the power of the host who controls with whom they are hospitable - this could be interpreted with slightly different connotations.



3. Click cursor over 'Bayram's Home 2012' (the < icon returns to the previous menu)



4. Opening Image of Bayram's *Home* 2012 DDP

Bayram chose his current secondary school as Home, asserting the importance of the place to his sense of ethnic identity, personal comfort and safety. Within the school, Bayram has not only accumulated a number of years' worth of memories and relationships, but the majority of these relationships are with Turkish students and members of staff that include his numerous cousins and other family members. In a DDP that is more of a 'talking heads' type of interview outside the secondary school gates, Bayram explains that he chose his school, rather than his place of abode, as a site for Home, because of the amount of time he has spent there. He states that he has family at the school, and that the language and other common factors that associate him as being Turkish make him 'feel at home' at the school. This cultural association signifies the importance of the Turkish Cypriot culture to Bayram's sense of belonging and therefore notions of Home. Like Safi, Bayram's choice of school as Home can be understood partly because of the amount of time he has spent at the site. Additional similarities to Safi's notion of home lie in the fact that Bayram too seems to associate more with peers and staff of Turkish descent, rendering Home not only as relational but ethnically associated with being Turkish Cypriot.²⁶

Following the sharing of his DDP at CSSD's *Collisions* festival in October 2012, I asked Bayram if he was willing to develop his DDP into something more artistically viable (perhaps a performance or a digitally enhanced presentation) than an interview for the sake of artistic quality. Bayram was reluctant in that, like Safi, he too is at a transitional age (16 years old) and felt he had 'moved on'. He felt he could no longer use the school as his place of Home as he was no longer there as much. He did not have an alternative site in mind, yet, unlike Safi, did not feel 'lost' either. Whereas Safi moved geographically and, to a certain extent, socially as a result of moving out of London to attend university, Bayram may have considered his place associated with Home as no longer effective, but the reasons behind his original choice (the Turkish language, Turkish peers, for example), were still salient in his understanding of what Home is.

Participants mentioned so far in the two-year Home project have demonstrated various home-defining and home-making practices that suggest a mobilised - and globalised - lifestyle that highlights the significant influence of various facets of current youth cultures. For example, Zehra associates Home with the virtual space of her mobile phone, exemplifying the common practice of western youth cultures' use of mobile technology as a means of identification, communication and social practices. Safi's relational sense of Home, took her from Barnet College to the Fincan Shisha Bar, as Turkish-speaking friendship groups define her sense of belonging and cultural development. This is similar in rationale to Bayram's idea of Home, at the time, placed at his secondary school. Each participant's performance of Home, in some form or another, have been somehow associated with a place or space of some kind, be it temporary space, virtual space or public spaces. The attachments of relational and experiential meaning, furthermore, have rendered these spaces as Home.

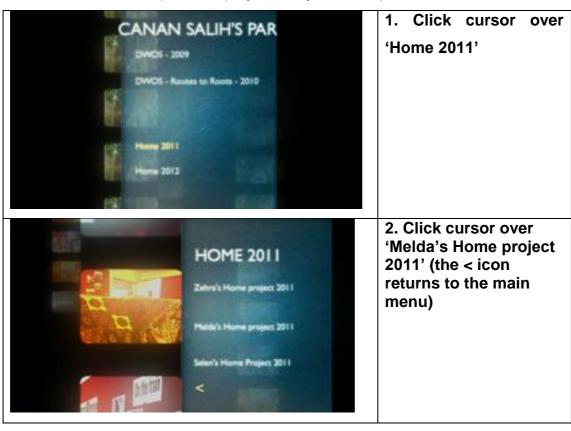
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²⁶ Safi and Bayram's association with a Turkish community resonates with Antony Cohen's notion of a symbolic community (2001) – a community symbolically constructed, with a system of values, norms and moral codes, that provides a sense of meaning, identity and, consequently, belonging. The boundaries some that may exist in the mind of the beholders are what encapsulate the identity of the community. In the case of Safi and Bayram, notions of a Turkish community, are constructed by national/cultural boundaries.

HOME AS NON-TANGIBLE PLACE

This section looks at the young participants of the *Home* project who did not tie their notions of Home to any given place or space but instead chose to regard Home as a series of experiences, documented and presented through the various components of photographs, objects and filmed footage. Participants show similarities to each other. For example, all three participants, in some way or another, mention the impact of visits to Cyprus, and present a national flag as a symbol of whom they feel they are representing in their presentations. At the same time, they exemplify their differences through varying ideas and memories of what constructs their notions of Home.

Melda, a 12-year old, third generation LTC, displayed her understanding of Home through an exhibition of photos that marked key stages of her life and the people that have had an impact on these stages. Please refer to the exhibition of Melda's photo display and objects of importance.





3. Opening Image of Melda's *Home* 2011

Displaying the photos at the 2011 Collisions festival at CSSD, Melda decided to accompany these images with objects that have relevance to her feelings of being 'at home' and resonate with her sense of being LTC. She chose a Turkish Cypriot flag, acquired from a Turkish School event, as well as a stuffed toy she has had since she was very young. Melda also created a Power Point presentation of her articulation of home. This was displayed on a small TV screen, on a repeated loop. Melda's performance through the exhibition above shows her mobilising home through the movement of time. Her journey of nostalgic memories suggests a level of emplacement in which Melda grows through the familiarity of family and home life with her mother. Yet, time progression also causes changes that place Melda in different, or progressive sites of Home. By capturing certain aspects of her growing up, Melda's exhibition of Home exemplifies Nina Gren's statement that 'Home is not only a physical place, but is, for instance, also understood as an important basis for developing and maintaining identities.' (Gren 2002:9). In the case of this citation, Nina Gren discusses home, in relation to Palestinian camp refugees on the West Bank, as a 'contested domain', in contrast to a place of harmony. Yet the distinction between home as 'a physical place' and 'an abstract entity' is a valid one when applied to Melda's presentation of Home (ibid).

Selen's exhibition of Home in 2011 also pointed towards a preference for cultural and relational engagements rather than spatially directed notions of Home. Selen does not at any time imply or indicate any particular place that made her 'feel at home'. Instead, she collated a large array of images, footage

and symbolic textiles that seem to explore the duality of her identity as Turkish Cypriot on one hand and British on the other.





Figure 11

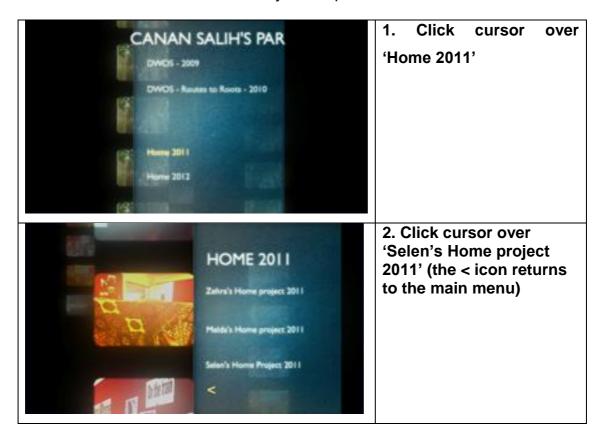
Selen said that she chose these artifacts as exhibits because of the feelings they evoke with regard to her relationship to Home. The images in 4, 5 and 6 are representative of her British identity, and include images of the royal family, the English flag, RnB singer Drake, friends at school and so forth. 1, 2 and 3 on the other hand, seem to represent her Turkish Cypriot identity. She presents the Turkish and Turkish Republic of Cyprus flags, ethnically fashioned headscarves and lace tablecloths, and images of her family and Turkish friends, as well as footage of a Turkish Cypriot folk dance group's performances that she participated in. Whilst all these artifacts may be

considered typical of a second-generation LTC youth, what are interesting are the combined feelings of belonging and loss that are evoked by these objects. Selen states:

"We don't have an actual place that we originated from ... here they will say 'oh yeah but you're not English' and when you go Cyprus they'll be like 'you wasn't born here, you don't know anything about our life style' ... it's like I'm lost ... but I know like, I know where I stand ... in between the two."

(Selen 2011)

Selen displays, in her *Home 1* exhibition, a tri-effect of British, Turkish and Turkish Cypriot influences. In a short documentary, that shows Selen clarifying the idea behind her exhibition a little more, Selen discusses the differences between these three powers that influence her notions of Home. Please refer to Selen's documentary at this point.





3. Opening Image of Selen's *Home* 2011

It could be argued that, as second generation LTCs, young people like Selen and Safi can be more prone to identifying themselves as having a dual identity as opposed to a hybrid identity. This could be as a result of having first generation parents that are closer to the homeland and its traditions and memories, whilst at the same time, living in a host state like Britain with its own influences and cultural differences. However, as Brah (1996) points out, to imply that second generation diasporas like Selen and Safi live between two cultures is to imply that they are only subjected to a British and (in this case) Turkish Cypriot culture (1996:41). This is a limited and fixed notion of dual identity that does not take into account the multi-layered grasp of the 'British' identity and the fluidity of what this means, socially, economically, and culturally, as well as a more 'global' identity that may emerge particularly through the use of advancing media technology. Furthermore this plurality also extends to the Turkish Cypriot culture and its indefinable traits that differ according to class, gender, region and generation. In addition to this are other cultures that have influenced British life, and particularly life in London. These influences need to be taken into account when considering second generation LTCs like Safi and Selen and their perceptions of Home.

Geraldine Bone (2011), Youth Arts Manager of London Borough of Tower Hamlets, was one of the audience members of the *Home 1* presentation at *Collisions* in 2011. She pointed out that in her professional experience, particularly with the young Bengali community of Tower Hamlets, there are sometimes advantages, as well as disadvantages, to having a dual identity like that recognised by Selen in her exhibition of Home. On the one hand, some youth struggle to move between cultures and the belief of not having originated from any geographical and social location *per se* can evoke

a sense of being 'lost', as articulated by Selen (Eade and Garbin 2006:15). Yet, on the other hand, second generation Diasporas like Selen have a flexibility to negotiate and choose cultures that they may want to belong to. They may adapt between different cultures and accept and understand different cultural influences, and perhaps this is the positive legacy of a multicultural setting like London.

Yet, is this lack of emplacement and sense of being 'lost' the rationale that led to Selen's presentation of Home as a non-physical spatial conception? Safi, Selen's sister, is also second generation and her concept of Home has been, up to now, socially led. Could it be argued that, whereas Safi places the social dimensions of what makes Home for her into particular locations like Barnet College and Fincan Bar, Selen chooses to keep her idea of Home mobile and fluid as a means of managing this plural ethnic identity that is actually a part of a larger youth culture? Although the implication is that there exists a global youth culture, I would agree with Pam Nilan and Carles Fexia who state:

Youth cultures are always emphatically local, despite globally derived details, since youth are embedded in immediate and embodied economic and political relations. Their reflexive engagement — choosing or rejecting, transforming or synthesizing — with global youth cultural products and practices — music, subcultures, fashion, slang — is shaped by their *habitus*: income, religion, language, class, gender and ethnicity, to create almost inevitably something which has not existed before.

(2006:8)

Selen's presentation (viewed earlier) is similar to Melda's in that she too does not physically locate Home. Instead she opts for traditional practices like folk dancing, and symbols of national identities (like the flags, royal family and Turkish Cypriot fashion) as the signs that construct her sense of Home. Within these signs are photographs that document relational engagement and memories that personalize her ideas in to a sense of belonging.

Dilan's PaR, on the other hand, looks at a mobilised notion of home in a very different way. She sees herself as Melda does, mobilizing her sense of self, her identity, but at the same time she anchors these ideas through a patchwork bedspread that acts as the threads of her life that hold together a

sense of belonging.



Figure 12

When Dilan initially thought about Home and attended the meeting in 2011 where the idea of the research project was discussed, she took away her white box and thought very carefully about the factors that construct her own understanding of what Home is (see appendix 2b for details on preparation for *Home 1*). Within her box, Dilan placed images of her family

and friends, mementos of significant meaning (like a stuffed toy, a gold necklace of the star and moon - the Turkish flag icons, a bedspread, and items of clothing from her favorite brand 'Abercrombie and Fitch'). The mixture of these items draw attention to the various cultural influences within Dilan's life. They are an amalgamation of social and cultural capitals that are causative to Dilan's sense of belonging and social status. Dilan, like Zehra, put careful thought into the artistic presentation of the select components that represent the various memories and facets that make up her notions of Home. In the 2011 Collisions programme Dilan chose to localise all these components into a specific space that evoked a sense of belonging and control - in this case, her bedroom at home. She recreated aspects of her bedroom within one of the music practice rooms at CSSD, shifting the reality of this space by projecting onto the white wall footage of an interview with people who influence her sense of being LTC, as well as a tour of her bedroom and clips of various holiday shots of her and her parents. She created a makeshift bed out of one of the trestle tables and covered it with a satin bedspread. Upon the bedspread lay pinned photos with captions beneath, marking key moments in Dilan's life that hold significance to her understanding of Home. There is no DVD footage of Dilan's *Home 1* project, but below are some images that illustrate the outcome of Dilan's reflection of Home.

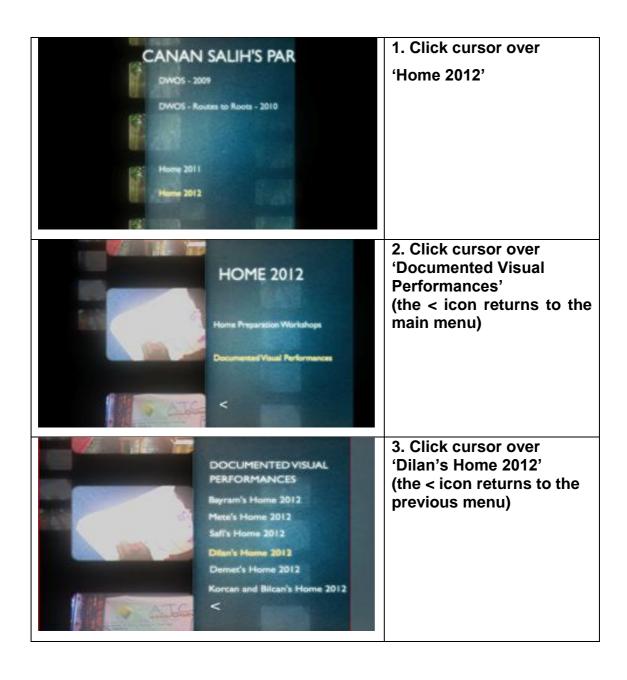


Figure 13



Figure 14

This was the beginning of the idea that led to the 2012 DDP documentary in which Dilan filmed her actual bedroom, with a crochet bedspread that represented both her Cypriot heritage and the patchwork of events in her life that contributed to her sense of belonging, and therefore idea of Home. Please refer to Dilan's DDP at this point. As a reminder, please refer to the below instructions on how to access Dilan's DDP.



MY LIFE

4. Opening image of Dilan's *Home* 2012 DDP

Through these more developed ideas, Dilan has demonstrated a balance between spatial and social notions of Home. The symbolism of the bedspread is a key sign of what Dilan conveys as safety, nostalgia (the bedspread has been with her since she was a baby), and identity in its many layers (ethnic, gendered, social and personal). Quite creatively, Dilan illustrates the complex facets of homemaking, evident in all the young LTC participants' presentations. By looking outwards through the film footage of past holidays, the school prom, and other such significant moments in her life, Dilan presents various facets of her home-making practice, all the while returning back to her bread-spread to the more intimate, personalised aspect of her life that contributes towards a sense of belonging, and therefore Home.

Although the participants mentioned in this section fail to produce any specific place or location as Home, each component of images, footage and artifacts presented, effectively act as narratives of Home for these young LTCs. Within each narrative, there exist hybrid identities that are strongly linked to class and distinction as well as a growing globalised youth culture. In other words, the array of memories, portrayed through each installation or exhibition, although mostly westernised in their depiction of an identifying narrative, are nonetheless reliant on localised experiences that include an array of sources.

According to Helen Lucey, June Melody and Valerie Walkerdine (2003) 'There are no easy Hybrids. Hybridity may be a cultural and social fact but it is never lived easily in a psychic economy.' (2003:249). Although Lucey *et al* refer to a hybridity that is related to a strong sense of class distinction, the fluidity of the young LTC participants' identification practices, whether they are through choices of emplacement, or routes of mobility, suggest more

confident negotiations as rationalised by Nilan and Fexia (2010):

Hybridity often connotes border-crossing, 'in between-ness', mobility, uncertainty and multiplicity. It thereby resonates with our term – 'plural worlds' – the constitution of youth subjectivity within a number of salient discourses. Perhaps the most interesting thing about the widespread academic perception that contemporary young people inhabit 'plural worlds' is, that as far as most youth are concerned, they only inhabit one, highly complex, 'world'. What may seem even contradictory identity discourses to an older generation often do not seem so to youth, who pull upon a pastiche of sources in their local creative practices.

(2010:2)

The 'creative practices' that comprise this negotiation and utilisation of various sources, as pointed out by Nilan and Fexia, are evident in the PaR of the Home projects. Each participant considers the various perceptions of being LTC, and, through various creative means, offer these factors in their performances and installations. Their narratives articulate the significance of memories evoked by images and objects, and the importance of the memories of notions of belonging and therefore Home-making. Through the sharing of selected artifacts, the young people perform Home, and these performances are not only exemplifications of the ongoing development of their identities, but also a tribute to the social relations that make them feel they belong. What is worth considering is that the overall performance outcomes of the LTC participants' engagement in the PaR reflect their educational capital. These are evident in their having carefully deliberated on their social and political positions within the LTC culture as well as their keen knowledge of media technology and its influence on western youth cultures. This positioning may portray them as those of high social status and cultural capital. Yet their cultures of taste (the hip-hop influence, and the Turkish style of music, for example) de-legitimise them to a lower cultural position, consequently contributing towards a distinction in classes.

DWELLING AND THE PERFORMANCE OF HOME

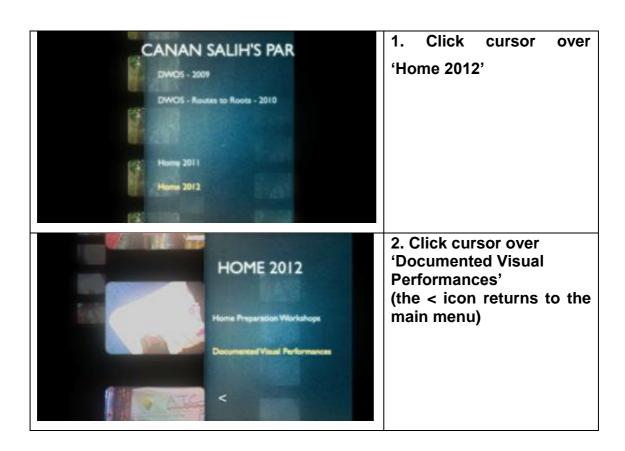
Although many writers claim that western ideas of Home favour a physical dwelling, (like a house, apartment or even a mobile home like a caravan), so far, the PaR might challenge this. I facilitated a number of discussions and

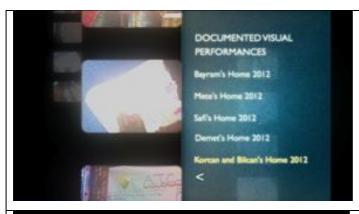
workshops with the young participants, prior to the exhibits and DDPs (as outlined in appendices 2a and 2b, as well as throughout Chapter 2 -Methodology) and the outcomes of this facilitation led to non-dwelling versions of Home as the young LTCs were encouraged to interpret what is meant by Home to each of them individually. For example, in preparation to *Home 1*, when I showed the WALKS to the initial group of LTCs, inevitably, they began forming ideas around how they too may present their understanding of what makes home for them. I encouraged the group to think about the elements that help them 'make place', and 'make home'. This urging to think carefully into what may constitute Home was not a deliberate attempt at thinking beyond the obvious concept of dwelling or abode. In actual fact, I had assumed the participants would base their ideas of Home on their physical abode and consider what factors contributed to this. The outcomes of Home 1, however, were much more abstract, non-place bound concepts than I had expected. As I have suggested earlier, the *Home 1* project was intended for a presentation at the 2011 Collisions festival; and the music practice rooms, which were allocated to us by the festival committee, all significantly impacted upon the type of work produced. These rooms (or cells as their depth and width suggests) were brightly lit, very corporate looking and limited the young people in both space and use. For example, the young people were not allowed to hang things on any of the walls other than on the boards provided. Although the exhibitions did not exceed the quality of performance practices presented in the WALKS of DWOS-2, they did, however represent careful consideration of each component that constitutes towards each participants notions of Home; components that hold meaning, value and a sense of belonging.

Mihaly Csikzentimihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton (1981) consider objects within the domestic abode as symbols of meaning that project onto the environment within which they exist. Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (2003) – amongst others - refer to this meaningful environment as 'dwelling'. David Seamon (1979) suggests that dwelling may be 'the most significant locus of place identity' (Cuba and Hummon 1993:114). Tim Ingold (1995) refers to Martin Heidegger's phenomenological theory when discussing dwelling, whereby the individual is seen as 'being in the world' rather than a

'self-contained' unit facing the world outside. Ingold summarises by maintaining that 'it is through being inhabited, rather than through its assimilation to a formal design specification, that the world becomes a meaningful environment for people.' (1995:173). He refers to this concept as 'dwelling perspective' in contrast to 'building perspective' by which one builds one's environment.

Korcan and Bilcan's choice of Home in the PaR is saliently place-bound. They are the only participants who chose their place of dwelling, their abode, as Home in the conventional sense. Like Zehra, the brothers favour the components of family, religion and food, as well as media technology (in this instance, Turkish Television), to portray their performance of Home as LTCs. The reader is asked to refer to Korcan and Bilcan's DDP at this point.





3. Click cursor over 'Korcan and Bilcan's Home 2012' (the < icon returns to the previous menu)



4. Opening Image of Korcan and Bilcan's Home 2012 DDP

What is it about dwelling that ties the brothers' notions of Home to their house of residence? Saunders and Williams (1988) proposed the 'household' as the key component that differentiates house and home. Doreen Massey (1995) argued that 'place' is a social construct, in that we *make* place (1995:183). Talja Blokland (2008) goes on to argue that 'mental geographies come about *relationally*. People not only make places as articulations of social relationships (see Massey 1995:187), but through placemaking (*sic*) processes also create, renew and restructure such relationships' (32).

Through the act of dwelling, the 'household' of Korcan and Bilcan *make* Home within the house of residence, ensuring relationships that cultivate a sense of belonging? Although we do not see all who contribute to the household of the brothers (their two older brothers, Serhan and Tarkan, were involved in *DWOS* project in 2010 and have since left home to attend universities outside of London), what is presented within their DDP demonstrates a strong sense of family values, embedded within a cultural and religious upbringing. The brothers seem to exemplify clarity and confidence in their understanding of their cultural and religious heritage, commenting on where they place themselves within the family structure, as well as where they

seem themselves within the wider social framework of youth culture.

When the brothers document their choice of home through their DDP they seem to be mocking Turkish stereotypes through racial characters in their performances of Home. For example, the continuous flippant remarks such as the references to the clock on the wall in their kitchen, stating that Turkish people like to decorate their homes with ornate accessories, as well as their comments about their mother belonging in the kitchen are the types of stereotypes that were common in working class Turkish [Cypriot] family homes across London. By mocking these stereotypes, however, the brothers are perhaps challenging them and providing additional ideas of what is Turkish Cypriot in their household. This becomes more evident when they settle down in the garden to discuss their thoughts of Home and being Turkish Cypriot. There are juxtaposing signifiers within the boys' Home environment that challenge stereotypes and generalised notions of gender roles and class assumptions found within the Turkish Home although these are not always evident on the DDP. Although the boys tease their mother regarding her role in the kitchen, for example, her domestic role is but one of many she performs within the Home. The boys' mother also works as a childcare lecturer at a Further Education College and is a registered child-minder within the Home context, (and has been for over 12 years). The form of employment, and educational upbringing of the second generation LTC (in this case the mother) exemplifies a shift in the family's social class from the working class background of the first generation LTC to what might now be considered a middle class context: both parents work, are home owners and their children progress onto higher education and eventual employment. Inevitably the mother's role has had a significant impact on the household's place making practices. Shelley Mallet says:

Many researchers have demonstrated that the sort of paid work men and women engage in, when and in what spaces within the house, impacts on family members' experience and their perceptions of home and familial relationships

(Mallett 2004)

Perhaps the boys' choice of Home, as part of this PaR, is because of the fact that their mother's job as a child minder may construct a conventional domestic, and safe Home environment. At the same time, however, the boys

seem to be aware of, and are quite at ease with their mother's multiple roles within and outside the home, and her break from Turkish stereotypes.

Although ironic in their performance of Home, the brothers also expressed a level of pride in their Home and of their culture and faith. Katie Burwood, a youth worker in Tower Hamlets, who was a part of the youth support team in the DWOS projects in 2009, also took part as a panel member in the Collisions 2012 festival. Burwood points out that the brothers' DDP 'Shows me how we all have commonalities, whatever the background home is a revered place (sic)' (Burwood 2012). Much of this reverence is observed when the boys discuss their faith and culture, distinguishing between the values of being Turkish and being 'multicultural.' The mention of religion is a significant factor that arose in Korcan and Bilcan's DDP. The DDP was documented during Ramadan and the boys were fasting at the time (see Histories Chapter on religious customs of Islamic Turkish Cypriots). The boys stated that they voluntarily follow the rituals of fasting and praying during Ramadan. Korcan, in particular, expresses concern for the secularisation of Turkish Cypriot youth in his neighborhood, pointing out that, although most young Turks celebrate Eid (see Histories Chapter), not many follow rituals of fasting and the 5-times-a-day prayers, required of practicing Muslims. Both brothers, however, seem to appreciate that their Home is a significant locus for their overall identities, and seem to negotiate fluidly between their religious observations and other secular cultural influences. Collisions 2012 panel member, Rebecca R points out that the brothers are performing a 'learned identity' [that they are] acting out and performing identity. Acts of eating/fasting [...] contextualising themselves' (R 2012). Yet, the ease with which they perform Home exemplifies their abode as a place in which the brothers seem to feel they belong.

ASSIMILATION AND THE PERFORMATIVITY OF HOME

Some young people consider Home not as a place within which they dwell but places that enable and empower self-identity. Aviezer Tucker (1994) suggests that home expresses a person's identity and is a space in which people can be themselves.

Home is where we could or can be ourselves, feel at ease, secure, able to express ourselves freely and fully.... Home is the reflection of our subjectivity in the world. Home is the environment that allows us to fulfill our unique selves through interaction with the world. Home as the environment that allows us to be ourselves, allows us to be homely.... [I]n a home environment we can express our true identity.

(Tucker 1994:184)

Tucker's concept of home as a political landscape that enables ease in self-reflection and expression suggests a classed notion of home. In other words, by sharing common cultural and even economical characteristics with others, one may feel a sense of belonging and therefore a 'homely[ness]' as Tucker refers to it. Teerling (2010) adopts Yuval Davis' consideration of belonging as a sense of 'feeling at home' (2010:164). Her views of Home are similar to Tucker in that she gives significance to a sense of belonging that may come from being comfortable within one's environment; a comfort that enables one to be relaxed about their operations and identity.

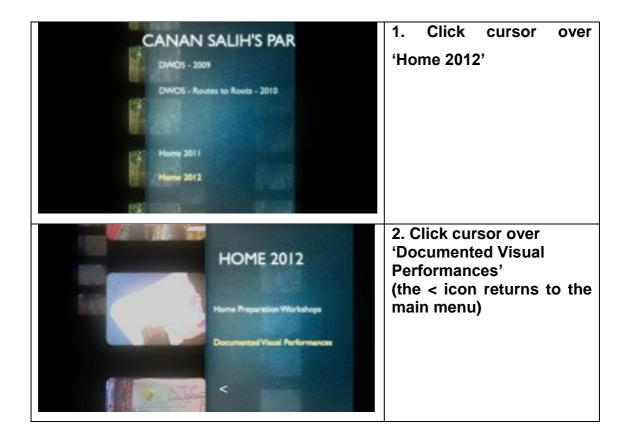
In the case of Safi's progress and final DDP the statement '... where I can be myself' was consistently uttered over the two-year engagement. Seeking a space within which she can comfortably act out her perception of who she is (or is becoming), has been the motivating force, it seems, behind selecting random, public spaces, like the college and Shisha Bar, as places where Safi's notions of belonging may be expressed. As Tucker suggests, some people's understanding of Home is a place that enables subjectivity of one's perception of the world. The next two DDPs that evolved from the 2012 PaR, however, suggest Home as an imagined place that enables a level of control over what a player or performer may consider as 'themselves'. In contrast to the boys above, Mete and Demet (also siblings) chose Home as different places, which could not be captured on film: Air Cadets and school. They referred to these places as Home in spite of their Turkish Cypriot identities. For example, Demet reveals: 'When I'm at Air Cadets, I have actually told them that I'm Turkish Cypriot, but they don't take any notice of it [...] they just treat me as normal' (Ekmekcioglu 2011). Mete states that at school 'equality counts' implying that he is treated as an assimilated member of the school's society (Ekmekcioglu 2011). The siblings have chosen places that represent their idea of Home as a place of belonging, but they articulate

that their social relations within these sites do not have much resonance to their LTC identities. Their expressions, as shown above, seem to imply that they see their LTC identities as removed from these places, or at the very least not pertinent to their engagement in these sites.

The performance of Home in the PaR of each sibling indicates a diversity that suggests the idea of Home as a concentration of youth associated subcultures that may imply a de-ethnicisation through assimilation and dispersion. Both Mete and Demet have each selected separate sites that are considered institutional establishments that, in the case of this research, have been inaccessible for documentation. Mete, like Bayram, chose his secondary school, but for very different reasons to Bayram. On the other hand, Demet chose her local Air Training Corps (ATC), of which both siblings are members. I discuss, here, the lure of these particular establishments that have led to each sibling's choice of Home considering, in particular, whether the presence of rules and a level of anonymity, that are implied in each sibling's DDP, appeal to each young LTC's performativity and sense of autonomy.

Mete and Bayram's choice of school as Home baffled some of the Collisions 2012 panel members. For example, in his feedback sheet as panel member, Simon Shepherd (2012) said of Mete's DDP 'Begins with school again (what is it with boys and school)?' Jack Bowyer (2012) in his final feedback notes states 'Didn't expect to see school being chosen, I would have thought that a lot of young people feel at home the least at school.' David Mackey (2012) also notes 'Choosing school as home – surprising! – Good sign in terms of community – or bad sign that home/house not so good?' The common notion is that school is a place of discipline, structure and consistency. Whereas Bayram's reference to school as Home is understandable when considering the concentrated amount of time he has spent there with family members and Turkish speaking friends and staff, Mete's perception of school as Home is not so straightforward. Mete's DDP implies a high level of insecurity that was immediately recognised by the majority of the first set of panel members at Collisions 2012. Almost all panel members noted Mete's uncertainty of the whole process of documenting his thoughts around his selection process. When faced with the challenge of

filming inside the school, Mete was hesitant about asking for permission. When I asked Mete if he wished to rethink his selection of Home, however, he was quite adamant about keeping the school as his choice. A compromise was reached and we opted to film outside the school instead. The reader is advised to watch Mete's DDP at this point.





3. Click cursor over 'Mete's Home 2012' (the < icon returns to the previous menu)



4. Opening Image of Mete's *Home* 2012 DDP

The process of facilitating and documenting Mete's thoughts around why he chose school as his Home was difficult. All the other participants of this PaR took something of a lead on how they wished to present their responses to Home, and to a certain extent, Mete was no different during the workshop phase. His surety and clarity of school as his choice of Home began at the initial stages of the workshops, as perhaps helped with the pre-activities that led to this choice. These activities revolved around identifying the key component that personifies Home to the youth participants of the project. Through activities that consist of gradual elimination, 'belonging' became the key factor identified as what makes Home for these young participants (see appendix 2a for the workshop plans and activities that led to this conclusion. Chapter 2 – *Methodology* also refers to these workshops). Understandably, this process may seem impractical and idealistic; theorists argue that there are many factors involved in the evocation of feeling 'at home', as exemplified earlier in this chapter. The point of these activities, however, was to establish in the young people's minds the key components that construct a sense of Home, as opposed to the conventional concept of home as a place in which

one lives. Please refer to Mete's Planning Workshop outcome.



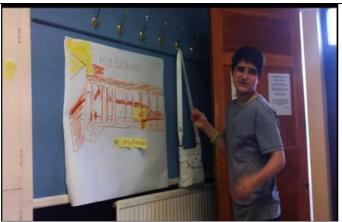
1. Click cursor over 'Home 2012'



2. Click cursor over 'Home Preparation Workshops' (the < icon returns to the main menu)



3. Click cursor over 'Mete's Home project 2012 planning workshop' (the < icon returns to the previous menu)



4. Opening Image of Mete's Home project 2012 planning workshop By the time we got to filming Mete's DDP outside the school, however, almost a month had passed. Mete was somewhat anxious about the fact that it was the summer break and there was no access into the school and it seemed as if the idea of the school had somehow become too private for him to share through this documentation. Inaccessibility of the school was also because of the rules of school terms. Filming inside the school was prohibited because of Safeguarding and Data Protection procedures. At all times, Mete was given the choice of whether he wished to proceed in the project, or rethink his choices, but he remained steadfast in his original idea of the school as his site for Home and decided to film outside the gates with a mobile phone, for the sake of being inconspicuous. I think it's important to point out that it would be too generous to classify Mete (and Bayram's) Home projects as DDPs. Rather they are research data that offer useful insight into LTC youth's idea of Home. It is perhaps more logical to view them as social studies type of interviews, rather than PaR.

There are times during the 'interview' when Mete responds confidently, particularly when talking of his friends and memories of moments at school that stand out for him. There are, however, several moments within the interview when Mete is less sure. These moments are predominantly centred on questions around Mete's sense of belonging (a term I introduce to the interview as a reminder of the workshops that preceded this documentary), as well as the reasoning behind selecting the school as his ultimate location for Home.

Mete's DDP reveal a number of contradictions that perhaps point towards uncertainties shared by many teenagers of his age. For example, Mete's idea of Home, similar to Bayram, is associated with how much time he spends at a certain place. School was also the first choice because it is where his 'amigos' (friends) are, providing him with a sense of belonging. Yet, at the same time, Mete divulges that his residential home/house is where he mostly feels 'safe'. It could be argued that, as Rebecca R suggests in her feedback as Panel member at *Collisions* 2012, 'School is where he wants to be at home. He's answering the question of another way of performing himself' (R 2012). This observation is echoed by other panel members of *Collisions* 2012, and is invoked by the fact that Mete eventually points out that his choice of

school as Home lies in the fact that he can be whoever he wishes to be at school. He states: 'At home they know everything about me' (Mete 2012). At school he feels he can present himself as he wishes. This is not necessarily a performative act on Mete's part, but a performance. The fact that Mete is consciously aware of this performance means that the control and empowerment of this autonomy raises the question of why Mete feels he needs to perform an alternative to himself. Is it naïve to presume Mete even knows who he 'himself' is at this stage in his adolescence, and whether this related in any way to his idea of being LTC?

Whereas Bayram chooses school as Home because of its strong association with his family and his being Turkish Cypriot, Mete's choice of school relies more on the autonomy he has at the school, as an alternative to home and family. The differentiation between the two participants' reasons for choosing school as Home is a critical example of youth identification and citizenship. This divide reiterates the exclusivity of each LTC's Home making practice, discussed in the introduction to this chapter. Bayram's performative engagement of being Turkish Cypriot at school positively ensures a sense of belonging through association, as he allows his school environment to cultivate the pride he feels in being Turkish Cypriot. Mete, on the other hand, chooses to control his environment and associations at school, by performing a 'self' modified, according to him, from who he is with family. As implicated by his selection of school as Home. This performance is successful in fulfilling his sense of belonging. Mete's sense of belonging derives from a feeling of equality, as he, like all students, is subject to the structure, rules and restrictions common in a school environment. At the same time, Mete seems to alleviate this sense of belonging by performing within the school space in a role he feels confident and comfortable in.

Mallet (2004) eloquently encapsulates the conventional notions of Home by stating:

[The] understanding of home is founded on several related ideas, most obvious among them, the distinction between public and private, and the inside and outside world (Wardaugh, 1999; Altman and Werner, 1985). According to this dichotomy the inside or enclosed domain of the home represents a comfortable, secure and safe space (Dovey, 1985). It is a confined space. Some say it is a feminine space, yet others dismiss this idea as

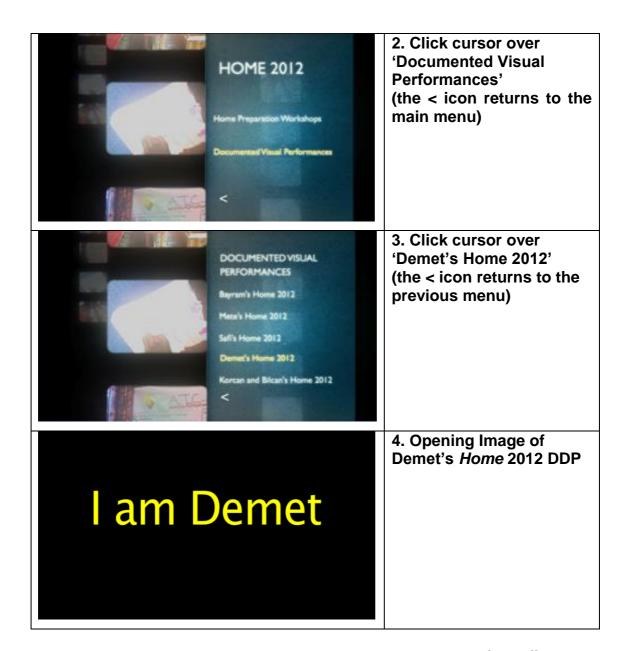
simplistic. In contrast, the outside is perceived as an imposing, if not threatening or dangerous space. It is more diffuse, less defined.

(Mallett 2004:71)

In Mete's case, the private and public dichotomy is somewhat challenged in that Mete creates a *private* world that represents Home according to his understanding of the term (i.e. where one belongs) but by using a *public* domain, such as his school. Mallett goes on to say 'Different performative expectations exist for people in this outside space. There are different rules of engagement with people, places and things' (Mallett 2004:71). Mete unwittingly echoes this statement by stating 'at home they know everything about me', whereas at school he feels he can control what he shows of himself to the world (Mete 2012). It is this control and power that makes Mete consider school as Home, perhaps not because his school has home-like characteristics, but because he, himself, controls and therefore constructs it as his Home.

Mete's sister, Demet, attends the same school as him but opted for the local ATC as her site for Home. Like Mete, she too seems to embrace rules and a sense of structure that is embedded in the ATC's ethos and practice. It's possible that these rules and structures make her feel at Home as she feels she belongs to a bigger community. This collectivistic orientation is a mentality usually found in first generation Diasporas (Ghuman 1997: 23), although fundamentally ethnically driven. At this stage the reader is advised to, once again, watch Demet's DDP. A reminder on how to access Demet's DDP is set out below.





Judging by Demet's narrative in her DDP, she seems to feel different at home with her family than when she is at ATC. She states 'The only place I feel Turkish Cypriot is when I'm with my family' (Demet 2012). So at ATC Demet may not feel Turkish Cypriot but she does feel 'at home'. She states that ATC makes her feel 'equal' and 'normal'. By 'equality' Demet refers to everyone being considered equal and therefore the same. This concept of homogeneity implies that the ATC has its own culture. In other words, the ethnicity of individual members is not relevant to ATC culture and they don't exist. They are negated by the ATC rules and regulations. In her observation of Demet's DDP at *Collisions* 2012, Jessica Hartley, notes an appeal to the '... formality of the rules and lack of individual culture' at the ATC. According

to Demet, the ATC enables her to be whoever she wants to be, and therefore she feels respected. Yet Demet cannot be whom she likes at ATC, she can be whom *the ATC* like, which is the same as everybody else. This in turn seems to evoke a sense of security and safety in Demet, but puts into question whether being different is a risk, and if so, why?

Some panel members of the 2012 Collisions festival assumed Demet chose the ATC as an alternative to her Home of residence because she seems to imply that Home with family is about being Turkish Cypriot and Demet does not seem to consider Turkish Cypriot as 'normal'. For example Rebecca R (2012) remarks that Demet implies 'Turkish Cypriot [as] opposed to be[ing] treated as 'normal'.' In her observation of Demet's DDP Carol Russell (2012) suggests that 'family appear to want her to be TC, whereas in ATC she can be who she wants to be'. Yet, is it not common in Diaspora adolescents' identification practices to try and fit in and belong through a process of adaptation and assimilation? (Ghuman 1997, Aksoy and Robins 2000, Clayton 2011) If so, then Demet's choice of Home is an example of one among many youth Diasporas attempting to assimilate in order to belong, although not necessarily at the expense of the Home environment of family and ethnic culture. Like Mete at school, Demet exercises her right of choice in who she wishes to be at ATC, opting for homogeneity as a means of integration.

The political power granted within the ATC is a significant contribution to Demet's practice of identification and citizenship, and therefore, understandably, perhaps this is why this locus holds such a strong place in Demet's choice of Home and belonging. At the same time, Demet's sense of achievement in her flying and the implication of attained comfort in abiding by the rules and regulation of the ATC suggests a mimesis of the conventional Home with both its autonomous possibilities and domestic hierarchies. This idea of mimesis is reiterated, as both siblings appear engaged in performative practices as a means of fitting in. At the same time, by performing a 'self', alternative to who they perceive themselves to be in their family Home, both siblings, in different ways, attempt to gain access into their *chosen* Homes. It could be argued, therefore, that their notions of Home are 'imagined' by being practiced (Anderson 2006), or, in other words, Home is performed, not so

much as place, but as an evocation of belonging.

CONCLUSION

Being LTC and performing Home and a place of belonging has evoked a multitude of responses from the participants of the two-year *Home* project. Class, politics and citizenship inevitably drive these responses, as Home, specifically as a LTC, is either ignored, rejected or ignored (Mete and Demet); mocked as well as respected (Korcan and Bilcan); embraced (Bayram and Melda); or a part of their everyday social construct (Safi, Selen, Dilan and Zehra). Each participating LTC has their own relationship with Home and its LTC associations. The diversity of these responses is expressed in each DDP, installations and presentations at the 2011 and 2012 *Collisions* festivals. They exemplify practices of negotiations between multitudes of sub-cultures that are found in the ever-growing context of global youth culture. Cultures of taste are exemplified in some form or another, for example, by all the participating youth, through music, film and fashion. Furthermore, friendship groups are also influential in what may affect the daily mobility and association of the participants, in particular, Safi, Bayram and Dilan. Mobile communication technology enables access to further global influences that political and cultural identification and interests (especially demonstrated in Zehra's installation).

Through the two-year *Home* projects there seem to be indications that current second and third generation participants of the PaR may be far enough removed from the migration process of their parents and grandparents such that the assumed practice of trans-nationalism, discussed in the *Histories* chapter, *may* be superseded by trans-culturalism. The context and contents of each participant's 'performance' demonstrates how these young people cross and intertwine between various cultures that are local and experiential, as well as global. The proposal of citizenship by Ong *et al* as 'a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society' (1996: 738) is an apt way of looking at how the LTC PaR participants have presented their performances of Home. It could be argued that 'civil society' refers to the social interaction of friendship groups, family and other social practices that influence and are influenced by

cultures of taste and other youth cultures, whilst 'nation-state' perhaps refers more to the political and geographical associations of the LTC participants' diasporic position.

'Civil society' and 'nation state' seem, perhaps, outdated concepts, however, against advanced technology's increasingly developing access to an ever-growing globalised culture. Sunaina Maira (2004) proposes Cultural Citizenship as 'cultural belonging in the nation, or the cultural dimensions of citizenship more broadly ...' (2004:212). The workshops that led to the DDPs of *Home 2* identified 'home' as a sense (or place) of belonging. Yet how much of the *Home* project's outcomes pertain to 'cultural belonging', and therefore Maira's cultural citizenship? What 'cultures' are young people referencing and to what extent are cultural attachments ethnic and/or religious and how much consist of other cultures (like cultures of taste, class, gender)? Is it fair to say then that these young people are consciously engaged in de-ethnicised practices of assimilation and dispersion, or perhaps they are a part of a global shift in grappling with cultural belonging as a whole? This could be, possibly, matter for extended enquiry building on this PaR, with a particular focus on comparative studies between LTC and other Diaspora youths.

This chapter concludes discussing the outcomes of the PaR *Home 1* and 2 projects. The next section of this written document is the conclusion of the whole thesis, where I look at the thesis as a whole and outline the key findings of the PaR. I will also consider what the next steps to this research enquiry might be.

Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter summerises the research of this thesis, and the main arguments of the enquiry. An outline of how I conducted my research, will also take into consideration the multiple disciplines and fields of study that contributed to my methodologies. As I rationalise what I consider the key findings of this thesis I will 'justify' why I have perceived these as findings resulting from the research. I will also consider what, if any, pre-existing views were challenged and/or verified, positioning this enquiry in a broader academic context. By providing an overview of the limitations of this thesis, I will also reflect on what implications these limitations may have had on the research. The chapter concludes by setting out the areas I consider relevant for further development and research.

This thesis began as an investigation into the place-making practices of a select group of young people, in particular London Turkish Cypriot (LTC) youth, and spanned four years (2009 - 2012). The participating young people's performance of place included emplacement and mobility, set within what is considered 'public' spaces, as well as what the participants may view as 'private' places (in particular notions of 'home'). The main premise of this research has been to explore what issues around LTCs' cultural identification and spatial practices may arise through the practice itself. A key question that has arisen from this has been whether a form of cultural eradication is happening within LTC diaspora youth. In addition, this enquiry has considered how the performances of place and space are influenced by participants' assumptions and understanding of their diasporic identities as Turkish Cypriots, living in London. Further consideration has been given to how participants' roles as young people within a western youth culture may impact upon the notion of eradication. One particular aspect of the said youth culture has included the knowledge and use of technology in the form of mobile phone technology (smartphones), digital cameras, the use of information technology (PCs, Macs, laptops and tablets), editing software and interactions on web based resources like YouTube©, Facebook© and Twitter©.

Through this practice-as-research, questions have arisen that are integral to

the findings of this enquiry. For example, to what extent have current LTC youth become a part of a wider youth collective? What particular themes have emerged from participants' narratives (via the PaR) that imply association with such a collective? What role does the LTC ethnic culture play in participants' identification processes through spatial engagement and mobility? How do LTC participants' performance of place articulate notions of belonging, and what findings have emerged from such articulations? These questions have emerged as a result of the PaR and have been addressed through the two main chapters of Chapter 3 - *Public Spaces – A Disgraceful Waste of Space* (DWOS) and Chapter 4 - *Private Places: Home-making practices of LTC youth*

PERFORMANCE OF SPACE AND PLACE

The enquiry into LTC youths' performance of place and space began through the use of applied drama PaR. The purpose of the PaR was to generate an understanding of how 'different experiences [...] social processes and conditions' relevant to Turkish Cypriot identities (Thompson 2003:148) are articulated by participating LTC youth through their place making practices. Initially, I was interested in how young LTC's may make, or perform, place in public spaces in relation to their LTC identities. This took into consideration the performative (everyday, habitual) acts the LTC participants engaged in as subconscious means of portraying personal identities. As well as the performances devised through the PaR of this thesis through the WALKs and the DDPs.

The young participants on the *DWOS* project engaged in the PaR using applied drama and psycho-geographical methods as research tools to capture and explore everyday mobility and place making practices. Drawing on the theories of Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) and Tim Cresswell (2008) and others whereby 'place' is proposed as 'humanized space', or a site of meaning, I looked at identifying what processes of the young participants permitted them to make place (sites of meaning) from public spaces. In the case of the *DWOS-2* project, associating selected sites to considerations of a LTC identity helped direct participants towards selecting specific public spaces that were performed as 'place' through their WALKs. Each performance raised distinct

issues that, at times reinforced, at times contested theories around youth mobility and emplacement, gendered space, and territorialism. For example, restrictions in mobility, attributable to territorialism, were explored through working with the Innes Park boys in *DWOS* (2009). In *DWOS-2*, however, Tarkan's WALK, for example, required a broader consideration of what territorialism might mean to different young people. Tarkan's asserting ownership of shared, public spaces became more about the familiarity and meaning of place and its relation to his cultural identity, rather than about establishing boundaries that exclude and restrict movement. This example highlighted the importance of young people's attitudes towards their own mobility and spatial consumption.

The mobility, or 'route', of each participant's WALK, in *DWOS-2*, raised many questions and concepts around the significance of physical movements of participants, as well as the movement of space and time, against pause (and emplacement). Whereas Tuan (1977) associated space as a form of movement, (against place, which infers pause), Doreen Massey (1994) suggested re-identifying place as a process, not as 'a motionless thing, frozen in time' (1994). Massey's (2008) proposition of an ongoing temporality in space prompted me to consider each participant's performance of place within *DWOS-2*, as a form of *becoming*. In other words, alongside acts of everyday cultural performativity, the PaR generated articulations of individual placemaking practices as a means of social and ethnic identification process. Young people continued to *become* (and therefore change) as they engaged in the PaR, producing more interesting research material to scrutinise and discuss as the thesis developed.

As each WALK was distinct in its content, meaning and narrative, further questions about globalisation and glocalisation arose. Whereas the local was realised by the LTC participants through the selected geography of place and space, the global was seen in the various features of each WALK (DWOS-2) and documented digital performance (DDP) (Home-2). Through cultures of taste and etiquette in music, food, and the styles in which each LTC produced their performances of place, global influences became explicit, pointing towards multiple trajectories, reiterating forms of becoming (*ibid*). As a result, the idea of a 'western youth culture' arose, itself a system of process,

therefore changing, adapting and consequently, influencing youth through the passage of time. The idea of the 'local', through place and space, intertwined with 'global' flux resonate with Massey (2008) and also with Bauman's (2000) proposition of 'liquidity' as a particular nuancing of western post-modernity. Advanced technology ensures a speed in information sharing that shapes the way in which young people respond to their environment, and consequently, how they construct their identities. This notion of liquidity and change was further reiterated in the second phase of the PaR, in the *Home* project.

HOME THOUGHTS

During the DWOS 1 and 2 PaR it became apparent that, when the participating LTC youth perform mobility, emplacement and the everyday in public spaces, they do not necessarily perform a Turkish Cypriot identity; they do not perform being Turkish Cypriot per se. By looking at the history of migration and social conditions of first generation LTCs, as well as exploring features such as language, food, religion, and employment, the Histories chapter had set out to identify some of the key factors that may contribute towards what can be perceived as a London Turkish Cypriot identity. The PaR however, was aimed at investigating, through the various modes of applied drama practice, the ways in which young people form their own understandings of being LTC, particularly through place making practices. Or as Woodson states on the use of performance, 'addressing young people's own perceptions, identity constructions, and articulations' (Woodson 2007). In DWOS - 2 some of the features of being LTC identified in chapter one resonated in participants' WALKs such as the food aspect of Safi's WALK in Yaşar Halim food store, or the language issue that concerned lpek's mother when moving to Buckhurst Hill, as seen in Ipek's WALK. These examples of being Turkish Cypriot, however, seemed somewhat contrived, formed specifically as a result of raising the issue of cultural ethnicity within the thesis, rather than conscious everyday practices. It is worth considering to what extent (if at all) the subject of a LTC identity would have arisen, within the PaR, if the enquiry of this thesis had not been focused on this topic. If I had participating LTCs to investigate everyday practices of asked the emplacement and mobility, or identify an idea of Home, without any direct reference to an LTC identity, how different would their responses to this enquiry have been? When reflecting on Demet and Mete's DDPs, or Zehra's mobile phone installation for example, it begs the question as to how prominent their perceptions of a LTC identity is to their idea of belonging and Home. Certainly the WALKS of DWOS-2 have much stronger references to being Turkish Cypriot, but to what degree does the thesis' focus on this identity affect these references to being LTC? Perhaps, if the question of a LTC identity was not addressed directly through this thesis, rather than consciously considering this aspect of their identities, the LTC youth would still have expressed through the PaR, perhaps subconsciously, their engagement in being LTC (leaving the researcher to discover the defining factors of this engagement). Or, possibly, any idea of a LTC identity may be amalgamated with wider youth cultural influences through the passing of time and the advancement of information technology, in particular youth oriented media. Furthermore, localised influences from social groups, peers, school and college are also key factors in how young people construct their identities through everyday practices. As well as the generational gap from the migration process of first generation LTC kin, such influences can, to some extent, account for a deliberated form of LTC identification in DWOS-2. With these considerations in mind, I anticipated that 'being LTC' might resonate more within the home setting. I assumed within each LTC youth's abode, family, religion, etiquette, language and food would be more ethnically concentrated. In the second phase of the PaR, in comparison to LTC's use of public spaces, therefore, I began investigating the privacy of place, in particular LTC youth's notions of Home.

When the exploration of what is meant by 'home' took place through a number of applied drama (including media) activities, both in *Home 1* and *2*, the results were somewhat unexpected. Young people began to think carefully about what they considered 'home' and, as a result, shifted the idea of home as abode. Home became a multifaceted form of belonging that equaled in complexity to the 'routes' in *DWOS-2*. Interestingly, in some cases (like Zehra's Mobile phone installation and Dilan and Safi's DDPs) there was more movement and mobility in the *Home* projects than in *DWOS-2*. It became apparent through the PaR that what I had perceived as Home, in the

conventional sense of abode, was a concept that, in the case of this thesis, did not necessarily take into consideration the multiple factors that influence young people's sense of belonging. Additionally, the dichotomy of private/public spaces became non-binarised, as the Home project evolved. The majority of the LTC participants declined to use their place of abode as Home - a place of belonging, instead choosing, mostly, public places like school, college, a shisha bar and air training corps as personal – if not private - places. Is this because perhaps at home (as in abode) the young people may have their ethnic identities imposed upon them, whereas at school, etc. they perform this identity as they wish (this refers back to Demet and Mete's DDPs)? Gill Valentine's (1996) proposition of young people's use of public [adult] spaces as a means of making private place, alongside Hava Gordon's (2005) identifying the interplay of young people's privatization of public spaces as a political move towards self-identification, helped explain the choices the young LTCs made in what they considered Home in the context of the PaR. Yet, Avtar Brah's (2000) concept of a 'homing desire' as a substitute for the desire of the 'homeland', seemed somewhat dated and irrelevant to this generation of youth, as exemplified in the sense of belonging associated with young people's idea of home in the PaR of *Home 1* and 2.

TEMPORARINESS

Globalisation is not a new phenomenon but 'a very long, uneven and complicated process' (Robertson 2000:9). Advances in technology have led to increased global consciousness - receptiveness to different world cultures, socio-economical, and ecological matters (*ibid*). With these changes comes temporariness. John Urry (2007 [2000]) refers to the acceleration of time (and therefore changes) as 'instantaneous' time (as compared to the continuity of 'glacial' time) (29). Western youth are key consumers in a global market, negotiating and adapting cultures of taste, style, and political and social positioning. These negotiations have occurred through accessibility to advanced media and personal technology, as young people are finding themselves firmly integrated into this global system. Thomas Eriksen (2001) states that an implication of the acceleration of time (or time-space compression) is 'heightened temporariness', coined by Urry as an increased

'ephemerality in various fashions, products, labour processes, ideas and images ...' (2007:121). A prominent finding of this enquiry has been the somewhat temporariness of young LTCs' performance of places and space. I am suggesting that this notion of temporariness has become a consequence of globalization, whereby it can be argued that, through modes of movement and widened access to global forces, an eradication of the LTC diaspora identity is perhaps reinforced.

Temporariness appeared initially in DWOS-2 through young participants' engagement in public spaces, via common routes that held resonance to their LTC identification. The very nature of this project disregarded any notion of stasis, as the idea of 'routes' suggested mobility - a sequence of movements. DWOS-2 relied upon young people's own biopic narratives in order to give some insight into how they may associate spatial transition and conduct with cultural identification. The sense of movement, and therefore temporariness within these narratives were evident in both the time and places the LTCs chose to articulate experiences of being LTC, and consequently, initiated a notion of transience. Urry (2007) argues that international movement (both physical, communicational and cyber movement) 'hollow out' western civil societies. Through the mobility of others, across national states, (for whatever reasons), a proliferation of identities and citizenships emerge and compete, and at times undermine, national identity. Urry refers to these mobile subjects as 'citizens of flow' (2007:189). National identity gives way to universal, or global, identity. The practice within, initially, DWOS-2 and then later the Home projects, perhaps reflect this global citizenship, as each young participant manifested his/her cultural identity. With this flow, (or liquidity), of citizenship comes a temporariness.

Bauman (2000) claims that, prior to the fluid stage of modernity, 'citizenship went hand in hand with settlement' (2000:13). In other words, emplacement was a key source of personal, local and national identification. The *Home* projects reinforce Bauman's theory of fluidity in the relationship between time and space, contesting conventional assumptions around the idea of Home as a form of settlement, and reinforcing temporariness. There are two specific indicators that suggest this within the PaR of *Home*. First, there was a shift in the idea of how Home may be perceived, from one year to

the next, by two of the young LTC women who were engaged in both the projects (2011-2012). This shift also applied to the presentation (or performances) of their narratives, as each participant changed both what Home was and how they wished to present it. Some of the participants had already 'moved on' from their initial idea of Home within the course of the 2012 project by the time the documentation of these articulations were presented. Second, as discussed above, most of the seven participants in the 2012 Home project (bar 2 brothers) all chose to present their notions of Home in public places of transition that held an inevitable temporariness to their narratives. Such qualities of the temporary were not evident in all LTC youth. Some of the participants of the Home project chose their abode as Home, for example, and the sense of history, memories, embedded values and principles that exist from that spatial engagement has suggested an enduring constancy. What I am suggesting is that there is something of interest in the rapidity and progression of spatial engagement of most of the young people I have worked with, through the PaR, suggesting temporariness of time and space, and the performance of place. This temporality evokes, on one hand, a sense of independence and choice, whilst on the other hand, displacement and confusion. Some of the participating youth have subsequently relied upon access to advanced technology as a way of retaining and preserving contributing factors that form each individual's sense of place and belonging, whilst others rely upon more relational influences of social interaction and communication.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Although this practice has led to suggesting the methodology of this work as Applied Drama Practice as Research (ADPaR), the 'branding' process has, however, led to its own interrogation into what may be perceived and understood as ADPaR within the current academic framework of practical research. The ways in which each participant's cartographies were captured, documented and presented through media technology, for example, suggested a form of psycho-geography in the later part of the PaR, not often associated with applied drama research. Similarly, can the use of such technology discussed in Chapter 2 be classified as applied drama research?

There is a lack of articulation on how applied drama may be perceived as a research tool. What might need to be considered when distinguishing the work between performance (and therefore artistic excellence) and performativity (in the form of documentation)? In other words, to what extent is it a prerequisite of, what may be perceived as ADPaR, to be performance driven?

Issues around practice as research are, for the most part, addressed in the second chapter of this thesis, where I refer to a selection of practitioner-academics including Robin Nelson (2013), Baz Kershaw and Helen Nicholson (2011), and Sally Mackey (2013). Each has, and continues to interrogate, through their various practices, the shifting, fluid nature of applied drama within the framework of academic research and studies.

The research endeavours of other practitioners such as Carolyn Rye (2003). Roberta Mock (2011), Joanne 'Bob' Whalley and Lee Miller have also provided a useful platform for debate in trying to understand the scope and nature of research, based on performance and the practical application of drama activities. These endeavours are not, however, addressed as a resolution but come as an integral part of the findings within this enquiry. This thesis contributes to the debate by presenting the WALKS and, to a certain extent, the DDPs as an alternative form of ADPaR. In engaging in psychogeography and digital media technology, the PaR of this enquiry has offered one example of where ADPaR may become more prominent. In particular, when researching the class, social, political and cultural characteristics of youth cultures, it is worth considering the ways in which these youths may express (and perform) their ontologies. What do they refer to when considering their identities? For example, in the case of this thesis, digital technology, as part of their social spheres, would need to be taken into consideration as a means of expression and articulation.

BROADER IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Through the use of various drama based, and technologically driven means of research, new observations around young people's spatial practices and mobility; interpretations of what may be perceived as a fluctuating notion of being LTC; and firsthand insights into technological practices that

contribute to this fluctuation have all resulted from the present work. The broader implications of these results are seen in the young LTCs association with a youth culture that is continuously shifting into differing domains, contributing towards pre-existing views of cultural assimilation and adaptation (Aksoy and Robins 2000, Anthias 1992, Butler 2001, Kucukcan 1999). And yet, is it perhaps too severe to refer to the fluctuation of individual identification through spatial and platial practices as an eradication of an ethnic culture like the LTCs? Rather, it is more useful to consider the temporariness and fluctuations of current LTC western youth culture, as a form of evolution that began with first generation LTC diasporas through the migration process itself, as well as the subsequent social and economic local environments they have impacted on their everyday lives in Britain (Aksoy and Robins 2000: 704).

Current LTC youth identities are constantly in flux, and these changes are part of a growing youth collective that has been impacted upon by such paradigms as globalisation and the advancement of media and communication technology. Whether this fluidity of identification through spatial engagement is regarded as eradication, assimilation or an accommodation of cultures, is debatable. The advancement of such technology is influential to the cultural identification and social interactions of LTC Diaspora youth, and, arguably perhaps, contributing to an assimilation of cultures. It is its use in the practice of this research, however, that has had a significant effect on this enquiry. The young people's use of such technology as a mode of expression and performance has further served to interrogate the possibilities of what may be considered an alternative form of ADPaR

LIMITATIONS

I am aware of the limitations of this thesis and the implication of these limitations, not only to the findings of the enquiry but also to its process. When researching the LTC, for example, the limitations in existing studies of this diaspora were both a hindrance and an advantage. I was hindered because there was very little reference to current LTC youth, making it difficult to source existing studies of this diaspora group. I relied upon research into youth in general (Bourn 2008, Valentine 1996, Gordon 2005), LTC youth as

part of Turkish and Kurdish speaking collective (Goker 2007, Kucukcan 2004, Issa 2006, Kaya 2011, Caglar 1997), and first and second-generation LTC histories (Mehmet Ali 2001, Canefe 2009, Abdullah 2006). The advantage of this was that it meant any research results generated from this thesis could be considered new findings, particularly since the methodologies used to conduct this research had not been used before to research this particular diaspora.

The limited number of LTCs I was able to work with did not represent LTC youth in its entirety. These participants were, however, able to produce a substantial amount of research material both through their involvement in the practice, their reflections of their work, and through my own observations of their engagement. The constructive part of this engagement was that each participant was kind enough and interested enough to engage in the research, with a select few sustaining this commitment over a three year period, so providing valuable findings on the changes and progressions of their spatial and cultural place-making practices.

Further limitations came in the lack of resources that at times changed the course of the practice. For example, obtaining a suitable, domestic venue for the final *Home* project proved disappointing. I was fortunate enough to have access to a number of technological resources through my employment with 'A' Team Arts, however, and most of the young people preferred using their own devices, (smart phones and laptops) to produce the work of the final *Home* project. In addition, the overt 'performance' in an acquired house may have distanced the idea of Home whereas the work of *Home 2* allowed for a closer connection with 'belonging'.

My constant reservations with when to apply the various roles of researcher, LTC, and practitioner was also a limitation that, I believe, impacted upon the aesthetic value to some of the work produced during the *Home* project. My role as a member of the LTC community enabled me, through association with parents and friends, smoother access to LTC participants. My role as youth arts facilitator also ensured I had enough knowledge and experience to conduct this research through applied drama practice and feel confident to extend that to include, 'art' installations, film and psycho-geographical walks. It was the unfamiliar role of researcher, however, that led to some uncertainties, such as when to facilitate and when not to

intervene in the work the participants were producing. Being too cautious and erring on side of the latter meant that some of the work produced in the *Home* project lacked the level of artistic quality found in the *DWOS* projects, although by no means lacking in research value. The limitations of this thesis were not considerable and did not, to a certain extent, hinder the research results. They are however acknowledged as contributing factors to the practice and subsequent findings of this enquiry.

AREAS FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT AND RESEARCH

The questions that have arisen from both the work of the participants and the practice itself have led to consideration into areas of further development and research. Of course, it would be worth researching different groups of LTC youth over a longer period of time in order to gain a better understanding of place-making practices of LTC youth in London. Also useful would be applying the same ADPaR methodologies to other diaspora youth groups and comparing the results of these investigations in order to compile a better understanding of diaspora youth emplacement and mobility as a whole. Although I have not had the opportunity to conduct this research with different LTC groups since the completion of the last *Home* project, I have been fortunate enough to acquire funding from Tower Hamlets Youth and Community Services' Youth Opportunities Fund to repeat the *DWOS* research with young people in Tower Hamlets during the summer of 2013, (which had been my original intention when embarking upon the initial DWOS project in 2009). Subsequent findings of this project produced some interesting ideas around gendered perceptions of public spaces and notions around safety, resonating with the work of Heddon (2008:112). Ethnic cultural identities were embedded within the gendered roles of the four Muslim young women who participated, directing their responses to public space through the theme of safety; in particular, safety from male dominance. The two boys that participated in the project, on the other hand, addressed cultures of taste through their place-making presentations. One male participant, who has special education needs (SEN), chose to present his enjoyment of independence when going to the cinema. He said that the route from the train station to the cinema complex gave him a sense of anticipation for the film he

would be watching, but also a feeling of freedom and control of his surrounding on his journey to his destination. The other male participant expressed an interest in the history of the Altab Ali Park, located in Whitechapel. His interest lay, not so much in the substantial history of the park, the site where the 14th century White Chapel had stood, from which the area of Whitechapel gets its name, but the story of Altab Ali, a Bangladeshi textile worker who had been brutally murdered in a racist attack in the park in the 1970s. This young person felt it ironic that a park named after a person who had experienced such a violent death, was a place where he felt most safe.

Another area of development worth considering would be to conduct this research through standard sociological qualitative methodologies. It would be interesting to see what findings this form of research would produce about LTC youth's notions of cultural identification. I continue to favour the ways in which research might be conducted through applied drama practice, however. The engagement of youths documenting and reflecting on their everyday, performative practices, as well as charting the changes in these practices over time and space, are all invaluable research material, perhaps bespoke to ADPaR methodology. Brad Haseman states 'The 'practice' in 'practice-led research' is primary – it is not an optional extra; it is the necessary precondition of engagement in performative research.' (2006:7). Haseman's theory, although not current, is useful in framing this thesis, with its preoccupation in researching LTC youths' performative acts of place making. This has warranted ADPaR as an appropriate methodology in leading this enquiry.

The research methods of this enquiry are also valuable contributions to current considerations in under-argued articulations of applied drama practice as a research tool. Haseman puts it quite eloquently when he states:

We stand at a pivotal moment in the history and development of research. Practice led researchers are formulating a third species of research, one that stands in alignment with, but separate to, the established quantitative and qualitative research traditions.

(2006: 3)

This thesis is a contribution to this 'third species' as one example of an applied drama practice-as-research paradigm. Most importantly, I hope, this

thesis adds to current academic discourses around youth (and specifically LTC youth), their emplacement and place-making practices, their relationships with their diaspora communities, and their associations with youth cultural collectives.

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Yilmaz, H. (2010) Interviewed by Canan Salih, 27.12.10

Context of Participants

For the sake of data protection, full names of the PaR participants are not disclosed.

DISGRACEFUL WASTE OF SPACE (DWOS) - 1 (2009)

Name	Age	Ethnicity	Gender
L. Ahmed	20	Bengali	Male
M. Ahmed	19	Bengali	Male
A. Cowsir	19	Bengali	Male
M. Fahad	16	Bengali	Male
A. Haque	19	Bengali	Male
F. Rahman	18	Bengali	Male
N. Uddin	16	Bengali	Male
S. Uddin	18	Bengali	Male
Z. Uddin	18	Bengali	Male
S. Ahmad	16	Bengali	Female
S. Mumin	15	Bengali	Female
N. Islam	13	Bengali	Female
S. Khatun	15	Bengali	Female
Z. Mahmood	16	Bengali	Female
T. Chowdhury	15	Bengali	Female
F. Begum	15	Bengali	Female
F. Begum	16	Bengali	Female
F. Begum	14	Bengali	Female
H. Begum	17	Bengali	Female
M. Begum	16	Bengali	Female
S. Begum	15	Bengali	Female
S. Begum	13	Bengali	Female
T. Begum	15	Bengali	Female
A. Bibi	16	Bengali	Female

None of the above participants were related to each other but were friends.

	DWOS - 2 (2010)						
Name	Age at time of	Ethnicity	Generation	Relationships			
	project			То			
				Each other			
Serhan	18 years old	London Turkish/Turkish Cypriot	Father – first generation Turk from Istanbul	Brother to Tarkan and Korcan. My nephew			

			T. ml. a	
			Turkey	
			Mother second	
			generation LTC	
Tarkan	16 years old	London Turkish/Turkish Cypriot	As Above	Brother to Serhan and Korcan. My nephew.
Korcan	15 year old	London Turkish/Turkish Cypriot	As Above	Brother to Tarkan and Serhan. My nephew.
Selen	15 years old	2 nd generation LTC	Mother and Father - first generation Turkish Cypriots	Sister to Safi
Safi	18 years old	2 nd generation LTC	As Above	Sister to Selen
Ipek	14 years old	3 rd generation LTC	Mother – second generation London Turkish Cypriot Father - first generation Turkish Cypriot	
Dilan	14 years old	3 rd generation LTC	Mother - second generation London Turkish Cypriot Father - second generation German Turkish diaspora	

	HOME – 1 (2011)						
Name	Age at time of	Ethnicity	Generation	Relationships			
	project			То			
				Each other			
Melda	11 years old	3 rd generation LTC	Mother and Father - second generation London Turkish Cypriots	My niece by marriage.			
Selen	16 years old	3 rd generation LTC	Mother and Father - first generation Turkish Cypriots	Sister to Safi			
Safi	19 years old	3 rd generation LTC	Mother and Father - first generation Turkish Cypriots	Sister to Selen			

Dilan	3 rd generation LTC	Mother - second generation London Turkish Cypriot Father - second generation German	
Zehra	3 rd generation LTC	Turkish diaspora Mother and Father - second generation London Turkish	My niece by marriage.
		Cypriots	

		Home	e – 2 (2012)	
Name	Age at time of	Ethnicity	Generation	Relationships
	project			То
				Each other
Bayram		3 rd generation LTC	Mother and Father - second generation London Turkish Cypriots	
Korcan			Father – first generation Turk from Istanbul Turkey Mother - second generation LTC	Brother to Bilcan. My nephew.
Bilcan			As Above	Brother to Korcan. My nephew.
Safi			Mother and Father - first generation Turkish Cypriots	
Mete		3 rd generation LTC	Mother - second generation London Turkish Cypriot Father - first generation Turkish Cypriot	Brother to Demet
Demet		3 rd generation LTC	As Above	Sister to Mete
Dilan		3 rd generation LTC	Mother - second generation London Turkish Cypriot Father - second generation German Turkish diaspora	

Appendix B

Cyprus Timeline

Prehistoric Period 8000 BC - 2300 BC

Ancient settlements from this period have been found in Choiokoitia and Sotira, where copper production develops and ceramics are produced.

Bronze Age 2300 BC - 1050 BC

Trade with Egypt and Syria.

Iron Age 1050 BC - 750 BC

Cyprus cut off from the rest of the world for a couple of centuries. Also known as the Geometric Age after the designs on contemporary pottery.

Archaic Period 750 BC - 475 BC

Apart from a few decades of Assyrian rule, Cyprus flourishes as an independent state

Classic Period 475 BC - 325 BC

Cyprus becomes a Persian naval base and gets involved in the struggle between Persia and Greece.

Hellenistic Period 325 BC - 294 BC

Cyprus becomes a province of Greece after siding with Alexander the Great against the Persians.

Ptolemic Period 294 BC - 58 BC

After Alexander's death, Cyprus is witness to a brief civil war in which Ptolemy I of Egypt prevails.

Roman Empire 58 BC - 395 AD

Cyprus becomes a province of the Roman Empire, during which time the

mosaics of <u>Pafos</u> are built, and Christianity comes to the island.

Early Byzantine Period 395 – 647

Ruled from Constantinople as part of the Empire's Byzantium area, many Christian basilicas are built after a number of earthquakes decimate the island's Roman cities.

Arab Rule 648 – 963

Under the Arab-Byzantine treaty, the island accepts Muslims and remains demilitarised.

Middle Byzantine Period 963 – 1184

Byzantine Emperor Nikiphorous II Phokas drives the Muslims out of Cyprus.

The Crusaders 1184 – 1192

1184 Isaac Komnenos seizes power and breaks from Constantinople, but in 1191 Richard the Lionheart takes Cyprus after his sister and fiancée are nearly taken hostage there. Richard sells the island to the Knights Templar and continues crusading, and they then sell it to a minor French noble and crusader, Guy de Lusignan.

Lusignan Rule 1192 – 1489

Descendants of Lusignan rule the island and marry into European royal families, signal a decadent ruling class. War with Genoa in 1373 weakens the Lusignans' position, and when King Kames II marries a Venetian royal in 1472 and then dies, it paves the way for the Venetians to force an abdication of the last Lusignan.

Venetian Rule 1489 – 1571

Venetian rule is seen as even more oppressive than the Lusignans, and in 1562 a popular uprising helped weaken the Venetians. Egypt falls to the Ottoman Empire in 1517, surrounding Cyprus on three sides with Turkish rule, and then the inevitable Ottoman invasion comes in 1570.

Ottoman Rule 1571 – 1878

In 1878 the Anglo-Turkish Convention is signed, in which Turkey hands over administrative and occupation rights on Cyprus to the British, in return for the British helping to stop the Russian advance on Istanbul the year before.

British Rule 1878 – 1960

1914 - Cyprus annexed by Britain, after more than 300 years of Ottoman rule. Britain had occupied the island in 1878, although it remained nominally under Ottoman sovereignty.

1925 - Becomes crown colony.

1955 - Greek Cypriots begin guerrilla war against British rule. The guerrilla movement, the National Organisation of Cypriot Combatants (EOKA), wants enosis (unification) with Greece. British authorities arm a paramilitary police force made up of Turkish Cypriots.

1956 - Archbishop Makarios, head of enosis campaign, deported to the Seychelles.

1959 - Archbishop Makarios returns and is elected president.

Independence

1960 - Cyprus gains independence after Greek and Turkish communities reach agreement on a constitution. Treaty of Guarantee gives Britain, Greece and Turkey the right to intervene. Britain retains sovereignty over two military bases.

1963 - Makarios raises Turkish fears by proposing constitutional changes, which would abrogate power-sharing arrangements. Inter-communal violence erupts. Turkish side withdraws from power sharing.

1964 - United Nations peacekeeping force set up. Turkish Cypriots withdraw into defended enclaves.

- 1974 Military junta in Greece backs coup against Makarios, who escapes. Within days Turkish troops land in north. Greek Cypriots flee their homes. Coup collapses. Turkish forces occupy third of the island, enforce partition between north and south roughly along the "Green Line" ceasefire line drawn up by UN forces in 1963. Glafcos Clerides, president of the House of Representatives, becomes president until Makarios returns in December.
- **1975** Turkish Cypriots establish independent administration, with Rauf Denktash as president. Denktash and Clerides agree population exchange.
- 1977 Makarios dies. Succeeded by Spyros Kyprianou.
- 1980 UN-sponsored peace talks resume.
- **1983** Denktash suspends talks and proclaims Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). It is recognised only by Turkey.
- **1985** No agreement at talks between Denktash and Kyprianou.
- **1988** Georgios Vassiliou elected Greek Cypriot president.
- 1989 Vassiliou-Denktash talks abandoned.
- 1992 Talks resume and collapse again.
- **1993** Glafcos Clerides replaces Vassiliou as president.
- **1994** European Court of Justice rules that a list of goods, including fruit and vegetables, are not eligible for preferential treatment when exported by the Turkish Cypriot community directly to the EU. Embargo begins.
- **1996** Increased tension, violence along buffer zone.
- **1997** Failure of UN-mediated peace talks between Clerides and Denktash.

1998 - Clerides re-elected to a second term by narrow margin.

EU lists Cyprus as potential member.

Clerides' government threatens to install Russian-made anti-aircraft missiles.

Turkey threatens military action. Clerides decides not to deploy missiles in Cyprus.

2001 June - UN Security Council renews its 36-year mission. Some 2,400 peacekeepers patrol the buffer zone between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

2001 July - Dozens of police officers are injured as protesters attack a British military base at Akrotiri over plans to build telecommunications masts alleged to pose a health hazard.

2001 November - Turkey says it might annex the north if the Republic of Cyprus joins the EU. It says the move, coming before any reunification settlement, would violate the 1960 treaty.

2002 January - Clerides and Denktash begin UN-sponsored negotiations. Minds are concentrated by EU membership aspirations.

2002 November - UN Secretary General Kofi Annan presents a comprehensive peace plan for Cyprus, which envisages a federation with two constituent parts, presided over by a rotating presidency.

2002 December - EU summit in Copenhagen invites Cyprus to join in 2004 provided the two communities agree to UN plan by early spring 2003. Without reunification, only the internationally recognised Greek Cypriot part of the island will gain membership.

2003 February - Tassos Papadopoulos defeats Clerides in presidential elections.

2003 March - UN deadline for agreement on reunification plan passes.

Secretary-General Kofi Annan acknowledges that the plan has failed.

2003 April - Turkish and Greek Cypriots cross the island's dividing "green line" for first time in 30 years after Turkish Cypriot authorities ease border restrictions.

2004 April - Twin referendums on whether to accept UN reunification plan in last-minute bid to achieve united EU entry. Plan is endorsed by Turkish Cypriots but overwhelmingly rejected by Greek Cypriots.

The EU agrees to take steps to end the isolation of the Turkish Cypriot community.

EU accession

2004 1 May - Cyprus is one of 10 new states to join the EU, but does so as a divided island.

2004 December - Turkey agrees to extend its EU customs union agreement to 10 new member states, including Cyprus. The Turkish prime minister says this does not amount to a formal recognition of Cyprus.

2005 April - Mehmet Ali Talat elected Turkish Cypriot president.

2005 May - Greek Cypriot and UN officials begin exploratory talks on prospects for new diplomatic peace effort.

2005 June - Parliament ratifies proposed EU constitution.

2006 May - Greek Cypriots back ruling coalition in parliamentary elections, endorsing its opposition to reunification efforts.

2006 July - UN-sponsored talks between President Papadopolous and Turkish Cypriot leader Mehmet Ali Talat agree a series of confidence-building measures and contacts between the two communities.

2006 November - EU-Turkey talks on Cyprus break down over Turkey's continued refusal to open its ports to traffic from the Republic of Cyprus. Ankara says the EU should end the isolation of the Turkish Cypriot community before Turkey opens its ports.

2007 February - Turkey denies sending extra warships to the eastern Mediterranean in a row over oil drilling rights off Cyprus.

2007 January-March - Greek and Turkish Cypriots demolish barriers dividing the old city of Nicosia. The moves are seen as paving the way for another official crossing point on what used to be a key commercial thoroughfare.

2008 January - Cyprus adopts the euro.

New talks

2008 February - Left-wing leader Demetris Christofias wins presidential elections. Promises to work towards reunification.

2008 March - President Christofias and Turkish Cypriot leader Mehmet Ali Talat agree to start formal talks on reunification.

2008 April - Symbolic Ledra Street crossing between the Turkish and Greek sectors of Nicosia reopened for first time since 1964.

2008 September - Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders launch intensive negotiations aimed at ending the division of the island.

2009 April - Right-wing nationalist National Unity Party wins parliamentary elections in northern Cyprus, potentially hampering peace talks. Turkish Cypriot leader Mehmet Ali Talat remains in office, but in a weakened position. Reunification talks continue through 2009, with little progress.

2010 January - President Christofias and Turkish Cypriot leader Mehmet Ali Talat resume talks on reunification in downbeat mood, no progress made.

2010 April - Turkish Cypriot head of government Dervis Eroglu, the candidate of the pro-independence National Unity Party in the self--proclaimed state's presidential election beats the pro-unity incumbent Mehmet Ali Talat.

2010 January - President Christofias and Turkish Cypriot leader Mehmet Ali Talat resume talks on reunification in downbeat mood, no progress made.

2010 April - Dervis Eroglu, who favours independence, wins the Turkish north's leadership contest, beating pro-unity incumbent Mehmet Ali Talat.

2010 May - Re-unification talks resume with a new hardliner representing the Turkish north.

2011 May - Parliamentary polls. The main right wing opposition party, DISY, wins by a narrow margin.

2011 July - Navy chief Andreas Ioannides and 12 others die when impounded Iranian containers of explosives blow up at the main naval base and the country's main power plant. The defence minister, military chief and foreign minister resign over the incident, which officials say occurred after a bush fire ignited the explosives.

Credit rating agency Moody's cuts Cyprus's rating by two notches from A2 to BAA1, increasing risk of Cyprus requiring an EU bailout. Power shortages caused by the naval base blast knocking out the country's main power station, plus significant Greek debt, make financial reform difficult. Fitch cut Cyprus's rating to A- from AA- in May over Greek debt fears.

2011 August - President Christofias appoints a new cabinet with economist Kikis Kazamias from his AKEL party as finance minister. The previous cabinet resigned after the power shortages prompted the departure from the coalition government of the centre-right party DIKO.

2011 September - Cyprus begins exploratory drilling for oil and gas, prompting a diplomatic row with Turkey, which responds by sending an oil vessel to waters off northern Cyprus.

2011 October - President Christofias rejects the findings of an official report accusing him of "personal responsibility" for the July naval base blast on the grounds that he had been allegedly aware of the risk.

2012 April - The UN cancels plans for a Cyprus conference, citing lack of progress on any of the substantial differences between the two sides.

Turkey's Turkish Petroleum Corporation begins drilling for oil and gas onshore in northern Cyprus despite protests from the Cypriot government that the action is illegal.

Financial crisis

2012 June - Cyprus appeals to European Union for financial assistance to shore up its banks, which are heavily exposed to the stumbling Greek economy.

2012 November - Cyprus says it has reached an "in-principle agreement" with the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the IMF on the terms of a bailout deal. The actual size of the bailout is to be determined following an investigation into the country's ailing banks.

2013 February - Democratic Rally conservative candidate Nicos
Anastasiades beats AKEL Communist party candidate Stavros Malas by a large margin in the presidential election run-off and succeeds Demetris Christofias as president.

2013 March - President Anastasiades secures 10bn-euro bank bailout from the European Union and IMF. Laiki Bank, the country's second biggest, is wound down and deposit-holders with more than 100,000 euros will face big losses. Smaller deposits guaranteed following parliamentary rejection of an

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earlier deal.

2013 April - Finance Minister Michael Sarris resigns, citing an official

investigation into the mishandling of the bailout. Until 2012 he was head of the

country's second-largest bank, Laiki, the performance of which was a major

factor in the near collapse of the banking system.

2013 May - Cyprus receives 2bn euros - the first instalment of a 10bn-euro

bailout package - from international creditors.

2014 March - Central Bank chief Panicos Demetriades resigns over reported

disputes with government and his handling of bailout package.

Source: BBC News – Europe *Cyprus Profile*

http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17219505

248

Appendix C

DISGRACEFUL WASTE OF SPACE (DWOS) – 2009

Project Title	A DISGRACEFUL WASTE OF SPACE
Lead staff	CANAN SALIH,
Date(s)	JULY 20 TH – JULY 30 TH 2009
Place(s)	Haileybury Youth Club, Café Fresh (Commercial Road), Off site (Innes Park)
Activity (workshops, event, festival etc)	SITE SPECIFIC PERFORMANCES OF YOUNG PEOPLES USE OF SPACE AND PLACE IN THE BOROUGH
Expected numbers	24 Y/P (4 STAFF, 20 YOUNG PEOPLE)
Aims (why are we doing this project)	Women: The aim of this project is to work with young women from various location in the borough (near the Haileybury Youth Club, and those that frequent the Café Fresh establishment) in order to investigate issues of gendered space through drama practice which may result in performances in front of CCTV cameras (exploring the question, if performative behaviour in public places is watched, e.g. CCTV then can it be argued that performativity (subconscious behaviour) becomes performance (conscious behaviour) and what power does this performance enable young women to possess in how they are perceived)? Men: The aim of this section of the project is to work with the young men from specific estates in the borough in order to explore 1-2 sites around Tower Hamlets where young men [re]create spaces into 'places' (like walls, park sites, street corners). This is citation work. By this we mean the context of a place may differ to its original intent but serves another purpose for young people (i.e. a wall or a bus shelter as a place for social interaction/congregation). The project will seek to identify what criteria y/p employ when creating their 'space' within the built environment and may be used to identify areas for deployment of the youth service's mobile units and the building of youth shelters.
Objectives (what do we hope to achieve?) Should be Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic, within Timescale	The initial action plan is to look at: Where - identify the exact site[s] where young people 'hang out' Who - identify the young people who will be involved in the project via outreach, referrals and detached youth work What – design a project that will explore and 'frame' the space into 'performance place.' Why – identify (beforehand and at some stage with the young people) the impact this project is aimed to have on the young people, the space and others (i.e. policy makers, youth providers, the general public that

	use that space or are affected by the y/p's use of the space
	Also What – design a project that will explore and 'frame' through performance, issues around safety, gender related behavioural issues and cultural expectations of women in public.
	Why – in order to challenge, address, understand the public behaviour of young women and their rights to a given space/place in the community. To develop a sociology, through performance, for understanding and action.
	The project aims to raise the awareness of young people in how they use the public (and private/shred) spaces and places. This project is also designed to eventually inform youth service providers with the relevant information on what informs youth behaviour in particular space/place and how this information could be used to benefit youth esteem, public behaviour, issues around territorialism and gang affiliations.
	By the end of the project the young men and women involved will have acquired analytical skills in their everyday behaviour, an understanding of their role in society, or at least an understanding that several agendas are at play and they have a role in this network of social construction. The material that will be produced by the participants will be both exhibited at a local arts site as well as presented in a post graduate conference at the Central School of Speech and Drama in September. All outcomes and outputs of the project will be compiled into a thorough report of the overall project.
Target audience / identified need	Men and women 14 – 19 from specific targeted areas of residence in the borough (LAP 1,2,3,4)
Method (How will we achieve it?)	Photography Using situationist methods Thinking through the flanuer system
Which strategies or	Filming and documenting tours
service plans does this project fit to?	Verbatim work Documentation Exhibitions and presentations.
Planned Outcomes Short term and long term (specifically what will be	Short term: a number of short film footage that will be edited and prepared as part of a presentation/report at the end of the project. Documentation of young people's own material (maps, photos, tour guides). Long term: Building research database of how and why y/p access certain places and spaces, what youth provision resources they use [or don't use]. Possible links with Hertfordshire and Leeds organisations on urban and youth space projects (supported by Ideas Foundation).
achieved?)	An accumulation of skills in the recorded arts form of filming and performing that can be used in vocational training. Evidence of work through accredited outcomes of AQA's.
Measures of success (how will we know we	Numbers of young people taking part, No. of y/p committed to each session.

have achieved?) (what	Long term crime prevention, improvement and awareness of public behaviour of y/p
is the current base point	through participation,
we are starting from? A	Informative outcomes of young peoples use of public spaces
preparatory survey of	Increase number of y/p using 'A' Team facilities.
what people do now /	Short filmed footage to present as part of presentation on applied drama practice with y/p in given space/places at
what skills / knowledge	CSSD conference (Arts Excellence, in September 09)
they have now?)	
Evidence (how will we	Registers of attendances to workshops,
collect the evidence we	info gathered from enrolment and monitoring,
need?) Daily record,	photo documentation,
tapes, diaries, finished	film footage,
work, press cuttings) (if	written evidence submitted via AQA's/maps/journals
video / photos who are	
they for?)	
Marketing plans	Youth Service Website
	Flyers to Youth Clubs and schools in the LAP 1.2.3.4 areas
	Talk to detached youth workers regarding working with boys groups
	Discuss girls project with women's worker
Timetable / Progress	Women's project
Milestones	July 23 rd – 24 th 10 – 3pm – Café Fresh, 29 Commercial Rd
	July 27 th – 30 th 12 – 3pm – Haileybury Youth Club, Ben Jonson Rd
	Men's Project
	July 20 th – 24 th 3:30 – 6:30pm LAP 1 detached work (TBC)
	July 27 th – 30 th 3:30 – 6:30pm LAP 1,2 (TBC) <i>please</i> see <i>below</i> .
Resources needed	Cameras, still cameras, sheets of drawing paper, pens, glue, Dictaphones, filming/installation and drama tutors.
(Equipment / staff help,	Admin support for monitoring.
including stewarding,	
admin support)	
Threats to success / risk	Risk: Low attendance numbers Level: High in some areas.
factors	Risk: funding stopping Level: low
	Risk: Deficiency in equipment used Level: Low if we keep an inventory and maintenance checks on all equipment.
	Risk: lack of tutors available to attend sessions Level: Depending on management, could be a threat, but not likely.
	Risk: Young people have an accident whilst on site Level: Medium, depending on the briefing, management and
	planning. Must make sure young people are made aware of the dangers around and the precautions taken to ensure
	minimal risks.

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Responsibilities (lead,	Line Manager: Geraldine Bone							
support, risk	Project coordinator: Ca	Project coordinator: Canan Salih						
management,	Assistant: Chloe Osbo	rne (E	mergency Exit Arts					
evaluation, etc)	Tutors: TBC, London N	∕let. ar	chitect tutor.					
·	Occasional help: David	Occasional help: David Holloway, Robert Lungu, Mo Miah						
Funding	£ 6410 FYT	Bud	Budget submitted to line manager? Yes			у	Orders raised with	У
-	£3000 Ideas	Please see below.					admin?	-
	Foundation							
Legal issues	Contracts issued,		Risk	у	Licenses			
	specifying tax / NI		assessments		sought?			
	responsibilities?		done?					

Proposed timetable for Waste of Space- Summer 2009

Group Session (G/B + Date)	Time Of Session	Location of Session	Proposed workshop Leaders/Artists
G- Thursday 23 rd July	10-3 (4 hours)	Café Fresh	Canan, Chloe, 2 hours- Visual Artist
G-Friday 24 th July	10-3 (4 hours)	Café Fresh	Canan, Chloe, Installation Artist
G- Monday 27 th July	12-3 (3 hours)	Haileybury Youth Club	Canan, Chloe
G-Tuesday 28 th July	12-3 (3 hours)	Haileybury Youth Club	Canan, Chloe, Visual Artist
G-Wednesday 29 th July	12-3 (3 hours)	Haileybury Youth Club	Canan, Chloe, Installation Artist
G- Thursday 30 th July	12-3 (3 hours)	Haileybury Youth Club	Canan, Chloe
B- Monday 20 th July	3.30-6.30 (3 hours)	Brady Centre	Canan, Chloe
B-Tuesday 21 st July	3.30-6.30 (3 hours)	Brady Centre	Canan, Chloe, Visual Artist
B-Wednesday 22 nd July +	3.30-6.30 (3 hours)	Brady Centre	Canan, Chloe, Installation Artist
B - Thursday 23rd July			Canan
B- Monday 27 th July	3.30-6.30 (3 hours)	Brady Centre	Canan, Chloe
B-Tuesday 28 th July	3.30-6.30 (3 hours)	Brady Centre	Canan, Chloe, Visual Artist
B-Wednesday 29 th July	3.30-6.30 (3 hours)	Brady Centre	Canan, Chloe, Installation Artist
B-Thursday 30 th July	3.30-6.30 (3 hours)	Brady Centre	Canan, Chloe
G+B- Friday 31 st July	11 - 5pm	London Met	Trip - Architect, Chloe+ Installation Artist + Visual Artist+
	·		David Holloway

A DISGRACEFUL WASTE OF SPACE

PROJECT PLAN

DAY 1:	
Explore space and places around the estate with young people. Introduce the idea of situationist maps – vertical/virtual maps	 Basic marking activity using post it notes/ sticky arrows to mark your journey around the site. Creative mapping activity using tracing paper on top of pre-existing map to 're-draw' their familiar sites as they see them (we could use this idea as a recurrent theme! – layering of ideas and exploration)
Explore questions about what place means to you 1. What is the safest public place? 2. What is the place you occupy the most? 3. What is your favourite place? 4. What is a public place where you can be private? 5. What place do you create with your friends?	chosen media- sound/drawing/writing/photographs/ Film or combination of the above (nb. this is resource restricted) • Safest Place Using something precious of yours (sentimental not cost wise)- find the safest space to place it on site. Experiment with different alternatives and either draw or write a description of each space until you find the 'safest'. What does safest mean? (open discussion and feedback) • Occupy the most Go to the place you are drawn to the most on site, think of three descriptive words to say why that place. Write them in chalk on the space. • What space do you occupy the most in your everyday lives? Create a map of your daily spaces using props from the environment and chalk/post its to label. I.e. 40%at home: 20%in bedroom, 10% in kitchen, and 10% in garden. 10% benches on valence street, 5% in café, 30% at school/college etc) Take photos of your daily space maps for documentation and leave the maps on the site as in situ artwork. • Favourite Place How much time do you get to spend in your favourite space? Draw a map for another member of the group to find your favourite place, instead of directions use descriptions of what you would see, hear

	What is your favourite space to be in when a) alone b) with friends c) with family? In groups of 3, Using Photography, create still images for these three spaces, using a combination people, environmental props, drawn images, and words.
Sit in one place in the public space and observe what goes on. Find somewhere to be private in a public space.	 Turning a public space private In pairs discuss how this can be done: make a <u>short performance duet</u> that explores the possibilities discussed. Perform duets to the rest of the group who try to recognise when the space is public and when private.
What do you observe about your environment? How are you observed? Make notes	Witnessing In 2 minutes write a stream of consciousness response to your site, recording all of the sensory experiences. Underline or circle words or sentences that you like and transfer them onto the site using chalks or other materials.
	 Sit still for 2 minutes and <u>record anyone who 'watches'</u> you, how do they observe you? How do you know that they are watching? Share your findings with the group.
	 In pairs play the <u>eye contact game</u> moving about the space, then use this to make a 1-minute physical performance exploring the relationship between the watched and the watcher. All pairs perform these at the same time and the artist/workshop leader will record how passers by respond to the performance.
Note 5 places associated with a memory – using chalk mark the places. Rename them or give them a name and mark the name like a street sign. Photograph the places while you present	 Using a <u>map of the site</u> overlaid with tracing paper, mark on it 5 memories you have of the precise area, i.e. I fell over the roots of this tree and sprained my ankle, I got drunk for the first time here and was sick in this bin etc! Think of appropriate names for each of these places and on a separate layer of tracing paper, redraw the area giving your 'memory places' new identities through their name change.
them to the group, taking each other on a journey through your memories (literally).	 Take the rest of the group on a <u>tour of your new map</u>, like a tour guide presenting places to tourists. Other participants will film the tours.
Day Two:	
Make a non-place into a place	 What makes a place? As a whole group create 2 thought showers, one for place and the other for non-place.
	 In pairs find a non-place from the site and using ideas from the thought shower <u>create a proposal</u> to turn it into a place, how would you do this? What materials would you need? Approach the activity as if you are applying for planning permission or talking to an architect firm

	about putting your changes into place.
Take a friend on a tour of it.	Present your proposal to the rest of the group, who will respond like architects with questions and suggestions about your proposal.
Generate a map, recording the places where: - Your journeys were interrupted by failed public transport - You first & last met family or a friend - You spent 23 rd June 09 - You were in bad weather - You don't want to go back to - You'd like to redesign the urban landscape Include in your map photos, drawings, and patterns.	As a whole group create a site map on large rolls of paper, each person should record on the map, through photographs, writing, drawing, mark making, each of the questions suggested.
Day Three:	
Explore meeting places	 Where do you meet you're a) friends b) family? Go to your first chosen place, think of three descriptive words to say why you chose that place. Write them in chalk on the space. Then go to your second chosen place and repeat the process.
- What do you do?	When you meet your friends at this place, what do you do? Working in small groups use sound recording equipment record your movements on the site, your body posture, and your conversation.
- Who does this place belong to?	How do you make this space yours? Is it yours? Make a short performative exploration of taking ownership of a place. How do you claim a space?
- What makes a place appropriate for meeting/hanging out in?	Dream Place if you could choose any place in the world to hang out in, what would it be like? When would you like to hang out in it? using photography take bits from other spaces to create a montage of
- What times do you occupy that space?	your ideal place to hang out.
- What restrictions are imposed upon	 Using your chosen media <u>document</u> all of the things that effect a) your behaviour in that space and b)the space itself.
you or that space?	b)the space itself.

Canan Salih. 2014

Go to your meeting place[s] as a group and record conversations.	 interaction with the space: what conversations do you have when you are there? How does the space make you feel/behave differently from other spaces? Stage a photo to record your interaction with the space. Imagine this scene being caught by CCTV cameras.
Take a look in – take a picture of us in this place.	
What do you see? What does the public see?	 How do you think that the public respond to you in that space? What do you they think you are doing/Thinking? How would you perceive you from an outsider's perspective. Using a camcorder, one at a time step out of the group and record a voice over to your site scene, as if you were a passer by. Think about how different passersby would react differently, i.e. a young man, an old women, a child
Redesign one selected meeting place as a group using chalk and a map/drawing.	Using chalk, string, post its and other props introduced or organic to the space, and redesign a chosen space within the site. Record this using your chosen media.
DAY 4:	
Make a photo-based A – Z of your estate, display this as a guidebook of your area.	 In groups plan how you could create a 'happening' at your chosen place. How could you engage the passers by considered in previous activities in your space. Think about the possibilities of creating an installation using sound, artwork, found objects, performance, and interactive encounters. Having written up a list of what you would need to create this 'event' go with one of the workshop leaders to buy/borrow/find these things then come back to the space to create it. How are you going to invite the passers by to participate in your happening? Do you want to bring people there by vocal invitation/signs/ to let people stumble across it organically/any other means of engagement planned for. Discuss and feedback on the experience of your happening.
DAY 5:	
Finish any of the above and take photos of each map/guidebook/tour	
Recorded outcomes. Monitoring.	

Innes Park boys engagement in street art through plaques and signpost making





Haileybury Girls engagement in visual arts through fabric painting and layered map drawings





























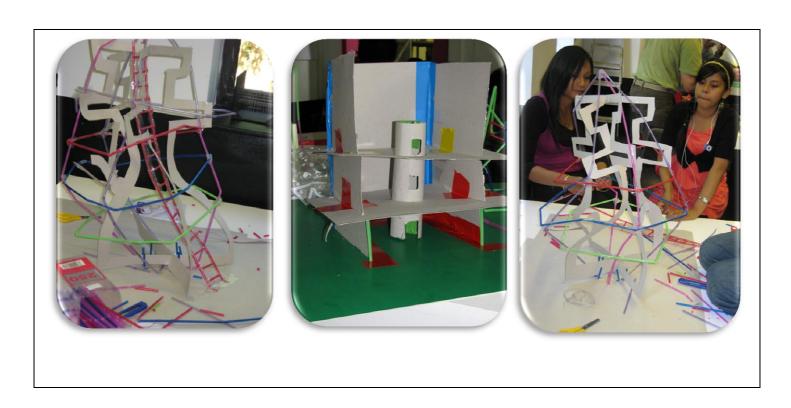
Visit to the London Met Architect Department











Appendix D

DISGRACEFUL WASTE OF SPACE (DWOS) – 2

THE PROJECT

The aim of this project was to identify how young LTCs make 'place' out of 'public spaces' in the borough of Enfield, North London. The project sought to identify the memories of events, moments and incidents that are related to their Turkish Cypriot cultural identities, initiating them to create these 'places' within the built environment. The project also used techniques in applied drama, filming, psycho-geography, and music production to create performed 'walks' that route the journey of each participants memorable sites.

THE PARTICIPANTS

There were seven LTC participants involved in the DWOS-2 project: four young women (Selen, Safi, Ipek, Dilan) and three young men (Serhan, Tarkan, Korcan). The three young men are siblings, as are Selen and Safi. The participants were selected through my personal associated with their parents. The young men are my nephews from my older sister. Safi and Selen are daughters of my sister's best friend. Dilan's mother is a friend of mine, as is Ipek's mother. This personal association ensured the young LTCs participated and committed to the project. Their involvement also seemed to please their parents who wished for their offspring's to engage in a project that will empower them to explore their ethnic cultural identities. For more information on participants please refer to Appendix A.

THE PLANNING

At first I visited each young person in their homes and discussed the thesis with them. I explained the reason for the research and the methodology I wished to apply to the practice-as-research. It was important for the young LTCs to understand the rationale and concept behind the research, as well as the methodologies I would be facilitating them in. I had to make the details simple, clear and accessible so the young people could understand the research as a whole, and their integral roles within it. I invited the young people to my home for a planning session. I asked them to consider, before attending this planning session, one place, or route that was meaningful to them, in particular, paying close attention to this space or route's association to them being London Turkish Cypriot.

THE PREPARATION

During the planning session, on July 20 2010, I laid out a large roll of white paper across the dining table and asked the young people to each map out their routes or place. They were then asked to write a synopsis of their performance idea. This would give me a clearer idea of the filming requirements, time needed for each performance and other resources like microphones, other performers and additional effects (like music).



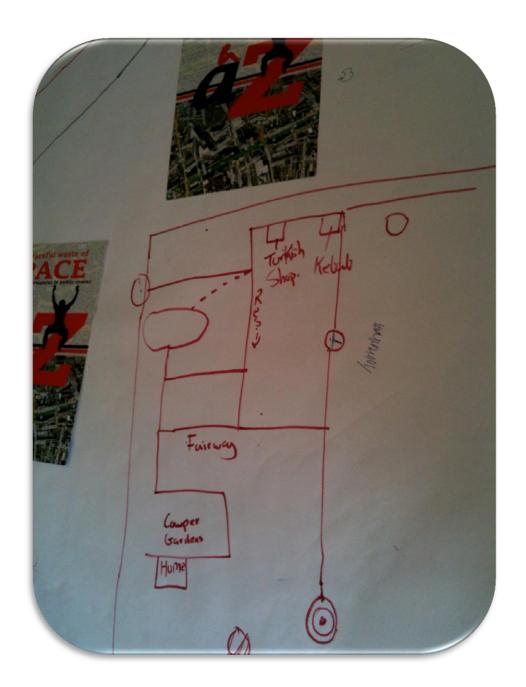










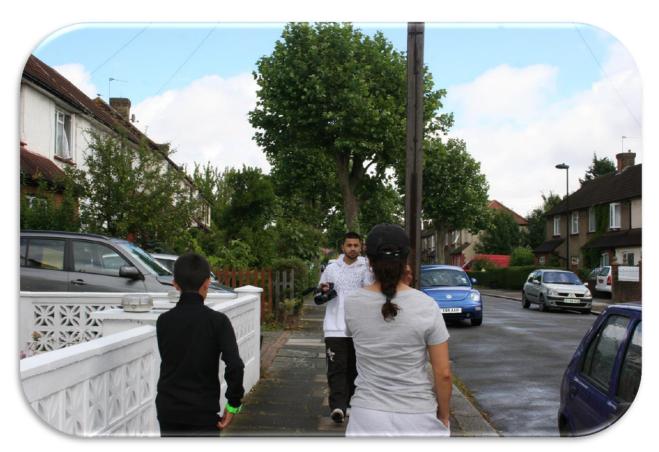


THE OUTCOMES

Each young person's performance outcome is discussed in depth in Chapters 2 and 3. Each performance, however, became defined as a WALK, consisting of a series of film clips depicting different routes, sites and memories of each LTC participant's relationship to place. The images below present some indication of the filming process, as well as the level of involvement each young person received from the other LTC participants on their WALK.



1. Filming Dilan's WALK outside Southgate Tube Station. This was the point in which Dilan moved from Southgate, (where her route began), to Palmers Green, (where her route ends).









2. Serhan filmed some of his WALK himself (where his younger brother enters) and was very involved and instructive about how he wanted his WALK to be.



3. Safi filmed all her footage herself and decided to involve her family in her WALK, particularly her father (included in the images)

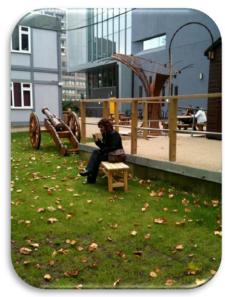


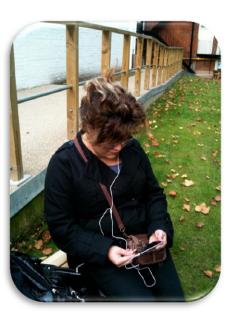


PRESENTING DWOS-2 AT COLLISIONS OCTOBER 2010 Central School of Speech and Drama (CSSD)









4. Spectators watched Selen and Korcan's WALK on iPods. Selen and Korcan chose this location, at CSSD, because they felt the greenery and expanse of space was the closest to representing the locations of their WALK's location.



5. Serhan and Ipek chose the spiral staircase to share their performances as they felt this site best represented the urban feel reflected in their WALKs.



6. Dilan chose outside the bike-shed and astro-turf area to share her WALK as she believed this area was as varied as the sites she portrayed in her WALK.



7. The outside seating area at CSSD was Tarkan and Safi's chosen site for sharing their WALKs.

Appendix E

Home Project Workshop Plans 2012

Identity Labels

Consider these terms:

Discuss which, if any, would you use to identify other people?

Which, if any, would you use to identify yourself?

Are any of the terms 'tricky' or are there any that you would like to get rid of?

Are there any terms that are **not** here that you would prefer to identify with?

British Asian

Black British

Mixed race

English

British

White

Ethnic Minority

Chav

Coloured

Goth

Nerd

Stereotypes:

Discuss what we mean by stereotyping.

Have you had any experiences with stereotyping?

In partners re-enact a time when you feel you were stereotyped.

In partners create a scene in which you are seen as who think you really are.

'Britishness'

Objectives:

To explore what 'being British' means in today's world.

To consider why it is difficult to devise a clear definition of 'Britishness' and why this might be the case.

a) All pupils to think of three words or images that they connect with the term **British**, then write or draw a picture of this on a post-it note and attach to a large sheet headed 'Britishness'.

Take in turns to share responses.

Canan Salih. 2014

b) Work in small groups and reflect on the words and images connected to 'Britishness', to consider:

How do these images connect with your own understanding of being British?

- c) In groups choose 3 frozen images, which you feel best portrays a sense of Britishness.
- d) Share your groups chosen words and images with the whole class, discussing their reasons for making these choices.
- e) Lead a class discussion on the various factors, which can contribute towards defining a sense of 'Britishness'.

Activity 2: 15 minutes

Small group work: Ask the students to consider their family links to countries other than Britain.

Each group to represent these links in diagrammatic form on sketched maps of the world (available from http://www.shutterstock.com)

Notions of 'Home'

Belonging

Objectives:

To encourage an awareness of what it might mean to belong or not to belong.

To consider places that evoke belonging, or not belonging

Work in pairs and consider:

One place or situation that gives them a sense of belonging and **what** makes them feel this way?

Why do you feel a sense of belonging in these places or in these situations?

Feedback by performing an Advert for this place or situation. So you are selling it to the others as an idea.

Repeat activity, but this time thinking of a place or situation in which you feel or have felt that you don't belong, taking into consideration the reasons why this might be. List how feeling a sense of belonging and how feeling you do not belong can impacts on us.

Can conclusions be drawn about what may motivate behaviour?

For example, a sense of belonging can result in:

Increased self esteem
Feelings of happiness
Being confident to learn new social skills

Thoughtfulness towards others.

A sense of not belonging can result in:

Feelings of isolation
Feeling misunderstood
Feeling unfairly judged
Experiencing anger or sadness
Becoming withdrawn

In groups, enact situations or places from each participant where a sense of belonging is evoked and the impact of this. Do the same for not belonging.

Activity 5: 20 minutes

Equipment/materials required: a range of props

Create a drama activity, asking the students to imagine taking a journey and the kind of situations and places which could occur which may foster a sense of belonging or of not belonging.

To create this journey the learners can create a narrative with characters and props. Allow 5 minutes at the conclusion of the session for any final thoughts or evaluations from the class on this topic.

Review of Workshop May 30th 2012

The first workshop that addresses the issues around the notions of home was actually quite enlightening and. I believe, successful.

Participants were:

Safi (LTC)

Songul (Turkish Kurdish British)

Mete (LTC considers himself British)

Jayden (mixed race)

Ersan (LTC)

Dilan (LTC)

The session bought up the issue of inter-sectionality – more than one social identity. The length was quite short as just as we begun to look at home and what it actually means to the y/p, we had to finish the session. But what came out of the session was the fact that the y/p consider home as not merely locational but situational. Sometimes home is not based on where you are, but how you position yourself in any given situation.

The young people also explored notions of cultural identity and what it means to be British.

I started the session with an exercise that asks the y/p to look at a list of **Identity Labels.** I asked them to consider these terms:

British Asian

Black British
Mixed race
English
British
White
Ethnic Minority
Chav
Coloured
Goth
Nerd

Then they were to discuss which, if any, they would use to identify other people? Which, if any, would they use to identify themselves? I asked them if they would consider any of the terms 'tricky' or any they would like to get rid of? And finally, were there any terms that were **not** there that they would prefer to identify with?

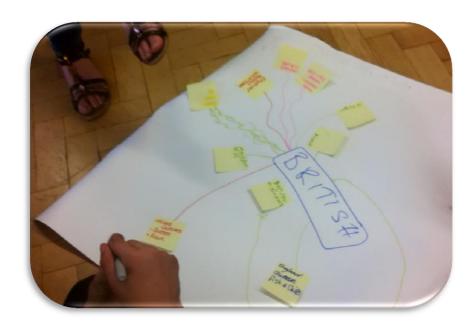
The results were:

All, par one or two y/p chose 'British' to describe themselves. Only J chose 'mixed race' because he is what is considered mixed race in that his mother is South African and his father Jamaican. E chose mixed race because he **felt** he was. E has SEN and therefore needed extra supervision to be able to grasp the concept of the exercises. Most of the y/p felt that the term 'Turkish', or 'LTC' was missing from the list. All the y/p felt 'coloured' should be deleted from the list, as it doesn't seem to describe anyone accurately. They considered CHAV a racist term although they couldn't quite describe what it meant. It was a term that they associated with a negative connotation of white people but they couldn't tell me what they felt it meant. I explained to them that it is considered an abbreviated of 'council housed and violent'.

I then went on to ask the group to think of three words or images that they connect with the term **British**, then write or draw a picture of this on a post-it note and attach to a large sheet headed 'Britishness'.

The words that came out of that were:

They took turns to share their responses then I asked the group to work in partners to choose 3 frozen images, which they feel best portray a sense of Britishness.



The groups then share their chosen words and images with the whole class, discussing their reasons for making these choices.

This looked at how the words and frozen images connect with their own understanding of being British?

The frozen images of each group were:



Ersan & Mete - School, Gun Crime, Youth



Safi & Jaden - Hoodies, Youth, Royalty



Songul & Dilan - Weather, Gangs, Royalty

The queen was considered a symbol of Britain for the young people, and they did not think this was the case simply because of the Diamond Jubilee. They see the Queen as a representative of the country. Alongside this the rain was also considered a part of the British identity. What was really interesting was the issue of youth violence that each group associated with Britishness. These came in the form of 'hoodies' (explain what that is), aggressive image and gangs.

I asked the y/p whether they considered themselves British and they all replied, to a certain extent, yes. I then asked them what it was about them that they thought as British, and the replies ranged from 'it's where I was born', 'the environment we live in', 'the way we live', and 'the gun crime'.

HOME:

We then went on to discuss how Britain, with all its good and bad connotations is 'home' to each young person. One of the youths pointed out that, even though they go 'home' to Cyprus or Turkey, they can't wait to come back to Britain because they 'feel like we don't belong there.' At this point I suggested that for the sake of this research, if I defined home as a place of belonging would that work for the group and they all agreed to this. We then began to deconstruct the reasons why they felt this way, and the meaning of 'Home' in this context. On post it notes I asked the group to write words that they associate with Home.

Below are the key points that the young people associate to Home:

- College
- Places I live
- Relaxation
- Peaceful
- Family
- Friends
- Traffic
- I know where I am going
- A place where you know everywhere
- Home sweet home safe peaceful

- Your family
- Family
- Sanctuary
- A place of relaxing
- Peace
- Comfortable
- A place where you come from



Home is a place but is doesn't necessary need to be a house.

It's where you 'feel at home'.

Home is where one feels relaxed, safe and comfortable.

Home is a feeling of happiness, memories of a place.

Home is defined as home depending on how you perceive it; how you define it as such.

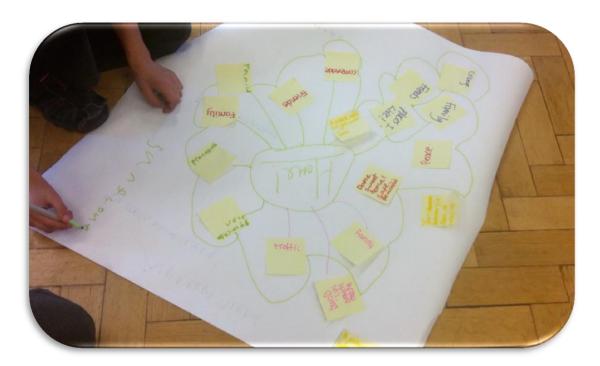
Home is place bound, but what that place is depends on how you feel in the place.

Where you belong, familiarity, memories and the people. Home is where the heart is.

The rhythm of others who, for example, live in Cyprus doesn't work with Safi, so she doesn't feel comfortable there. England has a closer sense of home to her.

I consider home wherever I'm staying, but if I don't like it, I won't see it as home.

There's a bit of home in everyone. You take home with you. It's your attitude towards place.



The group's definitions of Home are:

Knowing where things are, Being comfortable there, Having memories and familiarity, Feeling like you belong.



Appendix F

Home 1 Project Workshop Plans 2011

- 1. Use the body to make an imprint of the self. Write on parts of the body, components that form and inform your identity. This may include ethnicity, gender, genes, cultures etc.
- 2. Bring in a box that contains objects that have meaning to you as a LTC, this could include music, books, images, material etc, etc. Using that box, devise a monologue that talks us through your journey with each of the objects and the history behind them.
- 3. Hand a ribbon to each y/p and this ribbon personifies their cultural identity. Throughout the week/or day they place, use, present the ribbon within a LTC cultural frame and take a picture of it. They can tie it, write on it etc. Using the images, create tablaux using the rest of the group and think about where (location) you would place these tablaux. Why?
- 4. Take us on a tour of your place. This place may not necessarily be your house but somewhere you feel a strong connection to your cultural identity. Film the tour. Ask us to play a part in your tour.
- 5. What is home? Think about your home. Now open up the sphere of your home to include your area around the central point. Now open it up to a world map. Where is home now?
- 6. As a group devise a tour of places that embody the LTC experience. Invite people on this tour and then ask them for feedback.

OUTCOMES OF ACTIVITIES

Of the above exercises and activities I only managed to facilitate the group on exercise 2. Each person was given a white box with which they could do what they want and put into whatever they felt depicted their notions of Home as LTCs. Below is a list of items found in each person's box, alongside images of their final installations at *Collisions 2011, CSSD* – derived from the objects in the box.

DILAN:

- Bedcover
- Videos of holidays
- Pictures of her growing up
- Clothes from Abercrombie & Finch

• DVD interview of a friend about being Turkish Cypriot



MELDA:

- Turkish Flag
- Turkish Cypriot Flag
- Stuffed Toy
- Lots of pictures of her growing up
- PowerPoint video of her family
- Nazar Göz A cultural emblem of an eye, set to ward of evil



SAFI:

• Photos



SELEN:

- Photos, images of royal family, Drak (singer), family, friends
- Cypriot flag
- Turkish flag
- Union Jack
- · Cypriot head scarf
- Video of her folk dance group performing on stage at a Turkish Schools festival
- Lace, handmade table cloth, made in Cyprus



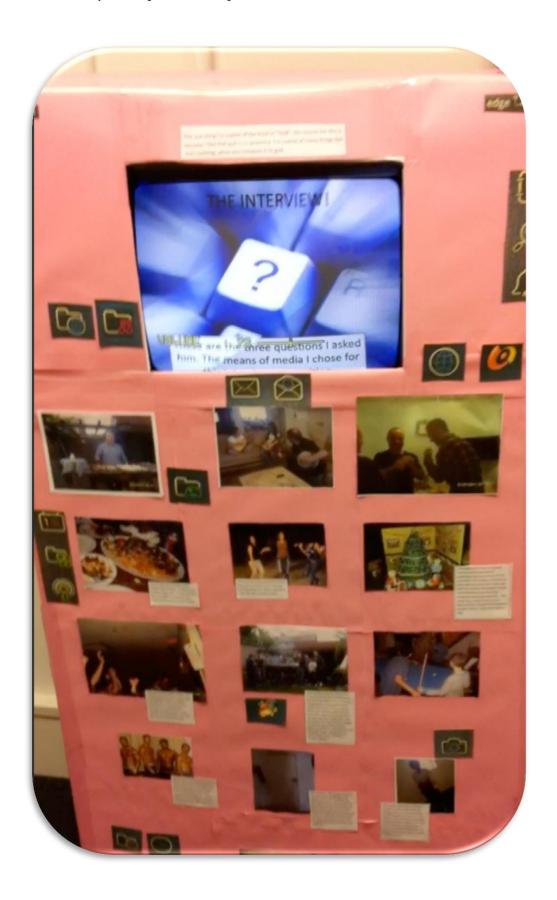






ZEHRA:

• Her mobile phone [installation]



Appendix G

Notes from Home 2 project - Panel discussions

Observations of Mete's DDP:

(Jess) A strong sense of the 'unsaid'. Seems he couldn't articulate about choice. It's as if he is hiding both at school and at home.

(Odudu) Vulnerable. Is a lack of power at home being overcompensated for at school? How much do you tell them about the participant's home life per se?

(Carol) There seems a sense of fear – scary space. A sense of identity formed in fear.

(Jess) Ownership once you've been through a risk in that space. Not being able to reconcile with what he is feeling.

(Sophie) he's not really taking about home but about himself. His 'becoming'

Age – transition – finding himself. School is a predominant part of his life.

(Amy) He is able to shift his identity of a bully to a less threatening/aggressive role – liberating experience for him.

Giving up the Piano – control of giving it up.

Subtext!

Bilcan and Korcan's DDP:

Banter

A sense of security, but is it coming from a) knowing me, or b) it's their environment?

(Odudu) is there a correlation between how many siblings there are to the extent in which you embrace your ethnic culture? Or is it down to how your parents raise you?

Setting examples as older siblings. Siblings affect how y/p respond to the home space.

• Demet's DDP:

Age difference between her and Mete.

Why air cadets? Embraces the notions of rules, a sense of structure.

Yet she says at home she can 'be myself', does she mean ATC? (Unclear)

At ATC she is liked for who she was and not what they want her to be.

'The only place I feel TC is when I'm with my family' – So at ATC she doesn't feel TC but she feels 'at home' – belonging. ATC makes her feel 'equal' and 'normal'. At home she is an ethnicity, outside she is an anonymous human being. Her ethnicity seems to be worn as a visible 'face'.

(JESS) Equality = structure = like everyone else = security and safety. Is there a risk in being different to Demet? And if so why?

ATC enables her to be whom she wants – and that is to be like everyone else.

Demets autonomy means she can assert her hegemonies, <u>despite</u> being TC. Is there a sense of 'shame' in being TC?

Bayram's DDP:

Panel surprised that the boys chose school. Assumed school was a place they HAD to occupy. Sense of choice says a lot.

Whole panel responded quite touched by Bayram's sincere statement of feeling privileged in being TC.

There is a strong sense of cultural embracement, in contrast to Mete and Demets DDPs.

Didn't talk much about Dilan's DDP other than Amy and Carol expressing a liking to her style of returning to the bed spread on a regular basis. They drew on the metaphor of the bedspread representing the weaving wool of her life. Coming together as the trajectories of her life.

Safi's DDP:

Not much was said about Safi's piece other than that the panel acutely felt Safi's vulnerability and placelessness towards the end of her DDP. All were taken aback by her choice of a Shisha Bar as Home.

Themes from Panel discussions:

- Vulnerability and safety Mete/Korcan & Bilcan/Demet
- Power Mete/Demet
- Cultural Embracement Korcan & Bilcan/Bayram/Mete
- Transitional periods Safi/Mete
- Family Mete & Demet/Korcan & Bilcan
- Performance of self Dilan/Mete/Demet/Safi
- Subtext (the unsaid) Mete/Demet/Safi