

RE-MEMBERING GERMANY AT HOME: TRANSNATIONALIZATION OF
RETURN MIGRANTS THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHS AND LIFE STORIES

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

IRMAK EVREN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

MARCH 2023

Approval of the thesis:

**RE-MEMBERING GERMANY AT HOME: TRANSNATIONALIZATION OF
RETURN MIGRANTS THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHS AND LIFE STORIES**

submitted by **IRMAK EVREN** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology, the Graduate School of Social
Sciences of Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Sadettin KIRAZCI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Nur SAKTANBER
Head of Department
Department of Sociology

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Nur SAKTANBER
Supervisor
Department of Sociology

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Hayriye ERBAŞ (Head of the Examining Committee)
Ankara University
Department of Sociology

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Nur SAKTANBER (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Sociology

Prof. Dr. Helga RİTTERSBERGER TILIÇ
Middle East Technical University
Department of Sociology

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gülsüm DEPELİ SEVİNÇ
Hacettepe University
Department of Communication Sciences

Assist. Prof. Dr. Besim Can ZIRH
Middle East Technical University
Department of Sociology

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Irmak EVREN

Signature:

ABSTRACT

RE-MEMBERING GERMANY AT HOME: TRANSNATIONALIZATION OF RETURN MIGRANTS THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHS AND LIFE STORIES

EVREN, Irmak

Ph.D., The Department of Sociology

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Ayşe Nur Saktanber

March 2023, 347 pages

Turkish migration to Germany that started in the early 1960s was essentially a response to a call concerning demand for labour on a temporary basis. By the time economic crisis hit and followed by a further recruitment ban, an act in 1983 was officially introduced as a return incentive to mainly unemployed migrants in Germany. Since the myth of return eventually turns into a reality, Turkish migrant workers return rather than being a rupture in the migratory cycle, becomes a continuation of migration, endowed with transnationality which emphasizes on the individual links that returnees forge with host country that stretch to their post return lives. In this regard, questioning returnees ties with hostland, this study focuses on the mnemonic links of eleven first and second generation Turkish return migrants from Germany to understand the role of host country in their present setting. As traveling memories, narration of a past reproduces their ties with the country left behind through incorporating its memory image in homeland, constructing usable pasts that allow for their translation into practices, mentality, ideas that inhabit present setting, while shaping their sense of belonging to both home and hostland selectively. In addition, as vehicles of memory, family photo albums of returnees

would be used since they are dynamic in sense of interpreting past, most commonly expressed through articulation of the past, comparison between there and here, negotiation incorporating past into present, unravelling what they represent in returnees imaginary. Therefore, this study mainly draws upon life story interviews with a thematic on hostland and photo elicitation method to understand the memory work of the returnees that unfolds their multiple relations with Germany.

Keywords: Transnationalism, Return Migration, Memory, Photography, Life Story

ÖZ

EVDE ALMANYAYI HATIRLAMAK: GERİ DÖNÜŞ GÖÇÜ YAPAN GÖÇMENLERİN FOTOĞRAFLAR VE YAŞAM ÖYKÜLERİ YOLUYLA ULUS- ÖTESİLEŞMESİ

EVREN, Irmak

Doktora, Sosyoloji Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Ayşe Nur Saktanber

Mart 2023, 347 sayfa

1960larda Türkiyeden Almanyaya başlayan işçi göçü, kabul ülkesinin geçici ve dönüşümlü iş gücü talebi çağrısına cevap niteliğinde olmuştur. Almanyayı da etkisi altına alan ekonomik kriz ve işçi alımına dair yasaklarla birlikte 1983 yılında göçmenlerin ülkelerine geri dönmeleri yönünde teşvik yasası çıkarılmıştır. Böylelikle geri dönüş miti gerçeğe dönüşmüş, bu durum aynı zamanda Türkiyeye geri dönmeye karar veren Türkiyeli işçi göçmenler için göçe dair bir kırıma değil aksine ulus ötesicilik yoluyla göçün imgesel anlamda da devam etmesini sağlamış, söz konusu göçmenlerin kendi memleketlerinde dahi Almanya ile bağlarını korumalarına olanak tanımıştır. Bu noktada çalışma geri dönen göçmenlerin kabul ülkesiyle ne tür bağlar kurduğunu sorgularken, birinci ve ikinci nesil on bir göçmenin bellek- hatırladıkları aracılığıyla Almanyanın dönüş sonrası hayatlarındaki etkisine odaklanmaktadır. Göçmenlerin geçmişlerine dair anlatıları, geride bırakılan ülkenin hafızadaki imgesini şimdiki koşullarla birleştirip, kullanılabilir geçmişler yaratarak, Almanya imgesinin pratikler, mentalite, fikirler, duygular olarak eve taşınıp, her iki ülkeyle de seçici bağlar kurulmasını sağlayacaktır. Bununla birlikte, belleğin

taşıyıcıları olan aile, kişisel fotoğrafları da geçmişin yorumlanması, anlatımı, karşılaştırması, müzakere edilmesi ve yeniden düşünülmesiyle bireylerin göç deneyimlerinde neleri temsil ettiğini ortaya koyacaktır. Bu çalışmada, yaşam-hikayeleri ve foto betimleme metodları kabul ülkesiyle kurulan bağları anlamada kullanılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ulusötesilik, Geri Dönüş Göçü, Bellek, Fotoğraf, Yaşam Öyküsü

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My doctoral study has been a long journey. Fortunately, I have never been alone during this process. To start with, without Prof. Dr. Ayşe Saktanber's presence and wisdom as my advisor, I would not have completed my study. Her insights, perspective and comments always challenged me to do better. Moreover, I am thankful to my former advisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Besim Can Zırh whom I met in the first year of my Ph.D., through his course on transnationalism. His course paved the way for my admiration to migration studies, particularly nurtured my amazement to the concept of transnationalism. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gülsüm Depeli Sevinç has also been very helpful with her valuable comments for me to conduct a study with using photographs. Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç's meticulousness and her nuanced remarks were very significant for the course of my dissertation. Prof. Dr. Hayriye Erbaş's invaluable contributions helped me to finalize this dissertation. I would also like thank to Assist. Prof. Dr. Deniz Huri Karıcı for her support.

I am very thankful to my friends Sinem Yıldız Pirinçci and Şeyma Arvas Wills for their tremendous support and trust in me since the beginning of this journey. With their friendship, I feel like I am the luckiest person in this world.

I also thank to TÜBİTAK for providing 2211/A National Ph.D. Scholarship throughout my doctoral study.

I am very grateful to my parents for always being there for me, their immense patience and ceaseless support mean everything to me. All my life, I have admired and aspired to be like my father, his wisdom, productivity, sophistication, authenticity and intellect continue to amaze me in every single day.

I thank to my dear friend Ekin Öñşan. To see her again at METU after many years was very pleasant. Her willingness to help me throughout the final stage of this study was valuable.

Lastly, there is one person, Mehmet Taylan Cüyaz, that I cannot thank enough but I hope that I will be able to do one day. He showed me that there is a more loving, caring and brighter version of life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ.....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	viii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xxii
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Three Axes: Transnationalism, Uses of Memory and Photographs in Return Context	2
1.2 Research Questions	8
1.3 Plan of the Study	10
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	14
2.1 Transnational Return	15
2.2 Memory Studies: From Ars to Literature.....	20
2.2.1 Beyond Literature: Concepts and Theories of Memory in Social Science	24
2.2.2 Transnational Memory and Migration	26
2.2.3 Photographs as Points in Transnational Memory-Making.....	28
2.2.4 Memory and Gender.....	39
2.2.5 Memory and Generation.....	44
3. METHOD OF STUDY	53
3.1 Theoretical Reflections on Research Methods.....	54
3.1.1 Two Approaches on Use of Photographs in Social Studies.....	54
3.1.2 Uses of Photographs in Migration Studies.....	57
3.2 Biographical Approach	59

3.3	Using Methods of Life-Story Interviews and Photo-Elicitation (P.E.)	63
3.4	Cases of the Research.....	69
3.4.1	Defining the Cases	69
3.4.2	Demographic Data of the Sample	76
3.4.3	Migration Biographies of the Cases.....	79
3.4.4	Using Small Size Sample as Case Studies	82
3.4.5	Final Remarks on the Research.....	84
4.	TURKISH LABOR MIGRATION TO GERMANY	91
4.1	Turkish Labor Migration: Patterns, Economic and Social Conditions in Germany Between 1950-1983.....	92
4.2	Becoming Transnational: Moving Across Turkey and Germany.....	100
4.3	Approaches and Policies for Turkish Return Migration	107
4.4	Post-Return Identifications of Turkish Return Migrants in Homeland.....	113
5.	FIRST GENERATION TURKISH RETURN MIGRANTS THREE CASE STUDIES	118
5.1	Case 1: Esat and Tülay	122
5.2	Case 2: İsmet and Kerime	158
5.3	Case 3: Ayşe.....	174
6.	SECOND GENERATION TURKISH RETURN MIGRANTS FOUR CASE STUDIES	185
6.1	Case 1: Nur and Gül.....	190
6.2	Case 2: Zeliha and Celile	216
6.3	Case 3: Mahmut and Seher	233
6.4	Case 4: Hayal	257
7.	CONCLUSION.....	270
	REFERENCES.....	284
	APPENDICES	
	A. INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE IN TURKISH / TÜRKÇE GÖRÜŞME SORULARI.....	323

B. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE	326
C. CURRICULUM VITAE.....	327
D. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET.....	329
E. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ IZIN FORMU	347

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Demographic Data of the Cases.....	76
---	----

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1: Remittances Sent to Turkey 1974-2000	94
Figure 5.1: Esat sits on a green sofa, brought from Germany, in 1999. (Source: Esat and Tülay’s Family Album)	126
Figure 5.2: Bed and Bed clothes, brought from Germany are used in their current house in Istanbul. (Photography by author on September, 10, 2019.).....	126
Figure 5.3: Curtains, brought from Germany are used in their current house in Istanbul. (Photograph by author on September, 10, 2019.).....	127
Figure 5.4: Esat sits in his living room in his apartment in Gauting. (Circa 1964. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album)	129
Figure 5.5: Esat is reading a book in his bedroom in his apartment in Gauting. (Circa 1964. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album)	129
Figure 5.6: The street view from their apartment, captured by Tülay in 1966. (Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album).....	131
Figure 5.7: Tülay is on the balcony of their apartment. (Photograph taken by Esat, circa 1967. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album)	132
Figure 5.8: Tülay, Esat and their daughter visits a zoo in Gauting. (Circa 1973. Photograph taken by Esat. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album)	136
Figure 5.9: Tülay, Esat and their daughter are in sight-seeing. (Circa 1972. Photograph taken by Esat. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album)	136
Figure 5.10: Their daughter posed in a family meeting at their home. (Circa 1973. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album)	138

Figure 5.11: Tülay posed at her desk in the workplace. (Circa 1973. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album)	140
Figure 5.12: Esat and his German friend attend a Fasching in Gauting. (Circa 1963. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album).....	143
Figure 5.13: Esat and his German friends are in a restaurant in Gauting. (Circa 1963. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album).....	143
Figure 5.14: Esat posed in front of a fountain during his sight-seeing with his Turkish friends in Gauting. (Circa 1965. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album)	144
Figure 5.15: Esat posed in front of a local shoe shop during his sight-seeing with Turkish friends in Gauting. (Circa 1965. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album).....	145
Figure 5.16: Esat posed in front of a local clothing shop in during his sight-seeing with Turkish friends in Gauting. (Circa 1965. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album).....	145
Figure 5.17: Tülay and Frau von Weber attend a wedding at church in Gauting. (Circa 1971. Photographer unknown. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album).....	147
Figure 5.18: Esat and Tülay gathered in the house of Esat’s Turkish migrant friend from work. (Circa 1971. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album)	148
Figure 5.19: Esat and Tülay gathered in the house of Esat’s Turkish migrant friend from work. (Circa 1971. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album)	149
Figure 5.20: Esat takes photographs of Tülay in the garden of their house. (Circa 1970. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album).....	150
Figure 5.21: Esat takes photographs of Tülay in the garden of their house. (Circa 1970. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album).....	150

Figure 5.22: Esat and Tülay were touring around near city. (Circa 1970. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album)	151
Figure 5.23: Esat and Tülay were touring around Lake Starnberger. (Circa 1967. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album)	152
Figure 5.24: A scene from Oktoberfest. (Circa 1967. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album).....	152
Figure 5.25: A farewell luncheon is organized for Tülay’s return to homeland in 1975. (Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album).....	154
Figure 5.26: A scene from İsmet’s hometown in Elazığ, hung on the wall in their present home in Erenkoy. (Photograph by author, on November 9, 2019.).....	159
Figure 5.27: İsmet posed by the lathe machine at his workplace, on July, 10, 1967. (Source: İsmet’s collection)	161
Figure 5.28: İsmet and his Turkish migrant friends from the workplace posed in their heim. (Circa 1969. Source: İsmet’s collection)	163
Figure 5.29: İsmet posed while reading in the heim, on May, 15, 1969. (Source: İsmet’s collection)	163
Figure 5.30: İsmet posed in front of his workplace, on September, 20, 1970. (Source: İsmet’s collection)	165
Figure 5.31: İsmet posed in front of his workplace on July, 1, 1976. (Source: İsmet’s collection).....	165
Figure 5.32: İsmet and his Turkish migrant worker friend at work posed in the city centre of Stuttgart. (Circa 1970. Source: İsmet’s collection)	166
Figure 5.33: İsmet and his Turkish migrant worker friends posed in the park, located in the city centre of Stuttgart. (Circa 1976. Source: İsmet’s collection).....	167

Figure 5.34: İsmet and Kerime posed in the park during their lesiure time. (Circa 1983. Source: İsmet’s collection).....	169
Figure 5.35: Ayşe and her Turkish migrant worker friend, Gül posed with their uniforms in the hotel they worked in Boppard. (Circa 1975. Source: Ayşe’s album)	177
Figure 5.36: Ayşe and her employer, Frau Maria posed during a birthday party of their colleague in the workplace in Boppard on March, 20, 1984. (Source: Ayşe’s album).....	178
Figure 5.37: Ayşe posed in front of her workplace in Boppard. (Circa 1970. Source: Ayşe’s album)	179
Figure 5.38: Ali posed in front his bed at the hospital on January, 23, 1971. (Source: Ayşe’s album).....	181
Figure 5.39: Ali welcomes his guests at the hospital on January, 23, 1971. (Source: Ayşe’s album).....	181
Figure 5.40: Ali posed while leaving the hospital in January 1971. (Source: Ayşe’s album).....	182
Figure 6.1: Nur photographed her neighbor in the backyard of their building in Duisburg. (Circa 1973. Source: Nur’s album)	192
Figure 6.2: Nur and her family posed in their home in Duisburg. (Circa 1975. Source: Gül’s album)	193
Figure 6.3: Family picnic in the park near Duisburg. (Circa 1977. Source: Nur’s album)	194
Figure 6.4: Nur posed in front of the TV with her father while watching <i>Bilgiler</i> . (Circa 1976. Source: Nur’s album).....	196
Figure 6.5: Nur’s brother re-dressed his costume from his circumcision feast (held in Turkey) in their home in Duisburg. (Circa 1974. Source: Nur’s album)	197

Figure 6.6: Nur’s mother posed by the radio. (Circa 1974. Source: Nur’s album).....	198
Figure 6.7: The exterior of Nur’s school building, photographed for research purposes. (Circa 1984. Source: Nur’s album)	200
Figure 6.8: A school photograph of Nur with her classmates in secondary school. (Circa 1978. Source: Nur’s album).....	202
Figure 6.9: Nur and her classmates in Turkish afternoon class during secondary school. (Circa 1980. Source: Nur’s album).....	202
Figure 6.10: Nur is at her friend, Nema’s birthday party held in Nema’s home. (Circa 1980. Source: Nur’s album)	204
Figure 6.11: Nur makes an interview with a local reporter about Turkish migrant condition in Germany at her school. (Circa 1980. Source: Nur’s album)	206
Figure 6.12: A clipping of a play about migrants’ wish to return their homeland. (Date unknown. Source: Nur’s album)	206
Figure 6.13: Selected pages from Nur’s school paper, articles in Turkish about migrant problems. (Circa 1980. Source: Nur’s album).....	207
Figure 6.14: A book, gifted to Nur by her teacher at school upon her return. (Photograph by author on December 27, 2019.)	209
Figure 6.15: The first page of the book gifted to Nur by her teacher upon return. (Photograph by author on December, 27, 2019.)	210
Figure 6.16: Zeliha and Celile’s apartment in Stuttgart. Photograph by Zeliha’s friend upon her visit to Germany. (Circa 2000. Source: Zeliha’s collection).....	218
Figure 6.17: Zeliha and her Turkish migrant friends gathering at Zeliha’s house. (Circa 1980. Source: Zeliha’s collection)	223

Figure 6.18: Zeliha and Celile with their family at a Turkish night held in Stuttgart. (Circa 1980. Source: Celile's album).....	224
Figure 6.19: Celile's sons first day at school in Germany. (Circa 1993. Source: Celile's album).....	227
Figure 6.20: Celile's son and spouse at Lenternfest celebrations. (Circa 1992. Source: Celile's album).....	227
Figure 6.21: Celile's son is helping their neighbor's for the decoration of Christmas tree. (Circa 1994. Source: Celile's album).....	228
Figure 6.22: Mahmut posed by the machine he operates at his workplace. (Circa 1975. Source: Seher and Mahmut's family album)	235
Figure 6.23: Seher reorganizes the album by placing her photographs next to Mahmut's photographs when he was single in Germany to attain family unity. (Circa 1988. Source: Seher and Mahmut's family album)	237
Figure 6.24: Seher reorganizes the album by placing her photographs next to Mahmut's photographs when he was single in Germany to attain family unity. (Circa 1988. Source: Seher and Mahmut's family album)	237
Figure 6.25: A clipping of their new apartment from a newspaper and a scene from their apartment window, captured by Seher. (Circa 1985, for the clipping, date unknown. Source: Seher and Mahmut's album)	241
Figure 6.26: Seher posed with the vacuum while cleaning the house in her new apartment. (Circa 1985. Source: Seher and Mahmut's family album)	243
Figure 6.27: Seher posed with her daughter in the garden of their first home in Germany. An example of normal photo since there is no prior preparation for the shooting. (Circa 1978. Source: Seher and Mahmut's family album).....	245

Figure 6.28: Mahmut and Seher posed in the living room of their first home in Germany. They are dressed for the shooting. (Circa 1977. Source: Seher and Mahmut’s family album).....	245
Figure 6.29: Seher and Turkish migrant women neighbor gathered in the garden. (Circa 1978. Source: Mahmut and Seher’s family album).....	248
Figure 6.30: Seher and Mahmut’s Turkish migrant worker friends gathered in the garden. (Circa 1977. Source: Mahmut and Seher’s family album)	248
Figure 6.31: Seher and her Turkish migrant neighbor are in the park with their children. (Circa 1979. Source: Mahmut and Seher’s family album)	250
Figure 6.32: Mahmut and his teammates from Turk Gucu. (Circa 1976-1980. Source: Mahmut and Seher’s family album).....	251
Figure 6.33: A clipping from a newspaper on Turk Gucu’s victory over a German local team. (Circa 1980. Source: Mahmut and Seher’s family album)	251
Figure 6.34: Mahmut and his family are waiting at the station for return to Turkey, in 1988. (Source: Mahmut and Seher’s family album).....	255
Figure 6.35: Hayal’s home in Göppingen. (Circa 1970. Source: Hayal’s photo album).....	258
Figure 6.36: Hayal and her brother posed in the neighborhood. (Circa 1973. Source: Hayal’s photo album).....	258
Figure 6.37: Hayal and her classmates in primary school. (Circa 1970. Source: Hayal’s photo album).....	259
Figure 6.38: Hayal and her classmates in secondary school. (Circa 1975. Source: Hayal’s photo album).....	259

Figure 6.39: Hayal attends the parade for April, 23rd in Germany. (Circa 1977. Source: Hayal's photo album).....	261
Figure 6.40: Hayal performs folkloric dance in the city centre of Göppingen. (Circa 1975. Source: Hayal's photo album).....	262
Figure 6.41: Hayal and her German friends in the garden of their school. (Circa 1979. Source: Hayal's photo album).....	263
Figure 6.42: Hayal's birthday party at her home with Turkish migrant friends. (Circa 1978. Source: Hayal's photo album).....	265
Figure 6.43: Hayal attends the birthday party of her German friend. (Circa 1978. Source: Hayal's photo album).....	265
Figure 6.44: Hayal's farewell party held on her last day in Germany, 1986. (Source: Hayal's photo album)	267

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

P.E.: Photo Elicitation

DİTİB: Diyanet İşleri Türk İslam Birliđi

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study explores the role and influence of the host land in the post-return lives of the first and second generation Turkish return migrants in homeland. I will focus on the case studies of 5 first generation and 7 second generation Turkish returnees from Germany and analyze the aspects that they refer to their lives in host land from their present perspective after their return to homeland. The sample in these case studies migrated to Germany as worker migrants or descendants of worker migrants since the beginning of the bilateral agreement for recruitment of workers between Germany and Turkey in 1961 and returned to Turkey in different times (between the mid-70s and the year 2000). Upon their return, I aim to trace their links with Germany with respect to the ways in which they transmit their past experiences in the host land and employ them in their present settings. Hence, the exploration subcategorizes into two branches; firstly, through transmission and secondly through employment. By transmission, I indicate the aspects of their experiences that they actively select to bring in the homeland as memories in life-narratives and their photographic productions as personal documents that have representational value on their presence and their intentions to depict their life-events there. With employment, I underline the “uses” of their past experiences as a form of forging individual ties with the host land after their return through the repurposing their life narratives as success stories and the reproduction of the practices they engaged in host land. Thus, I argue that returnees’ memories on their migration course that comprise the period from their decision to migrate to their present lives in homeland after return are used as an individually crafted transnational ties that make them not only pursue their relations with host land but also as place making practice in their present setting after their return.

1.1 Three Axes: Transnationalism, Uses of Memory and Photographs in Return Context

I seek to problematize their ongoing relations with host land and use of their memories as to shape their place-makings in their present settings will be grounded on three axes; locating transnationalism in return migration, use of memories in migration course and photographs of return migrants as their belongings by focusing on its visual representation in their present setting. In these axes, I will refer to life-course perspective to indicate that their past experiences in host land are constructed within the interplay of the structural factors and their agency, their decision to act with response to the conditions in host land and to understand their choice of what they transfer from host land as ideas, practices and attitudes and how they find place in their home setting.

Firstly, I will highlight transnational approach in return migration studies in two ways. On the one hand, I will put emphasis on the directionality, indicating that transnational exchange could be employed by return migrants, through bringing in both material and immaterial resources from host land to homeland as an indication of their continuing bonds with the host land even after their return. So far, transnational bonds have been referred from the migrants' perspective, who have settled in the host land and engage in such an exchange with an intention to revive the idea of home through reproduction of home culture either in their domestic sphere and/or through the establishment of transnational social spaces (Faist, 2006) that centers around the needs and interests of the migrants in the host land. They are intended to replace the "absent" in their current setting by referring back to their home in the purse of their economic, socio-cultural and political commitments. Indeed, these spaces could be interpreted as their attempts to "incorporate their memories in the receiving society" (Glynn and Kleist, 2012:12). Reciprocally, these spaces have been influential in the participation of various spheres in home, considering the development nexus, through the remittances they sent back home improve economic activities either by personal investment choices, affecting consumption patterns of the family of the migrant back home, or reducing trade deficits in domestic economy. Moreover, by creating social networks, they help non-

migrant native community to migrate or channeling information on home conditions that may induce their return to home. In this sense, the directionality happens to be unilateral where the exchanges flow from home country to host land have some implications on the home setting. By locating return migration to transnational context, I will aim to highlight that returnees' transfer of their resources, in this case, I suggest that it is their memories and practices, from host land to homeland based on their past experiences to replace what they think as "absent" in homeland or "better" in host land in their present setting after return.

On the other hand, I will concentrate on transnational return (Fauser and Anghel, 2020), an emerging concept that puts emphasis on return as an ongoing process in migration course rather than being an end. It is rather encapsulated as a stage that is still influential on the lives of returnees in homeland based on what they transfer from host land and make their place with the employment of these transfers. In this respect, I introduce the term incorporation, suggesting that it is a process of *including* various elements based on their past experiences to construct present reality. However, in the given literature, prior examples on incorporation defines either the structural participation of migrants in host country through entering to work sphere or the mobilization of practices that indicate migrants' ties with home values in the host setting. The former is emphasized by Portes and Böröcz (1989) who argue that incorporation is a mode of structural integration model that reproduces the stereotypes regarding the employment of worker migrants in menial labour. In a similar vein, Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002) state that economic incorporation to host country through work and earning money enables migrants to send remittances to their family back home. The latter is accentuated by Levitt (2014) who considers that root journeys to homeland, orientation of one's cultural capital to his new occupation and performances of religious identity through creating transnational religious spaces are indicators of incorporation of elements of home country in host land. Lastly, Karpathakis (1999) addresses that migrants' engagement in political sphere is also a way of maintaining contact with homeland since they are willing to influence the political system in home country by incorporating the voting system, decision-making procedures in the host land. As these elements focus on the local and societal

level implications of the channeled resources, I, by borrowing the term “transnationality” (Anghel and Fauser, 2020:7), will concentrate on the individual ties through which returnees forge with past experiences to re-connect with the host land and their implications in their present setting.

In both of these aspects, I will locate life course perspective both to trace the past experiences of returnees in their migration course and to pinpoint what life-events they indicate and their significance as they are still remembered in the post-return lives. Most importantly, transnational return as it focuses on the process of transfer and the aspects that returnees intend to engage in their lives in present settings, I also suggest that this transfer cannot be fully grasped without taking a comprehensive approach if return as they argue is a stage in the migration process. Thus, with the employment of life-course perspective, I will seek the influence of the host land through their past experiences by emphasizing their migration course from their decision to migrate to present, expressed in their present perspective. I will draw upon life-story interviews as one of the qualitative methods in this study. The significance of this method relies on its subjective essence where the returnees provide a picture of their life as a whole through their choosing and remembering, told as narratives (Atkinson, 2002).

As a second axis in this study, what they still remember is also indicative of the influence of host land in their life-course stretched during their stay to after return. In addition, it shows that migration course has a “primacy effect” (Schuman and Corning, 2011) in the lives of returnees, that being the first significant life-event in their lives that induce transitions and they are remembered over time. In addition, with this method I also intend to unravel not only their recollections but also the process of re-remembering. Re-remembering with a hyphen, is a concept that is introduced by Myheroff (1986) to explain the dialogue between the past and the sense of belonging beyond a nostalgic sense, associated with loss and longing. Rather, it refers to a process of continuous re-positioning of oneself in the narrated past where they still identify themselves with the past situations and assert their belonging to a country that is left behind. In this regard, throughout the dissertation, I will refer to re-remembering as a dual process; the act of remembering the past

experiences and returnees' positioning in their recollections to discuss their prolonging attachments and to understand the influence of two settings in a selective way in returnees' place-making practices. In this regard, I will underline returnees' selective belonging (Haartsen and Stockdale, 2017) signifies simultaneous positioning, characterized by returnees' identification with/against the present setting comparatively with reference to sense of attachment to host land.

Thirdly, I will address the intersection with memory and the use of photographs in this study. Bruner argues that "a life as experienced consists of the images, feelings, sentiments, desires, thoughts and meanings known to the person whose life it is..." (1984, cited by Hatch and Wisniewski, 1995:129). This will lead us to understand the role of "images", the photographic productions of the returnees during their stay in host land. Departing from their representational value, in this study, I will focus on two main aspects: First of all, as Barthes denotes, photographs are the documents of one's presence, it is endowed with the indexicality, showing direct relationality with the subject photographed and the depicted experience (1981). As it is a point of departure for me to use photographs in this study, locating returnees' presence in the host land through their own productions, I will concentrate on the intentionality and put photographs' meaning-making in their return by the perspective of the subject, unravelling their intentions to be photographed as they were. It encompasses both the memory-function, an invisible counterpart of these productions which cannot be limited to their conservation but also integrated to their life-stories. In this sense, with the help of life-course perspective and the use of photo-elicitation method that intends to uncover the internal narrative of the images, what memories they are embedded with and what aspects of their lives in host land they capture, I aim to suggest that their photographs are neither special or happy moments as photographic conventions have emphasized so far, but they indicate their transitions when they are integrated to their life-narratives. They show their transitions during their migration course, their beings as male and female migrant workers, their degree of participation to social sphere, their schooling as second generation migrant students and experiences that were constructed in accordance to their agency in these spheres. Thus, I attempt to demonstrate that memories are not fixed entities rooted and

emanated from a place that were produced (Nora, 1989), commemorated through the erection of monuments, statues fixed in place, or completely rely on their membership to a social group in a given social environment (Halbwachs,1992). Rather, as Creet underlines, memory “provides continuity to the dislocations of individual and social identity” (2011:3) because “migration rather than location is the condition of memory” (2011:9). It is maintained through the memories’ transmission from person to person to create family stories or generation to generations to ensure its continuity by also pinpointing the shared and divided lived experiences of the people, as men and women in question. Being as one of the points of investigation in this study, I will be able to demonstrate both the generational and gendered aspects of their migration course, from their decision to migrate and their post-return lives. It will allow me to focus on “who” had “which” experiences that are told in their narratives and represented in their photographic productions. For instance, I could trace generational effect through their work experiences as being employed in a migrant job, the activity spaces of first generation in the social sphere.

This will lead me to pinpoint the collective experiences of generations that dwell on their transitions in the host land and individual memories to point how they experience these transitions. In their recollections, I also show the relation between who and what aspects depend on the gender. Thus, memory-makings of men and women, based on their accentuations on the aspects of their lives in host land to understand what men and women remember about their migration course and the practices they reproduce in their present settings. Particularly, by adopting gender perspective in the analysis of their construction of recollections, what they choose to narrate and what they choose to show in their photographs, I believe that the aspect of gender, which is according to King and Lulle (2022), are argued as undermined will be analyzed. In this respect, men and women’s past experiences, on account of transnational focus on return migration that helps me to approach the migration course in its entirety, in other words, starting from the decision to migrate to post-return experiences, I will be able to indicate the role of women in the decision making process both in migration and return, their position as “tied-movers” that reflects their role in the family with their limited participation in the decision-making and the effect of entrance to labour market that both lead them to be dual earners and

give improved sense of autonomy, the difference among men and women in terms of their leisure activities which I will emphasize as a way of participation to social sphere will be provided. In their return, what aspects they incorporate will also become significant when analyzed to understand the difference in their past experiences in host land and their choice in the certain areas to re-adopt them.

By emphasizing their mobility from host land to homeland, I intend to show not only the memories are mobile which make returnees to sustain their ties with the host land through their memory-work, I also refer to the transnational character of the memories, arguing that they are not stable in places but they are re-valued during their mobility. In this study, I focus on memory-work, a term that is discussed by Kuhn (2007) that memories are the products of active reconstructions of the past that entails interpretation of the subject from one's present perspective. Relatedly, life story-interviews and photo-elicitation methods offer retrospective look to returnees' past by themselves and figure what they bring in their present settings through their accounts on the past. In this process, I suggest that they become re-narratives when they are narrated by returnees' in present, that is, their life stories are selected, reinterpreted and reorganized to provide a coherent story of their migration course. It indeed shows us the use of memory, because they are actualized in present and it refers to "travelling memory" (Erll, 2011) that is interdependent to their carriers, the returnees and the mediums, such as their narratives and photographs which are endowed with creating links between places but also the process how they are made usable in present by the carriers. I believe that they are used to make a coherent story by indicating the positive aspect of the host life which they define their relationship with the host land as well as their interactions and their membership and use their memories as a way of sustaining their ties with host land as they reposition themselves in their present setting based on what they had lived there. Thus, I also presuppose that their memories are not only made usable but also become capital. By capital, I depart from Bourdieu (1986) and describe it as competence, that is accumulated through their past experiences in the host land, that could be as know-how in work sphere and/or acquisition of dispositions that made them acculturate to host society. Upon their return, these become the constructs of (German) mentality, a world-view that they refer to differentiate themselves from the non-migrant

community in the homeland by comparing the order of things in two countries. In this sense, mentality, in other words mindset, corresponds to the juxtaposition of the “insights gained in the society of origin and the new experiences in the host society” (Guitart and Vila, 2015). Accordingly, I demonstrate that returnees translate their past experiences into practices through which they assert their mentality that is different from the order of things in the homeland, thus, underline the sense of difference comes from their act of seeing things differently and try to employ this mentality to act differently in homeland based on their interpretation of their past experiences in host land.

1.2 Research Questions

As I presented the framework of this study will dwell on my research questions that will intend to explore the return migrants’ ways of transferring their past experiences as resources to their present settings. In this sense, I aim to show that return is a “largely private affair” (Sinatti, 2011:155) by addressing the “privateness” of return, both in their narratives and their photographic productions through their interpretation and construction of the past in their present perspective.

First of all, I start by asking this question: What do return migrants remember about their lives in Germany? With this question, I aim to trace their migration course by indicating what aspects of their lives in host land they remember and how they locate themselves in the host setting through their experiences they narrate in their present perspective. I intend to include their transitions which the migration is the “first” life-event that led to change in their life-course which could be understood retrospectively. I will focus on transitions such as leaving homeland, entering labor market, schooling (regarding second generation), participation to social sphere. The generational perspective will suggest that while first generation migrants’ course started with their migration as a migrant worker, their transitions would mainly be in the work sphere and social sphere where they commit their non-working time. Concerning second generation, their migration would suggest a family reunification as they join their parents who already migrated for work. In their case, their migration life course will provide their multiple engagement in the host land such as

school, work and social spheres. By social sphere, I indicate their leisure activities as a route to their participation to host society, discussing their companions, activity spaces and the types of activities they involve with respect to the generational and gender perspective.

The second question of the study is: How do Turkish return migrants locate their sense of attachment to homeland and host land through their memories? In this question, referring to s/elective belonging (Haartsen and Stockdale, 2017), I will aim to understand their positioning in the narratives of their life-course both during their stay in Germany and after their return to homeland. By questioning their self-identifications in Germany, I will pinpoint their degree of integration to host society and their social interactions with host community in the work and social spheres. Also, regarding second generation, school environment will be crucial to understand their relations with their peers, both German friends and friends from migrant background, their attendance to school activities, participation to Turkish courses at school. After their return, the emphasis on their intention to maintain their ties with host land, I will delineate their positioning as *Almancı* and/or *Al(a)mancı* (German-like) based on the perceptions of the non-migrant natives and the connotations attached to their attitudes, practices, and other relevant resources they would like to employ in their present setting. As a sub-question, I will ask: What practice, ideas based on their past experiences do they choose to incorporate in their present settings? In this question, I will investigate what elements they bring in their present setting, as men and women with respect to their past experiences in their host land, whether it is their work ethic, or life-styles, or channeling their savings in order to buy an apartment or start a business, indicating their social mobility. Following, I will seek in which spheres and which motives they intended to bring these elements in order to make their places in the homeland. What men and women intend to bring in and which spheres their initiatives concentrate on will be discussed further. In terms of locating them, I mean whether they adapt, negotiate or abandon to pursue the practices they incorporate with respect to duration of these activities.

The third question of the study is: What aspects of their lives in host land they communicate with their photographs, produced in host land and were brought to

homeland? Based on their photographic albums/collections that they brought from host land with their return, by drawing upon photo-elicitation method, I will try to highlight three points. First of all, referring to their indexicality, I will aim to understand their surroundings, the spheres they participated and their activities along with the companions. Secondly, I will put emphasis on the internal narrative, the stories of their photographs from the subject's perspective regarding the specific events, their experiences and the memories that these photographs invoke. Further, I will try to analyze them within the conditions of the host land depending on where the photograph was taken and if it is a photograph from work place, indicating the work relations and conditions of the period and their particular experience, feelings that they are associated with the image when they look at it in their present setting. Thirdly, I will focus on finding patterns among these photographs. In doing so, I will first refer in which spheres both first and second generations photographs were taken. By pointing out them, I will address their experiences and what they intend to communicate with these photographs as personal statements about their lives in host land. I assume that there will be generational differences regarding the spaces that their photographs were taken, such as workplace, school and various social activities and also look for whether there are intra-generational similarities and differences based on the images they produced. In addition, particularly for leisure activities, I will focus on whether there are gendered differences according to their companions, activity spaces and types they engaged in host land.

1.3 Plan of the Study

There are seven chapters in this study. Following this introduction, in the Chapter 2, I will present the theoretical framework of this study by providing a literature review on transnational return, positing the link between the concept of transnationalism which has been widely capitalized since the 1990s in migration studies and the return phenomenon. While studies on transnationalism have often concentrated on the ways in which migrants make "home" away from home to highlight the influence and their sense of belonging to homeland; transnational return both deconstructs the notion on return as a final destination and locates in an ongoing process where return migrants create either new or reconstruct their existing ties with host land in their home

setting. In this regard, both material and immaterial ways of exchange from host land to homeland will be discussed.

Following, I will present the studies on memory by following two paths: I will focus on the use of memory in literature, indicating how (auto)biographical memories in literary works including the authors who were themselves migrants picture their experiences in Germany. Then, I will analyze the conceptions on memory within the framework of social science, provided by key concepts such as collective memories, lieu de memoire, communicative and cultural memories and their limited use in the migration studies. I will also delve into the relation between memory, gender and generation where the studies mostly rely on recollections of major life events ranging from Holocaust, war and migration from the perspective of the actors and their descendants. Lastly, this chapter will end with the studies that link memory to personal/family photography. In this part, I will concentrate on the photographs' memory function and relevant studies that centre around the uses of migrant photographs as a way of forming transnational ties.

In Chapter 3, I will concentrate on the methods of the study. The chapter will comprise three parts. In the first part, I will discuss the two methods; life-story interviews and photo-elicitation (P.E.). In the second part, I will demonstrate the ways in which I used these methods in my study, incorporating life-course perspective as a methodological standpoint to analyze the data, gathered from the sample. In the third part, I will focus on the identification of the sample in this study. The process of searching the ways to access the sample—first and second generation of return migrants—in Istanbul will be addressed. I will present the sample of this study by providing demographic data and brief life stories regarding their migration course. The chapter will end with the remarks on the field and discussion on the possible limitations and ethical considerations on the methods.

In Chapter 4, I will address the structural factors that influence the migration course of first and second generation migrants during their stay in host land and after their return to homeland. With exceptions, the return of the participants in this sample cluster around the 1980s. Thus, in the first section of this chapter, I will discuss the

economic and socio-cultural conditions that led to the labor migration to Germany, the migrant workers' entrance to labor market, family reunification and integration that questions their participation to social sphere. Accordingly, I will emphasize on the impact on economic crisis in Germany that led to recruitment ban, as well as the rising discrimination and the introduction of the Return Assistance Act. Then, I will address their transnational ties that they create with homeland as a place-making practice in host land. In the last part of this chapter, I will focus on the return patterns of the first and second generation migrants, delineating their motives, the return policies introduced in Turkey for the re-integration of return migrants and stress the markers of the returnees' identification with an aim to highlight their ongoing ties with host land.

In Chapter 5, I will focus on 5 first generation returnees' migration life-course based on their life narratives and photographic albums that comprise their photographs taken in host land, depicting their past experiences in the multiple spheres. In the first generation return migrants' lives, their recollections center around mainly two spheres, work life and their leisure activities as a way of participation in the social sphere. Thus, by concentrating on these two spheres, I will intend to analyze their accounts in relation to their ties with host land and gendered positioning in these spheres. I will conclude by showing the elements, they incorporate based on their past experiences as a way of making place in their present settings.

In Chapter 6, I will focus on the life-courses of 7 second generation return migrants based on their memory work that highlight their transitions. Differently from first generation migrants, their photographs and life-narratives will also underline their schooling period through which they question their sense of belonging to both countries. Thus, in this chapter, I will pinpoint the generation and age effects that are embedded in their past experiences. In this manner, I will also address their "first impressions" on their new environments, their surroundings and their family relations within the generational perspective. I will conclude by pinpointing their gendered ways of reconnecting to host land by the adoption of "German mentality" in their child-rearing, cooking practices as well as their roles in the family.

Chapter 7 will be the conclusion part of this study which will present and discuss the overall findings of the study. In this respect, I will revisit the research questions and the main concepts of the study. I will demonstrate the ways in which they are employed in the narratives and photo-elicitations of the first and second generation return migrants, underlining the differences and similarities between them in terms of their interpretation of the past experiences, their ways of making their pasts usable as translated in their practices in homeland, their (dis)continuity in their present setting. I will also provide further discussion on the role of photographs and memory-makings in the digital era based on the findings and limitations of my study.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I will provide a review on the literature of transnational return and memory, with an emphasis on the use of photographs, primarily functions as aid to memory. Throughout the study, I will try show the interrelation between return migration and memory-work within the perspective of transnationalism. I will focus on the exchange of immaterial resources across borders, with a directionality from host country to homeland through the act of remembering. Thus, a comprehensive analysis in the given literature that address return phenomenon in a transnational perspective, I will be able to underline the ways in which return migrants to sustain their ties with the host land and use relevant concepts in memory studies to shed light on the workings of memory both individual and collective level, including the influence of movement in memory-making practices.

To start with, there is an emerging literature on the concept of transnational return which accentuates transnational practices of return migrant as they return from the host country. In this respect, by bringing together return migration and transnationalism, I will problematize two core issues. Principally, I refer the ways in which returnees make a place in their homeland after their return by transferring the values and practices from the host country. On the other hand, with this continuity, I try to highlight the mobility linked to the transfer of return migrants' resources. While transnationalism often tackles with cross-border movements to explain the migrants' belongings to their origins, thus, indicates the incorporation of home values in host country in multiple levels, with this concept, I will grasp the influence of host country in the lives of return migrants as they seek ways to revive their way of life at home.

Secondly, I argue that return migrants rely on their past experiences in order to recreate their lives in homeland. In this sense, their memories act as a form of transnational tie to communicate their past and incorporate the elements they acquired, experienced in host land to their present setting. I suggest that the memory-work of returnees is not only personal but also, they are collected recollections, shared with their family and cohort. By all means, I also show that they are as well gendered; the past experiences of men and women differ according to their roles in the family and host society, their occupations to entrance to work sphere, their lives in domestic sphere, leisure activities. Thus, such an interrelation necessitates the conceptualization of the memory both in leading disciplines and its relation with generation and gender while providing its (yet) limited but growing scope in migration studies.

Thirdly, I suggest that memories need means to be carried. The material belongings of migrants upon return have been discussed in many contexts, primarily as display of their economic and cultural capital. It underlines that each item that was brought along has a connection with their original place. Accordingly, photographs are among the sources that depict returnees' ties with host land as they principally document their presence there, are embedded with the memories, departing from the fragments of their life courses in these images. Thus, I will present the relation between memory and photography will be a sub-section by focusing on the photograph's memory function and the ways in which photographs are used and interpreted in migration studies.

2.1 Transnational Return

The concept of the transnationalism in migration studies emerged during the 1990s. Primarily, Basch et al. describe it as “the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (1994:8). These ties have often indicated a “one-way street” (King, 2000), enveloped with the condition of no-return that allowed migrants to incorporate their home-related practices in their new settings. However, migrants, as in the case of Turkish migrant workers in Germany, refer to people who leave their country of origin in order to work in a new country on a temporary basis and

eventually return home. Through their period of stay, either transient or permanent, return is articulated as a “myth” (Anwar, 1979), a wish that awaits to be fulfilled one day even though the actual conditions would lead them to continue their life in the new country.

On the other hand, accentuation of a break from one’s home also leads to the establishment of connections between two countries. Migrants would continue to maintain their ties with homeland while living in the host land as they rely on the flow of remittances, networks of social relations and identify themselves as trans-cultural individuals by bringing the elements from homeland in the landscape of host country. In a similar vein, introduction of transnationalism into return phenomenon puts emphasis on the significance of the act of return in the migration cycle. While return has often marked as a “completion of a migration cycle” (Gmelch, 1992) that corresponds to failure of the migrant in host land, on the other hand, transnational return, departing from Cassarino, is “one stage in migration process” (2004:268). In this respect, Fauser and Anghel (2020:3) argue that returnees mobilize their resources from host country to homeland through which they create either new transnational ties or reproduce the existing ones. Thus, the influence of host country in returnee’s lifeworld denotes the re-definition of the boundaries of home and belonging (King and Kılınç, 2016:190; 2018:235) vis-à-vis the continuing ties in host land.

Transnational approach accentuates that “migration story continues” (Cassarino, 2004:262) even after return. In migration course, the relation between transnationalism and return could be explained in three ways. Firstly, transnational bonds that migrants form with their homeland such as social networks, sending remittances along with the occasional/holiday returns are perceived to facilitate return (Duval, 2004; Ley and Kobayashi, 2005). Going back-and-forth between home and host country would allow them to adapt to home culture rather facile and they are assumed to be more precise in weighing the related cost and benefit of return. Secondly, emphasis on transnational/intercultural identity (Sussman,2000) points out that migrants who reconcile home with host culture. In so doing, they contribute to the development of their local settings which underlines the very relation between transnationality and development. Besides, attributing (economic)

remittances as the only way for development, exemplified by Levitt (1998) and Levitt and Lamba-Nieves (2010), there are also social remittances that can take various forms ranging from political communication to voting strategies and can be remitted to promote the political organization in homeland. Lastly, Fauser and Anghel (2020:7) stress that transnationality refers to the formation of individual ties with host country. It is maintained through the employment of tangible and intangible assets that they brought from host land in their home settings. In so doing, I argue that individual ties with host land is forged through memories and they could be translated into ideas, set of practices and capital in the reconstruction of returnee's life in homeland.

According to Ley and Kobayashi, the transnational approach in return "brings a new twist to the myth of return" (2005:112). In this respect, I state that with the idea of return in migrants' imaginary as a way to re-assert their strong ties with host land challenge the traditional conceptualization of "myth of return" as an ever-growing wish to go back to homeland. Rather, it puts emphasis on the continuing influence of host country after returning to homeland. Therefore, return becomes "a point of connection between past memories and present, inspire continuity" (Bolognani, 2015:14) in migration course.

In return migration, the sense of continuity marks the transnational belonging of returnees to both countries. De Bree et al. (2010) in their study of Moroccan returnees from the Netherlands put forward that transnational engagement of return migrants is as well associated with the new meanings they attach to homeland. When their post-return experiences are considered, this would present a new stage in their migration course where the belonging and one's identification with homeland are transformed and re-negotiated. In this case, one's attachment, yearnings and nostalgia with the "real" home is not always associated with a stable and familiar place that one had left behind. So that, "transnational migration not only introduces a disjuncture between peoples and their homelands, but also between their homelands and homes, which have become different places for a migrant" (Tsuda, 2004:125). Similarly, the tension, particularly articulated among second generation returnees is due to their upbringing in the Dutch society that challenges the traditional gendered expectations. On the other hand, they find ways to reconnect with host land both

through the use of language- Dutch- in domestic sphere and possession of Dutch passport as a marker of their sense of belonging and security to the Netherlands.

Carling (2004) in his study on return migration to Cape Verde stresses on two groups of returnees from Europe: classical and empty-handed returnees. Classical returnees comprise the guest workers who engage in transnational practices before and after the return. Sending remittances to family back in Cape Verde and channeling their savings into homeland through building homes, buying agricultural lands incite their decision to return. In other words, these activities stand as “preconditions” for return (Carling, 2004:124). In their post-return lives, they maintain ties with host land through temporary visits, benefiting from pension and social insurance, and keeping in touch with family members back in host land. On the other hand, empty-handed returnees are regarded as failed migrants who come back to homeland without any improvement in their socio-economic positions. According to Carling (2004:122), it is also a humiliating experience since they were also unable to send remittances and they become burden to their families and society upon their return.

Recent studies underline returnees’ own, “unique” ways of belonging to home, that are shaped by their experiences today (Teerling, 2011; King and Kılınç, 2014) thus leading them to create third cultural spaces in connection with the host land. These spaces are based in homeland and embedded in home society to construct unity within diversity (Featherstone, 1996), bringing together hyphenated aspects of migrant subjectivities. In line with Faist (1998:217), these spaces demonstrate that return does not necessarily indicate a definite decision rather transnational way of living, a life choice, even a strategy in order for the survival. Because, with their return to their ancestral/parental homeland, they become first generation migrants at home. Later studies (King and Christou, 2014; King and Kılınç, 2016) also focus on the children of first generation who returned to home but still have connections with the host country. In case of return Caribbean migrants from the UK, they maintain their ties with the homeland through their families left behind (Reynolds, 2011). The left-behind kin also functions as a social capital and has a strategic role in post-return lives of these migrants. They remain as anchors when they decide to move back to the UK due to arrival shock, arisen by one’s lack of adjustment to order of things at home.

Considering Turkish return migrants from Germany, transnational links could be forged in economic terms, so that cross-border transition of business ideas, expertise, networks, goods and services would help returnee to set up a business in Turkey. Kebab restaurants such as *Acht* (Eight) in Istanbul and *Berlin Doner* in Izmir and Antalya are examples of these links, established through business ideas, remitted back from host land. Translated into “German style” of döner, their brand names are in German or related to Germany and employees from a migrant background are preferred due to their language skills and know-how.

Lastly, Kılınç and King (2018) focus on the Turkish second generation returnees and their post-return experiences in Antalya. Drawing upon their memories of home (both parental and birth country) as transnational non-economic capital and the ways in which they translate these past memories into their current lives and future life plans in Turkey, they suggest that returnees become memory-entrepreneurs whose memories of home help them to make a new place and re-invent themselves to have a better life (King and Kılınç, 2018:238). Their motivation to return is strongly influenced by their occasional returns to parental homeland and how they feel when they spent time in Turkey mostly during vacations. As a result, their choice of Antalya as a place to return is deeply associated with their warm feelings about the tolerance, easygoingness of the people along with Antalya’s cosmopolitan setting where they can find both “good” aspects of Germany and Turkey, anchored in their memories.

There are also nostalgic (regretting) returnees (Razum, Sahin-Hodoglugil and Polit, 2005:734-5) who, after return, remember particularly good features related to host country and wished to return one day even though such an action is impeded due to the legal or economic reasons.

In order to understand the influence of memories in present, it is important to understand how the memory is constructed on individual and collective levels. This unfolds three main questions: what memories are remembered regarding the life courses of individuals and societies; who remembers in order to delineate the divided and shared experiences through the lens of gender and generations and what conditions make memories travel. Thus, in the following sections, I will intend to

analyze the concept of memory from diverse perspectives and disciplines to elaborate on the factors and conditions that shape memory-making.

2.2 Memory Studies: From Ars to Literature

The Latin word, *Memoria* is derived from *s(mer)* which means “faculty of remembering, remembrance”. Initially, it was considered as an invention. Thus, *Ars memorativa*, an invention of the art of memory is engaged in making an inventory, an ordering scheme. It has a certain mechanism: It requires translation of the layout of any place, any item into mental images, that is marking their place in mind so that they could be easily retrieved and recollected at any time. The location in the mind would be based on its similarity with other memories and harnessed with an emotional counterpart, indicating that what is remembered cannot be devoid of subjective experience. Therefore, it is evident that when ordinary things are easily forgotten, memories of a childhood linger in mind.

Place has a significant role in memory-making. According to Quintilian (1920), the inventor of the memory, Simonides, remembered the seats of the deceased by correlating their places with their names. In this respect, Quintilian used the mnemonic palace technique on remembering a building, from its floors to the rooms and the decors used in the rooms with the help of sense of sight. In this way, places are used as aids for remembrance.

In literature, especially during the Romantic era, feelings have a crucial place in the individual memories. Feelings have been the primary source that enables the souls of the protagonists to go back in time to the episodes in their childhood and let themselves to be governed by the constant sense of nostalgia. As they go back in time, they move from one image to another to find the familiar in their souls. In this search, Rousseau stresses on the prolific variety of the things he comes across, lodged in his memory-places:

Not only do I recall times and places and persons, but all objects surrounding them, the temperature of the air, the smells and the colors, and a certain local impression only to be felt there, the sharp recollection of which carries me back there again (Rousseau, cited by Nalbantian, 2003:24).

However, Freud (1960) notes that childhood memories are rather trivial due to the fact that significant parts of them are repressed, they are rather forgotten. This is not the case for the Romantics. As their connections to their feelings are too strong, their horrid memories often haunt them and they are easily evoked by odor or sound of crickets; familiar triggers from their early past. On the contrary, among the contemporary writers, such as in Anais Nin, these traumatic memories of childhood are undergone voluntary operation of forgetting as they require to be displaced from their memory-places; from “that underground city of her childhood” (cited by Nalbantian, 2003:119).

Objects and the senses are nodes of remembering. In Baudelaire and Proust, concrete symbols ranging from wine to perfume and piece of hair to Madeleine, they provoke *souvenir*. It is used both a verb and noun in French, referring to “remembering” and “a memento”. While in Baudelaire, memory is a voluntary act; senses, smell and touch, are instruments for remembering, retrieved from the brain where the memory events take place. On the contrary, in Proust, what is remembered is the product of involuntary memory. It is indeed an escape form the reality to a blissful happiness. According to Proust, “it is the only true one since since voluntary memory, the memory of the intelligence and the eyes, yields us only imprecise facsimiles of the past” (cited by Wood, 2010:111). He gives priority to sensations and even bodily reactions in the apparition of the memories, tackled in *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu*. In his oeuvres, memories are “reactional formations” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1984:333) that could even be a surviving instinct of a depressive libido through the flash of memories. By this means, emotions can bring back memories of what is lost without subjecting to any process of retrieval from the autobiographical memory.

The autobiographical memories, whether involuntarily triggered or voluntarily constructed are nevertheless reconciled by the cultural memories. In this sense, cultural memories become “the interplay of present and past” (Erll, 2008:2) in multiple contexts. Assmann (2008) argues that cultural memories are dependent on historical and cultural time. On the one hand, it is experienced subjectively through one’s position in the historical events and on the other hand, different populations, different ethnicities can witness and be affected by the historical events collectively. In literature as well as in social sciences, these memories are often associated with

personal and collective experiences of Holocaust, post-colonialism and immigration. Nevertheless, they lead to collective practices, commemorated in rituals, kept in archives, objectified in the monuments, institutionalized in museums and transferred by generations. These demonstrate modes of remembering in culture (Erll, 2008:7) which underline the constant reconstruction and representation of the past by diverse people, symbols and sites.

In literature, cultural memories take nostalgic turn since the characters resort to the lost memories so they adopt a sense of non-belonging to present time and conditions. The characters who suffered from the atrocities, tortures and repression could hold onto the image of glory in their memories. Nostalgia, in this way, challenges the public remembering. Thus, a narrative on a new history is created on the premises of individual memories.

Immigration can also be traumatic and memories of migration construct fragmented identities, narrated through the double-absence (Sayad, 2004) of the migrant, a state of being out of place both in homeland and host land. Migration experience, in the literary works on Turkish labor migration to Germany often puts emphasis on the collective memories of each generation due to the writers' background who through their protagonists offer glimpses of their autobiographical memories, yet underline shared experiences of their generation. The collective memories of a generation have a disparate character. First generation is often represented by saliences of identity, economic hardship, working conditions, language barrier, problems of integration to host land and strong attachment to homeland. Second generation migrant writers do not only overcome the language problem since they were either born in Germany or came to Germany at young age through family reunification, they do not conceive Germany as *gurbet* (foreign land) but 2. *vatan* (second homeland). Thus, in their writings the main problem becomes the characters' search for their past, their Turkish roots. In this sense, literary works that address experiences of generations "create shared narratives and hence in collectivizing memory" (Rigney, 2012:6).

Bekir Yıldız as a first generation Turkish migrant, in his book *Türkler Almanya'da* (Turks in Germany) narrates the stories of five female and male migrant workers from their departure from Sirkeci station in Istanbul to their arrival in Munich to

work at the factories. One of the characters is Yüce, personifies the writer, himself. Based on his personal experiences in Germany, the character wants to return to homeland after he saves enough money to establish a printing house in Turkey. The novel mainly underlines the difference between two cultures and the characters' struggles to make place in the host land. In this respect, while four characters choose to assimilate by cutting their ties with their roots and adopt new lifestyle preferences ranging from attire choices (i.e., women start to wear pants), religiosity (i.e., working during the religious holidays, abuse of alcohol) to bad habits (i.e., gambling). Yüce, on the other hand, who feels as being pulled apart from his *vatan* as he migrates to Germany, expresses his longing and attachment to home through his joy when he sees Turkish flag from the train's window or soldiers who salute them upon his return. Throughout the novel, the other life outside the *heim* is charged with problems such as language barrier, struggle for making money and the idea of freedom.

Zafer Şenocak, is a second generation Turkish migrant writer who came to Germany at age 9 through family reunification. He experiences migration through the perspective of inter-culturality, a synthesis of two cultures: "Feelings and thoughts [about two cultures] can co-habit. I do not have to forget Üsküdar in order to feel Berlin as my homeland" (Akkaya, 2016). In a similar vein, his novel *Tehlikeli Akrabalık* (Gefährliche Verwandtschaft) is based on a German-Turkish character Sascha Havas, who finds his grandfather's diaries and goes on a journey to reconnect with his roots. His family raises Sascha as a German man and prohibits him to speak Turkish. His father deliberately cuts him off his Turkish past. He also chooses to forget his migrational background even though Sascha remembers his father's indulgence in cars like most of the first generation Turkish worker migrants. In addition, his family burns all the photographs of Sascha's grandfather, as they do not bear the burden memories of Holocaust. But, Sascha as a grandson follows the Hansen's law, he wishes to remember what the son [his father] wishes to forget. In a similar vein, Şenocak asserts that even cities such as Berlin also focuses on its future, it does not even remember its recent past; namely the Fall of the Wall, so that Sasha wonders whether future could be shaped without memory or memories could help to

build a better future. From this point, he decides to unravel the family history to heal his “wounds of memory” and reconciles with his past.

2.2.1 Beyond Literature: Concepts and Theories of Memory in Social Science

So far, I discussed the concept of memory firstly as an invention, art and later both as a knowledge and a literary device. Nevertheless, memory has a prominent place in natural and social sciences. In natural sciences, memory is a processing mechanism which allows one to remember through the activation of the different regions of brain that store explicit and implicit memories. While the former is described as conscious recollection of people, environment, objects and events, the latter is associated with habits, feelings and motor skills. According to Assmann (2008:100), this refers to the neuro-mental system through which individual memories are constructed. It is also argued that memories are carried by synapsis and the growth of synaptic connections transform short term memories into long term memories (Kandel, 2007:153). This, indeed, gives a scientific insight on the dealings of Proust and Woolf in their writings. Their retention of explicit individual memories regarding their childhood are expressed vividly despite of time. Childhood memories from a distant past are focused in detail in opposition to recent past. It is evident that both in their minds and novels, memories have places.

In social sciences, long-term explicit memories are demarcated between individual and collective memories without stressing on “seeking where... [memories] are preserved in my brain or in some nook of my mind to which I alone have access” (Halbwachs, 1992:38). Instead, they are constructive elements in “memory boom” (Olick, et al. 2011:3) started in the late 1970s. The importance attached to memory is a reaction to the information age that environ people with the homogenous, fast-paced and overcharged information. Simultaneously, this age gives little space to subjectivity, personal experiences and sense of past since people are regarded to live in continuous present.

With the memory boom, the institutionalization of history has been challenged by addressing narratives on the personal memories were long repressed by the official history. The glories and atrocities had become important part of collective history.

But memories on traumas, sorrow, dislocations are acknowledged as personal accounts on the past experiences during Holocaust, migratory movements, economic and political upheavals. Particularly, in Turkey, personal accounts have made ground during the 1980s due to the military coup. It triggered a similar confrontation with the past, unfolding personal memories that aimed to give voice to minorities and survivors of traumas vis-à-vis the archives, official reports that constructed the national memory. These accounts led to the reconstruction of individual identities as they continue to be a member of collective past that is to be acknowledged, manipulated, denied or to be revealed in nostalgia.

Halbwachs introduced “social frameworks” in his concept of collective memory. Collective memories signify those individuals as members of group, construct their memories within this membership. Halbwachs argues that “it is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories” (1992:38). Thus, when we remember “we place ourselves in their perspective and we consider ourselves as being part of the same group or groups as they” (Halbwachs, 1992:38). Family memories are sustained in images, words, sensations and thoughts of past events, they also require to “orient us towards these images and events while it anchors itself in these names” (Halbwachs, 1992:71). The familiarity, constructed through names are form of emotional ties, sustained within family, intimate groups and generations. Thus, memory is framed within the limits of family, culture and nation hence “we accept remembering in the way society remembers” (Assmann, 2008:81-2). However, individuals have “collected memories” (Olick, 1999), referring that individuals are central in the act of remembering and even though their recollections could be shaped by the group, they belong, yet, what is remembered is dependent on the individual. Therefore, it challenges Halbwachs’ view and demonstrate that memory can be negotiated, shared and contested through which it creates different narratives. The variations in narratives, constructed through the process of individual remembering could also address the “collected stories” (Schiff et al. 2001), based on the construction of past that is directly experienced or encountered. Relatedly, an individual story could be created relying on one’s recent past experiences in everyday life to assert one’s social identity. This, according to Assmann (2008) is “communicative memory” where the vernacular aspects in autobiographical memories are made alive through its

communication not only through language, articulated and transferred but also used as embodiment of identity that could be used to differentiate oneself from the others.

Nora by putting emphasis on the place, states that “if we were able to live within the memory, we would not have needed to consecrate *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory)” (1989:8). *Lieux de memoire* are the museums, monuments that are “embodied with memory along with the sense of historical continuity” (Nora, 1989: 7) but separated from their real environments, *milieux*. In order to be *lieux*, there requires a co-existence of symbolic, functional and material features. In material sense, *lieux* are objects of rituals which have imaginative symbolic aura either imposed by an authority (dominant *lieux de memoire*) or invoke feeling of refuge by forming an affective bond (dominated *lieux de memoire*). Functionality relies on the informative essence that is transmitted to generations. In this respect, ceremonies, functional-dictionaries, libraries, archives and material-statues represent collective memory in relation to a nation’s past, embodied and secreted in several units. These units are the products of the will to remember by conserving the object’s voice that “says something to us” (Szpociński, 2016:248).

The relation between memory and place has granted a fixed character to the memory-making process that necessitated a stable ground from which memories are not only constructed but also conserved. On the other hand, the next section emphasizes on the relation between memory and migration, challenges the fixedness of the place by arguing that memories are the products of the movement.

2.2.2 Transnational Memory and Migration

Besides social groups, material objects and commemorations, memories travel by migration along with the people who convey them. These stories are given meanings transnationally since memories are argued to be enacted and shaped by the movement rather than being bounded to a certain place (Erl, 2011:11; Creet, 2011) as underlined by Nora’s (1989) sites of memory. As Assmann (2014:547) notes, the prefix “trans” both refers to memories in “transit”, signifying their movement across borders and their “translation”, the reconstruction of the past in relation to established references, images and representations in the host country. Thus, with

translation, migrants constantly negotiate their experiences in host country with reference to their homeland.

Mobility of people and their engagement in mediated images, narratives and stories transnationally render subjective realities to bind home with their present setting through construction of “living memories” where the “living” is molded with a collage (of identities, belongings, places and culture) and “memories” are anchored to the authentic home. In this regard, Fortier (1999) addresses Little Italy in London where collective past is translated into collective performances, commemorations in sites such as St. Peter’s Italian Church. It links its former residents with the current ones through the “brotherhood of memory” (Weisser,1985). In a similar vein, I observed that a tactic of re-naming streets as Istanbul and Ankara Streets in France, Turkish migrants create an imaginary unity, manifest a transnational belonging that does not only have memories of home but also corresponds to the establishment of new relations with host land. Through changing place names, Turkish migrants insist on a new reality regarding the past and the present (Hodgkin and Radstone, 2003:11).

Home-making can also be maintained by eating practices. In the case of Lebanese migrants in Australia, Hage (1997) examines the sense of home through nostalgia of the familiar fruits and vegetables that migrants cannot obtain in Australia. In return, they organize “village parties” with the migrant community on special occasions to eat traditional food or grow vegetables in their garden. Such a setting triggers their memories of homeland and helps them to form a familiar space from their past. In this sense, with their memories, they shape their everyday lives in present.

Memories foster migrants’ sense of continuity between places. They communicate with the absent-home- in individual and collective ways such as creating new spaces in host land. Halbwachs argues that memories do “not only transform the space into which it has been inserted, but also yields and adapt to its physical surroundings” (Halbwachs, 1992:130). Therefore, these places are not mere imitations of their familiar environment at home, they are formations that bring together the shared past and the present conditions.

Motte and Ohliger (2006) state that memories of migration are twofold; either they are considered as shared memories that are part of a common national past of the

host country or they are divided memories, interpreted as counter- memories that highlight personal recollections of marginalization and alienation from the host society. Indeed, through exclusion, migrants can create their own memories by holding onto the past of homeland to navigate through present realities and even actualize their return ideals in the future.

Making home real through architecture of memory is a transnational route that does not only link individuals but (imagined) communities as well as sentiments and belongings. This, in return, accentuates the migrant's position vis-à-vis their home; by the act of making it real, they also become "good" migrants who have not forgotten their roots and are still holding onto their traditions, continue to re-member home. In Turkish migrants' case, an emphasis on not forgetting the honor of Turkish flag, one's home and family have long been a part of a state discourse, rendering remembering as a binding contract to pay one's debt to his nation. Moreover, Glynn and Kleist (2012:12) point out that transnational/cultural memories allow migrants to make their places in host society and become a part of its national history. By referring their pasts as laborers who contribute to reconstruction of Germany in post-war period, Turkish migrants through "memory citizenship" (Rothberg and Yildiz, 2011) become part of the collective history of labour migration to Germany.

An idealized past is imbued as a result of dissatisfaction in present, therefore, migrants choose to live in "memory ghettos" (Guyot, 2014) fixed to the image of past home and associated way of living. When they return to homeland, the case is reversed and non-belonging to homeland is resulted in "failure in memory" (Ahmed, 2000:91) about the familiar. In migrant's imaginary, while memories about homeland are often stressed, in a similar vein, by employing the concept of "travelling memory" (Erll, 2011:9), the travel of memory is also possible by people; return migrants- as carriers and instruments through the "technologies of memory" - media such as films and as I will indicate in the next section, photographs.

2.2.3 Photographs as Points in Transnational Memory-Making

Objects, along with people migrate. They are part of home-making strategies by bringing together elements from homeland to reinvent a familiar domestic setting

(Walsh, 2006; Savaş, 2010). In a similar vein, Mehta and Belk's (1991) study on Indian immigrants in the U.S.A. put emphasis on the value of the possessions that they locate in their home-setting in the U.S.A to claim their cultural identity and they foster a sense of security, embodied in the feeling of "being at home". These are charged with emotional value, attached to the household shrines that were given by their parents, Indian artifacts that are not only reminders of their homeland-India, but also reminders of their friends and relatives even to an extent that they are regarded as the representation of the individuals that these materials were given by. Also, movies and videotapes were brought to the USA as they serve two main goals: To remember the good old days, attributed to the "first time" they were seen and their informative value to transfer Indian culture. Nevertheless, family photographs play an important part by giving emphasis of the images of ancestors and deceased members to display their continuing respect and love to them by carrying them to their new environment. Lastly, their studies underline some objects as a symbol of the immigrants' transitions such as table or an expensive rug bought upon marriage and brought to the U.S.A. As many of them signify their communal belonging to their origins, some objects handcrafted back in India and carried to the USA are attributed as a form of personal achievement. Thus, the objects instead of their material value are regarded as "favorite possessions" due to their attachment to the country or family left behind that correspond to a memory-value.

Among many migrant possessions, the material relation between photographs and its holders is principally grounded on the "desire to remember and be remembered" (Batchen, 2004:98). While for a migrant, this desire is affiliated with remembering home, a returnee could carry along the traces of host land with photographs. Most importantly, photographs "become a form of relationship" (Drazin and Frohlich, 2007:55) with their memory-function which locate them in a significant position in the hierarchy of the artifacts as migrants' belongings. They connect families and loved ones back home, convey emotions through images. These images are selected by its owners to portray their daily lives, their participation in multiple spheres and their ways of place-making in host land.

Similarly, Tolia-Kelly (2004) addresses that for South-Asian women who migrated to Britain, the photo-objects have a transformative value which could transpose their

setting in the host land by the sound, texture of home that retain its relevance in a new country. Thus, memory-value attached to other places besides the one that migrant women live, lodged in the host land, transform the environment by imposing a sense of “wholeness” through the familiarity of the home, left behind in terms of the sustenance of self, gathered together the fragments of autobiographical representations that belonged to the pre-migration period of the women.

According to Scruton, photograph’s representation is primarily endowed with its causality, in other words, its indexicality. He defines the causal relationship as follows: “If a photograph is a photograph of a subject, it follows that the subject exists and if x is a photograph of a man, there is a particular man of whom x is the photograph” (Scruton, 1981:579). This characteristics underlines the main motives of record-keeping since this relationality between the subject and the event that is experienced by the subject is straightforwardly constructed, thus, puts emphasis on the reality of the image. However, the representational value of the photograph does not only emanate from this. There is also intentionality. Scruton argues that causality and intentionality lie at the opposite sides and photograph lacks in intentional relation with the subject. He states that intentionality is the “inference” of the spectator in order to give meaning to what he/she sees. The subject is the spectator not the one in the picture. The inference depends on the knowledge of the experience depicted and the conventions of the medium. At this point, I argue that there are at least two ways photograph is embedded with intentionality.

First of all, photograph shifts the focus from spectator to subject in the photograph. If the photographs are medium for documentation and communication (Musello, 1980), what they communicate is the personal statements by producing their personal records. Thus, the intention of the latter becomes the point of departure. In order to do so, we rely on the very basis of the causal relation, “x represents y is true only if x expresses a thought about y or if x is designed to remind one of y” (Scruton, 1981:579-580). In case of photographs, both of them is indeed intentional. The representative relation between the subject and the lived experience stems from the motive, the significance of the depicted event in subject’s life that is worth to be documented. It is closely attached to the idea that subject has a prior thought of the event that is considered to be taken, displayed and kept in a photographic album.

Thus, the photograph is “both taken and made” (Chaplin, 1994:200). In this sense, the convention of photographic practice underlines the common features as people tend to record happy moments, family time to confer the sense of togetherness, at leisure, doing or experiencing something for the first time. Regarding the firsts, they indeed document the social processes in transitions- such as moving to a new house, transition to a new life, socio-economic status, the birth of a child that signifies transition to a parenthood, celebration of new year, birthdays, starting to school. Yet, these images are often thought to be trivial due to the ubiquity of such images as they could be found in any album. Musello (1980:36) puts forward that, the “special” events rather than daily lives are recorded in which the subjects mostly attach significance to them. In this case, I suggest that intentionality lies at the internal narrative of the photographs and this depends on two inherent characteristics: its memory-making function which intends to reconnect with the past, namely the host land and the stories behind these images that make them significant. The photographs in this study put the subject into their locus, documenting what they do in transitions. In this regard, the relation between the subject and the related experience intends to represent something which can be traced in Sekula: “The photo is imagined to contain the autobiography.... The photograph is believed to encode the totality of an experience” (1975:42, cited by Musello, 1980:39). The encoding requires an interpreter which is the subject in the photograph who in her interpretation employs her memories- how she remembers and/or how she wants to remember (i.e. re-narrative)- in the depiction of the setting; the event, activity, people. Thus, she constructs a relation with the image by communicating the elements in the social reality that surrounds the image which in our case, addresses the migrant worker reality in host land. It is narrated through the perspective of the subject, whose age, generation, marital status, social status gender play an important role to unfold “something about the event’s currency, typicality, commonness, distribution, and so forth” (Goffman 1979:20). In this respect, it is evident that the narrative is the key to understand the representational value of the photograph.

It is also true that, photograph only documents the fragment of the experience, which nevertheless fragments our knowledge about the event, the experiences of the subjects concerning the very moment. But, the fragmentation makes us resort to the

story behind these photographs, narrated and remembered by the subject. In so doing, Scruton notes the fragmented, momentary take is a rather feeble feature when compared to the painting by assigning the latter a power to “capture the sense of time and represents its objects as extended in time even in the process of displaying a particular moment of its existence” (1981:587). On the contrary, photograph could extend in time and space through its transnational mobility both as an object and as an *aide memoire*, bridging the places, past experiences by bringing them to present. Secondly, if this extension refers to a fixed notion of representing the subject, photograph’s authenticity reveals itself in its flow bestowed to the memory-work. The subjects in the photograph may already have their reasons to take the image but through time not only their physical features change, their interpretation of the event, how they see themselves now in light of their past experiences, most importantly within the framework of this study, how they, as a migrant worker locate or wants to locate themselves in the host land, what they remember about the very experience depicted in the photograph, how they interpret in their post-return lives by not merely describing but actively reconstructing the past, make it usable in the present setting even through re-narration would indicate how they see themselves in the host land through the transitions which they predominantly document since migration all in its aspects have a primary effect in their lives, such as entering in the work sphere, participation in the social sphere through engaging leisure activities, the school environment of a second generation as a contact zone with native students. Only by resorting to life-story narratives on their migratory course and the images that are evidence of their presence and embedded with the story behind unravelled by elicitation based on their memories on the event would complete the lack of expression in the photograph which is made and taken intentionally by the subject. Thus, it can never be directly referred to the appearance in a fixed sense, rather, it unfolds the experience from the subject’s perspective and its interpretation when it is looked again in present with the help of the memories, the photograph invokes at that moment. This becomes possible through drawing upon its memory function and its transnational character that make the act of looking beyond the image. The interrelation between multiple ways of looking will also be discussed in Chapter 3 in this study.

Depeli (2010) concentrates on the photographs located in the Turkish migrants' home in Germany to trace migrants' relations with their homeland in their new setting through the display of the images in "Migrants' Homes", following an inter-generational perspective. As a study to underline the reconstruction of the identity through memory-works based on their past recollections of homeland, Depeli shows that photographs of the deceased family members, compiled by first and second generation migrants, represent migrants' maintaining ties with these members to reform the family unity not only across borders but also mnemonically across two worlds. She also adds that, the ways in which photographs are displayed are as important as the content of the photographs. In the case of wedding photographs which are commonly displayed by the second generation migrants, decorated by colorful fabrics, beads and lighting proposes a form of animation that brings together several elements from the past and relocates it in a new setting by creating its own narrative. Regarding third generation migrants who were mostly born in Germany, uses photography to accentuate the simultaneity of their "mobility" also as a bodily performance between two cultures since the images from concerts of a Turkish singer, playing *saz*, summer vacation in ancestral homeland penetrates their current setting.

In Chalfen (1991)'s study, the two albums of Japanese-American migrants are used as a way of communication with past as personal statement. In this regard, photographs ranging from schooling in the USA to participation in sport, ownership of a new American car as well as the frequent visits to Japan and images from funeral ceremonies of a deceased family member gather together to address migrants' multi locality that characterizes their hyphenated identities. On the one hand, these statements underline their strong attachment to their roots through forming a belonging through memory, it also sheds lights on their present activities in their current location to display their integration to American society.

However, migrant photographs such as in the case of Kunimoto's (2004) study on six Japanese-Canadian family photographs illuminate their relocation due to the second world war which enforced them to build a new life in Canada. The interplay of national history that is embedded with a collective trauma and personal past become a tool for exploring the interpretive performance (Langford, 2001) through the orality

embedded in photo-narrative that discloses multiple feelings. In this sense, trauma that fosters an imaginative unity since some members of the family lost their lives during the war, through the family images is accounted as a search for finding a place, for the migrants who were torn between trauma and the hope of a new life. The birth of a child accompanies with the memories of the confiscation of the camera due to an imposition of a strict law on the border is replaced by the studio photographs taken in Canada. Kunimoto's work stresses on the shifting feelings, from good memories of communal life, birth of a child, gathering with friends that are remembered with joy to lingering memories of pain and suffering, still made alive by the photographs in the albums. In Lum's (2017) study on Chinese Canadian migrants' family photographs also shed light on the traumatic experiences during the exclusion period that led to the disintegration family due to the discriminatory immigration laws, this study engages in the use of photographs as an instrument for the ambivalent reconstruction of the presence of family. In contrast to the idea that photographs function as an intermediary to sustain family integration, this study highlights the reality of loss of family both during and after the war. While the family photograph could compensate the feeling of loss, the reality as the lost member of the family image returns from the war, individual memories of their parents' return delineate the rupture of familial relationship. In this respect, Lum does not only question the photographs' production of a false sense of imaginative unity, she underlines the narrative as a complementary counterpart to delve into the memories associated with the certain image even it run counters to the representation of the image. Or, in other case in the study puts emphasis on the "stagedness" of the family photography that creates a gap between the family ideal and the dissonance in reality.

The emphasis on the narrative element in photograph in Gencel Bek's (2022) study corresponds to unravelling of self-identification of Turkish migrant women in Germany and their gendered experiences of migration. In this respect, display of a set of photographs could be embedded with power relations between husband and wife while the former does not let them to be hung on the wall and lead the latter to search a new space where she located her photographs. Most importantly, photographs when uncovered, portray the past identifications of women in Germany that run counter to their current circumstances amid the gender roles that imply male

dominance in the household, economic fragility of women, the ambivalent condition of motherhood and the weak or no role in the decision-making in the family. Rather, photographs of women from the days they were students, businesswomen were charged with another stories; achievement, success and empowerment which were indeed silenced by the women, themselves.

Migrants' photographs often underline the sense of family by picturing newcomers to the family, special occasions celebrated in a new land to stress on the the unity of family. According to Fedyuk (2012) photograph sent from a caring mother to family back home does not only strengthen the sense of togetherness as a family but also gives way to a transnational motherhood practice. According to Wolbert (2001), photographs from migrants to their family back home could intend to show that they have low degree of attachment to host land as they picture themselves alone in the city center or while reproducing home practices. Migrants could also highlight the "other life" and the renovation of self (Margold, 2004; Andall, 2000) through displaying fancy shops, new clothes, cars that signal their improvement of economic capital. Some migrant photos arise mixed feelings (Alpagu, 2019), they could intertwine sadness for longing home and adoption of a new lifestyle by the Westernized attires and atypical working-class look.

Marcoux (2001) stresses that when objects are brought to a new land, they still stick and link back to their original places through their mnemonic function; so that, a returnee who brings his photographs/photo albums to home, one desires to remember host land. As memory-objects, they are embedded with an autobiographical past blended with structures of social relations with gestures of belonging. They are "expression of individual and social existence" (Chalfen, 1987:3). Photographs make absent present through their mnemonic function which forge "belonging by memory" (Lebra, 1976) to host land. They are documents of presence, marking "having been there" (Barthes, 1981:76) which allows migrants to "enter" the past and reproduce their presence mnemonically.

Photographs are not only indexical, indicating direct correspondence between the subject photographed and the resulting image. They also have a life beyond their immediate physicality and image content that contour their visibility. By addressing the invisible, Batchen (2004:97) stresses on the memory which is already embedded

in the photograph. As both reminders and remainders of the past, they are visual records of the returnee's presence in host land. Nevertheless, photographs are fragmentary and they are schematic representations of the real. However, the fragmentary yields an instant penetration of the past into present, "even if only for a split second, the past is experienced as present, as if it were an intimate part of the here and now" (Lems, 2016:130). The significance of these moments is visible through the voice, its narration. The voice unfolds the invisible part of the image, memories which re-construct the familiar through the possession of the past by its holder.

In migration context, photograph "finds its meaning between the poles of absence and presence" (Berger, 1972:33). Similar to case of remittances which are primarily the dominant mode of transnational action communicated between the migrant in the host land and the families back home, who are thus absent in the host land, this meaning of the photograph is also endowed with transnationality. The presence is sustained by image-making and embodied memory in the absence of host land. In so doing, "memories extend beyond national borders and defy a mobility regime perceived as a menace to the continuity of memories" (Rey, 2016:102). On the contrary, the transnational mobility of photographs and memories help to reconstruct the past by taking the people, places, actions and experiences depicted and narrated in present, thus offer a sense of continuity in terms of their sense of belonging to what is absent. Thus, photographs enable re-remembering (Myheroff, 1986). From return migrants' perspective, they are *aide memoire*, help to invoke one's memories about host land through the images taken there and brought to homeland. depicted in the image. Secondly, with the act of remembering, a returnee reproduce his sense of attachment to there so that neither his relationship with the host land nor its influence on his present life continue.

As the photographs "set the scene for recollection" (Kuhn, 1991), the act of remembering couples with the selection of what is photographable, kept and shared by the holder. Since the emergence of Kodak culture, photographic practice is mainly associated with the selection of the images that portray fun moments, commemoration in order for history-making and record-keeping of individuals and families. According to Chalfen (1981:109-11), photographs selected for album or

display follow a “master plan”. This refers to the production of images that emphasize on pleasant moments and celebrations, leisure activities rather than professional life or any domestic chores (Hirsch 1981, Chambers, 2003).

The same plan grants “appropriateness”, affirmation of social norms which is nevertheless regarded as banal expression that is endowed with resemblance to any family photo album (Slater, 1995). Relying on the dismissal of the discordances and misfits in family life such as events that invoke sadness, crisis, death, diversity in gender are compromised for the sake of appropriation of family ideal, a conventional gaze that hinders subjectivity. In this sense, Spence shows that, family photographs rely on the “selection of idealizing moments for the telling of the family story” (2005:47). In this respect, photographs move from being registers of past experiences to representations.

Bourdieu (1990) stresses that family photographs are produced in order maintain the “cult of unity” which suggests “an index and instrument of integration” (1990:vi). In addition, Rose (2003:7) suggests that integration may extend beyond the borders of domestic sphere, particularly when migrants’ photos are considered, a sense of connectedness (Wolbert, 2001; Tolia-Kelly, 2004; Depeli, 2010) is maintained through exchange of images between home and host country to overcome the disintegration of family members or a landscape image of home that a migrant holds onto in its absence.

Photographs as representations construct the contours of experiences, family activities, individual actions as features in visual self-makings. This portrayal has a unique way of representation. However, the symbolic meaning of photographs derived from its authenticity uncovers individuality of the experience, stressing on the subjective essence. Therefore, an album becomes a space for production of both private and public meanings (Chambers, 2003:97).

In a migrant photo album, not only the migrant family but the nation itself could find its place where the public meanings are derived. Wexler (1999) suggests that it offers a distinctive narrative that runs counter to the conventional history of migration. And this is what returnees’ albums are made of: indexical presence of the new nation and the old one in mind. When brought to homeland, photographs act as a form of

transportation (Berger and Mohr, 2010:17). In this respect, the photographs exchanged between Ukraine and Italy are analyzed in the context of transnational families by delving into the difference in production and consumption of images among migrant families. Images that fill the void of absence due to migration, transnationally connect both places such as in the creation of a “Ukrainian corner” (Fedyuk, 2012: 285) in their homes in Italy by locating Ukrainian flag, photographs of family members and souvenirs to overcome the distance. A photograph becomes a part of the place-making practice of the migrants. Images of children and other as well as new members of the family, marriages in homeland are exchanged to ensure the normal course in everyday life disregarding borders. This, in return, sustains the imaginative unity which is disintegrated by migration. As indispensable part of homing practices, migrants’ possessions are often attached to the recovery from the feeling of loss, disintegration and longing.

Return migrants also brought their photographs, as visual traces of self, depicting their past realities in the host land. The travel of these markers of presence is embedded with two ways of looking in the present setting. Firstly, it encourages a backward gaze to the past. Secondly, by bringing the past in, returnees reconstruct their past in negotiation with present, give new meanings to both home and host land. Concerning the latter, photographs require a vivid context in order to exist in time and space. In migrant’s imaginary, this context is mainly embedded to home where the photographs complement the idea of locality and attachment to one’s roots; and in returnee’s imaginary, photographs become instruments to re-create host land since they are “reminders within the home of the outside world that it depicts” (Batchen, 2004:30). So that photographs that were taken in the host land and brought to homeland, their domestic space in homeland become aid to their memories of the past experiences. However, in line with Kansteiner (2002:191), images rely on narrative counterparts in order to be located in the life-course of returnee. As such, photograph without such an intention to be located is devoid of meaning.

Moreover, it is as Spence argues, “those who create, circulate and own the image production process, thereby define and control their meaning” (1988:174). Return migrants as possessors of the photographs of host land, shape their migratory experience by constantly refracting, familiarizing, claiming and infusing this

landscape. In this sense, it is also significant to address *whose* memories are invoked and how they remember the past events in the migratory course. Therefore, the next section delves into the memory-work process of the individuals, focusing on the gender perspective.

2.2.4 Memory and Gender

Memory is gendered. From an early age girls and boys have demonstrated a different pattern on the reporting a past event. Ely and McCabe (2017:102) argue that girls use more dialogues, quotations and reported speech, they resort to description to their environment in order to recreate the past setting. On the contrary, boys tell about their past experiences briefly without giving any details. Use of directed speech in memory narratives could demonstrate that girls are double-voiced. There is a juxtaposition of their voice with the others, this may link to influence of the patriarchal relations in family on their self-realization.

In terms of autobiographical memories, Loftus et al. (1987) depart from the hypothesis that women rely on emotional memories, face recognition due to their social relations, have superior long-term memory while men rather remember recent past without showing any degree of societal relations in their remembering. Generally, it is argued that good memories are remembered more often and precisely than the unpleasant ones. When recounting the past, women are superior in verbal content in their narratives, they present more information on the past compared to men; they are more inclined to give spatial details in their memories. Their study demonstrates that men also include other people and mention their feelings in their memories. However, women are slightly more expressive on their emotions, particularly if they are related to significant moments of their personal past such as transitions.

In a similar vein, Karlsson et al. (2019) argue that in autobiographical memories, women give more emphasis to their communal relations, make references to their family, friends and other with whom they share their experiences as they focus on emotional expressions. They are more elaborate than men in telling their personal experiences in terms of giving episodic details. It suggests that women address their

communal relations due to their interpersonal relations and their tendency to attend to other's emotions and thoughts. In addition, gender inequality is addressed in women' memory-work in terms of their communal relations through their participation to care work both in domestic and public sphere.

Memories on life-changing events such as wars, diaspora and migration highlight narratives of gendered experiences during these events. To start with, Noakes (1997) in her study of women' and men' experiences during the Second World War in Britain sheds light on the male dominancy in the discourses of war and the construction of national identity. While women were keepers of the hearth, men were the keepers of the country. Individual memories demonstrate that they were both defenders, both victorious even though they were at war in the different spheres of life. As women gained their confidence since they served for their country at their assigned fronts both publicly and traditionally, the history of war privileged men as heroes. It is also evident in the daily life during war time, British government did not halt the production of women clothing and cosmetics for the sake of men at war.

The growing attention to personal accounts and women' relative superiority on remembering personal memories more thoroughly than men have paved the way for construction of counter-memories. They give voice to women' histories which have been regarded as forgotten in the public memory. Further, gender becomes a unifying factor to bring together public and private memories in order to overcome "their irreducibility as others and untranslatability of the story of trauma" (Hirsch and Smith, 2002:13). In this regard, Baumel (1998) introduces four gender patterns in the narratives of the Holocaust. Women as mothers, warriors, senior victims and virgins were accentuated. However, it was women' role as a mother that often found its place in the memorials; images such as women holding their children, pregnant women and women who protect their children in the death camps are embedded in the cultural memory, conserved in the archives and statutes in museums. This results in the reproduction of the gendered memory even though many narratives stress on the memories of absent fathers who were not there to protect their children. The victimization of women and their emotional attachment with the past hinder their heroism and struggle in the memorization of trauma.

“It happened to women, and it is only a detail that the women were Jewish. It’s not a detail. It is everything, the whole story” (Ozick, cited by Waxman, 2017:2) wrote Ozick in a letter, opposing the gendered perspective on Holocaust, defending that both men and women suffered from what happened during the Holocaust. Alternatively, *Memory’s Kitchen* (2006) depicts the strategies of women, their resistance to survive, collaboration through sisterhood that kept them alive. It is argued that remembering Holocaust is not complete if one turns away from the silence of the women. The focus on women’s narratives, drawn upon their memories echoed to uncover the hidden, silenced and missing voices in their endeavor to “create a new history from below” (Leydesdorff, et al. 2017:54) to demonstrate women’s role in the reconstruction of the past.

What is more, the view on biographies as unchanging and are expressions of unitary self is challenged by the accounts of migrants. First and foremost, migrants’ memories illuminate the reinvention of self through their interaction with two different cultures. Migration redefines the boundaries not only on the national level but also their sense of attachment and identities under the conditions of rupture, alienation, relocation. According to Camp and Thomas (2008:3), dynamics of diaspora are not only externally but also internally constructed. Internally, these dynamics refer to the relations of settlement and their gendered and racial formation in the diaspora communities. due to their marginalization in the host society. Such a formation led African immigrants in Portugal to refuge in silence and as a result they are reduced to a homogenous group. Their silenced memories as new Europeans are further pushed by the natives’ preconceptions that defined migration as a crisis and foreigners as bad. Marginalization, in that case, reproduces the unitary narrative of Europe by pushing the ones who are “in, but not of Europe” (Hall, 2002:57).

Silence, can also be an act of expression. In Vietnamese women in diaspora, silence signifies the burden of bad memories, loss of homeland and grief for family, either disappeared or dead. In this respect, silence becomes a unique voice, as they tell their life stories, their memories can open up new spaces to locate their loss as an extension to their past traumatic experiences or the struggle for reconstruction of new life. Nguyen (2009:7) epitomizes that while a woman’s life story revolves around three losses in different periods of her life, yet she chooses to keep her father’s

memory alive by holding onto his work ethics that help her to reshape her life in a new land. Thus, memory could be selective and it allows her to reconfigure her future, instead of being lost in grief. In another narrative, one encounters a reformatory take on her migration past. Addressing to several tragedies, her migration to Australia conveys the sense of freedom and a space for self-expression.

The year 1948 marks a trauma in the lives of Palestinian women due to their dislocation from their homeland. Kassem's study (2011) delves into the agency of women in the collective trauma, whose voices had been silenced and effaced from the history when "class and gender combined" (Sayigh, 2007:13). Kassem confers that these narratives form "female collective memory" (2011:5) as she emphasizes on the shared language and their relations to home. Palestinian women in Israel have been abandoned both in the construction of Palestinian national identity and marginalized in Israel as Palestinians, as women and as seniors. So that their use of language is a claim for establishing personal and collective memory in the history of Palestine. Nevertheless, as in the case of remembering of Vietnamese women, Palestinian women as well associate past events with their bodily experiences, pregnancy and birth of their children.

Diasporic memories in between their past experiences and present reality, make women negotiate their positions vis-à-vis homeland. In Wessendorf's (2007) analysis on the second generation Italian women return migrants from Switzerland point out both the nostalgia for the homeland and their childhood memories which shape the image of Italy. In addition, their parents' emotional connection to Italy is transferred to next generation. However, when they return, their struggle with patriarchal and traditional gender roles lead them to rethink returning back to Switzerland. In this respect, the imagined homeland and the reality conflict and there emerges the difficulties of integration and cultural expectations due to the "gendered geographies of power" (Pessar and Mahler, cited by Wessendorf, 2007: 1098) inflicting particularly on women returnees.

Bertaux-Wiame (1979) in her study focuses on the biographical accounts of internal migrants. She argues that even though migratory trajectories of both men and women are similar, their experiences of migration are completely different. Men in their accounts privilege their work life as a marker of who they are. They are successful,

self-made men who become the “subjects of their own lives” (Bertaux-Wiame, 1979:29). On the other hand, women’s memories dwell on their relationship with other people. That is why, while men often use “I” in their narratives, women use “we” as they refer to their past experiences during migration. Bertaux concludes that, these diverse accounts are based on social positions of men and women in France. Men’s identification with work and women with family dominate not only their past experiences but also their present realities. Thus, their memories penetrate into present through the unchanging social and economic conditions in France and their reproduction of the practices, which had their roots in the early years of their arrival to new city. Nevertheless, they give meaning to their present lives through the perspective of their past experiences.

In case of Turkish labor migration, the predominant composition of men in the early years of migration who left behind their families for work changed when the family reunification and increase in demand for female labour led to feminization of migration. The openings in the posts within several industries such as food processing, textile, metal production, hotel management and electronics, granted to female labour. The participation of women both reproduced the precarious conditions of migrants and transformed woman’s role in domestic sphere by positioning her as a *teilernährerin* (breadwinner) and a guide, thus weakened the role of man (Abadan-Unat, 1977) in the family. On the other hand, European memory that classifies non-Europeans as “foreigners” also became gendered through the demarcation between *Ausländerinnen* (foreign women) and “Turkish women” (Inowlocki and Lutz, 2000:307) with an emphasis on the position of the latter as “twice rootless”.

However, women’s life narratives illustrate that their stories entail with emancipation from the patriarchy and invention of a new self beyond the identifications of Turkish, Muslim and German (Erel, 2007:7). In addition, women’s memories continue to be embedded in their communal relations, namely their interactions with other Turkish migrant workers and natives. However, women’s stories are rather neglected in the field of migration studies. As Inowlocki and Lutz (2000) focus on the single woman migrant worker in Germany, Hülya, they note that her biography is nowhere to be found, neither in museums nor in the history, assimilated within the meta-narratives on Turkish labour migration. Since her story oscillates between marginalization and

freedom, it becomes a social narrative that sheds light on the exclusion, subordination and injustice as well as emancipation from the constraints in homeland. Erel's (2003) other study focuses on the accounts of skilled Turkish migrants in Britain and Germany to illuminate their path for citizenship. Experiences of two women in different European countries are similar. Their narratives focus on their struggle in participation to labour force after they decided to escape from social control from their family and stigmatization attached with being a divorcee. In their accounts, along with stigmatization and social control that they experiences in homeland, they also put emphasis on the precarious working conditions which made them work like "slaves" (Erel, 2003:272). In this regard, these studies clearly demonstrate that memories on individual past experiences of migrants are integral to the collective memories, shaped by structural factors in the host land that are shared by migrant communities. These memories on the work lives of women, which is a part of their life-course in host land also put forward the common characteristics of the generation they belong so that both gender and generation have impact on their memory-work. Thus, the next section aims at presenting the generational perspective on the process of memory-making where the individual and collective memories intersect in the construction of past experiences.

2.2.5 Memory and Generation

Memories are made present by its transmission through generations. Generation is defined as a group/cohort born in the same period and experience same major historical events. Throughout this study, I address both first and second generation migrants. Prior to provide examples to delineate the relation between memory and generation, I intend to present the characteristics of each generation. In this respect, I refer to first generation Turkish migrants as individuals who were born and raised in Turkey, having only Turkish nationality at the time of migration, not migrated to Germany as migrant workers during their late adolescence. Specifically, first generation migrants address the individuals who migrated during the early decade of the introduction of the bilateral agreement for labor recruitment between Turkey and Germany.

On the other hand, there is not a consensus on the definition of second generation migrants. However, throughout the study, I will refer second generation Turkish migrants as the descendants of the individuals who had migrated to Germany. The parents who migrated to Germany were both born in Turkey and either of them was a migrant worker. Apart from the national background of their parents, specified as Turkish citizens, the main question lies whether the classification should be made in accordance with their place of birth. According to Chiswick and DebBurman (2004), the children of immigrants who were born in Germany are often grouped with first generation migrants. Also, Rumbaut states that while the persons “immigrate as children from the “first” generation of immigrants who migrate as adults” (2012:982) are 1.5 Generation, second generation refers to the children of first generation who were born in the hostland (Worbs, 2003:1011). Rather, the categories that are put forward by Rumbaut and Worbs classify under second generation migrants. Given the sample of this study, even though siblings of the interviewees were born in Germany and answer to the definition of second generation, yet, they are not included in my sample since at the time of return they were nearly 3-4 years old. In addition, I suggest that place of birth could not be the only indicator to define second generation. Their difference with the first generation parents lies at their age of migration, time of migration, type of migration and their educational attainment. This identification is not widely used to define second generation migrants in Turkish migration context. All in all, I define second generation Turkish migrants as follows: Children of first Turkish migrant worker parents where both the parents and children were born in Turkey. Children had a few years or no schooling prior to migration, migrated through family reunification during 1970s, after the settlement of their parents in Germany and migrated before they reached 18, particularly between (before or during) school age and early adolescence.

As I intend to demonstrate the ways in which memories are constructed through a generational lens, Mannheim (1972) stresses that each generation has a repertoire of shared memories, bestowed to their “generational location” which is the amalgamation of the biological and social premises, where the former stands for being born in the given period and the latter signifies the effect of same historical events on the individual lives. These shared events in the history generate certain

configurations to influence the attitudes, values and lifeworlds that create “generational connection”. Through this connection, groups adopt “common mentality and sensitivity” (Mannheim, 1972:291) based on the commonality in their purpose, attitudes, reactions and feelings arisen from sharing the same social and historical situations. In a similar vein, generational memory can also be thought as a collective memory that addresses the togetherness in remembering the events with and against the other people in various groups. In so doing, each generation’s identity is formed through the collective memories they transmit. On the other hand, Mannheim (1972) underlines “real” memories that mark the generational identity which comprise the memories during late adolescence to early adulthood. However, the meaning given to the events may differ from generation to generation (Schuman and Scott, 1989). In fact, temporality in generational memories also overlap with biographical memories and historical time (Wydra, 2018:14), subsuming the individual memory-work that would specify the unique experiences related to the transitions in the life-course of people in the same generation.

Mannheim’s conceptualization of generational memories puts emphasis on the critical periods in lifetime. In a similar vein, Schuman and Corning (2011) in their studies on memories of national and world events demonstrate that experiences during these years have “primacy effect”, arguing that their influence on one’s life has long-lasting. For instance, Bodnar addresses “depression generation” and argues that it left “an invisible scar” (1996:622) on the older generation who experienced this period during their early years in their life-course. He adds that their descendants-younger generation- also share the moral decadence accompanied by the Depression although they give different meaning when compared to their parents. In this sense, Bodnar underlines the construction of life-stories that have both subjective and objective counterparts that envelop “resurrection” of the past as well as “reconstruction” of the experiences in terms of the present conditions (Bodnar, 199:622). Therefore, the older generation emphasizes the destructive effects of the economic turmoil by referring to the end of mutualism and solidarity they once had while the younger generation interprets it as a dominant character of modern times that indeed allows for individuality, self-sufficiency and hope for economic restructuration.

Generational memory is also carried by shared symbols. The commemoration of colonization and revolution in the Capitol through iconography highlights the active process of recollection as it refers to the selection of what is remembered about the past. Schwartz (1982) argues that, the only representation regarding the Civil War is based on the heroic past. The struggles and sufferings are repressed for the sake of preserving the ideal of unity of nation, engraved in the icons to transmit it to generations because the Revolution is the only element in the history of the USA that is not rejected (Kammen, cited by Schwartz, 1982:387).

However, not every generation has memories of grandiosity but suffering and trauma. Including the traumas, Freud states that it is not possible to conceal the massive breaks that had severe outcomes on the society from next generations. Since they flow as memory contents; they are not devoid of re-interpretation or rejection (cited by Reulecke, 2010:122-23). Indeed, traumatic events “demand the sharing of memories” (Misztal, 2003:101) since they are not only part of collective and historical memories but also, they are “internalized in a deeply visceral and unconscious ways” (Nora, cited by Misztal, 2003:101). As a result, in the case of survivors of tragic events such as the wars and the Holocaust, these memories never fade away.

Still, the effect of the traumatic memories has an emotional counterpart when they are experienced at a young age. Emotional expressions in the memories are intelligent responses to the outside world that would allow to understand the social landscape that people find themselves when narrate their past traumatic experiences. In this respect, Wolf’s study focuses on the hidden children’ memories during the Holocaust who were given to foster families for protection and their post-Holocaust experiences when they re-unite with their biological parents. Wolf demonstrates that children who reconnected with their family underwent another trauma, which emerges from “not of the war but of what happened after the war” and make the child “a post-Holocaust victim” (2007:5). In these accounts, there is also multivocality. Multiple voices are echoed in the same person, the child voice is dominant during the narration of past experiences and the adult voice operates as filtered, selected mechanism in the memory-work. Moreover, the testimonies of young survivors indicate that experiences of war during their childhood come to

affect their adulthood gravely. Their memories never evade despite of the passing time and even they become successful and happy both in professional and private lives.

The generational memory also differentiates in terms of the age which “cuts across people’s experiences and creates intergenerational differences” (Holland and Lave, 2001:17). As in Palmberger’s study on memories in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are three generations who have shared memories of wars (WWII and Bosnian war) and Yugoslavia. The first Yugoslavs hold onto the memories of strong Yugoslavia. The last Yugoslavs as second generation who have no personal memories of Tito and war but they are “convinced that traumatic war experiences are not as threatening as the economic insecurity” (Palmberger, 2016:169) they face in present. As they have post-memories of war, its repercussion has real effects on their present lives that leave them with their longings for the time of mutualism and stability. Lastly, the post-Yugoslavs are the youngest generation who live in the post-war time. So, their memories on Yugoslavia are limited by its transmission through their families, so that they forge no or less emotional connection as they do not have bad individual experiences. In this respect, they give different meanings to their parents’ memories. They are torn between the traumatic memories of their parents and personal happy memories, particularly with the other ethnic groups that were regarded as enemies by their parents.

Generations as “communities of memory” (Irwin-Zarecka, 1994) are the space for production of memories and memories of memories (second hand memories) through family narratives that one can claim belonging to at least two generations; as second generation and the first generation based on the memories that they are inherited. This reinforces a consciousness of “being-together-in-time” (Pickering and Keightley, 2012:127). So that, locating first generations’ memories in one’s autobiographical narrative also create new possibilities for them to give different meanings in present, the time they live in. On the other hand, individual’s position in the family would lead to construction of intra-generational identities through which one’s memories are not always in one with the family narrative. One of the factors of this difference within generation relies on the gender. According to Leydesdorff (2017:25) this demonstrates that gender also a constitutive part of the construction of

memories within family, the contents and how they are narrated, as aforementioned in the previous part.

While memories can be transmitted, narratives of memory cannot. They are re-narrated and they are challenging since it requires selection of memories and re-arrangement for the demands of the present. According to Welzer, generational memories tend to change as they are passed to other generations, even within the family due to the consideration for family loyalty as well as the individual need to give meaning to their parents' past (2010:6). In the examples of Holocaust memories in which the survivors are not victims but perpetrators, are reshaped within the idealized version that fits to cultural values. This reformation takes the organization of the memory through the selection of events according to a purpose into account. In the narratives of the descendants of perpetrators, several elements are brought together from different stories to create a hero. In this sense, this process contests the past that "evokes a struggle in the field of truth" (Hodgkin and Radstone, 2003:1) in order to reconstruct a past to remedy the its consequences. In contrast to the silenced and/or undermined subjectivities in public memory¹, re-narration also focuses on reformulating subjectivities as such in the case of Holocaust memories of perpetrators. In this sense, "cumulative heroization" (Erl, 2011:314) is constructed which results in the split between public and individual memories.

Even though migration is one of the significant events that has influence over the generations, it is evident that emphasis on generational memory in migration studies are limited. However, Chamberlain and Leydesdorff (2004:228) underline that "migrants, perhaps more than many people, are made by their memories of their birthplace, homeland, those left behind". To illustrate, in Neyzi's (2004) study, Can, an Arab Christian refugee from Hatay has a life-course where he goes back and forth between countries. His multidirectional route initially comprises a travel from Hatay to İzmir and later to Ankara to pursue his studies at university. While his family migrates to France, soon after he and his wife follow the same migratory course and

¹ At this point, Neyzi's study "Remembering Smyrna/Izmir: Shared History, Shared Trauma" poses the question regarding the perpetrators of the Izmir fire on September 13. While the Greek historical records address Turks as perpetrators, Turkish history addresses Greeks/Armenians. In her personal accounts, Gülfem remembers that she had watched the fire with her grandfather during the time, however she still did not know exactly who did it and states that there is a possibility that Turks may have done it. She concludes that "We didn't say afterwards, 'The Greeks/Armenians burned it'" (2008:118).

migrate to France. Eventually, they return to homeland. These journeys according to Neyzi allows for reinterpretation of the past that allows him to locate his sense of belonging to multiple places. Even though, his childhood memories about his life in village remain dear to him, there is no inter-generational transmission of memories regarding village life. Rather, memories of hostility due to their religious identity passed from generations. His grandfather, his father and himself faced discrimination and repression. While his confrontation with his fragment identity continues in France, he finds refuge in his memories of childhood and the village. And, Neyzi concludes that what he only passes on his son, the next generation is the image of the village in his memories (2004:295-6).

Neyzi's study also underlines family as a mnemonic community in which memories are inter-generationally shared, kept and transmitted. In fact, family memory as Erll notes is "a kind of collective memory that is constituted through ongoing social interaction and communication between children, parents and grandparents" (2011:306). However, the transmission of memories in this case was selective; while the memories of repression were shared rather than transmitted; the transfer of memories was only evident in case of Can and his son which was centered around good memories of village life. In so doing, individual memories of Can on village life allow to keep the lost image alive and circulated in family to express "the general attitude of the group" (Halbwachs, 1992:59) on the grounds of good memories to strengthen one's bonds with origin.

(Re)migration is a significant event in the life course in which age becomes an indicator in remembering the events during migratory course. To start with, in their studies, Schrauf and Rubin (2001) explain the effect of immigration in number of events recalled with age among Hispanic adults migrants in the USA. Concentrating on three age cohorts between 20-35 (early-middle and late immigrants), they underline "reminiscence bump" (Conway and Haque, 1999) that suggests the higher cognitive capacity for remembering occurs from the ages of 10 to 30 and it tends to decrease among older people. However, it is equally plausible that any life-changing event, social upheavals, ruptures and breaks regardless of age would also create reminiscence bump. Concerning the contents of memory, there are assumptions that migration experiences are often emotionally marked, namely trauma and stress due

to the relocation. However, their study demonstrate that number of memories recalled and narrated are higher during migration in comparison to before and after migration. No emotional tonality is traced among migrant groups regarding any of the stage in migration; their memories do not evoke feelings such as happiness, sadness or regret. They conclude that immigration does not denote a rupture, a discontinuous event in the lives of migrants due to their memory-work that enable their past experiences to be brought in present. In terms of the content, immigration memories do not stand out when compared to other periods in one's life. As the transitional memories increase during migration period, it is underlined that life story narratives of migrants mainly are accumulated during the migration and early years of settlement. Moreover, immigration is stated to be a stressful experience which is not comparable to traumatic events and related experience.

In a similar vein, Corning (2010) attempts to differentiate the effect of “critical years” between ages 17-25 from the impact of transitional/transformational events such as migration based on its effect on generational memories among Jewish migrants from Soviet Union to the USA. In this respect, public memories are remembered and carried by individuals by knowing that their sense of past is not solely dependent on the unique experiences but social frameworks. She states that “emigration effect” could also be significant as the critical years effects in remembering. So that, while emigration effect dictates the content of collective memories of migrants in the USA, generational effect (thus the critical year effect) is dependent on the events remembered related to Soviet Union where they spent their lives during the critical years. Among migrants, events such as WWII, glasnost and perestroika, collapse of the Soviet Union are mostly named. The events related to the USA left unmentioned by the large proportion of the sample. Even though, migration remains as a significant experience in their lives, however, memories of migration are framed as personal experience without penetrating into collective memories.

As Conway and Potter (2016) focus on the second generation migrants, argues that their stories remain “relatively invisible” in the return migration phenomenon. He specifies that young return migrants in their early to mid-careers returned to their homeland resulted from their strategic calculations to improve their socio-economic status by seeking new opportunities. Accumulated human and social capital when

compared to older generations, they return their ancestral homeland to try-out, as well as build a viable alternative for their descendants. Their return was classified as “innovation return” who employed their capital acquired in the host land as a transnational asset to become actors of change in the work environment in the homeland. They, by resorting to their memories on discrimination in host land, as a motivation to build a better life for themselves in homeland.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD OF STUDY

In this chapter I will analyze two qualitative methods; photo-elicitation (P.E.) and life-story interviews by drawing upon both theoretical discussions of these methods in social studies and their use in this study.

In the first part of the chapter, I will discuss the theoretical background of these methods and refer to prior examples in migration studies. Therefore, I will start by providing an introduction on the role of photography in social studies and focus on the biographical perspective as an umbrella concept that considers biographies as a composition of lived experiences and the social contexts that these experiences are molded.

In the second part, I will concentrate on how I used these methods in this study. Thus, I will address photo-elicitation method to indicate that photographic productions are employed as memory aids to shed light on first and second generation return migrants' past experiences in host land. Regarding the method of life-story interview, I will discuss with an emphasis given to construction of thematically consistent personal narratives which I intend to explore migration course of the individuals and its influence in the post-return from the perspective of present of the narrators.

In the third part, I will present the cases that I will use in this study in a stepwise manner. This part will consist of the process regarding finding the cases, the introduction of the participants by providing demographic data and their brief life stories that indicate their migration course. This part will conclude with the discussion as final remarks on the possible limitations of these methods with respect to validity, generalizability and ethical considerations.

3.1 Theoretical Reflections on Research Methods

3.1.1 Two Approaches on Use of Photographs in Social Studies

The emergence of employing visuals in the social studies relies on the use of still (i.e., photographs, ads, captions, etc.) and moving images (i.e., films, documentary, etc.) in order to analyze a social phenomenon. It aims to explore “how we see, how we are able, allowed, or made to see, and how we see this seeing and the unseeing therein” (Foster, 1988: ix). In this sense, I will discuss two distinct, realist/documentarist and interpretative approaches that are particularly followed in the use of photographs to explore a social situation.

To start with, the use of photographs as data to gather, record and explore society mostly rely on its documentary character by advocating those photographs are “truth-revealing mechanism” (Edwards, 1992:4). However, this perspective reduces the scope of photographic production to an illustrative framework. In this approach, working with photographs essentially lacked a sociological look that necessitated a focus on a social concern and relevant theoretical framework through which photographs would merit to “contain information of value” (Becker, 1974:12).

Until the 1960s, photographs were not considered as elements that are embedded with information value but as evidence to support the researcher’s aim of “demonstrating” the implications of the phenomenon, he tackles with in his studies. In these studies, researcher-made photographs are ubiquitously used which indeed privileges the viewpoint of the researcher with his attempt to support the grounded theory that he employs in the study by only “framing” specific instances to fit his standpoint. Moreover, prominent studies that integrate photographs had an interdisciplinary perspective. A photo-journalist, Riis’s work on “How the Other Half Lives” (1890) is among the first studies that use photographs in which he depicts the poor conditions of the other halves in the society- working class and migrants in tenements- concentrating on their housing, their use of public spaces; children on the streets, parks in the slums to stress the effects of dense population and their struggles, facing with urban poverty in New York. Followed by Lewis Hine (1908), a sociologist and an investigative photographer, his study focused on the

working conditions of child labour in various sectors. Interviews with the children are accompanied by the depiction of “pure” images to provide evidence on their working conditions. In a similar vein, research conducted by the US Farm Security Administration (FSA) is among the primary studies that adopted a “sociological intent” in visualizing everyday life of farmers, migrants who are in search of employment in the aftermath of Great Depression. Picturing this dramatic social and economic change that affected America is argued to be the early examples of a documentary tradition even though later uses of these photographs are rather associated with propaganda that favors the introduction of New Deal Program, an incentive for farmers, funded by the government. Last but not least, a prominent work in anthropology by Mead and Bateson, the “Balinese Character” (1942) incorporates researcher-made images for the documentation of bodily practices, features, social practices, family life and rituals that make Balinese culture. Photographs were intended to demonstrate “what happened normally and spontaneously” (1942: 49) but they required verbal translation of these images to orient readers towards understanding the meaning behind these photographs. Later followed by many other ethnographic studies ranging from rural life to rituals of indigenous groups, the “realist tale” (John van Maanen, 1988) embedded in the photographic act are supplementary to a ground theory that allows for the choice of relevant concepts that are visually presentable.

The realist take on the photography gives its place to interpretation and narration which underlines a shift from “context that photographs are made” to “context in which they are viewed” (Templin, 1982:138). This would unfold the relation between the researcher and the subject while it allows to capture the latter’s perspective without fully committing to neither theories nor the photographs. By bringing out one’s point of view in a social study, particularly departing from their photographs produced by them or produced by the researcher to depict their milieu is analyzed on the grounds of what matters to the subject in the corresponding social situation.

In this respect, in their studies both Collier and Collier as well as Harper work together with their subjects on the photographs they had taken during their research. To start with, Collier and Collier (1986) focus on the weaving process of Otavalo

Indians and photographs the stages of the related weaving process. Then, he integrates these photos to interviews with weavers. As a result, during these interviews, weavers explain what matters most to them and even ask Collier to rephotograph the process. In so doing, such a documentation provided by photography also paves the way for *verstehen*, understanding the meaning behind the images through subjects' narratives that "prod latent memory, to stimulate and release emotional statements about the informant's life" (Harper, 2002:14). Secondly, Harper, in his study *Working Knowledge: Skill and Community in a Small Shop* (1992) explains the microcosm of the mechanic, named Willie. Even though, Harper initially states that he lacked a theory, he then constructs his own categories based on the interviews he conducted with Willie and the photograph of his shop and him while working. Thus, departing from Willie, Harper analyzes the industry in decline and the related know-how. In addition, Margolis's (1999) study on Coal Mine, centering around the labor process in the mining industry is significant because it explores the challenge of using two languages in a study: word and images. While words, as narratives of the workers stress on the alienation, hardship, exploitation and the danger related in this field, he argues that they are difficult to be captured in the images but only through narratives since the poses they give by the machines they used during their work, they "seem" happy with their working conditions and for a coal miner, they look clean and proper as they know they are photographed. Instead, these photographs emphasize the mechanic process; technological production and science. Thus, Margolis (1999) argues that these two languages have two distinct functions: while the words disclose social relations, their tactics (i.e., singing) employed in the work environment to challenge the objectification of the labor, images proffer the production, functionality more powerful than words. The images also hinder the alienation since all the workers portrayed in the work field pose as if they are working. However, instead of challenging the one-dimensionality of the image that obstructs the negative outcomes of the industry, he relies on the workers' perspective in the narratives and bring them together.

3.1.2 Uses of Photographs in Migration Studies

Seeing through photographs in a social study also requires “the ability to find patterns” (Suchar, 1997:34). In order to unravel these patterns, Suchar further suggests shootings scripts engaged in a set of questions to construct a photographic field to (visually) narrate a “cultural story” from the researcher’s perspective. Again, in these scripts, researchers may rely on their own photographic productions. In this sense, Berger and Mohr’s (2010) study on migrant workers, photographs of migrants’ lived experience are divided into three scripts: departure, work and return. All these stages are depicted by the (scripted) shoots from medical check, railway journey, inside the factories, working environment, landscape of homeland, reunion with family members. Gold (2002), by tracing place-making practices of Israeli migrants in Southern California displays cultural dispositions of migrant activities such as folk dancing or ethnic restaurants they establish, formation of business networks exclusively for Israeli business people and newspaper agency where immigrants work and publish news in Hebrew, uses photographs as a documentary fashion to indicate the spaces they construct. Krase (1997), on the other hand, studies Italian and Polish migrants in Brooklyn and uses vernacular landscape photographs in order to depict the construction of Italian and Polish neighborhoods through the buildings of Polish restaurants, clothing stores, churches, settlements called as Italian villages in Brooklyn. In addition, with the integration of narratives on the photographed material, particularly on questioning the use of flowers by the windows tells a unique way of displaying Polish migrants’ presence in the U.S.A. The flowers, according to the narratives address their way of being in these settlements since Polish migrant communities reproduce their home settings in Poland through locating them in the public view.

On the other hand, studies by Chalfen (1991), Wolbert (2001), Depeli (2010), Campt (2012) and Alpagu (2019) are significant in the sense that they resort to the photographs that are produced by migrants. Using family photographic albums, they depart from their autobiographies, they link sociological insights on memory, identity and belonging with their life stories. Firstly, Chalfen (1991), by taking two Japanese American migrant family albums, he argues that photographs are symbolic forms of communication through which one’s relation with ones surroundings,

culture and everyday life could be interpreted. As personal statements, he underlines the production, organization, preservation and display of photos along with their content that represents the sense of belonging to both their Japanese roots and American way of living with their attires, cultural practices as church membership, commemorations, visits to homeland, playing baseball, dancing recitals, joining the American festivities that map out cultural interpenetrations in their photographs.

Campt (2012) utilizes both archives and personal photographs to find patterns in the photographic image of Black diaspora community in Europe, highlighting institutional and personal way of producing and representing Blackness across borders. Hereof, while photographs from the Dyche² archive put Caribbean women with their uniforms and books in their hands on the forefront as respectable, educated and qualified nurses, indeed they are interpreted as a victory against institutional racism. Family photographs, on the other hand, tell an alternative story of domesticity and intimacy within the family and about their entourage which underline the ascension from the inter-racial oppositions. Lastly, studio photographs that Black women holding a purse intentionally make the viewers believe that they are both elegant and wealthy, all adding up to reversal of institutional racialized gaze.

Recent studies on the use of photography in the field of migration, concentrates on its movement since not only people but they also travel physically, symbolically and transnationally with their possessors. Wolbert (2001) puts emphasis on the exchange of migrant photographs between home and host country as a place-making practice-yet producing locality in the host land by forging familial unity around an image which gathers the dispersed members of the family together. In Alpagu's (2019) study, focusing on a single photograph of a male migrant standing before his apartment in Austria, carries the message of a migrant who is "doing well" in host land. Last but not least, Depeli (2010) examines the relationship between cultural memory and visibility by focusing on the photographs displayed in the Turkish migrant's home in Germany. Memories of home are pathways to remember one's

² Dyche archives, acquired by Birmingham City Library in 1990, have more than ten thousand printed and negative images, produced between the years 1887-1990 of Birmingham's Afro-Caribbean community (Campt, 2012:118).

roots through the images of family members who are either left behind in Turkey or passed away.

So far, the use of photograph in sociological research underlines its multiple yet limited scope. First of all, photographs' documentary function addresses the realist tradition where they become evidences to trace the changes, photographed and presented by the researcher. Secondly, with the emergence of the interpretive/narrative function of photography, not only the researcher-made photographs started to be replaced by the production of the subjects, it also allows to understand the social phenomenon through the prospective of the subject who does not only narrate his/her life-story on lived experience but also intervenes the researcher's photographic process to give insight on the depiction of his microcosm. In addition, photographs also have memory-function that the narratives of past could dwell on the evidentiary character to point one's presence in the given location and event in the past and the interpretive context that enables researcher to look beyond the photograph through engaging in the subject's memory-making process to pinpoint what their photographs "tell" on their past experiences.

3.2 Biographical Approach

While "images provide fact" and "words [provide] meaning" (Curtis, 1988:246), a study on photographs lies at the intersection of evidence, memory and story-telling. The latter underlines the interpretive approach, calling for the subjects's perspective on one's photographic productions to understand what one communicates with the related image, on which aspect during his life-course it depicts, what events and situations are associated with the image and what memories it invokes. To this end, it is evident that the interpretive take relies on the biographical narratives to understand and locate the photographic productions in one's life-course.

Life-course as a perspective offers both a theoretical and methodical orientation for the investigation of the past experiences of individuals and collectives. It is defined as subsequent events in individual's lives since their birth to death, considering the effects of age, generation and the period that these events take place. First and foremost, age is a factor that gives order to the sequence of the events in multiple life

spheres that individuals engage since their birth; while age of schooling refers to one's involvement and duration in education sphere, age that one starts working, age of marriage and parenthood, retirement, age that one relocates from one place to another and engagement in specific leisure activities throughout one's life. They all indicate changes in their lives, schooling addresses age-related development that spans from childhood, early adolescence to adolescence that point different education levels, entrance to work sphere after graduation and working until retirement, marrying as an indicator of change of marital status along with parenthood and lastly age is indicative how people spend their free time, underlining the time spent due to their engagement in education, work and family and the types of activities.

According to this perspective, these changes refer to the concept of transition. Sackmann and Wingens (as cited by Aybek, 2001:63) state that transition is "a change from one state to another during a process". Rather than being abrupt, it suggests a gradual change that is linked with acquiring a new role. Transitions show both age and status related changes. Transitions could be described retrospectively through individuals' biographical memories and their interpretations since it is possible to make sense of the influence of changes in one's life only after a period of time. In migrants' case, locating from homeland to host land happens in a certain age that as well group who migrated during the similar years into a collective; that is to say, generational relation. To be specific, first generation Turkish migrant workers are the ones who migrated to Germany during the first decade of the labour migration which was initiated in 1961. The age effect underlines that there is an age limit for eligibility at the time of migration during these years, which was set to be being between 18-35 years. With decision to migrate, there are apparently two distinct changes of state and a role: Migration refers to the change of location and one is no longer a native in the homeland but a migrant in the host land. In addition, there is also a change of status regarding one's employment. Reminding that, the primary cause of migration is the poor economic conditions in Turkey at that time which underlines period effect that stress on the predominant structural factor that influences people's choice, most people who migrated was unemployed in homeland and they became employed in host land. The age is also important in their course of

career since they were mainly employed in menial jobs that required muscle power, agility and endurance.

Considering second generation Turkish migrants, the term itself nearly grasps all the factors; age that indicates the descendants; children of the first generation Turkish migrants, thus younger in age and the social conditions that affect their mobility is the prior relocation of their families and the structural conditions that allow their parents to engage with their family (family reunification). The time of their migration discloses an additional transition which is their schooling. They migrated to Germany at school age thus they started to school in host land and continued their education, namely from elementary school to high school, indicating as well their age-status transition, from childhood to adolescence. Nevertheless, these examples clarify that life-courses of individuals are constructed within the intersection of the structural/historical conditions of the time as they happen which shape their personal biographies of migration.

The life-course research, based on the biographical accounts is firstly used in migration studies by Thomas and Znaniecki in 1918. In their volumes of "*The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*", they sketch the organization and disorganization of Polish migrant groups from a socio-cultural perspective in terms of their familial structure, religious attitudes, economic lives, social environment that influenced both the migrants and their families, left behind in homeland. By using letters in their studies, they dwell on the transnational links that migrants tend to maintain with their homeland and trace how Polish peasants locate themselves in the ever-changing structures in both countries through their narratives on lived experiences in the host land. Letters exchanged between family members across borders characterize migrant life between collective structures and individual constructions. They shed light on their work life as a wage-earning mechanism in order to attain a stable-life, their consumption attitudes as a marker of their social mobility and their insistence on sustaining their commitment to their religious activities.

Since then, this new and inspiring qualitative method with an interpretive approach is proven to be useful in understanding life-course of individuals beyond having a normal biography (Kohli, 2007). The normal biography refers to a standardized life-

course that the transitions and events in one's life are only determined according to one's chronological age. However, in case of migration, life story of a migrant has "twofold perspective" (Gültekin et al. 2003) which is shaped by both failure (i.e., racism, gender discrimination, alienation) and success (i.e., educational advancement, economic gains, independence). Also, by taking gender into consideration, the meaning of migration in women's biographies addresses differences in comparison to male in terms of what they feel about migration (Bertaux-Wiame, 1979), such as their achievements as gaining independence and taking action in forming transnational networks with other female migrant workers (Morokvasic, 2003). Biographical works can also reveal intergenerational patterns. Common migration history produces biographic- experience capital (Delcroix, 2001) that is owned and transmitted to other generations as a means of knowledge for developing rational strategies in host land departing from the experiences of first-generation.

Since the 1990s, the predominant idea in biographical research is to shed light on the agency, formulating biographies as reconstructions through narratives of the subjects who do not only articulate what happened but also give meaning to their past experiences in the present time of narration. In this sense, biographies are argued as social constructs that bring together their lived experiences and the social situations that shape their experiences and their way of telling in present (Fischer-Rosenthal, 1997; cited by Apitzsch and Siouti, 2007: 5). This allows for such interpretations that migrants are not the ones who submit to the social, economic structures of host country but are able to struggle with the social situations they face in there by forging action plans, find solutions such as forming informal networks transnationally. Biographical narratives are argued to offer a viewpoint which unfolds migrants's imaginary in its complexity and diversity by analyzing transmigrant character. This character has moved beyond the identity crisis, strong attachment to homeland, problems of integration to host society. For example, in the case of Siouti's (2019) study, as a daughter of a guest worker migrant family from Greece, Evgenia goes back and forth to Greece and Germany to pursue her studies in both countries during her life course which she translates it as a success story thanks to her transnational education. This trajectory helps her to cope with problems such as discrimination,

language problems and integration even though she fails in German system but recovers from it by having a degree in Greece, advancing her language skills and attaining her “biographical projects” through education. Moreover, according to Apitzsch and Siouti (2014), biographies can create transnational space since a migrant’s story corresponds to the continuous interaction of two countries.

Migration, as leaving one’s homeland is considered to be a story of a rupture and discontinuity in one’s biography (Breckner, 2003) since it runs counter to the normal course of life which stresses on the succession of life paths. However, from decision to move to another country to return, migration has its “seeds” (Findlay and Li, 1997:38) throughout the life-course of a migrant. In case of return migration, a returnee’s mnemonic relation with host land is multi-relational and influenced by the seeds of their experiences before, during and after migration.

3.3 Using Methods of Life-Story Interviews and Photo-Elicitation (P.E.)

In this study, I have three research questions that aim to investigate the role of host land in the returnees’ lives after their return and in order to locate the host land, a country that is left behind, in their present settings, I address their memories which necessitate a retrospective approach on the past experiences of the returnees during their life course in Germany. These experiences could be analyzed by the use of life story interviews that attempts to gather information on the “subjective essence” of one’s life which the person chooses to tell in accordance with their remembrances of it (Atkinson, 2002:123-25). Secondly, upon their return to homeland, returnees bring their photographs, that were taken in Germany. As I discussed in the previous section, photographs have both evidentiary and interpretive functions. As they were produced by the returnees during their stay in Germany, their primary role is to document their presence there. So that, by employing photo-elicitation method that “involves using photographs to invoke comments, memory and discussion in the course of a semi-structured interview” (Banks, 2007:65), I aimed to understand what aspects of their past experiences they document and what memories they invoke regarding their presence in the host land. In this sense, by following Suchar’s (1997) approach, indicated as finding the similar pattern among photographs, it requires to

engage in interpretive approach by referring to subjects' views, the possessor of the photographs to understand the significance of the given image, portraying them as they were. With this method, I was able to position these images according to the stages in their life-courses (i.e. school photographs, work photographs, leisure time) through their explanation of the situation and related experience, depicted in the photographs and memories it invokes to them. I used these two methods complementary to each other in order to understand the memory-work of the participants in this study which unraveled their re-construction of their past in their present perspective, thus, to pinpoint what aspects they intend to stay alive in their present settings.

The interviews with the sample were held in two sessions, concerning life-story interviews and photo elicitations. Each of them lasted approximately 2 hours and they were conducted between May 2019 and December 2019. The second session for photo-elicitation was held 2 or 3 days after the life-story interviews. It was intentional since decoding life stories and time for getting together the photographs/albums were essential for the second step. Even though some photographs were recaptured by my phone's camera, still, all photographs were copied and scanned for their use in this study. As one might infer, in this sample, while some photographs were already organized as albums, some were selected by the interviewees.

In the life-story interviews, following Rosenthal (2006:1), my aim is to understand both reconstruction of the past depending on their remembering and its articulation in present. On memory-based narratives, such as life-stories, past events and experiences are the focus. It requires a collaboration of the interviewee and the researcher. While the interviewee's recollection provides the subjective perspective, understanding social process refers to the analysis of the economic, social and historical conditions in which these memories are constructed.

With the questioning, I put the theme of host land in the centre. In this regard, following Atkinson, I employed four interrelated stages in the interviewing process. According to Atkinson (1998), the first questioning is generally intended to grasp a main narrative. Thus, in this stage, I asked one fundamental question: Can you

introduce yourself? It refers to the biographical account that expects interviewee to locate the migratory course in his/her life-course. This question aims to have information on the chronological order of the life events, without emphasizing on the motives to migrate and return as well as the period in between. It was followed by three consequent “periods of questioning” that intend to the elaboration on the main narrative, biographical events that stress on their migratory course in its entirety. The questions were asked in relation to their migratory course corresponding to before, during their migration as well as return decisions and post-return lives.

These periods are pivotal in order to understand the ways in which interviewees situate themselves in the biographical narrative regarding their past migration experience and give insight on their attachment to host land in the form of articulation. In this sense, I started by the main narrative which is an uninterrupted period where the interviewee outlines his/ her migratory course from leaving homeland to return and ends with a reflection on the current state in homeland. In the following parts, my questions comprised descriptive (i.e., What was the main reason to migrate?, How would you describe your neighborhood?), (semi)structured (i.e., What were you doing apart from going to work?, How do you describe your school life?) and contrast questions (i.e., What were the things that you had in Germany but not in Turkey?) rather than resorting to closed ones (i.e. yes/no questions unless followed by questions stated above such as asking “Did you have German friends at school?” as a part of one’s school life). These questions varied according to the stages in their life-course as I mainly intend to analyze the course of migration, by stressing on these periods: Before migration, during migration, return and after return. The last part of life-story interviews intended to understand a period from their return decision to present. I asked questions that indicate the continuity of their ties with host land by revealing the resources (i.e. ideas, practices, attitudes, etc.) they mobilized. Focusing on the reconnection with the host land, interviewees were primarily asked about the sense of home, the changing meaning of home during post-return lives in relation with their attachment to Germany. The ways in which they locate themselves in home group, how home group perceived the notion of *Almanci*, their adaptation and the comparison between Turkey and Germany were aimed to discuss.

One can also see that life stories do not only grasp the individual experiences but they are in constant relation with the members of family, other groups- migrant communities, natives. The interviewees also referred to their friends, neighbors whom they met at school, work environment, neighborhood, through which experiences are constructed, influenced, shared and denote multiple biographies³. So that, I had access the subjective, intersubjective and socio-structural aspects to understand the “the place” of the interviewee. It would give opportunity to trace their shared experiences of migration with respect to and in comparison, to the migrant communities belong to same/ different generations. To comprehend a life story, it is important to delve into the collective history and personal memories that would help to highlight the paths in migratory context.

In the life-stories, some aspects of their lives, their experiences tend to stand out more than the others, in this respect, they become markers for this study. An anecdote, an outpouring of feeling, have more to say beyond its individual aspect. For example, a bad memory at school would resonate discrimination towards migrant groups that is in fact a part of collective experience of second generation Turkish migrants. The thematic field which is discussed priorly in the previous section would help to underline the shared and divided past experiences of the interviewees, the repetitions as well as their singularity. On the one hand, the theme also guides the interviewer in the preparation of interview questions. On the other hand, the sequential order is maintained.

Last but not least, Atkinson (1998:41), emphasizes that questions should also grasp the subjective essence and meaning-making on the “feeling level”. I also asked questions such as “How did it make you feel?”, “What did you feel when something like that happened to you?”, which intend to reveal even suppressed memories. The accentuation of how the interviewee feels and gives meaning to her experiences are not limited to memories on what was lived through. It is also related to the process in which they are made alive as the interviewees bring the past in present, assessing the past events, experiences as traces that leave their mark today which make their life story. Questions that intended to delve into the feeling level had a rather complex

³ Courgeau and Lelievre (1990) in their biographical survey focus on three aspects of life: family, professional sphere and education. In this respect, they refer to their study as “Triple Biographies”

composition due to their difficulty to name them as “feeling” questions. Rather, feelings found their own ways to surface regardless of the type of the question. Feelings are always attached to the answers since memory-work is nonetheless engaged with what and how one remembers the past and their vividness in their minds are closely associated with the emotions they invoke.

As remembering is an active process of bringing the past in present both by words-narrative of one’s story- and images as aids of memory-making in the photo-elicitation method, I intended to unfold multiple aspects of the photograph by the act of looking of their past experiences. I borrowed the tripartite model of Wright (1999) on which Banks (2001) re-formulates as such:

Wright (1999)	Banks (2001)
Looking at	Informational
Looking behind	Internal narrative
Looking beyond	External narrative

In this respect, my formulation on photo-elicitation method entirely depended on Bank’s terms. Firstly, I intended to ask questions regarding the informational aspect that aims to identify the content of the images. It aims for the identification of the scene, persons, relations in the foreground. This stage included exhaustively these questions, presented below:

- Who are they in these photographs? (i.e., family members, friends, neighbors, colleagues to understand the subject’s entourage and his/her relation with them)
- When did you take the photograph?
- Who did take these photographs?
- Where were you/they in this picture? (i.e., home, parks in the neighborhood, workplace, school)

Secondly, P.E. moves from description to constructs. With constructs, I aimed to understand the individual aspect, what the photographs say to the possessor about her/his life, in other words, the personal meanings given to their images and construct their narratives. I mainly asked “what happened”, “what were you doing”

in this photograph, leading to understand interviewee's relation with the events in the host land along with how he/she remembers it. In Bank's terms, the meanings they give refer to the "internal narrative... the story that the image communicates" (2001:11) relying on the memory-work of the returnee on his/her particular past experience and what transition that it refers to in her/his life-course (i.e., school, work, etc.) that escape from or not sharpened in the narrative, drawn upon life-story interviews. Thus, I was able to delve into how she/he located oneself in the given setting and how it is interpreted in present perspective, especially with regard to her/his ties with the host land. Accordingly, in this stage I could analyze the research question that problematize what aspects that their photographs represent in their life-course in host land.

Lastly, when considered within the framework of migrant subjectivities, highlighted through their memory-work on the "events" that their photographs address, the interpretation of subject's life in host land has an iconic character. In this respect, "looking through" aims at finding pattern(s) among return migrants' photographs, concentrating on the "external narrative". It suggests the social and structural factors, which once again is an interdependent part of the life-course perspective. In this respect, these factors impinge on the experiences of the returnees in the host land and I aimed to explain the contexts that yield for the production of such images. For example, the similarities between their domestic space such as the shared decoration, shared poses in front of the tv sets, images from their workplace as they are working, activities they engage in the *heim*, leisure activities as a part of integration to social sphere in accordance with the gendered difference, men and women' use of given spaces can be assessed. Concurrently, I traced the differences according to their social position in the host land that distinguish them from their cohort. In this way, personal photographs of the sample could stress on both divided and shared memories on life in host land which do not only reveal common photographic practices but also collective memories and shared life stories, putting emphasis on the inter-generational connections/differences.

As I will clearly state what “participants” I conducted the photo-elicitation and life-story interviews in the next section of this chapter, based on their photographic productions, most evidently the ones who took the photographs are largely not remembered by the participants. So that, in the Chapters 5 and 6 that their collection and/or photographic albums will be referred as source. After the photo-elicitation interviews, I was able to find patterns in the photographic productions of both first and second generation return migrants. These images, rather than emphasizing on capturing happy moments which is a common denominator of the photographic practice, the photographic productions of first and second generation return migrants principally document their transitions during their life-course. Transitions could be understood through individual memories to pinpoint the changes in one’s life. The first generation return migrants’ photographs center around the images that depict their experiences in work sphere and leisure activities as a way of participation in the social sphere, portraying individual, family activities, activities with friends both in domestic and non-domestic sphere that is significantly changed according to their marital status. The second generation returnees’ photographs focus on the depiction of their surroundings, neighborhood as it states the change of location, their school years as they enter the education system in Germany and leisure activities, once again address their ways of participation in the social sphere.

3.4 Cases of the Research

3.4.1 Defining the Cases

Returnees are invisible. Among the ones I interviewed, some decide to make themselves invisible by suspending their migration past even though they silently acknowledge that they are not regarded as returnees but migrants. By not voicing they were once in Germany with their family, they believe that they can feel and be treated as a native as anyone else. Mixed with curiosity and prevailed judgements on the returnees, label of “*Almanci*” as a short-cut is often referred, it is mostly circulated between the non-migrant natives without letting them to hear. Indeed, returnees many years after their return, still hesitate what people think, suppose and whisper about them. Until, they come across another returnee. At that moment, non-

migrant natives become the ones who hesitate when they immediately start speaking German with each other. At this very moment, they become hyper-visible.

In a city like Istanbul, it is not easy to find them and it is partly because how to refer them is still ambiguous. One cannot look for returnees by using the short-cut of *Almanci*, not only because it reproduces stereotypes on migrants even though *Almanci* is easily responded by anyone in Turkey, requiring no further elaboration. I was looking for the ones who migrated and returned to Turkey for this study. Although, some returnees no longer consider themselves as one, for the home group, they are *Almanci* who are always on the move, between Germany and Turkey. To address the returnees as such, non-migrant natives also contribute to their ongoing migratory course.

Based in Istanbul, one can think of vast possibilities when it comes to sampling, although, the difficulty lies in where to start. In this regard, I resorted to convenience sampling and I started from my neighborhood and the locations that I know of for the sake of establishing a neighborly rapport and anticipation regarding the ease of entering the field. It signifies a non-probability sampling, therefore a subjective method based on a target that is characterized as first generation migrants who migrated to Germany as *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) and their descendants, joined their parents after family reunification, later returned Turkey for good. It is typical in terms of at least two reasons. Firstly, migration to Germany is the pillar of migration to Europe, initiated by the bilateral agreement between these two countries in 1961. Secondly, Germany is a country that hosts the most populated Turkish migrant community in Europe and has a higher return rate to homeland, particularly after the introduction of the Return Assistance Act in 1983. In addition, concerning the choice of first and second generation underlines the period of stay in Germany which has a significant effect on their biographical construction since their life stories are more enveloped with lived experiences, knowledge, practices and memories on host land as well as in homeland.

To initiate the search, I posted an announcement online by using Twitter and wrote one to put up at the most frequented spaces such as coffee shops in Kadıkoy, Erenkoy, Bostancı, Idealtepe, Maltepe Uskudar, Umraniye, Atasehir where one can both find traditional *kahvehane* (coffee shop) and popular ones such as Starbucks. As these places are frequented by many people, I thought that among the customers, I could find or contact people whose relatives or friends migrated to Germany. Indeed, I expected to find particularly first generation return migrants in traditional coffee shops since they were already retired and most of the senior people in my neighborhood gathered in these places. In addition, I thought that people who run and frequent *kahvehane* in these neighborhoods are communities where one can see same people everyday, therefore people can form close relationship and know each other, namely each other's life stories. And, in *kahvehane*, social capital of the owner and the regular customers are undeniable when it comes to get a background information on who comes and goes there, along with where they live and had lived before moving in these neighborhoods.

This was the announcement that I prepared in order to find my sample for the study:

GÖC FOTOĞRAFLARI ARANIYOR!

Odtü'de Sosyoloji doktorası yapıyorum. Doktora tezim için, Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye temelli geri dönmüş kişilere ve onların Almanya'da çektikleri fotoğraflara ihtiyaç duyuyorum. Eğer sizin de benzer bir göç hikayeniz ve aile albümünüz varsa, paylaşırsanız çok sevinirim!

Not: Akademik çalışma amaçlıdır, kişilerin kimlik bilgilerine kesinlikle yer verilmeyecektir.

İletişim için:

Irmak Evren

Telefon: 05XX XXX XX XX

Mail: irxxxx@xxx.com

Concurrently, I went to mukhtars, the representatives of the neighborhoods to put up the announcement and asked them whether I could meet anyone with a migration

background in their neighborhoods. They also offered me to inform other mukhtars in nearby neighborhoods in Kadıkoy area by sending the announcement via whatsapp groups, formed exclusively for mukhtars.

Secondly, independent researchers as Gökhan Duman, founder of *Diasporaturk*, a Twitter account that tweets photographs of Turkish migrants in Europe, sent by the migrants and their descendants and journalist Semra Pelek, regarding her article on bianet.org about being a returnee were reached out. I contacted Semra Pelek after I saw her article published in 2011 on Bianet, an online news platform, entitled “Gurbetçi Torunları Dönüyor, Almanya Yine İşçi İstiyor”. In her article, she addresses herself as a second generation Turkish migrant and gave an excerpt on their family life in Germany. That motivated me to contact her for an interview with her and her parents for this study. However, along with the recent death of her father and grave health condition of her mother, I was not able to conduct my research with them. She added that in this condition, they were not ready to look at their photographs which indeed emphasizes on the implication of re-membering. In terms of reconnection with the absence of their father and recollecting their past experiences with him, as she stated, would only bring out sad memories. Moreover, I contacted Gökhan Duman since his Twitter account which he regularly posts the photographs of both Turkish migrants who continue to stay in Germany and the returnees, regarding their family images as well as their activities in Germany. I kindly asked him if he could contribute to my studies through recruiting Turkish returnees among his followers on Twitter and his social network who were willing to interview and share their photographic albums among his followers. Even though, he informed his followers, unfortunately, we could not manage to find members. Probably, it could be explained by the returnees’ reluctance to share their albums with a researcher, or particularly for second generation, they returned to homeland as a child so that it was difficult for them to remember their life in host land.

Lastly, I contacted several associations which actively work with and for Turkish migrants and returnees. I reached out to *Göç Araştırmaları Vakfı* (Migration Research Foundation) and *Türk-Alman Dayanışma ve Entegrasyon Derneği-TANDEM* (Türkisch-Deutscher Tandem Verein für Solidarität und Integration) in Turkey as well as the branches of *Diyanet İşleri Türk İslam Birliği* (Türkisch-

Islamische Union Der Anstalt für Religion) in Germany. I only found the contact details of its branches in Nuremberg, Freiburg, and Wiesbaden. Based on my prior research on the formation of this union in France, I observed that these branches are regarded as social hubs where Turkish migrant community do not only frequent to perform their religious duties but also meet and chat with other Turkish migrants. Likely in Germany, I thought that community of Turkish migrants in these spaces, have built close relationships, exchange news regarding Turkey and Germany and they know about fellow migrants' current status such as family matters, funerary arrangements, vacations to Turkey and surely, their return.

The sampling process also entailed with a crucial problem. The photographic albums of the sample were the main element to conduct the study. But, the preliminary interviews disclosed that exchange of photographs was a challenge when there are only limited number of people to participate the study due to their hesitations on privacy, notably regarding the display and publication of their photographs. These photographs were not only containers of individual/family memories, they were symbols of their privacy as it enclosed their dramatic transitions. In one case, a second generation woman decided to be veiled upon her return so that all her photographs regarding her life in host land portraying her without veil. The reluctance could only be surmounted when the trust was maintained between the parties that as well necessitated frequent contact, favorably held in person. Most importantly, in each step, the "feeling level" should not have been merely considered as a technique in interviews to grasp the subjective essence but also regarded as a form of communication between the researcher and the interviewee to maintain an emphatic relation.

After the preliminary interviews at the *kahvehane*, I was about to enter another field, homes of returnee/returnee families. While being at the *kahvehane* as a female researcher was reciprocated with hesitation and often regarded as an intervention to masculine space; it was as well a liminal space for to gain their trust which followed by an invitation to their homes and display of their family albums. While all the male members in the sample were met in *kahvehane*, I met their spouses at their home after they were informed by their husbands and gave consent to take part in this study. Indeed, the cases of Zeliha and Nur since after the interviews held with them,

they refer their sisters and their friends who also came from Germany to participate. I believe that, the collective counterpart of their narrative influenced them to take such decision as they had already shared and recognized their families' part in their biographies, particularly regarding their common experiences and feelings. While the group of first generation return migrants were recruited through my visits to *kahvehane*, second generation return migrants for this study were mainly recruited upon references of the customers in these places who were either married to a second generation return migrant and my friends, whose landowners or their friends' parents were return migrants.

In this sense, the sampling could be defined as purposive because among the ones that I met in the coffee shops and addressed the references through a selection that fits to several characteristics for this study. These features were mainly based on being first and second generation Turkish return migrants. In terms of the first generation, I looked for the worker migrants and for second generation as people who were born in Turkey and stayed in the host land for a significant duration and reached at a certain age there because it would allow me to refer to their recollections in the host land. Concerning second generation, duration of their stay in Germany was prominent because if they returned to Turkey at very young age, for example, before school age, it was highly possible that their lived experiences would not only be limited but also not remembered. Lastly, I sought for the ones who brought their photographic collections/albums that depicted their presence in the host land and were willing to share for this study. Accordingly, I could find 5 first generation and 7 second generation Turkish return migrants. Except for one case due to the ongoing reconstruction that took place in their home, both life-story and photo-elicitation interviews were held at the homes of the cases where all of them are located in the Anatolian side of Istanbul. In the cases, there were not any family comprised both generations such as first generation parents and their second generation children due to several reasons such as family members were living in other cities, their children did not want to participate this study but only their parents or the serious health conditions of the parents of the second generation impeded to conduct an inter-generational study in the same family. Regarding the interviewing process, first interviews on life-stories were held primarily with the male spouses at *kahvehane*

and after their spouses' consent, I was able to interview the female spouses at their home. All the interviews on photo-elicitation were conducted with the participation of the both members in the family. Concerning the cases of second generation, both life-story and photo-elicitation interviews were made individually.

As mentioned earlier, there were mainly two problems associated with finding a sample. Finding the first and second generation of returnees from Germany is rather difficult due to their invisibility they intend to maintain. Secondly and most importantly, my intention to use their personal photographs in this study was a setback since it was often conceived as a breach of privacy. As I will analyze in the following chapters, this is closely linked to the traditional photographic practice before the "digital age" where the photographs are usually taken for the commemoration of family unity and the special events of the members of the family and the only ones who ever see these photographs are the family members and their close entourage. Thus, access to the photographs by an outsider requires not only permission but also a trust-building process. Photographs disclose the most intimate moments of the subjects which are thought to be only meaningful to them. In this respect, it highlights the significance of the photo-elicitation method, their selection for the display, their memories embedded to the experience are evidences and the strength of this study when they are looked in present perspective and construct their re-narratives of their biographical accounts, revealing their feelings which stay alive through time and space.

3.4.2 Demographic Data of the Sample

Table 3.1 Demographic data of the cases (Mar: Married; FU: Family Reunification; S: Siblings; F: Female; M: Male)

	Gender	Date of Birth	Date of Migration	Place of Migration
Esat	M	1962 (Rize)	1962 (Ardeşen, Rize)	Gauting
Tülay (Mar: Esat)	F	1966 (Rize; FU)	1966 (Ardeşen, Rize; FU)	Gauting
İsmet	M	1965 (Elazığ)	1965 (Elazığ)	Stuttgart
Kerime (Mar: İsmet)	F	1982 (Elazığ; FU)	1982 (Elazığ; FU)	Stuttgart
Ayşe	F	1964 (Rize)	1966 (Istanbul)	Boppard
Gül	F	1974 (Erzincan; FU)	1976 (Erzincan;FU)	Duisburg
Nur (S: Gül)	F	1973 (Erzincan; FU)	1973 (Erzincan; FU)	Duisburg
Zeliha	F	1967 (Istanbul; FU)	1967 (Istanbul; FU)	Stuttgart
Celile (S: Zeliha)	F	1967 (Istanbul; FU)	1967 (Istanbul; FU)	Stuttgart
Hayal	F	1970 (Istanbul; FU)	1970 (Istanbul; FU)	Frankfurt
Mahmut	M	1973 (Isparta; FU)	1973 (Isparta; FU)	Augsburg
Seher (Mar: Mahmut)	F	1976 (Isparta; FU)	1976 (Isparta; FU)	Augsburg

Table 3.1 Demographic data of the cases (continued)

	Education Level Before Migration	Occupation in Germany	Education in Germany
Esat	Graduated from high school	Automotive Industry (Worker, BMW Factory)	X
Tülay (Mar: Esat)	Highschool (not completed)	Service Industry (Tourism Agency)	X
İsmet	Primary school	Automotive Industry (Worker, LuK Factory)	X
Kerime (Mar: İsmet)	No schooling	Service Industry (Helper in a restaurant)	X
Ayşe	No schooling	Service Industry (Hotel)	X
Gül	No schooling, she did not reach school age	X	Elementary to Secondary School
Nur (S: Gül)	Completed first year in primary school	Health (Doctor's Assistant)	Elementary to High School
Zeliha	Completed first year in primary school	Service Industry (Hair Dresser & Car Dealership)	Primary to High School
Celile (S: Zeliha)	Completed first year in primary school	Health (Pharmacist's Assistant)	Primary to High School
Hayal	Completed first year in primary school	Service Industry & Health (Au Pair & Doctor's Assistant)	Primary to High School
Mahmut	Three years in primary school, not completed	Service Industry (Sweeper)	X
Seher (Mar: Mahmut)	No schooling	X	X

Table 3.1 Demographic data of the cases (continued)

	Date and Place of Return	Education in Turkey after Return	Occupation in Turkey	Current Place of Residence in homeland
Esat	1975; Istanbul	X	Opened a lathe atelier with his father in law in 1976	Erenköy, Istanbul
Tülay (Mar: Esat)	1975; Istanbul	X	X	Erenkoy, Istanbul
İsmet	2000; Istanbul	X	Opened an atelier in 2000	Erenkoy, Istanbul
Kerime (Mar: İsmet)	2000; Istanbul	X	X	Erenkoy, Istanbul
Ayşe	2000; Istanbul	X	X	Suadiye, Istanbul
Gül	1983; Erzincan	One year in Highschool in Erzincan	X	Umraniye, Istanbul
Nur (S: Gül)	1983; Erzincan	One year in Highschool in Erzincan	Opened a shop for bridal trousseau in 2000	Konya
Zeliha	1985; Istanbul	X	Housewife	Maltepe, Istanbul
Celile (S: Zeliha)	1999; Istanbul	X	Housewife	Maltepe, Istanbul
Hayal	1986; Istanbul	X	Sales assistant at a Tourism agency in 1986	Kucukyali, Istanbul
Mahmut	1988; Istanbul	X	Opened a textile atelier with his brother in 1988	Atasehir, Istanbul
Seher (Mar: Mahmut)	1988; Istanbul	X	Housewife	Atasehir, Istanbul

3.4.3 Migration Biographies of the Cases

In this section, I will present 5 first generation and 7 second generation Turkish returnees' migration biographies, referring to the demographic table in the previous section. Biographical accounts of the sample will be analyzed in detail in Chapter 5 and 6. I note that the names used in this study are pseudonyms.

To introduce, Esat, Esat's wife Tülay, İsmet, İsmet's wife Kerime and Ayşe comprise the first generation Turkish return migrants in the sample.

Esat was born in 1942 in Ardesen, Rize and was the only child in the family. After he had completed primary school in Ardeşen, he moved to his aunt in Rize to continue his education. Then, he moved to Istanbul to enroll in a vocational high school, specialized in technical drawing. He later joined the army and when he completed his service, he did not find a job in Istanbul and returned to Ardeşen. With the recommendation of his neighbor, an engineer who already had migrated to Gauting, Germany he applied to the Turkish Employment Agency in 1962, a year after the introduction of the bilateral agreement between Turkey and Germany for labour recruitment. As a result, he migrated to Gauting in February, 1962. His first place of residence in Gauting was a rental apartment, owned by his employer. He worked as a turner at a factory, which produced spare parts for BMW and Mercedes. In 1966, he married Tülay, who was 19 at the time, and after six months she migrated through family reunification. In 1970, their only daughter was born in Germany. Tülay started working at a tourism agency as a clerk in 1972 then promoted to the proof department where she continued working until their return in 1975. They, as a family of three, returned in 1975 to Fatih, Istanbul. At that time, Tülay's parents were living in Fatih and Esat decided to open a lathe atelier with his father in law in Fatih with his savings and the equipments he brought from Germany. After its bankruptcy, he got retired. Currently, Tülay is a housewife and Esat is retired, they live in Erenkoy, Istanbul.

İsmet was born in 1932 in Elazığ and completed primary school in his hometown. He did not leave his hometown until the time of migration to Germany. He decided to

migrate when he saw an announcement in a newspaper. He applied to the Turkish Employment Agency several times and after his third attempt, he migrated to Stuttgart in 1965 to work in the automotive industry, LuK, a leading manufacturer of clutches, pumpers and converters. He lived in a *heim*, a building complex by the company reserved for the migrant workers. He married to Kerime in 1966 and they have four children. Kerime and the children migrated to Germany in 1982. Due to the quota regulation on the number of children in family reunification, Kerime migrated with her two sons and after a year, the remaining children, who were 15 and 10, arrived. Kerime briefly worked at the restaurant section of a hotel during 1982-83. Since 1996, İsmet was channeling his savings to construct a building in Erenkoy and it was his return plan to homeland. As the construction completed in 2000, Kerime, İsmet and one of their children returned to Turkey. Currently, İsmet maintains his permanent resident status and health insurance in Germany. On the other hand, Kerime is not retired from her work in Germany and now is a housewife. Among the remaining three children, while one of them moved to Switzerland, the other two children live in Germany.

Ayşe was born in 1942 in Rize. After she had married to Ali in 1961, she moved to Istanbul. Ayşe's brother was already a migrant worker in Munich and during his visit to Istanbul, he recommended Ayşe and Ali to apply for migration to Germany. Even though, they both applied, Ali did not pass the medical examination conducted by Turkish Employment Agency for the labour recruitment. On the other hand, Ayşe was eligible and she migrated to Boppard in 1964, leaving her two children and Ali behind in Turkey to work at a hotel as a dishwasher. In 1965, Ayşe reunified with her family and Ali started to work in construction until he had a grave injury at work. He could not continue working and received disability pension. After his death in 2000, Ayşe returned to Turkey and she was already retired from work in Germany. Currently, she has permanent residency and health insurance in Germany and lives in Suadiye, Istanbul in an apartment which she bought with savings from Germany, after the return. Her children also returned to Turkey in 2009.

In this sample, there are 7 second generation Turkish return migrants. There are two sisters from two different families; Gül-Nur and Zeliha- Celile. There are also Mahmut and his wife Seher and lastly, Hayal.

Nur was born in 1966 in Erzincan. She has three siblings, Kaan, the eldest, Gül, her sister who was born in 1969 in Erzincan and Fatma, the youngest who was born in Duisburg in 1980. Nur and Gül's father migrated to Duisburg to work at an iron and steel factory in 1972. After a year, in 1973, Nur, Kaan and her mother migrated to Duisburg and Gül was left behind due to the restrictions on the number of children in the policy regarding family reunification. Gül lived with her aunt in Erzincan for a year and rejoined her family in Duisburg in 1974. Nur already had started school in Erzincan, but she enrolled in primary school in Germany due to her incompetency in German. Gül started school in Germany and graduated from secondary school in Duisburg. After Nur graduated, she worked as a doctor's assistant. With the introduction of the Return Assistance Act in 1983, Nur's father decided to return with his family to Erzincan. Nur and Gül continued their education in Erzincan but left the school after a year. Nur married in 1985 and moved to Istanbul. Currently, Nur has two children and lives in Umraniye, Istanbul. She owns a shop for bridal trousseau. Gül is a housewife, she has two children and lives in Konya.

Celile and Zeliha are sisters. Celile was born in 1960 and Zeliha was born in 1961 in Istanbul. In 1966, their father migrated to Stuttgart to be employed in the construction sector as a worker. In 1967, Celile and Zeliha with their mother migrated to Stuttgart through family reunification. Their mother, Aliye worked at a hospital as a hospital housekeeper. Both Celile and Zeliha started primary school. They both graduated from secondary school and Zeliha was employed as a hairdresser. Celile worked as a pharmacist's assistant until she got married in 1984 with a second generation Turkish migrant worker child in Germany and stayed there until her return to Istanbul in 1999. Zeliha and her family returned in 1985 to Istanbul, they benefited from the Return Assistance Act. Currently Zeliha is a housewife, has two children and lives in Maltepe, Istanbul. Celile is also housewife, has two children and lives in Maltepe.

Mahmut was born in 1955 in Isparta. He completed primary school in his hometown. After his mother had died, his father migrated to Augsburg in 1972 and worked as a sweeper at the Municipality. At age of 17 (not yet 18) with family reunification, Mahmut migrated to Augsburg in 1973. He started working as a sweeper at the same municipality with his father. After two years, he changed his job and started working at a metal ring factory between the years 1975-1983. In July, 1976, Mahmut married to Seher in Isparta. Seher was 18 years old when she married and in the same year, she migrated to Augsburg through family reunification. Seher did not work in Germany and she had no prior education. She occasionally helped Mahmut on his side-job where he worked as a cleaner at a discotheque during weekends. They had three children in Germany and they all returned to Istanbul in 1988 where he started a business, small-sized atelier with his brother. Currently, Mahmut and Seher live in Atasehir, Istanbul. Their children are married and they also live in Istanbul.

Lastly, Hayal was born in 1963 in Istanbul. She has a brother who was born in 1966. Her father migrated to Frankfurt in 1970 to work at a factory, manufacturing shoes. Three months after his migration, Hayal, her brother and her mother migrated to Imtraut, Frankfurt in 1970. She started to primary school in her neighborhood and she graduated from secondary school. After her graduation, she worked as an au pair, doctor's assistant and as a sales assistant at C&A. She returned to Turkey in 1986 to marry while her family continued staying in Germany until 1999. Upon Hayal's return, she worked at a tourism agency as a sales assistant and then as a ground hostess for an airplane company in Istanbul. Currently she is a housewife, has two children and lives in Kucukyali, Istanbul.

3.4.4 Using Small Size Sample as Case Studies

Methodologically, case study refers to “...an instance of a class of events [where] the term class of events refers to a phenomenon of scientific interest...that the investigator chooses to study with the aim of developing theory regarding causes of similarities or differences among instances (cases) of that class of events” (George and Bennett, 2005:17). When combined with life-course perspective, it often puts emphasis on the single individual as a unit of analysis (Carr, 2018:48) to delve into

the one's experiences throughout his life-course, explaining the influence of the social, historical and structural factors and agency in choice and action that all shape one's life events in different domains. In this study not only the individual but the event of "return" as a continuation of the migratory course will be the primary focus to be explained through individual cases.

Throughout this study, the domains will mainly refer to the domestic relations, including the influence of the life-course of the any member in the family on the actions of another member, school, new environment and neighborhood, workplace relations through entering labour market, leisure activities as a route for participation to social sphere. On the one hand, this study has a relatively small sample size due to the access to the sample and the reservations regarding the use of personal photographic albums. On the other hand, this sample provides a richness in content of photographs and life-story interviews that intend to cover the migration life-courses of each individual, stressing on the pre-migration, migration and after migration-return periods. These two reasons lead me to present the data I gathered by drawing upon these methods as case studies.

Case studies also "concern for totalization as regards the observation, reconstitution and analysis of the cases involved" (Zonabend, cited by Hamel, 1992:1). The stress on totalization that refers to the migration stories of individuals in the sample unearths the very relation with the concept of transnational return which argues return as a continuation of the migration cycle, rather than an end. It suggests that return migration phenomenon cannot be merely understood from their returnee condition. In this sense, as these cases will provide an analysis of the returnees' past experiences in their migration process from their present point view, it will also fulfill the integral part of this approach, that is the "theory in action", in other words, by using transnational return I will explore the transnational turn through their continuous reference to their past lived experience and how they incorporate it in their present setting as returnees. Thus, the "action" of re-remembering, both in terms of recollection- bringing the past in present- and reconciliation with absent- the host land- through re-creating it with respect to their present conditions, this will shed light on their ongoing bonds with the host land. What is in action is also the "travel

of memories” (Erl, 2011) from past to present by the carriers; both returnees and their photographs. All in all, in Chapter 5 and 6, life stories of first and second generation, a total of 12 participants will be analyzed as collective case studies which will allow for the comparison between generations, pinpoint the similarities within generation through the perspective of an individual returnee.

3.4.5 Final Remarks on the Research

Being in touch with the memories during these interviews was nonetheless emotional. As I referred to exemplify to stress on the “feeling level” of the interviews, “going back to those days” almost made the members of the sample cry as they long for the days in Germany despite of the hardship which they often voice. They find themselves “digging deep into feelings” as they dig deep into their past experiences. Besides, their memories made them happy. Kerime exclaimed that “I have never seen my husband smile or even laugh for a long time until this day, when he talked about his days there” even though the very memories made her reflect on her loneliness in homeland, away from her husband. Emotions can also bring forth “alternative interpretation of one’s life course tendencies, self-critical attempts of understanding one’s own misconceptions of oneself...” (Schütze, 2008:6, cited by Svasek and Domecka, 2012:1), such as Nur’s feelings on the misjudgment of non-migrant natives on the educational background of the migrants. Yet, it is instantly reversed by her memories of school and her academic success in Germany.

Just like emotions, their photographs and memories are reflexive since the interviewees allow us to see them through their perspectives, interpret their own lives, give meaning to their actions in host land as they tell their stories. The realities of photographs are explored by the researcher and explained by the interviewees, however, such collaboration raises questions on the validity and reliability. While validity puts the issue of “truth” concerning photographs at the forefront, both validity and reliability have been problematic in association with testimonials that rely on the memories of the subjects. These accounts retain their meanings based on the cases they intend to unravel and one can assume that these meanings are not fixed but fluid. The sample provides subjective meanings to the historical and collective

experience of migration are complementary and offer unique resource with respect to the social, cultural and historical aspects of migration. However, Thomson (1999:35) argues that migration experience continues through life and in each stage, they offer ways of living that influence their being and belonging in homeland as they narrate and give meaning to their experiences. In this sense, it is possible that when same questions were asked even to same sample after a period of time, there is no certainty that the issue of reliability would be overcome due to the elusiveness of the memory and the changing social conditions in the homeland that would alter their relations with the host land on the grounds of what they identify with and against themselves with the host life. However, in this study these interviews are brief encounters in contrast to long term ethnographic studies that observe the subjects as actors who do not only narrate but actively engage in different aspects of sociality in homeland.

Photographs stretch the migratory course by engaging its possessors with remembering. However, visual data is prone to same questions of validity and reliability. Photographs stand in between being records and constructs in social, cultural and to a certain extent technical term. They are visual traces of the reality that is pictured but have a script, whether overtly or latently followed. In this sense, the quest for truth can rather be reshaped by focusing on “what was there, *only* what was there, and *all* that was there” (Harper, 2012:8, emphasis added). In this study, *only* and *all* can be used interchangeably since the interviewees select the photographs before elicitation thus, they have the authority not only on the access to the images but also the memories that are invoked by them. Nevertheless, according to Hirsch, “photograph conceals more than it reveals” (1997:200). It could be due to the fact that photographs often capture the happy, joyful moments in one’s life rather than the sad and tragic events in life-course. In this way, they do not disclose the negative memories which also shape the experiences of the people. In addition, photographs hide the tensions, discrepancies since their production is embedded with the cultural scripts that privilege the unity of family and even the joyous moments. Thus, any family dispute, breaks as well as in migrants’ case, discrimination, feeling of isolation is hindered which requires “looking beyond” the photograph supported by the narratives of the sample.

Memories do not yield truth nor they are stable. However, when we engage in memory studies and turn to people to narrate their pasts, the aim is to reveal "what happened" and the influence of the events on their lives acknowledging that, what we study is the subjective accounts the return migrants. As they recount, they provide the "versions of reality" (Ochs and Capps, 1996:21) in the process of transfer told from a specific vantage point. Whether they are truthful in their narratives or not is not a quest for certainty but the meaning; the point of views of the narrators. Therefore, memories rather than regarded as sources that are embedded with problems of validity and reliability that lead to incoherency and difference, according to Thomson (1999:33), their "peculiarities" become the valuable source to understand the subjective meanings which in a sample as such, complement each other. The complementary character of the memory also dwells on the difference in the accentuation of the recollections between men and women, first and second generation migrants that are, when to follow Bertaux-Wiame, "are as important as the facts which they contain" (1979:29). Nevertheless, they are important with the regard to the volume of data gathered for each case, this study lacks external validity and reliability. External validity considers the findings' generalization which cannot be attained due to two reasons. First of all, the sample size of the study is rather small and secondly, data gathered for this study presents the subjects' views on their lived experiences so that general relevance of the findings would not be advocated. As I use case studies in this study, generalization related to this design becomes controversial issue. According to Stake (1994), case studies have intrinsic value as they intend to provide a detailed analysis of microcosms of a community, in my case, Turkish return migrants, they are investigated for their own sake. That is why, generalization takes form of "transferability" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) or "naturalistic generalization" (Stake, 1978) which suggests that whether findings of any case could be applicable to other cases. In this respect, I believe that cases that are presented in this study could sustain transferability with each other but not with any cases even though any other study intends to apply same theoretical concepts (i.e., transnational return, memory) that I use.

Even though the same methods were to be used, the repetition of this study could not yield same results which is significantly due to the very peculiarities of the

construction of memories, there is a potential that some memories will either be forgotten and/or be hindered from the researcher even the same study is conducted with the same sample in different time. In addition, in case that set of questions would be similar in any further research, while the facts would remain the same such as the date of migration, return and the occupation but their interpretation of the past experiences, as I refer to Kuhn's (2007) concept of memory-work, the reconstruction of the past experiences in present setting would have a possibility to differ. Relatedly, conducting this research with different sample from same cohorts; first and second generation return migrants, their past experiences would also differ.

In addition, ethical issues require close inspection. People and their photographic albums as biographical source are the main subjects of this study. For this matter, I concentrate on the informed consent, privacy and confidentiality as the most significant elements to consider in the process of conducting this study. They all address the well-being of the participant which ensures the continuity of the research and provide a solid ground for gathering the relevant data with respect to the trust-building.

To start with, as informed consent requires a full disclosure of the all aspects of this research, communicating what is expected them to narrate and display influence their decision to participate in this research. That being said, my initial step was to explain the potential participants to tell about their migration stories from their decision to migrate to their lives after return until present. Additionally, they were asked to present their photographic albums/collection of the photographs that they took during their stay in Germany. These photographs were their own production and needed to be brought from host land and kept. As I expressed before, their willingness to share them exclusively for this study was pivotal in order to seek the relation between memory-making and photographs as visual representations of their lives in host land which also function as an aid for their recollection. Particularly, their photographs were asked to be used only for this study to ensure that they would not be disseminated in any other forms and could be assessed by only a limited number of people in the faculty. Their anonymities were safeguarded as their real names would not be used so that neither their recollections nor the photographic material would be associated with a real person, disclosing one's identity. After the explanation of what

was expected from them, they were also informed about the recording of their voices during the interview and made their decisions after the evaluation of these requirements. The participants in the sample decided to take part in this study immediately after this debriefing or within 2-3 days as they compiled their album for the display and communicated with their family members to participate alongside with them since in the sample, members of the same family (i.e. spouses, sisters, parents) were also present. For the ones who were shown in the photographs but not participated directly to the interviews, such as the parents of the second generation returnees, they were agreed for the use of photographs only limited to this study. Still, some photographs include the images of their entourage, their friends in Germany. In order to maintain their anonymity, the images of the ones who were not asked for a consent, will be covered. I also informed them about the future publications that may include their photographs, presented in this study and ensured that they would be asked for permission once again. In this respect, I stated the extent of this research their role as interviewer and provider of the photographic albums of their own production, information that the photographs, recordings during interview and the anonymity of the names would be maintained, including that participation is not only voluntary but they also have the right to discontinue to engage in this study at any time of the process. I did not provide any consent form to be signed but along with the debriefing before the recruitment of the sample and at the start of each interview, I asked their consent once again for the recording and display of the photographs.

According to Ruebhausen and Brim, privacy refers to “the freedom of the individual to pick and choose for himself the the time and circumstances under which, and most importantly, the extent to which, his attitudes, beliefs, behavior and opinions arc to be shared with or withheld from others” (1965:1189). In the first step of the sample search, I already disclosed the several elements to protect their privacy (i.e. anonymity, confidentiality in terms of its dissemination to limited number in the faculty). But, referring to the quote above, privacy is also linked to the right of self-expression, in other words, self-control and selection of the data provided by the sample. As this study draws upon life-story interviews, there is no doubt that biographical data has pivotal role for the continuation of this research. The reliance

on the personal data has complications. On the one hand, the methods, such as life-story interview to gather personal information underline the issue of generalization, reliability and raise questions on the truth value of recollections. On the other hand, it is unique and in order to gather data based on biographical accounts, trust-building is necessary. Partly, it can be achieved by the debriefing that concentrate on the measures to respect the privacy of the participant, it also depends on allowing for their self-expression to exercise their autonomy on the narrative, such as self-control on what they want to tell or withhold about their past experiences and select the photographs to be displayed and elicited for this study. In this respect, they employed several tactics. The issue of privacy emerged at different stages after the consent of participant to engage in this research. First of all, almost all interviews were held at their homes. After they consulted to the family members, I was allowed to enter their domestic space. During the interviews, I only had limited access to the parts of their home and they allowed me to take photographs of the materials that they brought from host land even they were located in their bedrooms. Most of the items were located in the living room and the permission was granted to picture these materials. In addition, during the interviews, they asked me to stop recording when they had to take phone calls, welcome their guests, when they felt they disclosed more data than necessary (i.e. private life of Esat before his marriage) and they told me not to use the photographs, they had shown but decided that they were too private to be included in this study (i.e. photographs of Esat before marriage, family members that the participants were in bad terms, photographs they thought that they did not look good). During the elicitations, some of the participants also covered the photographs in order not to be copied. They also did not prefer to talk about some photographs since they only evoked bad memories. Any further insistence would be a mark of harmful behavior and induce discomfort and stress that would made them leave the study. In so doing, they determined the source of data they would like to exchange with the researcher and its dissemination to control its potential (mis)interpretation by the researcher.

Confidentiality is another issue that requires further investigation. It mainly dwells on the question whether the data is disseminated beyond the close circle of academics. The public exposure of the data would be a problem for them since in

their daily lives, they do not identify themselves as a returnee, migrant and/or Almani, and any exposure to their social circle would be intimidating for them. So, the confidentiality was maintained with respect to dissemination of data and anonymity of the participants by using pseudonyms. Any further use of data beyond its scope and audience would be a violation of their privacy. While it was clearly explained in the stage of consent, the data is not used in any other form but for this study. Indeed, it became an important factor that helped me to recruit other members for the study. After the interviews, they informed and encouraged their friends to take part in this study. It was mainly bestowed to their convictions that their privacy was to be respected.

Lastly, I would like to address the problem of deception. It generally stems from the lack of truthfulness during the consent period since the researcher would like to recruit a meaningful number of participants to make sure of the data is representative. However, it is also caused by the manipulation of data by using them as a means for an end. It requires attentiveness and respect to the participants, such as avoiding prejudgments and stereotyping. To value the negative connotations regarding Turkish migrants that are often voiced by non-migrants to demonstrate that any sample would represent Turkish migrant community as a homogenous group would be useful to address that the data is a fit for generalization but result in inaccurate portrayal of data. But, main motive of any researcher to contribute the given literature by providing unique insight also is related to the selection of sample and the competency to gather data that could offer new lines of interpretation.

CHAPTER 4

TURKISH LABOR MIGRATION TO GERMANY

In this chapter, I will introduce the structural factors that impinge on the life-course of first and second generation Turkish migrants in Germany. In line with the life-course approach, the past experiences of Turkish return migrants are also constructed by the influence of external factors in the host land during their stay in Germany. These factors are mainly economic and socio-cultural elements that shaped the engagements of first and second generation of Turkish returnees' in work, education and social spheres in varying degrees from their decision to migrate to their post-return lives in homeland.

Considering the migration course of first and second generation Turkish return migrants, in the first section, I will present the economic and social conditions in Germany between the years 1950-1983, signifying the period between first attempts for migration to Germany before it became official in 1961 and introduction of Return Assistance Act in 1983. I will start by providing brief account on the effect of economic conditions that led Turkish people, who became first generation migrants, to migrate in Germany. With the labor migration, first generation migrants' initial transition was their entrance to labour market. While in the first years of migration, their stay was planned to be temporary, the prevailing economic condition in Turkey and the migrants' cost efficiency that was reciprocated the further economic growth in Germany, first generation migrants did not only continue to stay but they also brought their families to Germany. As the recession in 1966-67 and global oil crisis in 1973 had an impact on German economy that led to recruitment ban on foreign workers in 1973, the ones who stayed in Germany with their families also faced problems regarding their social integration to host land. During this period, while the structural integration through work was maintained, with the participation of second generation- the descendants of first generation migrants- problems concerning their

schooling were also emerged. Accompanied with the rise of discrimination towards the foreign migrants, voluntary Return Assistance act was introduced in 1983.

In the second section, I will address the period when the transnational engagement of Turkish migrants started to emerge in light of the conditions in Germany that problematize their presence in the host land. In this respect, migrants' transnational initiatives both an alternative and reinforcement to the integration model. Their activities that mainly focused on forging bonds with homeland through the re-enactment of practices ranging from food culture, religious performances, it had a dual effect. On the one hand, these spaces helped them to cement their ties through remembering and reproducing their practices with homeland, on the other hand, it further created enclaves that induced their return.

In the third section, I will discuss return migration by focusing on three aspects. I will delve into the return motives of first and second generation migrants and present the return policies in Turkey to enable their re-adaptation to homeland, concentrating on the transfer of first generation migrants' savings and the educational trajectory of the second generation migrants. I will conclude the chapter by addressing their post-return lives in homeland with respect to their visible and intangible markers of their identification with the host land that challenged their re-adjustment in homeland.

4.1 Turkish Labor Migration: Patterns, Economic and Social Conditions in Germany Between 1950-1983

Turkish labor migration was a response to labour shortages in Western Europe in order for the revival of new industrial sites and infrastructure in the realization of their economic miracle after the WW2. Since the 1950s, rapid growth in population (Stirling, 1993), commercialization of agriculture with the integration of technologically improved machines and widened transportation network in the rural parts of Turkey (Aksit, 1985; 1993) led to depeasantisation; as the emergence of capitalist farmers that deepened the class differences in the villages, it mainly triggered mobility from rural to urban areas. Concurrently, employment opportunities in the industries fell short to reciprocate the supply of labour emerged from the shrinkage in the agricultural sector (Cecen et al., 1994:38), "elite migration" (Nocera,

2018:35) to Western Europe started in the late 1950s. The migration during the 1950s was organized and controlled by German companies through nominal recruitments upon invitations⁴ of the skilled workers (Abadan-Unat, 2002:40-41).

With the signing of bilateral agreement on Recruitment and Placement of Workers between Germany and Turkey in 1961, Turkish migration became an official route. According to Pamuk (2010), the rise of urbanization that triggered rapid industrialization in Turkey, shifted the economic policies towards import-led structure, resulted in higher rates of inflation and foreign trade deficits until 1980s. Accompanied with the instabilities in political spheres due to two coups in 1960 and 1980⁵, the worsening conditions in national economy did not only exacerbate unemployment, it also fueled migration to Europe.

During the first decade of the migration, migrant-workers were generally male, aged between 25-35, mostly under or semi-skilled, had low education level (average of primary school education) and were to be recruited in in automative, construction, textile and metal industries. The agreement was on a temporary basis, suggesting a rotation policy that allowed migrants to stay between 9 months to 2 years in Germany, underlining their status as guest workers. There were also openings in the posts within several industries such as food processing, textile, metal production, hotel management and electronics that led to feminization of labor migration. Especially, firms like Siemens, AEG and Bosch favored women migrant workers due to their tiny hands, clear-sightedness and precision for coil-winding, wiring and assemblage (Nocera, 2018). Thus, between the years 1961-67, Turkish female worker migration peaked (Abadan-Unat, 1976:12).

⁴ In Turkish, this form of mobility from Turkey to Germany is often referred as “davet çıkarmak” among migrants and it continued informally even after 1961. According to Rist (1978:91), nominal recruitments, in other words, recruitment upon invitation covered 33.8 % of the all Turkish worker migration between the years 1965-75. At this period, it addressed an alternative route besides applying to the Turkish Employment Agency. Potential migrants, bestowed to their kinship relations and townsmanship asked the ones who already migrated and working at a factory in their milieu whether their employer could “invite” them by sending a letter to state a worker was requested for the given job.

⁵ In the aftermath of the military coup in 1980, the migrant profile was predominantly asylum seekers and political refugees

Labor migration was also conceived as a driving force for national development in Turkey. In this sense, *Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı* (State Planning Organization, DPT) addressed these objectives below as a part of development plans in 1963 and 1967 (Akgündüz, 2013:3):

- Reducing under-employment
- Raising revenues in foreign currency through remittances
- Advanced human capital in terms of savoir-faire, knowledge and experience would be benefited upon their return to Turkey
- Offering European model of vocational training in Turkey so that host countries would enlarge their investment and branch out to Turkey

The remittances have been one of the most crucial indicators of the economic capital of migrants. It was evident that remittances contributed to the national economy, leading to reduce trade deficit, trigger economic growth and investments.

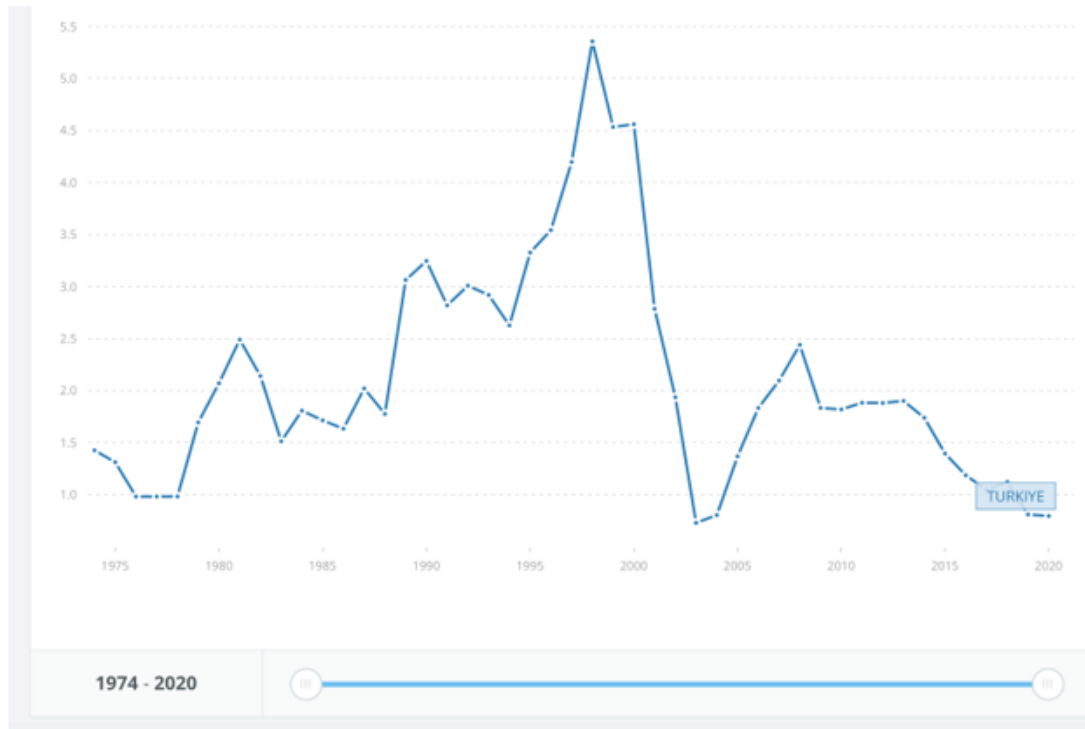


Figure 4.1: Remittances Sent to Turkey 1974-2000. Source: The World Bank

Economic capital of Turkish migrants was also channeled to entities that were named as employee ownership (*işçi şirketleri*). It refers to the joint stock companies that more than 50 % of their capital is owned by Turkish worker migrants in host countries (Pazarcık and Erol, 2018:111). The first company was founded by Turkish migrant workers at the factories in Cologne around 1965 in Germany in order to transfer their savings under the collective of *TÜRKSAN* to facilitate their return and work at the factories of *TÜRKSAN* in Turkey. These initiatives in Turkey were also supported by Germany since it was regarded as a part of the reintegration plan (*Reintegrationsplanung*) that offers a viable solution for Turkish migrants to return. So that, between the years 1968-1978, there were more than 1000 companies (Yılmaz, 1993:314). Nonetheless, human capital acquired in Germany would be channelled in many sectors, leading to increase in production (Yılmaz, 1993:312-13). In a similar manner, according to Şahinkaya (2002:5), “*İşçi Yatırım Bankası*” (Worker Investment Bank) which later known as “*Devlet Sanayi ve İşçi Yatırım Bankası*” (DESİYAB) was established in 1973. The aim of the institution was to centralize the remittances to support the ventures in industrial sectors so that migrant workers could be easily employed upon their return to homeland.

While the rotation policy strictly impeded Turkish migrants to stay longer and did not allow for family reunification, it was revised in 1964 (González-Ferrer, 2007:13). On the other hand, the Law on Foreigners (*Ausländergesetz*) in 1965 stated that migrants who came to Germany through intergovernmental agreements were exempt from residency permit and extension of migrant’s stay in the country was mostly at the discretion of local authorities. Correspondingly, there was not any right granted for family reunification. Migrant workers could only stay if their “inclusion” in both the economic and social spheres would be maintained (Steinert, 2014:25). In fact, inclusion solely addressed the utility of the migrant worker for the economic reconstruction of the Federal Republic.

By the time of 1966-67, there was a minor economic recession which impacted particularly construction and metal industry (Abadan-Unat, 1971). However, the oil crisis in 1973 affected nearly all industries in European countries that led to structural economic changes and rising unemployment. However, in 1975, it was shown that the overall unemployment rate between the migrant workers and

nationals were actually similar, 5.4 % and 4.5 % respectively (Rist, 1978:33), underlining that both native and migrant workers were affected by the crisis almost equally. According to German Federal Statistical Office, Turkish labor migration dropped from 163.927 in 1973 to 49.906 in 1974 and followed a negative net migration trend in 1975-6. Besides the crisis, according to İçduygu and Sert (2016:267), returns in the 1970s mainly dwelled on the consequences of rotation policy that allowed for temporary work scheme that was in tune with the willingness of the migrants to return to homeland after saving enough money. In fact, concerning this decade, Turkish migrants were reported to be the least willing community to stay in Germany (Elger et al. 2005, cited by Tallman, 2011) and %66 of them declared their wish to return home in one year time (İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu, 1975).

With the impact of the crisis, in the same year Recruitment Ban (*Anwerbestopp*) was imposed to mitigate further employment of migrant workers. Concurrently, in July 1973, recruitment fee was increased from 300DM to 1000DM in order to discourage the employers to hire migrant workers. It was also during the Recruitment Ban when the migrants who continued to stay in host land, reunified with their families (Aydın, 2020: 3). And, with the rising migrant population through family reunification, integration of the migrant workers became a predominant, “were physically present on German soil and at the same time, remain entirely separate from the social body” (Chin, 2007:48). However, only by the late 1970s, integration took part in social policy-making in West Germany. Similarly, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany’s agenda for foreigners (*Ausländerpolitik*) primarily stressed on the social cohesion of migrant workers in the host society. Thereafter, social cohesion both embarked on the co-existence of diverse cultures that would not assimilate migrants but orient them to acknowledge and familiarize with the host culture. Subsequently, in 1978, the establishment of “Commissioner for the Promotion of Integration of Foreign Employees and Their Families” with the collaboration of Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs concentrated on migrant workers’ lives outside work. In this sense, improvements in provision of necessary housing aid, access to health and social services were facilitated. Besides, facilities for migrant workers to perform their religious services and enroll in German courses were introduced. These

attempts both sought for the familiarization of migrants with German social system and recognition of migrants' ethnic and religious differences.

While the first generation Turkish migrants were claimed to be reluctant to integrate the host society except their structural integration to labor market, in second generation' lives, schooling becomes a crucial transition for their social and cultural integration. Regarding children from migrant background, Rist (1978) highlights three policy statements issued in 1964, 1971 and 1976, respectively to guide their full integration to German education system by primarily articulating the compulsory education for all migrant students. In this sense, while the primacy was given to the education in German language, the courses in the native language of the migrant student was proposed as a way of maintaining their home culture. However, the implementation of such a bilingual education track was rather short-lived due to the inadequacy of guidelines, organization and qualified teachers.

In 1971, the policy firstly addressed the migrant students that were competent in German to pursue their education. For the ones who had difficulty in German-speaking class were offered preparatory class for a year. After the completion of the class, they were also allowed to continue their education based on their academic achievements. In addition, recommendation to provide courses in native language of the migrant students was renewed. However, according to Rist, the statement for pursuing bilingual education had a side-effect which instead of enabling their integration to Germany system while recognizing their differences, it leads to identity salience among migrant children as it is argued that "during part of the day the child is German and during other parts he is foreign." (1978:195), referring to their social lives beyond school. However, educational life course of the second generation reproduced their disadvantaged position by the reproduction of inequalities with respect to the scope of the education system. In general, students in German education system are led to three partite secondary education track- *Hauptschule*, *Realschule* and *Gymnasium*, after the fourth school year, nearly around the age of 10. According to Pallas (2003), there are three important features; scope, selectivity and specificity that identify this system. Scope refers to the "particular stratified location in the education system [that] shapes a student's entire educational experience" (Pallas, 2003:169) which is based on the selectivity that implies the

students' educational achievement. Specificity indicates the path that leads students to embark on future career plan. In this sense, *Gymnasium* is the highest educational track that its selectiveness is grounded on the high academic achievement and its specificity is the preparation of students to the university after eight to nine years of study. The intermediate track is *Realschule* which offers vocational training that after six years of schooling, students obtain apprentice diploma in the areas they studied. *Hauptschule* is basic secondary school track that grants compulsory education certificate. Afterwards, one can attend to *Berufsschule*, a vocational school that involves part-time schooling and apprenticeship. However, if not continued in this vocational track, there is also a possibility to do apprenticeship that prepares for actual labour market. As expressed in *Gymnasium*'s selectivity, besides of the academic achievement, the social background is also argued to be indicative in the educational life-course that stresses on the advantaged groups and the reproduction of inequalities faced by working class and migrant groups. In this sense, given the statistics, among the students with similar age, solely 6.4 % of the students in *Gymnasium* are children of working class families (Littmann, cited by Rist, 1978:183). On the other hand, in 1974, among the students who are children of first generation only comprise 0.046 % of all students who enter *Gymnasium*. Overall, total of 2.8 % of second generation migrant students had elementary and secondary education in Germany (Rist, 1978: 201-202). Concerning the intermediate and lower track secondary education, students with migration background are populated in these tracks far more than native students (Aybek, 2011:56). Specifically among Turkish second generation migrant students' case, Crul and Vermeulen (2003:973) assert that attendance to *Hauptschule* was significantly higher.

The backlash of the integration idea also emerged as *Türkenproblem*, escalated during the 1980s including hate crimes and xenophobic acts towards Turkish migrants, further incubated the binaries of "us" and "them", strengthening the founding principles behind the law of 1982: integration or return (Dustmann et al.1996:222). Correspondingly, the return was further facilitated with introduction of the Return Assistance Act (*Rückkehrhilfegesetz*) in 1983. The act operated twofold. Firstly, it aimed to encourage the return of unemployed worker migrants, offering them an amount of 10.500DM and induced the return between 30.10.1983 and 30.09.1984. If a migrant intended to stay in Germany, the payment was to be reduced

proportionally. Secondly, there was a scheme of “immediate repayment of worker contributions to social security” (Rogers, 1997:155) that was designed for the beneficiaries of social security who could apply until 30.06.1984. It mandated return to Turkey and prevented the migrants to come back in subsequent years and prohibited them from working in Germany. Overall, during the 1980s, the return of Turkish migrant workers was predominantly high.

As a response, Witte (2017) argues that Turkish migrants reacted to stigmatizations by following strategies such as confronting, deemphasizing, avoiding/ignoring and employment of boundary work. While confronting suggests being responsive to the situations and remarks about their visible markers of their identities, such as their religiosity, accent or appearances and avoiding/ignoring is a conscious strategy of not responding and even being indifferent. Deemphasizing occurs as a strategy either to normalize the act of discrimination as it can be experienced anywhere or distancing oneself from the stigma by referring that the source of such stigmatized stems from the attitudes of the older generations. Particularly, boundary work is identified by either making the differences between native Germans and Turkish migrants clear or inversely, no longer depending on the national categories but rather associating oneself as Euro-Turks/German-Turks. Stressing on the hyphenated way of life that allows for a *marché* to adopt both home and host values, a reconstruction on the symbolic level signaling that they do not stand as a threat to host country nor regard host country as a threat to themselves (Kentel and Kaya, 2005:66).

Concurrently, Abadan-Unat (2011:154) points out that, among the majority of second-generation of entrepreneur Turkish migrants prefer to refer themselves as “German entrepreneur of Turkish origin” instead of identifying themselves exclusively as Turkish. Indeed, the boundaries between host and home, including the right for dual citizenship, blur when hyphenated identities are claimed. In this respect, bilateral identification suggested the possibility of living a dual life and it became clear that integration should also engage in such a bidirectional take as willingness of migrants ’to maintain and develop their ties with homeland combined as a “strategy of survival and betterment” (Faist, 2000:200) in multiple spheres of their lives in host land, enacted both by first and second generation.

4.2 Becoming Transnational: Moving Across Turkey and Germany

An ideal of “identificational integration” (Heckmann, 2003) is largely conceived as social inclusiveness of migrants in a host society while regarding (identity) saliences as differences to be excluded, at least, to be overcome, since the success of a migrant “... depended on acquiring values and patterns of behaviors” (Cerase, 1974:248) of the host society. No longer being a guest in Germany did not mean they were not still *Auslaender* (foreigner) who had limited access to German citizenship. The Act on Foreigners in 1990, comprised of new rules regarding the arrival and stay of spouses and children in Germany. The descendants of migrants who were born in Germany could receive temporary residence permit in case that mother was already granted with this permit (Gesley, 2017:7), and when reached adulthood, the children could have permanent residence permit. However, the significance of this act relies on the conditions regarding German citizenship. On the one hand, the introduction of right of domicile or housing, the conditions of German citizenship especially for young children. The law stated that they could be granted with German citizenship if they did not have a criminal record, were residing in Germany not less than eight years and attended school for the last six years but with the condition of relinquishing their Turkish citizenship. In terms of first generation, residence in Germany for fifteen years, no crime record, being financially independent to sustain their families during their stay in Germany could also be granted with German citizenship if they gave up their Turkish citizenship. In 2000, with the amendment in the Nationality Act, dual citizenship scheme was introduced to grant German citizenship to all migrants who resided in Germany at least eight years, including the children with migrant background if one of their parents had a legal residence permit in Germany. In this scheme, people between age 18-23 are required to decide whether to retain their parents’ citizenship or keep German citizenship. As Brubacker (2001:538-9) notes, this liberalization on the naturalization is argued to highlight “commonality” in which Turkish migrants become *unsere auslaendischen Mitbürger* (our fellow foreign citizens).

Turkish migrants’ cross-border relations at the time of their migration, are often marked by their use of media technologies to keep in touch with their family and

sending remittances to the families back home in order to maintain their ties with homeland while living in host country. Gradually, these connections are made clear that they could no longer be described as a secluded migrant community, “their experiences and lives were not sharply segmented between host and home societies...It becomes difficult to identify where they belonged” (Basch et al. 1994:5) as their ties move beyond the product of their personal attempts and became visible in the public sphere. Therefore, migrant’s life has been defined beyond one’s belonging either home or host society or being stigmatized by neither this nor that identities. Rather, it is a flow, engaging in “connectivity” across borders having “fluidity” of belongings and “flexibility” of identities. It often implies a process of bringing emotional, material, mnemonic pieces of one’s home to host country. This process denotes a set of practices that would help to construct “lived experience of a locality” (Brah, 1996:188-89) by integrating and exchanging tangible and intangible reminders of home between borders.

As long as economic reasons dominate the decision to migrate, social relations that are forged and maintained transnationally by migrants between host and home countries (Basch et al., 1994) make up their everyday life in host land. These relations are balancing acts (Erdal and Oeppen, 2013:877), pointing out migrants’ sense of belonging to both countries and the impact of their economic activities, across boundaries. In this respect, migrants become transnational actors of development (Penninx, 1982; Faist, 2008) by mediating home-host relations, forging socio-political ties dwelled on creation of home town associations in Germany and economic ties by channeling remittances into investments at home.

In a socio-cultural perspective, Islam and Turkishness have become part of a “transnational syncretism of culture” (Faist, 2000) in Germany with the creation of transnational social spaces. In this regard, as Faist (1998) points out, transnational social spaces are mainly created to maintain a continuous exchange through symbolic and material ties, embedded with intimacy, sense of community and formation of organizations that control and coordinate the flow of information, goods and services between two societies. To exemplify, Caglar stresses on the formation of home town associations. According to Caglar (2006), hometowns are the spaces that Turkish

migrants both maintain their attachment to homeland while claim their hyphenated identities. They engage in activities with the people from their same town, organize events that either have a purpose of aiding (i.e. donation for the founding of new sites and facilities in hometown, donations for Kızılay to the people who victimized by earthquake) their hometown or Turkey in their host setting where the main resource of the funding comes from their earnings in host land. These are also the spaces where the state is involved, while the associations were formed in Germany, the organization structure could be defined as a product of the relation between Turkey and these hometowns as a civil society.

On the other hand, transnational social spaces have their own lives and these could be recreated and reformed according to the needs and trends of the migrant community in terms of common interests and change (i.e. change in vision). The prominent formations of these spaces could be traced in the establishment of basement mosques (Abadan-Unat, 2011:125) in the basement of apartments, seeking halal food in non-halal stores, frequenting teahouses for socialization, reading Turkish newspapers, exchanging local news and following Turkish football leagues (Ehrkamp, 2005:354-55). Migrants 'resort to these spaces where the common language and shared values are practiced with business- *imbiss* shops, beauty parlors serving to Turkish migrant women where they can speak Turkish, have Turkish coffee and coiffed with new hairstyles popular in Turkey, clothing shops, i.e. specialized in henna night dresses or conservative clothing. In religious sphere, with the associations, established under Turkish Islamic Union for Religious Affairs (DITIB), Turkish migrants address their needs of practicing their religion where the imams were appointed by the Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs and the associations become a social hub for attaining courses on religion, celebration of religious holidays or activities that bring together Turkish Muslim community around making and selling Turkish food. By forming such multiple ties with homeland, these "Turkish spaces" in Germany create new ways of engagement as they underline the "outward expression of an identity" (Pascoe, 1992:94) of Turkish migrants who engage in a wider cultural repertoire that come to identify their

multiple attachments⁶. On the other hand, it could lead to negative identification to an extent that one distances from being associated with home culture. For instance, even though the establishment and development of *imbiss* shops are strong indicator of ethnic affiliation, maintained through traditional food and bring together both migrant community and German natives, Caglar (2011:425) notes that branding of these *imbiss* shops in English could as well be interpreted as a tactic for reposition them in order to ensure a disassociation from it ties with Turkishness.

As Vertovec (1999) notes; these restaurants, mosques, shops and many others are marks of a consciousness that allow for multiple attachments, avenues of capital both in economic and social sense; most importantly these transnational constructions of place and locality refer migrants to re-establish their homeland as a source of belonging and a distinct lifestyle. Within these social spaces, Turkish migrant community could follow a pattern of a “cloakroom community” (Bauman, 2000) to a certain extent,; since migrants enter these places, tailored by and for themselves, they share a common interest, a spectacle of home they come to recreate. They, for a while, become free of any stigmatization in host society and instead assert their identities by reconnecting with homeland. By the time they leave, they “return to their ordinary mundane and different roles” (Bauman, 2000:200).

Concerning the position of Turkish migrant community and the introduction of Turkey as a state both in symbolic and institutional form unravel migrants 'could signify migrants' connection with their home group and engagement in practices such as eating traditional food, performing religious duties partly stemmed from a cultural transfer from one's parents. Rather, way of belonging (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004) is the conscious identification of migrant with homeland that could be through memory that would induce them to enter in such a social field (i.e. home associations) and adopting visible markers that suggest membership to home group such as holding the flag of the country of origin, having a particular way of dressing, taking part in the national holiday celebrations.

⁶ Intercultural identity Susmann (2000), transnational/dual identity (Portes,1997; Vertovec,2001), Bicultural/transcultural identity Suarez-Orozco&Orozco (2003) underline the double engagement of migrants; the process of negotiation with two distinctive cultures both retaining their coexisting ties with origin and participating to the host culture. They are marked by their multiple affiliations instead of resorting to the single set of values that is associated with one nation-state.

Forming transnational bonds with the homeland also brings forth the question of diaspora, regarding whether Turkish labor migration could be named as one. The concept of diaspora bestows its early definition from a broad perspective as Connor (1986) argues that it refers to the people who live outside their home countries. In this respect, all people involved in migratory movements, whether forced or voluntary could be listed as diaspora (Shuval, 2000:41) whether they are stateless or not, in other words, with no possibility to return to an existing homeland. Such a generalization especially puts dispersion of people through dislocation at risk of confusion with transfer of labour force from one country to another, which was sustained voluntarily and with the demand of host country. Among many endeavors to pinpoint the conditions that attain mobilities as Diaspora, Safran provides a list of characteristics as a theoretical framework to differentiate diaspora from migration. To this aim, Safran (1991:83-84) argues that diaspora is characterized by:

- people on the move or their ancestors are dispersed from a country of origin to two or more foreign locations
- Maintain a collective memory, myth on their homeland that they dwell on its location, history, victories as well as traumas, associated with their origins.
- They retain the feeling that they are not accepted by the host country that they had to relocate and are alienated.
- The vision of the homeland is charged with almost a utopic sense which is not only ideal but a final destination they eventually return.
- From their host land, they envision a home which needs to be reunified, reconstructed and improved, thus, become an ideal place for their safety and prosperity even though they cannot return to a “real” home.
- They never cease to reconnect with the homeland, in various forms, mostly in the display of sense of unity with the ones who share the same origin, scattered all around the world, shared consciousness that is preserved through generations and made stay alive in their memories.

Safran continues that, even though these characteristics could perfectly align with explaining Armenian and Jewish diaspora, it could be stretched to labor migration, considering *Gastarbeiter* in Germany despite of the fact that they were not expelled from their homeland. In a similar vein, Cohen (1997:5) argues that Turks in Germany as a result of labor migration, could be considered as labor diaspora despite of the fact that their relocation to another country is not caused by a traumatic event but a search of work.

Moreover, Cohen (1997) considers that in labor diaspora, people try to sustain their bonds with homeland for a long period, engage in myth of return and have experiences of social exclusion in host land. On the other hand, it is argued that people in diaspora continue to remain connected with the homeland which according to Tölölyan (1991:5) also make them transnational communities. While they live in host land, they simultaneously link with their homeland, usually through remembering, fostered by the idealization of myth of return. However, as Butler (2001) notes, diaspora requires to be defined as a process of migration through which the difference between diaspora and migration could be clearly made. Transnational links whether in diaspora or labour migration are forged consciously by people who are away from their homelands as a way of forming a social field (Glick-Schiller, 2005) that is embedded with the reproduction of home values and practices that could lead to foster a way of belonging of one's home even though one is away. Relatedly, in line with Glick-Schiller (2005:443), their attachment relies on their bonds with homeland, expressed in national identities. Thus, accentuation of simultaneity in difference between countries aimed in transnational bonds which favors the dual way of life as fostering a possibility to live in both countries is replaced with the strong commitment to homeland as an indication of difference among people in diaspora. On the other hand, as the concept of field denotes, creation of transnational social fields in Germany do not give way to superiority of one nation over the other, Turkey's involvement as a state in a triadic relations between homeland, host land and institutions in host land would be regarded as a form of representation. At most, the participation of the state through the establishment of Turkish Islamic Union for Religious Affairs (DİTİB) could be interpreted as an attempt for legitimacy and recognition.

All in all, following the characteristics that provides a comparative analysis between migration and diaspora rather than a checklist, Butler's (2001:195) formulation, presented by the following would lead us to differentiate Turkish labor migration from diaspora:

- Reason and conditions for dispersal
- Relationship with the homeland
- Relationship with the host land
- Interrelationships within communities of diaspora
- Comparative studies of different diaspora

To encapsulate, Turkish labor migration is not a form of dispersal but a voluntary act of mobility which is acknowledged, allowed and supported by Turkish government in order to reciprocate an official call of labour supply from Germany. The economic conditions as structural factors which catalyzed unstable employment patterns in Turkey with the advance of industrial sector were the primary motive for mostly unemployed people to migrate in order to realize their aim to find a job in Germany. They have "real" connections with the homeland after their migration to Germany, pursued transnational links not only emotionally through remembering or holding on the image of an ideal homeland but also economically, socially, culturally and politically in homeland. They were received first as temporary guest workers but then as residents by host land. The return is not only a myth but also a reality for Turkish migrants, and while some continued to stay, a significant number of Turkish migrants planned and realized their return to homeland since the beginning of labor migration movement in 1961. Their links with other Turkish migrants in European countries could be interpreted as an act of solidarity, it does not stem from a sense of statelessness. And, when compared to diasporas, commonly acknowledged in the relevant literature, I conclude that I avoid to classify Turkish labor migration as diaspora and refer this movement as migration throughout this study.

Indeed, migrants "strategically choose which connections to emphasize and which to let slide" (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004:1017) as they make their places in two

societies. In addition, it is also evident that these spaces also act as networks of information formed by “interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin” (Massey et al. 1993:448). While they enable material (i.e. remittances, investments), cultural (i.e. being informed about home, keep in touch with roots), emotional (i.e. communication with family at home) flows. Alternatively, transnational connectivity that reconstructs a space across “here” and “there” for Turkish migrants could also reinforce return to homeland, a state that indeed exists, which has nevertheless always been a significant part of their imaginary as a myth. With return, they break this myth.

4.3 Approaches and Policies for Turkish Return Migration

Return signifies a movement of a migrant to one’s homeland after staying a period of time in the host land. In this regard, return considers the duration of stay and the agency in return decision-making process. While the former differentiates between the permanent settlement to home (*kesin dönüş*) it also suggests the seasonal and occasional movement between homeland and host country. Voluntary return implies two cases related to the decision-making process. Voluntary return is based on the individual and household decision that is made freely by the migrant and migrants’ family that entail with planning and realizing return as a result of an agentive act. Assisted voluntary return denotes the financial incentives provided by the authorities, such as German government to encourage the return of worker migrants that stipulates a renunciation of work rights and residency in the host land under the scheme Return Assistance Act (*Rückkehrhilfegesetz*) in 1983.

As migration theories help to explain migrants’ decision to move; Constant and Massey (2002) argue that both neoclassical and new economic theories could also be revisited and readjusted to explain return phenomenon. While neoclassical economics approach focuses on the return as a result of failure of the migrant who could not benefit from the economic advantage in the host country, the new economics of labor migration considers return as a “calculated strategy” (Cassarino, 2004:255) of individual and/or household after the migrants fulfilled their goals

towards being financially better-off. In a way, these approaches consider return in the framework of success-failure that only dwells on the calculation of economic return as a yardstick to assess the utility of either staying in host country or returning to homeland. When assessed only in economic terms, their return could be explained as a return of conservatism (Cerase, 1974:254) which denotes willingness to return after earning enough money to sustain a better living in the homeland.

On the other hand, the structural approach analyzes the return migration beyond the nexus of individual cost/benefit derived from material gain and refers to social and structural factors in homeland. In this sense, discrimination towards migrant workers while considered as a structural disadvantage that negatively affects the lives of migrant workers and impede their integration, it as well motivated them to return. Thus, in Cerase's typology, their cause of return could be affiliated with "return of failure" (Cerase, 1974) that is engrained with their low degree of integration in the labour market, derived from low income, restricted job mobility and low satisfaction as well as the sociocultural integration such as incompetency in language, nonconformity to the host values, non-belonging to host society.

The transnational view, on the other hand, according to Cassarino (2004) considers return as a part of the migratory course since the migrant sustains economic and social relations with homeland and these crafted relations prepare him to reintegrate home society after return. In a similar fashion, Carling and Pettersen (2014) and Tezcan (2018) argue that migrants by returning home, sending remittances and keeping in touch with their family members via communication technologies, creating social networks that bring together people with shared origin; by maintaining links with homeland, they become more likely to return home. This intention is epitomized by them through the integration-transnationalism paradigm which confers that migrants who are less integrated to host country and have transnational links with homeland have propensity to return home. Furthermore, social networks that migrants have across borders may also be influential since migrants could device their return plans such as channeling their investments, exchanging ideas on where to settle, what to invest, who to contact with in order to strategize on a feasible social and economic integration upon return. In so doing,

migrants mobilize their resources to homeland that would increase their willingness and readiness to return.

Primarily through the transfer of material and immaterial assets from host land to homeland, transnational approach considers that returning home could also imply success. Considering Turkish migration's positive impact on the domestic economy through remittances since the beginning of labor migration, with return, it rather puts emphasis on the individual success, acquired by savings and related investments made in the homeland. With the achievement of economic goal, even though return implies a "backward" movement to one's homeland, it indicates a moving "forward" in its effects (Ley and Kobayashi, 2005). In this respect, Gitmez (1979:41-42) points out that their investment tendencies imply a change in their employment pattern when compared to returnee's prior occupation and their unwillingness to apply for a job in the homeland accordance with their improved material conditions. In this case, return could also be considered as an opportunity, seized by "transnational assets" through social networks and investments made in Turkey (Bettin, Cela and Fokkema, 2018:1028). Not only in terms of change in occupational choice, return migrant's housing choices whether one stays in the home village and builds a new house or moves to the city indicates one's upward social mobility, enriched with a tendency to engage in conspicuous consumption that distinguishes him from the natives since they are perceived as nouveaux riches. In so doing, it is evident that returnees' economic capital as a strong indicator of their well-being in homeland is converted to social status, to a degree that they are also regarded as "cultural creators and carriers" (Levitt, 2001:55) since they are perceived to bring novelties from the West, a new car, gifts to family and friends. These cases show that they challenge the neoclassical migration theory that regards return is a failure due to lack of either economic and/or social integration to host society.

In Germany, return migration including Turkish worker migrants, is significantly observed between the ages of 62 and 74 (Zaiceva, 2014:5) In a similar vein, Yahirun (2012:237) demonstrates that return migration in Germany among non-EU citizens' median age is 61, adding that among the returnees, Turkish migrants have the second largest share following Greeks. In an analysis of return among first and second

generation migrants in Germany; Rittersberger-Tılıç and Özen (2019) state that even though economic reasons are still strong motivators for return, second and third generation migrants also return in order to marry or pursue their education at home. Also, Demircioğlu (1983) and Razum et. al (2005) accentuate that health problems among first generation migrant workers were crucial factors in return along with increasing dissatisfaction and hardship related to work. The trajectory of education is as well desired by the migrant families since they wish their children to re-integrate to their own culture.

In her study, Kunuroglu et al., (2017) points out that, first generation of migrant workers returned because they complied with their primary goal to return after working and saving enough money. The second important motive is parental decision, stated by second and third generation migrants who had either weak or no relation to homeland and already started to build a life in Germany. Besides, second generation migrants 'return decision is mainly anchored to the image of Turkey reproduced through family narratives during their stay in host country. Even though second generation migrants have a relatively high level of integration to host country; perceived discrimination in social sphere may have distanced them from feeling as a member of society. The most common reasons also apply to the life course events of first generation migrants such as retirement and transitions like relocation of children, as well as graduation from the school and marriage for second generation that make them have less financial and emotional affinity to Germany.

Similarly, King and Kılınc (2014) in their study assert that there are mainly five return routes that second generation migrants likely to follow. First of all, family-return route, household takes the decision to return due to either return incentive, illness of a family member in homeland, parental wish to enroll their children to school in Turkey or their concerns for inter-marriage of their children in Germany. Secondly, marriage route, on the other hand, suggests that a second generation Turkish migrant marries and moves to Turkey while the rest of her family remains in Germany. Thirdly, educational route concerns migrant's wish to pursue a higher education in Turkey as a way of reconnecting with her roots and start an independent life, apart from family. What is more, life-style route addresses that homeland is a pull factor in terms of non-migrant natives 'warm attitudes and hospitality, migrant's

dream of living a fulfilling life in contrast to monotonous life in Germany. Lastly, escape route denotes a gendered narrative of return, expressed mostly by female migrants. Escape is identified with starting a new life in Turkey, escape from family expectations and intention to resolve their identity saliences that make them an in-between generation, related to the tension arisen from the dual sense of belonging to both Turkish and host culture.

Even though the return motives of first and second generation migrants could be analyzed with respect to cost of staying host land and utility, derived from returning to homeland in various aspects, expressed in this section; yet, “re-migration may not be definite, irrevocable and irreversible decision” (Faist, 2006:3), emphasizing that return could no longer be regarded as a final point in the migration course. Rather, returnees’ find new ways of maintaining ties with the host land by transferring their material and immaterial assets to homeland.

To facilitate such a transfer, limited number of policies regarding the re-integration of the migrant workers and their families to homeland were introduced. There were mainly on the transfer of their savings through the establishment of employee ownership and investment banks, belongings to homeland and the schooling of second generation migrant children in Turkish education system.

The policies that concentrated on the macro level dynamics (i.e. employment, education) were accompanied with regulations for individual worker migrants who decided to return definitively. They were granted the right to bring their belongings from Germany and were exempted from customs tariff. In this respect, rights issued for automobiles and household goods were significantly exercised by returnees. Moreover, according to the criteria presented below, right to transfer belongings of a returnee would only privilege men, considering that it was only recently- after 2011- the head of family was no longer regarded as the husband (Engin and Pals, 2018:388). Relatedly, the gendered perspective on the regulations, below may have had a motivation to encourage family return tacitly acknowledging that the decision to return would be made by men in the household.

According to the legislation, automobiles acquired in Germany were brought to country under these terms (İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu, 1975:70):

- Having stayed in Germany at least for a year,
- Having acquired an automobile with their savings in foreign currency
- Having the automobile registered by the legal authorities in the host country at least 6 months before the return to homeland
- Holding a valid driving license
- Only the head of the family⁷ had a right to bring an automobile

Regarding the household goods, the terms were issued as below:

- Items such as bedroom set, dining room set, living-room suite along with kitchen utensils, are exempted from tariff only that they are provided in the last place of residence of the migrant and *used* by them
- Bringing these items are authorized if only the head of the family-husband- returns definitively to homeland. If only the wife returns, she could not avail herself of this right (İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu, 1975:68-69)

Education was one of the main fields for the implementation of policies, focusing on the second generation Turkish children' schooling in Turkey. According to Kuruüzüm (2002:103), between the years 1974-84, 43% of second generation returnees were under 18 and only 13 % of returnees were between 18-25 years. In addition, considering the period between 1985-95, 29 % of returnees were under 18. It is evident that significant rate of second generation returnees already reached school age. Correspondingly, in 1980, the Directorate of Education for Children of Workers Abroad was established with an aim to provide continuing education for migrant children in order for their integration to Turkish education system. Therefore, in 1982, the Directorate expanded its functions to assist their education in higher education. In 1984, adaptation courses in 33 countries during summer were offered to familiarize the returnees with Turkish education system, school regulations and provide basic information on Turkish history.

Following the courses, 5 high schools, located both in Istanbul and Ankara were designated as “Adaptive Anatolian High Schools” (*Uyum Sağlayıcı Anadolu Liseleri*)

⁷“ Bir aileden sadece aile reisi otomobil getirebilir. Ancak, kocanın başka bir otomobil ithal etmeyeceğini bir beyanname ile taahhüt etmesi halinde eşi de otomobil ithal edebilir” (İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu, 1975:71, emphasis added)

that only schooled return students (Akbalık et al, 2003:2). Doğan (1990:17) specifies that lessons were conducted both in Turkish and German and did not require an entrance to national placement examination. The duration of education was 6 years (3 years in middle school and 3 years in high school) Nevertheless, Wolbert (1991:185) notes that, return migrants 'children could also enroll to other state schools when they were granted with special permission.

These policies mainly intended to facilitate the adaptation process of Turkish migrants both in economic and social spheres after return. While the former suggested the re-organization of their economic capital for their integration to labor market, make investments in the homeland, the latter was solely materialized through the initiatives that make migrant children familiarize with Turkish education system. However, they were insufficient measures to provide guideline for returnees to organize their daily lives. As a result, in their post-return lives, disparities, stemmed from their re-integration to social sphere became evident.

4.4 Post-Return Identifications of Turkish Return Migrants in Homeland

Whether a failure or a story of success, returning home reveals new binaries: sense of belonging to home before and after migration. It often addresses the realization endowed to the feeling of being not at home. Ahmed (2000:91) elaborates on this feeling as below:

The experience of leaving home in migration is hence always about the *failure of memory to make sense of the place one comes to inhabit*, a failure that is experienced in the discomfort of inhabiting a migrant body, a body that feels out of place. The process of returning home is likewise about the failures of memory, of not being inhabited in the same way by that which appears as familiar (emphasis added)

As the loss of home is compensated by the act of return, yet, return itself is often regarded as an “impossible project” and even an “illusion” due to the incongruence between the imagined homeland- home in mind- and the home one returns to. While the former is rather shaped by one’s attachment, yearnings and nostalgia, the “real” home on the other hand is not always associated with a stable and familiar place that one had left behind so that “transnational migration not only introduces a disjuncture

between peoples and their homelands, but also between their homelands. It is mainly associated with the returnee's vision, how one "sees differently and is seen differently" (Berger and Mohr, 2010:224) at home.

Not feeling at home as a result of the dissonance between the imagined homeland and the "real" home induces a process of re-acculturation which refers to a process of one's re-familiarization with home culture. As Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) point out, a returnee experiences a similar acculturation process when he was in host country as a migrant. Integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization are the responses vis-à-vis state level strategies, associated with multiculturalist, exclusionary and segregationist (Berry, 2005:705) policies towards migrants. Moreover, the role of host country in return migrants' lifeworlds influences their post-return lives. In Sussman's (2000) cultural identity model, a returnee experiences an identity shift in four ways upon return regarding one's relationship with both home and host countries; they have either additive, subtractive, affirmative and intercultural identities. Additive and subtractive identities are the result of the perceived discrepancies between home and host culture through which one requires an readjustment process. While additive identity shift refers to the returnee's stronger attachment to host culture than home values, subtractive shift addresses returnee's weak sense of belonging to home. On the contrary, affirmative identity corresponds to one's persistence in maintaining home culture both in host society, so that one is not only dissociated with host culture, one also has low cultural flexibility that obstructs one's integration to host country. Lastly, intercultural identity shift considers that returnee retains multiple belongings to both cultures so that one's adaptation to home after return is facilitated through one's high sense of cultural flexibility to engage in home practices out of a wider cultural repertoire.

Socio-cultural readjustment of returnees significantly transforms their homogeneous view on homeland which they longed for, imagined, loved and belonged. Instead, returnees find themselves in a challenging environment which leads not only the shifting sense of home (Ghanem, 2003) but also the shifting sense of self. In fact, a returnee is discernible. Physical marks; hair color, style, clothing, way of talking, behavioral signs; gestures, expressions and interpersonal styles, regarding

relationships with others, attitudes and self-affirmation could all indicate markers of stigmatization that differentiate them from rest of the society. In line with Kidder (1992); an interview published in a daily newspaper, *Hürriyet*, in 2007 with a group of Turkish returnees demonstrate that some had to change their hair color in order to fit in, or they constantly reflected on how to contact non-migrant natives and note that they needed to take extra Turkish language classes so that they were not labelled as *Almancı* (German-like). This label is a strong mark, reproduced in the imaginaries of non-migrants to identify all Turkish migrants regardless of where they migrated and negatively associate them with being “new riches”, being “ignorant” to Turkish culture, thus not being “pure” Turkish.

What is ordinary and even stigmatized in host country has now become achievements that make the difference. Their appearance, control over native language, lifestyle hint returnees' integration to host culture. In addition, Kidder (1992) notes that there are manifest “physical marks” and “behavioral signs” of returnees which stigmatize them in terms of not/no longer being “real” natives. Based on the way they speak, their tendency to mix the words in native and host language (i.e. Spanglish, Japlish, etc.), the way they look, their attitudes such as being more confident, active, direct or reserved are the factors that expedite or hinder the acceptance of returnees in their homeland.

Among them, being an *Almancı* is a “non-local” identification (Wagner, 2015) molded by returnee's transcultural capital and practices. Therefore, being an *Almancı* does not only push them outside the boundaries of “one of us” but also requires them to be “real” Turkish. Even though returnees do not consider themselves as strangers and expect to be recognized as natural members of the society (Davydova and Heikkinen, 2004). Among returnees from Germany, as I will show in this study, they are attached to “German mentality”, a mind set that corresponds to the re-adoption of new insights gained in the host land. Accordingly, returnees translate their past experiences into practices as a product of such mentality which help them to compare, negotiate or even reject the order of things in the homeland. In a similar vein, it can be interpreted that they incorporate their “power of knowledge” (Rittersberger-Tılıç, 1998:87) bestowed to this mentality which the returnees

consciously select and re-orient to the home conditions to make their places in the homeland.

School is one of the contact zones of returnees- particularly the ones who were born in Germany or migrated from Turkey at an early age and returned as a teenager- and non-migrant natives. Tezcan (1987) in his study which delves into adaptation of returnee children at school, puts forward that children born in Turkey are more adaptive than their peers born in Germany, yet, they all have common problems regarding the difficulty of the courses, excess discipline and lack of recreational activities. Doğan (1990) analyses that when compared to non-migrant students, returnees have more problems related to overall school life due to their unfamiliarity with Turkish education system, incompetency in Turkish, difficulty in making friends and uncertainty about their future. Kuruüzüm (2002) also notes that return migrant parents 'whose expectation from a school is not fully met. Having a similar pattern with Doğan's study, difficulties on adaptation to school generate concerns for their future such as attending university and finding a job in Turkey. These courses were part of the grand reintegration scheme to re-familiarize them with Turkish culture and improve their relations with their non-migrant peers. The outcome of these courses was explored in the study of Hisli (1985, cited by Tufan, 1987:164). According to the narratives of students, courses aimed to instruct them how they should behave in school in order to eliminate discrepancies between migrant and non-migrant groups. Even described as assimilation, students state that they were asked to dress appropriately, be docile and leave their migration past behind. Wolbert (1991), on the other hand, focuses on the returnees' route of higher education in Turkey. She argues that, having a higher education is regarded as a "magic potion" for the returnees not only that it grants less uncertain future in homeland, university also corresponds to a field where they can be same with non-migrant natives. She stresses that, having a university degree or a training is the threshold that first generation could not reach and through their children's success at school, both prestige and a confirmation regarding that they have made the right decision to return to Turkey are maintained.

Since the migrant's resistance to assimilate in host culture could be resulted from their bonds with homeland which nevertheless functions as a mediator to re-member home; yet, intra-subjective comparisons of the returnee regarding how he sees and others see him in both home and host settings (Saar, 2018) could yield conflictual view on one's readjustment to home society. On the one hand, Turkish returnees' upward mobility become prominent in several patterns such as change in employment, consumption behaviors and moving from village to city; on the other hand, returnees are mainly enfolded with the unsettling perception of differentiation and necessity to transform. Significantly, neither/nor identification that marks returnees both being not enough German in host country and Turkish in homeland may as well allow interpenetration of both German and Turkish identities that eventually lead them to find refuge in creating new spaces in homeland, defined as "fourth socio-cultural space" (King and Kılınç, 2014:132) as they bring together their lifestyles in Germany, their roots to homeland and even the sense of exclusion that they have experienced in both societies.

It is evident that upon their return, the relation between returnees and non-migrant natives has often found its meaning in the difference of the former, referring to their time they spent in the host land and thus, estranged from the home society. While this was the main reason in the implementation of policies with the aim of their re-integration, it also shows that their experiences in the host land have long lasting effect which characterize them as *Almancı* in the homeland. On the other hand, the active reconstruction of their experiences in host land is enacted by returnees to create their own worlds. In this respect, it could be argued that return does not only address a physical mobility that results in re-location to homeland, it nevertheless puts emphasis on the re-location of the image of host land.

CHAPTER 5

FIRST GENERATION TURKISH RETURN MIGRANTS THREE CASE STUDIES

In this chapter, I will present three cases that focus on the migration life-course of first generation Turkish return migrants. In these cases, I will discuss how first generation Turkish returnees' past experiences in Germany play out in their post-return lives. In this respect, I will refer to their memories, drawn upon their narratives and photographic albums by taking life-course approach. In migration context, life course approach takes the experiences of individuals which are constructed within the interplay of structural and historical conditions of the time and their agency to act in related conditions by their choices and strategies of action or inaction. As I discussed the structural conditions that prevailed in Turkish migration to Germany in Chapter 4, in this chapter, I will concentrate on the decisions, choices and actions that first generation return migrants made in their migration course, focusing on the timing of their migration, their motives to migrate, particularly women' choice and interdependency in the decision making for entrance the labour market, their participation to social sphere in terms of their choice of activities, companions. Lastly, I will delve into the decision making in their return, the reasons they choose to return and the ways in which they forge their ties with host land after return with respect to the elements they select to incorporate in their present lives.

In these cases, I demonstrate that their narratives and photographic productions mainly address their engagement in two domains in their lives in the host land, they are work and leisure spheres. I suggest that these two spheres are indicative as they highlight their transitions in their course of migration. Transitions comprise life-events that mark the changes of location, role and status of the individuals over time. The work sphere primarily implies that the motive to work that make them change

their location also change in their status, while they were unemployed in homeland, they are employed in a new job as a migrant worker in the host land. Leisure as a non-work domain suggests their participation to social sphere, either alone or with their families and friends. This domain is important in several aspects. First of all, I demonstrate that type of leisure activities and spaces that these activities take place change according to social network, marital status and gender. Secondly, the type of activities and their companions in these activities posit their degree of attachment to host society.

In first generation returnees' lives, departing from the main argument of transnational return that indicates return as a continuation of the migration process; with the mobility of the migrants from host land to their homeland, the transfer of material and immaterial assets are stressed as way of forging bonds with the host land. It is often discussed that returnees transfer economic remittances to channel in investments such as starting new business and buying new land/real estate to accommodate their post-return lives. Or, they transfer social remittances in the forms of ideas or cultural traits to influence social and/or political spheres in homeland. Following three cases, I argue that memories, regarding their past experiences in two domains, in accordance with the degree of engagement in the host land are translated as a form of capital in their present setting, after return. In this respect, I also argue that first generation return migrants' ties created through their relation with their past experiences with host land are formed and sustained on the individual level. Among these cases, there are mainly two ways that they use their memories on their past experiences in their present settings. First of all, they stand as reference points in order to compare two countries by tracing the failures and absences in the homeland with respect to the aspects, they regard as "better" in host land. However, they do not employ what they experienced in host land in their present setting that is mostly dependent on the structural conditions in the homeland. In return, it indicates that they reshape their experiences as competence, acquired to make sense of the way of doing things in homeland different than non-migrant natives, particularly in the organization of daily life in public sphere. Secondly, based on their re-interpretation of their past experiences in the work and social sphere with respect to the conditions

in homeland after their return, their past is reconstructed to narrate a coherent migration story, based on success.

In these three cases, I will present the migration course of 5 first generation return migrants. The organization of the cases implicate the linked lives of women where in terms of timing and decision to migrate, they are tied-movers; referring that their mobility depends on the prior migration to their spouses. The interdependency of women is also evident in their entrance to labour market, indicating negotiation with their spouses as it primarily signals change in their family roles; along with their participation in the social sphere through the type of activities. Lastly, in terms of the decision to return, it is evident that timing of return and the realization of the return is dependent on their spouses. For this reason, first two cases will centre on both members of the same family by giving emphasis on the individual courses before the reunification and the implications of the interdependent life course of partners after being reunified. Only in the third case, a migrant worker woman, Ayşe's migration course will be the focus due to the decease of her spouse at the time of the interview. However, as I will present in her accounts, the influence of the family dynamics will play an important role in the reconstruction of her migration story.

In each case, I aim to demonstrate the ways in which first generation return migrants interpret their past experiences within these two domains in their present perspective. In this respect, I will pinpoint how these recollections make them locate themselves in their post-return lives in homeland, identifying their ongoing sense of attachment with host land through the act of remembering and choice of elements to incorporate in their present settings. As I mentioned above, in first generation return migrants' case, it is mainly based on the comparisons by reformatting their past experiences as capital, both in terms of competence and cultivation acquired during their stay in Germany and endow them worldview that is distinct from the non-migrant natives in homeland.

In the first case, I will analyze Esat and Tülay's migration course. Esat migrated to Gauting in 1962 and Tülay, his spouse, joined her in 1966. The difference in their accounts regarding the motive of Esat to migrate will have a significant role in their reconstruction of the migration story. In this way, they use their recollections to

distinguish themselves from the other Turkish migrants in their cohort by giving emphasis on the aspects that they associate themselves with living like a German. In these recollections, the main theme will be the accentuation of the “differences” , narrated in their positions in the work sphere, their work relations, type of activities and companions in their leisure time to show their integration to social sphere. With their return in 1975, these experiences lead them to locate themselves in their present setting as cultivated individuals who acquired certain dispositions and mindset similar to German natives.

In the second case, I will delve into the migration course of İsmet and Kerime. İsmet’s work life course in Germany started in 1965, indicate common characteristics with first generation Turkish migrant workers such as his occupation and his living conditions in the heim as well as his engagement in leisure activities. Kerime’s late reunification with İsmet in 1982 and her life in the host land have a minor part in their recollections due to her seclusion in the domestic sphere. In her accounts, Kerime focuses on the integration of family and regards working as a route to realize this ideal. So that, with their return in 2000, the implications of their experiences in their post-return lives are limited and only address İsmet’s re-adaptation of his profession and acquired human capital into present setting.

In the last case, I will discuss Ayşe’s migration course. She migrated to Germany in 1964 before her spouse since he could not pass the medical examination conducted during the selection process of Turkish migrant workers. She is the only one in the sample who is not tied-mover in her decision to migrate as well as return. According to Taylor, tied-mover signifies the person “who has the least bargaining power” (2007:816) in the decision to migrate, in other words, the person has limited autonomy on the corresponding mobility of the household from host land to homeland. However, her accounts are significantly constructed on the life-course of her spouse, undermining her work experience and limited access to social sphere. However, upon her return, her experience as a working woman help her resort to comparisons to criticize the presence of non-working women in Turkey. In addition, during her time in Germany before reunification, her engagement in public sphere to run errands besides participating social activities make her familiarize with the organization of daily life in Germany. This, after her return to homeland in 2000,

becomes another significant element to compare the order, operation of public institutions and daily routines in Turkey. Thus, her past experiences are not only communicated as knowledge that make her adopt a different view on homeland, it also hints the adoption of these characteristics as a result of successful integration to host country.

5.1 Case 1: Esat and Tülay

Esat is 77 and is retired for a long time. He was born in a village in Ardesen in 1942. He was brought up in a working class family, his father was a carpenter, working in a small shop with low-income. His mother was a housewife. After he completed primary school there, he moved to Rize to live with his aunt's since there was no secondary school in his hometown. Finally, with the financial help of his aunt, he graduated from a vocational high-school (*sanat okulu*) in Istanbul. After working for a short period of time in Istanbul, he did his military service. He returned to Ardesen to live with his family. With the recommendation of his neighbor who worked as an engineer in a factory in Germany, he migrated to Gauting, the same factory at age 20, in 1962. He worked in an assembly-line, specialized in heating systems.

Esat's wife, Tülay is 72 years old and she is a housewife. She was born in Rize in 1947 and moved to Istanbul when she was a child, due to his father's assignment to a new position as an officer. Her mother was a tailor. When compared to Esat's, their socio-economic conditions were rather advantageous; she was raised in a middle class family, had dual earners in the family. They were living in a flat in Fatih, Istanbul. She graduated from secondary school and started to high school but could not complete it due to marriage. She married to Esat in 1966, at age of 19. After six months of their marriage, she reunified with Esat in Gauting. Migration was the first significant event in her life-course since it was the first time she had to leave her family and change of location was accompanied by two other transitions. Firstly, she became a mother when her daughter was born in Germany in 1970. Secondly, she entered the labor market, worked as a clerk at a tourism agency between the years 1972-75. In 1975, they returned to Istanbul.

Esat and Tülay have been living in Erenkoy, in an apartment they owned a year after their return to Turkey⁸. When I first met him at the coffee shop, he frequented in Erenkoy, it was the referral that hints his migration past in Germany. He was referred as “Esat Baba” among the regulars due to his age and wisdom. Part of his wisdom comes from the fact that everyone knows that he once lived in Germany and according to them, that’s why he is such an experienced and cultivated man. The others at the coffee shops, except one or two with whom I held interviews for this study after Esat, have never been abroad. They believed that going to another country was a hard choice to make and if one could live there for a long time, it means that their lived experiences in Germany make them a wise person; based on the things he must have been through there. That impression for me is a strong indicator that he carries along the mark of his migration past even today and it is recognized by his friends but what experiences made him wise or what he remembers about Germany remained as a question, at that time.

From the beginning, both Esat and Tülay put great emphasis on Esat’s motive to migrate. Because, the motive is incorporated into their re-narrative in order to underline their distinction from the other first generation Turkish migrant who migrated in the same period. Departing from Bourdieu (1996), distinction in this case refers to a process of memory-work where their recollections are repurposed to indicate that they had a good life in host land. Good stands as better living conditions, such as not staying in heim, living in a German populated neighborhood, having German friends, engaging leisure activities more often than other first generation Turkish migrants to imply that they channel their economy capital into spending rather than saving to invest in homeland. So that, they experience upward social mobility in Germany rather than upon their return to homeland. But, through the materials they brought to homeland and these recollections of good life, their re-narrative indicates their wish to maintain and reproduce their assumed social status in present. In addition, consumption through leisure activities, namely going to same places, such as restaurants that Germans frequent and furniture that express certain capacity of appreciation bestowed to the competence, they acquired through their experiences in domains, such as work and leisure and socialization with native

⁸ Esat was the first person I interviewed for this study, the interviews held with him and later his wife in September, 2019.

community. Significantly, the distinction stems from the re-narrative of the migration story, differently by Esat and Tülay.

Esat migrated due to successive failures in his search of employment in Turkey back in the 1960s, after he graduated from high school. Even though he worked briefly as a part time employee at an atelier in Istanbul, practicing his skills on technical drawing that he acquired in high school, he was paid insufficiently. When he decided to go back to his hometown, Ardesen, his neighbor, who was an engineer in Germany convinced him to migrate and work with him since he could issue an invitation through his employer at his workplace. As he was tired of not finding a proper job to work and sustain his life, he regarded migration as a last resort. Soon after, he received the letter from a factory to work in assembly-line and as he remembers vividly, set foot in Gauting on a snowy day in February, 1962.

Kley (2011:481) argues that, career and education are common transitions in one's biography that make individuals consider migration. While Esat emphasized that his decision to migrate stemmed from his failures in the job market as he tried to work in several areas but could not make his way in; his wife, Tülay, narrated a different story. According to Tülay, Esat migrated to Germany with an intention to pursue his studies at a university. However, in this case, both of them were articulated as opposing motives which implicate different social positions. The demographics of first generation Turkish migrants underline that they were under or semi skilled, individuals from low-income families, had nearly no prior education and were living in rural regions in Turkey. Thus, Tülay's re-narrative aims to attribute Esat a higher social position prior migration in contrast to the given social profile of migrants during the period he migrated. Secondly, during their years in Germany, this social positioning would allow them to reconstruct their all recollections on the past experiences in host land on the sense of distinction among first generation Turkish migrants, focusing on having a good life. Good life is based on their emphasis on living like a German, that was maintained through improved economic capital that accumulated in Germany which they did not intend to save as other Turkish migrants but spend by committing to leisure activities.

At the present time, neither Esat nor Tülay continue to define themselves as migrants, or migrant workers even though they both worked there until their return. They show their home furniture, brought from Germany as indicators of their common taste with German families, who use the same items in their homes. Taste in the choice of the articles, such as sofa and the bedroom set (bed, bed cloth and curtains) is repeatedly signified. In line with Bourdieu's argument that underlines "taste classifies" (1984:6), Tülay incorporates the idea of modernity, bestowed to cultural capital she acquired and internalized in Germany. It is through these furniture she communicates the influence of her past life in Germany for non-migrant natives to see to assert that she was not a migrant worker but a young woman who "came from" Germany after spending 13 years there. Accordingly, Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981, cited by Mehta and Belk, 1991:399) point out that differentiation and integration correspond to use of materials. With the materials she brought to homeland and accentuating that the choice of vibrant, "bold" colors of green sofa and yellow bed clothes as being "ahead of its time", she refers to traditional Turkish home of Turkish migrants in Germany and non-migrant natives, at the time of their return in 1975, never "saw" something like that. This choice doesn't only yield inter-generational difference with Turkish migrant workers but also a signification of her social integration with German natives. Particularly, her companionship with her neighbor, she adds that she learned "how to live like a German". Also, they retain their originality when brought to homeland, signifying that they were not found in Turkish market:

Tülay: We used to stock "original" furniture, utensils, etc. as we would start over in Turkey. We began to buy things 6 months before our return, we even brought an ironing board. There was nothing here [Turkey] and things were cheaper there [Germany], too.



Figure 5.1: Esat sits on a green sofa, brought from Germany, in 1999. Source: Esat and Tülay's Family Album



Figure 5.2: Bed and Bed clothes, brought from Germany are used in their current house in Istanbul. Photography by author on September, 10, 2019.



Figure 5.3: Curtains, brought from Germany are used in their current house in Istanbul. Photograph by author on September, 10, 2019.

So that, Tülay's re-narrative on Esat's migration in Germany makes her reshape the family history. The tendency for re-narrative stems from the responsiveness to the demands of present which necessitates emphasizing certain elements in their past to position themselves not only in the family but within the society. Through its communication, it defines Esat and Tülay beyond being "ordinary people at the local level are cultural creators and carriers" (Levitt, 2001:55). They are not "ordinary" since the motive does not correspond to the story of migration for work and their influence as cultural carriers within their present setting gradually becomes limited since they are no longer preoccupied with the conception of *Almanca*. It is also evident that Tülay's narrative is constructed through the perspective of the others; her recollections are selected and reconstructed on the grounds of how she wants to be seen and recognized among non-migrant natives as they return. So that, these materials were instrumental to manifest a distinction, to signal that they acquired a certain sense of taste, bestowed to their experiences of "seeing the better version of everything" which was translated as being ahead of time in their present setting.

Such a reformatting is also evident in the narration of the past experiences regarding Esat's domestic life and particularly on work-life course before they get married. Concerning the former, Esat privileges the recollection of his living space as a single man to communicate that he was "well-off" throughout the duration of his stay in

Germany. To this end, he resorts to the photographs of his living space in Gauting. Photographs capture an apartment so that he did not live in *heim* as most of Turkish worker migrants did in their first years of migration. Indeed, these photographs were taken for Tülay, before they decided to get married in 1966 to signal that “I am doing well in Germany”. This phrase, borrowed from the recent work of Alpogu (2019), whose research focused on Turkish worker migrants in Austria during the 1970s. Her emphasis on doing well focuses on the unique construction of the migrant worker, Ali’s biography that indicates heterogeneity among his generation of Turkish migrants in Vienna. The uniqueness stems from his diversion from the stereotypical image regarding to guest workers in Austria, who were depicted as “guest worker in a blue coat work” (Wenk, Krebs, cited by Alpogu, 2019:49). Ali, in his photograph with a fashionable jacket manifests a break from the typical working class look to a fashionable style that addresses his upgraded socioeconomic condition, bestowed his improved economic capital (Alpogu, 2019:67). Similarly, Esat’s photographs from his apartment are repurposed to indicate a sense of distinction. Besides of establishing an imaginary contact zone between Esat and Tülay, a fully furnished house where he was living alone, intersects densely with how he wanted to be seen. In migrant photographs, suit was commonly worn during week-ends, in their free-time. As the demarcation between the domestic and public sphere blurred with wearing a suit, these two photographs demonstrated a different migrant worker reality.

These photographs run counter to the stereotype of uneducated and low-income migrant workers, that are often attributed to the first migrant generation. Rather, Camppt argues that luxury items and books are used as “props for showing off” (2012:162) within migrant communities to give the “right picture” in order them to be seen that their social status indeed improved with their migration. These items ranged from purses to books and even to photographs, themselves since having a studio photograph was costly before the massification of cameras, introduced by Kodak. In a similar vein, with his living space and a book, Esat does not generate a working class habitus that complies with the normal, even stereotypical depiction of first generation worker migrants with low economic and cultural capital that structure their habitus. On the other hand, these photographs represent a cleft habitus; even it intends differentiation from worker migrant status by showing his living space and

his engagement with books, it is not “his place” since his socialization with German neighbors was limited and the living space does not correspond a social mobility. The fact that he was living in this apartment, narrated by Esat is that it was owned by his employer and which was intended to be temporary. It was also convenient for him to live there because he also worked as repairman for his employer’s family. So that, in these photographic productions he creates a space that privilege how he wants to be seen which entails discrepancy from his lived experience.



Figure 5.4: Esat sits in his living room in his apartment in Gauting. Circa 1964.

Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album



Figure 5.5: Esat is reading a book in his bedroom in his apartment in Gauting. Circa

1964. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album

After the migration of Tülay in 1966, at age 19, the focus shifts to the photographs that depict the area where the apartment is located. According to Tülay, these were the first photographs she took at the time of her migration. At first glance, they resembled visual productions of a tourist gaze, wandering the city and capturing anything that catches her eyes along the way. Even though it is partly the case since these landscapes were reflections of her first encounter with a foreign land, it is also embedded with the sense and act of occupying the space in order for construction of familiarity, proving that “where I live from now on”. Concurrently, they profess ambivalence. According to Tülay, she took the photograph which oversees the other apartments in the street was indeed intended to focus only the street-view. It was described as part of her daily routine, even though there was no other replication of landscape photos in their family album. The photograph is charged with the feeling of loneliness when Esat goes to work and she is left alone in the house. She epitomizes Esat’s absence due to his work as such: “I say good bye in the morning and welcome in the evening, nothing else.” As she stays at home for the most of the week days, taking photographs becomes a social activity which predominantly stems from her isolation from the social sphere due to lack of language skills and her later participation to work sphere. So that, partly as a free-time activity, photographing the other apartments was to stimulate her imagination of how the other live with their spouses and children by their sides as well as curiosity about how Germans live.



Figure 5.6: The street view from their apartment, captured by Tülay in 1966.

Source: Esat and Tülay's family album

The camera also had a symbolic value, just like cars, it was a sign of luxurious consumption among migrant workers as soon as they started earning money. It was also an indicator of their cultural integration to host society both by possessing a technological device that was not introduced in Turkish market, thus becomes a status symbol. In addition, cameras were a sign to be like a German (*Alman gibi*), a term that Tülay and Esat articulate to define themselves which is closely attached to the identification through emulating certain practices of German people. In this case, camera stands as an object for claiming a shared taste with German natives through its adoption. A similar sense of ambivalence also prevails in another photograph that she sent her family back in Turkey during the first year of her migration to Germany. It pictures Tülay on the balcony in their apartment. It represents a gap between how she is at the time and how she wants to be seen. It is not a “doing well photo” that informs the family on the wellbeing of the migrants and the remarkable aspects of life in host land, such as the house, new and fashionable attires or places they visit. Rather, it invokes the memories from the period of loneliness, aggravated by the homesickness:

We wanted to send this photograph to my mother to show her that I am OK. However, I was depressed in this photo, I was having tantrums due to feel of loneliness. It was the first time that my parents and I had been drawn apart for too long. After two years of my arrival in Germany, I started having nervous breakdowns and when they got frequent, we went to see a doctor. The doctor told us that it was because of homesickness and he advised me to go back and see my parents.



Figure 5.7: Tülay is on the balcony of their apartment. Photograph taken by Esat, circa 1967. Source: Esat and Tülay's family album

Tülay's account reveals the common psychological conditions among Turkish migrant worker women upon their arrival to Germany. According to Abadan-Unat, with the factors that I stated above as an isolation from the social sphere along with having to spend time alone in the domestic sphere while the male spouses go to work, for the non-working migrant women, there is a high prevalence of neurosis, homesickness, (atypical) depression, which even lead to the emergence of a new disorder, coined as "guest worker syndrome" (1984:15-16). Tülay overcame her depression through two transitions that she experienced over her migration life-course: when Esat and Tülay had a daughter in 1970 and when she started working in 1972.

Even though, Esat's work life in Germany had a predominant role in Tülay's life that caused her depression and instigated her homesickness, when Esat traces back his migration life-course in present, he does not have distinct recollections on work-life. Relatedly, he does not have any photographs of workplace or while he was working. This aspect diverges from the grand narrative of first generation migrant workers whose presence in host land was dependent on their work performance, their goals to earn money and channel their savings to family in Turkey. In this case, there is only one instance which as well is deeply connected to the reproduction of the family history, they constructed in their re-narratives. As he did not migrate to Germany for study, neither in his recollections nor his photographic productions, work life becomes significant. It is due to the task which was a migrant job, therefore, he and Tülay did not want to include this aspect in their construction of family history as apart of their migration life-course. However, the only instance he remembers about his work life is again corroborated with the sense of distinction they wanted to prevail. It is about the use of subjective time as a "performance of authority" (Bourgoin and Bencherki, 2013) in the workplace, exercised in the production line:

They put the image of the piece and wanted me to produce it. The engineer came to time the production. I started to do the piece. When Germans told me to speed up, the workers were telling me to slow down (langsamer). I finished the piece faster than usual, it was done in 5 minutes before and I did it in 2.5 minutes. I distorted their timing (saatlerini bozdum)

Considering that work is one of the spheres to perform masculinity, in worker migrants' case, it is rather a vulnerable position in terms of being at the lowest rank in the occupational hierarchy. In the account of Esat, which was chosen to be narrated in order to ensure the consistency of their re-narrative of their past accentuated solely on the competency to navigate the well-established work regulations by imposing his time in the production to claim a superiority. In this way, he re-negotiated the standard of production as he employed such a tactic. Accordingly, De Certeau (1984:xxi) states that, tactics are the tools generated and practiced by the non-powerful, the "other", in this case, Esat as a migrant worker uses the tactic against the employer to grant him a certain degree of authority in the workplace. The authority is maintained first by controlling the time of production and the related earnings. The time takes during production is set to calculate the extra

earning of the workers per production above the daily quota,. Thus, new timing would indicate longer time of production and anyone who could produce more rapid than the set time, could earn more. Thus, his disadvantaged position in labor market, silenced in their recollections to avoid from the status inconsistency between the lived life in host land and narrated life about host land, in present is only uttered when he becomes the Subject. However, it is apparent that this did not have a real consequence such as promotion at work or any improvement in wage during their time in host land.

On the other hand, work life has a significant place in Tülay's life-course since it indicates a transition that changed her role and status both in domestic and work sphere. First and foremost, the Tülay's attempt to work in host land exemplifies the interdependency of lives, as a major life-course them which suggests a shared relationship in a given network (Elder, 1998:4) such as family. Considering work life, the interdependency moves beyond the gendered division of labour in household. Work life-course brings about the case where wives' participation in the work force is linked to their husbands' approval or welfare. In this sense, linked lives highlight the gendered construction of a relationship between life-courses, which is downplayed by Elder. While men' participation to work is a part of the construction of a normal biography that stands in between the education and marriage paths in men' life course; women if not a guest-worker, is confined to her domestic responsibilities, possibly without a job prospect.

In Tülay's case, one of the viable ways to overcome the sense of loneliness and depression was her transition to work sphere. However, it implies a crisis for Esat due to the changing roles in the household which challenges his authority in the domestic sphere. In his accounts, he underlined that her entrance to work sphere was depended on his "permission". Yet, Tülay's use of strategies were expressive in order her to claim her agency against him. In this respect, as Kandiyoti puts forward, patriarchal bargain (1988:275) within the structures of household was exercised. In Tülay's case, it was a trade-off between Esat's permission for work or returning Turkey, leaving Esat alone in host land. In fact, this trade-off as a strategy to work, employed by Tülay is an evidence of the reproduction of the traditional family roles. According to Tülay's account, Esat could be defined not only as the beard-winner

but also the head of family which does not allow for equal participation in decision-making in household, particularly regarding a process that is related to Tülay's presence in the host land. In this respect, migration does not seem to alter the inherent social patterns embodied in the formation of family which is assumed to assign more autonomy to woman. It is partly related to the late participation of Tülay in work life that contributed to the sustenance of the gendered roles, demarcated between Esat and Tülay, ascribing Esat a role of head in the family while Tülay remains to be a housewife and mother. Thus, decision around work life inverts the established roles in the household, even to a degree that Tülay's motherhood adopts transnational role when she started working with the decision to send their daughter to Turkey to live with her grandparents. It would also suggest a transfer of role of motherhood to transnational setting linked to her participation to work life. After six months, when their daughter returned to Germany, to assert her identity as a mother and unification with her daughter, the number of photographs with her and Tülay become ubiquitous. Yet, they were only taken to show that they are together. These photographs conceal what the narrative exposes, sending their daughter to Turkey and just by looking at them, it communicates the unity of family, engaging leisure activities with their daughter. In these photographs, even though performance of motherhood could be traced with their physical proximity that displays affective bond by holding hands, they did not invoke any memories about what they did together, except the one that was taken at the zoo.



Figure 5.8: Tülay, Esat and their daughter visits a zoo in Gauting. Circa 1973.

Photograph taken by Esat. Source: Esat and Tülay's family album



Figure 5.9: Tülay, Esat and their daughter are in sight-seeing. Circa 1972.

Photograph taken by Esat. Source: Esat and Tülay's family album

On the other hand, the photograph of their daughter during a family gathering in their home, is solely charged with the memories of the location and the quality of furniture in the house. Even though, it appears that the intention to take this photograph relies on documenting their daughter bestowed to her central location in the image, Tülay's narrative centers around the working mechanism of the table, the television set, radio and the bottle of cologne on the television. In her account, these materials address both the competence and taste. The competence relies on both the ability to use them which have novel characteristics, such as the working mechanism of the table that entails additional handle to resize it according to the number of people who use it at each time, and the appreciation, signaled by their adoption in their daily routines. In this sense, firstly, both the competence and appreciation are indicative of consumption patterns to indicate shared tendency of acquiring the products that Germans use in their home, in Tülay's words expressed as "It is always the case among Germans, they use these tables since they do not have dining rooms" Secondly, the items that are not in the frame are also mentioned to state their high quality such as the armchairs, made of leather and their bright colors. They were brought to Turkey upon their return and indicated as "marginal" (*aykırı*) to point out their taste and its possible reception among non-migrant Turkish community in their homeland. Lastly, while the television set and radio are regarded as novelties that communicate their improved economic capital, the absence of lacet is proudly associated with their cultural competence to adopt German way in terms of its display in the house by referring to such use as "these are the things Turks do", stating it as a display of low-brow tendency to express their strong attachment to Turkish culture. Indeed, the bottle of cologne, is now interpreted as a non-photographable figure which may mistakenly position them as agents who reproduce Turkish customs such as serving cologne to the guests.



Figure 5.10: Their daughter posed in a family meeting at their home. Circa 1973.

Source: Esat and Tülay's family album

From another perspective, her willingness to participate in work sphere could also be considered as “refusal to stay one’s proper place” (Butler&Athanasidou, 2013:21) vis-a-vis the assigned place, home. Her recollections of the dialogues exchanged between her and Esat on the working life unravel the tension of staying and refusal of one’s place, where the former is assigned by Esat and the latter is by Tülay as a performance of agency. In a similar vein, this particular memory could be interpreted as women’ reliance on autobiographical recollections that entail with one’s goals and emotional aspect of their lived experiences (Schulster, 1995; Seidlitz and Diener, 1998). In this respect, her memories on her emotional state before she started working and her aspiration to work become prominent aspects that defines this transition in her life in host land.

She started working at a tourism agency as a clerk, responsible for control and registration of travel tickets. Her recollections about the work place rely on the use of reported speech, especially quotes from her German supervisor construct her autobiographical recollections. The reason for utterance of direct speech is embodied with validation, an acceptance of her difference by a “superior”, a native woman as a gatekeeper to acknowledge her both structural and social integration to Germany. Therefore, entrance to labor market is a passage for her social integration and she

regards working as one of the characteristics to be like a German. It becomes evident in the photographic production which portrays her while she was working. In this sense, the photographic practice moves beyond being a free-time activity and instead of perpetuating her feeling of depression, it invokes the feeling of success and pride. This feeling could be traced in the photographs where claims her as a working women. Her work life also helps her to photograph the “firsts” , such as the computers, she had ever seen in her life. In this sense, Tülay’s capturing the availability of computers in the work place corroborates with the common photographic practice where the “firsts” are argued to be displayed in photographic albums (Chalfen, 1987). When compared to Turkish migrant workers, these photographs at the indexical level shows that she does not wear a uniform which is an indicator that she is not engaging in a migrant job. Her accounts also accentuate her work life as a working woman with a white-collar job with a prospect on occupational mobility. In this respect, her recollections on her work life course construct a story of achievement with a sense of distinction among Turkish migrant women by her job and her adoption of modern style. In her narratives, it should be noted that there is no emphasis on autonomy improved with participation in work life because based on such markers, she constructs a successful work life story narrated in present:

I was 24-25 at the time. As soon as I met with the supervisor, she liked me... naturally, I was not like those Turkish people, I did not dress like them and I was intelligent. They like talkative, sociable and intelligent people and other Turkish women dressed poorly.



Figure 5.11: Tülay posed at her desk in the workplace. Circa 1973. Source: Esat and Tülay's family album

In her narrative, she encapsulates the factors that led her to distinguish herself from the other Turkish migrant workers. It is significantly based on the cultural capital, bestowed to her upbringing in an urban city, Istanbul and partly from her education. Her migration to Germany from Istanbul was initially motivated by her marriage to Esat instead of a recruitment as a worker migrant. Thus, in work life, particularly by her way of dressing, referred in contradistinction to Turkish migrant women, her mastery in Turkish language which was referred as “hoch Turkish” by her supervisor, her identification as an urbaner is reproduced. In this sense, her accentuation of being like a German, does not dwell on emulation but similarities with German natives. On the other hand, as she point out the window by her desk, she approves herself as being more like a German than Turkish women migrant workers. By pointing out the window, she starts the point out her difference between them through her supervisor's viewpoint:

On one of those days, while Bruno was looking out the window, she turned and told me: Look Sezer (Tülay's last name), here are your relatives, your Turks, down here... They were wearing green salwars with purple cardigans, having red headscarves, holding plastic bags, waiting for someone.

In addition, her reliance on accentuating the traits to assert her being like a German, is reconciled with her attachment to her origins. She bestows her promotion to her intercultural identity (Sussmann, 2000:368) that suggest recognition and acknowledgement of cultural difference between two countries:

She told me that I was the first one to manage to do that without a mistake. Then, I had a privileged place in the company. My supervisor added that the other Turkish workers were not good at their jobs and wondered why they were not as good as me. In their works, I was competing head-to-head with Germans. I was even better than them. I think I got such talent that is exclusive for Laz people, not to be scared of any challenge, not to be scared of computers and even language barrier.

Tülay's account unfolds an adoption of bicultural identity as a part of her success discourse. The courage and perseverance are defined as dominant characteristics of *Laz* people in Turkey that make her accomplish to satisfy the standards that were set by German. However, it is only limited to this account and her identification with her origins were rather situational and instrumental for her re-narrative.

What is not situational is the prevailing narrative on being like a German and it becomes a dominant identification in their leisure activities. Leisure time is devoted to non-work activities which demonstrate their activity routes, their use of space as well as how they spend their time. In life-course perspective, leisure does not address a secondary or a derivate domain in one's life but it is another sphere that is meaningful and "part of a larger set of social, cultural, economic and political institutions" (Hendricks and Cutler, 2017:109). In this respect, while the tendency to channel one's economic capital to leisure activities is essential to identify the forms of activities, their social capital indicates the people with whom they spend their leisure time.

The leisure activities of Esat are distinctively demarcated by his marital status. He was a single migrant worker at the time he migrated. His life during this six-month period before reunification with Tülay was referred as "single life" (*bekarlık günleri*) by Tülay. It also indicates the activities that are engaged when young (used interchangeably with *bekarlık*) by both Esat and Tülay. The photographs of *bekarlık günleri* intended to be kept as an individual memory. Tülay excludes them both from the family memory as repeatedly referring them as antics (*soytarılık*), unnecessary (*gereksiz*) and underlines that she doesn't remember them. By not remembering, Tülay also interrupts their transmission to others as social memory. In addition, not remembering is not only associated with her absence but also accentuates the importance given to the transition through marriage since this transition made her visible both in the family history and the host land. Thus, the value of these images

do change prominently since these experiences do not represent the family life thus not remembering them is a discursive strategy to assert the unity of family over Esat's single life.

Esat's leisure time before reunification was divided into two leisure activities dependent on his entourage, his German friends and Turkish worker migrant friends. The activities before marriage took place outside the boundaries of home. Leisure time activities with German friends also suggested a passage for cultural integration. It addresses acclimatization to host society by attending cultural festivities, such as *Faşing*, a Carnival that is celebrated as a Catholic tradition before Easter. Due to his participation to *Faşing* as well as having German friends more than Turkish ones, he was called as "Gavur Esat" (*Esat the Unfaithful*), a nickname attributed by his Turkish friends. By becoming friends with Germans and assumed to adopt their lifestyle, it was believed that he detached himself from his origins. This could be interpreted that his socio-cultural adaptation to host society marks a shift to a "subtractive identity" (Susmann, 2000). According to Esat, it denoted several features that demarcate Turkish worker migrants and natives' lifestyle. His close relations with Germans and attending their cultural events, he entered the public spaces that were frequented by natives. In this regard, Esat narrates that: "They (Germans) do not take me as a Turkish man since I was always with them." Moreover, drinking alcohol and his competency in German were distinctive marks in Turkish migrant community. This nickname implied a gap between Turkish migrant workers and Esat through his perceived identity salience that is embedded to "do just like what Germans do". Esat's case shows that there is not a conscious affiliation with the host culture through which he claims an identification with Germans. Instead, by eating German food, drinking alcohol, participation to festivities, friendship with German natives, he asserts a being, in this case, it is being *like* a German, sharing some common practices with them. Being together with Germans also brings forward a sense of equivalence that could be grasped in the portrayal of himself as intimate, relaxed and friendly in his photographs. Esat's social relations with non-migrant community and the practices such as *Fasching*, his engagements were deprived of building a sense of belonging to host culture. Indeed, his social relations with Germans later resulted in becoming one of the main motives of their return.



Figure 5.12: Esat and his German friend attend a *Fasching* in Gauting. Circa 1963.

Source: Esat and Tülay's family album



Figure 5.13: Esat and his German friends are in a restaurant in Gauting. Circa 1963.

Source: Esat and Tülay's family album

When leisure time activities with fellow Turkish worker migrants are considered, they are embedded with place-making practices through appropriating the space. In Esat's photographs which were taken in front of the houses and streets, the shops in the city centre do not only indicate affective bonds such as referring to these places as his "regular" stops during his time in the host land but also the *connaissance*, a form of capital entailed with it. Knowing the routes that lead to these streets,

knowing how to get there by train construct familiarity with these places. Both the affective bonds and the *connaissance* could be traced in his narratives as he points the locations in these images: “This is the shop that we used to buy our clothes from, I only bought things of high quality, because we came from big city, not from Anatolian cities, I have distinct sense of fashion”, “along the street, you could find a cafe and when we meet friends, we used to sit”, “the road leads to the house of our friends, we were going to see him”. However, this in certain aspects resembles to a photographic practice of a tourist. Sontag states that as a touristic activity, photographs are ways of shaping an experience in a new city by following a sequence as such: “stop, take a photograph and move on” (Sontag, 2005:7). In fact, these photographs could disengage Esat from touristic activity when I also resort to his narratives that accentuate his familiarity. In his photographs, contrary to Williams, as he argues that in the imaginary of worker migrant, host land could ever be regarded as a landscape (Williams, 1973:120), during leisure time, Germany is translated into a landscape where Esat invests his subjective time by walking around, discovering the city and taking photographs.



Figure 5.14: Esat posed in front of a fountain during his sight-seeing with his Turkish friends in Gauting. Circa 1965. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album



Figure 5.15: Esat posed in front of a local shoe shop during his sight-seeing with Turkish friends in Gauting. Circa 1965. Source: Esat and Tülay's family album



Figure 5.16: Esat posed in front of a local clothing shop in during his sight-seeing with Turkish friends in Gauting. Circa 1965. Source: Esat and Tülay's family album

While the leisure time spent with Turkish migrant workers from Esat's workplace took place in non domestic sphere when he was single; leisure activities shifted to family activities after his marriage and Tülay's migration to Germany.

Tülay engaged in leisure activities besides of the family visits. With her neighbor, Frau von Weber, she constructed fictive kinship:

She played piano for me, we were going to see the ponies, we took our baskets to pick blackberries. She was 75 and was riding a bicycle, asking me if I needed anything to get from the shop. Germans do not engage in such things. I never forget the day, it was Easters, their Easters. She called me to come down. She told me that it was their holidays and she bought me a gift but I had to find it because she hid it. She regarded us a part of her family, she had no-one. When she was going to see her friends, we went together. I was only 20. She called me meine kleine Türkin (my little Turkish girl). She introduced me to her friends. She showed me German life. She took care of me. I had not left my family before, she was my moral support. I was so close with my parents, I was in a foreign land and I was there with a man, I was a stranger. We were like mother and daughter.

Frau von Weber was the only friend of Tülay who also became an agent to introduce her to German culture. Tülay was called *meine kleine Türkin* by von Weber. According to L'Heuillet (2019), being neighbors is a way of forming relation with the place and a way of integrating with the society. In the example of the wedding they attended together was an aspect of German life she was not only introduced but participated by following the codes of conduct. The same posture with the rest of the individuals in the photographs, Tülay was almost indistinguishable among German Christian community, in the new, probably one-time activity space.



Figure 5.17: Tülay and Frau von Weber attend a wedding at church in Gauting. Circa 1971. Photographer unknown. Source: Esat and Tülay's family album

The agency to participate in these activities, sketches a degree of involvement to the host life through which the perceived immigrant culture is replaced by the social relations that are maintained in the neighborhood. In a similar vein, L'Heuillet (2019:179) suggests that neighbors contribute to the construction of self as they allow for the engagement of social and cultural differences. Considering Tülay's life, these interactions in her life course address crucial intervals. Since Tülay and Frau von Weber met during Tülay's early adulthood in the host land, the effect of the life-events in the given period are argued to be not only more memorable but also shape one's sense of the world. Therefore, the contact with Germans firstly in the neighborhood and then to the workplace, strongly influenced her identification "being like Germans", the perceived social position of Tülay in the host land and later in homeland, as a returnee.

In addition, family gatherings only take place with other Turkish migrant families. Since the *misafirlik* is a prominent tradition in Turkish culture, the meetings at home with the fellow migrant worker families are the main indicators of the migrants' dual lives, referring to two cultural systems, practicing home values in host land, best exemplified gathering around during religious holidays. According to Musello

(1980:26), shootings such as in family gatherings are intended to construct narratives by taking the same event multiple times by showing different relations among the subjects. While the majority of the photographs indeed demonstrate a certain degree of intimacy stemmed from a kinship like relationship, the spatial proximity can also be interpreted as a result of cultural proximity bestowed to the sense of togetherness maintained through their shared identities as Turkish migrant workers. However, Esat and Tülay's photographs from these visits are devoid memories, are only used to name their friends. In this respect, the lack of power of these photographs in memory-making could be related to the loss of contact with them after return and the very familiarity of the practice which people in these photographs are already acculturated to family gatherings in Turkey.



Figure 5.18: Esat and Tülay gathered in the house of Esat's Turkish migrant friend from work. Circa 1971. Source: Esat and Tülay's family album



Figure 5.19: Esat and Tülay gathered in the house of Esat's Turkish migrant friend from work. Circa 1971. Source: Esat and Tülay's family album

Taking photographs was the predominant leisure activity of Esat and Tülay. However, only some of the photographs have meaning to them. After the years since their migration to host land, when looked at in their home in Istanbul, they lost their importance and become piles of images that only have evidentiary value, underlining that “We were there, at home in Germany”. This practice started when Tülay felt lonely when Esat was going to work and one of the common activities was to take Tülay's photos during Esat's lunch time when he goes back to home. That is why, all these photographs are self-portraits, Esat sequentially captures Tülay in different poses on the same day. One of these photographs, where Tülay is lying on the lawn, is stated as a photograph that cannot be taken in elsewhere, configuring garden as an extension of a private sphere. Oddly, these self-images become a unifying way to create sense of togetherness, to indicate they spend time together. Photographs, alone were devoid of meaning unless they attach their feelings or use them as reference to describe their homes, their gardens and how gardens are the one of the status symbols for Germans. Since they were living in the same neighborhood which was populated with upper-middle class German native community, thus it also locates

them as members of this community, who could position themselves in contradistinction to Turkish migrants, who according to them live in the ghettos.



Figure 5.20: Esat takes photographs of Tülay in the garden of their house. Circa 1970. Source: Esat and Tülay's family album



Figure 5.21: Esat takes photographs of Tülay in the garden of their house. Circa 1970. Source: Esat and Tülay's family album

Lastly, their leisure activities also corresponded to their tours around the city. These photographs were illustrative as Tülay summarizes their life in Germany, as “all we did in Germany was to wander around” pointing out that they did not migrate to Germany for work and describe their tours as a form of conspicuous consumption and the only way to claim to be like Germans, specified in their attendance to Oktoberfest. In fact, the photograph does not include them and stand as a mediation photograph in a sense that they guide us to the place of festivities to witness. It is detailed by Esat as such: “No foreigners can come to the restaurants we went during our wanderings around the city, you see no Turkish men. Because, it requires money. 100 DM at least” On the other hand, photograph of Tülay and their photograph together were underlining the tourist gaze, besides of their attempt to occupy to space with their presence, photographs nearby the iconic statue is a strong indicator that hardly differentiates Tülay from a tourist. The other photograph with Esat and Tülay together was a common type of photo in their albums, indicating one fixed meaning. It was not the unity of family but to show that they lived close by to Starnberger river as they almost everyday went there for a walk. When compared to Tülay’s photograph by the statue, it diverges from being a product of a tourist but a resident.



Figure 5.22: Esat and Tülay were touring around near city. Circa 1970. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album



Figure 5.23: Esat and Tülay were touring around Lake Starnberger. Circa 1967.

Source: Esat and Tülay's family album



Figure 5.24: A scene from Oktoberfest. Circa 1967. Source: Esat and Tülay's family album

Throughout their years in Germany, their narratives are reconstructed around having a good life, accompanied with not saving but being able to spend to leisure activities

and enjoy their time there which they strongly associate it living like a German, that demonstrated both their willingness and to an extent incorporation of host culture as a way of being. However, with the decision of return in 1975, it is evident that their decision was heavily influenced by their concerns on their daughter's future, their recollections' focus briefly shifted to pinpoint the negative aspects of host culture:

Tülay: It was time for her to start schooling. Esat told me that if she ever started to go to school in Germany, then we had to forget about Turkey. There were many bad examples. We were warned about that since we have a daughter, we could lose her. When they become teenagers, they hang around all together, a mixed group that comprised of people migrated from Anatolian towns.

As the time of return was a calculated decision regarding their daughter's schooling since they wished to raise their child in home environment. Relatedly, they named two different threats that indicate their degree of identification against both home and host culture. According to them, other Turkish migrants would impede her integration to host society and German way of life would lead to adoption of bad habits; alcohol and drugs along with intimate relations with opposite sex. On the other hand, the latter located the reproduction the family relations, particularly concerning the family control over the child which in return make them "lose" their daughter; losing in this sense, refers similarly to "going the wrong way" (Rittersberger-Tılıç et al., 2011:17) by adopting these aforementioned bad habits which would eventually made parents lose control over their daughter. In this case, the fear of losing control over the child would represent a break in traditional family structure that would challenge the parents', particularly, Esat's authority as these traits were regarded as alienating factors from the family.

This also unravels the distinction between the positive connotations of being like a German and negative connotations of adoption, not integration to German life. In the first case, it represents a way of being, emulating or willingness to reproduce what German do as it is endowed with a cultural capital that is as well transferred to home setting when they return, namely giving way to define themselves as people who came from Germany that is associated with furnished by a distinct, in fact, superior culture that comes with the ability to observe what is "absent" in homeland. In the second case, as their daughter was nearly 5 years old, it would mean that she would grow up in an environment which has a risk of becoming one of them, Germans.

Indeed, this distinction did not only render return as a household decision but also made them kill their passports, in other words, they break their ties with Germany for good. The metaphorical act of “killing” refers to a calculated act of making return to Germany impossible in future:

Tülay: He killed our passports in order not to hope to return one day. Otherwise, we would not settle here, we would probably go back again. When you kill it, it becomes invalid, you no longer use it. We came for the future of our child, not make her involve in there.

On the other hand, once the decision to return was finalized, Tülay had to quit her job at the tourism agency. This day is remembered with mixed feeling as she holds the photograph from her last day of work, during the farewell luncheon organized for her:

Tülay: There was a farewell party for me in the workplace. There was Bruno, my supervisor next to me, see how we were close. She was very upset about my return. She told me that I was excellent and very different. She also said: “Good people always leave and bad people stay.” She offered me a job whenever I decide to come back. My colleagues told me that it was the first time they saw someone crying for going back to homeland. They thought that every foreigner would be happy to return. I was sad because I had to leave my job. Even I had graduated from university in Turkey, I would not have found a job like this.



Figure 5.25: A farewell luncheon is organized for Tülay’s return to homeland in 1975. Source: Esat and Tülay’s family album

This photograph is also important because instead of the event, itself, she only remembers what was told to her by the people presented in the image. In this sense, it is also charged with emotional feelings, such as pride, sense of achievement related to what was said about them. In return, Tülay identifies herself based on how the others see them. Even though the photograph could have invoked other memories regarding her colleagues, she particularly chooses this very memory to narrate which is intended to locate return as a part of success story. Also, Tülay's narrative addresses that the effect of return decision extends from primary group of family to secondary group of co-workers in the agency. The feeling of pride was expressed due to the comments of her supervisor on her work performance which once again is attributed as a distinguishing mark from other Turkish migrant women. Moreover, in her case, being a "good" person is not limited to her work performance, it is as well associated with being an "acceptable migrant". The latter underlines that she did not only structurally integrate the host society through work but she was also socially integrated and most importantly, it was recognized by German natives which in fact was a strong element in her self-identification. Competency in German, having social network that comprises of German friends, adopting a modern look when compared to other Turkish migrant women had significance since they were not only seen but also appreciated by her supervisor.

With return at age of 28, her recollections no longer focus on the achievement but the absence. According to Tülay, return signifies loss of autonomy due to the fact that she left her job unwillingly in Germany and she believed that she would not work in Turkey because it was difficult to find a similar job that "values" her as it was in Germany. And, when recreation of unity with extended family in Istanbul was realized upon their return, it was a necessary condition. Because, Esat emphasizes that they had no money when they returned to homeland because instead of saving, they were "living on a daily basis, were eating, drinking and wandering around" It demonstrates that how the same situation is interpreted differently by them before and after return, in their course of migration. Before their return, it was a sign of being well-off and living like a German; after return, it underlines the unpreparedness, since they neither saved nor invested their earnings to buy a land/apartment in homeland. It as well, for the first time in their re-narrative highlights a failure. Its consequences were evident in Tülay's life, since living with

extended family changed her role in the household. Absence of participation in work life in a way signified a return to traditional gendered division of labor in the family that would mean lack of autonomy in economic and social terms when compared to her life in Germany. In this respect, Tülay's role is re-defined in the "hybrid family system" (Thornton, 2005:239), that is maintained through the juxtaposition of traditional and Western elements in the organization of the domestic sphere. In Tülay's life-course in Germany, modern- Western elements such as women's autonomy in the family through entrance to work sphere, economic independence, degree of participation in social life was evident. On the contrary, with return, her primary role as a housewife suggests binding intergenerational ties with extended family. In line with Kağıtçıbaşı (1982), while the family structure remains to be nuclear, its functioning is extended. Thus, Tülay's expressive role as a care-taker in the extended family becomes significant and as I expressed it also signified a "return" to her primary roles in family:

Tülay: I did not want to live close to his parents. I could not stand them coming to our house every day. The cousins, all relatives would come to us and they would ask me to make tea, bring tea and refill tea. It would be like we went Germany yesterday and returned Turkey today. Nothing was changed.

On the other hand, Esat returned when he was 33, still in working age and decided to start a joiner's workshop with his brother-in-law. Even though, he lacked of economic capital since he did not save and he was not retired in Germany, his social and human capital were assets in this line of work. The former signifies his fellow Turkish migrant friends in Germany. Through his social network, he was able to import the required materials and tools to start his business. In this sense, Esat successfully incorporated his work skills, acquired in Germany in his home-setting which suggests continuity of work relations until his retirement even though his recollections, this aspect had limited scope.

In their accounts, there is no referral to *Almancı* which they locate it in contradistinction to their re-narrative of success and well-being in Germany. Because, according to them, *Almancı* is referred by non-migrant natives to return migrants where the latter group carries visible markers such as *Almancı* car and speaking broken Turkish that signify a "neither-nor" identity. Most importantly, it

denotes weakening ties with homeland due to migration which render them being less or not real Turkish. On the other hand, according to Tülay, *Almancı* accentuates emulation rather than adoption of host culture. That is the primary reason, she does not refer this identification in her narrative. As they underline that there were no one in their social circle to address them as *Almancı*, it partly stems from that they came to Istanbul to live close their family which made them rather isolated from the non-migrant community. At this point, Esat hinted that people who call anyone that returned from Germany as *Almancı* out of jealousy, based on the assumed improved economic capital that returnees have.

However, I suggest that they can be referred as “*Alamancı* family” (Yasa, 1979) to a certain extent. From the viewpoint of Abadan-Unat (2002:82), she encapsulated a similar identification, *Almanyalı*, as an emerging type in Turkish society, bestowed to the increasing population of return migrants in their hometowns. She stresses that people, regardless of the host country they migrated, are called *Almanyalı* and they differ from the natives through the houses they constructed in their villages in terms of its size, color and the use of fences around the garden. Yasa, in line with Abadan-Unat, also puts forward several characteristics of *Alamancı* family that could provide an insight on Tülay and Esat’s life in their homeland, after their return. The accentuation on “*Alamancı* taste” (Yasa, 1979:85) could have similar traits with Tülay’s articulation on taste describing their furniture which transferred to home as ahead of its time. However, her emphasis predominantly relies on having a similar taste with German natives instead of identifying herself as *Alamancı*. Yasa also argues that *Alamancı* people could engage in conspicuous consumption during the first years of migration and it could last for years until they reach a threshold that would orient them to channel their savings into more rational investments.

This needs a further elaboration on Tülay and Esat’s case. First of all, their consumption pattern could only be described as conspicuous which they stress on their several accounts, ranging from owning a camera to engagement in leisure activities- “wandering around” or “living on daily basis” are indicative of this pattern. On the other hand, it is perpetuated during their stay in Germany which as a result, led them to return without any saving. Even though, there are some characteristics that could address *Alamancı* family in their case, they reject any

negative connotations regarding *Almancı* and even hiding the fact that they migrated to Germany because they could be regarded as working-class family and be despised by non-migrant natives in the homeland. Thus, they resort to re-identification of being like a German, which shapes their narrative of migration as a re-narrative to display the ways how they lived and live through the adoption of some traits that they claim to be a part of German life. Now, they express that their living standards in homeland are sustained through their “achievements” in Germany, such as living in an apartment, they bought with their savings and furniture they transferred from there. Considering the economic conditions in Turkey in 2019, they underline that they could not acquire them if they had not migrated to Germany at that time.

5.2 Case 2: İsmet and Kerime

İsmet was born in 1932, in a small village in Elazığ. After he completed primary school, he worked alongside with his father, who was a farmer. Coming from an economically disadvantaged family, to support his family of 5, he also worked as a carpenter in a small shop, in the village. In 1961, while he was sitting at the coffeshop, he saw an announcement in the newspaper, regarding the call for recruitment of workers in Germany. In his third attempt, he migrated to Germany to work at a factory that produced furniture in 1965.

Kerime, İsmet’s wife, was born in 1940 in Elazığ. They married in 1960. It was after 17 years Kerime and their four sons were able to reunify with him. Now, İsmet is 87 and his wife Kerime, is 75, they have been living in the same apartment of a ten story building with their son, located in Erenköy, Istanbul since their return to Turkey in 2000. The construction of the building they live at the moment, started in 1996 with İsmet’s remittances and when it was completed in 2000, they were finally ready to return. Concerning their sons, among two of them currently live in Germany and their third son lives in Switzerland.

On my first encounter with İsmet and Kerime⁹, I stepped into the living room where İsmet was watching German-language television channel. While İsmet was watching the news, Kerime interrupted the silence: “You know, he is always like that. He

⁹ The interviews with İsmet and Kerime were held together in their apartment, on November 2019.

continues to watch German TV, he also wakes up very early too. Even, he keeps a book on his bedside. He has never changed” , addressing the practices İsmet started to engage when he migrated as worker in Stuttgart in 1965 that still continues in 2019, at the time of the interview. As he turned to me and tell me that he is very curious about what is happening around the world, it was his curiosity that encouraged him to migrate to Germany. That’s when he pointed his finger to the framed photograph, facing the television set, “This is my hometown in Elazığ and this is the place, by the lonely tree I was handed the letter from the Employment Agency, I was very happy that I was going to Germany, at last”



Figure 5.26: A scene from İsmet’s hometown in Elazığ, hung on the wall in their present home in Erenkoy. Photograph by author, on November 9, 2019.

So that, even it is the landscape of his hometown that he pointed, memories associated with this image move beyond the domesticity. In this sense, Rose suggests that photograph is “displayed in awareness of the pervasiveness of absence and distance” (2003:12) which in turn is stretched outside of home while summoning what is far to near. As evident in this case, it is bestowed to the relation with the imagined country that İsmet constructs; it locates Germany in the centre of domesticity and makes the absent both in the photograph and reality near through his recollection. In a similar vein, Tolia-Kelly (2004:676) argues that domestic space becomes a container of the multiple sites through the engagement with the memory of other places. It is also shown in İsmet’s case that at least three places are connected through this image; where the photograph depicts-hometown, the place he

is integrated with in his memories-Germany and the place that photograph as an object is located, in Istanbul. These three places also represent the mobility in his migratory course; hometown that refers to his pre-migration, Germany during his migration and Istanbul where he returns from Germany.

İsmet was already 33, at the time of migration. According to him, anyone was and older than 35, back then was not eligible to migrate. He already applied to the Employment Agency twice; first in 1961 where he states that there were only 6 applicants from his town but after his third attempt in 1964, he finally migrated to Germany in 1965.

After they were listed, migrants were called upon literacy and medical examination. First generation migrants were characterized as less educated so that literacy would be a discerning yet not critical factor since they were employed in menial jobs in Germany. Not only through medical examination, he claims his eligibility, since it was an indicator of a strong, healthy manhood, a quality that was valued and sought by German authorities, he was also acknowledged by his literacy which, according to him, fellow candidates did not have at that time.

Soon after he passed these tests and his passport was given, he found out that the company which was willing to recruit İsmet, had no longer needed workers so he was offered another post that paid him 25 pfennig less than the former post. To him, the pursuit of material gain was not directly attached to provide for his family back home or to earn more but entirely related to the idea to start a new life which was made possible through the realization of migration, so regardless of their small wage gap, he pursued.

İsmet was a carpenter in Elazig and working at a small shop in the village and his new post in the host land was in a factory, specialized on furniture making. He remembers that there were 18 guest workers in the factory until the first economic recession, in 1966, three months after his arrival hit several industries including the wood industry. The recession impacted the production in the factory but his position remained unchanged. However, even though they were not fired, the other 17 guest workers were sent to the other factories and he became the only guest worker left in there:

It was because of my hard-work and know-how, I have always been a carpenter in my life and it took such a short time to see how the work was done there. I was very content about the work conditions. We worked very hard there, it was not like in here (Turkey)

Departing from this account, the comparison between Turkey and Germany was primarily made on economic return, being fairly paid accordingly to the volume of their production. Particularly, the difference between payment scheme is described through *Akkord* system. This system underlines the payment depending on working extra- hours and production by piece over the daily quota. In addition, this comparison was the main motive for İsmet to to continue working there vis-a-vis the struggles he had only thought of in Turkey, namely finding a job in a big city.

İsmet has only one photograph from his workplace, which was taken by his colleague while he was by the lathe machine, he was operating. Indeed, İsmet and Kerime do not have a family album, they carried along a few photographs with them and the remaining ones are dispersed and kept by their sons. So, this is one of the photographs from İsmet's own collection of images that he still keeps regarding his migration life-course in Germany. The indexical reference of the photographs also reciprocates his narrative, which he focuses on its working mechanism, remembered in details:

There are many materials coming to the factory, they are measured according to where the end products are used. With these machines, the demanded materials are produced. The oil coming down from the hoe... without the oil, the knives would be burned. There are different types of machines and it is not the only machine that I am working with. These machines are designed to produce the materials in different sizes like the one I held in my hand, like a ring.

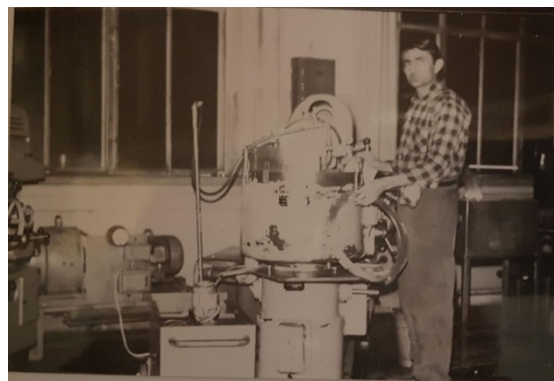


Figure 5.27: İsmet posed by the lathe machine at his workplace, on July, 10, 1967.

Source: İsmet's collection

The content of the photograph shows similarity with the study on the labor processes of mining conducted by Margolis. He (1999:175) puts forward that workers' photographs only suggest the "physical dimensions" of work life such as depicting the ones while working. Margolis adds that there is an invisible counterpart in the labour process which the photograph is incapable to attend, such as the alienation and exploitation of the labor. In line with Margolis, İsmet's account on the photograph centers on the operational aspect of his work life. In this image, neither his social relations at work, or the hardship that could be visually implicated by exhaustion or any dust, messiness on his clothes could be traced. It is a photograph that portrays him as if he is working. Only through his accounts that he explains the increased economic return in *Akkord* system and working on week-ends, the difficulty of his job could be understood. Thus, the image hinders the extra hours of work and relatedly the satisfaction he derived from getting paid accordingly. Also, his narrative which he compares the working conditions between Turkey and Germany, we can understand the difference in working conditions, such as the necessity to work more or the impossibility to save money in Turkey even if he had worked such long hours there.

When he is out of workplace, İsmet went to the *heim* which he shared with other Turkish migrant workers in a room for 2 with bunk beds. İsmet narrates that in *heim* "each of us were coming from the cities, rural areas for material gain, to maintain our families. It was the economic difficulty that tore us from the homeland and pushed us thus far". The comparison between Turkey and Germany is emotionally charged, the emphasis on the distance -thus far (*ta buraya*) has both material and immaterial counterparts. As in the narrative, the economic conditions in homeland was the push factor which was reciprocated with work opportunities in Germany but at the same time their sense of belonging to homeland and their family were pull factors. On the other hand, in İsmet's memories the family left behind is replaced with the fellow migrants; they are not only friends but members of extended family who come from different parts of Turkey.

Regarding the life in *heim*, he places the two photographs to introduce his friends from work and lists the cities, they came from. In these photographs, both the uniformity and individuality surface beyond demonstrating that people from different

areas of Turkey gather around a table, working in the same job. Rather, *heim* was where the fugitivity from work sphere was realized. It becomes the domestic space in which both familiarity and intimacy are produced as Turkish migrant-workers are sitting around a table, sharing the same pose, occupy common place both socially and physically in host land. In this respect, if not a domestic photography whose indexicality lies in the mirroring of family life, *heim* helps to make home by “staging affect, or imagining relation- literally seeing sentiment as a way of organizing family life” (Wexler, cited by Campt, 2012:47). As he calls them as family, he implies “fugitivity of adoption” (Campt, 2012:96). It refers to a family that is chosen, not bonded by kin. Secondly, domestic space takes a fugitive form to demarcate the working and non-working time, the latter also suggests diverse engagements during their time in *heim*.



Figure 5.28: İsmet and his Turkish migrant friends from the workplace posed in their *heim*. Circa 1969. Source: İsmet’s collection



Figure 5.29: İsmet posed while reading in the *heim*, on May, 15, 1969. Source: İsmet’s collection

Principally, ranging from suits to pajamas, they practice homing and intimacy in their own ways, reading newspaper, drinking, discussing on several topics, ranging from their family life to economics, Turkish politics and their hometowns. According to İsmet, they are adapting. Adaptation has two distinct meanings in İsmet's life that are as well represented in these images. Firstly, adapting suggests finding a common ground with the other Turkish migrant workers by acknowledging the cultural and social differences, primarily stemmed from the distinction between urban-rural in Turkey. Secondly, it denotes acculturation to German way of life through learning German, interacting with Germans and participation to social sphere in their leisure time. So that, the image that portrays İsmet while reading is a fragment of his adaptive behavior in German life. He remembers that he was reading his notes of German words to practice. It bridges these two meanings of adaptation. This is where İsmet's own place-making in the *heim* resides, his curiosity in German way of life. Thus, while the uniformity among migrant workers is a form of adaptation in the life at *heim*, the difference lies at the agency of the migrant worker in order to adapt the social life in the host land which in İsmet's account, he was the only one to adapt and points this dictionary as the first step for the participation in social sphere.

Workplace, itself was also the first step that opens to social life in host land. İsmet's photographs in a suit in front of the factory locates workplace as a point of departure on the migrant worker's map. During weekends, it becomes a threshold of the social sphere since these images solely invoke the memories of leisure time activities where the attires, holding a cigarette, a camera to take pictures of the surrounding and even the pose by the bushes indicate recreation of the scene of a park, thus end of work time. Thus, workplace is re-purposed to address two important activities in migrants' lives, work and leisure.



Figure 5.30: İsmet posed in front of his workplace, on September, 20, 1970. Source: İsmet's collection



Figure 5.31: İsmet posed in front of his workplace on July, 1, 1976. Source: İsmet's collection

When he steps out the workplace, he and his friends who were also Turkish worker migrants, went to explore the city. As he tries to remember their names and where they came from to Stuttgart, it could be also seen that the places they visit center

around the park where it becomes the meeting point of all Turkish migrant workers in the vicinity. They spend their most of the time at the parks, which they frequent every weekend. That is why, İsmet's photographs from the park recurs and almost indistinguishable. İsmet while explaining the size of the park and the variety of plants that were grown there, describes the reason of frequenting the same place with his friends as such:

It is the only place we were reminded of our hometowns, you see all the people there came from rural areas, Konya, Adana, Erzurum... The flowers, its spaciousness, the greenery made us feel at home. We were walking around freely for hours. It was our only fan after we spent many hours at work, constantly working in a compound.



Figure 5.32: İsmet and his Turkish migrant worker friend at work posed in the city centre of Stuttgart. Circa 1970. Source: İsmet's collection



Figure 5.33: İsmet and his Turkish migrant worker friends posed in the park, located in the city centre of Stuttgart. Circa 1976. Source: İsmet's collection

The parks were also one of the few places that they did not have to “integrate” host culture despite of its central location. Within the town, Turkish migrants were imposing their routines by frequenting there every weekend, spending time with each other and speaking Turkish, thus creating their own place. On some weekends, they also went to the *heims* of their friends who were working at other factories, in the town. As they reproduce the sense of familiarity, being able to escape the work routine which grants them autonomy to employ their own time and practices vis-a-vis structured work schedule were the main motive in their place-makings.

In 1982, Kerime migrated to Germany with their four sons through family reunification, 17 years after the arrival of İsmet to Stuttgart. By the time she came, she started working at a restaurant in 1983 and worked until 1988. In her accounts, she explained that she was responsible for the dishes and the salad bar, accentuating the strict division of labour rather surprisingly that washing of dishes corresponds to another line of work along with the organization of other food courts in the restaurant. This division was rather strange for her when compared to domestic chores of a housewife where she was responsible for all tasks without differentiation. Although, Kerime briefly remembers her work life which comprised of technical details such as working hours, the branch she worked and the year that she started

working, her work memories are mainly associated with the feel contentment of being reunified with the family. In Kerime's account, her migration with the children unfold that work life was neither a necessity for her to sustain a living in the host land, nor a source of independency but a strategy to bargain with İsmet in order to come to Germany:

For too long, I had been begging İsmet to come to Germany with the kids, especially when they were younger, I was telling him that I could even find a job and work there. When I came, everything was easy to me. I did not have any difficulty. In fact, staying in Turkey was harder, with 4 children by myself. I felt different while working, I let myself be (kendi halimdeyim). I could do anything, working was up to me. If I felt like it, I was going to work. Or not.

In her life-course, work was secondary not only it was rather rather a route for family reunification and only factor to convince İsmet for their migration, it also dependent on the task she was performing at the workplace, it was regarded as a reproduction of the domestic chores, only taken outside as a paid job. On the other hand, migration was an escape from the necessary condition to live with extended family in hometown, which she describes as "crowded and toilsome life". The account of Kerime has a focal point in family life that is in line with the gendered perspective off memory-work, suggesting that women's narratives are clustered in domains such as family, marriage, siblings (Pillemer et al. 2003:529). In addition, Kerime before her migration, refers Germany as "that country" without uttering "Germany" due to her resentment for late migration and she associates his migration with her experience of hard economic conditions that obligated her husband to live alone and make her live with İsmet's parents. Even after return, her accounts dwell on this resentment, she interrupts the interview many times, asking why İsmet did not ask them to come earlier, and she thought it was İsmet's willingness to live as a single man.

Even though they were reunified, there is only one photograph from their years in Germany that captured them as a couple during their visits to a park. Neither İsmet nor Kerime remembers the day or the place and they are even surprised that such a photo ever existed. According to Kerime, it was unusual since she remembers only the work and her activities in the domestic sphere, which she was mainly occupied with child care.



Figure 5.34: İsmet and Kerime posed in the park during their lesiure time. Circa 1983. Source: İsmet's collection

However, the decision of İsmet to return to homeland, was reciprocated with sadness by Kerime. In this sense, along with the children, Kerime was also a tied mover in the act of return. It is evident that return decision and timing of return were primarily made by men with a motive to sustain the household well-being. Departing from Timur's (1972) classification of factors that demonstrate the intra-family relations according to family types in Turkey, decision-making process, degree of dominance and husband-wife companionship in terms of joint participation to decision making in household matters signify that in the sample of migrant nuclear families, women subordination is evident in the context of decision to return. In addition, the well-being of the family centers on the strategy of male migrants who was in charge of calculating the benefit and cost of return. This calculation significantly depended on the future plans of men in homeland, associated with starting a business in Turkey after their retirement in Germany. Women' goals or aspirations, in these cases, in a similar line with Wolf (1990), were largely forsaken. However, her discontent about the return decision does not emerge from the interruption of her work life in host land but the disintegration of the family that she priorly experienced when İsmet migrated to Germany:

Kerime: I never wanted to return. I was accustomed to there, my husband and children were with me. Life was easy there. I always wanted to stay there because we were together. When a family disintegrates, it is very difficult. My other children stayed there. A mom could not leave her children. One day, while I was working, he came and told me that he did something, he signed off and left his job. I was very sad. He returned to start the construction of the building in Istanbul. He left his job willingly.

The emphasis on family and motherhood have been recurring issues throughout her migration course. Initially, the re-formation of nuclear family life through family reunification was the main determinant factor that make Kerime adapt to host land. Therefore, even though it contradicts with the collective experiences of worker migrants, Kerime described her life in Germany as “easy” since her motive for migration did not dwell on economic reasons but the aim of maintaining unity of family. This could also be interpreted with respect to Kandiyoti, her rapid adaptation to Germany may have stemmed from her prior socialization in the extended family since both milieu, as a bride in a family and migrant in host land correspond to a “potentially hostile environment” (1977:72) that require Kerime to adapt. In addition, transition from living with extended family when she was in homeland to the adoption of nuclear family structure after the migration also suggest an emancipation, where for Kerime, the role of being a bride was also charged with many responsibilities in the domestic sphere when compared to her role as a mother and a migrant worker in the host land.

On the other hand, their return motive could be referred as life-style migration. It denotes the process where “relatively affluent individuals, moving either part-time or full-time, permanently or temporarily, to places which, for various reasons, signify for the migrants something loosely defined as quality of life” (Benson and O’Reilly, 2009:621). The authors also stress on the privileges of the individuals among which is stated as holding a passport of another country (O’Reilly, 2014:225). In this sense, İsmet has a privilege since he is granted with permanent residence permit in Germany. Also, the choice of Istanbul for return denotes a life-style related decision. First of all, their age of return would make them consider the access to health services as convenient and extensive as in Germany. Secondly, İsmet wanted to start a business and continue to work in the same field as he had working in Germany. Not only that owing a business would be more lucrative in a city, it would also give him

the opportunity to access the diversity of materials he already used. As they had been living in Stuttgart, Istanbul would also correspond to a life they could sustain their living standards and with their savings, they could afford living in there. Therefore, before his return, he started to channel his savings to construct a building in Istanbul.

On the other hand, retirement suggests that both İsmet and Kerime are no longer in labour force in Germany. They were already 68 and 60 years old, respectively upon their return. The end of active working period in their life also gives them sense of completeness, as they have fulfilled their main goal and could have freedom to spend their later years in homeland. Thus, there is an evident age effect in their decision to return and old age also signifies their need to medical care:

İsmet: I was done with there, my all work was finished. I wanted to spend my remaining time in my own land. I no longer think about my life in Germany. The ones who were born in Turkey, eventually miss Turkey.

Kerime: If there is youth, there is also elderliness, you cannot stay there when you get old.

İsmet: Germany was “the” Germany when we were still there. People are fleeing from Germany now. Germany is fed up with foreigners, they no longer want them. The structure of labor force has also changed, they do not want migrant workers.

According to İsmet’s narrative, the sense of uselessness is also interpreted with the structural change in employment in Germany. Not only they were feeling useless due to the fact that retirement impedes their engagement in work-sphere, they are also not wanted as migrant workers. Thus, it requires a re-identification in host land as they are no longer workers but also would not want to be migrants. Hence, their return decision could also be regarded as a result of this needs of re-identification.

After return, İsmet and Kerime sustain their ties with host land through re-creation, what they refer as Little Germany, in their apartment. The building in Istanbul represents their ties with Germany not only through the transfer of İsmet’s economic capital for its construction but also the initiative to adapt building management rules in Germany to his present setting. The primary rules were stated as not employing a doorman and expect each resident to clean the common areas on their floors. According to İsmet, his life in Germany could not be limited to the work life and

related pecuniary return. The difference between Turkey and Germany relies on “immaterial things” which are defined in diverse ways, ranging from work ethic to effective health services, attitudes that were attributed to Germans. The memories on these features are made usable in İsmet’s post-return life as he translated them as practices to pursue in his life-course after return. Evidently, he opened a small workshop in Istanbul to maintain the similar work routine in Germany, trying to find the same tools he used at the factory in Germany. Such a transfer of human capital resembles with the characteristics of “regularity, routine involvement” (Portes, Guranizo and Landolt, 1999:225) that describe not only the formation of transnational ties but İsmet’s own way of forging bonds with Germany through work:

İsmet: I still go to the Kauf in Turkey and check new tools. Then I buy them and apply what I learned in Germany. I wish to apply everything of Germany in Turkey. I did not return to do nothing here.

Starting from opening an atelier, frequenting hardware stores, keeping himself up to date with latest technology and utilizing them in his workplace are accompanied with transfer of know-how to non-migrant native professionals with an aim to make them familiarize with German work ethic. In İsmet’s imaginary, this mainly refers to “order, work principle and hard work”. So that, the wish to transfer “everything in Germany”, including the work principle becomes apparent when he compares the workmanship in Turkey:

İsmet: I have trouble with the constructors here. I told them that they did it wrong and it was sloppy (kara düzen). You must have a proper technique. A German never finishes the job until it is done right, his concentration is always on the work, this is what German discipline is. Here, they ignore it. So, I uninstalled and tried to do it myself.

Moreover, his accounts on the health system in Germany has a direct correspondence with the present stage in his life-course, thus, memories on the effectiveness of the health system are accentuated in his post-return life. His frequent visits to hospitals in homeland attribute his recollections a value of communicative memory. As Welzer argues, its proximity to everyday life as indicated in this case, also brings forth the “tension between individuals’ and groups’ recall of the past” (2008:285). İsmet as an individual who recalls the health system in Germany and the non-migrant natives whose recollections of the health system limited to its organization in Turkey

makes him assign his past experiences as an ideal model. This repositioning also echoes with the characteristic of communicative memory on the ground of “devaluation of certain aspects while placing more value on others” (Welzer, 2008:285). In this case, devaluation addresses the present conditions with regard to health system in Turkey and the over-emphasis on the German model:

İsmet: We are done with everything, earning money, working... I am left with health problems. I see public hospitals here and I remember the hospitals there, there is a huge difference, from earth to moon. When I go to hospitals here, they are overcrowded, they lack proper guidance. The health system over there is very organized, everyone has a doctor (hausarzt), you go to him and he sends you to hospitals or guides you to have an operation, he does everything you need. When he tells you to have an operation, you go and get an appointment, then you have the surgery and go back home.

All in all, İsmet’s accounts stress on the differences between Germany and Turkey. However, as Berger and Mohr (2010:224) note, not only that he sees homeland in a different view, he is also seen differently by non-migrant natives. He was referred as *Almancı*, a new-comer to his homeland but as I stated above, he challenges with the remarks of non-migrant natives by giving new meaning to difference, difference through distinction, maintained by having the only television in the neighborhood. It does not only suggest improved economic capital which is attached with negative connotations such as “stingy”, “furnish some money” but as a means to obtain a novelty which at the same time refers to symbolic capital:

People call me Almancı, they saw me differently. While I was in Germany, they say “foreigners came” and while I am in Turkey, they say “Almancı came”. I am seen as a foreigner in both countries. Almancı contributed to this country, 10 people lived on in Turkey with the wage of one Almancı in Germany. People say that we are stingy. No one in Germany is poor. They say, he furnished some money and came. There is a discrimination in this country, they are jealous of us. We were the only ones who had TV in our house in the neighborhood, they all came to watch. When we first came to the neighborhood, we were attacked by neighbors and we were accused of displacing them¹⁰, as if we were new-comers and they were old-timers.

This account underlines only the derogatory characteristics that construct *Almancı* identification in the views of non-native migrants in homeland with İsmet’s way of overcoming this stigmatization by referring the home group as jealous. As Kahn (2020) suggests, *Almancı* in Turkey and being a foreigner in Germany overlap in

¹⁰ Bana “dağdan geldiniz bağdakileri mi kovuyorsunuz” dedi.

sense of exclusion. Even though, İsmet has no recollection of any lived experience that could be associated with exclusion, yet he resorts to the collected memory of Turkish migrant community that are inter-generationally exchanged and in return, stigmatize each of them as a threat to the established order in the public space. According to İsmet, it could be epitomized as misconduct of Turkish migrants in public areas, erupted as aggressive attitudes due to their overconsumption of alcohol and what can be called as street harassment, directed mainly towards women. According to İsmet, if one avoided these acts of misconduct even though as a member of Turkish migrant community could be still labelled as the source of disturbance. However, when considered in the identification of *Almanci*, it has a shifting meaning. First of all, the sense of exclusion is perpetuated with the physical violence of his neighbors because he is not a regular member in the home group. Secondly, his migration past is reduced to the volume of economic capital he accumulated during his stay. But the difference relies on the use of economic capital to justify that he is socially desirable. Thus, as long as his economic capital is channeled in consumption that has social value, such as television where people from the neighborhood could watch or remittances that supported the family back home, he is accepted. As he only refers this incident in his narrative, he is still preoccupied with the joy of having lived in “past” Germany, as past indicates both the years during which he stayed and his memories, made alive in his present setting.

5.3 Case 3: Ayşe

Ayşe is 77 years old and she has been living in Suadiye, Istanbul in an apartment she bought with her savings after her return to Turkey in 2000¹¹. Her migration story commences with the emphasis on the economic conditions while Ayşe and her husband, Ali with their two sons were living in a village in Rize. As she states that they were living in poor conditions, the idea of migration concretized when Ayşe’s brother came to village for summer vacation in 1964. He was a worker migrant, working at a factory in Munich at that time and according to Ayşe, it was his car that they were both impressed and thought that he was living an affluent life. After the encouragement of his brother, they were certain that Germany would be a solution to

¹¹ Interviews with Ayşe were held in her apartment on July, 2019.

their financial struggles. As they both applied to the Employment Agency, only Ayşe was eligible to migrate since Ali could not pass the medical examination. Eventually, she migrated to Boppard alone to work at a restaurant in 1964. Being migrated alone is a turning-point in her life and it will become evident in her narratives, from the day she decided to migrate to Germany to return to homeland, her migration life course is deeply linked to her husband, Ali's migration course. This interdependency even leads to a point that re-membering to host land is often associated with re-membering his now-deceased husband in her narrative.

Ayşe's brother was among the first group of people who migrated to Germany for work during the early 1960s. Upon his visit to Ayşe and Ali in Rize, their hometown during a summer vacation, Ayşe remembers that she was impressed with the car, he owned as she concurrently described her life was in destitute with 2 sons and a low-paid job that Ali was employed. With the recommendation of Ali, both of them applied to the Employment Agency in 1964 as Ayşe's brother also informed them about the eligibility of woman as migrant workers since there was an increasing demand, as he heard from his friends in Munich. But, it was not the reason she migrated to Germany before Ali, it was the medical examination that reported his ineligibility due to his minor illness. While this examination had effects on Ali in its consequences, it was the process which had a lasting effect on Ayşe. She describes it as an unrestful operation, reciprocated with the feeling of vulnerability: "You need to stand fully naked in front of them, it was one thing. Then, they check your teeth, whether they are complete or not, like horses. It was embarrassing. But, we had to go, we did not have money"

Ayşe's migration before her husband became a family crisis and Ali's authority in the family structure was questioned since he was held responsible not for his ineligibility but he "sent" a young woman; she was 22 in 1964, to Germany. In this sense, male worker migration was not only a common characteristic of the first generation migrants', it was also the "right" thing to do in order to reproduce the patriarchal family structure, positioning men to be the head of the family who is responsible for providing for his family. Ayşe's decision to migrate did not conform to the normal biography of the woman whose life course was constructed being a mother and wife thus excluding working. Furthermore, Ayşe's narrative underlines

that going alone would address vulnerability of woman who would be exposed to many threats; she was regarded *sahipsiz* (unattended), without male guardianship who could not manage to pursue a life in an alien environment. Concurrently, it suggests vulnerability of the male figure, his medical condition proved that he was not healthy enough to be a migrant worker, as he, along with other male worker migrants are reduced to working bodies (Moliner, 2020:4) in their course of migration.

A man who did not migrate was an “absent” man, referring to his non-presence in the host land who could not merit to be a migrant worker. Also, being an absent husband in the host land, his masculine identity is downplayed particularly in the domestic sphere. Thus, in order to reclaim his authority in the family he resorts to ask Ayşe to come back in his letters sent to Ayşe and if not, he would divorce her. In her account, she refers that “I could not let people say that she left her husband when she got to Germany”. In this sense, this case demonstrates that not only in the pre-migration period, women’s lives are linked to their husbands since they are decision-makers but also their actions continue to influence the life-course of women during migration regardless of their position in the migratory course.

Ayşe started working at hotel’s food court in Boppard in 1966 where she states that she was welcome as a Prime Minister. In Ayşe’s narrative, it was mainly the pecuniary interest that is attached with working. In this respect, it was also rewarding. She narrates her father-in-law’s quote on blessing that originally has Islamic connotations, attributed to Prophet Abraham’s generosity. In the homeland, the prayer “May Allah give the blessing of Halil İbrahim” is repeated in each dinner. Remembering her work life in Germany, she re-interprets the prayer as such: “I do not need the blessing of Halil İbrahim, the blessing of Germany is enough” referring to her contentment regarding her earnings even though she worked too much.

Indeed, “working too much” is an invisible part of the work photographs, she showed during the interviews. It was also rather invisible in her narrative since her focus was on the ones who accompanied her in the photographs, depicting her social relations at work. In this sense, her photograph with Gül, her co-worker who was also a Turkish women migrant in the same hotel accentuates the sense of togetherness, what Ayşe describes as “companionship in misfortune”, suggesting that they were both

apart from their families and try to reunify with them as soon as they earn enough money. The stress on togetherness is also displayed in the photograph with her supervisor, a German native woman Maria where their intimacy is maintained through bodily proximity and gestures. However, in Ayşe’s narratives Frau Maria is not referred as a friend. On the contrary, invoking her remark during a work, voiced as “Look at those Turks”, while she pointed the veiled women workers, Ayşe only remembers her resentment as Turkish women were not valued for their tireless effort and hardwork but their looks which made her think that even though they were accepted as a worker, they were not accepted in the society. On the other hand, it is apparent that Ayşe’s photographs with Frau Maria displayed not only a friendly relation but also Ayşe’s adaptation to the environment. As she points to the glass, she confirms that it was not about consuming alcohol but following the code of conduct in order to fit in the workplace. Fitting in is only associated with keeping the job and continue to earn money, which suggested blending in the environment in the workplace.



Figure 5.35: Ayşe and her Turkish migrant worker friend, Gül posed with their uniforms in the hotel they worked in Boppard. Circa 1975. Source: Ayşe’s album



Figure 5.36: Ayşe and her employer, Frau Maria posed during a birthday party of their colleague in the workplace in Boppard on March, 20, 1984. Source: Ayşe's album

These photographs were not sent to the family back home, as they might have given the impression that she did not think of her family and enjoying her time there. Thus, she sent the photograph that clearly communicated the message that it was taken in workplace, as she was wearing her uniform and she posed alone. Posing alone does not only center the attention to the one who is away from home or putting photographs into the transnational focus as a way of bonding with the family, it is important to select the right photograph to send the family that is embedded with being a dutiful migrant by working, and caring mother and wife, signaling that she did not forget them. Being the only one in the image has a purpose. Following Wolbert (2011), it intends to demonstrate that she is not engaged in any other social activity but working, thus, it is distinguished from common migrant worker photographs taken outside workplace as signification of being well through the display of new clothes, car and/or visiting new places to indicate their participation in social sphere. In this case, such a photographic production is gendered. Considering male migrant workers' photographs in this sample, the images in which they posed alone, there are generally the cars, restaurants, or city centre on the background and they usually wear suits or casual clothes instead of their uniforms. And, they communicate two meanings; first of all, they want to let their family back

at home to know that he is well and the background suggests socialization, an indication of making of a place. In Ayşe's case, it rather denotes that she is neither belonging to any group or feeling attached to the country, besides the necessity to work, considering the conditions that led her migrate alone.



Figure 5.37: Ayşe posed in front of her workplace in Boppard. Circa 1970. Source: Ayşe's album

When Ayşe and Ali reunified in 1970, the focus has shifted to Ali's working life course not only in her narratives but also in the content of the photographs after the period. With Ali's arrival, their participation to social life emerged. Having gathered with other Turkish migrant workers, particularly with their *hemşeri* (townsman) in and beyond the workplace was the primary social activity. While Ali was frequenting *kahvehane* to meet his fellow Turkish migrant friends, Ayşe engaged in gatherings at home, with Turkish migrant women. These events are illustrated in many photographs where the majority of them pictures Ali's activities and only two of them depicts Ayşe, when she was at a picnic and in a gathering of Turkish women migrant workers, held at home. However, neither of them were able to have memory power that make these events remembered in present. It could be partly due to their over-familiarization with these activities and they were almost indistinguishable from their gatherings in homeland with respect to the choice of place of gathering (i.e.,

domestic space or kahvehane) and the people, whom Ayşe underlines that they were all from Rize. Such a similarity is predominantly related to the social isolation of Ayşe which was deliberately perpetuated by Ayşe since at the time of migration and Ali's late arrival to Germany that make him delay the process of his integration. In Ali's case, Ayşe could not be identified as a guide to orient their spouses' daily activity routes since they were already familiarized with host country due to their early arrival.

In 1971, Ali had an accident and were hospitalized while he was working at the construction site. There are many photographs, taken in the hospital during his time in hospital. He stayed nearly two months in the hospital. This event does not only have a significant role in their life course but also in the album. It was a turning-point in their lives, as after the accident he was not able to work again and started receiving disability support mention and she had to work both at the restaurant and the construction site to complete his work. Concerning these photographs, Rose (2003)¹² notes that events of misery, sickness do not generally find their place in a photographic album since they are associated with past events that elicit negative memories. On the contrary, Ayşe interprets them as a celebration of regaining of health. Evidently, there is no photograph while Ali was under treatment or he was in bed. Repeatedly, these photographs do not invoke negative feelings. They are sequential with respect to their placing in the album. It begins with the visit of their friends, standing by Christmas tree, being besides the bed as he starts to feel well and ends with his exit from the hospital, accompanied with friends and the nurse. With the visitors of Ali, they address sense of togetherness; the loyalty of their friends, since he stayed in the hospital for a long time. Moreover, it could be also seen that hospital becomes an extension of their domestic sphere in terms of the practices (i.e. welcoming friends) and the number of photographs, produced sequentially and numerous in the hospital, thus it has also similarity with the conventions of home-mode photography. These photographs are given extensive place in the album due to the duration of his stay and its "special" meaning as it portrays multiple transitions: In Ali's case, the indexicality points to his health status and symbolically, it refers a

¹² In Rose's "Family Photographs and domestic spacings: a case study", conventional photographic practice that stresses on picturing happy moments are discussed with reference selectively to Hirsch (1981), Spence (1986), Spence and Holland (1991) and Chalfen (1987).

change of role in Ayşe's life, she becomes the head of family since Ali could not work.



Figure 5.38: Ali posed in front his bed at the hospital on January, 23, 1971. Source: Ayşe's album



Figure 5.39: Ali welcomes his guests at the hospital on January, 23, 1971. Source: Ayşe's album



Figure 5.40: Ali posed while leaving the hospital in January 1971. Source: Ayşe's album

Soon after Ali dies, Ayşe decides to return to homeland. With the insistence of her son, who was willing to return, they made plans to relocate to Istanbul, since his son did not want to pursue his education but establish a business with relatives who were living in Istanbul. Also, Ayşe wanted to spend her remaining days in a lively environment like Istanbul where she could enjoy sea, traditional food and escape from what she refers as “monotonous and grey” life in Germany. Thus, Ayşe’s savings were channeled into investment for her son’s business and an apartment to live. On the other hand, her retirement suggested that staying in Germany would be an arbitrary decision and she was content that, she would not return to Turkey “empty-handed”. She achieved her goal of earning money which meant “doing everything one could do in Germany”.

Ayşe’s return is also considered as life-style migration. While Germany signified only work, Turkey presented itself a place to enjoy life after retirement when

considering she returned at age of 58. As she compares these countries, she refers to certain characteristics as follows:

Ayşe: Living in Turkey is appealing. I can go to the seaside and it satisfies me. I hear the horns of the cars, loud music in the streets and these make me happy. In Germany, you cannot see such things, the weather is bad, the sky is always grey, life is monotonous. I miss Turkish foods, lahmacun, kebab and simit. You cannot cook them there. Everything is scheduled there, like a clock, ticktack. You get bored of the order, the tranquility of life there. In Germany, everything is in order but we were not emotionally satisfied.

Upon her return, as she fulfilled her role in Germany by working, she fulfilled her dream to spend a tranquil life in Turkey. However, as she was a migrant worker nearly all through her life, what she realized in Turkey was the increasing number of unemployed women:

Ayşe: When I came here, I noticed that women do not work. What do they do all day? For example, a woman has a spouse, who is an officer still they struggle for living and she does not even think of working. I know that we are not in Germany, if we were in German, men would care for their wives' demand, but here, men do not pay attention to what their wives want. They may want to work. Yet, they submit to their husbands.

As her account demonstrates, Ayşe dwells on the sense of autonomy, bestowed to her participation of work sphere. Therefore, her observations on women' condition is strongly linked to past experiences. Her observation also corresponds with the data, regarding women' participation in work sphere. Not only, the participation of women in paid work is argued to be the lowest among European countries (Palaz, 2015), prevailing traditional gendered roles in the family as mothers and wives were also determinant in their non-participation to labour market (Ozar and Gunluk-Senesen, cited by Palaz, 2015:437). Thus, her recollections are made usable to identify herself against this condition in Turkey. By stressing the role of woman in family, she also refers to her migration life-course as she regards her decision to migrate before her husband as a change in the provider role, which gave a sense of empowerment not only in economic terms, but also to be able to challenge the patriarchal family norms as she stresses the subordination of women with respect to decision making in household presented as a factor for women' engagement in work sphere. Similarly, this account exemplifies the process of re-membering, as she posits the current condition of non-working women in Turkey based on the family structure, she engages in "association of life" through re-arranging her relations with past

experiences and the figures in her life. According to this account, it could be interpreted that she connects with her past work experience and the role of her husband in the process of migration. As he appeared as an authoritarian figure, she in present downgrades this relation with her husband and renders it a re-narrative of empowerment. Thus, by pointing out the difference between Germany and Turkey, she now identifies herself against the group of women who do not work and voice their needs, as she did.

Her re-remembering is not only limited to the aspects that she can directly relate with respect to her individual memories but also the order of things, she had to comply during her years in Germany. She resorts to comparison once again with reservation:

If I had not lived in Germany, I would have possibly accepted the things as they were in Turkey. But, once you have been there, you start criticizing most of the matters here

And she specifies the most remarkable matters that make the difference in daily life:

We experienced the best of everything in Germany: traffic, public institutions, health system were organized and always in order. People were righteous, had good manners. That's what we carried with us, here.

However, what she “carried” with her do not echo in the order of things in the homeland but could merely be expectations, such as expecting people to wait in line, rapid and facile execution at public offices, reduction of red-tape, integrated health services. According to Ayşe, these could be attained by adopting German system. Regarding the good manners, she stresses on not littering and spitting in public areas that could be maintained by following formal and highly structured rules, as conducted in Germany. All in all, she points out the differences to claim her way of being, which is constructed through the selection of elements that were executed better in Germany and could be a role model for Turkey. So that, expression of these elements for making comparison becomes the “power of knowledge” (Rittersberger-Tılıç, 1998:87) that is acquired in Germany and suggests a distinct world-view and the ability to trace the differences and recognition of the “ideal” way of life that should be pursued.

CHAPTER 6

SECOND GENERATION TURKISH RETURN MIGRANTS FOUR CASE STUDIES

In this chapter, I will present four cases that focus on the migration life-course of second generation Turkish return migrants. In these cases, I will discuss how second generation Turkish returnees' past experiences in Germany play out in their post-return lives. In this respect, I will refer to their memories, drawn upon their narratives and elicitation of their photographic productions. By taking life-course perspective in the analysis of the cases, I will address four transitions in second generation's lives: arrival to host land addresses change of location and re-integration of family, thus it indicates change in their living environment including their house and neighborhood as well as family relations in the domestic sphere, schooling which is different from first generation due to their age of arrival indicate whether they start or continue their education in host land; working experiences, as a path that differentiates from first generation due to its relation with their educational track that leads them to do their apprenticeship and lastly, participation to social sphere through leisure activities.

In the light of these transitions, I suggest that second generation returnees' past experiences are dependent on both age and cohort effects. According to Altman (2015), age effects indicate the differences of lived experiences in one's life course with respect to age groups. Cohort effects also address the first shared event of specific group within the same time period (Alwin et al., 2006). In this respect, I can say that second generation returnees in this sample, having common event of migration as the initial experience that take place during their formative years; that is between childhood and early adolescence. These effect also make them have common transitions even though their experiences could vary according to the

actions they choose to engage in these spheres where their transitions take place. In addition, I also stress that in second generation return migrants' lives, these transitions have primacy effect that makes their memories on their migration course as the most remembered events in their lives, depending on their age of migration. Therefore, throughout this chapter, inter-generational differences would suggest that they had more more transitions in the host land.

In addition, I argue that these transitions do not influence their lives in the host land but also after return in multiple ways. These transitions give way to question their sense of belonging to homeland as they try to make place in the host land. First of all, in host land, particularly through family relations and schooling, they question their belonging to Turkish migrant community. In domestic sphere, it stems from the tension between the first generation parents whose strong attachment to home values and the children who are to a certain extent, integrated to host culture first through schooling. This tension in the domestic sphere is narrated as living *like* in Turkey by the second generation. In this sense, school is a contact zone, a place for socialization in which second generation's experiences are molded with "living like in Turkey" in the domestic sphere and the reality of living in the host land upon their contact with native population. On the one hand, in their photographs, meeting other Turkish migrants' children, taking up Turkish classes and engagement with extra-curricular activities such as folklore to revive the home culture are evident. On the other hand, it is argued that young age coupled with schooling could play an important role in their socio-cultural integration which is maintained by German education system (Okyavuz, 1999:146). It mainly refers to learning German, contact with native students and aspiration for success in school that would lead them to benefit from the work opportunities in the job market which presents a different career trajectory from their parents. Secondly, their relations outside the domestic sphere also make them selectively identify themselves with both cultures. Departing from their photographs, in second generation's lives, participation to social sphere is engaged through attending birthday parties, school trips, family gatherings that indicate socialization with both Turkish migrant and German native students. However, the degree of their participation is gendered. Particularly, girls' attendance to activities outside the school were often impeded, stemming from the home values imposed by the family

that restrict girls 'possible contact with boys, exposure to non-halal food, alcohol consumption.

Upon their return, second generation selectively employ the set of values and practices that they already acquired and engaged in host society to their present settings. I will demonstrate that their post return experiences would indicate an interaction with structural and social conditions in home country and their engagements in host land that affect the process of incorporation of certain aspect (i.e., in which fields they are practiced) and its duration. Herein, this process denotes the transfer of the past experiences whether they are incorporated without change (i.e. the way of doing as same as in host land), negotiated with (traditional) home culture or eliminated due to the tension it creates with non-migrant natives in Turkey. In this sense, I suggest that life-courses of second generation are shaped transnationally which they selectively forge bonds with two countries. Second generation returnees bring more diverse elements in the home setting and when compared to first generation, they move beyond using their past experiences as instruments for making comparisons between two countries. Their past experiences and feelings become instruments to produce "usable past" (Brooks, 1918) that can be employed in present settings which can serve their needs. Thus, they employ remembering both in the sense of recollection of past experiences and the way of belonging to Germany.

I also note that, there is also commonality between the generations. In both generations, there are only few photographs that depict return from Germany. These photographs are embedded with feeling of both content and sorrow regarding to return to homeland. The photographs that are taken by the returnees who were satisfied with their return decision, appear in the photographs since they either represent get-togethers, farewell parties or waiting for the train home. In this sense, according to Chalfen (1991:170), they accentuate the main function of photographic practice that is capturing and conserving positive- happy- aspects of their lives. On the other hand, there are also photographs that were already presented in previous sections but referred in their return narratives to point the last domicile they lived before return or the specific parts in the image to evoke the memories of their

preparation to return, such as the room that they packed their belongings after they decided to return. In these photographs, the appearance of persons is absent. In addition, feeling of loss and sadness highlight that their return was not their choice. Thus, I suggest that the lack of photographs on return and particularly after return could be associated with the degree of agency in return decision, considering that particularly women in both generations are tied-movers, and the positive/negative feelings on return.

In the first case, I will concentrate on the migration life courses of Nur and Gül, two sisters who were reunified with their father in Duisburg in 1974. Upon their arrival to Germany, the difference between domestic and public sphere was evident. While in the former, the reproduction of home values and the traditional family structure were visible, in terms of their attendance to Quran courses according to their parents' will, in order not to forget their roots, in the latter facing with discriminatory acts both in the neighborhood, school and in workplace made them conceal even reject their Turkish identity. It is also displayed in their photographs where their engagement with leisure activities with their family took place only during their childhood and due to the visible marks in terms of their parents' appearance and dispositions would lead them to engage in school activities, to learn German and socialize with German students to disassociate themselves from Turkish migrant community. With their return in 1983, in their hometowns they continued their education for a year where they experienced re-adaptation problems due to the visible marks which are associated as being less Turkish, ranging from their competency in German to way of clothing, and attitudes. In homeland, re-identification with both Turkish and Muslim identity become evident and due to their decision to become veiled women, the feeling of discrimination was reproduced. In addition, Nur employed certain rules of trading based on her past experiences in daily life in Germany when she opened a store in Istanbul, Gül chose to adopt German parenting practices in her child-rearing experiences in homeland.

In the second case, I will analyze Zeliha and Celile's migration life-courses. As two sisters, they migrated through family reunification in 1967 to Stuttgart, where their frequent contact with their German neighbors, entrance to German education system and their parents' willingness for their engagement in host culture through school

activities in order not to “get behind” from German peers, they claim to be like German. And despite of their return in different times to homeland, they engage in similar practices in homeland such as re-creating their domestic space as in the host land, continuing to speak German with their family and raising their children according to what they name as “German system”.

In the third case, I will discuss Mahmut and Seher’s migration life-courses. In this case, the main emphasis will be given to the common characteristics of their life-course with the first generation Turkish migrants. Mahmut’s employment in a migrant job as an unskilled worker, no engagement in educational track in Germany, his spouse, Seher’s seclusion in the domestic sphere and their lack of competence in German also stress their motive of return due to their unwillingness to integrate to host society. Thus, upon their return in 1988, the influence on host land becomes limited and similar to cases of first generation returnees in this study, they resort to comparisons between two countries based on their past experiences, such as building rules that they followed in their residence in host land.

Lastly, the fourth case will focus on Hayal’s migration course. Even though Hayal migrated through family reunification in 1970, she returned to homeland alone with a motive to marry in 1986. Between these periods, her sense of belonging to two countries demonstrated a salience, primarily stemmed from her entrance to education system in Germany. Her strong attachment to Turkey was made evident through her participation to activities related to the celebration of public holiday, performances of folkloric dance during her years in elementary school, along with the socialization with German peers, her claim on doing what Germans do make her assert herself as Half German and half Turkish. In this respect upon her return in 1988, her intention to reproduce multiple practices she engaged in Germany such as cooking, child-rearing and conducts in public sphere as an adoption of German mentality, were later abandoned in order to attenuate prevailing cultural dissonance, emerged in family relations. On the other hand, her competence in German was regarded as an asset in the fields such as tourism and aviation which she employed.

6.1 Case 1: Nur and Gül

Nur and Gül are sisters, were both born in Erzincan. Their father, a janitor at the Directorate of State Hydraulic Works in Erzincan, migrated to Duisburg to work at an iron and steel company in 1972. Due to the quota imposed on the number of children at the time of migration, Nur and Gül's reunification with family was realized a year apart from each other. While Nur and his brother migrated with their mother first in 1973, Gül stayed in Erzincan with her aunt's and was the last person to reunify with them in 1974. They have an older brother and sister, who was born in Germany in 1980. While all the members in the family returned to Erzincan in 1983, their brother later re-migrated to Germany and he currently lives there.

Nur and Gül are now 53 and 50 years old respectively. Nur lives in Umraniye, Istanbul with her family and owns a bridal trousseau shop, located in the building complex that she lives. Gül, on the other hand, lives in Konya. She is married and has a daughter and a son. Gül is an active member of a local charity where she organizes regular meetings with women in the community to raise money for the people in need around Turkey¹³.

When Nur came to Germany at age 6 in 1973 and Gül was only 4 as she joined them after a year in Duisburg, their first recollection on Germany centre around the small apartment in Hochfeld neighborhood, where according to Nur, there was no Turkish migrant community living in the vicinity but mainly populated with other migrant communities and German working class families, with low-income and houses were old, of bad quality due to lack of maintenance. In order to make make sense of their environment, they were comparing their new house in the neighborhood to the old one, in Erzincan which made Nur rather surprised by what she came to see in the former:

We had a two bedroom apartment which were spacious but the lavatory was situated outside, in the backyard. At that time, the restrooms were not in the apartments in Germany. It was strange that Germans did not have their own restrooms inside their homes.

¹³ The interviews with Gül and Nur were held together in Nur's shop in Umraniye between November and December, 2019.

Even though the nonexistence of the lavatory was already accustomed in homeland, such a similarity, when re-considered now by Nur, is referred as a sign of backwardness that opposes with the expectation of migration to a better place. Soon, Nur realized that it was the only common feature when she thought of two countries, and when she experienced discriminatory act in the neighborhood, she felt that everything, including her, was the source of difference. The sense of being excluded has a visual counterpart as she holds a photograph in her hand, through the narrative. At first glance, it seems like a photograph produced by a curious little girl with the camera her father bought in Germany to send his photos to family back home during religious holiday to communicate he was fine and doing well, as well as suggesting that he did not forget them. Such an exchange could also be interpreted as a performance of transnational fatherhood by forging an imaginary unity with his family through the image. With this camera, Nur now has, explores and captures what she thinks as part of her life, she starts by exploring her neighborhood and takes the photographs of familiar faces who she lives with. However, not only being the first photograph, it focuses on her intention to demonstrate herself as a part of the community she lives with but it also hinders the ways that she is not accepted in this new place. The latter could only be understood by the memories that weave around this particular image. She starts with a record of the backyard of the building where the toilets are located. She used to share it with old German woman in the image who Nur thinks, holds her grandson. Even though the neighbor and the kid are centered in the image, her relation with them was not central to her life and they barely exchanged a conversation, partly due to Nur's incompetency in German at that time and limited to formal salutation. Instead, what Nur intends to demonstrate is the neighborhood behind the wall. Through this wall, Nur is connected with the memories of her experience in the neighborhood, mainly the ones that she feels discriminated. Thus, this photograph, particularly the wall that seems to separate her from outside, fosters the sense of being excluded from the host society that underline her permanent position as an outsider:

I always felt fearful while I was walking around the neighborhood. I remember that, Germans unleashed their dogs on me, twice, commanded their dogs to "attack the Turks". When people passed me by, they were cursing at me. We were recognized, when I was with my mother, they saw

that she was veiled and we spoke a different language. They immediately noticed us.



Figure 6.1: Nur photographed her neighbor in the backyard of their building in Duisburg. Circa 1973. Source: Nur's album

The same function of a wall in Nur's imaginary also prevails in the domestic sphere, which is translated as the inter-generational difference. Even though, the photographs where Nur and family members are together and engage in a shared activity, thus primarily communicates the sense of unity. In Nur and Gül's case, domestic sphere reveals the tension between the first generation and second generation migrants, in terms of their two distinct way of attachment to host land. The former, often personified in their father since Nur and Gül both agree that their mother as a silent, subordinated woman who has no contact with the world beyond domestic sphere. He was regarded as the one who insists on practicing home values, which would become crystallized with his decision to send them to Quran course. Their father is remembered as an authoritarian and aggressive man whose only contact with host society was maintained through work. As they claim that they saw their father very rarely due to his work shifts, thus the time they spent as a family regarded as special, that is worthy of photographed. as Gül points out the photograph, the only she exclaims, that he was smiling was surely the best family photograph they ever had.

The sense of seclusion is indeed an age-graded transition that is also evident in the time of the photographs. These photographs encompass the years until their early adulthood, from the period that they have to comply with the home rules. At that time, family roles were not reversed. When they become teenagers, there are no

photographs with family neither in the domestic sphere nor in the social sphere which denote a transition that underlines their independency from the family, as their autonomy is gradually claimed, first through learning and speaking German, familiarization with host culture through schooling, encounters with Turkish, German and other migrant children friends, and engagement in individual leisure activities. In this sense, non-existence of such photographs in the early adulthood could stem from the intergenerational tension. So that, following photographs could be interpreted in line with Kunimoto (2004: 143), they address a way of creating a sense of community to enable control in an alien environment, a form of seclusion that is not challenged by Nur and Gül at that time.



Figure 6.2: Nur and her family posed in their home in Duisburg. Circa 1975. Source: Gül's album

As both Nur and Gül during their adolescence did not engage in leisure activities with their family due to their visibility in public sphere which strongly signal them as Turkish migrants. There are a few photographs of family activities which were taken in the park in the first year of migration to send the relatives and home, and

photographs during a picnic, when they were younger and could not resist to the family rules:

Nur: I remember that I was not happy going out with my family because our Turkishness was so apparent since with veiled women, loud voices of men, men and women sitting apart from each other, we stood out and Germans were constantly staring at us. They were in swimsuits and we were veiled. I was ashamed of being a Turkish at that time. It was so absurd...

Gül: I remember one day, we were again going to picnic. My father never let me attend to swimming lessons at school and I loved swimming. That day, I put my swimming suit in my pocket and left them to swim. That was a very big thing for me.



Figure 6.3: Family picnic in the park near Duisburg. Circa 1977. Source: Nur's album

Picnic is a contact zone which Pratt defines as a “social space where disparate cultures, meet, clash and grapple with each other” (1991:34). In Nur's case, the clash of cultures results in stigmatization that is visible in the photographs. It stems from the group identification with Turkish migrant community as it is enforced and transmitted by their parents that evokes a sense of rejection, an objection to the generational effect that also shapes their practices. This makes Nur and Gül, second generation migrants, demarcate home life to the non-domestic sphere by assigning home as Turkey and outside as Germany. Patriarchal relations within the family based on the strict rules of a conservative father figure was dominant in the domestic life in contradistinction to the free and easy life outside- Germany:

Gül: I had more freedom outside, at ease. At home, there were house rules. It was like Turkey because my father was always very aggressive, strict. My mother was always sick, she felt better when she returned to Turkey. While she was sick, we (both Nur and Gül) were responsible for housework. We used to wash the dishes by turns. I was taking care of my little sister, changing her diapers, cleaning the house. Nur, was more occupied with the errands, outside. Me, I was doing all work at home.

In a similar way that Mandel (1996) suggests, the roles between parents and children are reversed significantly through the multiple integration of the children to the host society unlike their parents. In this respect, Gül's account emphasizes that Nur's role in the family as a guide, a term that was often used to refer the changing roles of women as heads in the family in the cases that women migrate before their husband. In this case, as a second generation she became an agent to sustain her family's needs outside the domestic sphere, ranging from shopping to taking their mother to the doctor, which required contact with Germans:

Nur: My brother and Gül were going to school. I was taking them to the school. I was attending their Pta meetings. My mother could not speak German. She did not know anything. They [Nur and Gül's parents] only thought of earning money and returning to homeland. I was taking my mother to the doctor, even to a gynecologist, translating the most intimate questions to my mother. I was very ashamed. No one could ask such questions to their mother but I had to do it.

There is a distinction between inside and outside, respectively referring to the domestic sphere and social sphere. These spheres are translated into Turkey and Germany since the house rules and the conditions of the host society impose two different lifestyles. In this respect, first generation parents' willingness to pursue a similar life in Turkey and second generation's practices outside the domestic sphere indicate a new sense of belonging to Germany, epitomized as experiencing more freedom and being at ease in contradistinction to domestic life. In first generation's imaginary, as emphasized by Nur and Gül, outside is equated with threat to the home values, resulted in seclusion. The threat to home values will surface when school is associated with an environment that the girls act with responsibility to maintain their honor, which could easily be tarnished due to the frequent contact with native peers at school whose lifestyles are regarded as inappropriate, thus unfavored as it incorporates with conduct with opposite sex, eating haram food and consuming alcohol.

On the other hand, in domestic sphere, there are visual evidences where they practice a transnational way of life through spending family time together watching programs in Turkish. A photograph by the television when the show *Bilgiler* (Information) is on, could be an example. Even though, both Nur and Gül do not have any recollection to watch any Turkish program, they remember that their parents both watched and listened Turkish language programs and songs. Followed by the re-creation of the circumcision feast that was priorly held in Turkey, the costume was already bought in Turkey and according to Gül, it was not sold in Germany and they were wearing the same clothes during the original feast to be photographed. By capturing a marking event in their brother's life, this event is also made instrumental in terms of producing a familiar place; a home setting in an alien environment. It is enveloped with an intention to make the home familiar by re-engaging with traditions is a means for protection against the unfamiliar host culture and occupying the place by re-staging this practice. In this sense, use of photography as an evidence for appropriation of the domestic sphere by bringing home culture not only with the sense of re-creation of their brother's circumcision feast but also with the home decoration, such as putting an arras or lacework on the television set harness the way of living of first generation parents who were argued to have strong attachment to home. Moreover, these photographs were also intended to send to the relatives in Turkey as they carry two important messages: the economic capital represented by the ownership of a television and the ongoing ties with the home culture to indicate that they did not forget their roots.



Figure 6.4: Nur posed in front of the TV with her father while watching *Bilgiler*.

Circa 1976. Source: Nur's album



Figure 6.5: Nur's brother re-dressed his costume from his circumcision feast (held in Turkey) in their home in Duisburg. Circa 1974. Source: Nur's album

Similarly, accentuation on the furniture in the photographs, relies on their symbolic value. While the television that has a wooden cabin was not introduced to Turkish market and regarded as one of the valuable items in Germany along with radio, these photographs do not only demonstrate the improved economic capital when compared to purchasing power and the rarity of presence of a TV in households in Turkey which indeed make them bring it to Erzincan, at the time of return to homeland. They also stress on the durability that they used the same television for years in Turkey until wooden cabin got broken. However, there is also another factor that both Nur and Gül do not want to omit. It was the way their mother was pictured. They discuss her look that is repeatedly marked as inappropriate for a pious woman. It could be interpreted as a punctum in Barthes's terms, that these photographs evoke deep emotions that pierce through the indexicality of the image. The feeling of shock, even resentment and disapproval are accentuated due to the mother's unveiled pose with a relatively short dress, as they remember. But, it may also seem acceptable since it takes place in domestic sphere and they did not send it to any relatives back in Turkey, who would probably criticize and question their attachment to religious

values, even the honor of their mother and the lack of authority in the household that their father let such a photograph to be taken.



Figure 6.6: Nur's mother posed by the radio. Circa 1974. Source: Nur's album

In their narratives, negative feelings directed towards their mother's appearance in the fugitivity of the domestic sphere is questioned by the role of being Muslim in their daily lives. With this photograph and the resentment, they feel as they look at the photographs in their post-return, it as well invokes the memories of their own ties with being Muslim and how it challenged with their place-making in the host land. Both Nur and Gül were sent to Quran course by their parents. This had two motives: a parental role to introduce religion as a home value that would keep their ties with homeland and by sustaining a way of belonging through the attendance of Quran course, they were to protect their children from the influence of the host culture. However, rather than a sense of belonging, in Nur and Gül's lives, religion stands as a way of being, a set of practices that they engage because they were already done by their parents, they were not identified with themselves being Muslim. It was evident in their narratives which the equated being Muslim with backwardness and a source of shame since the visible marks, such as veil and clothing would demarcate them from their social milieu:

Nur: The imam always dictated us to wear skirt over pants when we went out. We were very ashamed about that.

Gül: I was changing my clothes when I turned the corner because I did not want Germans to see us like that and mock us. To be honest, we did not have sufficient knowledge on religion, we used to fast, though because we saw our mother did it.

Nur: After I attended the Quran course and they made us wear these hideous clothes, I considered being a Muslim meant bigotry, backwardness. Only during the holidays, we had good time, meeting with other Turkish migrant families.

They were going to Quran courses on weekend and school on weekdays. Gül and Nur went to different schools in the neighborhood and Nur, as the older, started to school earlier than Gül. Even though she completed first grade in Erzincan, Nur had to repeat the first year in Germany due to her lack of knowledge in German. Until the time of return in 1983, Nur completed *Hauptschule* and Gül completed primary school and left Germany in her 7th year at *Hauptschule*.

Regarding the school years, Nur has kept an album, entirely devoted to her years in *Hauptschule*. Her classmate and best friend, a Turkish migrant girl, gifted her the album, the photo case. The photographs in the album were produced and organized by Nur when she was in Germany. Before turning the leaves of the album, Nur proudly mentions about her. Because, she was the only attended to *Gymnasium* but could not pursue her higher education due to return to Turkey was engaged in forced marriage by her father. Nur, in a despair, tells that her friend has a miserable life after return then thinking of her own life at school and concludes: “My life was also miserable in certain ways, throughout my school years, I did not want to be recognized as a Turkish girl. But, it was impossible to change”

The album, organized on June, 21, 1982 year before their return, comprises 32 photographs and several documents such as school certificate, a newspaper article and school magazine along with the stickers of the school. The album commences with a note from her friend, referring to their school years as “juvenile escapades”. With this album, there is a repertoire of memories which creates “remembrance environment” (Zerubavel, 1997) that goes beyond the autobiographical recollections and extends to the people and places depicted in the album. According to Langford

(2001), photographs in the album call for orality to find their meaning in present and unfold various stories that are embedded. Only through orality, the experience of oneself and others is translated into memory and constructed as a life story to be narrated in present.

The album of “juvenile escapades” is accompanied by hand written notes under several photographs, a good luck coin, clippings from newspaper. According to Batchen (2004:41,47), these additions are used in order to augment the “memorial power” of the images. As they often complement the photograph by providing short info about school mates or teachers, they “personalize” the photo, ultimately, make the album about her.



Figure 6.7: The exterior of Nur’s school building, photographed for research purposes. Circa 1984. Source: Nur’s album

The first photographs in the album depict the exterior of the school she attended from 5th grade to 10th. The façade of the high school is placed to introduce the microcosm of Nur in the topography of Duisburg. In fact, these photographs were part of the social study, conducted and administered by the state on the schools which had students from various migrant backgrounds. However, her memories on the social study strongly implicates the disadvantaged position of the migrants under the pretext of evaluating them on the basis of academic success:

They were experimenting on us, used us for their research purposes. They could randomly pick a student from a Hauptschule and transfer him/her to Gymnasium to see whether the foreign students could succeed. If not, they were working on the methods to make them successful students. There was neither no pressure nor guidance for a way to success. The teacher made you feel that all we could become a worker, just like our parents.

In this account, Nur problematizes the subject position as a migrant worker child in the host society and accentuates on the social study as a reproduction of her social status in school environment. It is the resentment due to the acknowledgement of her disadvantaged position and its recognition by the education system coupled with the unwillingness of teachers to encourage them to become successful students. According to her, there is a disbelief that is persistent in the school that they were “lost cause” due to the fact that they are from a migrant background, come from low-income families with no schooling experience. Thus, one of the main concerns of Nur is described as the inability to have social mobility even though she participated in German education system.

The album continues with group school photographs. The school photographs are argued to show “the ritualized and expected arrangement of the body in uniform and/or in relation to certain objects and backdrops” (Burke and Castro, 2007:215) even to the degree of de-individualization. However, in Nur’s case, the uniformity moves beyond the bodily dispositions of students sustained in same posture, school uniforms and lack of emotional affect in their faces for the sake of conforming to the institutional norms. However, in the school photographs, they neither wear school uniforms nor they lack of showing any emotion.

Nevertheless, I consider that these photographs show that uniformity is constructed in two ways which addresses two education systems and their distinct rationales. The German education system intends to move beyond the cultural differences by providing a centralized curriculum that orients students’ social integration to host society through their participation to national educational system regardless of their migrant background. Turkish school, on the other hand, was held once a week in the afternoons. Turkish migrants students were introduced to Turkish language teaching, modern Turkish history and geography lessons invest on the consolidation of cultural differences by redirecting them in a cohesive collective Turkish identity.



Figure 6.8: A school photograph of Nur with her classmates in secondary school.

Circa 1978. Source: Nur's album



Figure 6.9: Nur and her classmates in Turkish afternoon class during secondary

school. Circa 1980. Source: Nur's album

Indeed, school photographs rather than disclosing differences, they tend to accentuate commonality, equal representation of the students in the ensemble of a class. This view is distorted by Nur as she includes a hand-written note that provides personal information about her classmates such as their nationality, degree of friendship with them. According to the note, we see that in the class, there were also children of foreign migrant workers from Greece, Italy, Poland and Morocco. In her accounts, based on the migrant population in the class, she adds that she was thought to be more of an Italian: “When they told me that I did not look like Turkish, I felt very happy. I did not want to look like a Turkish at that time”. In this statement, the identity salience is evident through a negative identification with Turkishness which is closely connected to her impressions on Turkish schoolmates and her aspiration to become friends with Germans. She believed that being a Turkish migrant background was a stigma that impeded her socialization at school. Her intention to distance herself becomes evident as she describes Turkish class and students as such:

There was an arabesque environment. Our generation was already a lost generation. I only see the members of deprived, working class in this photograph. Girls were talking to the boys, without having ideals, lazy. Nearly ninety percent of them was like that. It was a community in which boys and girls would strive for having a close relationship and smoke.

As she refers Turkish classmates as “them”, she also did not want to be a part of Turkish migrant community despite of an indexicality of the photograph that suggests her as a member of the community. In this sense, her encounters with Turkish migrant students resulted in choosing alternative way of being in the host society, through making non-Turkish friends to prove that she was not one of them since Turkish girls had no friends other than fellow Turkish students due to the similar restrictions from their families. Her friendship with Marion, referred as her “first German friend” in the album and Nema, Yugoslavian migrant friend. In her recollections, both of her friends have a common ground:

I had a German and Yugoslavian friends. They were using us to get their works done. I was a hard-working student at school. They asked me to do their homework, or run some errands, bring this and that. They did it on purpose, just because I am Turkish. The reason that German girl wanted to be friend with me was she was overweight and she was excluded because of

that. While we, Turks, were excluded as well, this unified us. The ones who were excluded felt more close to each other.



Figure 6.10: Nur is at her friend, Nema's birthday party held in Nema's home. Circa 1980. Source: Nur's album

Nema who also had a migrant background was excluded by her German classmates and on her birthday party, Nur as she writes under the photograph, “was the only one there”. In addition, the photograph that was taken at the table makes her question that her religious identity had a significant role in her school life that affected her social integration due to the fact that it directly addresses diverse food preference:

In the simplest term, let put aside the alcoholic beverages, since we do not eat pork, we were completely different. Eating is a meeting point, when you go out eating if you pay attention to what is halal and what is haram, you cannot be a part of their group. You either forsake your religion and when you do not drink with them, you are completely excluded.

In her accounts, when compared to Turkish identity, it is not visible until it is performed in given situations such as going out with friends and attending to school trips. Nur, on the other hand, dwells on the concept of *namus* (honor) as a part of performance of her religiosity, which her father was thought as a danger which was ignited with having close relations with opposite-sex and this restricted her participation to school activities when she was a teenager:

My father considered honor as very important. He restrained me from having German male friends at school. I was telling my friends not to salute me when they saw me with my father on the street. He was right to do that. He was very afraid that I would end up marrying a German. There were school trips that necessitated a week-long stay in another region. I was begging my father to send me and he would not let me go. If I were him, I would not also let this. At those trips, I heard that they were consuming alcohol, smoking, getting very intimate; it was obscene. A lot of things were happening there which was not in accord with our tradition, it was extreme.

That is why, there are only few photographs that record her school trips in the album. In these photographs, she either posed alone, or photographed with her teachers and her girlfriends.

On the other hand, in her accounts, transition from childhood to adolescence is described as a period that she was eager to prove herself. Priorly, she was rejecting and hiding her Turkish identity while this period marks the assertion of her Turkish identity firstly by becoming a class president with the majority of Turkish students' votes, followed by her TV appearance and collecting articles from school magazine that reported the incidents of discrimination among Turkish migrants. This transition can also be traced in her album. While there were nearly no photographs, except her Turkish friend and group school photograph from Turkish course, she starts to include photographs, newspaper clips, school magazine that corroborates with her re-identification with her origin. Relatedly, one of the images is indicative of this re-identification. It was taken during an interview, held with students of migrant background at her school by a local network reporter in 1980. She was asked to comment on the problems that a migrant faced in daily life. She remembers that she talked about the incompetency of Turkish migrants in German which in return made them incapable of explaining themselves. By speaking German during the interview, she became the voice of Turkish migrant community as she was able to express the needs of Turkish youth and the obstacles for their integration since they could not speak for themselves.



Figure 6.11: Nur makes an interview with a local reporter about Turkish migrant condition in Germany at her school. Circa 1980. Source: Nur's album

In addition to this, documents in Nur's album also put emphasis on the Turkish problem, published in a school paper both in Turkish and German. In the following sections of the paper, issues such as xenophobia, the housing conditions that force Turkish migrants to live in old houses and the integration problems ranging from the children's late arrival to Germany, women's seclusion in the domestic sphere and the high unemployment area among young migrants. These problems were translated into the desire to go back home, a clipping of a school play was a response to the anti-migrant attitudes of the host society: Return to my homeland!



Figure 6.12: A clipping of a play about migrants' wish to return their homeland. Date unknown. Source: Nur's album



Figure 6.13: Selected pages from Nur’s school paper, articles in Turkish about migrant problems. Circa 1980. Source: Nur’s album

Even though she was not eager to return, as she regards Germany as a place to fulfill her dreams of being a successful young woman. According to her, it could only be sustained through education and if they returned, she was sure that her father would not let them to continue their studies and make them marry, instead. Because, all through her school years, her father was also aware of that they became independent and she would not control them any longer, which later becomes the primary motive of their return:

Nur: My father realized that he could not keep us [the children] together, and in the blink of an eye, we came here [Turkey]. I got sick as soon as I heard that I was leaving Germany, I was very sad. I had dreams, I was thinking about all the great things that I would do in Germany. At the same time, we were growing up, blooming, we became teenagers. We no longer minded our father. How long could he ever discipline us? It was impossible, he could not control us when we reached 18, German laws were on our side. We were not content with being Turkish either, we were trying to be like them. In our generation, some girls eloped with Germans. And, my father cared about our honor excessively, he was worried that we would marry a German one day.

After graduated from *Hauptschule*, as she realized that she would go to university, she started working as an escape from a life that her mother pursues in host land. However, according to Martin (1991:79), choices regarding the field of training are not solely dependent on the student’s decision. Rather, their parents are influential on their choices of apprenticeship. For example, in Nur’s case, while being a doctor’s

assistant was favored, the medical specialty was effective for the continuation of the work life. Fields such as urology, Nur was not allowed by parents since this field requires procedures on male. While parents orient their sons to occupations such as truck mechanics that are also recognized in Turkey, indeed, parents do not value apprenticeship since it was regarded as an inter-generational differentiation. They encouraged their sons to attain a similar life-course, work without having a vocational training through which they could start earning money sooner. Regarding their daughters, they tend to restrict their apprenticeship in mixed-sex workplaces and if not avoided, escorted by a male company when they go to work.

In Nur's account, her choice as a doctor's assistant stems from her aspiration to become a doctor which could not be realized since she was not qualified for *Gymnasium*. Yet, apprenticeship was a way to "go out of the neighborhood" which lasted two weeks due to the fact that she was assigned to work for a urologist:

I saw what I had never seen in all my life. I was shocked. I saw that our neighbor was visiting the doctor since he had a treatment for having a child. But, I could not keep working there, it was not for me at all. How could I ever tell my father that I was working for a urologist?

The short-term work experience contributed to the idea to return to materialize. Adding that, continuous accentuation of their father on raising a teenage girl in Germany, which he was associated with families' honor so that any misconduct would result in loss of dignity of the family in the migrant community. Thus, Brooks (1995) underlines that it is not only the responsibility of girls to preserve but also their families responsibility to control it by restricting their daughters' behaviors and participation to social sphere. That is why, honor as a motive to return becomes a household matter, asserted by their father to maintain family's unity.

Nur and Gül also address an additional motive for return. By the time of their return in 1983, the Return Assistance Act was introduced. In this regard, migrant workers were eligible to receive return support which amounted maximum to 15,000 DM. Among them, Nur along with her family returned to Erzincan, after spending 10 years in Germany. As Nur announced his father's decision to return at school, her teacher gifted her a book and pleasantly offered her to stay with her to continue her education in Germany. As she keeps the book as a reminder of her achievements to

present day that she resents the decision of her father and expresses that she would have continued her studies if she had stayed in Germany. Now, the book is a sign of intimacy not only between a teacher and a fellow student but an intimacy, achieved between a German native and Turkish migrant. Nur thinks that she draws her teacher's attention by her perseverance and success at school in an environment that migrants students, according to her, were already regarded as "lost" thus teachers would not pay attention to their needs or motivate them to become successful students. Thus, she is proud that she earned this book.



Figure 6.14: A book, gifted to Nur by her teacher at school upon her return.

Photograph by author on December 27, 2019.

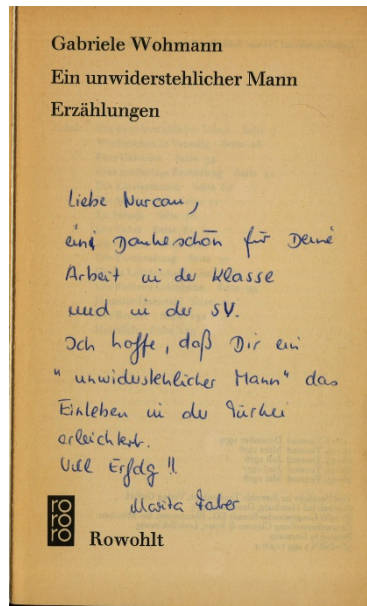


Figure 6.15: The first page of the book gifted to Nur by her teacher upon return.

Photograph by author on December, 27, 2019.

On the other hand, at the time of their arrival when Nur was 17 and Gül was 14, they both had similar experiences at school in their hometown. However, school life of a returnee could not only be analyzed within the confines of school life, their relations with their teachers and schoolmates. The act of return also reconstructs the boundaries between school and domestic life, mostly hinders their agency vis-a-vis the perpetuation of the traditional family structure, embodied in their father's authority. At their return, both Nur and Gül had no other choice but to comply since they did not have any alternative such as going to another school in another city, away from their parents or start working in a small city which they thought they were not allowed. Thus, it is necessary for Nur and Gül to leave their past in Germany behind:

Nur: I asked my parents to enroll me in a school, I already graduated from high school but my documents for equivalence were expected from Ankara. So, the principal of the high school in Erzincan asked me to present my diploma. When my papers were ready, the principal did not accept them, he told me that he could not register me. I defended myself as I was in Germany, told him that it was my right and he had to permit my enrollment. But, he dismissed me due to my attitude, just because I challenged him. In fact, no one wanted me to go to school. My parents probably had other plans for me. My grandfather told my father that it was their [my parents] fault to bring us here after we were raised and spent many years there. At this moment, I felt

that my life was over and I was stepping into a life where my dreams would never be fulfilled.

Gül: When I came to Erzincan, I immediately wanted to return to Germany. I thought that we came for vacation and like in the cartoon, I thought that I could just move around my nose and found myself back in Germany. Then, I realized that it was my destiny when I was enrolled in middle school. But I could not pursue my education because my father removed me from school after a year. We were left uneducated, our chance of education was taken away from us. If I had been in Germany, I would definitely have continued my education.

Nur's narrative sheds light on the additive identity salience (Sussman,2000) which stresses on the perceived strong attachment to Germany through the adoption of values such as assertiveness. It was regarded as a barrier for her adaptation to Turkey, even positioned her as an outsider. On the other hand, unwillingness of their parents for schooling implicates a form of control in order to impede their visibility in public sphere due to their difference, accentuated by neighbors, teachers and peers. It was also an attempt to weaken their sense of agency since they asserted their hyper-visibility through these immaterial resources- stigmatized as "differences"- bestowed to their "German" way of life. In a similar line, the concerns on preservation of honor once again reappeared as a motive to remove them from school. At this time, it was mainly due to their attitudes at school and reactions from the school administration where these differences made them hyper-visible. In so doing, their expressions of agency poses a threat to family's dignity and are perceived as a lack of control over their children. In this respect, in Nur's account, "other plans" refers to marriage which is encouraged by her family. As Ataca et al. (1996, cited by Sunar and Fişek, 2005:22) argue, it indicates a way of socialization that reproduces the "dependence and obedience of daughters", expected primarily by Turkish parents. Thus, through marriage Nur could be subordinated. By acknowledging this, Nur tells that she already bought some kitchen utensils for dowry as soon as their return was decisive.

In the school environment, they were stigmatized in many aspects; while their failure at classes were mocked, their conduct with peers and way of clothing were perceived as inappropriate. In return, they became markers for their social identities. They were regarded as being Germans and less Turkish:

Nur: I had difficulty in Turkish because I was reading numbers backwards as in German language. I was thinking in German, could not translate to Turkish rapidly and our behaviors were perceived differently. When I defended myself, when I talked to boys without hesitation, they regarded them as either insult or bad manners. That is why, my mother did not let me go outside.

Gül: When I was going to school, I was wearing a jumper that I was always wearing at school in Germany. My teacher yelled at me and prohibited me to wear it again because it was inappropriate. I could not adapt to school since I did not understand the lessons, they were in Turkish. Being able to speak a foreign language was not a plus back then, they were mocking me in class. Besides, when teacher entered the class or when you answered the question she asked, I always forgot to stand up, we never did such a thing in Germany. I was never able to grasp social studies, the folklore, Turkish history, the name of the sultans, their chronological order, what Ataturk did, we knew nothing about them. Thus, teachers and schoolmates belittled us. I had excelled in sports in my German school, I got medals in athleticism and as a shot-putter but there was not any facility at school that make me pursue them.

However, it was only through their belongings that they brought from Germany were perceived positively by non-migrant natives. These were the objects, associated with signs of upward mobility, particularly when considered that the items were not introduced to Turkish market at the time of their return:

Gül: We failed at school, we failed in life but we were good at home because we had television. Everyone came to our home to watch. We brought the modern life, I was the only one who knew how to start the video recorder. I translated German films to my friends, we wore jeans that was first in our neighborhood but still these did not help us to be accepted in the society. We were still failures outside.

Gül's narrative addresses the characterization of an *Almancı*. While at school, being an *Almancı* distinguishes them from non-migrant natives since their skills and competencies were markers of hyper-visibility, having negative connotations. Instead, in domestic sphere, they were treated as they desired; coming from Germany was regarded as an asset. In fact, according to Nur, being able to go to university is an asset. When she tells that she has found some of her friends on Facebook, who as well returned to Turkey after having benefited from the Return Assistance in 1983, she compares her school life in Turkey to one of her friends: "I learned that she went to university, here. She made it. At least one of us did it"

Neither being able to speak German, nor the television was an asset in Nur's life. On the contrary, before she marries, her future spouse did not tell his mother that Nur came from Germany. As she now partly agrees with her spouse's decision, she thinks that it was due to the factors that her mother in law would misunderstand and did not let them marry:

They always said that we did not know about Turkish traditions and customs. When a guest comes, we were at ease, we were not used to accompany the guest to the door when he/she leaves, or in Germany, there was not such thing as serving food to the guests. There was not any formality. I was talking with the boys, without hesitation. That's why, first I was removed from the school and then my mother did not let me go outside, unattended and pushed me to marry. they always misinterpreted it. When I was about to marry, my mother in law already started to taunt me. I could not make my dowry properly because contrary to what everyone thinks of Almançı, we did not have money since my father was not retired. She, for a long time, accused me of not knowing anything, I could not even read the price tags when we were out for my wedding shopping. I did not know how to cook, how to serve the guests.

On the other hand, being an *Almançı* was not the only reason for stigmatization. In Nur's case, when she decided to be a veiled woman, it is the feeling of discrimination she priorly faced in Germany, incorporated in her daily life. Nur's decision to be a veiled woman upon return discloses a struggle between remaining as a Muslim in host land and being a Muslim in homeland. The former indicates practices of "long-distance Islam" as referred by Schiffauer (as cited in Kandiyoti, 2002) such as celebration of religious holidays, abstinence from consuming haram food and alcohol and fasting during Ramadan. The latter foresees Turkey as an "imaginary opportunity space" (Schiffauer, 2018) which does not dwell on the common motive of labour migrants to earn more in Germany. In Nur's case, it is associated with the possibility of living as a "decent" Muslim and performing her religious identity in public sphere freely. However, discriminatory acts and the sense of being excluded are revisited based on the visibility of the markers of her Muslim identity in homeland:

Nur: I could not understand back then that being a Muslim is precious. I conceived its value here. In Germany, the sheer distinction was on whether you are Turkish and Muslim or not. Here, it is on whether you are veiled or not. I never felt included in Germany by German people and I realize that it is the same in Turkey. There, they used to mistreat us. Here, we are treated the same. A doctor yelled at me and accused me of being ignorant. Why? Just

because I am veiled. When I started living as a pious woman, I was insulted. When I was looking for an apartment, a woman pointed me and said 'I am running away from them, yet, they keep coming here' Or, when I was on holiday, a woman refused to travel with me. People were calling me 'jilbab'. How could I enjoy my time in such a place? Turkish people never accepted us just like Germans. With return, I thought I had the blessing to maintain my faith. Once again, I was excluded. But with different reasons: I was excluded because I was Turkish in Germany, now, I have the same experience, first I was excluded because I was an Almançı and then because I am veiled.

In Gül's life, being a veiled was not reciprocated with any exclusion. When she married and moved to Konya, being veiled was even appreciated for a woman who stayed many years in Germany and returned to homeland. It signified purity, that she was not sullied by German way of life, as their father was always afraid of. Or, she was not accused of being an ignorant of Turkish culture as her sister was. After she had her son, she thought adopting child-rearing practices of German natives would give her more autonomy. It challenges the normative view on mother-child relationship, especially in terms of regarding this relationship is a life-time responsibility, intertwined with the expectations from their children to take care of them when they got old. However, in Germany, it is articulated that this relationship is temporal. In this respect, Gül's account dwells on the sheer distinctions on raising children in two societies:

Gül: There, babies sleep in separate rooms. That's how Germans are, and when I had my first child, I never put him in my bed. It is absurd that you cuddle up your baby all the time, and sleep with him. In Germany, the priority is given to work, the children always come second. But, in Turkey, children come first. And, for us, our work life was the most important thing. I never seated my baby on my bed, it is like a rule in Germany and cannot be broken. And, no one is allowed to enter his room. When we got back from the hospital soon after he was born, he started sleeping in his room. That's how Germans do, it stuck in my mind. They had a play room where they stayed all day long. Having a child was valuable until they reached 18 in Germany. For us, they are for life. And, their expectation on their children is fairly limited. We, on the other hand, take care our children all through their lives.

In other women' narratives, it mainly dwells on child-rearing practices, which acquired not through inter-generational relationship within a family, traditionally from mother to daughter and/or mother-in-law to daughter-in-law. Neither, they are aimed to reproduce one's own culture and practices such as expectancy of loyalty from children, obedience to parents, emotional interdependency to family-i.e. care of

the elderly, which are indeed characteristics of “culture of relatedness” that shapes Turkish family relations (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; Ataca, 2009). On the other hand, in women’ narratives, there is a transition from collectivistic to individualistic culture. It could be explained in twofold. First of all, according to their accounts, adoption of German culture in childrearing underlines a system that aims for independency of the children, less expressive role of mother towards children in terms of display of affection along with no clear boundaries between gender-based roles attributed to children from their early age. According to Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca (2005:319), these are resulted from individualistic culture that is associated with Western urban value. Secondly, this system does not only encourage the individuality of children but also the parents, namely mothers. As women in this study are sole transmitters of German childrearing culture, it could be interpreted that prevalent gender inequality in division of labour in household where women are responsible for child care is translated as a women’ control and autonomy in childrearing process within the family.

Now, both Nur and Gül think that return is the best decision that their father has ever made, adding that they are living the most comfortable time in their lives. They are not called *Almancı* and when they consider their years in Germany and after the years of their return, they are very sure that they did not want to go back in time and relive those moment. Being veiled is given great importance not only that it helped them to become less and less regarded as *Almancı* in their present setting along with their perseverance of “learning” which they think as one of the greatest asset they acquired at school in Germany and define their constant aim to be successful which they channel in their professions in Turkey. Nur opened a bridal shop, thanks to her sense of entrepreneurship she gained in Germany while she was helping their parents’ errands outside of home that required her to be assertive, she tries to practice what she experienced in these transactions:

Nur: In Germany, people do not negotiate at shops. If it reads 100DM on price tag, you have to pay it, you cannot question it. When they come to my shop, they always insist on reducing the price. It is not acceptable and it is disrespectful for them. In Germany, none is privileged and if I sell the item for 100 lira for one and 200 to other, it is unfair to them. I know, negotiation is a sunnah but I cannot put two different prices according to the people. When I was in Germany, I learned many things and upon opening this shop, my life changed completely. I had to chance to create an environment as I

was used to in Germany, by carrying along the good things. I learned about the people, the ones like my teacher who loved me and people who discriminated me. You learn things best when you are in a journey. I was in a journey, when I look back I do not feel remorse. What I lived there encouraged me to do things for myself, such as this shop.

These narratives highlight the aspects they bring and practice in homeland are “thread of stability of permanence” (Portelli, 1991:126) based on the performances of past experiences in Germany. However, it is evident that the elements that grant stability across borders have different forms. In Nur’s narrative, it is the sense of achievement and autonomy which she wants to re-enact through working in homeland and leaving parental home. For Gül, it was the organizational skills she employs in the charity. The one of the reason to be involved in charity organization is to help people in need. She thinks that her school life in Germany which required them to learn many things at once, makes her competent in everything she does and most importantly to think her before everyone else. That is why, she chose to raise her children with German parenting, to give herself room to grow. The school that prepared them to work life, even though Gül was too young to work at that time, she thinks that she realized her dream in Turkey. What she started there, she finally thinks she completed here. If it was not Germany, she believes that she could not get this far.

6.2 Case 2: Zeliha and Celile

Zeliha and Celile are sisters. They were born and raised in Istanbul. They migrated to Stuttgart, Germany in 1967, a year after their father who was a worker in the construction, near Esslingen. They were 6 and 7 years old, respectively at the time of migration. They went to school and entered the job market, Zeliha was a hairdresser and Celile was a pharmacist’s assistant. While Zeliha returned with her family in 1985, Celile married to a classmate from her Turkish class and stayed there until 1999 and she returned to Istanbul with her spouse and two sons. Now, Zeliha is 58 and Celile is 59 years old, are both married and housewives. They currently live in Maltepe, Istanbul with their families¹⁴.

¹⁴ The interviews were held separately with Zeliha and Celile on August, 2019.

"There were many people who migrated from Maltepe, most of them were my father's friends" starts Zeliha, the intention of people to migrate to Germany was voiced among the workers in the Grand Bazaar, where his father worked as a shoemaker. As soon as he applied to the Employment Agency in 1965, he went to Germany to work in the construction industry, a different field of work he did in Istanbul:

Celile: My mother did not want him to go, she was always telling us that he went there to see how it was like, save some money, buy an apartment and then we would join him in 2-3 years. She was repeating the very same sentences over and over again until the day we finally migrated.

Before they migrated in 1967, they were living with their grandmother in a village, close to Istanbul. When moved from village to a city, Stuttgart, they could not instantly realize where they were, the sheer difference between the village and the city was almost shocking:

Zeliha: We were puzzled, when we looked out the kitchen window, we saw buses, cars. People were passing by, waiting for bus and they were all looking very elegant. Instead, we were expecting to see carts and cows. The streets were clean, you cannot see any scat. No one told us where we were, we thought we were in Turkey and waiting for our grandparents to come. But, no one came. At first, we did not realize where we were at all.

As they show the photograph of their house, which was taken recently during their friend's visit to Germany after many years, the first thing was to locate the floor that they lived until they return. In the building they were all migrant families, while they were living on the third floor, on the second floor there was an Italian migrant family and on the first floor, soon after their arrival, a Turkish migrant family moved. Zeliha and Celile were also allowed to use the attic, which would soon become not only their secret place but also their mother's, who started packing secretly for return without letting anyone know.



Figure 6.16: Zeliha and Celile’s apartment in Stuttgart. Photograph by Zeliha’s friend upon her visit to Germany. Circa 2000. Source: Zeliha’s collection

In the next building, there was an old woman living alone, they called as her *Oma* (Grandmother). The reason they refer to her as grandmother was not only due to her old age but their close relationship, in their words, “kinship” that replaced their grandmother, who were left behind the village:

She treated us like we were her grandchildren and we called her “Oma”. It was like, we were adopted by her. When our mom was out to work, she was always looking after us. By the time we came back from school, we used to go to her house and she prepared us lunch. She knew that we would not eat pork. Instead, she would give us some cheese and milk. And, she was always talking to us, we were practicing German with her.

The fictive kinship is forged to replace the kin relations in the homeland as their function such as support and availability is now fulfilled by *Oma*. Also, Zuhail and Celile defines their relationship with *Oma* as a part of informal education since they think that in their success in school life and their integration to society, *Oma* has a pivotal role. It was mainly due to their competency in German which was improved by the continuous exchange with *Oma*. Thus, the neighborhood effect in Zeliha and Celile’s case was built on regular contact with a member of native population that allowed for acclimatization to host society. In this sense, they began to distinguish

themselves from Turkish migrant community as they think, these encounters proved them to be integrated in the host society:

Celile: If I had not been living with Germans, I would have needed the word, integration. It was about Turks who distanced themselves from Germans, did not socialize with them. It was not integration, we experienced. I only heard it over the television when they talked about this issue, I was wondering how it could be a matter, it concerned the first generation migrants, the ones who came from the villages. I considered myself as one of them [Germans]. Speaking German is a key to feel like a German. They [first generation] could not speak German so what was there to share with Germans? I already forgot about my grandparents, left behind home. They were asking me where I was from, I asked my parents and they told me that I was born in Aksaray. Aksaray is in Turkey, I am Turkish but these were nothing but words. I never felt like a Turkish.

Zeliha: I saw myself as a German. No-one ever thought that I was Turkish. I did not look like one as I was blonde, I was a German all over. We were not restricted at all, we were surrounded by our German neighbors all the time. Even though, it was a foreign land, we came there at very young, we got used to there so quickly, we helped our parents too and made friends.

In their school life course, this had significant outcomes in terms of the way they identify themselves with Germans. First of all, learning German in an environment without the presence of Turkish neighbors became their cultural capital which helped them to excel in class and make German friends. However, when Turkish courses were part of their curricula at the end of the elementary school their encounter with other Turkish students revealed their weak ties with Turkish language and culture:

Zeliha: My parents wanted me to go to Turkish courses because they warned us not to forget Turkish, our mother tongue. They were teaching history, about Ataturk, what wars Ataturk won, the victory at Gallipoli, Greek invasion. We had exams, on Turkish and Maths. We did not understand anything, we could not do it at all. They were using different signs for multiplication, "x" instead of "." we were not used to that, the teacher told us to do "x", and he never accepted what we did instead. When he caught us talking to Celile during class, he interrupted us and asked why we would speak German instead of Turkish since we were Turkish. But, at school we were advised to speak German.

Celile: I did not know who Ataturk was. I was glad to attend the courses and I learned Turkish alphabet, Turkish history. The teacher figured that we spoke German better than Turkish. We always had books in German, carrying with us. We had German friends. We did not listen Turkish radio. There was a radio broadcast at 9 every night in Turkish, transmission of news on Turkey.

We never listened. Our teacher did not speak a word of German. What kind of a country would do that, he was supposed to live in Germany. He was also teaching at a German school. I was his help, handled the photocopies, got permission to change the hour of the class from the director at school. He tried to classify the students according to their level of Turkish. We could neither write nor speak Turkish. The other students spoke Turkish at home since they could not speak German. We had already forgotten Turkish. I learned the colors of Turkish flag during these courses. I missed out many years, not knowing anything about Turkey. We were the oldest ones in the class but we were taking courses along with the first grades. I was rather embarrassed.

Secondly, they realized that participation to school activities were often restricted particularly for girls by their parents. On the contrary, both Zeliha and Celile were given permission to these activities as a condition of their social integration which showcases that their parents attitudes were also influenced by the neighborhood effect:

Zeliha: Germans would do anything freely, they would tell their parents that they were going to some place easily. Even if their parents would not let them, they would not listen and do what they wanted. We saw that Turks differ with their parents and if we did the same, we also would find ourselves in the same position. when there was a school event, our parents would encourage us to participate, to be social, to keep up with Germans, not be discriminated by them. And, there was a girl who had a very strict father, soon she ran away. Our parents knew about this too, so they accepted whatever we wanted not to clash with us.

As soon as the completion of *Hauptschule*, Celile and Zeliha entered apprenticeship. While Zeliha chose to be a hairdresser worked for a year at a saloon. Then she was employed at a car dealership since it had a higher economic return. During her work at this company, her personal memories concentrate on that the task of translation of documents into Turkish for Turkish migrant car-owners which she thought as a continuation of her role in the domestic sphere; she had been helping her parents to run errands outside and translate documents, particularly permission slip for school trips, handed out at school. Secondly, she accentuates on her first encounter with technological novelties such as computers. In her recollection, she refers to the non-availability of these items in Turkey, neither at the time she worked nor upon her return to homeland. In this sense, she interprets her profession as a prestigious job, with a sense of improved social position vis-a-vis the social and economic conditions in Turkey between late 1970s to early 1980s.

Celile chose to be a pharmacy technician, which she thought as the second best occupation after being a doctor. She was also aspired to be a pediatrician since her mother, who was working at the hospital as a cleaner. Her visits after the school to hospital, her account revealed that she wanted to be like doctors, wearing white coats without fully grasping the requirements of the profession. It is evident that her ineligibility to attend *Gymnasium* and aspiration to be a doctor coincide since being a doctor represents social mobility that could re-identify themselves as equal as German natives, therefore, would overcome any stigmatization. In her recollection, the search for apprenticeship is entailed with choices that were gendered, they were considered appropriate knowing that these occupations were accepted by their family since apprenticeship required working at an unfamiliar place that was beyond their routine activity places, home and school:

I did not want to be a salesperson, most of the girls wanted to be a salesperson, seamstress and hairdresser. My sister was among them, she became a hairdresser. I did not want to be a teacher, either. It was also demanded at that time. I did not know about repairing, so I eliminated that as well. We went out in the morning with Zeliha and asking for hairdressers and pharmacies. When I got the smell in the pharmacies, which was like in the hospitals, that idea was grown into me.

Celile's recollections on the workplace substantially centers on her social relations with Turkish migrant customers:

When I started working at the pharmacy, I began to see it clearly. I could recognize them mostly by their looks. Their way of life was not changed, they were not sending their children to school. When they came to the pharmacy, men were always standing ahead of women. Women were wearing salwars, I felt ashamed because I knew that Germans would not approve this. I was Turkish at home but German outside. I think I changed the mindset of a lot of women while I was working there, showed them a Turkish girl could work and be successful. They saw me as a doctor, as I was in white, wearing a white coat, telling them how to use the medicines. People at my workplace always asked me this question: Why are you different than them? But for me, I was asking myself that why they were like that.

The narrative underlines the interplay between distinctive self and the interdependent self. The pattern for the construction of distinctive self for Celile are bestowed to her social position, acquired through schooling and employment. In addition, interdependent self is constructed notably through the constant comparison between herself and other Turkish migrant women, ranging from the latter's gender relations,

way of dressing to the reliance on their convictions about herself. Furthermore, her self-differentiation stems from private- “I was free in the pharmacy” and collective – “They did not consider me as Turkish” dimensions based on her social relations with Turkish migrants.

Work life of Celile does not only unfold a transition from school to employment but a cultural transition that marks a strong identity-salience. It mainly dwells on the contact between in-group-home culture- and out-group-host culture- which she displays attachment to the latter group. It is also obvious that her membership to outer-group is also entailed with the “rewardingness of the relation” (Levine, Moreland and Ryan, 1998: 285). While the employers of the pharmacy attain their popularity and economic goals by attracting Turkish migrant workers through the employment of Celile, she reaffirms her attachment with host society as she contributes to the achievement of these goals, set by the members of the outer group. Her accommodation to work life also depends on the fulfillment of the expectations of the employer which relies on her difference from Turkish migrant women and her competency in the shared language with the home group that make her retain in the group.

Even though, their narratives center on the differences which made them distinguish themselves from Turkish migrant community in Germany to an extent that they identify themselves as German due to their social integration to host society since their arrival, in their leisure activities, Zeliha and Celile gather with Turkish migrant children. Indeed, in Zeliha’s account, as she shows the photograph during one of their gatherings, repurposes to pinpoint the different life styles between them and their friends:

We, Turkish girls, used to meet at home. Umran was never allowed to go outside and her father used to take her to work. Şükran was the same, their parents did not allow her to meet anyone, she could not go to her friend’s house, she was only let to come to us. The other girl, who came to Germany at age 12, very late. Her father allowed her to come to us to practice German since we[Zeliha and Celile]were always speaking German at home and she used to come in every 2-3 days.



Figure 6.17: Zeliha and her Turkish migrant friends gathering at Zeliha's house.

Circa 1980. Source: Zeliha's collection

Zeliha's recollection on these meetings focus on the identifications of the companions and their family relations to indicate that they are not socially integrated to host society. The main themes in these meetings were planning to go to next Turkish night, a social event to bring together Turkish migrant community in the neighborhood. These events were mainly dinner parties with an entrance fee that was received as donations to be sent to Turkey for disaster victims, and the presence of live orchestrate, playing traditional folk and dance songs. They were held in multi-purpose halls, located in nearly every neighborhood and rented for occasions such as *Fasching*, Christmas along with Turkish wedding ceremonies and Turkish national holidays. Participation in this event could be interpreted as expressive performances of way of being if not belonging since Zeliha and Celile's statements indicate an identity salience that is more associated with host values, therefore, their participation only refers to their situational social relations and activities.



Figure 6.18: Zeliha and Celile with their family at a Turkish night held in Stuttgart.
Circa 1980. Source: Celile's album

Their engagement with such activities that bring together Turkish community was also a signal for their parents' intention to return. And, before they realize, it comprised several stages. These stages were mainly categorized as considering return- willingness to return, negotiation with family back home, influencing the other members of the family in the return-decision making process. It was followed by preparations and finally, the actualization of return. In her narrative, the root cause of her mother's willingness to return and the negotiation with family back home on the timing of return, expressed as such:

Zeliha: At first, we did not know anything about it. My mother insisted on returning to Turkey. She was telling us that our grandparents got old. Indeed, they were calling us and asking us to return by complaining about their health condition. They wanted to see us while they were still alive. When we talked them on the phone, we generally changed the subject and told them that we would return after we finished our school. When we finished school, we started working and we told them we would return in 2 years when we had money. We bluffed them [grandparents] but also, we were fooling ourselves since I never wanted to return.

The negotiation on the timing of return between Zeliha's family in Germany and grandparents in homeland also took another form: by sending household goods from

Germany such as washing machine, refrigerator, television and telephone made the ones in host land to postpone their time of return with the appeal of technological goods that were aimed to improve their living conditions in Turkey through their remittances. Eventually, the preparations that led to realization of return had a significant effect on Zeliha's life since not only she had no agency in the decision-making process, she also did not know when they would return:

Zeliha: I noticed that my mother and father were bringing some big boxes to home, my mother was packing things up. Our home was a three-story building, while I was at work, she put all the things together in the house and hid them in the attic. We never considered going and looking up there since it was always locked. Then, my sister warned me about my mother. While I was at work, she was going to the stores and bought kitchen utensils, she was preparing for return. One day, we unlocked the attic and shocked. There were carpets piling up, a lot of boxes, all sorted out. From that day on, I was sure of it. My mother also forced my father to return, he quitted his job. Then, he also agreed since they both thought that they worked too long and they did not see a future for themselves in host land. So, that chapter of our lives was over.

The "attic" in the narrative is complemented with the re-appearance of the photograph of their house in Germany. The photograph of the house has double meaning for Zeliha. Initially, it was already shown to describe their first house in Germany, signifying her first day of arrival in host land when she was 6. In her prior account, she emphasized the window, which was regarded as a demarcation line between homeland and host land in terms of what was seen through it. The comparison of daily life in two countries were addressed and accompanied with mixed feelings of confusion and disappointment since through the window she realized that she was no longer in Turkey.

In the second narrative, same photograph was referred to pinpoint the attic window as a signifier of return. Its re-appearance could be interpreted in line with Hirsch. Hirsch argues that family photographs "do not change but the stories we tell about them do" (1981:5) and in Zeliha's case, the house embeds two stories, while the former indicates the unity, addressing both the reunion, achieved through family reunification, it also indicates a rupture both in the sense of relocation from host land and in the divergence between children' and parents' aspiration to return to homeland. In the same vein, the house is charged with divided memories. For Zeliha, it is engaged in negative feelings, referring to her "dispersed being" (Bachelard,

1994:7) between desire of staying and the necessity to return. Thus, the attic is not only the storage of the belongings but also bad memories; it shifts the meaning of home from a familiar, secure place to unfamiliarity that intersects with the entrance to an unfamiliar terrain- homeland- and uncertainty of future for a 24 year old young woman at the time of return.

On the other hand, Zeliha and Celile did not return to Turkey at the same time. Celile, after being married to a Turkish second generation migrant, in 1984, returned to Turkey with her family in 1999 at age of 39. Her spouse is a mechanic and owned a small shop in Esslingen. After her parents' return, she continued to work in the pharmacy and she had two sons, in 1986 and 1987. Celile's photographic album focuses on the documentation of family's leisure activities and the firsts, corresponding to the events in their sons's lives, such as the first day of school, first away match of the school's team of which the sons were member. There are also record of events that Celile finds significant such as capturing the sons while they were helping their neighbor to decorate a Christmas tree, when they attend *Lanternenfest* and when they were at fun fair. In these photographs, the significance relies on the adoption of German way of living. According to Celile, these events underline the phrase: "Germans also do it like that" so that they move beyond to display of family unity and are shaped around a common theme of instances of "participation in German culture" . The way of participation is traced in each image. While it is performed by holding a tüte (cone) which is delivered by German government to familiarize the first graders with the school, in other case, the decoration of a Christmas tree is narrated as a final stage of 4-week long tradition of candle lighting which they continue to engage in Turkey. Concerning the *Lanternenfest*, Celile's account underlines their motive: "The festivities were held in my son's kindergarten. So, we did not isolate ourselves just because its not our tradition, but we attended" It refashions the act as a way of being, participation as a form of socialization rather than feeling of attachment.



Figure 6.19: Celile's sons first day at school in Germany. Circa 1993. Source:
Celile's album



Figure 6.20: Celile's son and spouse at Lenternfest celebrations. Circa 1992. Source:
Celile's album



Figure 6.21: Celile's son is helping their neighbor's for the decoration of Christmas tree. Circa 1994. Source: Celile's album

Due to the schooling of their sons, return to homeland was not an abrupt decision, its planning and realization spanned over time. At first, return was considered by Celile's husband since his parents already returned and he intended to start a business with his brother in Istanbul. Soon after, Celile complied to this plan unwillingly since she considered that she was already settled there:

Celile: I returned for my husband. Their parents were the main reason. Then, he convinced me. Even though my in-laws were coming back and forth to Germany after their return to homeland, I was asking myself whether I would also be like them. They had two lives. Indeed, they were longing for Turkey, unlike me. On the other hand, I thought that I had my family here, why would I ever return? I started working here since I was 17, I was already one of them.

Another reason was her family at home who wanted them to return homeland to spend their remaining time with them. However, she had concerns on the future of their children who already started to primary school in Germany. She wanted them to continue their education in Germany since she thought that they could have better education, could learn German and have better job prospects. In the following account, there is a strong indication of their presumptions on their social status in homeland, attached to their improved economic capital:

Celile: Children were going to school in Germany, they would go to university, have job there so if not now, when would I ever bring them to Turkey? I was a bit late, though. They were 12, how could they possibly adapt to Turkey? I told my husband that I wish we had decided to return earlier but and he told me that we could send children to private school in Istanbul since

we had enough money now. I believed him. And, my parents also missed me. Then, one day my mother called me and it was the last draw. She told me that she did not see the birth of my sons, that I had money and a house, that these assets were all useless as long as she could not eat what I cook for her. She was right. Even if we had stayed, we would not have had more money than we already had. And, I decided to return, as well.

Even though they returned at different time, their experiences in homeland after return have similarities with respect to the practices, they continue to engage. One of which is the child-rearing practices, they were experienced indirectly from their neighbors in Germany. Adoption of German culture in childrearing underlines a system that aims for independency of the children, less expressive role of mother towards children in terms of display of affection in opposition to Turkish traditional family which is based on emotional interdependency and expecting life-long loyalty from sons/daughters. Secondly, this system does not only encourage the individuality of children but also the parents, namely mothers. As women in this study are sole transmitters of German childrearing culture, it could be interpreted that prevalent gender inequality in division of labour in household where women are responsible for child care is translated as a women' control and autonomy in childrearing process within the family.

These practices are referred as “rules” which were perceived as the “right” way to take care of children. Zeliha's narrative also underlines her identification with Germans as she challenges the cultural specificities on child-rearing in Turkey as “not for us”. In this sense, it is clear that both Zeliha and Celile do not adapt these practices to home culture. She incorporated these specificities which emerged as cultural differences. Therefore, their agency becomes a crucial element to recreate these practices transnationally in their post-return lives:

Zeliha: I raised my children in a German way. I did not rock them to sleep on my feet. When my mother-in-law resented this, I always told her that I would do it my way. when they cried, I did not soothe them. I let them cry and I did not let anyone to hold them and try to hush them while they were crying. I wanted to raise them freely. It would be my way and never did anything they [both children and grandparents] wanted. Of course, my mother-in-law was upset about it. She wanted to rock the baby, or put them to sleep in day time. These are not for us. What I saw in Germany, most of my friends were putting their children in their rooms, and switched off the lights. Also, families in Germany raise their girls as boys in order them to be tough in life. That is

why, they buy them toys for boys. I also did that. I did not buy my daughter girly clothes, she was wearing pants just like a boy, not skirts.

Celile: Germans do not also stay up late at night. They sleep early. I put my children to bed at 19:00-20:00. And, no one could come and visit me after 22:00. Then, I found out that people go out after 22:00, go to parks, go and visit each other. I never welcome anyone that late to my house. They criticized me at first but soon they got used to it. Everyone respected that.

Another sphere that Zeliha and Celile performed their past is the domestic life. This sphere reinforced their belonging to host society. As their accounts on domestic life accentuate the differences in two societies, their membership to Germany takes precedence in multiple ways. In this sense, their narratives refer to German mentality/discipline, a mindset that is part of being a German. It is evident that there is an age-effect since both Zeliha and Celile migrated to Germany early ages that facilitated their acculturation to a new society which in return made it easier to engage in same practices in Turkey. Moreover, in Zeliha's account, the sense of freedom which strongly defines her way of living in Germany made its place in family life, through challenging traditional division of labour in domestic sphere and the gendered structure of family roles:

Zeliha: The most important thing is living freely and I continue to live it that way here. I was doing what I felt like, my husband did not intervene my daily activities inside and outside the house. I could easily tell my husband that I could not cook anything for dinner and I did nothing all day. I am doing everything that I was doing in Germany. I ran everything in a Germany way, I mean the domestic chores. I do not walk him to the door when he goes out or welcome him when he comes, unlike the most Turkish housewives. I also assign my family to clean their own spaces in the house. This is called German discipline. I am 58 years old now and I still keep my shopping list in German, I write zucker instead of şeker or salz instead of tuz. I only write it in Turkish if my husband goes to shopping. I speak German to my sister, we still call our names in German. I am Zuzi and she is Claudia, we were called by these names in Germany. We can't forget German because we speak it all the time, and it is with us as long as we live even though we only speak with each other at home.

Celile: We are living in Germany at home and Turkey, outside home. We speak German at home and we were the first family in the neighborhood who had a cable TV. We bought it in order to continue watching German TV channels. We brought our furniture from there when we returned, I designed my living room as same as our living room in Germany, we created a little Germany at home. Even though we are still Germans in the house, outside it felt different.

The domestic sphere becomes the extension of the host life, in other words, re-creation of Germany through incorporation of the elements, into the home setting. In their everyday lives, public space is redefined on the comparison between Germany and Turkey. Their narratives unfold the difficulties in adaptation to homeland based on their interaction with their close environment and routes that define their activity spaces:

Zeliha: My main challenge is with the institutions, the way they operate. When my mother was sick, I took her to the hospital and they did not accept her insurance in Germany even though they had an agreement. In Germany, they handed you a paper, a prescription with the print of the medication, you go the pharmacy and have it. The price of the medication was cut from the insurance. That was it. It is nothing but problems here. And, the bureaucracy, they want you to go up and down for a single signature. Apart from it, there is no order in Turkey. In the parks, on the streets, there are litters everywhere. Germans keep their surroundings as clean as their homes. There, people take even the smallest pieces and keep them with themselves until they find a bin. We always expected to see the same mentality here, we all compared the streets, hospitals in Turkey to Germany, compared the attitudes of Turkish people to Germans. Germany outweighed.

Celile: When I returned here 20 years ago, I felt like I went back to the Stone Age. There were not any banks around the neighborhood. The buses, trains, there was no timetable. The streets were dirty. What about the crowd in the buses? There were more people standing than seated. In Germany, it is strictly forbidden to stand in the bus, if there is no seat, you have to wait for the next one.

The emphasis on the comparison stems from the competency in seeing the difference between two countries, attached to being *Almanyalı*, a term that is explained by Abadan Unat (2002) that refers to people who returned to homeland after staying a period of time in Germany. In this case, comparison is made according to their past experiences in host land, constructed on the good aspects of host life, emphasizing cleanliness and order as point of reference to indicate the demarcation between modern and traditional, even backward society, pinpointing what is “absent” in their present-setting. Thus, their past experiences become assets that make them realize what is indeed better and superior, attached to these qualities they came to adopt in host land. Comparison becomes an instrument to transfer their knowledge on the better to their present setting.

On the other hand, ranging from their way of clothing to materials they brought to homeland, they are compared by the non-migrant native population in the homeland:

*Zeliha: I used to have a camera in Germany and I brought it with me, here. While I went out with my camera and took some pictures of the bridge, streets in my neighborhood, a policeman stopped me and tried to figure out what I was holding. He thought it was a gun. I showed him how to take a photo with it, then he told me that there was no such thing in Turkey. They called me *Almancı* many times in many occasions. It was because I have a fair skin and I do not dress like Turkish people, I was wearing jeans and no one in Turkey had it back then. I brought my clothes from Germany and people criticized me when I wore t-shirt or a tank-top, even my mother wondered why I continued wearing them and asked me that if I was a German. But, people expected to be more like them. People at the stores, they were speaking German and I replied them in German. They were surprised when I spoke Turkish. I was not wearing Turkish clothes, and they thought I was a foreigner. In fact, I liked that people associated me with anyone but Turkish.*

*Celile: People called us *Almancı* behind our backs. They were watching us and saw that we had motorbike, car, my children wearing helmets while they biked, brought their girlfriends over and such thing, they found it strange. And, first they gossiped and we overheard them saying *Almancı* did this and that...Then, when they got to know us, especially when my boys went to prestigious high schools, we became Mr.... and Mrs.....It was odd.*

Their accounts address the differentiation between *Almancı* and foreigner. According to Robins and Morley (1996), while *Almancı* refers to the perception of second generation Turkish migrants by the natives in Turkey, the latter corresponds to the view of native Germans as they project the condition of foreignness as a rejection from the host culture. However, in this case, these both terms apply to their condition in Turkey, suggesting two different social positions. In Zeliha' case, being foreigner is reciprocated with being a tourist, identification that make her seen as a native of another country so that any negative connotations of being *Almancı* on the ground of their lack of knowledge on the order of things in Turkey, particularly the traditions and customs would not be an issue. On the other hand, as Celile indicates, being an *Almancı* has a direct correspondence with the comparison between being a real Turkish and not. Thus, bringing novelties or transferring values that could be associated with host culture is regarded as alienating factors from Turkish identity. However, there is also a transition from being *Almancı* to be Mrs. Celile. The latter indeed indicates how their economic capital is recognized by the others. *Almancı* people are often regarded as *nouveaux-riches*, whose improved economic capital

does not correspond to improved cultural capital. According to Celile, the turning point was when one of their neighbors found out that her sons went to the same private high school with their children and she thinks that it was from that moment they realized that they were cultivated people who invested on their children. It could be interpreted that their transition from an *Almanca* to “native” depended on the engagement of similar practices with the natives in their social milieu in their present setting that made them accepted as a member of the group.

Zeliha and Celile, nearly after 20 years of their return, would like to remember Germany as it was in 1985 because they both voice that they have only good memories of Germany and they are content about the decision of return when they consider the discriminatory acts which they say that these acts increased after they left Germany. Zeliha notes that “all these happened after us, we just heard about them but never experienced. So, we do not have bad memories. Even if things got worse, I cannot forget 18 years of my time in Germany” As they both want to relive their memories, they have one last wish: to revisit Germany before they die.

6.3 Case 3: Mahmut and Seher

Mahmut is 64 years old. He was born in Isparta. His mother died when he was 5 and his father migrated to Augsburg to work as a sweeper at the municipality in 1972. A year after, with the initiative of his father for nominal recruitment, an invitation from his employer was sent to Mahmut. In 1973, at age of 17, he also migrated to Augsburg to work as a sweeper at the same municipality.

After he quitted from his job at the municipality, he started to work at a a metal ring company in 1975. While he was working there, he came to Turkey to do his military service and met Seher. Seher was also born in Isparta and she was 18 years old at that time. They married in 1975 and a year after their marriage, Seher reunited with Mahmut. In Germany, they had three children, two daughters and a son. In 1988, they returned to Istanbul. Now, Seher and Mahmut live in Atasehir, Istanbul in the apartment that they bought upon their return with their savings from Germany.

Mahmut’s biography regarding his migration life course, has common characteristics with the first generation migrant workers in many aspects. He was an unskilled

single man who migrated to Germany for work, he had no prior education in Turkey and aspiration for schooling in Germany, he was working in a migrant job, first as a sweeper and then as a worker at the metal ring factory. Before marriage, he was living in the *heim*. And, he reunified with his wife in 1975. In section generation Turkish migrants' case, the migration life-course has a different pattern. Their migration starts with their reunification with their parents who were already there and working. They migrate at a young age, between period of childhood and early adolescence. Thus, they start to school and through schooling, they become employed with respect to the field that they chose after graduation from *Hauptschule*.

In this respect, it is significant to pinpoint the inter-generational difference by addressing the commonality between Mahmut's work life courses in Germany with first generation migrants. Corresponding to the work life of Mahmut, the album comprises the photographs at the metal ring company he worked during 1975-83. He did not have any photographs regarding his prior job as a sweeper. However, the absence of the photographs do not indicate that memories regarding being a sweeper is forgotten. Rather, the difficulties entailed with waking up very early, having a low wage and working on cold weather especially during winter are expressed along with a sense of pride: "They [Germans] like workers, regardless of the work they do. In Turkey, being a janitor or what I do are despised"

In the following account, his recollections regarding the photographs unravel the detailed description of the task he performed along with the working conditions:

At that time, working at a metal ring factory was very popular. They were only looking for young males, they did not ask whether we could speak German or not. It was unnecessary, they had translators. These are (industrial) ovens, we are taking out the chrome there. There were 2000 workers, operating in 19 sections. We were dressed differently from the rest. They handed out the shoes in order not to be burnt from the acid/chrome alloy and to protect us from any bruises if a piece of iron mold falls, they would also give our goggles. We have to wear these goggles all time. It boils at 80 degrees. I worked in a high-temperature environment in a prison like conditions. We were working for 8 hours but when we clocked out, it was like we were going out of the war. You operate with a leather gloves, all heat resistant. There were 3 sections, having the hardest working conditions. One of it was our section. There were all Turkish workers doing the job in these sections, working for Germans. We were doing the hard work. If a German was employed in one of these sections, they would ask for 5000DM, we were

only earning 2000-2500DM. It is just like what is going on with Syrians in Turkey, they are lowering the wage.



Figure 6.22: Mahmut posed by the machine he operates at his workplace. Circa 1975.

Source: Seher and Mahmut's family album

His narrative on work life underlines the characteristics of a migrant job which were generally attributed to the jobs that first generation migrant workers entail; hard, low-paid and migrant-populated sections. Moreover, in his accounts, in contrary to narrative conventions that favors the use of past tense as an indicator of temporal ordering; Mahmut uses both past and present tenses in his very detailed accounts of job description. In this respect, I argue that there are two underlining points regarding such use: Firstly, in line with Pillemer et al. (1998), it suggests the traumatic events that have a lasting effect in the life of Mahmut even though he no longer works at the metal ring factory. Thus, emotional intensity is evident in the memory-work that could be associated with the traumatic effects of the job; particularly its life-threatening nature that can be traced in Mahmut's narratives in terms of using protective uniforms, the heat that are factors that laden to immediate danger are in tandem with the feeling of pain, resentment. These life-events are timeless, on the one hand regulations for this particular jobs, are still valid. On the other hand, such a work transition that is shared among first generation migrants in Germany allow for general and stereotypical explanation for collective work experiences of not only limited to the generation concerned but to all migrants who wish to strive for living

in a foreign land. Secondly, the presence of photographs act as an interactive system between the narration and image, the documentation of self during work. But, most importantly, use of present tense is coupled with the sense of continuity in the form of re-remembering. While the recollections of a past is an act of bringing the past experiences into present time, the membership that is revised and reaffirmed in the course of remembering; the association he voiced between the Syrian refugees in Turkey and worker migrants in Germany is re-interpreted through the lens of his social position, he as a migrant worker could identify his lived experience with the socio-economic conditions of Syrian refugees in Turkey, now. In so doing, his migrant self is relived and stretched to here and now as well. Also, such an association directly refers to his present condition in terms of the legitimacy of his decision to return to homeland.

Mahmut's leisure time before his marriage was entirely devoted to activities spent with the fellow Turkish migrant workers that he describes as discovering. These photographs are located alongside with the images of Seher even though they weren't married at the time. Inclusion of her photographs is a way of unification, maintained visually but negated discursively by the enunciation of "I was not there", referring to absence of her in Mahmut's life and in Germany. In addition, since it is a family album, Seher's intervention could be regarded as a tactic for construction of a conventional family story to reproduce the familial gaze. In line with Hirsch (1999), familial gaze is an act of sustaining a family image that corresponds to a conventional representation of family unity in a familial setting. According to Seher, Mahmut's life before marriage is regarded unfit for the production of such a family history since it refers to a period of debauchery and by nature, it should be excluded from a "family" album. However, by inserting her photographs would help to embrace the family image through imposing an identification of herself as his wife.



Figure 6.23: Seher reorganizes the album by placing her photographs next to Mahmut's photographs when he was single in Germany to attain family unity. Circa 1988. Source: Seher and Mahmut's family album



Figure 6.24: Seher reorganizes the album by placing her photographs next to Mahmut's photographs when he was single in Germany to attain family unity. Circa 1988. Source: Seher and Mahmut's family album

During her absence, Mahmut's leisure activities were centered on the idea of "discovering everywhere" which was limited to his immediate surroundings such as parks, or playing mini golf, and frequenting to a cafe in the vicinity that was populated by other Turkish migrant workers. Such practices also underline the similarity in engagement of first generation migrants both in terms of the activity spaces, the companions- other Turkish migrants, and unwillingness to contact native population.

Mahmut distances himself from having German friends due to the attitudes he encountered in his work and social life. The accusations at work in his perspective was embedded with his identification as a Turkish migrant worker who was perceived as a low-brow, did not know how to use a flush toilet or remarks from his neighbors on what he was doing in Germany and when he would go back to his country. He was unable to reciprocate due to his inadequacy in German language which he partly mastered in terms of technical details at work could not allow him to communicate Germans in order to be friends, or in his words, assert himself when he saw the warning sign at the entrance of a cafe that read "Turks are not allowed to enter". Yet, he epitomizes such incidents, referring to both first and second generation Turkish migrants compartments: "We, neither the young ones nor the old ones left a bad impression, they do not work, they frequent to cafes and discos, cause disturbance." Still, use of present tense address not only generalization but also his conviction that he believes that persists after his return to homeland. In this sense, particularly regarding the "old ones", in other words, first generation migrants, could also be interpreted as a form of collected story (Schiff et al. 2001). It signifies narratives that are not part of one's individual memories but transmitted from others, in this case, the first generation migrant workers. His accounts on the attitudes of first generation migrants in the public sphere that also stigmatize the presence of second generation mainly make his account be classified as collected story.

As a part of his leisure activities, parks have a specific role. The parks could be described as districts that are "recognizable, as having some common, identifying character. Always identifiable from the inside, they are also used as external reference if visible from the outside" (Lynch, 1960:47). This park is the meeting point of migrant workers on weekends who worked and lived in this area. It is also

the place that makes migrant workers recognizable by the native community as they use it as a hub for migrant workers. The photographs they take in the park are also sent to their families back home:

We posed in a swaggering manner, we went to Germany and it had a certain flare, going to Germany at this age, I was the youngest one from the village who migrated to Germany at that time. It was a big deal. Not everyone had such a chance. The next thing you know is you have a car. I spent my money on clothes. I used to wear a scarf to do my hair, the next day it got curly. I did it because the next day was Sunday, I was going out. I was called as "Alman Mahmut" among my friends. It was about being fashionable. People look up to you. People in my hometown used to tell me not to come to Turkey like that because other people would see and want what I have.

The account underlines the use of photographs as "extensions of appearance" (Chalfen, 2011:40) that is constructed with the intention to how they prefer to be seen which is the common notion of photographic practice. In this case both the documentation-how he appears and representation-how people see coincide to grant recognition that is, in narration, expressed in the identification of "Alman Mahmut". As it is mainly due to the alterations on the personal "look" such as in clothing and hair style, it is only sustained as a way of being, a form of emulation to adopt a modern look that is intended to distinguish him from the non-migrant natives in his hometown.

After the family reunification, Mahmut's work life is a determining factor for the construction of domestic life because it was associated with his presence and absence at home with his family. In Seher's account, domestic life is not only linked to Mahmut's work life course but also the others, namely the neighbors. The neighbors are described as "superior than relatives" and are "both a mother and sister", considering them as a part of the family thus members of the domestic sphere. The sense of loneliness and fear due to Mahmut's absence during working hours is a strong mark in her life. With reference to the photograph that she captures the street view from the window of her apartment is indicative for its expression:

I was looking at the window, waiting for him as I was watching the cars passing on that road, particularly at nights. I would recognize the headlight, when the car approached, turned right and stopped. Then, I would listen to the sound of his footsteps through the intercom and buzzed him in, at 2 in the afternoon, 10 at night. When it passed 10:15, it is over, I knew that he would not come home. I used to put a chair against the door in case that a thief

would break in when he was not at home. I was very scared at home when he was not around. I felt very lonely.

Mahmut: 8 hours of work per day that would make 40 hours in a week. Our domestic life was just about that.

In Mahmut and Seher's account, the apartment also sheds light on their social mobility as a migrant. Above the photograph that was taken by Seher, there is a clipping of the building which was cut from a newspaper. It is the second apartment they lived until their return. The first house as they indicate as an old, low-rent house, decorated with old furniture which they lived in order to save money for return.

On the other hand, this apartment is described as an exception with regard to migrant worker's living conditions, because according to Mahmut, even if the worker migrants earned such an amount of money, they would not pay such a high rent:

Mahmut: I had enough with saving money. When I decided to return to homeland for good, I promised myself to live in that house one day. It was in Augsburg, a building complex with 3 compounds. Each had 20 storey, nearly 190 apartments. There were 3 elevators. I rented it for 700 DM. Noone pays for it. With the bills, it costed me 1000 DM. If I was saving up, why would I pay 1000 DM? But, I had already put my mind to it.

Seher: There was a store under the building. I always envied this building when I was passing by because we had been living in old, cheap houses. When we moved in there, I replaced the furniture. I wonder how they developed such a system at that time, may be the same system also exists in here, Turkey now. This apartment had a central heating system, it was not like having a gas stove. On the top floor, there was a laundry room. You could not see any laundry, in the balconies. The rent was 700DM. In our previous house, we paid 150-200 DM. People were different. It was new, quiet and had everything. There were only 2 Turkish families living out of 190 apartments. Who would give 700 DM to live there?



Figure 6.25: A clipping of their new apartment from a newspaper and a scene from their apartment window, captured by Seher. Circa 1985, for the clipping, date unknown. Source: Seher and Mahmut's album

In these accounts, the aspiration for social status was congealed in residential mobility which was attained through economic capital. The excerpt from a newspaper which is cut and saved by Seher is charged with the hope to live in that apartment one day. How it is turned into reality was demonstrated in the second image taken by Seher; a scene from the window of the same apartment. According to Crapanzano (2004:6), the feeling of hope intersects with both “expectation” and “constraint”. In this case, the apartment as the center of hope is coupled with an expectation of living in a better place and the income as a constraint is surmounted by the plan of returning to homeland soon. Nevertheless, it created a sense of pseudo-prosperity. Despite of tendency to save money or staying permanently in host land, timing of moving into a new house signaled a planned return to homeland that made them to alter their consumption behavior. They lived in a low-rent, old house in order to save money for return. As they moved into a new apartment, they changed their furniture. Because, new furniture were intended to be investment for their return, as they could transfer them to homeland. Indeed, Seher states that, they brought all their furniture upon their return and used them for 15 years in their present setting. In fact, there was no overall change in income, rather, they aspired for social mobility to distinguish themselves from migrant-workers. It was realized through the change of residency that indicated a conversion of economic capital into

a symbolic capital, a prestige dwelled on marking an intra-generational differentiation. On the other hand, the accentuation on the difference between houses also brings forth the comparison between old and new, cheap and expensive where the former is ascribed to migrant reality and the latter is an endeavor to affirm a social status among other Turkish migrants, particularly in terms of economic capital- who would give 700 DM for an apartment- directed to Turkish migrant workers, rather than being adapted to German way of life or being like Germans even though in their new neighborhood there were rarely migrant population. Therefore, they were hyper-visible, they were solely recognized through their belonging to a migrant community:

Mahmut: There were 3 elevators at the entrance. An elevator came, it was not occupied at all but a German next to me standing still and did not get on the elevator. He was a Turcophobe, later I figured. His daughter married to a Turkish man and he never liked him. That is why, he did not want to be in the same place with me.

These accounts underline that upward social mobility is not only a transition that could be traced in comparison to social status of the migrants before migration and visible changes after their return to homeland. Indeed, during their migration life-course, it is marked by a change of residence which is endowed with the improved economic capital and change of social milieu, as they were living among natives. On the contrary, it is upon their return, Mahmut intentionally avoids from such a display by concealing, rejecting and silencing any symbols or assets in order not to be stigmatized as *Almancı*:

Mahmut: I did not live like an Almancı here. They bring their cars, visit their hometowns in these cars. As soon as we returned, we parked it nearby and traveled by bus to go to our hometown. People had doubts whether we lived in Germany or not and told us we were no different than them. On the other hand, Almancıs are the ones who like to show off and it stands out in the community. My neighbors were sure that I had large amounts of money, in their words, 'Almancı kırıntısı' (leftover money of Almancı) I always told them that we had nothing so that they would assume me one of them. I never allowed them to call me like that since they see no signs of it.

Repeatedly, while they were living in Germany, domestic life is also presented with their new consumption tendency. Seher's photograph as she was doing a housework addresses two points. In contrary to Chambers (2003:101) who argues that domestic sphere is often associated with a "leisure unit" that excludes specifically women'

labor in the household, this photograph's indexicality addresses woman work in the domestic sphere. However, her narrative centers on the presence of a vacuum cleaner, which was considered as the latest model of the certain brand at that time. When she looks at these photograph, she immediately raises the question: "Why would I take a picture with a vacuum cleaner?" This question while undermines the act of doing housework, it is intended to highlight the novelty of products, their ownership of a new model of cleaner and a TV as indexes for economic capital. It also has a significant place in their family history since it documents her first months of pregnancy. So, an identification with motherhood despite of its lack of indexicality in this photograph would be an important motive for Seher to put this photograph in an album. Lastly, as Sisley (2010) suggests, the family albums do not traditionally include the photographs of daily work, such as houseworks, this particular case run counter to this argument since these photographs are re-purposed with the sign of prosperity through the inclusion of the objects used in daily chores and the documentation of a family-event; birth of their first children.



Figure 6.26: Seher posed with the vacuum while cleaning the house in her new apartment. Circa 1985. Source: Seher and Mahmut's family album

Photographs of children play a major role. Chalfen (1987) notes that with the birth of children, family albums keep the records of the transitional periods of the children such as first days at school, birthdays which are guided by studium in Barthes' terms, the cultural codes that surround the idea of family. However, unlike the tendency that

is suggested by Chalfen is reversed. According to Chalfen (1987:10), the first child in the family has more photographs than the second and/ or third children. This is not the case since Seher already allocated the childhood photographs of their children to create their own albums. However, the idea of family retains as a strong factor that moves beyond the representation of a unity, it is the sole to motive to sustain their living in Germany when their seclusion from the host society is considered:

In each photograph, we prioritize the family image. In fact, it was not about our interest in taking pictures of family. But, it was very important, more valuable there. We were relying on the idea of family, it was the only thing that made us survive there.

All in all, the sense of togetherness maintained in family photos with children has an affective aspect. Seher's narratives on children often dwell on "positive nostalgia" (Hage, 2010) rethinking the memories of the past in the host land, reframing it as a place where their children grew up. In this case, these memories are articulated around "how quickly they all grew up" , "those days, how I took them to the park" is warm longing to the past, strictly limited to her relation with host land through children' life-courses. That being said, the next section delves into the common transition in the second generation migrant children' lives, schooling as a path for social integration to host society while it brings questions to their self-identification.

In addition, it is evident that photographs that are sent to family back home prioritize the display of economic status through attires, belongings such as cars, electronic devices and the house rather than the focus on unity of family. The family photographs are regarded as normal since they do not have a story to communicate with the ones at home besides that they are fine and together. Most importantly, they are not sent because they lack of the display of any materials, or props to signal their improved economic capital and they are taken spontaneously with their basic, house dress without requiring any preparation (i.e. new clothes, make-up).

Families at home ask for us to send our photos. We don't send them the "normal" photos, but the ones as such. We wore the jacket and the boots to flaunt. Of course, I would not send this normal one.



Figure 6.27: Seher posed with her daughter in the garden of their first home in Germany. An example of normal photo since there is no prior preparation for the shooting. Circa 1978. Source: Seher and Mahmut's family album



Figure 6.28: Mahmut and Seher posed in the living room of their first home in Germany. They are dressed for the shooting. Circa 1977. Source: Seher and Mahmut's family album

In the case of Seher and Mahmut, as I discussed previously their similarities with the first generation life-course, I also state that leisure time activities of Mahmut are distinguished by not age but his marital status. Their activities after marriage, are significantly clustered around family gatherings with fellow Turkish migrant families, comprise of Mahmut's co-workers and neighbors.

First of all, in Seher's accounts, gatherings are described with an emphasis on the companions:

We could not have neighborly relations with every Turkish migrant family neither around in the neighborhood nor from Mahmut's workplace. We could not go some of their homes, because they were the ones who integrated. We used to spend all day with them, at noon we had lunch together then men were going to coffee shop (kahvehane).

Departing from this account, the companions were comprised of Turkish migrant families who were not integrated. Integration, in this case, refers to the marital status and dispositions of the migrants, particularly men, who were either single or not reunified with their families back home. Accompanied with consumption of alcohol, extra-marital relations indicate inappropriate behavior of the integrated Turkish migrants whose way of living was similar to Germans and not to traditional Turkish family. While she refers to these companions according to their hometowns (i.e. *Konyalı* and *Kayserili*), the women in her accounts are without names. The referral to hometowns were indicative of familiarity regardless of coming from the same town (*hemşehri*). Overall, these gatherings were intended to maintain social bonding with friends, which were considered as members of extended family, constructed through fictive kinship.

Most of the gathering were held in gardens. In terms of family activities, garden has two distinct roles. Firstly, in the narratives, gardens are regarded as status symbols as they refer living in a detached house instead of an apartment which are located in the periphery of the cities, mostly populated with migrant workers. Indeed, according to modern residential model, gardens are significant part of the "garden city ideal" in German architecture. Akcan (2012) argues that green spaces were planned to demarcate low-populated upper-middle class residential areas from the mass housing built for the working class. Thus, living in a house with a garden is a strong marker of both economic and symbolic capital attached with living alongside with German

natives. Secondly, garden is a liminal space that communicates between inside (as a part of domestic space) and outside (entrance to the public space) on the grounds of intimacy. It is considered as a non-domestic sphere when families gather around during weekends. Women sit inside the house and men gather in the garden. Secondly, positioning of Seher in the garden depends on who took the photograph. In this sense, the veil of Seher is a significant indicator to understand who was behind the camera; when she was not wearing veil the camera was held in one of the family members and garden becomes a part of domestic sphere.

Moreover, the photographs document these gatherings and they underline two points. First of all, as mentioned, the distinction between home and garden dwell on the positioning of female and male companions. In mixed-gender gatherings, women generally were in the home, occupied with preparation of food could only be in the garden to serve the men. Garden, regarded as a public sphere was reserved to men. Only in case of gathering among women, they could spend time in the garden. Moreover, it is evident that women' leisure time differs from men'. Women, by cooking, serving and looking after children reproduce their domestic chores held in domestic sphere. In this sense, time devoted to unpaid work and leisure become vague. Women' work in leisure activities bring together coordination of many activities that address distinctive experience of time and engagement of activities, to a certain extent, women become enablers of the leisure time of men. Posing with an apron, rolling out dough for *lahmacun*, and as family carers were not exceptions and they imply gender differences based on the reproduction of traditional division of labour. In these gatherings, making *lahmacun* is seen as an element to maintain their ties with home culture and highlights Seher's cooking skills through which she positions herself as a productive housewife in contradistinction to other women companions who were not only housewives and mothers but also workers.



Figure 6.29: Seher and Turkish migrant women neighbor gathered in the garden.
Circa 1978. Source: Mahmut and Seher's family album



Figure 6.30: Seher and Mahmut's Turkish migrant worker friends gathered in the garden. Circa 1977. Source: Mahmut and Seher's family album

On the other hand, Seher's participation to public sphere is limited due to her inability to speak German. In the sense, it could be argued that along with work which addresses structural integration, participation to social sphere through leisure activities are strong markers to one's so ill integration (Ruble and Shaw, 1991:134). And, while social integration, as stated before, requires competency in the host language, in Seher's life it is indeed the sole factor that impedes her participation to social sphere. In her accounts, it is obvious that family responsibilities, ranging from domestic chores to childcare do not present itself as a problem for leisure activities, on the contrary, its reproduction still becomes a major part in her activities, particularly in gatherings with friends.

However, language problems manifest itself as a critical issue in nearly all aspects of social sphere. Principally, it impedes her mobility outside the domestic sphere that affects enjoying a personal time, free from constraints and related relief of stress. In addition, inability to speak German puts emphasis on the restriction to physical mobility, using transportation for her is nearly impossible as she could not read the signboards and relevant available instructions. This, in return, is interdependent with the degree of emotional integration to host society which induces the feeling of isolation, vulnerability thus further strengthened her seclusion. As she could not get out, her leisure activities would be limited to family gatherings. On the other hand, resorting to gatherings with "linguistic compatriots" (Suto, 2013:55) could be seen as an alternative way to participate in leisure activities but it limits her integration to host society. These compatriots with whom she has kinship relations, they also function as "protective measures of leisure" (Caldwell, 2005:17) by reinforcing social support and acceptance from her cohort. However, this could as well interpreted as a form of seclusion. Relatedly, there is one image that could refer to leisure activity of Seher, taken during a visit to a park with her linguistic compatriot, her neighbor with children. As there is no related narrative on the significance of this subjective experience that could be associated with fun or any emotions that is often associated with leisure activities, it could be seen as an activity for entertaining the children.



Figure 6.31: Seher and her Turkish migrant neighbor are in the park with their children. Circa 1979. Source: Mahmut and Seher's family album

They document the players of Türk Gücü and the emphasis is given to the second clip that reports the score of the football match between Türk Gücü and a local German team in the play-off, resulted in Türk Gücü's victory. This clipping is embodied with a sense of success and visibility in host country, enabled with the defeat of German local team:

It was 1985, the year we had the play-off. German team took us for granted since we were losing in every single game, we played so far. The match score was 3-2, we won. It was our first victory and the next day, we wanted everyone to know our victory at the factory. On Monday, Germans were going to mock us but we mocked them, instead. We paraded out for a week in the factory.



Figure 6.32: Mahmut and his teammates from Turk Gucu. Circa 1976-1980. Source: Mahmut and Seher's family album



Figure 6.33: A clipping from a newspaper on Turk Gucu's victory over a German local team. Circa 1980. Source: Mahmut and Seher's family album

From work life to leisure time activities, Mahmut and Seher's life course in Germany address their sense of attachment to homeland rather than social integration to host culture. It is evident in their lack of contact with natives, their activity spaces, types of leisure activities, companions that underline a seclusion, nurtured with alienation:

Mahmut: I migrated there when I was young, I was 18. And, I returned when I was 33. Why would I return to homeland that young? Because, I did not like there at all.

Seher: I was not eager to stay there. When the night came, my heart sank. I never liked there.

Their negative feelings were mainly associated with their poor integration to host society. As presented in the previous chapter, their life-course in host land has an inter-generational pattern, suggesting that even though they are second generation migrants, they share common experiences with first generation migrants. Therefore, their return motives also exhibit similar tendencies with first generation migrants in terms of having strong transnational ties with homeland that impedes their integration to host land. Particularly, their structural integration to work sphere is reciprocated with the invisibility in public sphere due to their social capital, a network of Turkish migrant community which functions as an extended family. In this respect, there is an interplay of "alienating" and "self-protective" (Rabelo and Mahalingam, 2018:30) modes of invisibility both attached to their strong commitment to home values. In the following accounts, it is evident that both Seher's and Mahmut's integration problems stem from their ways of belonging to homeland. While Seher accentuates on her religious affiliation and poses as a challenge to participate in host society, Mahmut emphasizes on the repeated hostile attitudes and discriminatory behaviors towards himself and his children when their social interaction moves beyond their milieu:

Seher: While I was working, a Turkish migrant woman used to eat pork justifying that she had to eat in order to work but I could not eat. I was always pulling myself away from the society, people because I was Turkish and Muslim. I always felt that I was different from them.

Mahmut: We only went out to take the children to doctor, thus we could not speak German. We also had to send our son to Turkey for school because his teachers in Germany recommended him to go to Sonderschule, "school for retards", I could not stand that. People live for their honor and an honorable Turkish people shouldn't stay in Germany for a long time. In the apartment we used to live, I came across a German and he asked me when I would

return to my country, that offended me. At the hospital, a doctor yelled at my daughter. Since I could not speak German I could not reply, I was agonized. Or at work, they wanted to me to apologize when I was late to work. Why would I do that? These little details of Germans... I could not adapt. Gradually, these became the factors that led us make our minds to return.

In this account, honor is stressed by Mahmut. It is associated with behaviors of single and married Turkish migrant men in Germany. It mainly refers to the extra-marital relations of Turkish men, use of excessive alcohol and drug that threat the family unity. German culture, in Mahmut's view is the main cause that orients Turkish men towards adopting such a way of life. In addition, concern about the future of their children was another motive for return. Mahmut addresses discrimination of migrant children in the education sphere with the possibility of enrollment in *Sonderschule*. It is a "special school" that aims to educate children who are disabled and with special needs. There are several types of *Sonderschule*, reserved for groups of students according to their nature of disability such as visual, hearing, speech impairment, learning disabilities along with students who have physical and behavioral disorders. However, Mahmut asserts that his son does not have any disability and due to his migrant background, his transfer to *Sonderschule* was affirmed. In fact, one of the main reasons for migrant children' enrollment in *Sonderschule* stems from their incompetency in German and related failed standing which is often classified as learning disability. Thus, while parents are informed that their sons/daughters have difficulty in learning and re-directed to *Sonderschule*, they often regard these schools as institutions for "retards", thus enrollment in one of them would stigmatize their children if they continue to stay in Germany. Also, in his remark, Mahmut addresses this as an act of discrimination towards migrant children for the reproduction of inequalities regarding the access of education. So that, migrant children would be unskilled individuals who would have no career prospects but work in migrant jobs.

it dwelled on the risk that their children would forget home culture and become Germanized if they continued their education in Germany. This suggests a threat to the inter-generational socialization process that underlines the transfer of family values that is shaped by the adoption of patriarchal family structure, emphasizing on the rule of father in the household. In other respects, it was feared that their children would adopt Western values that would encourage autonomy and developed sense of agency which eventually shift the role of child from being interdependent to family

to an independent member. In return, the child would challenge with parental control and cause a disintegration in family:

Mahmut: Even in the kindergarten, Germans impress the children in many ways. They take them to church. They were turned into Germans from an early age. And when they grow up, they learn more about German laws. When we had any problem at home, he could call the police. If my children had gone to school there, they would have met new people, mingled with Germans and hang out in places God knows where. When children reach 17-18, they would no longer be under family's control, and you never know what they would do.

Moreover, as Amuedo-Dorantes & Pozo (2006) argue, channeling one's remittances to homeland during the period of migrants' stay in host land is a form of social insurance that prepares migrants for return to homeland and in Mahmut's case, his social insurances were the apartment he bought in Istanbul and the wish to start a business upon return:

Mahmut: Since we had a house in Turkey, well, it was not for investment, it was our return ticket. During our vacation to Turkey, the idea of starting a business grew on me. We were farmers back then but when the automated machines were introduced, I got the idea of buying one knitting machine with my savings. I wanted to have a secure life when I got here. While I was still in Germany, we opened a shop in Turkey and my brother started working. On each visit to Turkey, I saw that business was going well so I could rely on this shop, this would save me from Germany. Next thing I did was to leave the job. The factory at that time was paying compensation to the workers who voluntarily left the job. That was also an opportunity for me and I got 18000DM.

In fact, the remittances he sent to homeland make Mahmut decide on the timing of return. Relatedly, their last photograph taken in Germany could be interpreted as cutting ties with host land. A photograph at the train station, waiting for the train that take them to Turkey already displays their engagement with another landscape, homeland. This connection with homeland is also bestowed to the identification of a train station as a non-place. According to Augé, non-place is devoid of identity yet the passengers, Mahmut's family is "defined by their destination" (Augé, 1995:107) to home. In this respect, the main focus in this photograph is Turkey even though there is no visible mark that indicates Turkey. However, this image posits a completion of a life-stage of a family and train-station since it is devoid of identity, also make each person "... relieved of his[sic] usual determinants" (Augé, 1995:103) dictating that they are no longer migrants. In addition, this photograph is an example

of a visual representation of linked lives. The decision made by Mahmut does not only unite the family in the act of return but also this unity signifies that not only no-one in the family but also nothing, referring his dislike of Germany, is left behind. Accordingly, this photograph invokes only the sense of joy associated not only with going back to home but being able to communicate in Turkish. The latter signifies reclaiming his authority. When he was in Germany, he states that he could respond when he was discriminated. Besides, as Mahmut narrates, returning is embedded with dreams, shaped by his plans to open a business. Finally, this photograph also calls for Mahmut's memory on his migration to Germany in 1973, indicating two significant transitions in his life-course:

Mahmut: I went to Germany by train and also returned to Turkey by train. The only difference is I had migrated to Germany as a single man and we returned as a family of 5.



Figure 6.34: Mahmut and his family are waiting at the station for return to Turkey, in 1988. Source: Mahmut and Seher's family album

Concerning Mahmut and Seher who had weaker ties with Germany during their stay and were longing for returning to Turkey put emphasis on the mnemonic links with Germany through remembering only the good aspects of German life which is significantly based on rules and regulations that govern the everyday life in Germany. Their individual recollections do not entail a sense of membership in Germany but use their past experiences as an instrument to compare the order of

things in Turkey. It could be defined as nostalgia, as they highlight the absence that characterizes everyday life in Germany and the failure to sustain similar practices in homeland:

Mahmut: Germans pick up their litter after they leave the park after picnicking. I also do that here when I leave the picnic area. When people leave their trash on the tables, I warn them but they do not listen. At these times, I can say that we hardly adapt here. Or, a person bumped into me while I was on the sidewalk and I warned him. He did not care. I thought that I was going to be in trouble here. You don't live through such things there.

Seher: We were the building managers. In Germany, even there were 10 apartments on the floor, you never heard a sound. It was prohibited to make sound on Sunday. In a building of 190 apartments, there is nothing but silence. Here, people do not respect each other. They are so loud. We hung a notice to warn the residents not to make sound while they were using the stairs. The next day, they tore it down. I wondered how we ever adapt here, we were used to their discipline, their silence. We were longing for the same environment here.

Their comparisons are intended to move beyond the discursive level as their memories are materialized in such practices that they wanted to sustain in their present setting. However, the inability to pursue them in their social milieu stems from the submission of individual experiences into the collective behavior. So that, these become individual actions, are only meaningful for them as “right” way to ensure the public order.

Mahmut and Seher did not like Germany. It was mainly due to their lack of adaptation to host culture which made them either socialize with Turkish migrant worker families or secluded in domestic sphere to hold on the unity of unity for survival in a foreign environment. Their lack of contact with German natives and corresponding rare acts of exclusion nurtured their unwillingness to socially and culturally integrate the host society. So that, they think return is the right thing to do even though Mahmut expresses that returning such a young age- he was 33 when he returned- while he was still employed raised questions for his decision after return. But, neither the young age or the anticipated increase in income did not outweigh the lived experiences of other Turkish migrants that led to the disintegration of their families. Ranging from consumption of alcohol, intimate relations with opposite sex to presence of nuns and the signs of cross even at the hospitals, school trips to churches are believed to influence their children to an extent that they would forget

their origins. Thus, when they look back, Mahmut is content about the return decision as he thinks that he saved his family. For Seher who returned to homeland when she was 30, she wishes she had participated the social life more, and resents that she wished she had more photographs of the churches, the streets, the environment than family photographs. In this way, she thinks that she could have proved that she actually lived there.

6.4 Case 4: Hayal

Hayal is 56 years old and a married woman who lives in Kucukyali, Istanbul. In her home, she keeps a trinket, a souvenir from the Olympic Games, organized in Germany in 1972, a clock that she proudly adds that it is still working, referring to the durability of German products. However, the most valuable item is a German cook book from which she learned cooking. Now she acknowledges that German cuisine has a rather limited scope, which she epitomizes that Germans have always cooked “easy” recipes during weekdays since they are always working and only cook meat during weekends; when compared to Turkish cuisine, she admits that she was impelled to learn proper cooking after she got married. Now, she only consults her cook book to make desserts which she thinks she has found a middle way to practice both German Turkish cuisine.

Her migration course started in 1970, at age of 7, right after her parents migrated to Germany from Istanbul to work. While her mother was working at an iron and steel factory, his father, a shoemaker at a small shop in Grand Bazaar, managed to be assigned to a shoe factory in Frankfurt. Hayal and her brother lived with their aunt in Istanbul for six months and then reunified with their parents. After spending 16 years in Germany, she was the first one in her family to return to homeland. Her decision to marry led to her return in 1986, while her parents stayed in Germany until 1999. Her brother, on the other hand did not return and currently, he lives in Munich.

It was Wäschenbeuren, a small town in Göppingen that made Hayal immediately resort to comparison to Istanbul, in order to make sense of her close environment that she was going to live from that time on:

We were living in a two-story house, close to the woods, it was verdurous. We were surrounded by greenery, there was a mountain, animals grazing in the

field. It was just the opposite of the city life in Istanbul, a life that we had never seen before.



Figure 6.35: Hayal's home in Göppingen. Circa 1970. Source: Hayal's photo album



Figure 6.36: Hayal and her brother posed in the neighborhood. Circa 1973. Source: Hayal's photo album

In this town, she was enrolled in the first grade. Even though she already completed second grade in Istanbul, she had to retake the first year since she could not speak German. It was a mixed school in terms of all the grades were educated ensemble in one class. In a class of 20 students, there were not any migrant students. On the other hand, the absence of Turkish students neither at school nor in the neighborhood caused her to sever her ties with the host country:

I did not like Germany, Turkey was always in my mind. It was only in my mind and heart since there was no Turkish around. Adding this, I was very angry at my parents since they migrated to Germany and brought me here, too. I never wanted to be in Germany. Yes, I got used to living here, went to school had friends but it was out of necessity. I was compelled to go to Germany so I had to live accordingly.

In her album Hayal has two school group photographs that succeed each other. These photographs communicate a sense of uniformity and continuity as it is taken annually to show students' progress in the educational track over time. It is ritualized and even compulsory to demonstrate students' belonging to a group through the arrangement of a corporeal fixity (i.e. same posture) that assert an identity in the sense of being identical.



Figure 6.37: Hayal and her classmates in primary school. Circa 1970. Source: Hayal's photo album



Figure 6.38: Hayal and her classmates in secondary school. Circa 1975. Source: Hayal's photo album

However, this sameness is affirmed within the confines of school environment, complying to a central curriculum in German, as language of instruction without pinpointing the cultural differences that indeed both are present in school and beyond it. On the one hand, school photographs are form of identification photographs by framing that indicate their specific relationship with an institution, on the other hand they are devoid of identifying the subject, his/her individuality for the sake of collectivity, sense of belonging to a particular group by underlying the role of student. Beyond this frame, Hayal's subject position dwells on this very lack of personal demonstration of identity. Her strong bonds with Turkey, being in the school as a matter of necessity, a regulation that demands her to fit in the host society overshadows the cultural difference bestowed of her being Turkish and Muslim. The uniformity in the photograph excludes the difference of the individuals, depicted. In sum, Hayal has two different versions of the school photographs that track her years in primary and secondary school-*Hauptschule* and they point to different stages of her belonging to host society. From primary to elementary school, she does not consider herself as a part of the group not only because she longs for Turkey and the feelings of resentment to her parents that made her strongly attach to homeland, it is also the feeling of otherness she experienced with her schoolmates, Hans and Kosima, Kosima's family did not approve their friendship since she was Turkish:

Kosima always invited me to her home after school. However, we always played in the garden, her parents did not let me be in their house. She was also befriended with my brother, since she was at my brother's age and one day, she told him that her parents did not want her to be friends with us because we were Turkish. We were playing together but there was a limit.

In her relationship with Hans, this time, she faced with a feeling of exclusion not because of being Turkish but being a Muslim:

One day, Hans asked me to go to a church with him. They were going every Sunday and I was very curious about it. During the service, they were approaching to a priest and he would give something them to eat. I followed the others and did the same. When we went out, he resented me and yelled at me: Why did you do it, he asked. I took you there to see it, you are a Muslim, you cannot participate in our service.

During elementary school, the sense of sameness was broken by choice. The foregrounding feature in these photographs is her way of belonging to Turkey which was cemented by her joy in Turkish class, held weekly for 2 hours:

We came back from school at 12:00 at noon. Sometimes, we had afternoon classes, for 2 hours. I attended to Turkish courses, there was also social studies lesson. It was the biggest pleasure in my life; learning things about Turkey, what Ataturk did. Thanks to this course, I improved my Turkish. We were also taught about April, 23rd. We had a parade on that day, we started from Turkish school, carried the Turkish flag. I was always the one who carried the flag.

There are series of photographs, taken during the day ranging from the images that she was at the center, carrying the flag in front, the parade, view from the close environs, people who came to watch the parade. In a similar vein, as a part of Turkish class, public folkloric demonstration in Göppingen portrays her close relations with Turkish students that dwell on their way of belonging to homeland. In this sense, way of belonging refers to “practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group” (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004:1010). Friendship with Turkish migrant student, the performances such as celebrations on April 23rd, holding a flag, attending to folkloric group and lastly, re-enactment of traditional village life in Anatolian Turkey are the actions that are concrete and mark visibly her Turkish identity. However, these photographs do not have a specific story on the day, rather they invoke strong feelings of pride, attachment and joy of re-membering to homeland by engaging in these practices that extend beyond borders.



Figure 6.39: Hayal attends the parade for April, 23rd in Germany. Circa 1977.

Source: Hayal's photo album



Figure 6.40: Hayal performs folkloric dance in the city centre of Göppingen. Circa 1975. Source: Hayal's photo album

The construction of way of belonging on the grounds of concrete action and visible markers are reciprocated visually in the album, along with the clipping and a page from a book, accentuate the links with her origins. These photographs and documents do not materialize the memory but the action, itself to affirm her identity, that is not only ascribed but also chosen. Therefore, they are not only objects that extend in time and space to defy temporality, rather the events depicted in them are not isolated moments in the past but personal statements that communicate with present and even future as she states that “We are living in Germany, but my mind is still in Turkey. Because what people think that if we live in Germany, we are Germanized”

Hayal asserts herself as “half Turkish and half German”, which is bestowed to her growing friendship with German classmates. In these encounters, she underlines the indistinguishability: “We are together with Germans, doing everything they do.”

“Doing everything that Germans do” could be interpreted as group socialization. According to Levine, Moreland and Ryan, it addresses the “temporal change between a group and the each of its members” (1998:284). The temporality is a significant factor in Hayal's social relations with German friends because her position in the group oscillates between acceptance, that is becoming a new member of the native

group, and exit, due to the lack of full accommodation to the group's expectation. This also implies that her socialization in a group could signify as a way of being rather than belonging since by participation of school and outside school activities with native group, she shared the same practices, acted in a similar way at a particular time which maintained her connection with the group. This nevertheless is accompanied with the phase of "remembrance" that focuses on the evaluation of the past experiences of the new member with the group (Levine, Moreland and Ryan, 1998:286). In this stage, Hayal's account shows the influence of the collected memories; the transmission of the past experiences of the first generation migrant workers that negatively affect the social accommodation of second generation migrants, expressed as below:

They made me feel that I am Turkish. In a condescending tone, even though I was telling them how we [family] were living, they thought that we were living in ghettos. It was mainly related to the lives of first migrant generations. When Turkish people migrated to Germany for the first time, they sent the wrong ones. I always heard the stories of people washing their clothes in the toilets, they feed their chickens in the bathrooms, they did not know what a toilet was. And they sent these people to Germany. In the end, we became the bad ones. They thought that we were just like the first generation. It was never enough for them that we were different, we could not change their mind.



Figure 6.41: Hayal and her German friends in the garden of their school. Circa 1979.

Source: Hayal's photo album

As it is possible for a person to become members of two distinct groups, Turkish second generation migrant and native group in this case, it is conclusive that while

her transient membership to German native peer group during her adolescence mainly grounded on participation in leisure activities that is as publicly visible as her actions that unequivocally are associated with Turkish identity, the distinction relies on the degree of commitment to the norms of the group. Thus, not only that her performances reveal her strong attachment to homeland, it is also underlined and stigmatized principally by the remembrance of the latter group.

The group dynamics could be traced in the photographs regarding birthday celebrations. Even though, they are one of the most ubiquitous forms of home-mode photography that are placed in the albums to an extent that they could be regarded as banal. However, in Hayal's case, birthday parties are regarded as common practice of Germans that organizing such events would ensure her participation in German culture. In addition, the invitees to these parties were strong markers of one's acceptance to a social group, where being invited to a birthday party of a German friend was regarded as a privilege. Inviting German friends from school are described as "normal" since according to Hayal "they come when they are invited, they do not decline. But, they do not invite you in return, in case you are a very close friend of them" Relatedly, the intimacy, could be maintained only with Turkish friends, expressed visibly in the sense of proximity, physical contact, even mimicry that do not only convey connection through sense of togetherness but also foreground difference when compared to the physical distance between friends in the birthday of a German friend, she was invited. Concerning the latter, being invited to a birthday party of a German friend is a symbolic capital since Hayal expresses that:

It is a privilege to be invited. Because, they only invite their special friends, they celebrate it with very few friends unlike us. If you are not invited, it is clear that you are not their friends, that's it. Their friends are rather distant, not like us.



Figure 6.42: Hayal's birthday party at her home with Turkish migrant friends. Circa 1978. Source: Hayal's photo album



Figure 6.43: Hayal attends the birthday party of her German friend. Circa 1978. Source: Hayal's photo album

When she started her apprenticeship as an assistant to an otolaryngologists; an ear, nose and throat specialist for 2 years, the distance that stemmed from being Turkish became a significant factor that led her to decide quit her job:

It was a hostile work environment. The doctor was xenophobic. As soon as my parents' friends learned that I started working there, they came for help since they could not speak German and could not explain their problem to German doctors. When Turkish people started coming in numbers and I was speaking Turkish with them, I was constantly scolded. The doctor asked me not to speak Turkish. In fact, he wanted them to come, there were many Turkish patients and he could make more money than before. Soon after, he prohibited me to speak Turkish. But it was nearly impossible. They were coming because they knew that I am Turkish.

As Bourdieu (1986) suggests, it is evident that there is a convertibility between the different forms of capital. Hayal's social capital, the network of Turkish migrant families which was constructed through "mutual acquaintance and recognition", comprise her schoolmates in Turkish course and co-workers at her parents' workplace. However, such mobilization of Hayal's social capital reveals discriminatory acts towards foreign workers that had implications on her work life, eventually resulted in leaving this job. In this sense, departing from Bourdieu's (1986) principle of conservation, the conversion between social and economic capital is reciprocated with relevant benefit and cost. The economic capital of the doctor, sustained through the network of Hayal's connections, was embedded with a cost for Hayal; reproduction of discrimination and quitting her job. As her group identification becomes a dominant factor in her choice of stay or leave the work sphere, it also became a prominent factor in her decision to return to Turkey. Even though, she continued to work in different fields, as a shop assistant at a retailer and as an au-pair for a German family, the ambivalent sense of belonging to either group, made her think Turkey as a better choice. But, she did not realize her plan until 1984 since she did not want to leave her family.

However, in 1985 upon her summer vacation in Istanbul, she met her future spouse and thought marriage is the only valid reason to leave her family in Germany and fulfill her desire to live in Turkey. And, when she married in 1986, at age of 24, she returned to Turkey:

Hayal: In my family, the idea of return never came up. Only after my father got retired, they considered return to spend their rest of life. In my case, I would only return if I got married. I do not know whether I would consider staying in Germany unless I got married, either.

Hayal organized a farewell party before her return where she invited her Turkish migrant and German friends from school and work. The photographs from that day create a transitional space where leaving from Germany is reciprocated with going to another location, Turkey and change of social status, from being a migrant to a returnee. In addition, Hayal's narrative explains this transition through feelings:

Hayal: This is the day before my return to Turkey. I was sad that I was leaving but it was my choice, I wanted it very much. Even so I felt resentment because I was about to break away from my friends, the place that I was living.



Figure 6.44: Hayal's farewell party held on her last day in Germany, 1986. Source: Hayal's photo album

Even though, she left Germany, it only refers to a physical movement. Her experiences in Germany made useful when she intends to incorporate selected aspects in her post-return live. To begin with, she created a "little German house" in the domestic sphere in her present setting, by bringing in the furniture, kitchen appliances from Germany. Her emphasis on "German house" is not only depended on the place from which they were transferred but also their absence in Turkish market at that time. Thus, in Hayal's life, they stand as symbols that make her pursue the same living standards in homeland:

Before returning to Turkey, the words of my uncle stuck in mind, 'how backward Turkey is' and with the fear of not finding what I was used to in Germany, I packed all my stuff and brought here. They were considered new, here. But, there it was simply a part of German life style.

Secondly, her entrance to work sphere was endowed with both individual skills and social capital. With the help of a fellow returnee, she was employed at a tourism agency and later at an airline company where her competence in German moves beyond the domestic sphere, As the human capital as a source of incorporation has positive effects on her life-course after return, her cooking practice which she adopts from German cuisine had negative effects when translated in the home setting:

During my first years of return, I was cooking German foods. Actually, Germans have no culinary culture, they always cook boiled potatoes and cauliflower. Or, they buy packed cooked rice instead of cooking how we do it in Turkey. They taught us how to cook at school. That was all I know. And, it caused serious problems at home. My husband never liked them. He considered them as appetizers, not the main course. He wanted me to make soup, cook meat. But, I did not know them.

Thirdly, she incorporated her observations on child-rearing which she refers as “German system” . However, it fueled the tension between home and host culture in terms of the degree of expressive role of mother in parenting. According to Fişek (1991), mother-child relationship stresses on the emotional proximity, expressed in caring, touching, and sharing. The “system” is rejected after the born of their second child due to the father’s participation in the child-care responsibilities in the household. In this case, besides of having an instrumental role in the family as a provider, Hayal’s agency in German system is replaced by her husband’s preference to raise their son traditionally which could be interpreted as a return to prevailing normative family structure:

Hayal: When my first child was born, I was very decisive on following the rules. She was going to bed at 19:00 because the bed time for kids in Germany was at 19:00, after the bed-time story program on TV. When a kid cries, a mother does not go and soothe her/him. When my husband attempted to care her when she cried, I opposed him and told him that he could not meddle with my system, German system. However, I decided to go for Turkish way when my second child was born. I realized that it would not worth his crying. The influence of Germany was dominant in my first child, my daughter suffered from it. But, I gave it all up when raising my second child.

Hayal's incorporation of her past experiences are epitomized as outcomes of a German mind, she defined as follows: "The German mind is about comparing two countries. But you can't live in Turkey while thinking like a German" Gradually, German mindset is replaced with a sense of prospective nostalgia that brings together "two images- of home and abroad, past and present, dream and everyday life" (Boym, 2011: 14). Her ties with Germany are constructed through recollections that evoke the sense of longing for the good aspects of host life rather than incorporating the practices associated with these aspects in their home setting due to the differences in two cultures. While her initiatives one child care did not sustain due to the opposition of her husband, her longings on the discipline, systematic working of institutions, order maintained through absence of bureaucratic obstacles, cleanliness of public spaces, abidance to traffic rules prevailed by knowing that adopting a German mind would only complicate her transition in Turkey as it did in her brother's case, resulted in his re-migration to Germany.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In this study, my aim was to explain the role of host country, Germany, by analyzing twelve Turkish first generation and second generation return migrants and their connections to Germany after their return to homeland. In order to understand their ongoing connections, I focused on their memory-work and photographs, which were produced by the return migrants during their stay in Germany and carried along primarily because of being biographical documentations of their presence, charged with the memories of the country, they left behind. In this sense, I primarily examine the directionality of these ties. In existing literature on transnationalism, empirically, these ties are often postulated on the migrants' existing relations on homeland as a way of making their place in the host land by reproducing their practices and showing their entrenched attachment to home culture. Theoretically, transnationalism accentuated on the "exchange", "flow" of material and immaterial resources that could suggest an ongoing and bilateral movement. With this study, by addressing return migration, I, specifically, aimed to highlight the movement from host land to homeland through emphasizing memory; in other words, recollection of return migrants' past experiences that stretched to present through their narratives and the memories, already attached to their photographs. Thus, I suggested that memories both in words and images could enable such an exchange across borders.

My research questions centered around their memories, which I argue as a form of transitional tie that shape their sense of attachment to both countries by unfolding the aspects, they choose to bring in their post-return lives. These questions, underlined four points: who remembers, how one narrates what they remember and want to share among their repertoire of their past experiences, how one is photographed and what they actually bring in their present setting through these recollections. My

sample consisted of both first and second generation return migrants, the ones who were born and raised in Turkey, unlike the third and fourth generations, who were born in Germany and had no prior connection with Turkey. Thus, their main attachment was primarily built upon their ties with Turkey before they migrated to Germany. I questioned the ways in which they could locate their sense of attachment to two countries in their memory-makings after return. By that way, the influence of their past experiences in the host land would be made visible.

In the postulation of “Who”, I adopted generational perspective, a comparative look between first and second generation return migrants. It suggested that their past experiences are not only different but also the ways in which they re-connect with the host land would be grounded on different aspects due to their migration life-courses in relation with their age and the period of migration. It was also important to question their life-courses as men and women. The integration of life-course fulfilled the main aim of this study, as it focused on the biographies of individuals. Thus, it made me analyze the stages in their lives by taking a retrospective perspective, to pinpoint their personal experiences, the effect of external factors such as structural conditions that impinge on their participation to host country and their agency on how they choose to act or not in these spheres in host land. More importantly, it helped me to locate their photographs which I was able to see that they are not only the documents of presence or materials that invoke their memories, fixed to the image.

I saw that their accounts and their photographic productions highlighted their transitions in the host land. In this respect, as I first conducted life-story interviews and then photo-elicitation, photographs strengthened my position to suggest that they were complementary with their narratives, pointing accurately the spheres. They accentuated their change of status, as working men and women, type of leisure activities they involved, how they position themselves in relation to their presence in host land. To elucidate, first generation return migrants' life courses were concentrated on their work life and leisure time which they regarded the latter as a route for participation to social sphere. Among second generation, with the age-effect whose arrival to the host land took place during their early years, between school age and early adolescence, their transitions relied on primarily the change of location,

their school life and their work life. It was different from the first generation migrants since they were not engaged in menial labor because of their educational track that prepared them to labor force which qualified them to do apprenticeship in vocations such as doctor's assistantship, hairdressing, pharmacist's assistantship. Lastly, their transitions also included their participation to social sphere, differently from the first generation as they were competent in German and indicating more contact with German natives. The transitions made me analyze the change of their roles and status within these spheres, based on their positioning as they accentuated in their narratives and elicitation on their photographs.

As I stated above, photographs have always been indices of the presence, being biographical documentation of the ones which in the first place led me to study them. But at the end of the study, I suggest that there is a strong link between their indexicality and intentionality. The photographs are beyond being records or invoking memories. They indicated their positionings in the host land, whether through work or leisure activities, unraveling the degree of their integration to the host society. The importance of work photographs is that when accompanied with the narratives, they are clearly personal statements that indicate the interaction between structures such as working conditions, hours of working, the tasks and their agency to reinvent their work conditions and even challenge with them.

Regarding the first generation, I could underline these points as the main findings of the study. To start with, in the cases of Esat and İsmet, photographs on their work lives could be regarded as stereotypical; they stand by the machines they operate are representative of the migrant worker image. However, through employment of their subjective time to the production and breaking the rules such as "no smoking" in the workplace, or taking photographs even though it is prohibited, these are indeed performances of authority. In women's cases, working is associated with a sense of emancipation and empowerment. Regarding the former, becoming waged labor indeed did not affect their roles in the family structure. But, the emphasis was not on the improvement of economic capital, or its contribution to the household economics. In Tülay's case, emancipation was evident in her "suspension" of her mother role for a period of time in order to work. In both Kerime's and Tülay's cases, they had to negotiate their decision to work with their spouses to get a permission from them to

start. For Tülay, it was for the sense of freedom as she was going through depression because of her secluded life and for Kerime, it was only a means to reunite with his spouse, İsmet, emancipating from the expanded family structure in Elazığ and the responsibility of being a care taker to İsmet's and her own family.

In work narratives, there is a demarcation between men 'and women 'way of narration. While men strongly emphasize on "I, women 'narratives were constructed around their social relations in which they often used reported speech to quote their colleagues and friends 'impressions about them. This was in line with Ely and McCabe (2017)'s analysis as I presented in Chapter 2. In addition, the quotes were used as a way of their self-identification which necessarily underlined their difference among the first generation Turkish worker migrant women. The difference dwelled on the achievement in Tülay's case. She executed a task that was not a menial job via her level of competency in using computers maintaining her promotion at work. In fact, sense achievement was one of the main factors that made her associate herself with being like a German in terms of doing the same job as well as looking like them from outside in way of clothing.

In terms of leisure activities, I showed that there was a difference in men and women 'activities. The difference firstly relied on the change of the marital status of men, their activity spaces. Even their companions changed when they reunified with their spouses in Germany. In this respect, both Esat's and İsmet's photographic productions could be given as examples. Before the reunification, Esat's leisure time consisted of spending time with his German friends, participating German festivities such as *Fasching*, which made him referred as "Gavur Esat" by Turkish migrant friends to address his social proximity with German culture. In addition, he spent time with his Turkish friends with whom they explored the city asserting his familiarization with foreign landscape by spotting these places as regular spots. For İsmet, his leisure activities were either with Turkish migrant friends at park, which was a common space that Turkish migrants gathered or a lonely time being as he tried frequently to visit the museums and what he called as German coffee shops that Turkish migrants were not usually allowed to due to their aggressive compartments.

Considering the use of memories in relation to the theoretical framework of this study, I can say that their narratives significantly relied on communicative memory (Assmann, 2008) that was grounded on autobiographical recollections on their everyday lives in which work and leisure activities had been the focus. In specific cases, they made their collected stories (Schiff et al. 2001) usable to locate themselves differently from Turkish migrant community. In this sense, use of collected memories, themselves, were interpreted mainly as what “Turkish migrants did before us, but I did not” That was the main point of demarcation, then, since the collective memories, following Halbwachs (1992), suggest a membership to a group in which the memories are constructed. In addition, collected memories addressed the transfer of memories as if that belonged to the outer-group besides themselves and in these cases that used to disassociate themselves from their cohort.

Women 'leisure activities were structured around family gatherings accompanied by their spouses within Turkish migrant families. In Tülay's case, the photographic productions mainly addressed their activities as couples; touring the city or photos taken by Esat in the garden regarded as leisure time activities. In Kerime's, there was one photograph in which she was accompanied by İsmet. Ayşe's album was devoted to the photographs of Ali, her spouse's gatherings with his fellow townsmen.

Within the abovementioned framework, I would like to discuss women 'place in decision making both at the start of migration and during the return. In neither cases, women had an agency. They were tied-movers whose lives, in the life course perspective, could be perceived as linked to their spouses 'life course. When they got married, they waited their spouses 'to make an attempt for reunification. For example, in Kerime's case, she had to wait for nearly 18 years. In a similar manner, return decision was not a result of an equal participation to decision-making in the household. Reasons, such as retirement signified men 'retirement even though women were also working. Or, considering the future of the daughter/son also placed women 'needs and interest in an inferior position. Only, in Ayşe's case, it was an autonomous decision. She returned upon her retirement and her motive was driven by a life-style change to spend her time in a familiar environment.

Upon their return, what they incorporated also had generational difference. I will make that clear when I discuss the main findings of the second generation and will show that they are also gendered. For men, İsmet and Esat, it was their work practices that they wanted to preserve and sustain via opening business with the savings in Germany. Also, they aspired to sustain the work discipline they acquired in Germany because it was the only way to address the inadequacies, in İsmet's words, *kara düzen*, practiced by the other carpenters he met in Turkey. Again, in İsmet's case, he aimed to apply the same building management rules he experienced in Germany to his new apartment in Istanbul. In addition, they all relied on the comparisons with the organization of everyday life like the order in public institutions, cleanliness of streets in Germany and for example, in Ayşe's case, questioning the population of unemployed women in Turkey. In the light of this, I argued that the first generation return migrants' reconnection to host land mainly dwelled on their "ability" to make comparisons between the two countries. In this respect, their recollections on their past experiences became a capital that indicated their competency to see things differently bestowed upon their acquired knowledge with the order of things in Germany. Hence, they privileged their experiences by levelling them as "the best" version with respect to the failures they had encountered in the homeland. Moreover, I suggested that their intentions to sustain these best practices were short-lived and only maintained on individual level.

The *Almancı* identification was attributed by non-migrant native population to the returnees in these cases and was charged with negative connotations such as labelling them as being as *nouveaux riches* and not being Turkish enough. It even led to incidents that involved physical violence. On the other hand, in Tülay and Esat's case, their perceptions on *Almancı* were also grounded on the negative aspects and that is why they did not associate themselves as being one but emphasized the "jealousy" of natives because they came from Germany. In this case, the accentuation on coming from Germany is related with the identification of being like a German suggesting internalization of the practiced held by Germans particularly in the social spheres such as going to restaurants, having a same sense of fashion, attending festivities such as *Oktoberfest* and *Fasching*. In addition, their leisure activities became an indicator in this identification, addressing that they spent money

on the activities that Germans engaged rather than saving money for returning to homeland.

Regarding the second generation return migrants, their narratives departed from the first impressions on the host land upon their arrival. Their first recollections on the environment showed that migration had a “primacy effect” (Schuman and Corning, 2011) in their lives more than the first generation which also underlined Mannheim’s (1972) argument on the permanency of memories during one’s childhood to early adolescence.

Exploration of the neighborhood and their living spaces were predominantly photographed by them as a part of making lives in Germany and marking their place. This also led them to narrate their first contact with their German neighbors which had diverse implications such as either creating kinship like relations or facing with discriminatory acts due to their migrant backgrounds. The latter case indicated the effect of structural conditions such as emerging xenophobia that escalated significantly in the 1980s. For instance, 1980s was such a time period that Nur and Hayal were partly subjected to discriminatory behavior by their employers because they were speaking Turkish at the workplace while doing their apprenticeship as doctor’s assistants at hospital.

Indeed, both the school years and working experiences made the second generation question their permanent identities, being Turkish and Muslim. In Nur’s case, it resulted in hiding and even rejection of these identities to avoid stigmatization. In Zeliha’s and Celile’s cases, they underlined integration as a process for Turkish migrants. It wasn’t valid for them though since upon their arrival to Germany their frequent contact with German natives and their competency in German distinguished them from Turkish migrant community whom they regarded as having distinct markers ranging from incompetency in German to way of clothing and their limited social participation. In this respect, structural factors in terms of education system and social integration had limited effect on them because they were all engaged in schooling, through which they acquire both educational and social skills that allowed them to enter into labor market and made them exemplary models for the other second generation Turkish migrants. Socially, making German friends which were

often expressed as a “privilege” given their migrant backgrounds, their engagement in social activities with German peers in the public sphere, in Hayal’s words, inferred doing what Germans do. These made them evade stigmatization while constructing identity salience, leading to self- identifications as either like a German or half German and half Turkish. On the other hand, with the introduction of Turkish courses at their schools, Hayal participated in the performances related to the celebrations of national holidays. Their photographs in this sense were illustrative. In Nur’s and Gül’s case, non-existence of photos with the family during adolescence signified the avoidance of stigmatization since their mothers was a veiled women and it strongly underlined their difference and visibility in the public sphere. Thus, whereas Hayal’s photographs during these parades and her attendance to a birthday party of a German friend highlighted her dual belonging, Celile’s and Zeliha’s photographs during their attendances to the Turkish night and gathering with Turkish friends in a domestic sphere ran counter to the narrative that accentuated their similarities with the Germans.

Except Hayal’s and Celile’s cases, not only their decision to migrate was dependent on the family reunification, in the return process, they were also tied-movers. The main emphasis on return was either about the fear of parents on “losing” them in terms of losing the parental control over them or the loss of “honor” . It also indicated the dislike of Germany as they were unwilling to integrate. The latter case was evident in the migration course of Mahmut and Seher who were second generation migrants but their relations with the host land underlined their similarity with the first generation Turkish migrants. It could be exemplified by Mahmut’s engagement in menial labor with the limited and even no contact with Germans outside the workplace. Moreover, Seher’s seclusion in the domestic sphere and the leisure activities that were significantly held with other Turkish migrant worker families were also indicative of the intra-generational difference.

Only Nur and Gül continued their education for a short period after their return to homeland. Even though the introduction of policies to facilitate their re-adaptation to Turkey through offering adaptation courses for second generation return migrants, the reason for failure to continue their education significantly relied on their attitudes, such as self-assertion that was regarded as a challenge to school authority.

In daily life, way of clothing such as wearing jeans in Zeliha's case and a jumper in Gül's case made them hyper-visible in their hometowns. Or, instances at school such as correcting the teacher whose profession was teaching German as a foreign language in high school were found to be inappropriate. Accordingly, the in-existent photographs after return when they were wearing jeans or photographs taken in front of the television, in fact, could be interpreted as a response to their perceived differences. Also, in Nur's case, the feeling of discrimination she had in Germany was reproduced in the homeland, when she decided to be veiled, another stigma that unearthed secular-religious divide. Indeed, for Nur, it was about "finding the meaning of Islam" which she avoided during her stay in Germany as she regarded as a sign of backwardness in the host culture.

Among the second generation Turkish returnees, what they incorporated was not only diverse compared to the first generation return migrants in this sample; but, they were also long-lasting. Women 'incorporation were concentrated on child-care practices, creating what they referred as Little Germany with a motive to sustain the familiarity of their home in Germany. They continued to speak German with family members and cooked German recipes to live like in Germany in the domestic sphere of their present setting. According to them, they all adopted the German mentality, mindset of a German in the homeland. In relation with these practices, two of them were significant in terms of "tension" they created. First of all, according to the second generation return migrants in this sample, child-care practices had an emancipatory power for women as they were the only carriers of this knowledge on child-care in German way. It was grounded on less affectionate ties where there was less reliance on gendered patterns in caring and no inclusion of extended family for the child-care practices when compared to child-care practices in Turkey. However, in Hayal's case, due to her spouse's objection, continuity of this practice was impeded with the birth of her second child, a son and a return to traditional practices occurred. Secondly, again in Hayal's case, cooking practices in terms of choice of food according to their eating habits in Germany was also objected.

I also underlined that all return migrants, without any generational difference had displayed a pattern of upward mobility since all of them returned with improved economic capital channeled mostly on owning apartments not in their hometowns but

in Istanbul. They also invested in a business. Most significantly, their accounts on migration course showed that in line with the conceptualization of re-narrations (Welzer, 2010), they reshaped their stories as stories of success when they interpreted their past experiences in the host land in present perspective. Their accounts also suggested that their memories were translated into capital to claim their difference from the non-migrant natives through their competencies. It could be epitomized as the adoption of a worldview exemplified in elements of incorporation. From work lives to leisure time activities, the underlying theme was their expressions of agency in these spheres in the host land and through their recollections, they accentuated their achievement in the migration course.

However, there were also limitations of this study. I intended to depart from the indexical and memory-function of the photographs whereas it puts a new perspective to Wolbert's (2001) conceptualization of "no-story" photos. In this sense, as I exemplified Ayşe's case, it refers to a purposeful act of displaying migrants' no-connection to the host land to communicate the absence of their families at that time. On the other hand, the most of the photographs, particularly that I could not use, were devoid of memories. Despite the volume of photographs, they were, indeed, taken to complete the roll (*filmi doldurmak*) in the camera to process the photographs and obtain their copies. They were, in a way, made redundant and placed out of their autobiographical documentation without communicating any personal statement about their experiences or events regarding their lives in the host land. Depending on this reason, I tried to use the most meaningful photographs. By meaningful, I refer to photographs' interaction with the subject's point of view and memory function that could unravel the stories that were absent in their narratives. However; I do not think that these photographs unearthed such stories.

Furthermore, one of the main limitations of this study would be stated as the sample size. If the study had only relied on the photographic albums, my sample size would have been more than sufficient. The works of Kuhn (2007), Tolia-Kelly (2004) and Rose (2003) would be stated as examples to this. By stating that, I refer to one of the prominent works in the photographic practice which I also intended to adopt a similar perspective. Namely, it was Chalfen's (1991) study on two American-Japanese migrant albums. Chalfen, without resorting to narratives since the possessor

of the photographs was deceased. He highlighted migrant subjectivities on their productions that took place both in their homeland, Japan and the USA, such as their school years and how they dwelled on the communication with their belongings to both cultures. However, reasons to conclude this study with the small sample size stemmed from two limitations: Firstly, this study was only held with the return migrants in Istanbul, mostly focused on the residents of the Anatolian side of the city which could be further expanded. In this sense, for example, choice of location could be expanded, namely to Antalya as the study of Kılınç and King (2018) showed that Antalya hosted significant number of returnees due to its “charm” compared to the “monotonous and grey” life of Germany, according to the accounts of the related study sample. Also, as I stated in Chapter 3, they were rather invisible because whether they were return migrants or not, they were entirely dependent on their self-identifications and their willingness to share this information with other people. The second generation, as I experienced during the search of the sample, could be accessed whether through a spouse of a second generation returnee, again, depending on the information of the spouse or references who already had ties with the interviewees and knew that they were returnees. Or, when I conducted my interviews and maintained a trust relation with them, they could refer to their friends who were also return migrants.

Regarding the sample size, display of photographs was the main issue. Even their use was limited in this study. People (besides the cases) that I interviewed during the course of my study hesitated to share them. Unlike the traditional conventions of photographic production and its distribution with the emergence of internet-based social networking sites, a family album had still been considered “private” that would have prevented the possessors of the albums from showing it to people outside of their social circle. In this sense, albums’ locations in their domestic sphere would have strengthened this idea of privacy as they were often kept in the cabinets and only family members and entourage of the possessors could have the access. This tendency also demonstrated that exchange of memories within the framework of these albums were also special to them and they were conservative on that matter.

I had the difficulty in coming across “meaningful” photographs that indicated their experiences in the homeland after their return. This compelled me to rely on their

accounts to fill their absence which I also interpreted as a way of avoiding stigma. On the other hand, drawing upon memories also highlighted that not every recollection on their migration course was either accentuated on their photographic productions or incorporated as practices in their present setting.

I believe that the interrelation between methods and theoretical perspective of this study could be regarded as a contribution to the given literature. To start with, emphasis on the continuity of migration course with return only focused on the implications on the post- return lives of the returnees in order to understand the ways in which they could transfer their human, social and economic capital from the host land. The studies addressed these ties on macro and meso level and intended to locate returnees 'influence through their initiatives on the local level. Alternatively, I aimed to stress the importance of it on the individual level and its impact on their life course after their return. Studies on transnational return often overlook the linkages between the stages of migration both in the host land and homeland to pinpoint such exchanges in returnees 'present settings. In this sense, I wanted to integrate life-course perspective to outline the entire migration course from their decision to migrate to post-return lives.

Moreover, I focused on the memories because I aimed to demonstrate them besides being a factor in return decisions or yearnings to the country they left behind and indicate the influence of return migrants' present settings after their return. Firstly, the retrospective analysis underlined the life-events and related past experiences of return migrants and through their narratives, these experiences were re-constructed based on their present perspective allowing them to repurpose their migration stories. Secondly, the methods such as I used in this study were complementary not only to each other but also provided linkages between the concepts. Life-story interviews and photo-elicitation method allowed me to delve into the memories, return migrants selected and emphasized. This "selection" was significant because on the one hand, I showed that their narratives were constructed in present as a story that dwells on the achievements, good aspects of host life and on the other hand, they made me locate the photographs in the periods of their life-course, they narrated.

Lastly, King and Lulle (2022) argue that gender is an undermined dimension in return migration. In my cases, I attempted to highlight the role of gender in decision making, their experiences in work, education and leisure spheres particularly through the type of practices they engaged in the host land. Reciprocally, it was also evident that practices that women incorporated in their post-return lives were gendered.

For future research, I think this study would provide a point of departure to discuss the role of photographic production in the digital era via use of social networking services. First of all, analogue photography and its use in vernacular images have been long replaced by digital photography and their circulation also expanded with the increase in the use of social network. The family albums that are considered to be private documents as I indicated as one of the main limitations of the sampling are now digitalized and shared. In this sense, Twitter accounts such as *Diasporatürk* rely on the contributions of Turkish migrants in Europe who send their family photographs taken in different locations in the host countries that they have settled. Based on the fact, privacy of the family album also altered when the possessors shared them via public Twitter accounts created by the members of the migrant families or such initiatives. Nevertheless, this could have also been interpreted as a new form of privacy where followers of the accounts are regarded as “virtual” and extended family.

However, considering selfies as a popular photographic practice in these networks, they are devoid of memory-function. These photographs according to Champion (2012) are not the documents of “having being there” (Barthes, 1981:76) anymore but a form of “I’m here” (Simons, 2010:572). Relatedly, photographs rather than being indices for the depiction of special events, they become the visual expressions of ordinary lives of people, engaged in ordinary practices, such as eating, drinking coffee, walking, shopping, etc. The unity that is stressed as photographic convention by Bourdieu (1990) is now maintained through connection through following one’s social media account, liking one’s photographs as a validation of togetherness. The new function of photography focuses on the present, what one is doing at the very moment. The tendency to capture each moment in everyday life to avoid the fear of missing out, it also addresses undermining of privacy. Now, the photographs are produced in order to be shared not to be kept in the albums or made available to close

circle. Regarding the upward trend on posting photographs via social networks could be a field of study to reconsider the characteristics of a photograph. Its indexicality (how real is one's photograph when it could be manipulated for more likes), being personal documents that communicate a certain statement about oneself (photographing oneself at a top dining restaurant as an indicator of improved economic capital) now grounded on how one wants to be seen. All in all, referring to Erlil (2011), the photographs now travel without the memories.

REFERENCES

- Abadan-Unat, N. (1976). Turkish Migration to Europe (1960-1975). A Balance Sheet of Achievements and Failures In N. Abadan-Unat (Ed.) Turkish Workers in Europe (1960-1975)- A Socio-Economic Reappraisal, Leiden: E.J. Brill
- Abadan-Unat, N. (1977). Implications of Migration on Emancipation and Pseudo-Emancipation of Turkish Women. *The International Migration Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 31-57. DOI: 10.2307/2545006
- Abadan-Unat, N. (1984). Uluslararası Göç Akımının Kadınların Toplumsal Rollerini Üzerindeki Etkisi: Türkiye Örnek Olayı, *In Prof. Aziz Köklü'nün Anısına Armağan*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları: 535
- Abadan-Unat, N. (2002). *Bitmeyen Göç: Konuk işçilikten Ulus-ötesi yurttaşlığa*. İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Abadan-Unat, N. (2011). *Turks in Europe. From Guest Worker to Transnational Citizen*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Abadan, Nermin (1971). Federal Almanya'nın 1966-1967 de Geçirdiği Ekonomik Buhran Açısından Yabancı İş Gücü ve Türk İşçilerinin Durumu. *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* , 26 (04). Doi: 10.1501/SBFder_0000001278
- Ahmed, S. (2000). *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Akbalık, F.G., Karaduman B. D., Oral, E.A, Özdoğan, B, (2003), Adaptation Levels And Self Perceptions Of The Turkish Students Who Had Come From Foreign Country, Ankara University, *Journal of Faculty of Educational Sciences*, 36 (1-2), 1- 11

Akcan, E. (2012). *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey and the Modern House*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press

Akgündüz, A. (2013). Bir Modernleşmeyi Hızlandırma Projesi Olarak Batı Avrupa'ya İşçi Göçü. In R. F. Barbaros & E. J. Zürcher (Eds.), *Modernizmin Yansımaları 60'lı yıllarda Türkiye*. Ankara: Efil Yayınevi.

Akkaya, Kadri (2016, 15 Kasım). “Berlin'i 'Vatan' Hissetmem İçin, Üsküdar'ı Unutmam Gerekmiyor” Dünya Bizim. Retrieved January,21,2023 2023 from <https://www.dunyabizim.com/soylesi/berlini-vatan-hissetmem-icin-uskudari-unutmam-gerekmiyor-h25208.html>

Akşit, B. (1985). *Köy, Kasaba ve Kentlerde Toplumsal Değişme: Toplum, Siyaset ve Kültür Dönüşümleri Üzerine Araştırmalar*. Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi

Akşit, B. (1993). Studies in Rural Transformation in Turkey 1950-1990 In P. Stirling (Ed.), *Culture and economy: Changes in Turkish villages*. Huntingdon: Eothen Press.

Alonso-Rey, N. (2016). Memory in Motion: Photographs in Suitcases. In M.Palmberger, J.Tosic (Eds.). *Memories on the Move: Experiencing Mobility, Rethinking the Past*. London: Palgrave MacMillan

Alpago, F. (2019). I am doing well in Austria. Biography, photography and migration memories of a 1970s guest worker. *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia*, Fascicolo 1, gennaio-marzo, 47-74

Altman, C.E. (2015). Age, Period and Cohort Effects. In F.D. Bean, S.K. Brown (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Migration*. Dordrecht: Springer Science+Business Media.

Alwin, D.F., McCammon, R.J., Hofer ,S.M. (2006). Studying baby boom cohorts within a demographic and developmental context: conceptual and methodological issues. In: S.K.E. Whitbourne, S.L.Willis (Eds.), *The baby*

boomers grow up: contemporary perspectives on midlife. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers

Amuedo-Dorantes, C., Pozo, S. (2006). Migration, Remittances, and Male and Female Employment Patterns. *American Economic Review*, 96(2), 222-226. Doi: 10.1257/000282806777211946

Andall, J. (2000) *Gender, Migration and Domestic Service: The Politics of Black Women in Italy*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Anwar, M. (1979). *The myth of return: Pakistanis in Britain*. Heinemann Educational Books.

Apitzsch, U., Siouti, I. (2007). Biographical Analysis as an Interdisciplinary Research Perspective in the Field of Migration Studies, Retrieved February, 17, 2023 from https://www.york.ac.uk/res/researchintegration/Integrative_Research_Methods/Apitzsch%20Biographical%20Analysis%20April%202007.pdf

Apitzsch, U., Siouti, I. (2014) Transnational Biographies, ZQF, 1+2, 12-23. from, <https://doi.org/10.3224/zqf.v14i1-2.21324>

Assmann, A. (2014). Transnational Memories. *European Review*, 22(4), 546-556. doi:10.1017/S1062798714000337

Assmann, J. (2008). Communicative and Cultural Memory. In A. Erll, A. Nünning, (Eds.), *Cultural memory studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Ataca, B. (2009). Turkish family structure and functioning, In S.Bekman, A.Aksu-Koç (Eds.), *Perspectives on Human Development, Family and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Atkinson, R. (1998). *The Life Story Interview*. London: Sage Publications
- Atkinson, R. (2002). *The Life Story Interview*, J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.)
In *Handbook of Interview Research: Context & Method*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Augé, M. (1995). *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (J.Howe, Trans.). London, New York: Verso
- Aybek, C. (2011). Varying Hurdles for Low-Skilled Youth on the Way to the Labour Market. In M. Wingers, M. Windzio, H. De Valk, & C. Aybek (Eds.), *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*. Dordrecht, Heidelberg, London, New York: Springer.
- Aydın, Y. (2020). New Trends in Turkey-Germany Migration. *Germany Brief 13*, July/August, 1-8
- Bachelard, G. (1994). *The Poetics of Space: The Classic Look At How We Experience Intimate Places*. (M.Jolas, Trans.)Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press
- Banks, M. (2001). *Visual Methods in Social Research*. London: Sage Publications
- Banks, M. (2007). *Using Visual Data in Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications
- Barthes, R.(1981). *Camera Lucida*. New York: Hill and Wang
- Basch, L. G., Schiller, N. G., & Blanc, S. C. (1994). *Nations unbound: Transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments and deterritorialized nation-states*. New York: Gordon and Breach.

Batchen, G. (2004). *Forget Me Not: Photography & Remembrance*. Princeton Architectural Press, New York

Bateson, G., & Mead, M. (1942). *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis*. Retrieved January 25, 2023, from https://monoskop.org/images/8/8d/Bateson_Gregory_Mead_Margaret_Balinese_Character_A_Photographic_Analysis.pdf

Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid Modernity and Beyond*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Baumel, J.T. (1998). *Double Jeopardy: Gender and the Holocaust*, Elstree: Vallentine Mitchell

Becker, H. (1974). *Photography and sociology*. Retrieved January 25, 2023, from <https://repository.upenn.edu/svc/vol1/iss1/3>

Benson, M., O'Reilly, K. (2009). Migration and the search for a better way of life: a critical exploration of lifestyle migration. *Sociological Review*, 57(4), 608–625.

Berger, J. (1972). *Ways of seeing*. London: BBC and Penguin.

Berger, J., & Mohr, J. (2010). *A Seventh Man*. London: Verso Books.

Berry, J. W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29(6), 697–712. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.07.013>

Bertaux-Wiame, I. (1979). The life history approach to the study of internal migration. *Oral History* 7 (1): 26-32.

- Bettin, G., Cela, E., Fokkema, T. (2018). Return intentions over life course: Evidence on the effects of life events from a longitudinal sample of first and second generation Turkish migrants in Germany. *Demographic Research*, 39, Article 38, 1009-1038. Doi: [10.4054/DemRes.2018.39.38](https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2018.39.38)
- Bodnar, J. (1996). Generational memory in an American town. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 26(4), 619-637. doi:10.2307/205044
- Bolognani, M. (2015). From myth of return to return fantasy: A psychosocial interpretation of migration imaginaries. *Identities*, 23(2), 193-209. doi:10.1080/1070289x.2015.1031670
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The Forms of Capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Westport, CT: Greenwood
- Bourdieu, P. (1990) *Photography: A middlebrow*. Art. Trans. S. Whiteside. Stanford: Stanford University Press
- Bourdieu, P. (1996). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press
- Bourgoin, A., Bencherki, N. (2013). The performance of authority in organizations: an example from management consulting. CSI Working Papers Series: 29.
- Boym, S. (2011). *The future of nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books.
- Brah, A. (1996). *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*. New York: Routledge
- Breckner, R.(2003) Biographical Continuities and Discontinuities in East-West Migration before and after 1989. Two case studies of migration from

Romania to West Germany, In R. Humphrey, R. Miller, E. Zdravomyslova (Eds.), *Biographical Research in Eastern Europe*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Brooks, G. (1995). *Nine parts of desire: The hidden world of Islamic women*. New York: Doubleday.

Brooks, V.W. (1918). On Creating a Usable Past, *The Dial*, 64(7), 337-341

Brubaker, R. (2001). The Return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration and its sequels in France, Germany, and the United States. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24(4), 531-548. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870120049770>

Burke, C., de Castro H.R. (2007). The School Photograph: Portraiture and the Art of Assembling the Body of the Schoolchild, *History of Education*, 36 (2), 213-226. Doi: 10.1080/00467600601171450

Butler, J., Athanasiou, A. (2013). *Dispossession: The Performative In The Political*. Conversations with Athena Athanasiou. Cambridge: Polity Press

Butler, K.D. (2001). Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse. *Diaspora*, 10 (2), 189-219

Caglar, A. (2006). Hometown associations, the rescaling of state spatiality and migrant grassroots transnationalism. *Global Networks*, 6(1), 1-22

Caglar, A. (2011). McDöner Döner kebab and the social positioning struggle of German Turks, In G. Baumann, S. Vertovec (Eds.), *Multiculturalism: Critical Concepts in Sociology*. London and New York: Routledge

- Caldwell, L. L. (2005). Leisure and health: Why is leisure therapeutic? *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling*, 33(1), 7-26. doi:10.1080/03069880412331335939
- Campt, T. M. (2012). *Image matters: Archive, photography, and the African Diaspora in Europe*. Duke University Press.
- Campt, T., Thomas, D.A. (2008). Gendering Diaspora: Transnational Feminism, Diaspora and its Hegemonies, *Feminist Review*, 90 (1), 1-8, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.2008.41>
- Carling, J. (2004). Emigration, Return and Development in Cape Verde: The Impact of Closing Borders. *Population, Space and Place*, 10 (2): 113-132 Doi: 10.1002/psp.322
- Carling, J. and Pettersen, S.V. (2014), Return Migration Intentions in the Integration–Transnationalism Matrix. *Int Migr*, 52: 13-30. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12161>
- Carr, D. (2018). The linked lives principle in life course studies: Classic Approaches and contemporary advances. *Frontiers in Sociology and Social Research*, 41-63. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-71544-5_3
- Cassarino, J. P. (2004). Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, UNESCO, 2004, 6 (2): 253-279.
- Cecen, A.A., Dogruş, A.S., Dogruel, F. (1994). Economic Growth and Structural Change in Turkey 1960-88. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 26 (1), 37-56
- Cerese, F. P. (1974). Expectations and reality: a case study of return migration from the United States to Southern Italy. *International Migration Review* 8 (2): 245– 62.

- Certeau, M. D. (1984). *The practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Chalfen, R. (1981). Redundant Imagery: Some Observations on the Use of Snapshots in American Culture, *Journal of American Culture*, 4(1), 106-113, doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1542-734X.1981.0401_106.x
- Chalfen, R. (1987). *Snapshot versions of life*. Bowling Green State University Popular Press.
- Chalfen, R. (1991). *Turning leaves: The photograph collections of two Japanese American families*. Univ. of New Mexico Press.
- Chalfen, R. (2011). Looking Two Ways: Mapping the Soical Scientific Study of Visual Culture, In E.Margolis, L.Pauwels (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Visual Research Methods*. London: Sage
- Chamberlain, M., Leydesdorff, S. (2004). Transnational Families: memories and narratives, *Global Networks*, 4 (3), 227-241, doi:10.1111/j.1471-0374.2004.00090.x
- Chambers, D. (2003). Family as Place: Family Photograph Albums and the Domestication of Public and Private Space. In J. M. Schwartz & J. R. Ryan (Eds.), *Picturing place: Photography and the geographical imagination*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Champion, C. (2012). Instagram: je-suis-là?, *Philosophy of Photography*, 3(1), 83-88. doi: 10.1386/pop.3.1.83_7
- Chaplin, E. (1994). *Sociology and visual representation*. London ; New York: Routledge.

- Chin, R. C. (2007). *The guest worker question in postwar Germany*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Chiswick, B.R., DebBurman, N. (2004). Educational Attainment: Analysis by immigrant generation. *Economics of Education Review*, 23 (4), 361-379, doi: 10.1016/j.econedurev.2003.09.002
- Cohen, R. (1997). *Global diasporas: An introduction*. Abingdon: Taylor & Francis.
- Collier, J., & Collier, M. (1986). *Visual Anthropology*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Connor, W. (1986). The impact of homelands upon diasporas, In G.Sheffer (Ed.), *Modern Diasporas in International Politics*. London: Croom Helm
- Constant, A., Massey, D.S. (2002), Return Migration by German Guestworkers: Neoclassical versus New Economic Theories. *International Migration*, 40: 5-38. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2435.00204>
- Conway MA, Haque S. (1999). Overshadowing the reminiscence bump: memories of a struggle for independence. *Journal of Adult Development*, 6(1): 35-44.
- Conway, D., & Potter, R. B. (2016). Return of the Next Generations: Transnational Migration and Development in the 21st Century. In D. Conway & R. B. Potter (Eds.), *Return migration of the next generations: 21st Century transnational mobility*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Corning, A.D. (2010). Emigration, Generation and Collective Memories: The Presence of the Past for Emigrants from the Former Soviet Union. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 73(3), 223-244. Doi: 10.1177/0190272510377881
- Courgeau, D., Lelievre, E. (1990). L'approche biographique en démographie, *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 21, 55-74

- Crapanzano, V. Reflections on Hope as a Category of Social and Psychological Analysis. *Cultural Anthropology*, 18(1), 3-32
- Creet, J. (2011). Introduction: The Migration of Memory and Memories of Migration. In J. Creet & A. Kitzmann (Eds.), *Memory and Migration: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Memory Studies*. Toronto: University Of Toronto Press.
- Crul, M., Vermeulen, H. (2003). The Second Generation in Europe. *International Migration Review*, 37 (4), 965-986
- Curtis, J. C. (1988). Documentary Photographs as Texts. *American Quarterly*, 40(2), 246-252.
- Davydova, O. & Heikkinen, K. (2004) Produced Finnishness in the context of remigration, in: V. Puuronen, A.Hakkinen, A.Pylkkanen, T. Sandlund & R. Toivanen (Eds), *New Challenges for the Welfare Society*. Joensuu: University of Joensuu
- De Bree, J., Davids, T., & De Haas, H. (2010). Post-return experiences and transnational belonging of return migrants: A Dutch-moroccan case study. *Global Networks*, 10(4), 489-509. doi:10.1111/j.1471-0374.2010.00299.x
- De Silva, C. (Ed.). (2006). *In Memory's Kitchen: A legacy From the Women of Terezín*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Delcroix, C. (2001) *Ombres et Lumières de la Famille Nour*, Paris.
- Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1984). *Kafka: Pour une littérature mineure*. Paris: Editions de Minuit.

Demirciođlu, A. M. (1983). "Federal Almanya'dan Kesin Dönüş Yapan İşçilerimizin Sosyo-Politik Sorunları", Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları

Depeli, G. (2010). Görsellik ve Kültürel Bellek İlişkisi: Göçmenin Evi. Kültür ve İletişim 13(2), 9-39

Developmental Paradigm on the Family Life. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Dođan, S. (1990). Yurt Dışından Dönen Gençlerin Sorunları. Türk Eğitim Derneđi Yayınları

Drazin, A., & Frohlich, D. (2007). Good intentions: Remembering through framing photographs in English homes. *Ethnos*, 72(1), 51-76. doi:10.1080/00141840701219536

Dustmann, C., Bentolila, S., & Faini, R. (1996). Return migration: The European Experience. *Economic Policy*, 11(22), 213-250. doi:10.2307/1344525

Duval, D.T. (2004), Linking return visits and return migration among Commonwealth Eastern Caribbean migrants in Toronto. *Global Networks*, 4: 51-67. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2004.00080.x>

Edwards, E. (1992). *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Ehrkamp, P. (2005). Placing Identities: Transnational Practices and Local Attachments of Turkish Immigrants in Germany. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31 (2), 345-364

Elder, G. H. (1998). The life course as developmental theory. *Child Development*, 69(1), 1-12. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.1998.tb06128.x

- Ely, R., & McCabe, A. (2017). Gender Difference in Memories for Speech. In S. Leydesdorff, L. Passerini, & P. Thompson (Eds.), *Gender & Memory*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Engin, C., Pals, H. (2018). Patriarchal Attitudes in Turkey 1990-2011: The Influence of Religion and Political Conservatism. *Social Politics*, 25 (3), 383-409. Doi: 10.1093/sp/jxx021
- Erdal, M. B., Oeppen, C. (2013). Migrant Balancing Acts: Understanding the Interactions Between Integration and Transnationalism. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39(6), 867-884. Doi: [10.1080/1369183X.2013.765647](https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.765647)
- Erel, U. (2003). Skilled Migrant Women and Citizenship. In M. Morokvasic, U. Erel, & K. Shinozaki (Eds.), *Crossing borders and Shifting Boundaries Vol 1: Gender on the Move*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.
- Erel, U. (2007). Constructing Meaningful Lives: Biographical Methods in Research on Migrant Women. *Sociological Research Online*, 12 (4), 1-14, doi: 10.5153/sro.1573
- Erll, A. (2008). Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction. In A. Erll & A. Nünning (Eds.), *Media and Cultural Memory/ Medien und kulturelle Erinnerung*. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter.
- Erll, A. (2011). Locating Family in Cultural Memory Studies, *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 42 (3), 303-318
- Erll, A. (2011). Travelling memory. *Parallax*, 17(4), 4-18. doi:10.1080/13534645.2011.605570
- Esteban-Guitart, M., & Vila, I. (2015). *The voices of newcomers. A qualitative analysis of the construction of transnational identity*. *Psychosocial Intervention*, 24(1), 17-25. doi:10.1016/j.psi.2015.01.002

- Faist, T. (1998). Transnational social spaces out of international migration: Evolution, significance and future prospects. *European Journal of Sociology*, 39(2), 213-247. doi:10.1017/s0003975600007621
- Faist, T. (2000). Transnationalization in international migration: implications for the study of citizenship and culture. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23(2), 189-222
- Faist, T. (2006). *The transnational social spaces of migration*. (COMCAD Working Papers, 10). Bielefeld: Universität Bielefeld, Fak. für Soziologie, Centre on Migration, Citizenship and Development (COMCAD)
- Faist, T. (2008), Migrants as transnational development agents: an inquiry into the newest round of the migration–development nexus. *Population, Space and Place*, 14, 21- 42. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.471>
- Fauser, M., & Anghel, R. G., (2020). Introduction: A Meso Level Approach to Linking Transnational Return and Social Change. In R. G. Anghel, M. Fauser, P. Boccagni (Eds.), *Transnational return and Social Change: Hierarchies, Identities and Ideas*. London: Anthem Press.
- Featherstone, M. (1996). “Localism, Globalism, and Cultural Identity.” In *Global/Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary*, Wilson, R. and Dissanayake, W. (Eds) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Fedyuk, O. (2012). Images of Transnational Motherhood: The role of photographs in measuring time and maintaining connections between Ukraine and Italy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(2): 279-300. doi:10.1080/1369183x.2012.646422
- Findlay, A.M., Li, F.L.N. (1997). An Autobiographical Approach to Understanding Migration: The Case of Hong Kong Emigrants. *Area*, 29(1), 34-44
- Fişek, G. O. (1991). A cross-cultural examination of proximity and hierarchy as dimensions of family structure. *Family Process*, 30, 121-133.

- Fortier, A. (1999). Re-membering places and the performance of belonging(s). *Theory, Culture & Society*, 16(2), 41-64. doi:10.1177/02632769922050548
- Foster, H. (1988). Preface. In H. Foster (Ed.), *Vision and Visuality*. Seattle: Bay Press.
- Freud, S. (1960). *The ego and the Id*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Gencil Bek, M. (2022). Fotoğraflar Aracılığıyla (GÖÇMEN) Kadınların Yaşamlarını ve Hikayelerini Araştırmak. *Moment Journal*, 9(1), 251-269. doi:10.17572/mj2022.1.251269
- George AL, Bennett A (2005). Case studies and theory development in the social sciences Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
- Gesley, J. (2017). Germany: The development of migration and citizenship law in postwar Germany. The Law Library of Congress.
- Ghanem, T. (2003). When forced migrants return 'home': The psychosocial difficulties returnees encounter in the reintegration process. Working Paper 16. University of Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre.
- Gitmez, A.S. (1979). Göçmen İşçilerin Dönüşü- Return Migration of Turkish Workers to Three Selected Regions. Ankara:ODTÜ
- Glick-Schiller, N. (2005). Transnational social fields and imperialism: Bringing a theory of power to Transnational Studies. *Anthropological Theory*, 5(4), 439-461. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1463499605059231>
- Glynn, I., & Kleist, J. O. (2012). The Memory and Migration Nexus: An Overview. In I. Glynn & J. O. Kleist (Eds.), *History, memory and migration: Perceptions of the past and the politics of Incorporation*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Gmelch, G. (1992). *Double passage: The lives of Caribbean migrants abroad and Back Home*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press
- Goffman, E. (1979). *Gender advertisements*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- González-Ferrer, A. (2007). The process of family reunification among original guest-workers in Germany. *Journal of Family Research*, 19(1), 10-33. doi:10.20377/jfr-335
- Gullahorn, J.T., Gullahorn, J.E. (1963). An Extension of the U-Curve Hypotesis. *Journal of Social Issue*, 19 (3), 33-47. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1963.tb00447.x>
- Guyot, L. (2014). Locked in a Memory Ghetto: A Case Study of a Kurdish Community in France. In J. Creet & A. Kitzmann (Eds.), *Memory and migration multidisciplinary approaches to memory studies*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Gültekin, N., Inowlocki, L., & Lutz, H. (2003). Quest and Query: Interpreting a Biographical Interview with a Turkish Woman Laborer in Germany. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 4(3). doi:https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-4.3.668
- Haartsen, T., & Stockdale, A. (2017). S/elective belonging: How rural newcomer families with children become stayers. *Population, Space and Place*, 24(4). doi:10.1002/psp.2137
- Hage, G. (1997). At home in the entrails of the West: Multiculturalism, ethnic food and migrant home-building. In H. Grace, G. Hage, L. Johnson *et al.* *Home/World: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West*. Annandale: Pluto Press
- Hage, G. (2010). Migration, food, memory, and home-building. In S. Radstone & W. Schwartz, eds., *Memory: Histories, theories, debates*. New York: Fordham University Press

Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On Collective Memory* (L. A. Coser, Ed.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Hall, S. (2002). 'In but not of Europe' Europe and its myths, *Soundings*, 22, 57-69

Hamel, J. (1992). Introduction: New Theoretical and Methodologica Issues. *Current Sociology*, 40(1), 1- 7. doi:10.1177/001139292040001002

Harper, D. (2002). Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies*, 17(1), 13-26. doi:10.1080/14725860220137345

Harper, D. (2012). *Visual Sociology*. London and New York: Routledge

Harper, D. A. (1992). *Working Knowledge: Skill and community in a small shop*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Hatch, J. A., & Wisniewski, R. (1995). Life History and Narrative: Questions, Issues, and Exemplary Works. In J. A. Hatch & R. Wisniewski (Eds.), *Life History and Narrative*. New York and London: Routledge.

Heckmann, F. (2003), From Ethnic Nation to Universalistic Immigrant Integration In Heckmann, Friedrich and Schnapper, Dominique (eds.), *The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies. National Differences and Trends of Convergence*. Stuttgart: Lucius und Lucius.

Hendricks, J., Cutler, S.J. (2017). Leisure in Life-Course Perspective, In R.A.Settersten, Jr. (Ed.), *Invitation To The Life Course: Toward New Understandings of Later Life*. London and New York: Routledge

Hine, L. (1908). National Child Labor Committee Collection. Retrieved January 25, 2023, from <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/search/?q=Lewis+Hine+child+labor+1908&co=nclc>

- Hirsch, J. (1981). *Family photographs: Content, meaning, and effect*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hirsch, M. (1997). *Family Frames: Photography, narrative, and Postmemory*. London: Harvard University Press
- Hirsch, M. (1999). Introduction: Familial Looking, In M. Hirsch (Ed.), *The Familial Gaze*. Hanover: University Press of New England
- Hirsch, M., Smith, V. (2002). Feminism and Cultural Memory: An Introduction, *Signs*, 28 (1), 1-19, doi: [10.1086/340890](https://doi.org/10.1086/340890)
- Hodgkin, K., & Radstone, S. (2003). Introduction: Contested Past. In K, Hogdkin, S. Radstone (Eds.), *Contested Past: The Politics of Memory*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Holland, D., Lave, J. (2001). History in Person An Introduction, In D. Holland, J. Lave (Eds.), *History in Person: Enduring Struggles, Continuous Practice, Intimate Identities*, New Mexico: SAR Press
- Inowlocki, L., Lutz, H. (2000). Hard Labor: The 'Biographical Work' of a Turkish Migrant Woman in Germany, *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 7(3), 301-319
- Irwin-Zarecka, I. (1994). *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers
- Itzigsohn, J., & Saucedo, S. G. (2002). Immigrant Incorporation and Sociocultural Transnationalism. *International Migration Review*, 36(3), 766-798. doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2002.tb00104.x
- İçduygu, A., Sert, D. (2016). A Debate Over Return Migration: The Case of Turkish Guest Workers in Germany. In *Migration in an Era of Restriction and Recession* Springer International Publishing.

- İnceođlu, D. (2007, November 17). Almanya'yı Özleyen Türkler. *Hürriyet*. Retrieved February 17, 2023, from <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kelebek/almanya-yi-ozleyen-turkler-7707984>
- Kađıtçıbaşı, Ç. (1982). The changing value of children in Turkey (Publ. No. 60-E). Honolulu: East-West Center.
- Kađıtçıbaşı, Ç. (1996). Family and human development across cultures: A view from the other side. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Kađıtçıbaşı, Ç., Ataca, B. (2005). Value of Children and Family Change: A Three-Decade Portrait from Turkey. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 54 (3), 317-337
- Kahn, M.L. (2020). Between Ausländer and *Almancı*: The Transnational History of Turkish-German Migration. *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute*, 66, 53-82
- Kandel, E. (2007). *In search of memory the emergence of a new science of mind*. New York: W.&W. Norton Company
- Kandiyoti, D. (1977). Sex roles and social change: A comparative appraisal of Turkey's women. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 3(1), 57-73. doi:10.1086/493439
- Kandiyoti, D. (1988). Bargaining with Patriarchy. *Gender and Society*, 2(3), 274-290
- Kandiyoti, D. (2002, October 15). Where is Islam going?: Responses to Werner Schiffauer. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/article_685jsp/

- Kansteiner, W. (2002). Finding Meaning In Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies, *History and Theory*, 41: 179-197
- Karlsson, K.P., Sikström, S., Jönsson F., Gustafsson- Sendén, M. & Willander, J. (2019): Gender differences in autobiographical memory: females latently express communality more than do males, *Journal of Cognitive Psychology*, DOI: 10.1080/20445911.2019.1659281
- Karpathakis, A. (1999). Home Society Politics and Immigrant Political Incorporation: The case of Greek Immigrants in New York City. *International Migration Review*, 33(1), 55. doi:10.2307/2547322
- Kassem, F. (2011). *Palestinian Women: Narrative History and Gendered Memory*. London: Zed Books
- Kaya, A., Kentel, F. (2005). *Euro-Türkler*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları
- Kılınç N., King, R. (2020). Translocal ‘Return’, Social Change and the Value of Transcultural Capital: Second-Generation Turkish Germans in Antalya. In R.G.Anghel, M.Fauser, P.Boccagni (Eds.), *Transnational Return and Social Change: Hierarchies, Identities and Ideas*. London: Anthem Press
- Kılınç, N., King, R. (2018). Translocal narratives of memory, place and belonging. In S. Marschall (Ed.), *Memory, Migration and Travel*. London and New York: Routledge doi:10.4324/9781315180465-12
- Kidder, L. H. (1992). Requirements for being Japanese: stories of returnees. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 16, 383–393. Doi:[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0147-1767\(92\)90029-T](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0147-1767(92)90029-T)
- King, R. (2000). Generalizations From the History of Return Migration, In B.Ghosh (Ed.) *Return Migration: Journey of Hope or Despair?* Geneva: International Organization for Migration and the United Nations, 7–55.

- King, R. and Kılınc, N. (2014). Routes to Roots: *Second-Generation Turks from Germany 'Return' to Turkey*. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 4(3): 126–133. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.2478/njmr-2014-0018>
- King, R., & Christou, A. (2011). Of counter-diaspora and reverse transnationalism: Return mobilities to and from the ancestral homeland. *Mobilities*, 6(4): 451-466. doi:10.1080/17450101.2011.603941
- King, R., & Lulle, A. (2022). Gendering Return Migration. In R. King & K. Kuschminder (Eds.), *Handbook of Migration and globalisation*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- King, R., Kılınc, N. (2016). The counter-diasporic migration of Turkish-Germans to Turkey: Gendered narratives of home and belonging. *Return Migration and Regional Development in Europe*, 167-194. doi:10.1057/978-1-137-57509-8_8
- Kley, S. (2011). Explaining the Stages of Migration within a Life-course Framework. *European Sociological Review*, 27(4), 469-486. Doi: 10.1093/esr/jcq020
- Kohli, M. (2007). The institutionalization of the life course: Looking back to look ahead. *Research in Human Development*, 4(3-4), 253-271. doi:10.1080/15427600701663122
- Krase, J. (1997). Polish and Italian Vernacular Landscapes in Brooklyn. *Polish American Studies*, 54(1), 9-31.
- Kuhn, A. (1991). Remembrance, In J. Spence and P. Holland (Eds.), *Family Snaps*, London: Virago
- Kuhn, A. (2007). Photography and Cultural Memory: A Methodological Exploration. *Visual Studies*, 22(3), 283-292. doi:10.1080/14725860701657175

- Kunimoto, N. (2004). Intimate archives: Japanese-Canadian family photography, 1939-1949. *Art History*, 27(1): 129-155. doi:10.1111/j.0141-6790.2004.02701005.x
- Kunuroglu, F., Yagmur, K., Van De Vijver, F. J., & Kroon, S. (2017). Motives for Turkish return migration from Western Europe: Home, sense of belonging, discrimination and transnationalism. *Turkish Studies*, 19(3): 422-450. doi:10.1080/14683849.2017.1387479
- Kuruüzüm, A. (2002). Kesin Dönüş Yapan İşçi Çocuklarının Uyum Problemi Üzerine Bir Alan Araştırması. *Akdeniz İ.İ.B.F. Dergisi* (3), 102-113
- L'Heuillet, H. (2019). *Komşuluk-İnsanların Birlikte Varoluşu Üzerine Düşünceler*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Langford, M. (2001). *Suspended conversations: The afterlife of memory in photographic albums*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Langford, M. (2001). *Suspended conversations: The afterlife of memory in photographic albums*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Lebra, T. S. (1976). *Japanese patterns of behavior*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Lems, A. (2016). Mobile temporalities: Place, ruination and the dialectics of Time. *Memories on the Move*, 127-156. doi:10.1057/978-1-137-57549-4_6
- Levine, J.M., Moreland, R.L., Ryan, C.S. (1998). Group Socialization and Intergroup Relations, In In C. Sedikides, J. Schopler, C. A. Insko (Eds.), *Intergroup cognition and intergroup behavior* (pp. 283–308). New York: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

- Levitt, P. (1998). Social remittances: Migration driven local-level forms of cultural diffusion. *International Migration Review*, 32(4), 926. doi:10.2307/2547666
- Levitt, P. (2001). *The Transnational Villagers*. CA: University of California Press
- Levitt, P. (2014). Keeping Feet in Both Worlds: Transnational Practices and Immigrant Incorporation in the United States. *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship*, 177-194. doi:10.1057/9780230554795_7
- Levitt, P., & Lamba-Nieves, D. (2010). Social Remittances revisited. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(1), 1-22. doi:10.1080/1369183x.2011.521361
- Levitt, P., & Schiller, N. G. (2004). Conceptualizing simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on society. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), 1002-1039. doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00227.x
- Levitt, P., Glick-Schiller, N. (2004). Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), 1002-1039
- Ley, D. and Kobayashi, A. (2005), Back to Hong Kong: Return Migration or Transnational Sojourn?. *Global Networks*, 5:111-127. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2005.00110.x>
- Leydesdorff, S., Passerini, L., & Thompson, P. (Eds.). (2017). *Gender & Memory*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Lincoln, Y.S., & Guba, E.G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. London: Sage Publications
- Loftus, E. F., Banaji, M. R., Schooler, J. W., & Foster, R. A. (1987). Who Remembers What? Gender Differences in Memory. *Michigan Quarterly Review*, 26, 64-85.

- Lum, J. (2017). 'familial looking': Chinese Canadian vernacular photography of the Exclusion Period (1923–1967). *Visual Studies*, 32(2), 111-123. doi:10.1080/1472586x.2017.1326838
- Lynch, K. (1960). *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press
- Maanen, J. V. (1988). *Tales of the field: On writing ethnography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mandel, R. (1996). Second-Generation Noncitizens: Children of the Turkish Migrant Diaspora in Germany, In S.Stephens (Ed.), *Children and the Politics of Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Mannheim, K. (1972). *The Problem of Generations*. Retrieved January 21, 2023, from <https://marcuse.faculty.history.ucsb.edu/classes/201/articles/27MannheimGenerations.pdf>
- Marcoux, J.S. (2001). 'The Refurbishment of Memory', In D. Miller (Ed.), *Home Possessions: Material Culture behind Closed Doors*. Oxford: Berg,
- Marcus Lee Hansen. (1938). Retrieved January 21, 2023, from <http://www.neenahhistoricalsociety.com/marcus-lee-hansen>
- Margold, J. (2004) 'Filipina depictions of migrant life for those at home', in Long, L.D. and Oxfeld, E. (eds) *Coming Home? Refugees, Migrants, and Those Who Stayed Behind*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press
- Margolis, E. (1999). Picturing Labor: A Visual Ethnography of the Coal Mine Labor Process. *Visual Sociology*, 17(2), 1-30.

- Martin, P.L. (1991). *The Unfinished Story: Turkish Labour Migration to Western Europe: with special reference to the Federal Republic of Germany*. Geneva: ILO
- Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1993). Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal. *Population and Development Review*, 19(3), 431–466. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2938462>
- Mehta, R., & Belk, R. W. (1991). Artifacts, identity, and transition: Favorite possessions of Indians and Indian immigrants to the United States. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 17(4), 398. doi:10.1086/208566
- Misztal, B. A. (2003). *Theories of social remembering*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Moliner, C. (2020). Vulnerable Masculinities? Gender Identity Construction Among Young Undocumented Sikh Migrants in Paris. *Religions*, 11 (680), 1-14. doi:10.3390/rel11120680
- Morokvasic, M. (2003). Transnational mobility and gender: A view from post-wall Europe. In M. Morokvasic, U. Erel, & K. Shinozaki (Eds.), *Crossing borders and Shifting Boundaries Vol 1: Gender on the Move*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.
- Motte J., Ohliger R. (2006). Men and women with(out) history? Looking for ‘Lieux de Memoire’ in German’s Immigration Society. In König Mareike, Ohliger Rainer (Eds.), *Enlarging European memory: Migration movements in historical perspective*. Ostfildern, Germany: Thorbecke.
- Musello, C. (1980). Studying the home mode: An exploration of family photography and visual communication. *Studies in Visual Communication*, 6(1): 23-42. doi:10.1111/j.2326-8492.1980.tb00115.x
- Myerhoff, B. (1986). ‘Life not death in Venice: Its second life.’ In V. Turner & E. Bruner (Eds.) *The Anthropology of Experience*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

- Nalbantian, S. (2003). *Memory in literature: From Rousseau to Neuroscience*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Neyzi, L. (2004). Fragmented in Space: The Oral History Narrative of an Arab Christian from Antioch, Turkey, *Global Networks*, 4(3), 285-297, doi: [10.1111/j.1471-0374.2004.00094.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2004.00094.x)
- Neyzi, L. (2008). Remembering Smyrna/Izmir: Shared History, Shared Trauma. *History and Memory*, 20(2), 106-127. doi:10.2979/his.2008.20.2.106
- Nguyen, N.H.C. (2009). *Memory is Another Country: Women of the Vietnamese Diaspora*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger
- Noakes, L. (1997). *War and the British: Gender and National Identity, 1939-91*. London, New York: J.B. Tauris
- Nocera, L. (2018). “Manikürlü Eller Almanya’da Elektrik Bobini Saracak” *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Perspektifinden Batı Almanya’ya Türk Göçü (1961-1984)*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları
- Nora, P. (1989). Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire. *Representations*, 26, 7–24. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2928520>
- O’Reilly (2014). The Role of the Social Imaginary in Lifestyle Migration: Employing the Ontology of Practice Theory, In M.Benson, N.Osbaldiston (Eds.), *Understanding Lifestyle Migration: Theoretical Approaches to Migration and the Quest for a Better Way of Life*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan
- Ochs, E., Capps, L. (1996). Narrating The Self. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 25, 19-43

- Okyavuz, M. (1999). Federal Almanya'nın Yabancılar Politikası. Ankara: Doruk Yayınları
- Olick, J. (1999). Collected memory and collective memory: Two roads to the past. *Sociological Theory*, 17(3), 333-348. doi:10.1111/0735-2751.00083
- Olick, J. K., Vinitzky-Seroussi, V., & Levy, D. (2011). Introduction. In *The collective memory reader*, J.K. Olick, V. Vinitzky-Seroussi, D. Levy (Eds.), New York: Oxford University Press.
- Palaz, S. (2015). The Reasons For Women's Labour Force Non-Participation: Empirical Evidence From Bandırma, *Yönetim Ve Ekonomi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 13(3), 435-449. <http://dx.doi.org/10.11611/JMER742>
- Pallas, A.M. (2003). Educational transitions, trajectories and pathways. In J.T.Mortimer, M.J. Shanahan (Eds.), *Handbook of the life course*. New York: Springer
- Palmberger, M. (2016). *How generations remember: An ethnographic study of post-war Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pamuk, Ş. (2010). Economic Growth and Institutional Change in Turkey Before 1980. In T. Cetin & F. Yılmaz (Authors), *Understanding the process of economic change in Turkey an institutional approach*. Hauppauge, New York: Nova Science Publishers.
- Pascoe, R. (1992). Place and community: the construction of an Italo-Australian Space, In S.Castles, C. Alcorso, G.Rando, E.Vasta (Eds.), *Australia's Italians: cultura and community in a changing society*. Sydney: Allen& Unwin
- Pazarcık, Y., Erol, M. (2018). İşçi Şirketleri: Türkiye'de Yerli Sermaye Oluşturma Çabaları. *Muhasebe ve Finans Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Eylül, Özel Sayı, 105-138

- Pelek, S. (2011, September 24). "Gurbetçi" Torunları Dönüyor, Almanya Yine İşçi İstiyor. *Bianet.org*. Retrieved February 17, 2023, from <https://m.bianet.org/kurdi/biamag/132920-gurbetci-torunlari-donuyor-almanya-yine-isci-istiyor>
- Penninx, R. (1982). A Critical Review of Theory and Practice: The Case of Turkey. *International Migration Review*, 16 (4), 781-818. Doi: 10.1177/019791838201600404
- Pickering, M., Keightley, E. (2012). Communities of Memory and The Problem of Transmission, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 16 (1), 115-131, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549412457481>
- Pillemer, D.B., Desrochers, A.B., Ebanks, C.M. (1998). Remembering the Past in the Present: Verb tense shifts in autobiographical memory narratives, In C.P. Thomson, D.J. Herrmann, D. Bruce, J.D. Read, D.G. Payne, M.P. Toggia (Eds.), *Autobiographical Memory: Theoretical and Applied Perspectives*. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Pillemer, P., Wink, P., DiDonato, T., Sanborn, R. (2003). Gender differences in autobiographical memory styles of older adults, *Memory*, 11(6), 525-532
- Portelli, A. 1991. *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories*. Albany: State University of New York Press
- Portes, A. (1997). Immigration Theory for a new century: some problems and opportunities. *International Migration Review*, 31, 799-825
- Portes, A., & Böröcz, J. (1989). Contemporary immigration: Theoretical perspectives on its determinants and modes of incorporation. *International Migration Review*, 23(3), 606-630. doi:10.1177/019791838902300311

- Portes, A., Guarnizo, L.E., Landolt, P. (1999). The Study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 217-237. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/014198799329468>
- Pratt, M.L. (1991). Arts of the Contact Zone. *Profession*, 33-40
- Quintilian Institutio Oratoria. (n.d.). Retrieved January 21, 2023, from https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/e/roman/texts/quintilian/institutio_oratoria/11b*.html
- Rabelo, V. C., Mahalingam, R. (2018). “They really don't want to see us”: How cleaners experience invisible ‘dirty’ work. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2018.10.010> Advance online publication.
- Razum, O., Sahin-Hodoglugil, N. N., & Polit, K. (2005). Health, wealth or family ties? why Turkish work migrants return from Germany. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31(4), 719-739. doi:10.1080/13691830500109894
- Razum, O., Sahin-Hodoglugil, N. N., & Polit, K. (2005). Health, wealth or family ties? why Turkish work migrants return from Germany. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31(4), 719-739. doi:10.1080/13691830500109894
- Reulecke, J. (2008). Generation/Generationality, Generativity and Memory. In A. Erll, A. Nünning, (Eds.), *Cultural memory studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Reynolds, T. (2011) Caribbean Second-Generation Return Migration: Transnational Family Relationships with ‘Left-Behind’ Kin in Britain, *Mobilities*, 6:4, 535-551, DOI: 10.1080/17450101.2011.603946
- Rigney, A. (2012). *The afterlives of Walter Scott: Memory on the Move*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

- Riis, J. A. (1890). *How the other half lives: Studies among the tenements of New York*. New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Rist, R. C. (1978). *Guestworkers in Germany : The prospects for pluralism*. New York: Praeger.
- Rittersberger-Tılıç, H. (1998). Development and Reformulation of a Returnee Identity as Alevi. In T. Olsson, E. Özdalga, & C. Raudvere (Eds.), *Alevi identity: Cultural, religious and Social Perspectives*. Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute
- Rittersberger-Tılıç, H., & Özen, Y. (2019). Return to Turkey: Return Decisions and Reintegration Patterns. An analysis of the First and second generations. In T. Baraulina, *Rückkehr und reintegration: Typen und Strategien an den Beispielen Türkei, Georgien und Russische Föderation*. Nürnberg: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge.
- Robins, K., Morley , D. (1996). Almanci, Yabancı, *Cultural Studies*, 10:2, 248-254, DOI: 10.1080/09502389600490151
- Rogers, R. (1997). Migration Return Policies and Countries of Origin. In K. Hailbronner, D.A. Martin, H. Motomura (Eds.), *Immigration Admissions: The Search For Workable Policies In Germany and the United States*. Providence, Oxford: Berghahn Books
- Rose, G. (2003). Family photographs and domestic spacings: A case study. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 28(1), 5-18. doi:10.1111/1475-5661.00074
- Rosenthal, G. (2006). The Narrated Life Story. On the Interrelation Between Experience, Memory and Narration. In K. Milnes, C. Horrocks, N. Kelly, B. Roberts, D. Robinson (Eds.), *Narrative, Memory and Knowledge. Representations, Aesthetics and Contexts*. Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield Press

Rothberg, M., Yildiz, Y. (2011). Memory Citizenship: Migrant Archives of Holocaust Remembrance in Contemporary Germany, *Parallax*, 17:4, 32-48, DOI: [10.1080/13534645.2011.605576](https://doi.org/10.1080/13534645.2011.605576)

Ruble, C.B., Shaw, S.M. (1991). Constraints on the Leisure and Community Participation of Immigrant Women: Implications for Social Integration, *Loisir et Société / Society and Leisure*, 14(1), 133-150, DOI: [10.1080/07053436.1991.10715376](https://doi.org/10.1080/07053436.1991.10715376)

Ruebhausen, O.M., Brim, O.G. (1965). Privacy and Behavioral Research, *Columbia Law Review*, 65 (7), 1184-1211, doi: <https://doi.org/10.2307/1120683>

Rumbaut, R.G. (2012). "Generation 1.5, Educational Experiences of", In J. A. Banks (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Diversity in Education*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications

Saar, M. (2018). To return or not to return? : The importance of identity negotiations for return migration. *Social Identities*, 24 (1), 120–133. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2017.1310038>

Safran, W. (1991). Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*. 1(1), 83-99. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.3138/diaspora.1.1.83>

Savaş, Ö. (2010). The collective Turkish home in Vienna: Aesthetic narratives of migration and belonging. *Home Cultures*, 7(3), 313-340. doi:10.2752/175174210x12785760502252

Sayad, A. (2004). *The suffering of the immigrant*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Schiff, B., Noy, C., & Cohler, B. J. (2001). Collected Stories in the Life Narratives of Holocaust Survivors. *Narrative Inquiry*, 11(1), 159-193. doi:10.1075/ni.11.1.07sch

- Schiffauer, W. (2018). Migration and the Structure of the Imaginary. In D. Bachmann-Medick & J. Kugele (Authors), *Migration: Changing concepts, critical approaches*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Schrauf, R.W., Rubin, D.C. (2001). Effects of Voluntary Immigration on the Distribution of Autobiographical Memory over Lifespan, *Applies Cognitive Psychology*, 15, 75-88, doi: 10.1002/acp.835
- Schuman, H., & Corning, A. (2011). Generational memory and the critical period: Evidence for national and world events. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 76(1), 1-31. doi:10.1093/poq/nfr037
- Schuman, H., Scott, J. (1989). Generations and Collective Memories, *American Sociological Review*, 54 (3), 359-381, doi: <https://doi.org/10.2307/2095611>
- Schwartz, B. (1982). The Social Context of Commemoration: A Study in Collective Memory, *Social Forces*, 61 (2), 374-402
- Scruton, R. (1981). Photography and Representation. *Critical Inquiry*, 7 (3), 577-603
- Sehulster, J.R. (1995). Memory styles and related abilities in presentation of self. *American Journal of Psychology*, 108, 67-88.
- Shuval, J.T. (2000). Diaspora Migration: Definitional Ambiguities and a Theoretical Paradigm. *International Migration*, 38 (5), 41-57
- Siedlitz, L., & Diener, E. (1998). Sex differences in the recall of affective experiences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 262-271.
- Simons, J. (2010). Weightless Photography. In J. M. Swinnen & L. Deneulin (Eds.), *The weight of photography*. Academic and Scientific.

- Sinatti, G. (2011), 'Mobile transmigrants' or 'unsettled returnees'? Myth of Return and Permanent Resettlement Among Senegalese Migrants. *Population, Space and Place*, 17: 153-166. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.608>
- Siouti, I. (2019). New Migrations from Greece to Germany in Times of the Financial Crisis: Biographical Research Perspectives. In: Panagiotopoulou, J., Rosen, L., Kirsch, C., Chatzidaki, A. (Eds.), 'New' Migration of Families from Greece to Europe and Canada. *Inklusion und Bildung in Migrationsgesellschaften*. Springer VS, Wiesbaden. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-25521-3_4
- Sisley, L. (2010). Visualizing Male Homosexuality in the Family Album, In Z. Ban, H.Turai (Eds.) *Exposed Memories: Family Pictures in Private and Collective Memory*. Budapest: AICA, International Association of Art Critics
- Slater, D. (1995). Domestic photography and digital culture, in M.Lister (Ed.), *The Photographic image in Digital Culture*. London: Routledge
- Sontag, S. (2005). *On Photography*. New York: Rosetta Books
- Spence, J. (1986). *Beyond the family album*. London: Virago
- Spence, J. (1988) *Putting myself in the picture: A political personal and photographic autobiography*. Seattle: The Real Comet Press.
- Spence, J. (2005). *Beyond the Perfect Image: Photography, subjectivity, antagonism*. Barcelona: Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona
- Spence, J., Holland, P. (Eds.) (1991). *Family snaps: the meanings of domestic photography*. London:Virago
- Stake, R. E. (1994). Case studies. In N. K. Denzin, Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, London: Sage Publications

- Stake, R.E. (1978). The Case Study Method in Social Inquiry. *Educational Researcher*, 7(2), 5-8, doi: <https://doi.org/10.2307/1174340>
- Steinert, J.D. (2014). Migration and Migration Policy: West Germany and the Recruitment of Foreign Labour, 1945-61. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 49(1), 9-27
- Stirling, P. (1993). Introduction: Growth and Changes: Speed, Scale, Complexity. In P. Stirling (Ed.), *Culture and Economy: Changes in Turkish Villages*. Huntingdon: The Eothen Press
- Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. (2003). *La infancia de la inmigración*, Madrid: Morata
- Suchar, C. S. (1997). Grounding Visual Sociology Research In Shooting Scripts. *Qualitative Sociology*, 20(1), 33-55.
- Sunar, D., Okman Fişek, G. (2005). Contemporary Turkish Families, In U. Gielen, J. Roopnarine (Eds.), *Families in global perspective*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon/Pearson
- Sussman, N. M. (2000). The dynamic nature of cultural identity throughout cultural transitions: Why home is not so sweet. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 4(4): 355-373. doi:10.1207/s15327957pspr0404_5
- Suto, M.J. (2013). Leisure Participation and Well-being of Immigrant Women in Canada, *Journal of Occupational Science*, 20(1), 48-61, DOI: 10.1080/14427591.2012.732914
- Svasek, M., & Domecka, M. (2012). The Autobiographical Narrative Interview: A Potential Arena of Emotional Remembering, Performance and Reflection. In 2353476626 1603182307 J. Skinner (Ed.), *The interview: An ethnographic approach*. London: Bloomsbury.

Szpociński, A. (2016). Sites And Non-Sites Of Memory. *Teksty Drugie*, 1, 245-254, doi: I:i0.18318/td.2016.en.1.14

Şahinkaya, S., (2002). Devlet Sanayi ve İşçi Yatırım Bankası' ndan Türkiye Kalkınma Bankası' na: 1975-2001 Döneminde Kurumsal Yapıdaki Temel Dönüşümler Üzerine Düşünceler ve Bazı Öneriler. <http://www.econ.utah.edu/ehrbarerc2002/pdf/P139.pdf>.

Şenocak, Z. (2006). *Tehlikeli Akrabalık*. İstanbul: Alef Yayınevi

Tallman, B. (2011). The Question of Turkish Integration In The Context of German Cultural Identity Conceptions. (Unpublished Master's Thesis). Bowling Green State University, Ohio

Teerling, J. (2011). The development of new 'third-cultural spaces of belonging': British-born Cypriot 'return' migrants in Cyprus. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(7), 1079-1099. doi:10.1080/1369183x.2011.572484

Templin, P. (1982). Still Photography in Evaluation. In 2319777661 1583146048 N. L. Smith (Ed.), *Communication strategies in evaluation*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Tezcan, M. (1987). *Yurtdışından Dönen Gençlerin Uyum Sorunları. Eğitim Sistemi ve Çevre Uyumları*. Ankara: Engin Yayınları

Tezcan, T. (2018). Return home? Determinants of return migration intentions amongst Turkish immigrants in Germany. *Geoforum*, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2018.11.013>

Thomas, W. I., & Znaniecki, F. (1918). *The Polish peasant: In Europe and America Vol. I*. Boston: Bagder.

- Thomson, A. (1999). Moving Stories: Oral History and Migration Stories. *Oral History*, 27(1), 24-37.
- Thornton, A. (2005). Reading History Sideways: The Fallacy and Enduring Impact of the Developmental Paradigm on the Family Life. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Tılıç-Rittersberger, H., Çelik, K. ve Özen, Y. (2011). Returning to “Home” from Germany: Reasons and dynamics of return migration. (Conference Paper). Migration: Economic Change, Social Challenge - Interdisciplinary Conference on Migration, University College London.
- Timur, S. (1972). Türkiye’de Aile Yapısı . Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları
- Tolia-Kelly, D. P. (2004). Materializing post-colonial Geographies: Examining the textural landscapes of migration in the South Asian Home. *Geoforum*, 35(6): 675-688. doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2004.02.006
- Tölölyan, K. (1991). The Nation State and its Others: In Lieu of a Preface, *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 1 (1), 3-7. Doi: [10.1353/dsp.1991.0008](https://doi.org/10.1353/dsp.1991.0008)
- Tsuda, T. (2004). When Home is not the Homeland: The Case of Japanese Brazilian Ethnic Return Migration. In A. H. Stefansson & F. Markowitz (Eds.), *Homecomings: Unsettling paths of return*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.
- Tufan, B. (1987). Türkiye’ye Dönen İkinci Kuşak Göçmen İşçi Çocuklarının Psiko-Sosyal Durumları. Ankara: DPT Sosyal Planlama Başkanlığı Planlama Dairesi Yayınları
- Vertovec, S. (1999). Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 447–462. doi:10.1080/014198799329558

- Vertovec, S. (2001). Transnationalism and identity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27 (4), 573-582
- Wagner, L. (2015). Shopping for diasporic belonging: Being 'local' or being 'mobile' as a VFR visitor in the ancestral homeland. *Population, Space and Place*, 21(7), 654-668. doi:10.1002/psp.1919
- Walsh, K. (2006). British expatriate belongings: Mobile homes and transnational homing. *Home Cultures*, 3(2), 123-144. doi:10.2752/174063106778053183
- Waxman, Z. (2017). *Women in the Holocaust: A feminist history*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Weisser, M. R. (1985). *A brotherhood of memory: Jewish Landsmanshaftn in the new world*. New York: Basic Books.
- Welzer, H. (2008). Communciative Memory, In In A. Erll & A. Nünning (Eds.), *Media and Cultural Memory/ Medien und kulturelle Erinnerung*. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter.
- Welzer, H. (2010). Re-narrations: How pasts change in conversational remembering. *Memory Studies*, 3(1), 5-17. doi:10.1177/1750698009348279
- Wessendorf, S. (2007). 'Roots Migrants': Transnationalism and 'Return' among Second Generation Italians in Switzerland, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(7), 1083-1102, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830701541614>
- Wexler, L. (1999). Seeing Sentiment: Photography, Race, and the Innocent Eye in The Familial Gaze, ed. Marianne Hirsch, 248-75. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England
- Williams, R. (1973). *The Country and the City*. New York: Oxford University Press

- Witte, N. (2017). Responses to stigmatisation and boundary making: destigmatisation strategies of Turks in Germany, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(9), 1425-1443. Doi: doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1398077
- Wolbert, B. (1991). More than a golden bangle ... the significance of success in school for returning Turkish migrant families. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 22(2), 181-199. doi:10.1525/aeq.1991.22.2.04x0748t
- Wolbert, B. (2001). The visual production of locality: Turkish Family Pictures, migration and the creation of Virtual Neighborhood. *Visual Anthropology Review*, 17(1), 21-35. doi:10.1525/var.2001.17.1.21
- Wolf, D.L. (1990). Daughters, Decisions and Domination: An Empirical and Conceptual Critique of Household Strategies. *Development and Change*, 21(1), 43-74. Doi: 10.1111/j.1467-7660.1990.tb00367.x
- Wolf, D.L. (2007). *Beyond Anne Frank: Hidden Children and Postwar Families in Holland*. California: University of California Press
- Worbs, S. (2003). The Second Generation in Germany: Between School and Labor Market, *The International Migration Review*, 37 (4), 1011-1038
- Wright, T. (1999) *The Photography Handbook*. London: Routledge.
- Wydra, H. (2018). Generations of Memory: Elements of a Conceptual Framework. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 60(1), 5-34. doi:10.1017/S0010417517000391
- Yahirun, J.J. (2012). Take Me "Home": Return Migration among Germany's Older Immigrants, *International Migration*, 52(4), 231-254

Yasa, İ. (1979). Dış Göçler ve “Alamancı Aile”. Sosyoloji Konferansları 17.Kitap. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları

Yıldız, B. (2012). *Türkler Almanya’da*. İstanbul: Everest Yayınları

Yılmaz, C. (1993). Türkiye’de kırsal sanayinin desteklenmesi ve işçi şirketleri örneği. *Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, 8(1), 305-334.

Yurt dışındaki Türk işçileri ve dönüş eğilimleri (1975). Ankara: T.C. Çalışma Bakanlığı. İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü.

Zaiceva, A. (2014). The impact of aging on the scale of migration. *IZA World of Labor*, doi: 10.15185/izawol.99

Zerubavel, E. (1997). *Social Mindscales: An Introduction to Cognitive Sociology*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

APPENDICES

A. INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE IN TURKISH / TÜRKÇE GÖRÜŞME SORULARI

GÖRÜŞME SORULARI

- Ne zaman göç etmeye karar verdiniz?
- Sizi göç etmeye sevk eden nedenler neydi?
- Göç etme hakkında bilgiyi nereden/kimlerden aldınız?
- Bu fikriniz nasıl karşılandı?
- Ailenizde, yakın çevrenizde sizden önce göç edenler var mıydı?
- Kaç yılında kimlerle göç ettiniz?
- Göç etme sürecinde Almanya'ya ayak basana kadar ne gibi aşamalardan geçtiniz?
- Gitmeden önce Almanya hakkındaki düşünceleriniz nelerdi?
- Almanya'da ilk nereye geldiniz? Daha sonra yer değiştirdiniz mi?
- Almanya'ya adım attığınızda neler hissettiniz?
- Almanya'ya ilk geldiğinizde nerede çalışmaya başladınız?
- Çalışma saatleri dışında neler yapıyordunuz? Nerelerde vakit geçiriyordunuz?
- Almanlarla iletişiminiz nasıldı? Arkadaşlarınız var mıydı?
- Ailenizin diğer üyeleri yanınıza ne zaman geldi?
- Evinizi ve ev yaşamınızı anlatır mısınız?
- Eşiniz Almanya'da ne yaptı? Çocuklar ne yaptı?
- Almanya'ya alışabildiniz mi? Almanya'ya dair yaşadığınız zorluklar nelerdi?
- Almanca öğrendiniz mi?
- Almanya'da kendinizi nasıl görüyordunuz?
- Entegrasyon sizin için ne anlama geliyor?
- Türkiye ile nasıl iletişimde oluyordunuz? Almanya'da kurulan Türk derneklerine gittiniz mi? Hangileri?

- Bir Türk ve Müslüman olmak oradaki yaşamı nasıl etkiliyor? Diğer göçmenlerle benzediğini ya da farklılaştığını düşündüğünüz özellikler var mı?
- Türkiye'ye dair neleri özleyordunuz?
- Almanya'da olmayıp Türkiye'de olan neydi? Almanya'da nelerin eksikliğini hissettiniz?
- Sizi Almanya'ya bağlayan şeyler neydi?
- Dönme fikri aklınızda var mıydı? Yoksa, ne zaman oluşmaya başladı?
- Türkiye'ye ne zaman döndünüz?
- Sizi dönüşe iten sebepler nelerdi?
- Türkiye'de nereye geldiniz?
- Dönüş kararını kim verdi?
- Dönüş sizin için ne anlama geliyor?
- Kendinizi "evinizde" gibi hissettiniz mi?
- Dönme kararınızdan memnun musunuz? Tekrar Almanya'ya gitmeyi düşündünüz mü/hala düşünüyor musunuz?
- Almanya'ya gidiyor musunuz?
- Evinizde, Almanya'ya dair neler var? Gelirken yanınızda nelerle geldiniz?
- Buradaki yaşamınızda, Almanya'nın etkisinden söz edebilir miyiz? Almanya, buradaki hayatınızın ne ölçüde bir parçası haline gelmekte?
- Almanya'da yapıp burada da devam ettirdiğiniz davranışlarınız, alışkanlıklarınız var mı?
- Burada, sizin gibi kesin dönüş yapmış kişilerle de görüşüyor musunuz?
- Döndüğünüzde nasıl karşılandınız? Size yaklaşımlar nasıldı?
- Döndüğünüzde Türkiye'yi, yaşadığınız yeri ve diğer insanları nasıl buldunuz? Değişen ve değişmeyen neler vardı? Kendinizin daha farklı olduğunu hissettiniz mi? Evet ise, hangi açılardan?
- Yaşadığınız yere yeniden alışma süreci geçirdiniz mi? Bunun için neler yaptınız? Hangi konularda zorluk çektiniz?
- Türkiye'ye döndükten sonra okula/çalışmaya devam ettiniz mi?
- Dönüşün sizin için iyi bir karar olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Sizin için olumsuz tarafları oldu mu?
- Almanya'yı özleyiyor musunuz? Almanya'ya dair özlediğiniz şeyler nelerdir?

- Türkiye’de olmayıp Almanya’da olan şey sizce nedir?
- Size *Almancı* deniliyor mu? Sizce *Almancı* ne demek?
- Türkiye’de neler sizi *Almancı* yapıyor? Bu durum ne zamana kadar sürüyor?

FOTOĞRAF BETİMLEME İÇİN SORULAR

- Almanya’daki hayatınıza dair fotoğrafları neden saklıyorsunuz?
- Bu fotoğrafları nerede saklıyorsunuz?
- Ne sıklıkla bu fotoğraflara bakıyorsunuz? Başka insanlara da gösteriyor musunuz?
- Almanya’da ne zaman, neden fotoğraf çekmeye başladınız?
- Neleri fotoğraflıydunuz?
- Bu fotoğrafları Türkiye’ye gönderdiniz mi? Türkiye’den size gönderilen fotoğraflar var mıydı?
- Bu fotoğrafları diğer fotoğraflardan ayıran şey nedir?
- Bu fotoğrafların Almanya’da ve Türkiye’de sizin için farklı anlamları var mı?
- Bu fotoğrafların size göre işlevi nedir? Almanya’yı ile size neleri hatırlatıyor?
- Fotoğrafı kim çekti?
- Fotoğrafta kimler var?
- Fotoğraf nerede çekildi?
- Fotoğrafları neye göre çekiyorsunuz? Neleri göz önünde bulunduruyorsunuz?
- Bu albümü kim düzenledi?
- Çektikten sonra fotoğrafları ne yapıyorsunuz/nerede nasıl kullanıyorsunuz? (fotoğrafın arkasında yazı, yorum var mı, varsa neye işaret ediyor?)
- Hangi fotoğraflar saklanıyor? Hangi fotoğrafların saklanacağına nasıl karar veriyorsunuz?

B. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

DUMLUPINAR BULVARI 06800
ÇANKAYA ANKARA/TURKEY
T: +90 312 210 22 91
F: +90 312 210 79 59
www.ueam.metu.edu.tr

Sayı: 28620816 / 305

28 Haziran 2019

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Besim Can ZIRH

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız Irmak EVREN'in "Almanya'yı Eve Getirmek: Almanya'dan Geri Dönüş Göçü Yapan Türkiyeli Göçmenlerin Almanya ile Bağları" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve 286-ODTÜ-2019 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.



Prof. Dr. Ülin GENÇOZ

Başkan

Prof. Dr. Tolga CAN

Üye

Doç.Dr. Pınar KAYGAN

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali Emre TURGUT

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Süreyya Özcan KABASAKAL

Üye

C. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	Galatasaray University, Media and Communication Studies	2013
MS	Université Paris 1- Pantheon Sorbonne, Economics (M1) and Economics and Management of Cultural Products (M2)	2010
BS	University of London, LSE, Economics and Management (Double Degree Program)	2008
BS	Istanbul Bilgi University, Economics and Management (Honor Program)	2008
High School	ISTEK Vakfi Semiha Şakir Highschool	2004

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2022-Present	Ankara Medipol University	Lecturer
2015-	Global Dialogue	Translator
Present	Istanbul Okan University	Lecturer
2016-2019		
2016 Jan-	IKSV	Assistant
Apr	NOVOVISION	Assistant
2010		

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

English, French

PUBLICATIONS

1. Evren, I., Evren, B. (2021). "İstanbul'daki Beyaz Rus Fotoğraf Sanatçısı: Wladimir von Sender (Velidemir Sender)". *Müteferrika*, 60, 139-150
2. Evren, I., Evren B. (2021). "İstanbul'un Beyaz Rus Fotoğrafçısı: Jules Kanzler (İzzet Kaya Kanzler)". *Toplumsal Tarih*, 336, 38-46
3. Evren, I. (2015). A Transnational Actor: Monsieur Imam. Şeker, G., Tilbe, A., Ökmen, M., Yazgan, P. Eroğlu, D., Sirkeci, İ. (Eds.), *Turkish Migration Conference 2015 Selected Proceedings* (pp. 260-268), London: Transnational Press

HOBBIES

Films, Ephemera Collecting, Reading

D. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu çalışma, geri dönüş göçüyle Türkiye'ye dönen birinci ve ikinci nesil göçmenlerin döndükten sonraki yaşamlarında göç ettikleri ülkenin etkisi ve rolünü incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bunun için, ulus-ötesi kavramından yararlanarak, göçmenlerin hem buldukları ülke ve geldikleri anavatanları arasında maddi ve maddi-olmayan kaynakların değişimi üzerinden bir analiz konu edilmektedir. Bu çalışmada, 5'i birinci nesil ve 7'si ikinci nesil olmak üzere, toplamda 12 kişilik bir örneklem vaka analizi ile incelenmektedir. Bu doğrultuda, çalışmanın ana argümanı geri dönüş göçü yapan birinci ve ikinci nesil göçmenlerin geldikleri ülkelerle bağlarını Türkiye'de de bellek aracılığıyla bireysel bağlamda kurdukları bağlarla sürdürdükleri, daha açık bir ifadeyle, geçmiş deneyimlerinin şimdiki perspektifleriyle hatırlanması, yeniden yorumlanması ve bu geçmişin şimdiki yaşamlarında çeşitli yollarla kullanır hale getirilip, bir yer edinme pratiğine dönüştüğünü savunmaktadır.

Öncelikle, birinci ve ikinci nesil göçmen tanımlamaları gereklidir. Bu çalışmada, birinci nesil göçmenler, Türkiye-Almanya arasında 1961 yılında imzalanan İş Gücü Anlaşması'nın kabulünden itibaren, Almanya'ya konuk işçi olarak 1961-1975 yılları arasında giden ilk grubu ele almaktadır. Bu grup çalışmada da görüleceği üzere, genellikle kırsal bölgelerden en az ilk okul eğitimi olan, anavatanlarında da niteliksiz ya da yarı-nitelikli işlerde çalışan genellikle erkek bireyleri kapsamaktadır. İkinci nesil ise, söz konusu birinci nesil göçmenlerin 1973 yılında başlayan aile birleşimi yoluyla gelen çocuklarını kapsamaktadır. İkinci nesli belirleyen özellikler kısaca, Türkiye'de doğmuş olmaları, gittikleri yaş itibarıyla okul çağı ya da daha küçük bir yaşta olmaları, Almanya'da eğitime başlamaları ve/veya devam etmeleri olmuştur. Çalışmanın söz konusu iki nesil üzerinden hareket etmesi, göç deneyimlerinin çeşitliliği ve özellikle de hatırlanması hususunda, bu yolla da her iki ülke arasındaki "bellek yolculuğunun" (Erl, 2011) mümkün olması açısından önem taşımaktadır.

Vaka analizlerinde belleksel yolculuk üç ana aks üzerinden şekillenmektedir. İlk olarak, geri dönüş göç olgusuna ulus-ötesi yaklaşımın eklenmesiyle hareket

edilmelidir. Bu durum, Basch et al. (1994)'ın ulus-ötesi bağları göçmenlerin her iki ülkeyle kurdukları çoklu ilişkiler üzerinden açıklanmaktadır. Ancak, bu tanımda hem bu bağların yönü hem de “göçmen” kimliği sorunsallaştırılabilir. Her ne kadar hem anavatan hem de göç edilen ülke arasındaki bağ çift yönlü olarak görünse de, literatürde yer alan çalışmalar önemli ölçüde ulus-ötesi bağları, anavatandan göç edilen ülke üzerinden şekillendirmektedir. Bu bağlar, göçmenlerin anavatanlarındaki kültürü, değerleri ve pratikleri yeni yerleştikleri ülkede devam ettirmeleri yönündeki girişimlerle açıklanmakta, bu girişimler özellikle yaşam alanlarından başlayarak, Türkiye devletinin de iştirakiyle Türkiyeli Müslüman göçmenlerin dini pratiklerini gerçekleştirebilmek için kurdukları camiler, ya da ibadet alanlarının bulunduğu derneklerle beraber göç edilen şehirdeki diğer göçmenlerin bir araya gelmesiyle kurulan hemşehri dernekleri, kahvehaneler, geleneksel yemeklerin servis edildiği Türk restoranları, Türk marketleri ve mağazaları gibi oluşumlardır. Bireysel düzeyde, göçmen evlerinin dekorasyonu, Türkiye’den getirilen ve göç edilen ülkede kullanılan eşyalar da bir ölçüde Türkiye ile olan bağların sürdürülmesini amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca, işçi dövizlerinin Türkiye’de kalan ailelere gönderilmesi, yine geride kalan aile ve arkadaşlarla iletişim araçları yoluyla haberleşilmesi de kültürel ve sosyal bağlara örnek olarak verilebilir. Bu tür bağlar, belirttiğim üzere “ev” olarak kabul edilen Türkiye ile göç öncesi alışkanlıkların ve pratiklerin göç edilen ülkelerde devam ettirilmesidir. Bu nokta, aynı zamanda göçmen tanımını da belirli bir süre için çalışma ya da diğer nedenlerle gönüllü olarak anavatanından ayrılıp, diğer bir ülkede yaşaması olarak kurar. Kalma süresi ne kadar olursa olsun, göç bir anlamda “geri dönüş mitini” (Anwar, 1979) de işaret ederek, göçmenlerin kendi ülkelerine geri dönme isteğini taşıdıklarını ama bunu gerçekleştirmenin, söz konusu ülkelerindeki ekonomik, sosyal ve siyasi nedenlerle zor olduğunu aslında göç etme nedenlerin de başlıca bu alanlardaki, özellikle ekonomik sorunların (düşük gelir, geçim derdi, işsizlik) getirdiği kısıtlı yaşam koşullarının devam etmesinde de yatmaktadır. Dolayısıyla göç, dönüşün çok da mümkün olmadığı tek yönlü bir hareketlilik olarak görülmektedir. Ancak, geri dönüş göçüyle bu miti yıkan bireylerin geri dönüş nedenleri, anavatanlarına yeniden uyum süreci, bu süreçte karşılaştıkları sorunlar sadece dönülen anavatanının koşullarıyla değil, geldikleri ülkenin de bu bireylerin üzerindeki etkisiyle de değerlendirilmelidir. Dolayısıyla, bu çalışma, ulus-ötesi bağların geri dönüş göçü itibarıyla da devam ettirileceğini, bu bağların ise göç edilen

ülkeden anavatanına doğru bir yönlülükle izlenebileceğini göstermeye çalışmaktadır. Cassarino (2004)'nin belirttiği gibi, geri dönüş göç sürecinin sonlanması değil, bu sürecin bir parçasıdır dolayısıyla göç geri dönüşle de halen devam etmektedir. Buradan hareketle, geri dönüş göçü ile ulus-ötesi kavramı birleşmekte ve bu devamlılığı sağlayan unsurlar çalışmanın ana noktasını oluşturmaktadır. Göç literatüründe son dönemde gelişmekte olan “ulus-ötesi geri dönüş” kavramı, anavatanlarına geri dönen göçmenlerin de geriye döndükleri ülkede edindikleri alışkanlıklar, beceriler ya pratikleri de anavatanlarında sürdürebildiklerini, bunların bir sermaye biçimi olarak da kullanılıp, yerel düzeyde etki gösterdiğini de belirtmektedir. Örneğin, Kılınç ve King (2018, 2020), ikinci nesil Türkiyeli göçmenlerin Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye geri dönüş nedenleri arasında Türkiye ile ilgili olarak ailelerinin anlattıklarının ya da yaz tatillerinde Türkiye'ye geldiklerinde karşılaştıkları misafirperverlik, yardımseverlik, sıcak kanlılık gibi unsurların geri dönüş kararlarında etkili olduğunu ve geri dönüşte de tatillerini geçirdikleri şehirlerden biri olan Antalya'yı seçtiklerini belirtmektedirler. Bununla birlikte, Antalya'da genellikle turizm sektöründe çalışmayı tercih ettiklerini bunun nedenleri arasında da Almanca bilmeleri ve çift pasaport taşımaları itibarıyla hem turistlerle daha iyi iletişimde olmaları hem de düzenlenen turlarda seyahat kolaylığına sahip olmaları örnek gösterilmektedir. Dil ve vatandaşlık, söz konusu geri dönüş göçü yapanların Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye getirdikleri ve kullandıkları maddi olmayan kaynaklar olmaktadır.

İkinci nokta ise, yukarıda belirtilen örneğin yanı sıra, belleğin yani Almanya'daki geçmiş deneyimlere dayanan anlatıların da geri dönülen ülkeden Türkiye'ye taşınan kaynaklar olarak, Almanya ile kurulan bağ olarak ele alınmasındaki rolüne ilişkindir. Burada, göç gibi bir olgunun bireylerin hayatlarındaki en önemli dolayısıyla yaşamları boyunca hatırlanabilecek bir deneyim oluşturmasıyla beraber hatırlama yoluyla söz konusu bireylerin salt bir biçimde geçmişi aktarmak değil, bunu yaparak aynı zamanda geçmiş deneyimi üzerinden bir aidiyet bağı da kurması, Myheroff (1986) tarafından öne sürülmektedir. Buradan hareketle, hatırlama her iki ülkeyle olan bağların da yeniden üretilmesine hatta bu bağların bir seçiciliğe de yön vermesiyle, anavatan ve geri dönülen ülkeye yönelik kültürel, sosyal açıdan kimliklerinin yeniden tanımlanmasına, anavatanla uzlaşılan ya da uzaklaşılan

unsurların belirlenmesine de yol açmaktadır. En önemlisi de, hatırlama eyleminin kendisinin ulus-ötesi karaktere sahip olmasıdır, sadece geçmiş bugünü getirmesinden ziyade, geçmiş deneyimlerin yaşandığı yerle şimdi olunan yer arasında köprü görevi görmesidir. Bu durum, hatırlananların sabit bir yere (Nora,1989) ya da sosyal gruba (Halbwachs, 1992) bağlı olmadığını, göç gibi bir hareketliliğin hatırlamanın koşullarından biri olduğunu (Creet, 2011), bu yolla da hatırlananların Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye geri dönüşle yeni anlamlar kazanabildiğini ortaya koymaktadır.

Üçüncü olarak, hatırlamaya yardımcı olarak geri dönüş göçü yapan bireylerin Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye getirdikleri eşyalar da bu çalışma için önem taşımaktadır. Bu eşyalar arasında, bireylerin Almanya'daki varlığına kanıt niteliğinde olan, orada çektikleri fotoğraflar ve bu fotoğrafların, çekilen yer, deneyim ve uyandırdığı duygular da bireylerin şimdiki perspektifle bu fotoğrafları yeniden yorumlamasına olanak tanımaktadır. Fotoğrafların, Türkiye'ye getirilmesi başlı başına, fotoğraf pratiğinin birincil özelliği olan hatırlama isteği (Batchen, 2004) ile getirilen eşyaların aslında geldikleri yere bağlı olmasını (Marcoux, 2001) işaret etmektedir. Dolayısıyla bu çalışmada fotoğraflar sadece gösterdikleri şeylerin gerçekliği üzerinden değil, gösterilen anın fotoğrafın içinde yer alan kişilerin gözüyle nasıl bir anlam kazandığını, fotoğrafın anı üretme sürecinin bir parçası olduğunun da altını çizmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu anlamda, fotoğrafların her iki nesilde de Almanya'daki yaşamlarının hangi yönünü gösterdiğini, hangi alanlara dair deneyimlerini işaret ettiği kullandığım yaşam-seyri perspektifiyle beraber ele alınacaktır. Bu perspektif, dönüşün de göçün bir parçası olduğu savıyla beraber düşünüldüğünde, hatırlananlara da fotoğrafların içeriğine de bu bütünsellik içinde bakmayı amaçlamıştır. Göç kararının alınmasından geri dönüşten sonrasına kadar uzanan süreçte, fotoğraflar özellikle bir ölçüde konvansiyonel fotoğraf pratiklerinin ötesinde konumlanıp, yalnızca mutlu ya da özel alanların değil, bu perspektife dair tanımlamalardan biri olan geçiş evresine dair anları kaydetmiştir. Geçiş evresi, yaşam-seyrinde bireylerin rol ve statü değişikliklerini belirtmektedir. Bu durum, hem anlatılarda hem de görsel kayıtlarda fotoğrafların öznelere tarafından yeniden anlamlandırıldıklarında ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Çalışma, bu üç akstan hareketle üç soru üzerine yoğunlaşmaktadır: geri dönüş göçü yapan birinci ve ikinci nesil bireyler Almanya'daki yaşamlarına dair neleri hatırlamaktadırlar? Bu sorudaki amacım, her iki neslin de Almanya'daki yaşam seyirlerinin hangi boyutlarını şimdiye taşıdıkları ve bu boyutlara dair deneyimleri aracılığıyla kendilerini Almanya'da nasıl konumlandığını ele almaktadır. Vaka analizlerinde de ele alınacağı üzere görülmektedir ki, birinci ve ikinci nesil Almanya'daki hayatlarının belirli noktalarına odaklanmaktadır. Birinci nesil, anlatılarını iş ve serbest zaman üzerine inşa ederken, ikinci nesil için bu durum Almanya'ya geliş anından itibaren çevreyle olan ilişkileri, okul hayatı, iş hayatı ve serbest zaman aktiviteleriyle şekillenmektedir. Özellikle, serbest zaman, Almanya'daki sosyal hayata katılımın bir yolu olarak belirtilmektedir.

İkinci sorum, Türkiye'ye geri dönüş göçü yapan bireyler, hatırladıkları yoluyla Türkiye ve Almanya ile nasıl bir aidiyet ilişkisi kurmaktadır? Burada, önceden de belirttiğim üzere seçici aidiyeti (Haartsen and Stockdale, 2017) şekillendiren unsurları hem Almanya'daki hem de geri dönüşten sonra Türkiye'deki deneyimleri aracılığı ile ele almaya çalıştım. İlk soruda altı çizilen boyutlar, bireylerin bu alanlardaki deneyimlerini ekonomik, kültürel ve toplumsal hayata olan entegrasyon biçimlerini tartışmaya açmaktadır. Örneğin, okul hayatıyla birlikte Türkiyeli ikinci nesil göçmenlerin Almanca öğrenmesi, arkadaşlıkları ve okullarında haftada bir gün Türk Okulu'na katılımları bu anlamda önem taşımaktadır. Bu soruyu takiben, söz konusu aidiyetin Türkiye'de de nasıl sürdürüldüğünü görmek açısından şu alt-soruya da ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır: Geri dönüş yapıldıktan sonra, bu bireyler geçmiş deneyimlerine dair hangi pratikleri ya da düşünceleri şimdiki yaşamlarına eklelemektedir? Bu soruda da, hangi unsurların Türkiye'ye dönüşle beraberinde geldiğini, bu unsurların nasıl dönüş sonrası yaşamlarında yer bulduğunu ortaya koymaya çalıştım. Kadınlar ve erkekler, gerek çalışma düzeni, hayat tarzı ya da Almanya'daki birikimlerini Türkiye'de yeniden yapılandırarak, burada, geçmiş deneyimlerini yer edinme amacıyla kanalize ettiklerini öne sürdüm.

Bu çalışmanın son sorusu ise, Türkiye'ye dönüşlerinde yanında getirdikleri fotoğraflar aracılığıyla Almanya ile hangi alanlar üzerinden bağ kurdukları üzerinedir. Fotoğraf albümleriyle üç nokta üzerinde durmaya çalıştım. Birincisi, fotoğraf ile fotoğrafın öznesi arasındaki doğrudan ilişkinin verdiği gerçeklikle,

Almanya’da kaldıkları süre boyunca yaşadıkları çevre, sosyal hayata dahil oldukları alanlar ve aktiviteleri görülebilmektedir. İkinci olarak, bu fotoğrafların iç anlatıları, bir diğer deyişle, fotoğrafın öznesinin perspektifinden fotoğrafın yardımcı olduğu hatırlama süreciyle ortaya çıkan belli bir durumun, deneyimin arkasında yatan öykünün oradaki yaşamlarına dair verdiği bilgidir. Üçüncü olarak ise, bu fotoğraflar arasındaki örüntüyü incelemektir. Burada hem nesiller arası hem de aynı neslin içindeki fotoğraf üretimlerine bakarak, benzerlikleri ve farklılıkları yukarıda belirttiğim iki nokta üzerinden inceleme imkanı tanımaktadır, birinci nesil iş dışı yaşamda hangi sosyal aktiviteleri yapmaktadır? İkinci nesilden farkı nedir? Bu fotoğraflar, bireyin Almanya’daki yaşamının hangi alanına vurgu yapmaktadır, söz konusu alandaki deneyimleri neye işaret etmektedir? Bu ve benzer sorularla, ortaya çıkabilecek örüntü bize nesillerin ortak ve birbirinden ayrı deneyimlerine ışık tutabilir.

Bu çalışma, vakaları sadece nesiller üzerinden değil geçmiş deneyimlerin toplumsal cinsiyet perspektifinden de değerlendirilmesine bir ölçüde olanak vermiştir. King ve Lulle (2022)’nin belirttiği gibi, geri dönüş göçü kadınların göç seyrindeki deneyimlerine yeteri kadar odaklanmamaktadır. Buradan hareketle, kadınların göçe karar verilmesinden dönüş ve dönüş sonrası süreç boyunca hem Almanya’da sosyal alana katılımları hem de Türkiye’ye dönüşle birlikte Almanya ile bağlarını hangi pratiklerle devam ettirmeye çalıştıklarını, bunun sonuçlarına da çalışmamda yer vermeye çalıştım.

Vaka analizleri için bu çalışmada niteliksel araştırma yöntemleri olan hayat hikayesi mülakatları ve foto betimlemeyi kullandım. İlk yöntem, sosyal bilimlerde biyografik yaklaşımın bir kolu olmakta, bireylerin göç seyrindeki öznel deneyimlere anlatıları sayesinde ulaşmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu mülakatlar, geriye dönük bir izleğe sahip olup, bireylerin hatırladıkları üzerinden inşa edilmektedir. Bu yolla bireyler, deneyimlerini seçerek, tutarlı bir yaşam hikayesi oluşturmayı amaçlarlar. Söz konusu deneyimlerdeki ana tema Almanya’yı olarak belirleyerek, bireylere göç öncesinden başlayarak Türkiye’ye geri dönüşleri ve dönüş-sonrası yaşamlarına dair sorular sorulmuştur. Bu soruların ana çerçevesi, Almanya’daki ev hayatları, katılım gösterdikleri sosyal ve iş hayatı ile Almanya’da yaşanan zorluklarla beraber dönüş

karar verme süreçleri ve Türkiye'ye dönüş sonrası yaşamlarına Almanya ile bağ kurma girişimleri üzerinden bakmayı hedeflemiştir.

İkinci metot olarak, foto betimleme, fotoğrafların mülakat sürecine dahil olmasıyla tanımlanmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, Almanya'daki hayatlarını resmeden ve dönüşle beraber Türkiye'ye getirilen bu fotoğraflar, yaşam anlatılarının içerisinde belli alanlara işaret etmektedir. Bu nedenle, bireylerin deneyimlerinin hem içinde yaşadıkları çevrenin yapısal koşulları hem de eyleyenlerin seçimleri, aksiyonları ve tutumlarıyla şekillendiğinden yola çıkan yaşam-seyri perspektifi, fotoğrafların gösterdiği çalışma hayatı, okul hayatı, sosyal aktiviteler gibi alanlarda bireylerin deneyimlerini sadece ortaya çıkarmakla kalmayıp, bu metotla beraber bireylerin söz konusu fotoğraflarla beraber hatırlamasını sağlayarak, yaşam anlatılarını şimdiki perspektifleriyle yeniden inşa etmelerine olanak tanımaktadır. Aslında bu fotoğraflar, birer kişisel belge olarak ele alınıp, bireylerin hatırladıklarıyla hem Almanya'daki yaşam koşullarına hem de bu öznel deneyimlerine odaklanmaktadır. Burada, fotoğrafın sosyal bilimlerde kullanımı açısından da bir tür iş birliğinden bahsedebiliriz. Şöyle ki, fotoğraflar araştırmacılar açısından ilk önce kanıtsallığı nedeniyle kullanım alanı bulmuş, fotoğrafta gösterilen öznenin ve öznenin yer aldığı çevrenin dolaysız olarak nakledildiği düşünülmüştür. Dolayısıyla, bu özelliği sayesinde araştırmacılar toplumdaki dezavantajlı kesimlerin yaşam koşulları ya da antropolojik çalışmalarında yerel bir halkın yaşam biçimlerini okuyucuya aktarabilmişlerdir. İkincil olarak ise, fotoğrafların yorumlanmasına odaklanan anlayış, herhangi bir meslek erbabının çalışma hayatını konu alan çalışmalarda, araştırmacının çektiği fotoğrafın, araştırmaya konu olan öznenin yorumlamasıyla, müdahalesiyle ve araştırmacının bilmediği yönlerde dair bilgileri taşıması açısından önemlidir. Daha sonraki çalışmalar aynı bu çalışmada da yapılmak istendiği üzere, araştırma konusu olan öznelerin kendi üretimleri olan fotoğrafları konu etmeye başlamıştır. Dolayısıyla, her iki anlayışın da söz konusu fotoğraflara eklenmesine olanak tanımıştır. Fotoğraflar, bireylerin “orada olduğunun” (Barthes, 1982) belgeleridir ancak “orasıyla” ilgili anıları da beraberinde taşırlar ve bu hatırlama süreci foto betimleme aracılığıyla izlenebilir.

Toplamda, Almanya'ya göç edip dönüş sonrası İstanbul'da ikamet eden 12 kişilik bir örnekleme yürüttüğüm bu çalışmadaki mülakatlar 2019 yılının Mayıs-Aralık

ayları arasında iki aşamalı olarak yapılmıştır. Örneklemin sayısının azlığı iki nedene bağlanabilir. İlk, geri dönüş göçü yapan bireylerin tanımlanmasının ve görünürlüğüne dair sorundur. Kimin geri döndüğünü nasıl anlarız? Geri dönül göçü yapanlar nerede yaşarlar? gibi sorular yol gösterici olabildiği gibi bu çalışma için muğlak bir yerde durmaktadırlar. Geri dönüş göçü yapanlar neredeyse görünmezdirler. Genellikle olumsuz yan anlamlara sahip bir tanımlama olan *Almanca* damgasına maruz kalmamak ya da diğer geri dönenlerle bir araya geldiklerinde Almanca konuşmaları ya da Almanya’da hangi şehirde kaldıklarını birbirilerine sorması dışında onları bulmak çok kolay değildir. Bu nedenle, özellikle birinci nesilden geriye dönenlerin ilerleyen yaşları göz önüne alındığında, mahallelerindeki kahvehanelerden başlamak uygun görmüştüm. Gerek kahvehanenin sürekli müşterileri gerekse de kahvehane sahiplerinin birbirleri hakkındaki bilgiler bu anlamda yol gösterici oldu. Bunun sonucunda bir vaka hariç, tüm birinci nesil oluşturan katılımcılara kahvehanelerde ulaştım. İkinci nesil ve birinci nesilden bir vakaya ise amaçsal örnekleme yoluyla ulaşıldı. Tanıdıkların referansları ve halihazırda çalışmaya katılan ikinci nesilden bireyler, kendi arkadaşlarını da bu çalışmada yer almak için yönlendirdiler. Buna karşılık, fotoğrafların kullanılması çoğu zaman özel hayata müdahale olarak karşılandı, sadece bu araştırmada kullanılmak üzere rızası alınan kişilerle bu çalışma mümkün olabildi.

Vaka analizlerinden önce, yaşam-seyri perspektifinde de tanımladığım üzere, ilk aşamada örneklemin Almanya’ya gittikleri ve Türkiye’ye döndükleri yıllar arasında Almanya’daki sosyal, ekonomik ve siyasi koşulları, örneklemdaki bireylerin deneyimleri üzerinde etkisinin olduğu varsayımla yola çıkarak açıklamaya çalıştım. 1950’lerden itibaren Türkiye’nin hızla artan nüfusu, kırsaldan kente olan göç, tarımcılığın endüstrileşmesi ve dolayısıyla kırsal bölgelerde tarımla uğraşanların giderek işsiz kalmasının beraberinde getirdiği ekonomik zorluklar, Almanya ile İş Gücü Anlaşması’nın imzalandığı 1961’den itibaren dış göçe yönelimi de arttırmıştır. Bu dönemden önce, genellikle büyük şehirlerden, eğitilmiş ve vasıflı bireyler “elit göçü” (Nocera,2018) olarak adlandırılan, Almanya’daki şirketlerin özel davetiyle de gitmiş bulunmaktadır. Söz konusu göç, Almanya’nın savaş sonrası yeniden inşasında gerekli olan iş gücünün temini için Türkiye’nin bu talebe cevap vermesiyle her ne kadar Almanya için ekonomik büyüme ve üretimin artışına yön verse de,

göçmenlerin gelirlerinin işçi dövizini olarak ülkeye nakledilmesi, Almanya'dan edinilecek olan beşeri sermayenin işçilerin dönüşünde ulusal yapılanma için gerekliliği de belirtilmektedir. Daha sonra işçi dövizleriyle kurulan işçi kooperatifleri ve bankaları da, dönüş sürecinde göçmenlerin Türkiye'de iş hayatına katılımı ve endüstrileşme için gerekli alt yapının sağlanması için kullanılmasını amaçlamıştır. Her ne kadar ilk dönemlerdeki göçmenler rotasyon düzeni nedeniyle Almanya'da kalma süreleri sınırlı olduğu planlandıysa da, daha sonra aile birleşimiyle Almanya'da Türkiyeli göçmen oranı artmış ancak 1973'teki petrol krizi ve akabinde Almanya'daki işverenlerin göçmen işçileri çalıştırmalarına yönelik yasakla Türkiye'ye dönüş eğilimi görülmüştür. Dönmeyen işçiler ise aileleriyle birlikte Almanya'da kalmaya devam ederek, sadece yapısal entegrasyonun bir parçası değil aynı zamanda sosyal entegrasyona dair yapılan politikalarda da önemli bir yere sahip olmuştur. İkinci neslin eğitim hayatı, Türklük ve Müslümanlık kimliklerinin görünürlüğü bir yandan Türk sorunu gibi bir olgunun ortaya çıkıp, göçmenlerin ayrımcılığa uğramasına neden olsa da, yine bu kimlikler önce tabandan sonra da Türkiye devletinin katılımıyla ulus-ötesi bağların kurulmasına olanak tanımıştır. Bu bağlar aracılığı ile, Türkiyeli göçmenler anavatanlarından kopmamış, dini pratiklerden, ulusal bayramların kutlanması, Türk Okulu aracılığıyla ikinci nesil Türkiyeli göçmen öğrencilerin Türkçe ve Türkiye tarihine dair eğitim almasıyla da zenginleşmiştir.

Ancak bu tür bağlar bir yandan göçmenlerin anavatanlarına olan aidiyetlerini yenilerken, diğer taraftan da gettolaşmaya neden olarak, dönüş için de cesaretlendirici olmuştur. Türkiyeli göçmenler, belirgin olarak petrol kriziyle başlayan geri dönüş sürecini, 1980'lerde de sürdürmüş, bu dönemde 1983'te Almanya'da çıkan "Geri Dönüş Yasası" ile de hız kazanmıştır. Söz konusu düzenleme, göçmenlere finansal yardım karşılığında, ülkeye dönüşlerini sağlamakta ve bir daha Almanya'ya gelme ve çalışma hakkını ortadan kaldırmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, işçilerin sosyal haklarına yönelik bir düzenleme de yine dönüşü desteklemeye yönelik çıkarılmıştır. Yalnızca bu olmamakla beraber, Türkiyeli göçmenlerin geri dönüş nedenleri arasında, emeklilik, çalışma hayatından çıkarak daha rahat bir yaşam tarzını sürdürebilmek ile özlemini çektiği anavatanına dönüş,

çocuklarının eğitiminin Türkiye’de devam ettirilmesine yönelik istek ve buna bağlı olarak Türk kültürüyle yetişmelerini sağlamak sayılabilir.

Türkiye’de de geriye dönüş yapan göçmenler için belli alanlarda politikalar oluşturulmuştur. Bunlar iki ana temada toplanabilir. İlki, göçmenlerin dönerken yanlarında getirebileceği eşyaları ile ilgilidir. Araba, ev eşyaları, teknolojik aletlerin getirilmesine yönelik düzenlemeler, bu eşyaların alınma tarihi ve sahipleri tarafından kullanılmış olma şartlarıyla beraber “aile reisinin” dönüş yaptığı takdirde geçerlilik kazanmaktadır. Bununla beraber, okul çağında olan ikinci nesil dönüşlerinde ise “Adaptasyon” çerçevesinde beş ildeki okullar, yabancı dil eğitimi ile birlikte Türk eğitim sistemine geçişi kolaylaştırmak adına eğitim dönemi öncesi de belirli kursların açılması, burada temel bilgilerin yanı sıra okul düzeni, kıyafet yönetmeliği gibi konular hakkında da bilgilendirme yapılması uygun görülmüştür. Bunun en önemli nedenlerinden biri de, ülkeye dönen ikinci neslin Türkiye ile görece zayıf bağlarının güçlendirilmesi ve eğitim sistemine uyumu sağlamaktır.

Ger dönüş, göçmenler için belli sorunları da beraberinde getirmiştir. Bunlardan ilki ve belki de en yaygın olanı, *Almancı* olarak nitelendirilmelerinden ötürü ortaya çıkan damgalanma olmaktadır. Göç sürecine dahil olmamış çevrelerden gelen ön kabuller, genellikle geri dönüş yapan bireylerin maddi durumuna dair yorumlar, aksanları, giyimleri, kısaca görünüşleriyle de Alman toplumunun nüvelerini taşıyıp, yeteri kadar “Türk” ya da “biz”den olmadıkları yönünde yargılar içermektedir. Öte yandan, *Almancı* aile gibi tanımlamalar da, yine belli bir ekonomik sermaye ile dönen işçi göçmenlerin yatırımlarına ve tüketim alışkanlarına odaklanarak, genel toplumdaki farklılıklarına dikkat çekmektedir. Aynı unsurlar, okul çağındaki çocuklarda da görülmekte, Türkçe diline hakimiyetin sınırlılığı nedeniyle derslerde başarısızlık, Almanya’daki gibi okul içi sosyal imkanlara sahip olmama, giyim-kuşam, tutum ve tavırlarına dair gözlemler nedeniyle depresyon ve dışlanma gibi durumlarla karşılaştıkları ele alınmıştır. Kısaca bahsettiğim bu yapısal koşullar, vaka analizlerinde ele aldığım 5 birinci nesil ve 7 ikinci nesil geri dönüş göçüyle Türkiye’ye gelen bireylerde farklı düzeylerde etki yaratmıştır.

Bu çalışmada yer alan birinci neslin yaşam öyküleri ve fotoğrafları aracılığıyla hatırlama sürecine baktığımızda, Almanya’daki yaşamları boyunca iki önemli geçiş

evresinden söz edebiliriz. Bunlardan ilki, iş hayatına giriş olmaktadır. Türkiye’de yaşadıkları ekonomik zorluk nedeniyle 1960’lı göç etme kararı alan 5 birinci nesil vakadan 3’ü kadın 2’si erkek olmaktadır. Erkekler, tek başlarına fabrikalarda işçi olarak çalışmak için göç ederken daha sonra aile birleşimiyle eşlerini de Almanya’ya getirmişlerdir. Yalnızca Ayşe, eşinin sağlık testinden geçememesi sonucu ondan önce Almanya’ya göç etmiş ve bir otelin yemekhane bölümünde çalışmaya başlamıştır. Aile birleşimiyle gelen eşler de Almanya’da çalışma hayatına katılmışlardır. Bu vakalardan Kerime, çalışmayı ailesinin birleşmesi için bir yol olarak görürken, Tülay, çalışma hayatına katılmak için eşiyile müzakere etmek durumunda kalmış, çalışma hayatına girebilmek için annelik rolünü bir süreliğine askıya almıştır. Tülay’ın diğer vakalardan farkı, bir büro elemanı olarak turizm acentesinde çalışmasıdır. Bu iş kolu Tülay’ın kendisini diğer Türkiyeli göçmen işçi kadınlardan farklı konumlandırmasına yön vermekte olup, bu durum diğer Alman iş arkadaşlarının Türkiyeli kadınların giyim kuşamları, Almanca dil yetersizliğine vurgu yapıp, Tülay’ın göç ettiği İstanbul’daki şehirli hayatı ve tarzının yeniden üretilmesi sonucunda, kendi sosyal kimliğini Alman gibi olarak tanımlanmasına olanak tanımıştır. Bununla birlikte, eşi Esat’ın göç etme nedeni de aile hikayesinde işçi göçü olarak değil de üniversite eğitimi olarak anlatılması, kendilerini Türkiyeli birinci nesil göçmenlerin göç seyrinden farklı bir yere konumlandırma olarak ele alınmış, şimdiki zaman perspektifiyle yeni bir anlatı inşa edilmiştir. Bu vakada, Esat’ın çalışma hayatına dair hiç fotoğraf bulunmazken, Esat’ın yaşam öyküsünde işçi konumu, çalışma düzeninde kendi zamanını üretim sürecinde kullanarak, otorite kazanmaya yönelik bir performansa dönüşmektedir. Öte yandan, Tülay’ın çalışma hayatına dair fotoğrafları, ev hanımlığı ve annelikten çalışan kadına geçişini, ilk defa görülen bilgisayar ve onu kullanma yetkinliği ile beraber, fotoğraflarda görülmeyen unsurların da, özellikle çalışma masasından görülen pencerenin baktığı istasyonun Türkiyeli göçmen kadın ve erkek işçilerin bekleme ve buluşma noktası olup, Alman iş arkadaşlarının kendisi ile diğer Türkiyeli göçmenler arasındaki farkı ortaya koyan alıntılarla pekiştirilmiştir. Öte yandan Ayşe’nin çalışma hayatına dair fotoğrafları, diğer Türkiyeli bir kadın iş arkadaşı ile olan “kader ortaklığına” vurgu yaparken, Alman patronu ile olan fotoğrafta ilk olarak “yakınlık” hissi yakalansa da, burada da yine Ayşe ve diğer Türkiyeli göçmen işçi kadınlar arasındaki görünür farklılıklar anlatının konusu olmuştur. Ayrıca, Ayşe’nin tek başına iş yerinin dışında

resmedildiği fotoğraf, bir nevi hikaye-barındırmayan (Wolbert, 2001) bir imge olarak nitelendirilebilir. Çünkü, hikaye-barındırmaması göçmenin geride kalan ailesine göç ettiği ülkeyle hiçbir bağın olmadığını gösterme kaygısı içermektedir, tek başına şehri arkasına alan fotoğraflar, aslında o kişinin sadece orada bulunduğunu gösterme amacını taşımaktadır.

Bu çalışmadaki birinci nesil örneklemede, ikinci geçiş evresi sosyal hayata girişin bir yolu olan boş zaman aktivitelerdir. Çalışma zamanının dışında kalan bu zaman dilimi, yaşam-seyri perspektifinde aktivitelerin çeşitliliği, aktivitelerin gerçekleştiği yerler, bu aktivitelerde yer alan diğer bireyler ile bireyin ekonomik sermayesinin de göstergelerinden biri olmaktadır. Vakalarda yer alan erkeklerde, bu aktivitelerin türü ve sosyal ilişkileri keskin bir biçimde evlenip, aile birleşimi ile eşlerinin Almanya'ya gelmeden öncesi ve sonrasında değişime uğramaktadır. Esat, Tülay ile evlenmeden önce Almanya'ya göç etmiş ve boş zaman aktiviteleri Alman arkadaşları ile *Fasching* adı verilen Alman geleneğinin bir parçası olan karnavallara katılmış, Türkiyeli iş arkadaşları tarafından, Alman arkadaşlarından oluşan sosyal çevresi ve Alman kültürüne dair bu tür pratikleri nedeniyle "Gavur Esat" olarak nitelenmiştir. Tülay'ın Almanya'ya gelişiyle beraber, boş zaman aktiviteleri büyük ölçüde ev içine çekilmiş, diğer Türkiyeli göçmen işçi ailelere misafirlığe gidilmiştir. Bununla birlikte, Tülay'ın Alman komşusuyla olan ilişkisi, komşusunun "benim küçük Türk'üm" olarak adlandırmasıyla bir nevi hem sözde akrabalık üzerinden inşa edilmiş hem de söz konusu kişi, Tülay'ın Alman kültürünü tanınmasına olanak vermiştir. Komşusuyla, bir kilise düğününde çekilmiş fotoğrafları da buna bir örnek olarak verilebilir. Öte yandan, diğer Türkiyeli ailelerle olan fotoğrafları her ne kadar tekrar eden karelerden oluşsa da, bu fotoğrafların hatırlama sürecine etkisi görece kısıtlıdır. Bunun nedeni, misafirlik gibi anavatanda da gerçekleştirilen pratiğin devamı olmasından ileri gelebilir.

Ayşe'nin sosyal hayata katılımına dair fotoğraflar bulunmazken, yine hikaye-barındırmayan fotoğraf örneğinden yola çıkarak, eşinin Almanya'ya gelmesiyle fotoğraflar tamamen eşinin sosyal aktivitelerini içermektedir. Burada farklı olan durum, eşinin iş kazası nedeniyle hastaneye kaldırılması nedeniyle, aile albümlerinde hastanede çekilen fotoğraflara da yer verilmesidir. Chalfen (1991)'a göre, hastalık, cenaze gibi üzücü anılar barındıran fotoğraflar aile albümünün bir parçası

olmamaktadır, aksine fotoğraf pratiği mutlu anları kayıt altına almakla ilişkilendirilmektedir. Ancak, anlatıda hastanede çekilen fotoğraflar, sağlığın yeniden kazanılmasından dolayı duyulan mutlulukla özdeşleştirilerek, aile albümünde yer almıştır. Bununla birlikte görülmektedir ki hastane ev içi alanın bir devamı niteliğindedir.

Kerime, İsmet'in Almanya'ya göçünden neredeyse 18 sene sonra çocuklarıyla birlikte gelmiştir. Bu süreçte İsmet'in sosyal aktiviteleri, diğer Türkiyeli göçmen işçilerle şehir merkezindeki parklarda ve diğer göçmen işçilerin kaldıkları *heim* olarak adlandırılan, fabrikaların yanında yer alan lojman tipi yapılarda bir araya geldiği görülmektedir. İsmet, diğer vakaların aksine, tek başına şehirdeki müze, kafeler ve turistik yapılara da ziyaretler gerçekleştirmekte, bunları Almanya'ya adaptasyonun bir parçası olarak görmektedir. Öte yandan İsmet, diğer Türk göçmen işçilerle olan aktivitelerini de Türkiye'nin çeşitli şehirlerinden aynı yere gelen bireylerle sosyalleşmenin de kültürel farklılıklara adaptasyon olarak ele almaktadır. Kerime ve çocukların da Almanya'ya gelmesiyle, boş zaman aktivitelerine dair tek bir fotoğraf bulunmakta ancak bu fotoğraf anlatılarında şaşkınlık (Kerime ile İsmet'in ev dışında beraber bir aktivitede yer almasından dolayı) dışında bir anı ya da duygu uyandırmamaktadır.

Birinci neslin dönüş nedenleri arasında emeklilik ile Esat ve Tülay özelinde çocuklarının okul çağına gelmesiyle beraber Türkiye'de eğitimine başlaması yönündeki istekleri gösterilebilir. Tülay ve Esat, her ne kadar Almanya'daki geçmiş deneyimleri ışığında kendilerini Alman gibi tanımlasalar da, dönüş motivasyonu çocuklarının Alman gibi olmasından duydukları endişeden ileri gelmektedir. Birinci nesli oluşturan bu vakalar, farklı tarihlerde İstanbul'a dönmüşler ve Almanya'daki birikimlerini iki şekilde değerlendirmişlerdir: emlak ve yeni bir iş kurma. Kurulan yeni işlerde amaç kendi işinin patronu olmakla beraber, Almanya'da çalışılan süre boyunca edindikleri beşeri sermayeyi aktarma amacı taşımaktadır, dolayısıyla burada kurulan işlerin mahiyeti Almanya'daki çalışma kollarına benzerlik göstermektedir. Öte yandan, kadınlar Türkiye'ye döndüklerinde çalışmaya devam etmemiş, özellikle Tülay'ın bahsettiği üzere, sanki "Almanya'ya dün gidip bugün gelmiş gibi", geleneksel aile yapısındaki rollerine geri dönmüştür. Ayşe ise dönüşte, kendi geçmiş deneyimlerinin bir izdüşümü olarak, Türkiye'deki kadınların çalışma hayatında var

olmamasını sorgulayarak, tek başına Almanya'ya giderek, hem ailenin reisi rolüne geçiş yapmış hem de ekonomik güçlenmesine etki eden çalışmanın, kendisinin aksine Türkiye'de kadınların eşlerinin isteklerine boyun eğmesiyle ilişkilendirmiştir. Bu vakalarda birinci nesil, Almanya ile bağlarını gerek Tülay ve Esat'ta görüldüğü gibi, Almanya'dan getirdikleri eşyalarla ve onları “zamanın ötesinde” olarak nitelendirerek, Almanya'daki geçmiş deneyimlerine paralel olarak Türkiye'de de kendilerini bu eşyalar üzerinden farklılaştırma eğilimine gitmişlerdir. Bu farklılaşma, Alman gibi olmanın yeniden üretimi biçiminde görülüp, aynı zamanda bunu tüketim alışkanlıklarının benzerliği ile ilişkilendirmektedirler. Bununla birlikte, birinci nesli oluşturan örneklemin tümünde, Almanya ile olan bağlar her iki ülkenin kıyaslanmasında açıkça görülmektedir. Şöyle ki, Almanya'daki düzen, temizlik, iş etiği gibi Türkiye'de “eksikliklerin” saptanmasının altında Almanya'nın bu konularda “en iyi örneği” temsil etmesi, bireylerin de en iyiyi deneyimleyerek göç sürecine dahil olmamış diğerlerinden daha farklı görme becerisine sahip oldukları savından ileri gelmektedir. Dolayısıyla, “en iyiyi” deneyimleme aynı zamanda göç seyrinin bir başarı anlatısı olarak yeniden oluşturulmasına olanak tanımaktadır. Bu başarı, Almanya'da diğer Türkiyeli göçmenlerden, Türkiye'de ise göç deneyimi olmayan bireylerden farklılaşmada yatmaktadır.

İkinci nesle geldiğimizde, birinci nesildeki vakalarla akrabalık bağları içinde değildir. Buradaki vakalar, farklı ailelerin aile birleşimiyle okul çağı ya da öncesinde Almanya'ya çocuk yaşta göç edenlerden oluşmaktadır. İkinci neslin anlatıları ve fotoğrafları göstermektedir ki, birinci nesle kıyasla, göç ettikleri yaşın etkisiyle çoklu geçiş evreleri deneyimlemişlerdir. Bunlar, Almanya'ya ilk adım attıklarından itibaren çevreyle olan ilişkileri, okul hayatı, gittikleri okul türü- *Hauptschule*- itibarıyla, onları iş hayatına hazırlayarak, temel seviyede sekreterlik, doktor asistanlığı, eczacı asistanlığı, kuaförlük gibi iş kollarında staj yapmalarına olanak tanıyarak iş hayatına geçişleri ve sosyal hayata katılımın bir yolu olarak boş zaman aktiviteleri olmaktadır.

Burada yer alan 7 vakadan, Mahmut ve Seher ise tanım itibarıyla ikinci nesil olmalarına rağmen, Almanya'daki geçmiş deneyimleri temelinde birinci nesil özellikleri taşımaktadırlar. Örneğin, babasının Almanya'ya belediyede çöpçü olarak göç etmesinden sonra aile birleşimiyle kendisi de Almanya'ya 17 yaşında gelerek aynı belediyede çöpçülüğe başlayan Mahmut, ikinci nesildir. Ancak, Almanya'da

çalıştığı iş kolu ve eğitim sürecine dahil olmamasıyla beraber dil yetersizliği ve sosyal hayata katılımının sınırlılığı Mahmut ve daha sonra evlenerek, 19 yaşında Almanya'ya gelen eşi Seher'in de aynı yaşam izleğini sürdürmesi bu tür bir nesiller arası geçişe sebep olmaktadır.

İkinci neslin, Almanya'ya dair hatırladıkları ilk şey, yaşadıkları çevre hakkındaki izlenimleri olmuştur. Buradan hareketle, ikinci nesil için göçün hayatlarındaki ilk önemli deneyim olması nedeniyle “öncelik etkisine” (Schuman ve Corning, 2011) sahip olduğu görülmektedir. Bu öncelik etkisi, *Mannheim*'ın (1972) çocukluk ve ilk gençlik döneminde yaşanan olayların hayatın geri kalanında da hatırlanmaya devam ettiği savıyla da birleşince, geçmiş deneyimler dolayısıyla bu deneyimlerin farklı yollarla Türkiye'de de devam ettirme eğilimlerinin birinci nesle oranla daha fazla olduğu söylenebilir. Çevreye dair ilk izlenimleri fotoğraflar takip ederken, ikinci nesil doğrudan Türkiye'de yaşadıkları yer ile Almanya'yı karşılaştırmaktadırlar. Bu karşılaştırma, Almanya'da gidilen bölgenin kırsal özellikleri ile şehir hayatı arasındaki fark olabileceği gibi, Almanya'da da Türkiye'deki benzer koşulların (i.e. tuvaletlerin apartman dairelerinin dışında olması) olması, ilk aşamada Almanya'ya karşı bir hayal kırıklığını da beraberinde getirmiştir. Öte yandan, Nur'un Alman komşusunu fotoğrafladığı karede de arka planda görülen duvar, Nur'un anlatısında Almanlar ve Türkiyeli göçmenler arasındaki duvarı da simgelemektedir. Aralarındaki bu duvar, Almanya'da Türklere ve yabancı göçmenlere karşı ayrımcı tutumlarıyla ilişkilendirilmekte, ve fotoğraf Nur'un ilk gençlik yıllarında karşılaştığı ayrımcılık deneyimlerini hatırlamasına yön vermiştir.

Okul hayatı özellikle ikinci nesil için kimliklerini yeniden tanımlamak için önemli bir alan haline gelmiştir. Nur için, yaşadığı ayrımcılık onun Türklük kimliğinden uzaklaşmasına hatta reddetmesine yol açmış, Hayal için ise Türk Okulu'nun olmasıyla, 23 Nisan kutlamaları ve folklorik aktivitelere katılımını sağlayarak Türk kimliğini sağlamlaştırmasına, fotoğraflarında da görüldüğü üzere kamusal alanda da bu gösterilerin bir parçası olup, Türk bayrağı taşıyarak Almanya'da, söz konusu görünür sembollerle aidiyetini ortaya koymaktadır. Bununla birlikte, liseye geçtiğinde Alman arkadaşlarıyla sosyalleşmesi, kimliğini yeniden inşa etmesine ve kendisini “yarı Alman yarı Türk” olarak tanımlamasına olanak tanımış ve bunu “Almanların yaptığı her şeyi yapmak” ile gerekçelendirmiştir. Öte yandan, Zeliha ve Celile ise

Almanya'ya geldikleri ilk günden itibaren Türkiyeli göçmen topluluğun olmadığı bir yerde yaşadıklarından, Alman sistemine uyum sağlamış, bu durum onların “entegrasyon” denilen olgunun dışında kalmasına neden olmuştur. Çünkü, onlara göre entegrasyon diğer Türkiyeli göçmenler içindir.

Okul hayatından sonra, her biri pratik hayata geçiş yapmış ve Nur ile Hülya doktor asistanlığı, Zeliha kuaförlük ve daha sonrasında bir otomobil bayinde çalışmış, ablası Celile de Türkiye'ye dönüş tarihi olan 1999'a kadar eczacı kalfalığı yapmıştır. Çalıştıkları yerlerle ilgili anlatılarda da, ayrımcı tutuma maruz kaldıklarını belirten Nur ve Hayal, bunun başlıca nedenlerinden birinin Türkiyeli göçmenlerin sıklıkla onların çalıştıkları hastane ya da muayenehanelere gelip, hastalarla Türkçe konuşmaları olarak gösterilmektedir. Celile aslında bu durumun, bir yakınlık hissiyle beraber göçmenlerin işlerini kolaylaştırdığını bir yandan da Celile'nin durumunda olduğu gibi, ikinci nesil tarafından çalışma hayatında Almanlar ile birlikte çalışmasından dolayı diğer yaşlılarına da örnek olmasından dolayı başarı hissini de beraberinden getirmektedir.

Boş zaman aktiviteleri de ikinci nesil için, Türklük ve Müslümanlık kimliklerini sorgulamak ve bu sorgulamayla her iki topluma da seçici bir aidiyet bağı kurmalarına neden olmuştur. Örneğin, Hayal'in bahsettiği gibi “Almanlar'ın yaptığı her şeyi yapmak”, yemek kültürü için geçerli değildir, burada Müslüman kimliklerinden ötürü Almanlar'ın genellikle tükettikleri yiyecek ve içeceklerden sakındıkları anlatılar arasında yer almaktadır. Öte yandan, Almanlar ile arkadaşlık, “ayrıcalık” olarak belirtilmekte, bu ayrıcalık Alman toplumu tarafından kabul görmenin bir yolu olarak nitelendirilmektedir.

Bu çalışmada ikinci nesli oluşturan vakaların çoğunluğu ailelerin verdikleri karar doğrultusunda Türkiye'ye dönmüş, kendileri karar verme sürecine katılım gösterememişlerdir. Yalnızca Hayal, Türkiye'ye evlenmek için dönüş kararını ailesinden bağımsız almış, hatta ailesinden önce Türkiye'ye dönmüştür. Ailelerin kararları arasında özellikle, kız çocuklarının namusu üzerine duydukları endişe öne çıkmaktadır. Bu çerçevede namus, çekirdek aileyle beraber gerek Türkiyeli göçmenler gerekse anavatanda geride bıraktıkları akraba ve tanıdıklarını da etkileyen bir konu olarak ele alınmakta, Almanya'daki sosyal yaşamın olumsuz tesirinden

çocuklarını kurtarmak amacı güdülmektedir. Bu tesirler genellikle kız-erkek ilişkileri, çocukların 18 yaşından itibaren aileyle bağının kopması ve buna bağlı ailede babanın otoritesinin eksilmesi endişesi yer almaktadır. Mahmut ve Seher örneğinde ise, geriye dönüş Almanya'ya entegre olamama sonucunda gerçekleştirilmiştir. Yalnızca dil yetersizliği değil, toplumsal hayata katılım konusunda isteksizlik, geleneksel aile yapısı ve bunun getirdiği toplumsal cinsiyetçi rollerin yeniden üretimi de söz konusudur.

Dönüş sonrası ise, birinci nesle kıyasla ikinci nesil Almanya ile bağlarını birçok yolla korumaya yönelmiştir. Bunların arasında, Almanya'dan getirilen eşyalarla yapılan ev içi düzenini "küçük Almanya" olarak yeniden oluşturmak, Türkiye'deki çekirdek aileyle beraber geniş ailenin de katılımıyla kolektif bir pratikten farklı olarak daha bireysel, annenin duygusal rolünün sınırlandırıldığı, çocukların daha otonom yetiştirilmesini amaçlayan, bir "sistem" olarak tanımlanan çocuk-yetiştirme pratiği, Alman yeme kültürünün yeniden üretimi ve kadınların geleneksel aile rollerinin dışına çıkarak, bireyci tutumları sayılabilir. Ancak, bazı pratikler hiç değişime uğramadan geri dönüş sonrası hayatta yer bulurken, çocuk yetiştirme ve yeme kültürüne dair pratikler ise bir süreden sonra ikinci neslin dönüş sonrası hayatlarında yerini kaybetmiştir.

Bu çalışma, her iki neslin Almanya'ya ile bağlarını, göç seyirleri boyunca Almanya'daki yaşamlarına dair geçmiş deneyimleri ve bu deneyimlerini Türkiye'ye geri döndükten sonraki yaşamlarında nasıl kullanılır hale getirdiğini 12 vaka analizi üzerinden yaşam öyküleri ve Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye getirdikleri kişisel fotoğraf albümleri aracılığıyla araştırılmıştır. Vakaların anlatıları Almanya'daki geçiş evrelerine odaklanmış ve bu evreler fotoğraf pratiklerinde de görülmekte olup, Almanya'ya göç ile değişen rol ve konumlarının altını çizmiştir. Bu durum birinci nesil için her iki ülke arasında karşılaştırmalara, ikinci nesil için ise Almanca konuşulmaya devam edilmesi ya da getirilen eşyalarla beraber ev içinde küçük Almanya yaratılması, gerek iş etiği gerekse çocuk yetiştirme pratikleri yoluyla "Alman mantalitesinin" Türkiye'de yeniden üretilmesi biçiminde görülmektedir. İkinci nesilde Almanya ile olan bağlar sadece çeşitli değil aynı zamanda uzun dönemli olmaktadır. Bu anlatılar, geriye dönüş göçü yapan bireylerin geçmişi yeniden inşa ederek, göç seyirlerini başarı ve diğer Türkiyeli göçmenlerden

farlılaşma hikayesi olarak sunmalarına olanak tanımıştır, böylelikle geçmiş şimdide yeni bir anlam kazanmıştır, göç deneyimi sadece ekonomik bir başarı değil aynı zamanda hatırlananların bir sermaye olarak dönüş sonrası yaşamlarına eklendiği de görülmektedir, bu sermayenin temeli “farklı” görme becerisinin Almanya’daki çalışma, okul, sosyal hayattaki deneyimlerine dayanmaktadır. Her iki nesil de, hatırlananlar yoluyla sadece geçmişini bugüne getirmekle kalmamış, Almanya’daki deneyimlerine dair öğeleri de şimdiki yaşam alanlarına getirerek, geçmişini yeniden yorumlayıp, göç seyirlerini sürekli kılmışlardır.

E. THESIS PERMISSON FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences**
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences**
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics**
- Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics**
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences**

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : Evren
Adı / Name : Irmak
Bölümü / Department : Sosyoloji / Sociology

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English): RE-MEMBERING GERMANY AT HOME:
TRANSNATIONALIZATION OF RETURN MIGRANTS THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHS AND LIFE STORIES

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: **Yüksek Lisans / Master** **Doktora / PhD**

- Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır. / Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide.**
- Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır. / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of two years. ***
- Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır. / Secure the entire work for period of six months. ***

** Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararının basılı kopyası tezle birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir. / A copy of the decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.*

Yazarın imzası / Signature

Tarih / Date

*(Kütüphaneye teslim ettiğiniz tarih. Elle doldurulacaktır.)
(Library submission date. Please fill out by hand.)*

Tezin son sayfasıdır. / This is the last page of the thesis/dissertation.