

Survival Strategies of Second Generation Turkish Returnees from Germany

Student: Hale Ünverir 104611034

Supervisor: Ayhan Kaya

Institute of Social Sciences

Cultural Studies MA

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to shed light on the experiences of children of first generation Turkish workers in Germany upon their return to Turkey in the 80s. The research subjects were chosen from among second generation returnees who, until the move, had called Germany their 'home'. In the interest of the privacy of the individuals involved, the in-depth interview technique was employed. The aim was to explore the strategies these returnee children used in order to overcome culture shock. They recalled and narrated their experiences related to their adaptation process in Turkey. For their parents, who were part of the massive labor movement in the mid-sixties to early seventies, returning to Turkey was re-emigrating, but for their children it was entailed discovering and dealing with a new country. This study aims to provide an understanding of the survival strategies employed by these children to survive in a partially or completely unfamiliar country which they were told would be 'home'.

Özet

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Almanya'ya işçi göçmen olarak giden birinci neslin çocuklarının 80li yıllarda Türkiye'ye döndüklerinde edindikleri deneyimlere ışık tutmaktır. Görüşmelere katılan kişiler-geri dönene kadar Almanya'ya 'yuvam' diyen kişiler- ikinci nesil geri dönenlerden seçilmiştir. Katılımcılarının özel hayatları ile ilgili verilere sağlıklı bir şekilde ulaşabilmek için derinlemesine-görüşme tekniği kullanılmıştır. Amacım, geri dönen ailelerin çocuklarının yaşadıkları 'kültür sokunu' hangi yöntemler kullanarak öğrenmekti. Hatırladıkları ve anlatılanlar onların Türkiye'ye geri döndüklerindeki uyum süreci ile ilgiliydi. Altmışlarda başlayıp yetmiş ortalarına kadar süren yüklü işçi göçüne katılmış kişiler olan ebeveynleri için Türkiye'ye dönmek yeniden-gerigöçmek etmektir. Ancak çocukları için, az veya hiç tanımadıkları bir ülkeyi keşfetmek ve sorunlarıyla başa etmeye çalışmaktır. Bu çalışmanın amacı bu çocuklar tarafından kullanılan hayatta kalma yöntemlerini anlamaktır ve tanımadıkları bir ülkeye 'yuvam' demeyi öğrenmeleridir.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank my parents for enabling me to create a study on the returning second generation. It was, after all, their decision to return to Turkey in the mid-eighties that inspired this study. Being a returnee child myself and remembering my pleasant and not so pleasant experiences, I would secondly like to thank all those who participated in the in-depth interviews for sharing their intimate experiences freely and without reservation. As for academic guidance and support, I offer my gratitude to my thesis supervisor Ayhan Kaya and my consultant and friend Catherine Champion. Without Mr. Kaya's encouragement and positive criticism and Catherine's endless patience, I would have become lost in the forest of academia and language. I would also like to thank Ferhat Kentel and Emre Isik, who were very constructive and patient during my defense of the thesis. Finally, my thanks go to my close friends who helped as great moral support.

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| 1. Introduction..... | 5 |
| 1.1. Scope of the Study..... | 10 |
| 1.2. Research Framework..... | 11 |
| 1.3. Methodology..... | 13 |
| 1.4. The Research Subjects..... | 14 |
| 2. Chapter I | |
| 2.1 Contemporary Theories of International Migration..... | 16 |
| 2.2. Push – Pull Theory..... | 16 |
| 2.3. Neoclassical Economics: Macro and Micro Theory..... | 18 |
| 2.4. The New Economics of Migration..... | 19 |
| 2.5. Segmented Labor Market Theory..... | 20 |
| 2.6. Historical-Structural Theory..... | 20 |
| 2.7. World Systems Theory..... | 21 |
| 2.8. Social Capital Theory..... | 22 |
| 2.9. Cumulative Causation Theory..... | 22 |
| 3. Chapter II | |
| 3.1. Background on First Generation Immigrants and their Descendants..... | 24 |
| 3.2. The First Generation..... | 24 |
| 3.3. The Second Generation..... | 27 |
| 4. Chapter III | |
| 4.1. We are Finally Going ‘Home’ | 34 |
| 4.2. Identification Questions..... | 34 |
| 4.3. Research Questions..... | 36 |
| 5. Conclusion..... | 71 |
| 6. Bibliography..... | 73 |
| 7. Appendix I: Interview Questions..... | 75 |
| 8. Appendix II: The Interviews..... | 78 |

Introduction

The term ‘migrant’ refers to a person who moves from one country to another with the intention of taking up residence there for a relevant period of time. ‘Migration’ is a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence, usually across some type of administrative boundary.¹ This definition is relevant to modern day migration. However, migration is as old as the existence of human beings on earth. The first available records of human migration are thought to be the movement of the first humans out of Africa. From there, humans started to populate the world, moving to Eurasia, Australia and the Americas. Humans have been moving and been moved for centuries. Population growth and scarcity of available resources coupled with diversities arising among tribes has always led to need for expansion and even further migration. Growth in population inevitably leads to scarcity of land and resources and hence, there has always been a need for more.

As far back as the history of humanity goes, it is possible to observe reasons why people have felt the urge to move between geographical locations. In both prehistoric and ancient times migrations, as a rule, were mass movements of races, tribes, or similar groups forcing their way into regions that seemed to offer better opportunities. Though the causes of such migrations were many, it may be said with a fair degree of certainty that the most potent factor was the insufficiency of the former habitat to support a fast-growing population.² This need does not seem to have undergone any major change from primitive to modern times. Motivations are numerous: the search for food and more fertile agricultural land, escape from wars, torture, repression, epidemics, natural disasters, employment opportunities, kinship ties, but all may be summed up as the search for a better life. Still today, people move simply for a better life. The exact meaning of ‘a better life’ would of course be idiosyncratic in its definition, since each person has a different understanding of and reaction to the circumstances in which they live. For some people, a better life could simply involve staying alive, as is the case with political refugees, people who escape from wars or epidemics and those who encounter other life threatening circumstances. For others, however, it may entail being able to live in an economically more developed country, so that

¹ Faist, T. (2000). *The volume and dynamics of international migration and transnational spaces*. (3rd Ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

² Ragnar, N. (1937). The wandering spirit: A study of human migration. [Electronic version]. *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 21(8), 485-496.

they and their children can look to better prospects for the future and attain a life standard more advantageous than the one at hand.

The main factor in determining the destination of migration is the motivation to move in the first place. The destination may not always be the most preferred one, sometimes there may simply be no other option, as is the case with most forced migrations and those who flee. If the migrating group needs shelter, it would be the next available country that offers or which seems to provide the necessary means to stay alive. If the migrating group moves for the purpose of employment-be it seasonal or permanent-, then the target location would be whichever country seems more accessible, available, and willing to accept migrants. In most cases, having relationships with other people who have already moved plays an important role in deciding not just the destination but also in the emergence of the idea of migrating itself. It is these relationships which form the basis of the solidarity exhibited by migrants in a foreign country, which in turn creates what are called 'migrant networks', social networks based on family/household, family and community ties and relationships. These personal networks are conduits of information and social and financial assistance.³

As for what is explored in this dissertation, the type of migration in question is labor migration, and more specifically the '*Gastarbeiter*' (guest worker) or rotation model. In essence, this model was a product of the post-World War II economic expansionism engaged in by the highly industrialized countries of Europe. These so called '*Gastarbeiters*' were to be dealt with according to the rotation principle: Bring them in as long as labor is needed, transfer them back to the sending country as soon as they became superfluous, and preserve their national and cultural identity to facilitate remigration.⁴ Most important in spearheading this model were Switzerland, Federal Germany and the Netherlands, but in the second half of the 1960s, it was generally accepted by almost all the members of what was then the European Economic Community (EEC) countries. During this time, essential structural changes affecting EEC countries, such as the attainment of high concentration and centralization of capital, the internalization of capital, and the tendency of this capital to move to peripheral areas, led to foreign workers being invited for primarily economic (not demographic) reasons, as cheap important labor fed economic growth by holding down or at

³ Boyd, M. (1989). Family and personal networks in international migration - Recent developments and new agendas. [Electronic version]. *International Migration Review*, 23(3), 638-670.

⁴ Oepen, M. (1984). Media, migrants and marginalization: the situation in the Federal Republic of Germany. [Electronic version]. *International Migration Review*, 18(1), 111-112.

least stabilizing wages and maintaining high rates of profit investment and expansion.⁵ The demand was, however, directed towards Turkey in the last phase of importing foreign labor. Primarily, the demand was met by countries of the Mediterranean basin such as Spain, Italy and former Yugoslavia. These countries sent a large number of workers to Germany but still the demand was not met. This time Turkey became viewed as a productive source of manpower. Labor migration from Turkey to Germany continued throughout the sixties and seventies and even continued with political refugees in the eighties. Therefore, the most notable of these labor movements, was that from Turkey to Germany and hence, it occupies a special place in the literature of migration.⁶

The aim of this paper is to take a closer look not at those who left to work in Germany and stayed there, but at those that have come back and who are referred to as ‘return migrants’. ‘Return migration’ is defined as the movement of emigrants back to their homelands to resettle.⁷ However, for the children of first generation migrants it was not ‘return migration’. Instead it entailed migrating to a new country, a country with which they were familiar only in terms of visits a few weeks during summer vacation. To be more specific, it is the children of the original Turkish migrants to Germany, the children of parents who once thought it profitable to work and live in a foreign country, who are the main concern of this dissertation. These children were not involved in the decision to return, and they had most certainly not been included in the decision to leave in the first place. Having either been born there or taken there at a very young age, for them, Germany was their ‘homeland’. Their lives started in a country their parents were labeled as ‘foreign’, but which they called ‘home’. This paper will explore how these young people have managed to overcome the tremendous culture shock of moving from a highly-developed and industrialized Western country, namely Germany, to what must have seemed at the time a rather Eastern, less developed and culturally inferior country such as Turkey.

There has been considerable research conducted on the issue of returnees and their children, among which some of the more prominent are:

⁵ Abadan-Unat, N. (1982). The effect of international labor migration on women’s roles: the Turkish case. Kagitcibasi, C. (Ed.), *Labor migration and women’s roles, sex roles, family & community in Turkey* (pp.207-233). Indiana: Indiana University Press.

⁶ Vassaf, G. (2002). *Daha sesimizi duyuramadık*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

⁷ Gmelch, G. (1980). Return Migration. [Electronic version]. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 9, 135-159.

1. Tuna, Orhan (1967). *Yurda Dönen İşçilerin İntibak Sorunları* Adaptation Problems of Returnee Workers, Ankara: DPT Yayınları.
2. Yasa, İbrahim (1979). *Yurda Dönen İşçiler ve Toplumsal Değişme* (Returnees and Social Change). Ankara: TODAIE Yayınları.
3. Kağıtçıbaşı, Çiğdem (1985). *Dış Ülke Yaşantısının Etkileri* (Impact of Life Abroad). İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları
4. Tomanbay, İlhan (1985). *Yurt Dışından Dönen ve Ankara'daki Bazı Üniversitelerde Okuyan Gençlerin Türkiye'de Karşılaştıkları Uyum Güçlükleri* (Adaptation Problems of Returnee Children in Some Ankara Universities). Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Hizmetler Yüksek Okulu Dergisi. Cilt III (Eylül): 165–177.
5. Sağlam, Mustafa (1985). *Yurt Dışından Dönen Öğrenciler için Uyum Programı Modeli* (An Integration Program Model for Returnee Students). Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.
6. Hisli, Nesrin (1986). *Yurda Dönen İşçi Çocuklarının Uyum Sorunları* (Integration Problems of Returnee Children). İzmir: Ege University Press.
7. Tezcan, Mahmut (1987). *Yurtdışından Dönen Çocukların Uyum Sorunları* (Integration Problems of Returnee Children) Ankara: Engin Yayınları.
8. Tufan, Beril (1987). *Türkiye'ye Dönen İkinci Kuşak Göçmen İşçi Çocuklarının Psiko-sosyal Durumları* (Psycho-Social State of Second Generation Returnee Children). Ankara, DPT Yayınları
9. Doğan, Süleyman (1988). *Yurt Dışı Yaşantısı Geçiren ve Geçirmeyen Lise Öğrencilerinin Problemleri* (Problems of Students with Experiences Abroad and Without), Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi. Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü. Ankara
10. Tufan, Beril ve Süleyman Yıldız (1993). *Geri Dönüş Sürecinde İkinci Kuşak* (Second Generation in the Return Process). Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları
11. TAM (1996) *Integration von Remigranten in der Türkei*, Turkey Researches Centre, Essen.
12. Kuruüzüm, A. Erdem, F. ve Schulze, N. (1999). *Avrupa' dan Dönen İşçi Çocuklarından Akdeniz Bölgesindeki Üniversitelerde Okuyanların Sosyo-Kültürel Profili ve Uyum Sorunları*, (Social-Cultural Profile of the Returnees' Children Recruited in the Universities of Mediterranean Region and their Integration Problems) Akdeniz Üniversitesi Araştırma Fonu tarafından desteklenen Araştırma Projesi Raporu, Antalya.

13. Bilen, Hülya (2001). *Almanya'dan dönen öğrencilerin durum saptaması ve dil dersi için öneriler* (Bestandsaufnahme und Vorschläge zur Spracharbeit mit Rückkehrerstudenten), Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi. YÖK Kütüphanesi, Ankara
14. Kuruüzüm, Ayşe (2002). “A Field Research on the Adaptation Problem of Returned Emigrants’ Children”, *Akdeniz İ.İ.B.F. Dergisi* (3), 102–113
15. Hakan, Sabiha (2004). “Anadolu Lisesi Öğrencileri ile Yurtdışı Yaşantısı Geçiren ve Anadolu Liselerine Gelen Öğrencilerin Benlik tasarımı Açısından Karşılaştırılması” (Comparison of the Identity Formation Process of Anatolian High School Students with Experiences Abroad and Without), *Milli Eğitim Dergisi*, No. 162 (Bahar).
16. Hesapçioğlu, Muhsin ve Çağlar, Adil (1991) “*Yurt Dışından Dönen İşçi Çocuklarının Türk Toplumuna ve Eğitim Sistemine Uyum Sorunları*”, (Adaptation Problems of Returning Workers to the Turkish Society and Educational System), Marmara Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul
17. Gitmez, Ali S, 1983 *Yurt Dışında İşçi Göçü ve Geri Dönüşler*, (International Labor Migration and Returns), Alan Yayıncılık, İstanbul

These studies mainly concerned themselves with statistics, and hence, did not shed much light on the psychological aspects of return, especially as experienced by returnee children. The studies conducted in the early to mid eighties were aiming to glean statistical data on problems faced on return by the second generation of German Turkish returnees. Some researchers administered lengthy questionnaires during visits to schools in order to obtain various details concerning the previous and current thoughts and feelings of the returnee children. These aimed to construct a schematic and numerical understanding of the psychological and sociological factors that shaped these children’s perspectives on their previous and new ‘home countries’. Although these kinds of research were effective in the establishment of adjustment programs, there was no personal interaction allowing the subjects to freely express themselves. Choosing between alternatives on a questionnaire, which may or may not have been relevant to experiences lived and thoughts held by the subjects, failed to provide data on the extremely traumatic experience of culture shock the subjects experienced upon their return. Therefore, this paper is an attempt to bring to light something of what these children felt and thought on re-emigration to Turkey having brought with them a western perspective on life. I have hence felt the need to apply an emic approach to be more accurate in narrating their experiences. This approach allows for narrating their

memories directly from their mouths and using their choice of words and ways of delivering these memories.

Scope of the Study

The main concern of this work is to understand what kind of difficulties the children of the first generation of immigrants to Germany experienced upon their return to their so-called 'homeland', a land they had visited during vacations for a limited amount of time only. These children were exposed to two completely opposite cultures at a very young age. While growing up in Germany and considering Germany as their motherland, they were ripped from their comfortable lives there and brought back to a country their parents considered to be their motherland. This work is about the culture shock and adjustment problems experienced by these children.

There needs to be a note made on the researcher. I have chosen to study this topic not only because there has not been much research conducted in this area, but also-and maybe even more so-because I myself am one of these children. My family is not much different from the families of the research subjects and my experiences overlap to a large extent with theirs. My family returned during the same time span and I had to go through almost the same phases of rebellion and forced adaptation as my interviewees. With my own family unable to provide much help to me, even at that time I wondered how many more of us there were and to what extent-if any- help was provided to them by theirs. The school I attended had quite a large number of returnee children, but there were no special practices put in place in the system to help us adapt. We were considered weird and helped each other most of the time. The discomfort of not being able to ever totally understand the Turkish culture is still present in my life today as an adult, and this triggered a certain curiosity about whether others like me were encountering the same discomfort.

As to the structure of the work: The first part of the paper will be a brief look at international migration theories. There exist several different views as to why people migrate from one country to another. Political refugees and asylum seekers are not included in this dissertation, since the move in question does not embrace those who leave due to political or other

reasons. This part will end with an attempt to categorize Turkish-German labor migration under one or more aspects of existing migration theories.

The second part of the paper comprises a closer look at the first and second generations of Turkish migrants to Germany. The purpose here is to explain who the first generation of migrants were, the conditions under which they decided to move and how this migration was organized and carried out. There will also be information on who the second generation of Turkish migrants was. Since this group is of particular interest to this paper, it is necessary to clearly define the subgroups, because the second generation does not form a homogeneous community.

The third part of this paper is an explanation of the methodology used in carrying out the research. The objectives of the research are also to be found in this section, followed by an explanation of the methods employed in order to reach the objectives in question. This section ends with information on the participating interviewees.

The last part of the paper will focus on the research findings, which will be interpreted according to the data retrieved from the interviewees. The interview questions, both in Turkish and English, can be found in Appendix 1 and the interviews themselves in Appendix B.

Research Framework

The objectives of this research are stated in this section of the work. The aim was to find out whether the children were involved in the decision to return and if so to what extent. (A less traditional family structure would allow children to be part of the decision making process, whereas in more traditional Turkish families children did not have a say at all.) The study also aimed to develop an understanding of the differences in the everyday lives of these children in Germany and Turkey as well as an understanding of how they viewed and were viewed by the German world outside the home. It was within the objectives to find out which strategies they used to adapt to Turkey upon their return; and whether or not they had any organized or individual help concerning their adaptation. Another aim was to find out if their thoughts and feelings concerning Turkey had changed since their return and in what way. The research

targeted the question of which cultural differences between Turkey and Germany they had observed and if they thought of their Germany experience as a benefit or a curse.

In order to reach an understanding of the thoughts and feelings of the interviewees concerning the return migration to Turkey and the consequent adaptation/assimilation period, the theoretical approach applied is a combination of two mainstream approaches, namely Interpretive Social Science and Feminist Research. Interpretive Social Science aims to understand '*Verstehen*', the everyday life experience of people. As George Simmel put it, 'The relation of one mind to another which we call understanding is the basic fact of human life.'⁸ It is not necessarily meant that a deep connection such as empathy be achieved while conducting research, but merely a slightly deeper level of connecting with the subject than just recording information. The researcher wants to understand what it is the subject experienced when exposed to certain circumstances and stimuli. *Verstehen* in this sense means that 'when we say we understand someone's disappointment, anger, etc., or his motives for a certain action, we mean not that we know what it is to feel these emotions or the force of certain motives, but rather that we understand the 'situation' in which these emotions or intentions 'make sense'.⁹ The main aim here is to understand what kind of strategies, consciously or subconsciously, the young returnees employed in adjusting to Turkey. There is no directly observable data included in this research, since the words of the participant are taken as primary source. Their interpretation of the matter and their personal point of view are used to formulate findings of this research. The reason why this research is considered to be within the limits of Interpretive Social Science is the choice of the topic itself. An extremely private subject such as this one is an absolutely personal experience and only meaningful when evaluated concerning the participant i.e. family structure, experienced events and their subjective interpretation. On the other hand, this research also claims to incorporate elements of Feminist Research. When conducting the interviews, the interviewer did not refrain from diverting from the main issue and adding personal comments. Instead of keeping a distance, as is traditionally favored in a male oriented research understanding, a more casual and relaxed atmosphere was aimed at, so that the interviewee felt comfortable. Feminist research techniques 'refuse to ignore the emotional dimension of the conduct of inquiry. Feminist researchers often attend specifically to the role of affect in the production of knowledge. To

⁸ Outhwaite, W. (1975). *Understanding social life: the method called 'Verstehen*. London: George Allen&Unwin Ltd.

⁹ Outhwaite, W. (1975). *Understanding social life: the method called 'Verstehen*. London: George Allen&Unwin Ltd.

some extent, this is an outgrowth of women's greater familiarity with the world of emotions and their meaning.¹⁰ Being one of the second generation Turkish returnees herself, the interviewer shared her own experiences and views on certain matters and hoped through this to encourage the interviewees to be more open and fluent in their comments. As the topics of the research suggests, this is a rather personal issue. Therefore, it has been considered appropriate to apply a more participant standpoint as a researcher and involve the interviewee in a casual and relaxed interview environment. As suggested by Caroline Ramazanoglu 'If you (the researcher) want direct contact with research subjects, it may be useful to reflect on your own experiences and to clarify your taken-for-granted assumptions where these could be relevant.'¹¹

Methodology

The objectives and topic of this research made it possible to employ the 'in-depth interview technique'. Being perceived by social researchers as the "favored digging tool", this technique relies on verbal accounts of social life. As opposed to attitude surveys or questionnaires, this method allows the researcher to construct research which is more like a casual conversation between equals, meaning that 'in-depth interviews develop and build on intimacy; in this respect, they resemble the forms of talking one finds among close friends.'¹²The above mentioned quantitative methods may make it possible to research a large group of respondents and they have their advantages, but the method of 'in-depth interview' allows for focus on detail. During the documentation research period, I have not come across any research related to the personal perspective of the returnee children. There was work done related to returnees, but it was more quantitative and did not reveal the perspective of the individuals involved, especially not the second generation. The participants in this research, now grown-ups, but former children of the first generation Turks in Germany, have related their perspectives on their experiences, lives and personal situations in their own words. The researcher being a returnee herself had the chance to empathize with the interviewee, which created an atmosphere of understanding and sharing experiences.

¹⁰ Fonow, M. M. & Cook A. J. (1991). *Back to the future: a look at the second wave of feminist epistemology and methodology, beyond methodology*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

¹¹ Ramazanoglu, C. (2002). *Feminist methodology: challenges and choices*. London: Sage Publications.

¹² Johnson, J.M. (2002). In-depth interviewing. Gubrium, J. F. & Holstein, J. A (Eds.) *Handbook of interview research: context and method* (pp. 220-245). London: Sage Publications.

The interviews were conducted in a one-to-one environment where the subject would not be interrupted by outside stimuli. Since the verbal accounts presented were mostly based on the memories of the participant, the environment was chosen to assist the interviewee in wandering back to the past and digging out forgotten instances related to their childhood and pre-teenage years.

The Research Subjects

The interviewees in question comprised of male and female participants. There were certain criteria that needed to be fulfilled in order to be part of this research, which allowed for a narrowing of the scope. There have been returnees at various times from Germany to Turkey and there still are. The participants had to fit the following criteria: They had to be children of the first generation of Turkish immigrant workers to Germany; they had to have attended a German primary school; they had to have returned to Turkey at or just before secondary school level; and they had to currently still be living in Turkey.

No special attention has been paid to issues related to the parents' education, work, or current status. The emphasis was clearly on the second generation. It was they who had to find a way to cope with the differences in their lives that emerged upon their return to Turkey. With the experiences and the mind of a pre-teenager, who was, on the one hand, going through the dramatic period of becoming an adult and on the other trying to adapt to a new way of life, they had to develop an understanding of two distinctly different cultures.

The Turkey they returned to is incomparable with the Turkey of today. At the time of their return, Turkey was not to be comparable to her current conditions. The country had newly opened its economy to the west and was trying to recover from the military coup of 1980. Turkey at the time was neither industrialized nor Westernized in terms of many aspects of social, cultural and educational life. Society was more traditional and conservative. Certain behaviors that would be considered normal in the West would be frowned upon and the display of such could even result in punishment. Cultural life was rather homogeneous and less colorful. Education was based on memorization and analytical and critical thinking were not encouraged in the educational system. It needs to be understood that the discrepancies in many aspects of life between Turkey and Western countries have become less in the last two

decades. Currently, Turkey is a much more Westernized country with an open economy and liberal approach to education. Recent returnees do not find it as difficult to adapt as the former ones did. It also needs to be noted that the authentic names of the research subjects have not been used. Their names have been changed in order to observe the confidentiality necessary in research such as this particular one, due to the nature of the most private information shared. The names and surnames used here may refer to actual people; however they were not the research subjects that participated in the study.

Chapter I

Contemporary Theories of International Migration

This part of the dissertation aims to offer a brief overview on currently viable contemporary theories of international migration. There have been attempts in the earlier years of theorizing on international migration to explain this phenomenon in different fields of social and economic studies. These attempts have not been very satisfactory due to the complex nature of the phenomenon. Migration is a combination of several elements on social and economic levels and therefore needs to be analyzed taking different disciplines into consideration. The concept cannot be narrowed down to economic or personal factors alone on the migrant's side. The need to employ a synthesis of various perspectives, levels and assumptions derives from the complex and sophisticated nature of the concept of migration. There are some models and theories that will be looked at in this part of the paper. At the end of each model or theory there will be an evaluation of which aspects of these models or theories are relevant to the immigration of Turkish workers to Germany.

'Push-pull' Theory

This theory is comprised of two parts: the 'push' that causes people to leave their country of residence and the 'pull' that attracts them to another country. During World War II, Europe underwent severe economic and demographic changes. Many soldiers had died in wars and the cities had been severely damaged during the war. There was an imperative necessity for reconstruction, which offered new job opportunities for returning soldiers. These soldiers were not sufficient in numbers to satisfy the rapidly growing economy of Western Europe and soon labor shortages emerged. The active population had diminished considerably due to deaths or had become incapacitated during the war and there was a growing population of inactive persons. This meant that the able men and women returning from the war had to feed and provide a number of other services for the old and young. Another factor that paved the way for the need for immigrant labor was that the active population took the opportunity to

move into better-paying, more pleasant jobs, usually in the white-collar or skilled sectors.¹³ Hence, the Western European labor market was in urgent need of an additional work force that could only be satisfied by importing alien workers. Thus, this demand became the ‘pull’ factor in attracting workers from all over Europe, the Mediterranean and even North Africa. The second set of factors labeled as the ‘push’ factors cause the migrants to leave their country of origin in search of a better life. These conditions can be identified as unemployment, poverty and underdevelopment. Although these conditions are always present, they become an active agent when the demand for labor emerges somewhere. Southern European countries as well as non-European countries have these characteristics in common. The population increase is high, per capita income levels are low and the economic growth rates per capita are slow too, combined with the unequal distribution between different regions and social classes.¹⁴ The combination of all these three elements creates high unemployment, low levels of education and a young work-force that allows the country of origin to engage in exporting them.

When evaluating Turkey in the light of the information provided above it can be clearly seen that this theory fits the situation that was present at the time labor export from Turkey to Germany took place. Germany was one of the countries, maybe even the main country that was tremendously affected by the war in terms of both demographic loss and need for reconstruction. On the other hand, Turkey had much to offer. The economy was not promising enough to provide Turkey’s huge young work-force with employment and development could not proceed at a rate that would guarantee the young active population comfortable living standards. Although Turkey was not a labor-exporting country until 1961, once immigration started, it would proceed in great numbers and reach a level unimagined by either Turkish or German authorities.¹⁵

¹³ Castles, S. & Kosack, G. (1973). *Immigrant workers and class structure in western Europe*. London: Oxford University Press.

¹⁴ Castles, S. & Kosack, G. (1973). *Immigrant workers and class structure in western Europe*. London: Oxford University Press.

¹⁵ Faist, T. (2000). *The volume and dynamics of international migration and transnational spaces*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Neoclassical Economics: Macro and Micro Theory

This is the oldest and best-known theory that explains international migration with respect to economic development. When evaluated from a macro perspective, this theory accepts that international migration is caused by geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labor. As Todaro puts it, ‘research has shown that the rural poor are often simultaneously “pushed” to the (developed) cities by stagnating or declining local economic opportunities and “pulled” by expectations of abundant jobs and higher incomes.’¹⁶ A country that has a large number of active laborers will have low market wages, and in a country where labor is scarce, the wages will be higher. Hence, this difference in wages will cause workers from the low-wage country to move to the high-wage country. Taking into consideration the fact that Germany was the labor-scarce country with higher wages to offer than Turkey, one of the main reasons to move from Turkey to Germany will have been accounted for. Turkish immigrants left Turkey in order to earn more money and live a better life. On the micro level, individual choice becomes an important element in explaining the move. According to this scheme, individual actors decide to move in order to obtain a positive net return, usually monetary.¹⁷ The immigrant becomes a rational actor who calculates and evaluates his/her possibilities of gaining economic and social advantages in case of immigration. There needs to be some amount of money to allow the move. This will include traveling costs as well as the costs of initial maintenance. Beside these economic costs, there are also psychological costs of adapting to a new country and labor market, ending or putting on hold ties in the country of origin and creating a new network of social relations that would allow the migrant to be comfortable in the new country. There is careful calculation concerning both sides of migrating, with the main focus being on answering the question: Is it worth migrating? The potential immigrant estimates the return to be more than the initial cost, otherwise the move would not be possible. Naturally, multiple factors such as the destination country, the job to be obtained there and the individual's skills play a major part in deciding whether to leave the country of origin or not. Possible risks and guarantees are taken into careful consideration as well.

¹⁶ Todaro, M. (1983) *The struggle for economic development: readings in problems and policies*. London: Longman Inc.

¹⁷ Massey, D. et al. (1998). *Worlds in motion*. New York: Oxford University Press.

As for the Turkish immigrants to Germany, the move was perceived as the ‘opportunity of a lifetime’. At a time when Turkey was economically insecure and unemployment had become a serious threat, working in Germany provided a ‘ticket out of misery’. After the first few immigrants went on this ‘risky’ journey to an ‘unknown and foreign’ place, there lines began forming in front of immigration offices. Obviously, the individual actor had calculated a clear profit in migrating.

The New Economics of Migration

This theory challenges the assumptions of the neoclassical theory in that it argues that the decision to migrate is not made by individual actors, but larger units of related people. Here the individual is tied to a network of immediate relations. The families or household, or in some cases even communities, are acting as a single unit in determining the need for a move in order to minimize risks and maximize income and related expectations. According to this view, households allocate its members in different labor markets; be it distant urban, seasonal or even international. Thus, in case one or more members are not earning expected incomes, the other members located in different sectors and places will be able to sustain the well-being of the household. In most developed countries, risks to household income are minimized through private insurance and credit markets or governmental programs, but in developing countries these institutional mechanisms for managing risk are imperfect, absent or inaccessible to poor families, giving them incentives to diversify risks through foreign wage labor.¹⁸ Poor families aim to secure their capital in order to finance larger purchases and start their own businesses at lower risk. By sending family members abroad households that stay in the homeland will be able to afford a better living and minimize the risk of undertaking private business. In the case of Turkey, studies by Kaysar (1972), Abadan-Unat *et al.* (1975), Pennix and Van Renselaar (1978), have shown that by combining foreign labor with local employment and production, families are able to achieve a higher level of consumption and investment with fewer risks to household income. Kumcu (1989) found that migrants who owned property in Turkey and who had articulated a plan to return home before retirement

¹⁸ Massey, D. et al. (1998). *Worlds in motion*. New York: Oxford University Press.

saved considerably more money than other migrants, suggesting that employment in Germany was being used as a means of accumulating capital for use at home.¹⁹

Segmented Labor Market Theory

The neoclassical theory as well as the new economics theory differ in their conclusions about the origins and nature of international migration, but they share the characteristic that both are micro-level decision models. What differs are the units assumed to make the decision (the individual or the household), the entity being maximized or minimized (income, capital or risk), assumptions about the economic context of decision-making (complete and well-functioning markets versus missing or imperfect markets), and the extent to which the migration decision is socially contextualized (whether income is evaluated in absolute terms or relative to some reference group).²⁰ The segmented labor market theory sees international migration resulting from labor demands in modern industrial societies. Here we can see focus on the ‘pull’ factors stemming from developed countries. As long as there is labor demand in receiving countries, there will be migrants moving to location these demands. There is no attention paid to the ‘push’ factors in this theory. This theory certainly applies to the move of Turkish workers to Germany. After World War II, there was an extraordinary demand for labor in Germany, as explained previously, and the Turkish flow almost entirely satisfied that demand. My personal opinion though is that the conditions in the sending country need to be analyzed as well because the ‘pull’ factors alone will not provide sufficient explanation for the question of why there were such huge numbers of workers flowing to western Europe from Turkey, whereas there were considerably less from other sending countries.

Historical-Structural Theory

In the 1950s, functionalist theories of social change and development emerged. These argued that countries developed economically by going through certain stages and collecting the means for industrialization and modernization. The historical-structural view was that due to

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

political power being unequally distributed across nations, global capitalism expanded and brought upon more inequalities and stratified economic order.²¹ Underdeveloped countries did not have much chance to become modernized and industrialized because of their geographical position and their already disadvantages situation; thus, more poverty was their destiny. Developed countries forced underdeveloped ones into poverty by dictating structural conditions concerning mainly trade. Global capitalism acted, as Andre Gunder Frank called it, to ‘develop underdevelopment’.²² This line of thinking became known as dependency theory. Keeping this in perspective, the view of the historical-structural theory on migration can be explained as follows: migration is linked to the macro-organization of socio-economic relations, the geographic division of labor and the political mechanisms of power and domination.²³ According to this explanation then, migration can be explained as a consequence of expanding markets world-wide. With the demand brought by the global market there was labor transition from demographically advantaged geographical locations to those in need of labor. This theory explains the flow of Turkish workers to Germany as a global event. There was labor surplus in Turkey and demand for labor in Germany.

World Systems Theory

According to this view, the cause of international migration is the process of capitalist development. Global markets start to take control of the land, raw materials and labor in the less developed geographical locations instead of leaving these to local governments, and so migration starts. In the past the penetration of markets of industrialized countries into poor regions was established via colonial regimes. In the current system, highly capitalized markets, multinational firms and transnational organizations, are being offered poor nations’ resources by their local elites on acceptable terms.²⁴ Turkey, being the developing country, offered its unemployed labor to capitalist Germany in return for remittances and the expectancy that foreign currency would flow into the country. To a certain extent Turkey was content with the outcomes of this migration. Other than importing manpower, German business started to use Turkey as an area for cheap production since production costs were

²¹ Ibid.

²² Gunder A. & Gills, B. K. (1996). *The World System*. London: Routledge.

²³ Massey, D. et al. (1998). *Worlds in motion*. New York: Oxford University Press.

²⁴ Wallerstein, I. (2000). *The essential Wallerstein*. New York: The New Press.

very low and raw material relatively cheap. Especially the textile business flourished with German investment, which still continues, though to a lesser extent, even today.

Social Capital Theory

Once international immigration started and theories were formed to explain it, there were also explanations needed to explain the perpetuation of international migration. The reasons that initiated immigration may be completely different from those that made it continue. As time proceeded, immigration started to develop its independent causes. Transformations in the receiving countries caused new concepts and social changes to take place: migrant networks developed, perpetuating the migration of fellow landsmen which in turn caused the emergence of 'migrant supporting networks' such as private institutions and voluntary organizations, with particular interests and gains from migration becoming established, leading to migration becoming an established phenomenon. According to this theory, people gain access to social capital through membership of networks and social institutions and then convert it into other forms of capital to improve or maintain their position in society (Bourdieu 1986). Migrant networks, in this sense, can be explained as a sort of cooperation between people who share or shared the same or similar destinies concerning work in a foreign country. In the case of Turkish immigration to Germany, it is observed that after the first Turkish immigrants went to Germany through individual motivations mainly, their landsmen had it easier. Turkish communities became established and following immigrants found it easier to move and adapt to the new country thanks to migrant networks already established prior to their move.

Cumulative Causation Theory

This theory argues that over time migration tends to sustain itself in ways that make additional movement progressively more likely, a process first identified by Myrdal (1957) and later reintroduced to the field by Massey (1990*b*). Causation is cumulative in the sense that each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are

made, typically in ways that make additional movement more likely.²⁵ Due to the expansion of networks each migrant that has moved and established a life in the foreign country, the risks for friends and relatives that want to move as well, diminishes. The forerunners set an example and allow potential migrants to consider moving, because the circumstances in the receiving country at this point will have become known and identified as opposed to being unknown and therefore a higher possibility of risk. The income level of the first migrants also sets an example as to the possibilities of earning more and being superior to those that do not move, both economically and socially. With higher income, the migrant moves higher on the social ladder due to living in a modern country and having a higher income, allowing them to invest in their home country. The Turkish people that moved to Germany have often become a source of envy for those staying behind, initiating thoughts of migration in the heads of fellow landmen.

²⁵ Massey, D. et al. (1998). *Worlds in motion*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chapter II

Background on First Generation Immigrants and their Descendants

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the adaptation process and strategies employed in this process by the children of the first generation of Turkish workers in Germany upon their return to Turkey in the early to mid eighties. The children of the first generation of Turkish workers in Germany will be referred to as “the second generation” throughout the dissertation. This group mainly consists of children of Turkish workers who went to Germany in the sixties or seventies.

The First Generation

Before further exploration of the methods and strategies employed by the second generation, the first generation needs to be understood in more detail. The first generation was different in numerous ways from the second: their home country was unquestionably rural Turkey, their mother tongue was Turkish with a local dialect, and their understanding of the world was strictly governed by the customs and traditions of rural Anatolia. They were mostly unskilled labor or farmers and low income workers. Their education was mostly primary school level. Turkish cities were not a big supplier of workers for European countries, except in providing those who had already moved from the rural parts of the country to the city and then were looking for employment abroad. The motivation behind the desire to migrate varies in details but is primarily governed by the aim to become financially more secure. They hoped to be able to work for a few years in order to have enough capital to invest in small businesses or to buy land of their own in their homeland, or simply to secure financial comfort in their old age. As Suzanne Paine states, 81 % of a sample group of Turkish workers of the S.P.O. (State Planning Organization) research, gave ‘their desire to earn a higher income’ as the reason for their departure. She also argues that ‘this was more important for the rural than for the urban

sub-sample: 92% of the former explicitly stated it in interview as compared with 73% of the latter.’²⁶

The German government started recruiting foreign workers in the mid 1950s. The Federal Labor Office (*Bundesanstalt für Arbeit*, or *BfA*) set up recruitment offices in Mediterranean countries. Employers requiring foreign labor paid a fee to the BfA, which selected workers, tested occupational skills, provided medical examinations and screened police records. The number of foreign workers rose from 95.000 in 1956 to 1.3 million in 1966.²⁷ The military coup of 1960 in Turkey was followed by economic difficulties, unemployment and lack of foreign currency. Immigration gained momentum after this coup, since it was thought of as “a demographic solution” to these problems.²⁸ With the most pressing problem being financial difficulties, Turkish people were presented with the alternative of searching for a new life beyond the borders of Turkey. It was thought that this solution would benefit both the sending and the receiving countries. By exporting workers, the Turkish government hoped to decrease unemployment and initiate a foreign currency flow into the country’s economy. By importing foreign workers, Germany hoped to bridge the labor gap that had occurred after World War II. According to Suzanne Paine, ‘Both in Turkey and in the host countries, this migration was normally presented as bringing great gains to both sides: the host countries would eliminate their labor shortages, while Turkey would get rid of some of her unemployment and at the same time obtain plentiful supplies of foreign exchange.’²⁹ Starting in 1961, Turkish people gained freedom to travel as a constitutional right. The Turkish-German bilateral agreement of October 31, 1961 was the first official step.³⁰ This was the starting point through which private companies began exporting Turkish workers. While in 1960, 2,700 workers were employed abroad, this increased by 300% in one year.³¹ The method used was based on “nominal recruitment”, in which the employer played a major part in securing financial means and in paying for the journey. This early form of recruitment gave way to a more organized approach to recruiting Turkish workers in Germany through the founding of the *Deutsche*

²⁶ Paine, S. (1974). *Exporting workers: the Turkish case*. London: Cambridge University Press.

²⁷ Castles, S. & Miller, M.J. (1993). *The age of migration*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

²⁸ Abadan-Unat, N. (2002). *Bitmeyen göç: konuk işçilikten ulus-ötesi yurttaşlığa*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

²⁹ Paine, S. (1974). *Exporting workers: the Turkish case*. London: Cambridge University Press.

³⁰ Abadan-Unat, N. (1982). The effect of international labor migration on women’s roles: the Turkish case. Kagitcibasi, C. (Ed.), *Labor migration and women’s roles, sex roles, family & community in Turkey* (pp.207-233). Indiana: Indiana University Press.

³¹ Abadan-Unat, N. (2002). *Bitmeyen göç: konuk işçilikten ulus-ötesi yurttaşlığa*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Verbindunstelle (German Contact Office). Working in coordination with the Turkish Ministry of Labor and the Department for Unemployment, the above-mentioned agreement was signed at the end of 1961 and brought structure and organization to the labor flow from Turkey to Germany. Similar treaties were signed with other European countries in the years that followed. Whereas immigration was on a more individual level at the beginning, this changed in 1962, when the term ‘*Gastarbeiter*’ (guest worker) emerged. This system was based on “differential exclusion”, meaning that immigrants were accepted only within strict functional and temporal limits; they were welcome as workers, but not as settlers; as individuals, but not as families or communities.³² Germany was herewith importing able, fit and unattached males, who would work at mostly low-rated jobs and return to their country of origin after their duty had been fulfilled. Suzanne Paine defines this desired group of workers as follows: ‘(migrant labor) tends to be young, strong, single, cheap, with few dependants and without a psychological aversion to performing menial jobs...’³³ There was no room for family or children, since they would imply a longer stay and require more detailed arrangements on the part of the host country. All treaties were signed on the basis of “rotation”, meaning a worker would go abroad for one year and return at the end of the year. The aim was to supply Germany with labor and, on his/her return, to employ the now trained worker in relevant Turkish industries. However, this principle was destined to remain on paper only. The demand for additional manpower in Europe was so acute and intense in the 1960s that very soon the duration of the working contract was prolonged, first for two years, and later for an indefinite period of time. Furthermore, many migrant workers bluntly refused to return home. Employers too were reluctant to undertake new efforts and expenses which would lose time in order to receive replacements for their work force.³⁴ One year seemed insufficient time for the workers to set aside enough capital to set up their own business or live more comfortably in the long term. Therefore, the workers were not very willing to return. Neither were German employers in favor of this principle, since the now trained worker represented an investment on which they did not want to suffer a loss. During the economic crisis of 1966-67, which especially affected the automotive sector, about 70.000 Turkish employees lost their jobs,³⁵ leading to the first critical evaluation of the foreign work force. Instead of returning to

³² Castles, S. & Davidson, A. (2000). *Citizenship and Migration*. New York: Routledge.

³³ Paine, S. (1974). *Exporting workers: the Turkish case*. London: Cambridge University Press.

³⁴ Abadan-Unat, N. (1982). The effect of international labor migration on women’s roles: the Turkish case. Kagitcibasi, C. (Ed.), *Labor migration and women’s roles, sex roles, family & community in Turkey*. (pp.207-233). Indiana: Indiana University Press.

³⁵ Abadan-Unat, N. (2002). *Bitmeyen göç: konuk işçilikten ulus-ötesi yurttaşlığa*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Turkey, most Turkish workers chose to stay with relatives who lived in Germany or neighboring European countries. At the end of 1967, almost all these workers were re-employed. This time, though, they were looking for more job security than they had previously, which resulted in the formation of Turkish labor unions under the umbrella of European labor unions.

The 1970s represented a period in which the foreign work force began to be considered as permanent rather than temporary, although the name '*Gastarbeiter*' was still used for the group of people in question. This brought with it the need for basic rights for workers, such as unemployment aid and pension rights, birth and child support and health care. The 'oil crisis' of 1973, coupled with the belated realization that permanent immigration was taking place caused Germany to stop importing foreign labor.³⁶ Indeed, at this time foreign labor forces throughout Europe were being advised to return to their homelands. However, it was during this very period that the number of Turks in Germany increased considerably due to family reunions. The German government issued an act aimed at saving money on child support. According to this act, children of Turkish workers who stayed or were left behind in Turkey would receive less financial support than those offspring who lived in Germany. This caused the children in question to join their parents in Germany in return for the child support, which resulted in an extraordinary increase of the number of Turkish children in Germany.³⁷

The late 70s and early 80s marks the coming of age of the children of the first generation, the time when they first began to engage in the socialization process. Here it needs to be noted that German officialdom was little prepared to cope with the difficulties that emerged with this issue, since it had never been considered that '*Gastarbeiters*' would stay long enough to send their children to school in Germany.

The Second Generation

It is necessary to broadly portray the second generation of Turks in Germany, since they are the target group of this research. Much greater numbers of family members began joining those in Germany after 1970 and with the immigrants already there being of prime child

³⁶ Castles, S. & Miller, M.J. (1993). *The age of migration*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

³⁷ Abadan-Unat, N. (2002). *Bitmeyen göç: konuk işçilikten ulus-ötesi yurttaşlığa*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

bearing age, the result was a drastic increase in the number of Turkish children in Germany.³⁸ As mentioned earlier, the authorities in the German Republic had planned for immigrant labor to be employed only on a temporary basis after which they would return to their country of origin. With little or no precautions or policies developed involving this second generation of Turks in Germany, many of the difficulties experienced by this innocent party, may be attributed to some degree to insufficient planning on their families' side, but mainly to the German government at the time. Those who had to find strategies to cope with cultural differences and find ways to overcome these differences were the children of the '*Gastarbeiters*'.

This group of children of the first generation of Turkish immigrant families can be further divided into three major subgroups according to their place of birth and where they grew up: Those who were born to first generation Turkish immigrant families in Germany and stayed there for their primary and further education; those who were born to first generation Turkish immigrant families in Turkey or Germany and lived in Turkey during their early childhood and then joined their families in Germany; and finally those who were born to first generation Turkish immigrant families but were born and educated in Turkey and never joined their families in Germany. All three groups have different characteristics and experienced various difficulties.

The first two subgroups shared similar characteristics depending on how and where their foundations were laid. They may have been with their parents from the time they were born in Germany until their return to Turkey, or they could have joined their parents later on in their childhood years. Both, however, had their own sets of difficulties that need to be touched upon before exploring what they share.

The first subgroup had the advantage of being raised in a bilingual environment, if exposed at a sufficiently early age to outside stimuli and use of the language in its natural environment. The language they were exposed to at home was no doubt Turkish, and the language they had to communicate with outside the home was German. If these children were lucky enough to receive a kindergarten education as early as three, they more easily adapted to first grade in primary school, since the foundations of German culture and language were laid at an early

³⁸ Sanay, E. (1997). *Almanya'daki yabancı işçiler ve Türk işçileri*. Ankara: Hak-is.

age. If these children had not received any kindergarten education, they had a harder time when they started primary school. Since they lacked command of the German language and received education in the same classes with German children, they could not communicate comfortably with teachers or classmates. Often, due to not having access to the German language, these children of normal intelligence were wrongly considered academically 'incapable' and 'dumb'. They sometimes were even put in special classes or sent to special schools (*Sonderschule*), where their chances of receiving higher education were narrowed considerably.³⁹ *Sonderschule* is a different kind of primary school having special classes for children who are believed to have 'learning difficulties'. Most of the immigrants' children are asked to attend these schools because of their 'impotence' in German language.⁴⁰ Their fate was determined according to their school performance in their early years.

The second group had to endure culture shock at a very young age. Their parents did not have the means to look after them since both were working. Having been born in Germany, these children would be sent to a relative in Turkey where they would stay with that relative until the age that would allow them to enter a kindergarten or primary school. Those who came back at kindergarten age still had an opportunity to learn German before entering a German primary school, although they would be lost during the first few months until they figured out the language. However, children learn very fast at a young age, so they still had the chance to pick up the language before being subject to a more academic education, and being labeled as 'dumb' for not being able to follow the lessons due to their lack of language. Children who joined their families when they were of an age to enter primary school did not have the chance to learn as fast and as easily as the younger ones and were subject to derogation and ridicule from classmates, which made their life unbearable. Greatest problems were encountered by children who had already been enrolled in an educational program in Turkey, which they had to leave in order to join their families in Germany and enroll in a German school.⁴¹ If given extra support and be cared for by educators they would have benefited from the German education given at primary school, but unfortunately, many were lost to misjudgment.

³⁹ Abadan-Unat, N. (2002). *Bitmeyen göç: konuk işçilikten ulus-ötesi yurttaşlığa*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

⁴⁰ Kaya, A. (2001). *Sicher in Kreuzberg, constructing diasporas: Turkish Hip-Hop youth in Berlin*. Bielefeld: Transaction Publishers.

⁴¹ Sanay, E. (1997). *Almanya'daki yabancı işçiler ve Türk işçiler*. Ankara: Hak-is.

The last group is of least concern to this paper, but nevertheless needs to be mentioned. This is the group of children whose parents worked as immigrant labor in Germany but who themselves did not join them there, due to family choice or other obstructions. These children were raised by either grandparents or other family members, and occasionally visited their parents in Germany and were visited by them once a year. Their estrangement and alienation issues are a whole other set of themes worth studying.

At this point, some light needs to be shed upon the Turkish family structure. The children of first generation Turkish immigrant families, whether born in Germany and raised there or joining their parents in Germany later on, had to deal with two totally distinct cultures from the very beginning when they set foot outside the home or neighborhood boundaries. The traditional and rural Turkish family structure expects that the child is raised at home by the mother. The idea of handing over the child to a preschool institution would conflict with this rule. Also, the fact that kindergartens operate on the principles of either Catholic or Protestant sects, meant that most Turkish families did not choose to enroll their children.⁴² Thus, Turkish children would receive their first socialization at home from their mothers. The social and cultural isolation of these mothers would be directly projected upon their children,⁴³ and those children who did attend kindergarten would have the primary difficulty of coping with cultural differences between everyday-life at home and outside the home. This adaptation process would very heavily depend on the degree of adaptation to German culture and language on part of the parent; as well as on the parents' integration into German society. The more integrated and adapted the parent was, the easier it would be for their children to integrate and adapt.

In a less integrated and poorly adapted Turkish family, life would not be much different from that in Turkey. They came with restricted budgets and worked at menial jobs, with living expenses as low as possible. "These families [migrants] therefore tended to become concentrated in inner city or industrial areas where relatively low-cost housing was available."⁴⁴ Fear of losing their cultural identity in a highly modern Western environment caused them to withdraw into themselves. They would live closely together and create what later would be called as the "ethnic ghetto". These families would belong to the same village

⁴² Sanay, E. (1997). *Almanya'daki yabancı işçiler ve Türk işçileri*. Ankara: Hak-is.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Castles, S. & Miller, M.J. (1993). *The age of migration*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

or similar rural districts and support each other. New arrivals would be eased in and as their number increased so their integration and adaptation became less possible. They would have their own shops, mosques, streets and parks. They were shut away from the 'German world' and continued to live as they had been accustomed to in their homeland. There is a double character to residential segregation: Due to poor housing and social benefits, the immigrants are isolated from the major population; while on the other hand, the environment presents an opportunity for community formation and the development of ethnic infrastructure and institutions.⁴⁵ As there were few migrants in the beginning, adaptation was still possible. The first Turkish immigrants were 'eased' into the new culture through some sort of orientation, either by other employees or fellow immigrants. As even greater numbers of immigrants arrived, it was not possible to keep track of adaptation programs, and hence the Turkish way of life created its own habitat in various important cities in Germany. The co-existence of these two cultures, Turkish and German, which were at that time very different from each other, coincided with the time when the second generation was growing up. In the 1980s, Turkey was trying to recover from another military coup and re-establish its economy in a liberal way. The country was seen as a 'developing' country, dealing with serious issues on its road to development. Germany, on the other hand, was a highly developed and industrialized country. The life Turkish immigrants had lived back in Turkey was neither as modern nor as civilized, and thus morals and ethics were also not very modern and refined but more traditional and conservative.

The German and Turkish cultures were extremely diverse in many important and elemental ways. The views of both cultures on crucial issues such as defining identity, becoming autonomous, learning independence and interpreting cultural signs were very distinct from each other. Since the Turkish family structure was a much more closely interwoven and less individual one, the two were almost like two totally different worlds. The majority of Turkish migrants were generally strongly committed to projecting a profile of strict puritan values. In Turkish families, "discipline within the family is the primary aspect. Those youngsters very relaxed and self-confident in the public space suddenly become very silent and 'respectful' under the power of the father."⁴⁶ The German understanding of identity was based on autonomous and self-sufficient individuals who respect the rights of others and operate as a

⁴⁵ Castles, S. & Miller, M.J. (1993). *The age of migration*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

⁴⁶ Kaya, A. (2001). *Sicher in Kreuzberg, constructing diasporas: Turkish Hip-Hop youth in Berlin*. Bielefeld: Transaction Publishers.

community where each individual is responsible for his/her own actions. Mothers would train their children to be expressive of their thoughts and feelings, to question rules and regulations and to become an autonomous individual. The Turkish culture, however, is based more on group and community and has completely different dynamics, to the point where individual preferences do not mean much relative to the wellbeing of the community. The Turkish family structure does not allow much room for individuality; expressing oneself is not encouraged if one does not have a certain status gained through gender and age within the larger family; questioning is not allowed and immutable rules are set by elders; being autonomous is viewed as rebelling and disobeying rules set by authorities, i.e. the elders of the community/family.⁴⁷ Considering the huge cultural differences explained above, it may be stated with ease that the children of first generation Turkish immigrants in Germany lived almost split lives. With regard to child discipline for example, there are almost completely opposing values between German and Turkish families. In Turkish families, it is mainly the father who disciplines, whereas in German families discipline and educational matters is the mother's province. The power structure in the Turkish family leans more toward patriarchal attitudes, but in two-third of German families a model of equal partnership is more dominant.⁴⁸ The children of first generation migrants had to deal with two worlds, two completely different sets of rules and even two identities. This would in later years lead to major troubles within the Turkish families living in Germany, since the second generation Turks were exposed to a more liberal world outside the home. This caused these children to either assimilate partially or totally into German culture, and/or rebel against the system, sometimes in an aggressive form. In other cases, it could cause the child to cling more to the Turkish culture, to the extent of extremism, or develop absolute apathy and withdraw into him/herself. Another possible but rare response to the circumstances at hand would be for the child to establish a healthy synthesis of both cultures, an outcome which would depend almost entirely on the parents' degree of assimilation.

In light of the information given above, it may be seen that the children of first generation Turkish immigrant workers in Germany had a much harder time compared to their German peers. Besides coping with the stress that school alone provided, the children in question had to adapt to the different social settings in which they found themselves. The youths always

⁴⁷ Timur, S. (1972). *Türkiye'de aile yapısı*. Ankara: Hacettepe Yayınları.

⁴⁸ Abadan-Unat, N. (1982). The effect of international labor migration on women's roles: the Turkish case. Kagıtcıbası, C. (Ed.), *Labor migration and women's roles, sex roles, family & community in Turkey*. (pp.207-233). Indiana: Indiana University Press.

switch between these different spaces. They should negotiate and compromise between various socio-cultural scapes in order to find a way through.⁴⁹ The way they were perceived by their families and/or other Turks in their immediate circle, and the German people they interacted with depended on how much they lived up to the expectations of either party. Each group demanded a different set of behaviors and different attitudes. It may be argued that the children in question were obliged to find a way of organizing their behavior so as to be accepted by both parties. Their families demanded obedient children who would embrace Turkish family values as well as traditional values, while the German community outside demanded that they not be different than themselves. Little did either party know what was going on within the minds and hearts of these children and how the clash between different civilizations, cultures and religions was creating confusing pictures in the minds of these youngsters.⁵⁰

Another important subject that needs to be touched upon here is the religious difference between the Turkish and German communities. Unlike some other southern European countries that provided immigrants for Germany, the Turks were distinctive because of their religion. The practice at home was Islam and the world outside was Christian. This was one of the reasons why Turkish families did not want to send their children to kindergarten. The church had an important role in pre-school education in Germany and kindergartens were either Catholic or Protestant in their approaches. Muslim immigrants feared that their children would be influenced undesirably through exposure to Christianity in kindergarten. This belief, held by Turkish Muslim immigrant families, changed after the 1980s.⁵¹ Naturally, having not benefited from the advantage of pre-school education Turkish children of the 1970s faced serious negative consequences. Children who had achieved a certain level of German language acquisition were bound to be more successful in primary school. The obstacle of not being proficient in German caused many Turkish children to have traumatic primary school experiences.

⁴⁹ Kaya, A. (2001). *Sicher in Kreuzberg, constructing diasporas: Turkish Hip-Hop youth in Berlin*. Bielefeld: Transaction Publishers.

⁵⁰ Abadan-Unat, N. (1982). The effect of international labor migration on women's roles: the Turkish case. Kagıtcıbası, C. (Ed.), *Labor migration and women's roles, sex roles, family & community in Turkey*. (pp.207-233). Indiana: Indiana University Press.

⁵¹ Peköz, M. (2002). *Avrupa Birliği'nde göçmenler Almanya'da Türkler Kürtler*. İstanbul: Gün Yayınları.

Chapter III

We Are Finally Going ‘Home’

It needs to be mentioned first that for the sake of confidentiality some interviewees' names have been changed. Since the information given is personal and relates to family and thoughts about Germany and Turkey, the names were changed in order to allow the interviewees to be more honest and comfortable with the interview. It was rather difficult to find people willing to participate in this research since it required quite an amount of time. The interviewees were found through personal relations and acquaintances. Therefore, there is not a large diversity in terms of educational background and upbringing. The interviewees may be analyzed as a more or less homogeneous group. There was, for example, nobody who had been subjected to racism, serious derogation or humiliation. Also, no more than two subjects were living in a ghetto or ghetto-like neighborhood.

Identification Questions

Of the thirty interviewees, twelve were male and eighteen female. Female interviewees seemed more willing and comfortable with relating their thoughts and experiences, possibly because the researcher was female herself. Out of the thirty people in question, ten were highschool graduates and twenty had received a higher education. Nineteen of the subjects were married, and eleven were single. The group comprised subjects from various occupations; teachers (8), shop owner (1), business owners (4), accountants (2), housewives (2), tourism agents (4), actor (1), secretary (1), translator (1), trade related employee (1), DJ (1), person working in the finance sector (1), engineer (1), person working in a sports related field (1), and photographer (1). The cities in which the interviewees had lived are as follows: Heilbronn (1), Berlin (3), Gelsenkirchen (2), Düsseldorf (2), Munich (3), Göteborg (1), Müllheim (1), Mosbach (1), Bonn (1), Stuttgart (2), Wuppertal (3), Göttingen (1), Solingen (1), Mannheim (1), Hamburg (3), Münster (1), Köln (1) and Frankfurt (2). Interviewees coming from the same city were found through personal relations. With the exception of one, who lives in Vize, a small town about two hours from Istanbul in Kirklareli in Thrace, the

interviewees currently live in various districts of Istanbul. The districts the interviewees live in are as follows: Kadıköy (1) , Avcılar (2), Küçükçekmece (1), Kartal (1), Ümraniye (1), Levent (1), Ataköy (1), Küçükbakkalköy (2), Sahrayıcedid (1), Suadiye (1), Göztepe (2), Bahcesehir (1), Tesvikiye (1), Feriköy (1), Besiktas (2), Erenköy (3), Sarıyer (1), Bahçelievler (1), Bakırköy (1), Güneşli (1), Mecidiyeköy (1), Kızıltoprak (1) and Beylerbeyi (1). There was no contact established with returnees living outside Istanbul other than the resident of Vize. With the exception of one returnee, who was born in 1967, all those interviewed were born in the 1970s: 1971-1973 (11), 1974-1976 (13) and 1977-1979 (5). The homogeneity in birth dates is a result of the criteria set. The returnees needed to be entering the second socialization process by the time of their return. Hence, except for three interviewees, those remaining were aged 10-14 at the time of their return. In more detail, one interviewee was 8 years old, one was 9 years old, ten were 10 years old, eight were 11 years old, six were 12 years old, three were 14 years old and one was 17 years old. At that time, primary school in Germany was 5 years, after which secondary school would start. In Turkey, on the other hand, before recent changes in the educational system, primary school was 4 years. Parents generally tried to arrange the time of their return so that their children would not lose a school year. As may be understood from these details, depending on the time the child entered school, which may have been seven or at the latest eight, the returnees were old enough to enter secondary school at the time of their return. Two returnees were too young to start secondary school and had to be enrolled in a primary school first. Four returnees were too old to start from the first grade of secondary school and had to be enrolled in higher classes, a situation which proved a bigger challenge, because it has been found that the earlier the return, and the younger the child, the easier the adaptation. The interviewee who was 17 at the time of her return had been back and forth between Turkey and Germany twice due to her father being an academic at a university in Germany. She went to Germany for the first time when her father was completing his doctoral degree. The second time they went because of political/ideological conflicts at Turkish universities in the early 80s. She stated that;

“There was no peace at Turkish universities. When the university invited my father there, we went back to Germany. I think, I was somehow aware that we had to go back and forth.”

In the light of this information, this particular family may also be put under the category of ‘circular migrants’. The remaining interviewees did not have the second chance to experience Germany. For them, there was only one permanent return.

As to return dates, nineteen of the subjects returned between 1983 and 1985 and eleven returned between 1986 and 1988. These years coincide with times when a combination of events in Germany and Turkey meant many people engaged in return. After the military coup of 1980, the first liberal government was established in 1983 and Turkey slowly began opening its doors to the West. A more liberal approach to the economy was adopted, which made the use of foreign currency possible. At the same time the German government aimed to lessen the number of Turkish immigrants in Germany by making tempting offers for returning immigrants. In 1983 the federal parliament passed a law encouraging *Ausländer* (foreigners) to leave Germany, and paying them to do so.⁵² Many immigrants saw this as an opportunity to return to their homelands with even a little profit on the side.

Research Questions

This part of the research findings consists of the main question in the research. In this section questions related to life in Germany and life in Turkey are followed by questions on cultural differences and the personal feelings and thoughts interviewees held at the time of their return and currently hold.

Life in Germany

The most formative years of a child’s life are the pre-school and primary school years because the main characteristics of the social personality of the child are shaped then with the help of family and school. The interviewees in question experienced their first social interactions in the German community through being educated in a German primary school. The foundations of their awareness of social rules and norms were laid by the school they attended and sometimes created a conflict with the values taught at home. In this section, the experiences

⁵² Kaya, A. (2001). *Sicher in Kreuzberg, constructing diasporas: Turkish Hip-Hop youth in Berlin*. Bielefeld: Transaction Publishers.

the interviewees had at home and in school will be explained with the help of direct comments presented here as they were stated by the interviewee without and changes. We will have a chance here to look at their experiences and thoughts concerning how their family was functioning in Germany, how they felt at school, what they experienced with their classmates and teachers, how they spent their free time, what they did during vacations and what their interaction with the Germany and Turkish communities in Germany were.

Family Life

As to family structure, it may be seen that eight interviewees were only children, twelve had one brother or sister, five had two brothers or sisters, two had three brothers or sisters and one had four brothers or sisters. Interviewees' parents were from diverse backgrounds. Although no direct question concerning this aspect was asked, from what has been narrated it may be understood that the average educational background of the parents was not more than highschool. For the most part, they worked in factories or engaged in similar menial jobs during their stay in Germany. Some had their own shops. The findings show that of the thirty interviewees, nineteen had parents who were both working. Since the primary motivation behind labor immigration to Germany was explained as financial expectations, this is not a surprise.

Education

The education the second generation received was regular state primary school education with western values. None of the interviewees encountered segregation based on their being Turkish. One interviewee even went to a Catholic school for girls.

“I went to a Catholic school. It was a girl’s school and disciplined. My father thought that it provided a very good education. I did not understand that at that time but now I am glad to have attended a school like that. All my schoolmates were German. I was the first Turkish and Muslim student there.”

This particular person had the privilege of attending a type of school that did not usually accept students of other sects of the Christian religion except Catholicism; therefore being accepted as a child of Muslim parents appears to have been a special case. The family of this interviewee has demonstrated an example of great tolerance and farsightedness by sending their child to a school that is this radically different from their cultural and religious understanding of the world.

Surroundings

In the interviews, it emerged that of thirty interviewees, twelve lived in a predominantly German-populated neighborhood, while only five lived in an area with mostly Turkish inhabitants. The remaining interviewees did not answer this question directly. Those interviewees who lived in neighborhoods that were predominantly German had naturally closer and better relationships with German people. Those who lived surrounded by Turkish people had a better command of Turkish.

Leisure

Six interviewees said that they went to a kindergarten. They all seemed to have liked the kindergarten very much and also enjoyed the educational activities offered by the institutions. Twelve interviewees defined themselves as 'average', three as 'bad', five as 'good' and two as 'very good' students. None of the interviewees said anything about negative treatment by their teachers or classmates. Some were close to German children and some others to Turkish children and children of other nationalities. From the answers gathered, it may be concluded that these schools offered a variety of extracurricular activities.

The most popular extracurricular activity these interviewees enjoyed was swimming; about eight of them had regular swimming lessons. The after-school kindergarten also offered various creative activities that seemed to have been enjoyed by those interviewees that attended the kindergarten. Besides ordinary children's activities, interviewees stated that they particularly loved riding their bikes. Some stated that they used their bikes when commuting to school. Upon return to Turkey, no one was able to ride their bike in Istanbul. Another

favorite activity was roller skating, which, like cycling, could also not be done by the eight interviewees that mentioned it as a hobby upon their return to Istanbul. It can be argued that activities such as bike riding and roller skating require a certain safe area, something hard to find in a crowded city such as Istanbul. Other extracurricular activities included horse riding, ice skating, sports, music and some children's games. It is clear that the life standard of the returnees dropped considerably upon their return. Activities such as horse riding, ice skating and even swimming could not be carried out in Istanbul, due in part to the high cost of equipment and access and in part to lack of limited safe areas. Hence, we may conclude that freedom in engaging in free time activities and hobbies was reduced considerably upon the return to Turkey.

Vacations

When asked about their summer vacations, twenty-two interviewees mentioned that they had visited Turkey every summer. Some interviewees traveled by plane and some by bus. It was generally stated that they did not enjoy the bus journey from Germany to Istanbul, which took two nights and three days in those days. The interviewees also mentioned that they would bring numerous gifts to relatives and friends in Turkey because many of the goods they brought did not exist in Turkey at that time. These gifts consisted mostly of clothes, practical household equipment and similar 'luxury' consumer items. One interviewee states;

“We used to come to Turkey every summer on the bus and I hated the journey because it was very long and tiring. We brought lots of presents for family members here and carried food back there, so there was always a lot to carry. I only liked coming to Turkey because I felt special and different here because I had things that the kids here did not have.”

Obviously, since many European goods were not available in Turkey, possessing these meant financial power. This brought with it a higher level of social status that in turn made this interviewee feel special, probably helping him/her to benefit from being different rather than suffering from it, for a change. On their return to Germany, some interviewees mentioned that they also took back traditional Turkish food, because it could not be found at the same quality

and price in Germany. This was before a large number of Turkish food stores were opened by Turks in Germany. Zeynep says that;

“We used to travel to Turkey in the summer, but sometimes not all of us. We went with presents and returned with traditional food that was not easy to get in Germany, and even if it could be, it was not the same as my father used to say.”

These attempts to carry Turkish food back to Germany could also be seen as an attempt to take a small amount of the familiar environment back to the foreign country. By taking traditional Turkish food with them to Germany, these people were trying to minimize their longing for their village or city in Turkey. The food would serve as a memento of their homeland, and when consumed would take them back in time and space to their homes in Turkey. Within time, though, the torturous process of food transportation was not necessary anymore, since after the 90s Turkish stores started to officially import food products from Turkey and/or produced some favorite meat items in Germany.

General thoughts on Life in Germany

When asked about their general thoughts concerning their lives in Germany, about twenty-three interviewees answered that they were very happy living there and ten said that they felt at home there. Most interviewees-about twenty-nine of them-were born in Germany and spent their early childhood to pre-teenage years there. Naturally, they perceived Germany as their home. As Turgay put it *“I felt like I belonged there.”* This should not be a surprise, since Germany was the country of permanent residence and less time was spent in Turkey. It is clear that Turkey was perceived more as a holiday destination. They would come to Turkey from summer to summer and spent time with relatives of whom they did not remember much during the rest of the year, given their young age, and performed all the duties of well behaved Turkish children. They would stay in their villages or cities most of the time with relatives. Very few families actually owned their own homes in Turkey, and even if they did, there were relatives living there during their long absence. Hence, the children never developed an understanding of living in their homes in Turkey but rather a feeling of visiting somebody else’s homes during their vacation in Turkey.

Interaction with the German Population

The relations these returnees had with German people depended very much on the kind of neighborhood they lived in. Twenty-two returnees mentioned having very good or normal relationships with the German people they were in contact with, only six stating that they did not feel comfortable around them. These six subjects were from areas in their city that were heavily populated by Turks and they did not have contact with a variety of Germans. It was also observed that the interviewees thought the closer their hair and skin color was to that of the Germans, the less they were taken for foreigners. Filiz was lucky in this sense because of her light hair color and blue eyes. She states; “(They did not make me feel) *different at all. I am blonde so they did not even see me as a foreigner. I felt very welcome and at home there.*” Some returnees found it easier to communicate with Germans rather than Turks. Nuran explains her relations being better with Germans because; “*I did not feel any difference but I liked them better than the Turks because I understood them better.*” These words come from an only child who spent most of her time playing with German children and children of other nationalities. This interviewee also mentioned that they were the only Turkish family in their neighborhood. This indicates that the level of exposure to German culture affects the degree to which the interviewees felt comfortable in understanding the German people around them. In fact, Nuran was so comfortable with the Germans around her that she uses the words ‘the Turks’ instead of ‘us’, showing that she makes a clear distinction between the Turks and Germans around her and places herself on the side with the latter. Another interviewee, Dilek, felt aware that she was living in a foreign country. She states

“Of course it was not like being in your own country. You are very aware that your life there is only temporary. I used to think with every step that I took, that this was not my country. Whenever I came to Turkey I felt peace with every step I took. I used to think ‘This is my land; nothing can happen to me here’.”

This particular returnee had been born in Istanbul and went to Germany after she had received the first few years of primary education in Turkey. At that time, cultural awareness was already present. She knew when she moved to Germany that she would be living in a foreign country. As to the remaining interviewees, they were born in Germany and did not have an awareness of the Turkish culture experienced first hand, but more a partial experience of the Turkish culture limited by the family circle and under a heavy influence of the German

culture outside. Twenty out of thirty respondents indicated that the German communities they lived in made them feel comfortable and only three had felt like a foreigner.

Returning to Turkey

The returnees were very young when they came back to Turkey and therefore it is natural that their opinion on the return issue was not asked. Only two respondents were asked, but at such an early age that nothing they had to say would have made a change in the decision taken by their parents. However, twenty-six subjects did not have positive opinions about returning to Turkey. Their answers ranged between complete rejection of the idea to feeling simply indifferent or cautious about it. Gülhan explains her feelings in this way: *“I had no idea about what was going on. I was told we were going home, like, were we not already home anyway?”* Clearly, she was taken by surprise because the territory she had defined as home in her eight-year-old consciousness was going to be replaced by another ‘home’ that was unknown to her. Serap was ten years old when her family returned to Turkey and she states that it did not matter to her at first because she *“...did not understand what that meant.”* She was too young to understand the reason for the move as well as the move itself. To her, Germany was where they were living since she was born and where they would continue to live. The need to change countries of residence was not clear to her at all. Volkan, on the other hand, felt negative about the return because,

“I never really wanted to return because during the holidays in Turkey I had to behave in a certain way that was not expected from me in Germany. There, I just had to look after my brothers but in Turkey I had to go through this ritual during our visits that was boring.”

To him, Turkey was a place where he could not be himself, where he had to change his behaviors due to some inexplicable reason. Germany allowed Volkan to be himself and this privilege was taken away from him when they came to Turkey during the summer. Naturally, this created confusion and resulted in anger that he associated with the country. He was asked also to perform duties as a grandson, nephew and older brother, which he did not feel comfortable in doing, since he was not trained that way. His upbringing did not match with the socially appropriate codes of the Turkish culture.

12 of our interviewees were informed by their fathers about the return, which suggests a more male-dominated family structure in those particular families. Eight interviewees were informed by both of their parents, and the remaining by their mothers. The reasons given to the interviewers were various, but mostly they were simply told that the time for return had arrived. However, a child also has special needs. He has not participated in the decision to leave, and even if explanations have been offered (which does not always happen: this depends on the nature of family communication and the child's age), the child is generally at loss to understand adult motives for moving.⁵³ Zeynep was told by her mother that her *“father had enough of working in a ‘foreign land’, as he used to call it.”* Zeynep had difficulty understanding this, since what her father called ‘foreign land’, she called ‘home’. Fatma could not make much sense of the decision and she explains it in these words. *“Dad just said one day that soon we would be leaving the country and go home. That sounded a bit strange because Germany was the only home I knew.”* Clearly she did not understand the implications of the decision to return and was confused as to where home was, since Germany was her home, but not her parents’. Gülen states that *“It was my father’s idea to return. He wanted us children to be part of the Turkish culture. He did not want us to be alienated and become Germanized.”* Gülen’s father seemed to have feared that his children would become too alienated from the Turkish culture and wanted to prevent a complete estrangement from Turkish traditions and values. To him, his children, as he did, should grow up with values of the culture to which he belonged.

Some families timed the return to be exactly before puberty, a time in which the control of the child in a liberal country such as Germany would have been more difficult. Parents had the idea that their children would become too intermingled with German culture, which would cause them to develop notions of independence derived from western culture. As mentioned earlier, the education of children in the Turkish family depends heavily on obedience. Puberty is already viewed as an age of rebellion, and when combined with the fact that children would be exposed to the German example of more independent children, parents feared the great damage which would be caused to Turkish family dynamics. Gülen puts it this way:

⁵³ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic perspectives of migration and exile*. USA: Yale University Press.

“As I grew older, I would have had more problems. Mostly because I think that I would have been excluded by the Germans. I have friends that have returned after finishing high school. They have had serious problems in adapting. When one is younger, one is more flexible. The families there try to raise Turkish children within the Turkish culture, which is more restrictive. They rebelled of course.”

Upon receiving the news, reactions varied the subjects. When asked how they felt about the decision to return, fifteen of them expressed their feelings with extremely negative words such as ‘depressed’, ‘hated it’ or ‘cried’. Three interviewees chose less powerful words to explain their disappointment, but still were not fond of this idea. They said that they felt ‘confused’ about this decision, which suggests that they did not understand its implications. Five returnees explained their excitement and willingness to return. The remaining seven people were simply ‘curious’ or ‘had no feeling’ related to the decision. Perihan states that she felt *“Very depressed. I had to leave everything that I liked behind and go into the unknown.”* Turkey is the unknown to an eleven year old child who had been calling Germany her home since the day she was born. Having been taken away from everything that was familiar to her, she felt a natural reaction of anxiety and anger that showed itself as depression. Depressive anxieties are created by experiences of great loss together with the fear of never being able to recover all that has been left behind. Her comfort zone was taken away from her and she was exposed to a place she did not have sufficient knowledge about in order to feel safe there. The reason behind all negative feelings towards the idea of moving is that, *“some young children who emigrate are deeply affected by the absence of those who had made up their environment-at-large: friends, classmates and teachers, neighbors, as well as objects belonging to the nonhuman environment: house, toys, parks and so on. Somehow, unable to express sorrow, the child expresses anger.”*⁵⁴

The interviewees do not seem to have had much knowledge about Turkey. They would visit almost every summer, which did not allow them to create any history with the people encountered upon their visits. Most children perceived spending the holiday in Turkey as an opportunity to ‘see their relatives’. Twenty-one respondents mentioned this when asked about what they remembered about Turkey at an early age. Related to this issue, eleven of them also

⁵⁴ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic perspectives of migration and exile*. USA: Yale University Press.

mentioned that visiting Turkey would mean bringing presents for relatives. Sena Nur relates her memories with the following words:

“I remember children admiring me for the things I had that they did not. For me Turkey was people we brought gifts for, our relatives and the village we went to. It was boring and dirty.”

Sena Nur experienced at an early age the feeling of being valued not for whom she was, but for what she had to offer. She did not seem to have established a personal connection with Turkey but with the objects and people that meant Turkey for her. These words imply that she did not like coming back to Turkey but was merely a visiting tourist surprised at everything like a stranger. Another returnee, Gülen says:

“We used to come in the holidays for three weeks. There were some things that irritated me here. It felt underdeveloped and there were differences concerning the system and how things were run here. I felt like I had come to another planet. There were horse carts and horseshit, chickens and cows running around freely. The people were interesting. They were sincere and I had no problems with them. They were mostly family anyway.”

Gülen was startled at the primitiveness of her surroundings in Turkey but did not have a very hard time with the people she met, mainly due to the fact that they were family members. This helped her to feel more welcome since the people were more familiar to her. The interesting fact is that these children brought up in Germany were as surprised by the ‘disorganization’ and ‘confusion’ in Turkey as they were about the warmth and sincerity of the people they encountered during their visits. Dilek says that

“I used to view it (Turkey) as a place with no organization, with streets full of garbage, where one could live (comfortably) only if they have enough money; however, a place where ties among people were strong.”

Having come from a western culture where the emphasis on hygiene is defined with strict rules governing public space, Dilek was not pleased when she could not find the same standards in Turkey. She discovered, however, that people were connected with closer ties in

Turkey. The memories related were not only positive. There was behavior related to organization and hygiene encountered which the interviewees had not been exposed to during their time in Germany. This issue will be touched upon later in questions related to cultural differences.

The interviewees appeared to have adjusted healthily in the time that had passed since they return. Only six said that they were still unhappy to have returned and to be living in Turkey. Twenty-three subjects expressed happiness about living in Turkey.

When asked the hypothetical question of what they thought might have happened to them if they had stayed, only six interviewees said that they would have had better lives. The majority had no idea about their possible future in Germany. One returnee said that life would have been 'not good' if they had stayed because they might have become 'too Germanized' with a prolonged stay. Turgay is one of the returnees who is glad that he had a chance to get to know the Turkish culture too. He says "*I would not have found out about the Turkish culture. I don't know what would have happened to me. I would be more German and one dimensional.*" He is guessing that if he stayed in Germany only and did not have the chance to live in Turkey, he would look at life with a German perspective. He would have looked at the world from a western perspective that would not have allowed him to understand the Eastern way of life, which are distinctively different in many aspects of cultural and social life.

It is interesting to note that only seven returnees have contact with Turkish friends in Germany, twenty or more years after their return and again only seven, still have contact with German friends. Given the early age at which the returnees came back to Turkey this should not be a surprise, since for a pre-teenager continuing relationships with people abroad would have been extremely difficult, especially at a time when internet and telecommunication were not as available and comfortable as today.

Revisiting Germany

It was asked if the interviewees had been to their hometown in Germany since their return and only seven stated that they had. Some interviewees stated that they wanted to go back but had

never had the chance. Barış was more negative and said he had not been back because “*They want me to get a visa to return to my home city.*” He is displaying a silent protest against the fact that he was considered a foreigner to Germany whereas he considered himself as belonging there. Clearly, the fact that their ties with their hometown had been cut so abruptly has become a reason for not visiting their city of birth. Those returnees who have had a chance to visit their hometown have done so a few times, three to five times approximately six to sixteen years later. Their feelings were mixed. Ali describes this experience as “*Strange. It was like I was back home but did not belong there anymore.*” They became estranged with their ‘first home’ because they were taken away from it to their ‘second homes’. The everyday life he had established in Germany continued without him and, thus was not his everyday life anymore. Places and people he had memories with belonged to the past and he did not have chances to create new memories in Germany anymore. As Perihan puts it “*It felt like a foreign place because I did not have new memories there, just childhood memories.*” Perihan also places Germany in her past associating it with childhood, a time that would not be lived again, as Germany was a place where she would not live again. It appears that the notion of ‘home’ is closely related to memories created in a certain location. Other returnees who went back to visit their hometowns in Germany described their experience with words such as ‘like a movie’, ‘like a tourist’ and even ‘strange, not like home anymore’. Most of them seemed to have noticed very few if any changes when they visited their towns.

The Struggle to Fit In

There was a distinct difference between visiting Turkey during vacations for three or four weeks and coming back to live here for good. The interviewees related that they were treated differently by children their age and even adults. Didem says that “*They used to call us ‘Almanci’ and treat us differently after we came back for good.*” ‘Almanci’ here refers to German-like, which bears witness to a combination of difference, lack of acceptance, and rejection.⁵⁵ These children were given this derogatory label by their classmates because of reasons related to differences between them, the ‘newcomers’ and the ‘natives’. These names are usually given due to “condensed envy that originated in overvaluation and disdain that

⁵⁵ Kaya, A. (2001). *Sicher in Kreuzberg, constructing diasporas: Turkish Hip-Hop youth in Berlin*. Bielefeld: Transaction Publishers.

serves as protection from envy.”⁵⁶ Naturally, these particular children were different from their classmates and relatives of the same age. This was due in part to their upbringing being strongly influenced by German culture. This affected the way they moved, thought and defined the world around them, and naturally gave rise to certain misunderstandings. Didem adds to her comment above that “*The boys used to see us as easy girls because we were more liberal in our behavior.*” The social codes of both countries vary in the sense that Turkey had, at that time, a much more conservative understanding of social roles, whereas in Germany there was more freedom of expression and behavior.

The interviewees were asked about their ability to speak Turkish. Since they were raised in a Turkish-speaking family it was expected that they should not have any problems in communication with friends and relatives in Turkey. Twenty interviewees mentioned that their Turkish was not very good or that they spoke with a heavy accent. Four interviewees described their Turkish abilities as terrible. Since Germany was their country of birth and these subjects were exposed to Turkish in a restricted home environment only, their Turkish abilities have naturally suffered. They were raised bilingually, with German being their primary language of use. Some interviewees remember that they were ridiculed because of their accent upon their return to Turkey. Hayri, especially, felt strongly about this and said that “*People made fun of my accent. I felt full of rage.*” In his attempt to belong and adjust to his new environment and the new sets of people around him, being ridiculed due to his accent hurt him and brought out anger in him. He felt that even though he was trying, it was not appreciated. These children were approached with prejudice simply because their accent and liberal behavior made them stand out. Selçuk says “*I thought it (my Turkish) was great but people could sometimes not understand me and made fun of my accent.*” Making fun of his accent is another form of hostility against the newcomer. This “hostility may be manifested in subtle ways, for example, by not making an effort to understand or communicate with the foreigner, but rather, accentuating linguistic differences so as to confirm that it is impossible for the newcomer to understand his environment.”⁵⁷ His self-evaluation of his Turkish ability clearly did not match the standards, which made him feel different for one more reason. There was not much to do to solve this problem and these children just had to suffer ridicule until their accent changed and became like that of a native.

⁵⁶ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic perspectives of migration and exile*. USA: Yale University Press.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

The subjects of the research were asked about the first pleasures they encountered upon their return. Eleven interviewees responded that they loved being with their relatives. As children raised in a setting where relatives other than parents were not present, these children had lacked the attention of other relatives. During their summer holidays, they had had temporary access to the warmth of an extended family, with more frequent opportunity to be with grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins. However, it is also interesting to note that nine respondents related that they did not encounter any pleasures at all. This negativity can be explained as a negative response to an involuntary move combined with social adjustment problems they were expected to overcome at such a young age. Barış says that

“There were none (pleasures). All was disappointment. All lessons were memorization. I had to wear a tie and a jacket which was more disgusting than the black uniform. It was a disgusting school building.”

Barış disliked the change the return brought on various levels. He found the educational methods employed in Turkey not at the level he was exposed to in Germany. Memorization did not make sense to him, since it was not learning but temporarily remembering. School uniform felt like a restriction to him. As a young man who was used to expressing himself through the way he dressed, he felt angry when this freedom was taken away from him. The fact that the system tried to make him the same as everybody else limited his opportunity to create his own style. The school building was not attractive in his eyes, and this in turn caused him to dislike school even more.

On the other hand, Zeynep approached the differences in a positive way saying, *“Learning about the differences between here and there (was my first pleasure).”* She perceived the differences and the adaptation process as challenges that would help her gaining more knowledge about the new place. She happily welcomed the differences and managed to learn lessons from them. The more positive the child was, the more he/she took pleasure from the return. Hülya was not that positive and states that *“I don’t remember any pleasures. I did not want to be here and I did not care about anything else. I just wanted to have back the life that I was used to.”* Hülya had a very hard time when she came back. Her personality favored routines and habits she had formed during her stay in Germany and she did not respond positively to the great change to which she was exposed. For her, the return brought with it

unwanted difficulties that she had to deal with and not tools or guidelines as to how to overcome hardships.

Breaking habits is hard for anyone, especially in pre-teenage years when the definition of one's self heavily depends on outside stimuli. Hülya loved swimming but did not have the chance to pursue her interest in Turkey. Her life standards had dropped, which created frustration in her and made adjustment harder. The disappointment in the return is obvious in her words. Turan had a very hard time too. He says

“There were no pleasures really. I did not understand the reasons behind many rules and traditions. I had not been exposed to them in Germany. When I came back there were so many rules I had to obey and traditions we had to observe. All that was just tiring and useless to me and it was limiting my freedom because I mostly did not want to do anything they told me to do.”

Turan points out the difference between their lives in Germany and Turkey. His only direct contact with Turkish culture was through his parents, who probably did not ask him to obey community rules and traditions very much because there was no need for those to be applied in Germany. This changed, however, when the family returned to Turkey, because the predominant culture was now Turkish and it would be observed if Turan behaved appropriately or not. Social pressure within the Turkish community in which Turan and his family lived must have forced his parents to check on his behavior. Asking a young person to suddenly behave in a different way after ten or eleven years seems very unfair. Turan felt that those attitudes and behaviors that defined him as a person were being changed with the demand to obey to new sets of rules. It needs to be remembered that at these particular ages a child is forming a self-image that will define him/her as a person and asking for changes is just confusing someone already struggling with his/her identity formation.

The interviewees had much to say when it came to the first frustrations they encountered upon their return. Most complaints were about physical settings and issues related to difference in people's behavior. Five interviewees complained about Istanbul in particular being too confusing for them. Most of these interviewees were from less populated areas of German cities and had lived quieter lives before arriving in a mega-city. Confusion is related to the crowded streets, as six interviewees explained and to traffic. For four interviewees, school

uniforms were particularly irritating and they perceived it as a limitation on their personal freedom. Barış, for example, found another way around the problem of school uniform. *“I would do little things to deceive authority, like wearing my regular grey pants under the grey school pants and taking them off after the check point.”* For him, there had to be a way of expressing himself in the way he dressed, even if it meant cheating authority. In a way he was forced to either obey or cheat.

The system of memorization was another major complaint. In Germany the children in question had not been asked to memorize knowledge, but this changed after they came back to Turkey. The understanding of education that was prevalent in the 80s and is even currently still employed by numerous teachers around the country was the system of memorization. The last important physical complaint related to the dirtiness of the streets and schools the interviewees attended. Volkan said *“The streets were dirty. I remember that I washed my hands every break at school and each time they were as dirty as if I were working in a coal mine.”* But he must have been very annoyed since he mentioned the issue of hygiene with such exaggerated words. Six other interviewees mentioned the issue of dirtiness. More than differences related to physical conditions, issues related to difference in people’s behavior were more disturbing to the interviewees. They mentioned that the ‘small brains’ and ‘primitive behaviors’ were annoying. Serap narrates that

“We lived in a more primitive place and that was not fun. There was nothing that I was used to. I could not find any of the sweets I liked or any magazines. Thank God I had brought my games with me because there were no games to be bought and even there they were three times the price in Germany.”

She experienced a certain drop in the standards to which she was accustomed. To her, Turkey could be described as ‘primitive’ because it did not have the luxury items she was used to. As a young child these luxury items in question consisted mainly of sweets and magazines, but even the lack of those caused her to adopt a judgmental attitude towards her new environment. Turgay sounds much more disappointed when he says,

“I knew everything wouldn’t be perfect here but I wasn’t expecting some things. Human relationships were so different. People would be nice to me and then talk

about me. I believed in their sincerity but then got hurt when I heard what they said about me. I think it was because of jealousy.”

The fact that life was different in Turkey was a pre-set expectation for him, but that human relationships and the way people treated each other could be based on lies and pretension caused him to feel frustrated with people in Turkey. Sena Nur hated that she had to give up some of her freedom when they returned, just because she was a girl.

“I could not play outside anymore and I was not as free as I had been there. I did not understand that but my mother said that this was Turkey and that things were different here. That was her explanation for many things I could not understand.”

She tried to understand the reason behind some social rules for girls. There was no explanation her mother could give her other than a different place meant a different set of social codes and behaviors and one had to get used to them and behave accordingly and other than that there was not much to do. Obviously, this was not enough for Sena Nur. Two interviewees complained that the people and rules in Turkey tried to make them into a person they were not. Turan says,

“Everything was a frustration. Especially that they tried to mould me into a form they wanted me to be. I had to do things I did not believe in, like treating people with respect and obeying them just because they were old. And worse, it did not matter if they were bad people or if I was right or not. They were old and deserved respect, and that was it. They did not earn my respect! They were not with us in Germany and life was much easier then. They wanted me to behave in a way that went against my personality and to pretend. It all seemed like living a lie.”

In Germany he had not lived with these older people he mentions and was not responsible to them there. When he returned, he was asked to obey without questioning older people in or outside the family. To him, people needed to deserve respect, and should not be handed it just because of their age. He obviously did not understand why he had to treat people nicely who did not deserve to be treated nicely because they had not earned it. He had learned to do what he believed in and not to pretend. However, he was asked to do just the opposite upon his return. His ten-year-old mind did not make a logical connection between values taught in

Germany and values expected from him in Turkey. Dilek, on the other hand employs a much more tolerant attitude to cultural differences and her feelings about them. She is aware of the differences between the cultures, however, utilizes them for her own benefit and even for the benefit of the people around her. She says,

“I don’t think there were cultural differences that made me feel bad. This is our culture and that is theirs after all. I took the best parts of both of them and tried to teach it to my son and my students.”

When asked how their feelings had changed during the time spent in Turkey since their return, eighteen interviewees responded that they felt better now and somehow got used to the country. Perihan for example says that she *“... had a very hard time adapting but now Turkey has changed so much that it feels easier to live here. Germany is not my home anymore.”*

As a reason for being able to live a happy life in Turkey, some interviewees, such as Hülya and Perihan, explain this in the changes that have taken place in Turkey since the time they came back. As Hülya puts it,

“I like it better now, of course, because Turkey has changed a lot since the early eighties. There are still things that annoy me but I have not given up hope that this place will one day be civilized too.”

Four interviewees stated that they were very happy to be living in Istanbul in particular. One of them is Baris who argues that

“I am very glad we came back. This place is a part of me. I am breathing happiness here. Life here is much more dynamic because of the chaos. It is the opposite end of the same spectrum. I prefer a beating but chaotic heart to an organized but half-dead heart. I feel alive here.”

He explains how dynamism and chaos, as he calls them, go hand in hand. He thinks they are interdependent concepts. Naturally, it took him years to come to the point to be able to appreciate the Turkish culture. After having adjusted strange cultural norms started to appear

more normal in his mind and he felt more at home. This gave rise to a certain cultural tolerance and even appreciation.

Only five said they were still not happy to live in Turkey and would have preferred not to have come back at all if possible. Turan would have liked to have dual citizenship and says that *“I am still not very happy and wish we had at least dual citizenship. That would make my life much easier.”* Considering that he is a DJ now, dual citizenship would allow him to travel more easily in Europe and take part in festivals and play in European countries without having to go through the bureaucracy of obtaining a visa. Sena Nur regrets being back for a totally different reason. She puts it this way, *“I wish I could have stayed there. I was curious when I came back but that did not last very long. Life here is harder than there and standards are lower.”* She thinks that if she had stayed in Germany she would have been able to live her life to a higher standard which includes enjoying the benefits of being a European citizen and also having access to goods that are more difficult or pricey to obtain in Turkey.

Coping with Cultural Differences

The interviewees came up with a large set of cultural differences they were, and sometimes still are, annoyed with. The difference between German and Turkish cultures has been touched upon earlier in the paper. Turkey, being a country with rather traditional and conservative social values, does differ considerably in this way from the western culture which Germany represents. For example, Gülen became aware of the differences between a girl's life in Germany and Turkey. She returned to a smaller city which in the early eighties was not as developed as today. The atmosphere was rather rural and cultural rules governing the behavior of girls more strictly defined. This created a complete contrast to what she had been used to in Germany. She says,

“There were many, but mostly material things. The approach to girls in Ayvalık was very different from Germany. In Ayvalık, girls would prepare for marriage; they would not play outside or ride a bike. They had less freedom. In Germany this was never the case. I learned that everything was forbidden to children here. In Germany, a child was a child and much more free.”

The interviewees complained for the most part about the threat to their individuality and freedom from people being ‘narrow-minded’ (mentioned by two interviewees) and ‘prejudiced’ (mentioned by seven interviewees). Turan says

“That the society did not allow room for individuality was very depressing. I was not accepted as myself. I had to be as they wanted me to be; otherwise they would talk behind my back. It was disgusting and I never complied.”

Having been brought up in a culture that placed a great importance on individuality, he obviously conducted the same kind of behavior, simply went on being himself, after his return to Turkey. In a society more traditionally governed by rules, an individual does not have much freedom in expressing his/her individuality and society does not favor displays of such nature. Turan felt strongly negative about this and rejected giving up his individuality.

Meltem complains that *“That there was no room for freedom was very annoying. Another thing is that people did not even know me, but already had an idea about me. It was obvious in the way they approached me. They excluded me because I did not act the way they were used to.”*

Meltem thought that someone who did not know her should not be able to judge her. She wanted to be known personally and could not understand how someone had an opinion about her without even knowing her.

It seems that society in Turkey at that time refused to allow these pre-teenagers to express themselves as freely as they were used to in Germany. They were different in the way they viewed life, dressed and even spoke. There was not much room for difference and it is apparent that these particular interviewees suffered because of being ‘strange’. As a result, they were subject to gossip.

The interviewees were asked what they did at times they were most troubled with these cultural differences and it appeared that the majority tried to escape into their hobbies. Considering their young age at the time of their return this is not a surprising result. Some were lucky enough to be able to share their disappointments with friends and family. About nine interviewees said that they did nothing. They just tried to understand but sometimes even

that did not work. Eight returnees in the research mentioned that they were lucky enough to be able to talk to their families or other returnees in the same position as themselves. They talked out their frustrations and, to a certain extent, gained relief.

Twenty interviewees said they did not receive any official help from an institution or professional. They were left on their own to deal with the “culture shock”. Only ten returnees received informal help from their immediate circle of family and friends. In the family it was the mother who was their greatest aid in overcoming this depressive period of adjustment. Only one interviewee received professional help. She saw a psychiatrist for a length of time.

The problem solving mechanisms they employed were busying themselves with music, making pictures, playing games or talking to friends. These children were not able to express themselves in a healthy way by growing up in an environment that would support them through this adjustment period, so they just did what any other troubled child would do and found an activity of their preference and spent time making themselves happy through that activity. Some interviewees mention issues with which they are still uncomfortable and to which they have not adjusted. Barış, for example, states *“I still feel annoyed by some things that I just can’t get used to, such as social norms and pressures that demand that I behave in a way I prefer not to.”* Dilek thinks that *“There were no rules and people did not care about rules, even so much that they did not pull aside for an ambulance. I am still astonished by many of these.”*

Twenty-three returnees wanted to go back to Germany a short time after their return. As reasons for their desire to leave Turkey and go back to Germany, nine mentioned that Germany was their home. When asked why she wanted to return to Germany, Nuran said *“Because I liked it there and I had a life there, and was torn away from it.”* Hülya said *“Because I thought that I belonged there.”* defining Germany as her primary home.

Four returnees said that they felt freer in Germany and that they were not being shaped into something they were not but rather accepted for what they were. Remembering their happy childhood memories in Germany, four interviewees mentioned that their reason for going back was that they were much happier in Germany. Only six of our returnees did not want to go back to Germany.

Life in Turkey

Having experienced Germany in the early years of their existence, the subjects returned to Turkey. They had to cope with a number of difficulties arising from cultural differences between these two cultures, which were in those years distinctly different from each other for numerous reasons. In this section, we will see the differences they observed and experienced and how they tried to cope with them.

Family Life

Upon their return to Turkey, some interviewees reported changes in their lives. For eleven interviewees the return brought positive changes. Five stated that they started to live in a bigger house. For Fatma the housing conditions in Turkey were better. She says that

“My mother did not work anymore, so that was great. My father started his own coffeehouse and my brother and sister got older, so I had more freedom. We lived in a house with a garden and I loved that.”

Fatma had to shoulder responsibility for her younger brother and sister in Germany, which limited her freedom considerably. However, upon their return, their mother did not continue working and both siblings were old enough not to need Fatma’s help. This aided her in being able to enjoy more free time.

Some returnees found it an advantage to be closer to their families, because upon return either both parents or at least one parent stopped working. For Kemal it was not a pleasure to spend more time with his family. He states

“We were together more and I was not used to that. I started to get to know my parents better and I did not like what I saw. In Germany, I would not see them that much but when we came back we were in the same place way too much. It is the end of a dream to see what your parents are really like.”

His life in Germany hadn't allowed him to spend much time with his parents, so he had a partial impression of them. When they returned to Turkey the parents were more available and that caused Kemal to encounter characteristics and habits in his parents that he did not enjoy. Eleven participants said that coming back to Turkey brought negative experiences related to housing, were mostly related to living in a big city. Mithat described his neighborhood as follows: *"We lived in an ugly neighborhood and it felt so less modern and civilized than back in Germany."* Because of the differences in development in city life at the time of his return, Mithat found his neighborhood in Istanbul much more primitive. This was alien to what he had been used to and to him, a lowering in his living standards, so it created frustration and dismay.

Education

The most trouble interviewees seemed to have experienced concerned school. Very few were indifferent to the differences in the educational system. As mentioned earlier, they were forced to memorize rather than learn the subject taught in classes. Not being used to this kind of learning method made them unsuccessful until some learned to cheat. Dilek says, *"Education was based on memorization. I did not like that at all. There was no discussion and exchange of ideas."* Volkan was very explicit and said that

"I hated school here. There were too many illogical rules. Everything had to be memorized and I hated that. I became a very bad student here. The teachers were very strict and I had a difficult time adapting. I could not go swimming anymore although I loved doing that. The school smelled of food and toilet and was very dirty. Teachers were hitting students and had no patience or compassion at all. At first, my grades were very bad but later I learned to play the game and had better grades. There was no art or sport other than football in the school yard and Physical Education lessons."

The issue of strict teachers and punishment, rules that needed to be obeyed is brought up by many participants. Schools and the educational system in Turkey did not allow for freedom of expression and individuality, but rather wanted the students to be the same in terms of thinking and appearance. School uniform was a major reason for hating school, as stated earlier. Some students were subjected to physical punishment in one form or another; the

more the resistance, the harsher the punishment. Barış complains that “*One teacher cut off my tiny pony tail. I felt rage but could not do anything.*” The returnees were subject to ridicule by their classmates and teachers and also were derogated because of not fitting in. Nuran had a very hard time at school. She says that

“I hated school every single day. There was one big garden with nothing in it, just cement and benches. The system never applied to me, it was all memorization and that was stupid for me. I was called ‘Almanci’. I never felt at home here. I was weak in the lessons and could not ride my bike or run around freely. Everything was governed by some sort of rule. I never understood why. It seemed like the more rules there were the more they were broken.”

Being called names is probably one of the most severe punishments imposed on the newcomer by the receiving community. Integration is a painful experience for the newcomer and on top of that having to deal with opposition, especially for someone as young as the subjects in this interview, gave rise to various negative feelings, most importantly frustration, anger and anxiety.

The interviewees needed to prove themselves through their ability in classes in order to be accepted by their classmates and teachers. They would be accepted over time if they were as lucky and smart as Mithat who says that

“I had a hard time getting used to the school uniforms. Some things did not make sense to me and punishment was irrational and unfair for the most time. It was difficult to memorize everything, because that was not what I was used to, but I was smart and managed that too. My classmates first called me and a few more people like me ‘Almanci, but over time they shut up. The teachers were against me at first but that changed when I proved to be a good student.”

He has overcome the trauma of migration in a very mature approach to his problems. He figured out that the only way to fit in without suffering much was to play the game their way, so to say, accept the facts that were unchangeable, learn the rules and restrictions of the new circumstances and act according to environmental stimuli in the most profitable way for him and the system. That’s how he managed to overcome the pain of adjustment.

However, this was not the case for all interviewees. For Turan, school was never fun.

“I absolutely hated school and everything about it, especially the school uniform. The music classes were a big disappointment because there were no instruments and there was no room for creativity. My music teacher killed my creativity. There was no time to do anything except memorize useless knowledge. The teachers hated me because I would question them a lot and behave rebelliously. I hated every day of my highschool life because of all those people that treated me badly just because I would not let them shape me. Their punishments, both physical and psychological, hurt my pride as a young adult.”

Not everybody has the adaptable character as Mithat, and may not possess the ability to play the game without fighting to establish his/her own rules. Turan did not learn the easy way. His character was less formidable and more rebellious. At an age when identity is starting to take form, Turan had been affected in a bad way by migrating to a country where being a teenager meant something completely different than in a western country such as Germany. Turan was exposed to models of teenagers who had the chance to express themselves creatively. This was, however, not the favored type of behavior a teenager should display in Turkey. It can be therefore said that “at that stage of life (youth) the central problem is the search for and consolidation of one’s sense of identity; and if an event such as migration intervenes, one’s sense of identity is thrown off course.”⁵⁸ This is exactly what happened to Turan and many other of the subjects interviewed for this research.

Fourteen interviewees mentioned that strict teachers in the Turkish schools they attended upon their return were an unforgettable source of hating school. Turkish teachers were different from teachers in Germany. German teachers allowed more freedom, discussion and fun in the classroom whereas Turkish teachers would ask the students to unquestionably obey and be quiet and listen to them for the entire class period. As Gülhan puts it, “*School was hard for me because it was very different from what I was used to. There was less learning and more sitting and being quiet.*”

⁵⁸ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic perspectives of migration and exile*. USA: Yale University Press.

For the same number of interviewees having to memorize knowledge was a learning method they were not used to and with which they had extreme difficulty until they discovered ‘how to play the game’. They seemed to have found a way around it, mostly in the form of cheating. Nine interviewees mentioned that school uniforms felt like torture. They interpreted clothing as a method of self expressionism, and being denied that freedom made them to feel trapped. For six interviewees, punishment made no sense in education. They would either resist even more explicitly or secretly fight a war with authority in the form of breaking rules. Baris for example explains that *“We would run away from school and smoke in school, just to prove that their rules did not apply to us.”*

Surroundings

When asked about what differences the interviewees’ experienced upon their return concerning neighborhood, most did not have very positive memories. As mentioned earlier, some interviewees were disappointed by their new neighborhood and called it ‘primitive’ and ‘village-like’. It needs to be remembered here that Istanbul is a major metropolis with a population that exceeded that of some countries in Europe. This, of course, causes more traffic jams, pollution and chaos than any small town would ever have. About nine interviewees brought up the point that they became irritated by dirt in the streets. There was no system of fining people who would cause environmental pollution, which may be stated as one of the reasons why Istanbul’s inhabitants did not care much about the cleanliness of their city. Living in a big city also causes problems in that one is surrounded by crowds of people and has to deal with traffic. Ten interviewees mentioned that they were irritated by the traffic and ten mentioned that they did not like the confusion and chaos on the streets. By confusion and chaos they refer to traffic rules not being reinforced by authorities or obeyed by inhabitants. Meltem was not very impressed by her new neighborhood. She said;

“There was not much around us, just a small store here and there. The things I was used to in Germany could not be found here and that annoyed me a lot. Traveling anywhere in the city was a nightmare anyway.”

It can be understood why Meltem was annoyed. She was used to certain commercial goods since she was a little child. That they did not exist in her new environment caused her not to feel at home there.

Many of the returnees gained access to the items they were used to in Germany through either their father or their family friends who stayed in Germany after they had returned. It appears to have been essential to them to retain possession of particular items, varying from technical equipment to food. Filiz says

“In the first few years there was nothing here. Later, there were many European goods everywhere but we did not buy them, because they were much more expensive than in Germany. I felt like our living standards had dropped, like we got poorer, because we used to be able to afford them but now we couldn’t. We had many family friends who would come to Turkey in the summer. They brought us whatever we wanted from Germany. I usually wanted clothes.”

Filiz was lucky in this sense, since she knew people that had continuing ties with Germany and help her to maintain her standard of living. She felt a negative change in her life style; becoming deprived of certain goods caused her to feel ‘poorer’. As a teenager, she was interested in clothing items, which were usually certain labels considered luxurious in Turkey. Luckily, she could receive these from Germany upon request from contacts still there. European items were naturally more expensive in Turkey than they were in Germany. It became a matter of buying luxury items. As children, it was hard for the interviewees to understand why they suddenly were not able to afford things that were not a problem to buy in Germany.

Leisure

As to free time activities, the interviewees had to limit themselves to less variety in hobbies than they had had access to in Germany. They began spending time on domestic activities mostly. Whereas swimming, roller-skating and similar outdoor activities were pursued with great interest by the interviewees when they were living in Germany, after their return, they could find neither the conditions nor the equipment to continue. Hence, these hobbies were

replaced by sports, usually football, volleyball or basketball, reading, watching TV and hanging out with friends. Concerning journeys and vacations, the interviewees mentioned that they did not travel much after they returned. They either went to visit relatives in villages or had sea and sun vacations on the coast in Turkey. However, they had no more experiences of international travel.

Overall Thoughts Concerning Life in Turkey

When asked about their overall thoughts concerning Turkey in the first few months after their return, twenty-four interviewees expressed negative thoughts, with eleven being extremely negative and describing their thoughts with words as strong as 'hate'. Considering all the hardships they had to suffer at such a young age, this result is not surprising at all. They were dragged from their 'homes' to a place they had known only during vacations as a holiday spot and were thrown into a distinctly different culture where they had to endure ridicule and derogation due to their accent and different appearance. Fikret expresses his feelings by saying "*It was one big disappointment. I felt alone and out of place.*" Turan says "*They (overall thoughts concerning Turkey) were completely negative. Life was limiting and frustrating here.*"

After the initial shock, they adapted but then there was still the problem of where they really belonged. This time, it was even more confusing because memories of their initial home started to fade but their history starting to take shape in Turkey was still too new. Nuran says "*I did not like it here at first at all. I always wanted to go back somehow but after some time that did not feel right anymore. Then I did not know where I felt I belonged.*" More time was required until they would be able to accept Turkey as their home. Every single day would mean new encounters with the new culture, new connections established with new people and creating memories in the new habitat. As time proceeds, the new place would become known and less threatening. Integration would have begun, because 'integration, always slow and hard work, is the culmination of successive and complementary steps in the developmental process.'⁵⁹ As their bodies and minds were developing, their new environments were also developing by becoming defined with and by them as active agents in this new habitat.

⁵⁹ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic perspectives of migration and exile*. USA: Yale University Press.

Dealing with “Culture Shock” and the Process of Adaptation

The interviewees were asked how they coped with the culture shock and all the negative experiences they had without getting any help. Twelve interviewees reported that they rebelled for a period of time and then calmed down. As Didem puts it; *“With the conservative mentality here, I argued a lot and tried to convince people. It took much of my energy. I saw just how useless it was and after some time I gave in. They won.”* Didem, as a less forceful person, tried to reason, but desisted after meeting strong opposition. She preferred to let go and obey.

Volkan seems to have changed his approach as he grew older. He also tried his best, but in a completely different way. He preferred to resist and rebel instead of just arguing. The end result was the same though; he had to accept. However, he found a more acceptable way of resisting and continues even today to rebel in his own way. He states;

“I just did what they wanted me to. I rebelled and lost the war. It was hard to adjust because I could not accept everything that easily, so I fought, but after some time the system won and I had to give in. I still rebel but in a more mature way.”

About six interviewees passively adapted to the new circumstances. The way Saadet expressed it; *“It was frustrating to see people so prejudiced and I got angry but that never helped, so I tried patience.”* Eight interviewees said that they tried to understand the reasons behind the differences they observed and the changes they experienced. However, after some time, they stopped trying to understand and just tried to get by. Hülya was one of them. *“I did not and could not cope with it very well. There were too many things I could not understand, so I just gave up.”*

Fatma also gave up trying to understand. She says; *“Some things I still find meaningless but there is no need to try to understand why. Things just are different and one has to find a way to cope with it whether you understand it or not.”* Hülya and Fatma had the need to attach reasons and meaning to the differences they experienced. For them, there had to be a meaning behind things such as rules, behavior and motivations and reasons as to why there are events happening that they did not understand and why people behaved in a certain way. When they failed however to rationalize these, they had to accept them whether they liked it or not.

Five interviewees said that they still have not adapted to changes and still passively resist in their own ways. Turan did not give in. He still continues to think and act as freely as he can and pretends when he has to conform with the majority or when he is exposed to the public eye. He did not allow the system to change him as he states;

“I rebelled for a long time and did not allow them to mould me. I suffered a lot from that and just learned not to voice my objections anymore. I appeared to do what they wanted me to but did not change my style or my thoughts.”

Each interviewee chose a strategy to cope with cultural differences. Each strategy appears to have taken form without the person being aware and taken shape according to his/her personality. If the subject had a more obedient personality, the adaptation proved easier through a more submissive acceptance. However, if the person was more rebellious in his/her personality, sometimes complete adaptation could not take place and although the returnee appears to have adapted on the outside, he/she has still not adapted within.

The question concerning the cultural differences returnees observed between Turkey and Germany had mostly negative responses concerning life in Turkey. Ten interviewees mentioned that life in Turkey was harder compared to life in Germany. Saadet thinks that

“People there are more relaxed because there is a system that takes care of them. There is a set social security system whereby people know that their living standards will alter little, even when they retire. Here things change all the time and one does not know what will happen next. On the other hand, here life is more dynamic but that brings chaos with it. They are just different places and one has to accept that.”

She tries to explain the difficulty of life in Turkey with the feeling of security for the future. According to her, in Germany there is an established system that takes care of its citizens in old age, whereas in Turkey retirement is not enough to secure the standards one is used to when one is active in the workforce.

Filiz is also concerned with what happens in old age. She says

“Everything was set and organized there. Here it’s like a zoo. Life and everything about it would be torture here, if one didn’t know how to play the game. I am constantly concerned with what will happen to me when I stop working. Unless you have own real estate it’s impossible to afford even rent with the retirement pension you get.”

There appears to be no guarantee to financing oneself for a comfortable life in old age other than owning property. As another cultural difference, eleven returnees pointed out that there was ‘no system’ to things in Turkey. They said that rules existed, but for the most part remained on paper only. Obedience counted for little. There apparently exists an unwritten set of rules that people know about or learn over time. Coming from a rule-governed country such as Germany, the interviewees have found it difficult to adapt to a country where rules gained meaning ‘only insofar as flouted’. Volkan appears to have an understanding of this when he states:

“People are freer in Germany. There are a lot of rules and everybody obeys them. Here, in Turkey, nobody seems to care about anybody else or any rules. Life here is very hard and people seem unhappy but they are more active, trying to get by in a jungle of chaos. I think the rules there kill the excitement of life but the chaos here keeps people dynamic.”

Mithat points out the deterministic perspective applied in Turkey. He says,

“There was no system to things here. Everything just seemed to happen by chance or God’s will. People thought that Allah would take care of everything and they were helpless creatures in the face of Allah’s will. There was also a laid-back attitude because things somehow did work out, however stressful for people like me they were anyway. I think that life is in our own hands and we shape it according to our will.”

There is obviously a clash here between the belief held by western cultures in the strength and capacity of the individual and the deterministic view, which turns humans into ‘helpless creatures’ living according to God’s master plan. Mithat was raised with the western perspective on life that allows the individual to play an active role in creating the path of his/her own life. When faced with the eastern belief that man has no power over the will of God and that God has already mapped out everybody’s life at their birth, he can’t understand

the attitude that accompanies this belief. Since God has already decided, there is no need to be striving to make something out of one's life, hence the 'laid-back attitude' he describes.

Fourteen interviewees mentioned the difference in thinking between both cultures. According to them, people in Germany were more open minded and did not try to standardize behavior or attitude, while in Turkey there were unwritten and unspoken social norms that had to be obeyed. As analyzed in the section on education, many returnees found it difficult to understand and obey school rules, such as those governing school uniforms. The attempt to homogenize appearance was interpreted by interviewees as a threat to individual freedom and expression. Similarly, social norms embedded in the traditions and history of the Turkish culture, forced the interviewees in question to behave in ways that clashed with their personality. Turan found those social norms very restricting. He says,

“There was a lot of standardization in behavior here but no standard to systems that really matter. They tried to subdue what was different and did not allow room for expression. It was considered rude to cross your legs when sitting together with older people. Whenever I did something that was ‘culturally inappropriate’ I felt restrained for being me. There was senseless punishment in school and narrow-minded people ruled everything.”

Given cultural differences, the interviewees were asked how they felt and what they thought about the social pressure to conform. Eight returnees said they felt negative when faced with these differences. Some were more specific. Eight said they felt depressed. Four interviewees described their feelings as 'trapped', 'hopeless' and 'helpless', since there was nothing they could do about the differences and there was no professional help offered. Three mentioned that their questioning of the cultural differences they experienced did not relieve their pessimistic mood.

Since our interviewees were people of diverse personalities, there emerged various reactions to the social pressure to conform. When asked how they adapted to the new culture, they gave answers according to their personality types. Two returnees said that they had still not adapted and were still confused as to the reasons for 'senseless' rules, as they described them. As mentioned earlier, only one person had help from a professional psychiatrist. The remaining twenty seven interviewees said that they had adapted over time without actually being aware

of the process because they did not have any alternative. The nonprofessional help provided by family members or friends was mostly in the form of ‘talking it off’. They would turn to someone they could trust in order to talk about what bothered them and receive consolation or sympathy.

Effects of the “Germany Experience”

The last question concerned the influence interviewees thought being raised in Germany had on their current lives. Considering that approximately twenty-five to thirty years had passed since their return, it was thought they would have had enough time to be able to observe the differences their Germany experience had created in their present lives. Nineteen interviewees said that the most important effect was being able to speak German, as eleven interviewees pointed out that their knowledge of German; had led them good jobs. Nuran says

“I was able to find a good job because of my German. It was also easier to learn English. I worked in good companies and am still earning better money than some other secretaries. This is not just because of my German of course, but language plays a big role. I guess I am also successful because of all the organization and analytical thinking skills I learnt in school in Germany. Still, I remember the price I paid for this transformation from being an ‘Ausländer’ (foreigner) in Germany to an ‘Almanci’ in Turkey.”

She seems to have benefited a great deal from having received her primary education in Germany. Her German language skills together with the experience of living in a western country have made her a successful person. This success, however, did not come without a price. She suffered from being called derogative names both in the country she had called ‘home’ when she was young and in the country they told her was her new ‘home’ when she returned to Turkey.

Dilek feels that being raised in Germany has had both its advantages and disadvantages. Her difficulty in understanding a more traditional family style brought about the end of her marriage. Still, she cherishes the knowledge she acquired at a young age in Germany. According to her,

“Of course there have been positive sides to being raised there, from every perspective. I had the chance to see the best of both cultures. I now know that Germany and other European countries are not what people here make them out to be. In school, I learnt to decide on my own thoughts concerning something after having evaluated the facts and reached a synthesis. I had difficulties in my life from time to time. For example, I got divorced. I have a family that lives a liberal life but is still respectful and close. Unfortunately, I did not find this kind of understanding in my husband’s family. That’s where I had the most difficulty. I think I still have problems in adapting to family dynamics here in Turkey. I think that is because I learnt and experienced some things in Germany in a different light.”

About fifteen interviewees said that they had gained a ‘two-dimensional perspective’ on life as a result of having lived in a western country for part of their lives. They feel ‘enriched’ and even ‘blessed’ by this experience. Ten more interviewees mention that they gained ‘wisdom’ through the experience of having lived in Germany. This can be evaluated under the same category as having gained a two-dimensional perspective, since when the interviewees explained what they meant by ‘wisdom’, they said that through having lived in two distinctly different cultures, they were able to view events and people with both a western and an eastern understanding. This helps them in being less judgmental and more tolerant to cultural differences. On the one hand is the German culture with its emphasis on rules, which allows people to live in an environment where rules are obeyed and people trust that their rights will be observed. However, this brings with it certain rigidity in people’s approach to circumstances in which it might be more beneficial if those same rules could be rendered more flexible. In Turkey, on the other hand, rules on paper only are not obeyed by the majority of people, hence making trust less possible, but where alternative solutions are possible, when non-written but implied rules are applied. As Selçuk puts it,

“I can see both cultures on an equal basis. I can evaluate things from both the Turkish and German perspective. Sometimes I would get depressed about why things did not work out in an organized way as they did in Germany, but then I remember the nice things about Turkey that don’t exist in Germany. They are just two different countries and I have come to learn to take pleasure in both. I can understand the West, and I am

what I am today thanks to being brought up in Germany and having returned to Turkey at such a critical time in my life.”

He turned the experience of living in both countries to his advantage. As he grew older, he learnt to take the positive aspects of both cultures and synthesize them in a healthy way. In this way he became wiser and culturally more mature.

Zehra thinks that

“It was easier to find a job and easier to communicate abroad. I gained a deeper perspective on things. I can evaluate things from two different perspectives. There is always an alternative to things and I am very open, I think I achieved that thanks to being raised in Germany.”

She had also developed a healthy approach to being bi-cultural. She appears fully aware of the advantages she gained from living in Germany as well as living in Turkey. Besides mentioning the by now obvious advantage of having a better job due to her Germany experience, Filiz can joke about the confusion she experienced upon her return. She adopted a more laid-back attitude and does not bother trying to understand and explain cultural differences because it took too much of her energy when she was younger. Now she just enjoys being able to see it both ways. As she puts it,

“I think I have a good job now here because of my German language. I can see things from two perspectives. By that I mean that I understand when something that people here in Turkey find weird, like some European Community rules. But, I also understand when something that is normal in Turkey appears weird to a western person. I am very amused by this. When I was younger I tried to explain these differences, now, I just sit back and smile.”

Conclusion

From a psychoanalytical standpoint, migration can be defined as ‘constituting a catastrophic change to the extent that certain structures become transformed into others, and in the process of change there are periods of pain, disorganization, and frustration. If these are overcome and worked through, the changes offer the possibility of true growth and enriched development of the personality.’⁶⁰ This research aimed to present a perspective that was so far embedded in statistics and numbers only. This research aimed to give a voice to a few people that were represented by a number.

At an early age, the subjects who kindly participated in this research were ripped away from their familiar surroundings and mostly forced to move to an inferior country. The place they had called home was not really home, for it was not their parents’ home. To them, however, it meant home. At an age when the search for identity had just begun, they were - whether voluntarily, as in very few cases, or involuntarily, as it was in most cases - moved to a country they had known only through vacations for a few weeks in the summer. They were neither emotionally nor intellectually prepared for this move. In a sense they were ‘forced to immigrate home’. Upon their arrival, they were thrown into a totally unfamiliar environment, which had its own social definition of them, ‘*Almanci*’. Somehow, they did not feel very welcome in their new homes. They had to struggle with derogatory attitudes and form a new identity at the same time. On top of trying to succeed at school, satisfying their families’ expectations of appropriate behavior culturally appropriate and creating an identity that would be a healthy synthesis of the foundations of their character laid in Germany and their changing adolescent character defined by Turkish norms, these people led miserable lives for an extended period of time, without receiving any psychological support from specialists. Their only comfort was close friends and some family members, if they were lucky enough, who could not professionally help them to adjust to the new way of life, but were rather ‘groping their way in the dark’. Thus, the major conclusion that can be drawn from the findings of this research concerning the ‘survival strategies’ these returnee children used, is that similar patterns within subgroups emerged, but a standard behavior has not been detected. The returnee children enabled serious forms of problem solving techniques in order to rid problems arising from isolation and alienation in the new space. They were like constant

⁶⁰ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic perspectives of migration and exile*, USA: Yale University Press.

observers, interpreters and actors in a new setting. They experienced periods of hate, anger, desperation and versatile other moods, but managed to get out of the adaptation process having healthily adopted the new culture. They have displayed many individually unique survival strategies to overcome similar problems. Somehow, though, these people made it and came out of that terrifically difficult period enriched and more mature. On the other hand, it is not clear to what extent the traumatic experience of this migration still affects their lives today. After all literature suggests that, 'migration as a traumatic experience comes under the heading of what have been called cumulative traumas and tension traumas, in which the subject's reactions are not always expressed or visible, but the effects of such traumas run deep and last long.'⁶¹ The tremendous culture shock these interviewees as well as many more that could not be interviewed had experienced was not subject to any psychological or social study. This work can be viewed as a small attempt to open to doors to possible further studies related to this topic.

⁶¹ Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic perspectives of migration and exile*. USA: Yale University Press.

Bibliography

1. Abadan-Unat, N. (1982). The effect of international labor migration on women's roles: the Turkish case. Kagıtcıbaşı, C. (Ed.), *Labor migration and women's roles, sex roles, family & community in Turkey* (pp.207-233). Indiana: Indiana University Press.
2. Abadan-Unat, N. (2002). *Bitmeyen göç: konuk işçilikten ulus-ötesi yurttaşlığa*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
3. Boyd, M. (1989). Family and personal networks in international migration-Recent developments and new agendas. [Electronic version]. *International Migration Review*, 23(3), 638-670.
4. Castles, S. & Davidson, A. (2000). *Citizenship and Migration*. New York: Routledge.
5. Castles, S. & Kosack, G. (1973). *Immigrant workers and class structure in western Europe*. London: Oxford University Press.
6. Castles, S. & Miller, M.J. (1993). *The age of migration*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
7. Faist, T. (2000). *The volume and dynamics of international migration and transnational spaces*. (3rd ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.
8. Fonow, M. M. & Cook A. J. (1991). *Back to the future: a look at the second wave of feminist epistemology and methodology, beyond methodology*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.
9. Gmelch, G. (1980). Return Migration. [Electronic version]. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 9, 135-159.
10. Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic perspectives of migration and exile*. USA: Yale University Press.
11. Gunder A. & Gills, B. K. (1996). *The World System*. London: Routledge.
12. Johnson, J.M. (2002). In-depth interviewing. Gubrium, J. F. & Holstein, J. A (Eds.) *Handbook of interview research: context and method* (pp. 220-245). London: Sage Publications.
13. Kaya, A. (2001). *Sicher in Kreuzberg, constructing diasporas: Turkish Hip-Hop youth in Berlin*. Bielefeld: Transaction Publishers.
14. Massey, D. et al. (1998). *Worlds in motion*. New York: Oxford University Press.

15. Oepen, M. (1984). Media, migrants and marginalization: the situation in the Federal Republic of Germany. [Electronic version]. *International Migration Review*, 18(1), 111-112.
16. Outhwaite, W. (1975). *Understanding social life: the method called 'Verstehen'*. London: George Allen&Unwin Ltd.
17. Paine, S. (1974). *Exporting workers: the Turkish case*. London: Cambridge University Press.
18. Peköz, M. (2002). *Avrupa Birliđi'nde göçmenler Almanya'da Türkler Kürtler*. İstanbul: Gün Yayınları.
19. Ragnar, N. (1937). The wandering spirit: A study of human migration. [Electronic version]. *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 21(8), 485-496.
20. Ramazanoglu, C. (2002). *Feminist methodology: challenges and choices*. London: Sage Publications.
21. Sanay, E. (1997). *Almanya'daki yabancı işçiler ve Türk işçileri*. Ankara: Hak-is.
22. Timur, S. (1972). *Türkiye'de aile yapısı*. Ankara: Hacettepe Yayınları.
23. Todaro, M. (1983) *The struggle for economic development: readings in problems and policies*. London: Longman Inc.
24. Vassaf, G. (2002). *Daha sesimizi duyuramadık*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
25. Wallerstein, I. (2000). *The essential Wallerstein*. New York: The New Press.

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Identification Questions

1. Name / Surname
2. Location
3. Date of Birth / Place
4. Gender
5. Marital Status
6. Education
7. Occupation

Research Questions

1. When did you return?
2. How old were you when you returned?
3. From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?

Describe your

4. Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.
5. Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.
6. Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.
7. Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.
8. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?
9. What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?
10. How did they make you feel?
11. How did you feel about the idea of returning?
12. Were you involved in decision-making?
13. How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?
14. What did you think/feel about this decision?

15. What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?
 16. How do you feel about returning now?
 17. Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?
 18. Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?
 19. Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?
 20. Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?
 21. How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?
 22. How long after your final return did you go back?
 23. How did you feel?
 24. What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?
 25. What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?
 26. How well was your command of the Turkish language?
 27. What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?
 28. What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?
 29. How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?
 30. Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?
 31. What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?
 32. Did you receive any help from other people?
 33. Who helped you?
 34. How have you been given help?
 35. Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?
 36. Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?
 37. Why did you want to go back to Germany?
- Describe your
38. Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.
 39. Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.
 40. Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.
 41. Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.
 42. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?
 43. How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?

44. What differences did you observe between these two cultures?
45. How did these make you feel / think?
46. How in time did you adapt?
47. Have you received any help?
48. From whom have you received help?
49. In what form was this help you received?
50. What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?

APPENDIX II

THE INTERVIEWS

Interviewee Number One

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1) Name / Surname | Baris Guncu |
| 2) Location | Suadiye-Istanbul |
| 3) Date of Birth / Place | 1976-Mosbach |
| 4) Gender | Male |
| 5) Marital Status | Single |
| 6) Education | Undergraduate Degree |
| 7) Occupation | German Teacher, Musician |

Research Questions

- 1) **When did you return?**
1988-1989
- 2) **How old were you when you returned?**
12-13
- 3) **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**
We came back from Heilbronn, Baden-Württemberg to Bostancı, Istanbul.

Describe your

- 4) **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

I have two younger sisters. I had good relationships with the middle one but not so much with the younger due to age differences. But now we are on great terms. We always had and still have good family relationships. We had many relatives in Turkey and all around Europe, but we had no relationships, I did not like them very much. Housing was in a mixed neighborhood with Germans. I have never had been treated like a foreigner, probably because of my mother. She had been to Germany in 4th grade. With blue eyes and blond hair, she had blended in. It is cultural. When we look at the Turkish people in Germany, we see people we would not like to see in Turkey. Thank God we were not one of them! On the first day of primary school, I started karate. Then I picked up other sports and then music and art. Since young age I have been involved in art somehow. With the German people it was always positive. At home we were encouraged to speak Turkish and after we came back that became German, for the sake of not forgetting it. All my friends would come over all the time. It was fun

- 5) **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

It was not a good school. It was also not one of the bad type schools. First, it was too far but turned out well. There were lots of things to do. I finished primary and then went to Realschule and then returned. I never had a Turkish teacher. All German teachers loved me, except for one that hated all Turks and treated foreign students badly. Upstairs were some Italians, in the next building a Chinese family and around a few German families. We were 5-6 people and a Yugoslavian. We had good times. I was a popular kid. I did not fight often, I was a nice kid. There were no long breaks, just 5 min breaks. Not much happened. I was an indifferent student. My teachers said I could have done more. Martial arts, playing guitar, I

am still doing. Basketball, swimming I used to do there. I had some weird handcraft workshops like boat models and stuff.

6) Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.

There were not many Turkish shops and not many shops at all, actually. We used to go places by bus or on foot. There was an American zone nearby. We would go there to play baseball or rugby

7) Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.

We did many travels with the school. In the summer, we came to Turkey for 3-4 weeks. My father was a big organizer there and brought music groups and big names too, all these I have been to.

8) What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?

I miss the order of things. I miss neither places nor people. Here you know that you are alive. I have relatives and friends who still live there and are all bored to hell with their lives.

9) What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?

They liked me a lot.

10) How did they make you feel?

It was not the matter if he/she was German, or me being Turkish it did not matter. I never felt any racism.

11) How did you feel about the idea of returning?

I was very happy with that idea. I had been in Turkey for 2 months when I was in fourth grade. I loved it a lot, because everything was so much easier. The lessons were easier. My Turkish was enough to do school here.

12) Were you involved in decision-making?

Yes. We have as a family talked about this issue. We have discussed it in detail. My grandfather was very sick. Some things were going on here in Turkey, where my father had to be here. With the consent of the whole family, we decided to come back.

13) How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?

We talked about it as a family.

14) What did you think/feel about this decision?

I was positive about the idea.

15) What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?

To me it was a holiday place, funny people, easy lessons, disgusting school uniforms and frowning teachers. My feelings were generally neutral. I did not know much about this place.

16) How do you feel about returning now?

I am still very happy that we have come back

17) Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?

I really don't know.

18) Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?

I might not have turned out to be great. I had friends that went both ways. I might have had a great education and carried or I could have become nobody just hanging around. I had the potential for both.

19) Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?

No.

20) Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?

No. I am protesting it. They want me to get a visa to return to my home city.

21) How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?

- 22) **How long after your final return did you go back?**

- 23) **How did you feel?**

- 24) **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

- 25) **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

- 26) **How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
Not this well, but I talked comfortably. Not like the ‘Almanci’s. They complimented me on my Turkish.
- 27) **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
There were none. All was disappointment. All lessons were memorization. I had to wear a tie and a jacket which was more disgusting than the black uniform. It was a disgusting school building, Uskudar Anadolu Lisesi.
- 28) **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
We were living in a nicer neighborhood, clean and organized. Our neighborhood here was not bad either. But still, it was not as clean and organized as the one in Germany. Mother got it paved by applying and insisting several times.
- 29) **How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I am very glad we came back. This place is a part of me. I am breathing happiness here. Life here is much more dynamic because of the chaos. It is the opposite end of the same spectrum. I prefer a beating but chaotic heart to an organized but half-dead heart. I feel alive here. Before, it was a place I was curious about because it was unknown but also a place that made me worried.
- 30) **Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
The mentality here is very narrow minded. Everything depends on the way things look. People are prejudiced and not open to anything new.
- 31) **What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
Nothing.
- 32) **Did you receive any help from other people?**
No. I had not many adjustment problems but hated the rules and would stretch them. I would do little things to deceive authority by wearing my grey regular pants under the grey school pants and take them off after check point.
- 33) **Who helped you?**
Nobody.
- 34) **How have you been given help?**
None given.
- 35) **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**
I was rebelling but also a pressure to perform well. Still I feel annoyed by some things that I just can’t get used to, such as social norms and pressures that demand me to behave in a way I would not prefer to.
- 36) **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
No.
- 37) **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**

Describe your

38) Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.

There was no difference between how it was in Germany, except for the housing that was different. My mother cried a lot when we came back. We as kids, because of being young, had never felt like that.

39) Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.

School was terrible here. I would not study much but get good grades. Teachers were good and bad. One teacher had cut off my tiny pony tail. I felt rage but could not do anything. I had many friends here too. We became the school band and that made me popular. We had great fun in the long breaks. We would run away from school and smoke in school, just to prove that their rules do not apply to us. They were fun times. Lessons were all good except math. Karate could not continue because the teacher at the course asked me to help others so I could not learn anything and I stopped it. Swimming was not possible anymore.

40) Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.

We had a basketball area close by and would play there.

41) Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.

We stopped traveling that much. We would go to our summer house during the summer and stay until schools opened.

42) What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?

They were mostly mixed feelings.

43) How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?

I just did what they wanted me to.

44) What differences did you observe between these two cultures?

45) How did these make you feel / think?

The way people think and live is totally different. That's why both have a unique characteristic.

Nothing.

46) How in time did you adapt?

It just happened with time.

47) Have you received any help?

No.

48) From whom have you received help?

49) In what form was this help you received?

50) Have you ever benefited in any way from having lived in Germany?

Yes, I can speak five languages now. I have a perspective onto both cultures and can understand them both. It makes me richer. I am what I am because of the life I have started to live there and continue to live here.

Interviewee Number Two

Identification Questions

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Gülen Ulusal |
| 2. Location | Mecidiyeköy-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1972-Frankfurt |
| 4. Gender | Female |
| 5. Marital Status | Married |
| 6. Education | Highschool Degree |
| 7. Occupation | Accountant |

Research Questions

1) **When did you return?**

1983.

2) **How old were you when you returned?**

11.

3) **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from Frankfurt to Ayvalık.

Describe your

4) **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

We did not have any relatives there but a large number of Turkish families as friends. I have a younger sister and my parents. Our flat was in a very pretty area. There was a small forest and river nearby. It was very comfortable. We had a good communication between family members. There was a lot of commotion. Constantly people would come and we would sing and have a good time together.

5) **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

It was a beautiful school but I don't remember the name right now. I liked going to school because it offered many activities, like swimming, volleyball and I used to be in them. I did not feel like going to school, it was more like playing. I had a good relationship with my teachers. I did not see them as teachers, they were more like friends. My friends were Turkish and German, but I did not like the Turks very much. Maybe I had 4 Turkish friends and the rest was all German. Other than that, I had one Czech and one Sicilian friend. I had one very close Turkish friend. We were living in opposite flats. I was attending a German kindergarten but had a hard time in school, probably because I was lazy. Cycling and roller blades were my hobbies. The kindergarten would take us to theatres and cinemas.

6) **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

There were not many shops. It was mostly a residential area. There were wonderful playgrounds close to the forest. Most people were German. There was only one Turkish family and they were living downstairs. We had great relationships with them. The Germans were not great neighbors. I was walking to school and to the kindergarten. We did not use much transportation.

7) **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**

We went to trips outside as a family. We came to Turkey for a month every year.

8) **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**

I was generally happy there as a child. I had access to sports and art activities through the school and kindergarten.

- 9) **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**
I had normal relationships with the Germans around me. I have never been subject to prejudice and I have never been outcast. The Germans would not think that we were Turkish, but Italian. They were not positive towards Turks, but personally I have not encountered any problems.
- 10) **How did they make you feel?**
Pretty comfortable.
- 11) **How did you feel about the idea of returning?**
I did not want to return.
- 12) **Were you involved in decision-making?**
No.
- 13) **How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
It was my father's idea to return. He wanted us children to be part of the Turkish culture. He did not want us to be alienated and become Germanized.
- 14) **What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I cried a lot about this decision. I did not want to return.
- 15) **What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
We used to come in the holidays for three weeks. There were some things that irritated me here. It felt underdeveloped and there were differences concerning the system and how things were run here. I felt like I had come to another planet. There were horse carts and horseshit, chickens and cows running around freely. The people were interesting. They were sincere and I had no problems with them. They were mostly family anyway.
- 16) **How do you feel about returning now?**
I am glad that we have returned considering my current situation, because I am happy now.
- 17) **Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
As I would grow older, I would have had more problems. Mostly because I think that I would have been excluded by the Germans. I have friends that have returned after finishing high school. They have had serious problems in adapting. When one is younger, one is more flexible. The families there try to raise Turkish children within the Turkish culture, which is more restrictive. They rebelled of course.
- 18) **Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
No.
- 19) **Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
Yes, but we are not in contact anymore.
- 20) **Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
No, but I really want to, because I find it interesting to see the places that I was born and raised.
- 21) **How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

- 22) **How long after your final return did you go back?**

- 23) **How did you feel?**

- 24) **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

- 25) **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**
Things that were part of my daily life there and came very naturally were hard to pursue here. I could not find many things here and that made me feel confused. When I went to school, the

school uniform was a disgusting idea to me and I could not get used to that. Twenty-five years after my return, Turkey was closer to the standards I had there when I was ten.

26) How well was your command of the Turkish language?

My Turkish was good. We had Turkish lessons once a week at school. These lessons were upon the families' request. For about six months after our return we did not speak Turkish but German, because of habit. We were speaking German to each other in Germany, not with our parents so much, but with my sister we used to play in German.

27) What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?

Sun and sea.

28) What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?

There were so many. It was hard in school mostly. Finding equipment was difficult, there was nothing here. Finding the type of clothes I was used to was hard. There was no place in Ayvalik to find sneakers. My father used to go back and forth between Turkey and Germany and he used to bring us things from there.

29) How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?

Then, I was thinking negative things mostly.

30) Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?

There were many, but mostly material things. The approach to girls in Ayvalik was very different from Germany. Girls would prepare for marriage; they would not play outside or ride a bike. They had less freedom. In Germany this was never the case. I learned that everything was forbidden to children here. In Germany, a child was a child and much more free.

31) What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?

I did not show much reaction. I did what I felt like doing and my family was very liberal in this sense.

32) Did you receive any help from other people?

Yes.

33) Who helped you?

My mother. She was always with us.

34) How have you been given help?

The lessons were all in Turkish, so she helped us with things. She devoted her life to us. We were behind in the lessons anyway, so she was very supportive.

35) Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?

None that I know of. It was a smooth transition thanks to my mother and my own character is not very rebellious anyway.

36) Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?

No.

37) Why did you want to go back to Germany?

Maybe just for traveling purposes.

Describe your

38) Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.

Our family relationships were the same. We were living in a less developed place but the house was nice. It was my mother's hometown.

39) Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.

The school was much more primitive. It was small. There was nothing in the school canteen. In Germany, there was a bus that provided tempting foods. Here it was like a place with iron bars. When I first came back, I had a lot of difficulties with my lessons but when my mother explained my situation to the teachers, they paid more attention to me. My lessons were not

very good. I was an average student. The teachers were giving many punishments I was not used to. There were reading lessons, which was strange. My friendship relationships were good; I was the center of attention because I was different and had returned from Germany, which was a big thing. Because it was my mother's hometown, most kids in the neighborhood were relatives on my mother's side. I could do none of the activities here that I did there.

40) Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.

The neighborhood was very different. It was close to the sea, with two storey houses. There were small bakkals.

41) Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.

We did not go anywhere for five years. After high school, we moved from Ayvalik to Istanbul and then I had the chance to go places. My parents were concerned with my safety so they would not let me travel much on my own.

42) What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?

As stated above.

43) How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?

I have accepted the way things are here and just went on.

44) What differences did you observe between these two cultures?

45) How did these make you feel / think?

46) How in time did you adapt?

It just happened and it happened eventless, probably because I was young. I don't even remember the transition.

47) Have you received any help?

Yes.

48) From whom have you received help?

My mother mostly.

49) In what form was this help you received?

She would talk to us and listen to us.

50) What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?

First of all, being able to speak German. That gave me the chance to get better jobs at companies that work with foreign countries. The more developed country gave me knowledge about things before they came to Turkey. Being raised there gave me a more western perspective on things. I wish I had gone to high school in Germany too. I would not have stayed there for my whole life because as you grow older you become more aware of their attitude. It is their country after all.

Interviewee Number Three

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Dilek Kıvançlı |
| 2. Location | Kızıltoprak - Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1967-Istanbul |
| 4. Gender | Female |
| 5. Marital Status | Divorced |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate Degree |
| 7. Occupation | German Teacher |

Research Questions

1. **When did you return?**

1984

2. **How old were you when you returned?**

I was 17.

3. **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from the city of Münster in Nord–Rhein Westfalen to Istanbul.

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

I spent time with my mother and father and my sibling. We had very civilized family relationships but stuck to our traditions and the Turkish way of life. We had more German friends as a family than Turkish ones.

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

I went to a Catholic school. It was much disciplined and an all girls' school. My father thought that it gave a very good education. I did not understand that at that time but now I am glad to have attended to a school like that. All my schoolmates were German. I was the first Turkish and Muslim student there and after me, they did not accept any Turkish students.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

We had a very compact and clean neighborhood, compared to here. There was a playground in every neighborhood. Our relationships were the same as now, a bit cold and distant due to living in a big city. Still, we were closer to each other than people are nowadays. Some Germans have learnt hospitality from us and started applying it. Wherever we went, we always found German neighbors to share things with. We had such deep relationships with them that we still write to each other and the funny thing is that they still live there.

7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**

I loved playing basketball, riding a bike, dancing, roller skating, meeting up with German friends and going to parties or giving parties. I have been to most European countries, except

for the little ones like Lichtenstein or Monaco. Most of my summer vacations were spent in Turkey.

8. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?

That it is a European country, that is civilized, clean and a place where people obey rules.

9. What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?

They were pretty good, friendly and some still continue. I think this is a matter of personality. The relationships with German people, as a Turk, depend very much on one's approach to them and the way you live your life. Considering people's relationships in Turkey today, I really miss those times but maybe that has to do with the times.

10. How did they make you feel?

Of course it was not like being in your own country. You are very aware that your life there is only temporary. I used to think with every step that I take, that this is not my country. Whenever I came to Turkey I felt peace in every step that I took. I used to think "This is my land; nothing can happen to me here." ☺

11. How did you feel about the idea of returning?

I was very excited and willing to return because I did not have any Turkish friends. When we came to Turkey on vacations everybody had a friend except me, because we were back only for a short time. It was hard to make friends when you stay for only a few weeks. What I admired the most was the concept of friendship because I guess that was very important for those ages.

12. Were you involved in decision-making?

I don't really remember but I think we talked about it as a family.

13. How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?

I think we were together as a family at dinner or something like that. My father was a professor of economy at the University of Münster. He was working as a teacher there. When we first went to Germany, it was for my father's doctorate degree. For the second time, we went due to the right and left conflict in Turkey at that time. There was no peace at Turkish universities. When that university had invited my father there, we went back to Germany. I think I was somehow aware that we had to go back and forth.

14. What did you think/feel about this decision?

I felt excitement about starting a new life, new friendships, a new school and a new school system. At the same time, I had worries about the university and the future.

15. What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?

I used to view it as a place with no organization, with streets full of garbage, where one can live only if they have enough money; however, a place where ties among people were strong.

16. How do you feel about returning now?

Sometimes I have some regrets and sometimes some ifs.

17. Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?

Probably my life would have been more stable. If I had attended university there and had a German passport things would be easier for me now.

18. Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?

No.

19. Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?

Yes.

- 20. Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
Yes.
- 21. How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**
Once.
- 22. How long after your final return did you go back?**
16 years later.
- 23. How did you feel?**
Sad but excited.
- 24. What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**
There was not much change. Whatever I had felt when I used to live there was the same I felt when I visited. The only difference was that I did not have a home there and was staying at my German friend's place and talking about the old days.
- 25. What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**
When we came back for good I started to feel a sense of belonging to this place and tried to find a place for myself. During the vacations it was more like living here and there.
- 26. How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
It was much distorted. I used to make many grammar mistakes and had difficulty understanding what I read. That must be because of not having had any education in Turkish and speaking German all the time.
- 27. What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
That the land I stepped on was my own and that I had many relatives and that we frequently visited each other.
- 28. What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
I found it strange that the school system especially the state schools were as they are. That there were no rules and that people did not care about rules, even so much that they did not pull aside for an ambulance. I am still astonished by many of these.
- 29. How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
It is too mixed up to put it in words. Sometimes I wish we had not returned, although I used to say that my motherland is more important than Germany.
- 30. Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
I don't think there were cultural differences that made me feel bad. This is our culture and that is theirs after all. I took the best parts of both of them and tried to teach it to my son and my students. What makes me feel bad is that our civilized behavior as people is not present anymore. It gets worse. I still feel very disappointed that there is nothing to be done about this uncivilized and selfish behavior we as people display. People set their own rules and we are losing our humanity.
- 31. What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
I tried to work harder and now try to teach what I had learnt to my students.
- 32. Did you receive any help from other people?**
My family gave me great support.
- 33. Who helped you?**
My family and myself.
- 34. How have you been given help?**
They were always there and ready to solve problems and show the right way.
- 35. Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**

- 36. Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
Yes.

37. Why did you want to go back to Germany?

I wanted to return to Germany because of financial and social difficulties and the gaps in the Turkish bureaucracy and law, also because of the ignorance and stupidity of the society.

Describe your

38. Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.

We were always supportive of each other.

39. Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.

Education was based on memorization. I did not like that at all. There was no discussion and exchange of ideas. I had some difficulties with friendship relations. There was too much materialism and interest in etiquette, which I never cared for.

40. Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.

Everybody used to mind their own business. Sometimes they were rude. The buses never operated according to a schedule. In Germany, buses were always on time, the exact minute. They were also not as packed as here.

41. Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.

In Germany, I used to travel with my family. That was much less after we came back.

42. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?

They were more positive then.

43. How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?

44. What differences did you observe between these two cultures?

45. How did these make you feel / think?

46. How in time did you adapt?

47. Have you received any help?

48. From whom have you received help?

49. In what form was this help you received?

50. What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?

Of course there have been positives sides of being raised there, from every perspective. I had the chance to see the best sides of both cultures. I have experienced that Germany and the other European countries do not have anything worth to be exaggerated that people think they have. In school I have learnt to decide on my own thoughts concerning something after having evaluated the facts and reached a synthesis. I had difficulties in my life from time to time. For example, I got divorced. I have a family that lives a liberal life but is still respectful and close to each other. Unfortunately, I have not met this kind of understanding in my husband's family. That's where I had the most difficulty in. I think I still have problems in adapting to family dynamics here in Turkey. I think that is because I have learnt and experienced some things in Germany under a different light.

Interviewee Number Four

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Oya Savas |
| 2. Location | Sahrayicedid-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1976-Müllheim |
| 4. Gender | Female |
| 5. Marital Status | Married |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate Degree |
| 7. Occupation | German Teacher |

Research Questions

- 1. When did you return?**
We returned in 1987.
- 2. How old were you when you returned?**
I was 10.
- 3. From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**
We came back from the city of Müllheim to Istanbul.
- Describe your**
- 4. Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**
We were a family of three. My mother was a housewife and my father a technical designer.
- 5. Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**
In primary school I had German teachers. I had great relationships with my German friends and still see some of them.
- 6. Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**
We were living in a very clean environment where everybody would clean their own door. There were also other foreigners in the complex. There was not much of a neighborhood relationship. It was more or less what it is now in cities in Turkey.
- 7. Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**
I used to ride my bike. We had a sports course and in the holidays we used to come to Turkey.
- 8. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**
I used to love it there and because I was very young I did not want to leave my friends.
- 9. What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**
We had good relationships. I was a blonde child so I was not treated differently at all. We were living in a place where there was no racism.
- 10. How did they make you feel?**
Happy.
- 11. How did you feel about the idea of returning?**
I had mixed feelings. I did not want to return very much.
- 12. Were you involved in decision-making?**
No.
- 13. How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
My father and my mother told me together.
- 14. What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I felt mixed feelings.

- 15. What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
I was curious about Turkey and was thinking how it would be here.
- 16. How do you feel about returning now?**
I am generally happy that we have returned but I wish we had not cut off our ties completely.
- 17. Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
I am not sure but I might not have been able to go to university because it is more difficult there.
- 18. Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
Yes.
- 19. Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
Yes.
- 20. Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
Yes.
- 21. How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**
Three.
- 22. How long after your final return did you go back?**
9 years later.
- 23. How did you feel?**
Happy as if in a movie.
- 24. What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**
I saw everything as I got older and realized that Turkey had improved.
- 25. What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**
Life and school were much more difficult here. It seemed to be a place with no rules.
- 26. How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
It was very bad.
- 27. What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
The sea and the sun and to be together with the rest of the family.
- 28. What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
They made fun of my broken Turkish.
- 29. How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I was happy here and still am.
- 30. Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**

- 31. What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**

- 32. Did you receive any help from other people?**

- 33. Who helped you?**
My family and some teachers.
- 34. How have you been given help?**

- 35. Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**

- 36. Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
Yes, when we first returned.
- 37. Why did you want to go back to Germany?**
I wanted to return to Germany because of financial and social difficulties and the gaps in the Turkish bureaucracy and law, also because of the ignorance and stupidity of the society.

Describe your

- 38. Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**
We were always together and happy with each other.
- 39. Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**
First, I was doing really badly in classes and everybody made fun of my Turkish and reading. I have started to work really hard and did it.
- 40. Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**
It was really difficult to adapt, but I liked the place we lived. We used to live in Göztepe then. It was a good neighborhood.
- 41. Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**
We used to travel all over Turkey.
- 42. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**
Dirty, filthy and disorganized. People were very irrespectful to each other. I am not that pessimistic now.
- 43. How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
It was very difficult.
- 44. What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**
There is no logic to things here. We don't like working hard and we do not know the value of the things we have.
- 45. How did these make you feel / think?**
I used to ask myself why we were like this.
- 46. How in time did you adapt?**
It wasn't a conscious process, it just happened within time.
- 47. Have you received any help?**

- 48. From whom have you received help?**
My friends were there for me.
- 49. In what form was this help you received?**

- 50. What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?**
Of course, at least I have a job thanks to my language, only and I can go there whenever I want.

Interviewee Number Five

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Didem Bektasi |
| 2. Location | Avcilar-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1972 -Hamburg |
| 4. Gender | Female |
| 5. Marital Status | Married |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate Degree |
| 7. Occupation | Teacher |

Research Questions

1. **When did you return?**

1987

2. **How old were you when you returned?**

14

3. **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from Hamburg to Istanbul

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

I had a liberal family. They would allow me to go on overnight school trips. I had no difficulty meeting up with friends.

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

I had good relationships with my teachers and was a successful student. I don't remember having had any problems with German people. In the last years of highschool, there was another Turkish student and we never got along well. Until fifth grade, I was the only foreigner in my school.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

Everything was very positive. We were living in a big city but the environment was green and we had a playground. It was really pretty, with malls around. Our neighbors were sweet people. With some of them we continued our contact years after we returned.

7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**

I spent time with friends, went swimming, roller skating and ice skating. We went on school trips and picnics. With my family we traveled to other German cities.

8. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**

I did not have any major problem and was happy.

9. **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**

I don't have any negative memories; we used to get on well together.

10. **How did they make you feel?**

Because my father was a university graduate, we were living in a complex for Siemens employers. They were very respectful and of certain standards. At school, I never had any problem anyway.

11. **How did you feel about the idea of returning?**

Words concerning our return were always on my parents' lips but it was a very far idea to me.

12. **Were you involved in decision-making?**

No way!!!

- 13. How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
My father and mother took me and my sibling and just simply told us.
- 14. What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I loved Turkey a lot, but was very scared.
- 15. What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
I loved Turkey.
- 16. How do you feel about returning now?**
I do not regret having come back but I wish I could go to Germany whenever I wanted to.
- 17. Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
I would probably have had a great life!!!!
- 18. Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
Yes, I have a few friends.
- 19. Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
Yes, just 1-2 but we do not keep in contact as frequently as before.
- 20. Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
Unfortunately, not but I want to go back as soon as I can.
- 21. How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

- 22. How long after your final return did you go back?**

- 23. How did you feel?**

- 24. What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

- 25. What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**
They used to call us 'Almanci' and treat us differently, after we came back for good.
- 26. How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
My Turkish was not very good because I used to speak more German than Turkish.
- 27. What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
Warm weather and that we were better off financially than many other people around us.
- 28. What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
The fact that they used to call us 'Almanci'. The boys used to see us as easy girls because we were more liberal in our behavior. This prejudice changed some time later though.
- 29. How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I was not really aware of the harsh realities when we first came back, but now I question them. I miss the social health and democratic judicial system there.
- 30. Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
The fact that some of my freedom was taken away from me hurt me.
- 31. What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
I tried to convince my family that they could trust me and I earned their trust.
- 32. Did you receive any help from other people?**
Nothing official.
- 33. Who helped you?**
My family.
- 34. How have you been given help?**
We talked and tried to find solutions.

35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**
Meeting on mutual ground.
36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
Sometimes.
37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**
Because I missed it.
Describe your
38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**
I did not have any problems with my family.
39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**
I did not have any problems.
40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**
Transportation here was and still is a disaster. There are no playgrounds for children. There used to be a grassy area behind our house and we hung out there.
41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**
Just hanging out with a friend, that's all.
42. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**
I loved Turkey, better said Istanbul.
43. **How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
With the conservative mentality here I argued a lot and tried to convince people. It took much of my energy. I saw just how useless it was and after some time I gave in. They won.
44. **What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**
The Germans appear to be more comfortable in the way they behaved and more natural. They can say 'no' easily. Turkish people are definitely warmer blooded but they are too concerned with what other people are thinking.
45. **How did these make you feel / think?**
I was questioning myself and the country.
46. **How in time did you adapt?**
Within time everything just went its own course. When I started university, I had people like myself around me. We were the 'returnees'
47. **Have you received any help?**
Yes some.
48. **From whom have you received help?**
My mother
49. **In what form was this help you received?**
She would talk to us and listen to us.
50. **What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?**
Thanks to the German I learnt there I have become a German teacher. I mean, I can do this job to the fullest because I have been raised bilingually.

Interviewee Number Six

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Volkan Erdem |
| 2. Location | Bahcesehir-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1975- Bonn |
| 4. Gender | Male |
| 5. Marital Status | Single |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate Degree |
| 7. Occupation | Translator |

Research Questions

1. **When did you return?**

1984

2. **How old were you when you returned?**

11

3. **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from Bonn to Besiktas, Istanbul.

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

I have three brothers younger than me. My parents used to work all the time. When they came back from work they would usually be very tired and did not have much time for us. We grew up looking after each other. I had to take care of my brothers mostly. I did not like that very much because I loved to play outside. We knew that our parents loved us a lot but they did not show it very often because they did not want to spoil us. Life was hard for them and that made them tough. Naturally we had not much communication at that time. We lived in a neighborhood with few other Turkish families and many German people. It was pretty green and clean.

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

My school was not a very pretty building but I liked it because I had a lot of fun at school. It was better than staying at home and having to deal with my brothers. There was a big garden and lots of room to run. There were three other Turks in my class but I was not very close to them. I preferred to hang out with my German friends. My teachers liked me because I liked school and studied for my lessons. Other than studying, we used to go swimming with the school and play sports.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

There were a few Turkish families around us and we used to visit each other sometimes. We had good relationships with the Germans but it was not the same kind of neighborhood relationships. I used to ride my bike to school or walk. There was a big garden behind our building and we would play with my brothers and German and Spanish and Yugoslavian friends.

7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**

We went to many places with my school but with my family we would come to Turkey in the summer and not go to many other places in Europe. We sometimes visited other relatives in other parts of Germany. I used to swim in my free time.

- 8. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**
I liked it there although I had to be with my brothers for most of the time. I seemed to have more free time and always things to do. Our relatives are still there are pretty bored of living there but it has become such a strong habit that they can't even think of coming back here.
- 9. What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**
We had very good relationships and I never had any problems with the German people in particular.
- 10. How did they make you feel?**
They did not make me feel anything. I guess I was too young to understand racism but I would have felt negative attitude if I had been exposed to any. They saw me as me and not as a Turk, maybe because I have light brown hair.
- 11. How did you feel about the idea of returning?**
I never really wanted to return because during the holidays in Turkey I had to be in a certain way that was not expected from me in Germany. There I just had to look after my brothers but in Turkey I had to go through this ritual during our visits that was boring.
- 12. Were you involved in decision-making?**
Not really. I think it was my father who decided to return because he just got tired of working in Germany and wanted to enjoy his life after some time. My mother was not terribly happy about this.
- 13. How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
My father told us. He gathered us all in the kitchen around our big dinner table and told us.
- 14. What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I was not terribly excited about it.
- 15. What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
I had to kiss hands of sweaty old people and had a hard time understanding Turkish. The sea and sun was wonderful. It was more like a vacation place for me than a homeland.
- 16. How do you feel about returning now?**
I am glad that we came back here.
- 17. Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
I would have attended a good university and become something, but I would be good at it. I am not sure of this at all, but I prefer to think this way.
- 18. Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
Not friends, but we have some relatives that are still there. They come in the summer from time to time or I visit them rarely.
- 19. Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
No.
- 20. Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
Yes, I have been back some years after we returned,
- 21. How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**
Five times.
- 22. How long after your final return did you go back?**
About seven years later.
- 23. How did you feel?**
I was very excited to be able to go back.
- 24. What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**
I went to see my relatives who were living in other parts of Germany, but just for a short time I went to my hometown. I found it not as exciting as when I left. I found it much more boring. I guess the enchantment of the childhood years was gone. I was somehow disappointed.

25. What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?

I found the people very cold. I did not feel the warmth of my childhood. It was all very different and the same simultaneously.

26. How well was your command of the Turkish language?

Not well at all. I had a hard time understanding people when they talked too fast or when they used words that I did not know, and I did not know many words that were commonly used here. My parents spoke Turkish but I replied in German.

27. What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?

I loved to learn the new games here. I had a hard time making friends in the neighborhood here because I was different, they did not want me in their games at first. I did not know any of their games. Then within time, we started to play together on the street. I loved that.

28. What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?

There were too many cars on the street, so the games were interrupted all the time and it was not safe. The streets were dirty. I remember that I washed my hands every break at school and each time they were dirty as if I was working in a coal mine. It took a long time to go somewhere with public transport. There was no organization in anything, or it seemed to me like that. I hated the school uniform and memorizing things.

29. How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?

I was very unhappy and disappointed when we first came back. Now I am glad that we live here. It is much more dynamic here. This place is alive.

30. Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?

People were doing the same things at the same time. Everything was just too one-sided. People were gossiping a lot and treating everything with a narrow mind. Nothing happened on time.

31. What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?

Playing games.

32. Did you receive any help from other people?

No. I tried to figure things out by myself. I was the oldest of them all, so I thought that I needed to find solutions on my own.

33. Who helped you?

Nobody.

34. How have you been given help?

None given.

35. Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?

I was getting lost in my games. I still love movies and playing play station when I have trouble now.

36. Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?

Yes, very much, especially the first few years.

37. Why did you want to go back to Germany?

Because of all the things that I could do there and not here. I had more fun.

Describe your

38. Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.

My mother did not work here so I did not have to take care of my brothers. We lived in a smaller apartment at first and that was very irritating. My mother was very happy because she did not have to work anymore. Dad opened a store and was happier to work there than to work in a factory. There was no playground here only the streets.

39. Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.

I hated school here. There were too many illogical rules. Everything had to be memorized and I hated that. I became a very bad student here. The teachers were very strict and I had a difficult time adapting. I could not go swimming anymore although I loved doing that. The school smelled of food and toilet and was very dirty. Teachers were hitting students and had no patience and forgiveness at all. My lessons were firstly very bad but later I learned to play the game and had better grades. There was no art or sport other than football in the school yard and P.E. lessons.

40. Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.

It was more crowded than in Germany. There were many cars. There were no playgrounds here and the park was far away. It took a long time to go somewhere and that was very tiring.

41. Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.

I could not go swimming anymore and that was very annoying. We did not go to the sea as much as we used to. I started to play guitar here and video games in later years.

42. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?

Things that were normal for us in Germany suddenly started to become luxurious here. I felt like we were richer there and became poor when we moved here. It was a country filled with ignorant people who had limited brains.

43. How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?

I just did what they wanted me to. I rebelled and lost the war. I was hard to adjust because I could not accept everything that easily. So I fought but after some time the system won and I had to give in. I still rebel but in a more mature way.

44. What differences did you observe between these two cultures?

People were freer in Germany. There were a lot of rules and everybody obeyed them. Here, in Turkey, nobody seemed to care about anybody else or any rules. Life here was very hard and people seemed unhappy but they were more active, trying to get by in a jungle of chaos. I think the rules there killed the excitement of life but the chaos here kept people dynamic.

45. How did these make you feel / think?

I felt very pessimistic at first but then I learned the way things are here.

46. How in time did you adapt?

Within time I adapted.

47. Have you received any help?

No.

48. From whom have you received help?

49. In what form was this help you received?

50. What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?

I am more liberal in the way I think. I can see both cultures and use their positive sides. I can speak three languages comfortably. I think if I had been here as a child I would be one-sided.

Interviewee Number Seven

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Sena Nur Kocak |
| 2. Location | Kartal-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1978-Düsseldorf |
| 4. Gender | Female |
| 5. Marital Status | Married |
| 6. Education | Highschool |
| 7. Occupation | Accountant |

Research Questions

1. **When did you return?**

1988

2. **How old were you when you returned?**

10

3. **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from Düsseldorf to Şişli, Istanbul.

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

My mother did not work but my father did. I have a sister younger than me. My father was working in a factory so he was very tired when he came home. My sister and my mother were closer to each other. We lived in an area where many other Turks lived so I did not have much contact with German people at that time other than school.

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

I did not do very well in school so I did not like school very much. We used to walk to school with my sister and that was fun because I liked walking a lot. I would ride my bike from time to time in our stone covered garden in the middle of the building. It was the place where we played. At school, there was something like a playground and we hung out there. I had to help my mother in the kitchen a lot and I did not like that. The school had an art workshop. I loved making colorful pictures but my father thought it was a waste of time and money. I could have been a good painter, that's what my teacher back there had said. I did not like my other teachers very much because they wanted things from me that I could not do.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

We were surrounded by other Turkish families and had very close relationships with them, not so much with the German people but other foreigners like Italians and Yugoslavian people. Most of my friends were Turks. There were stores that sold Turkish products run by Turks. It was easy to go everywhere. The buses were frequent and many but we did not use them very often.

7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**

I used to play in that hall with Turkish friends and we were happy there. We used to come to Turkey every summer on the bus and I hated the journey because it was very long and tiring. We brought lots of presents for family members here and carried food back there, so there was always a lot to carry. I only liked coming to Turkey because I felt special and different here because I had things that the kids here did not have. I used to paint pictures.

8. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**
In general, I liked it but sometimes some Germans were looking at me in a derogating way when I did not understand something. I hated them then.
9. **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**
We did not have many relationships and the ones we did have were formal
10. **How did they make you feel?**
I felt like I was not wanted. There was nothing they did to me directly but I could feel that they were very cold towards me and not interested in being with me.
11. **How did you feel about the idea of returning?**
I did not care about it very much but just thought that it would be fun to have constant admiration.
12. **Were you involved in decision-making?**
No way.
13. **How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
Dad said we were returning to Turkey and we did. There was not much to discuss.
14. **What did you think/feel about this decision?**
It didn't matter to me but I was kind of curious about how life would be here.
15. **What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
I remember children that were admiring me for things that I had but they did not. For me Turkey was people we brought gifts for, our relatives and the village we went to. It was boring and dirty.
16. **How do you feel about returning now?**
I wish we had not come back.
17. **Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
I could have gone on painting and made a career there. Here, there was no way for me to pursue my interest and improve my talent.
18. **Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
My parents have friends and they sometimes visit us when they come in the summer.
19. **Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during your stay in Germany?**
No.
20. **Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
No.
21. **How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

22. **How long after your final return did you go back?**

23. **How did you feel?**

24. **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

25. **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

26. **How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
It was very good. I could understand people and they understood me, although children at school made fun of me because I was talking with an accent.

27. **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
There were so many relatives and I liked to be in a crowded family. There was always something going on.
28. **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
I could not play outside anymore and I was not as free as I was there. I did not understand that but my mother said that this was Turkey and that things were different here. That was her explanation to many things I could not understand.
29. **How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I wish I could have stayed there. I was curious when I came back but that did not last very long. Life here is harder than there and standards are lower.
30. **Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
The fact that girls were not allowed to do certain things was annoying. I felt like my freedom was gone.
31. **What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
Painting and drawing.
32. **Did you receive any help from other people?**
No. My mother had one simple answer for everything and that was not enough for me. So I just stopped talking to her about my problems.
33. **Who helped you?**
Nobody.
34. **How have you been given help?**
None given.
35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**
I made pictures, that's all.
36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
Yes, very much and I still do and I will never forgive my parents for having brought me back here.
37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**
Because my life could have been so much better and I could have done creative things.
- Describe your**
38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**
We started to live in a similar but more Turkish place when we came back. It was almost like a village and very dirty. I hated it because everybody knew each other and they gossiped all the time. My mother still did not work and my father opened a coffeehouse.
39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**
School was never my thing, not there and not here. I did not do very well in school but somehow managed to graduate from highschool. I wanted to study art but my father did not allow me to, so I went into accounting. I still don't like it. First, it was fun to be admired but then, they singled me out and called me 'Almanci'. I did not feel home here.
40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**
There were stores and many houses and it was not as organized as there. The streets were chaotic and very crowded. I had some friends in the same building but not many in the neighborhood because I could not play in the streets. It was a painful experience to go somewhere in the city because it took such a long time.
41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**
We went to the village like every summer with less to carry. I continued drawing when I had the time and materials.

- 42. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**
It was conservative and restricting. I did not like it here.
- 43. How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
I never thought about that but I just felt so trapped and my father changed when we came back and that was really bad for me.
- 44. What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**
People could do what they could do best there. They did not have to be in a certain way. Here, people were the same few types. People were boring and flat characters. There was no security here. People saved and life passed them by.
- 45. How did these make you feel / think?**
I felt depressed.
- 46. How in time did you adapt?**
Within time I adapted.
- 47. Have you received any help?**
No.
- 48. From whom have you received help?**

- 49. In what form was this help you received?**

- 50. What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?**
I feel different but can't live it. Now it is better but in the past it was much worse. Turkey has changed a lot in 20 years. When we first came back there was nothing here. I think it is good that I can speak German but sometimes I wish I had never tasted life there.

Interviewee Number Eight

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Nuran Ülgenler |
| 2. Location | Göztepe-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1973-Köln |
| 4. Gender | Female |
| 5. Marital Status | Single |
| 6. Education | Highschool |
| 7. Occupation | Secretary |

Research Questions

1. **When did you return?**

1984

2. **How old were you when you returned?**

11

3. **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from Köln to Göztepe, Istanbul.

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

I was a single child and both my parents worked. We were close as a family but did not have a terribly good communication. We lived in a quiet street and there was a huge garden behind our building. There were not many Turks around us.

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

I liked school because I could be with friends there. Being an only child can be very lonely. I had many German friends but not many Turkish ones. I had Italian and Polish friends and one Spanish friend. My grades were average. I loved swimming and riding my bike. I walked to school and we used public transportation only to visit people or go downtown. It was punctual, clean and organized.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

There were not many Turks. We were the only Turkish family in our street. The Germans were nice but to certain extend. We had Turkish families as family friends and would see them sometimes. There were not many shops around.

7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**

I played with these friends I mentioned in the garden behind the building. They had larger families so I was jealous. We went to Turkey every summer with huge luggage consisting of gifts. I hated that. Flying was fine but the bus took three days. We went on school trips to educational places. That was fun.

8. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**

I was very happy there, although a bit lonely.

9. **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**

We had normal relationships with them. There always was an old couple we became close friends with.

10. **How did they make you feel?**

I did not feel any difference but I liked them better than the Turks because I understood them better.

11. **How did you feel about the idea of returning?**
I was very disappointed because I did not like the idea of change very much.
12. **Were you involved in decision-making?**
Not at all.
13. **How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
My mum and dad sat in front of me and told me. That was it. Then we left.
14. **What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I hated it and that I was not asked what I wanted to do. I found it very disrespectful.
15. **What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
Hot weather, sweaty relatives, crowded streets, chaos, confusion and dirt.
16. **How do you feel about returning now?**
I am glad we came back.
17. **Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
It could have been anything. It is hard to say really.
18. **Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
No.
19. **Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
No.
20. **Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
No.
21. **How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

22. **How long after your final return did you go back?**

23. **How did you feel?**

24. **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

25. **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

26. **How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
It was terrible. I needed my mother as a translator when we first came back. I had a very hard time first, but then I learnt. School was a nightmare.
27. **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
Nothing was a pleasure.
28. **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
Everything. There were far too many people around. The weather was too hot and the streets too dirty and crowded. I could not understand many people. Everything was too confusing to me.
29. **How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
Now I am glad to be here because this place is alive and I am part of it. Then, I wanted to go back for many years.
30. **Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
The narrow-mindedness drove me mad. I hated the prejudice and the gossip.
31. **What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
I watched TV.

32. **Did you receive any help from other people?**
No. We did not have a great communication as a family at that time. I was alone mostly.
33. **Who helped you?**
Nobody.
34. **How have you been given help?**
None given.
35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**
I watched TV and read a lot.
36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
Yes, all the time but it left me as time went on and I had my own life established here.
37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**
Because I liked it there and I had a life there and was torn away from it.
- Describe your**
38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**
We lived in an apartment building much bigger than there and the streets were more chaotic. There was no place to play for me and I did not have any friends. My parents were the same and we never really talked very much.
39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**
I hated school every single day. There was one big garden with nothing in it, just cement and banks. The system never applied to me, it was all memorization and that was stupid for me. I was called me 'Almanci'. I never felt at home here. I was weak in the lessons and could not ride my bike or run around freely. Everything was governed by some sort of rule. I never understood why. I seemed like the more rules there were the more they were broken.
40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**
It was an area with many tall buildings and some stores. There was no room for children to play. It was a nightmare to go somewhere. I did not have friends, only relatives who thought I was weird.
41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**
We stopped going anywhere. I read a lot and watched TV. All my will to do anything was gone.
42. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**
I did not like it here at first at all. I always wanted to go back somehow but after some time that did not feel right anymore. Then I did not know where I felt I belonged.
43. **How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
I got very depressed and needed to see a psychiatrist for some time. The mentality here drove me mad. It was so restrictive and ridiculous. I still have a hard time understanding it.
44. **What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**
Life was easier and more liberal there. People would not judge or be prejudiced there. Here all was secretive and people would gossip all the time.
45. **How did these make you feel / think?**
I felt extremely depressed.
46. **How in time did you adapt?**
It just happened, but with great difficulty.
47. **Have you received any help?**
No.
48. **From whom have you received help?**

49. **In what form was this help you received?**

50. **What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?**

I could find a good job because of my German. It was also easier to learn English. I worked at good companies and am still earning better money than some other secretaries. This is not just because of knowing German of course, but language plays a big role. I guess I am also successful because of all the organization and analytical thinking skills I learnt in school in Germany. Still, I remember the price I paid for this transformation from being an 'Ausländer' in Germany to an 'Almanci' in Turkey.

Interviewee Number Nine

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Filiz Gürler |
| 2. Location | Tesvikiye-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1975-Stuttgart |
| 4. Gender | Female |
| 5. Marital Status | Single |
| 6. Education | Highschool |
| 7. Occupation | Trade |

Research Questions

1. **When did you return?**

1989

2. **How old were you when you returned?**

14

3. **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from Stuttgart to Tesvikiye, Istanbul.

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

I have no brothers or sisters. My family always had good communication. My father worked for Mercedes and my mother in a factory. We lived in a comfortable flat with not many Turks or other foreigners around.

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

I was not a very bright student and had average grades. My teachers liked me and my classmates were ok too. Other than regular classes, we had handcraft sessions and Turkish classes too. I hated them.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

It was a very quiet and clean neighborhood with few foreigners. There was a lot of green around us and I loved to ride my bike around there. The shops were close by but they were

small. Bigger shops were easily available because transportation was not a problem. It was punctual and not crowded.

7. Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.

I loved going swimming and bike riding and playing with kids on the playground. We also went horseback riding with the school and on many trips long and short distance.

8. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?

I did not think about it very much but I felt happy there.

9. What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?

We were not terribly close with them but got along well together. There were some neighborhood relations but that did not go very far. We had some Turkish families around but would only visit with one or two.

10. How did they make you feel?

Not different at all. I am blonde so they did not even see me as a foreigner. I felt very welcome and at home there.

11. How did you feel about the idea of returning?

I hated it.

12. Were you involved in decision-making?

No I wasn't.

13. How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?

My parents told me together and explained why. I did not like it but understood.

14. What did you think/feel about this decision?

It was very bad according to me. We had a life there and should have stayed.

15. What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?

Many relatives and presents for them. Sun and beach and the confusion.

16. How do you feel about returning now?

I feel better about it now.

17. Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?

I have no idea.

18. Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?

No.

19. Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?

No.

20. Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?

No.

21. How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?

22. How long after your final return did you go back?

23. How did you feel?

24. What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?

25. What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?

26. How well was your command of the Turkish language?

It was not very good. We had compulsory Turkish classes but I hated them. People could understand me with some patience.

27. **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
Not much but maybe being with family.
28. **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
I really did not like it here for a very long time and wanted to go back. There was utter confusion here and nothing seemed to be regulated in any way.
29. **How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I am happy to be back here now because Turkey has changed a lot and it's almost like Germany.
30. **Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
People were full of ego problems trying to prove they were better off and trying to impress me all the time and there was a lot of lying going on here.
31. **What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
I talked to friends who had come back like me.
32. **Did you receive any help from other people?**
Nothing really just my mother and friends.
33. **Who helped you?**
Friends and mom.
34. **How have you been given help?**
Nothing official.
35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**
I went to friends and they came over and we talked a lot.
36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
Yes, always. That was all I could think about for the first few months.
37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**
Because it was my home and I was freer there.
- Describe your**
38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**
It was me, dad and mom and our apartment was smaller here in a street full of houses with nothing green around. The neighborhood was supposedly very elite but it did not seem like that to me.
39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**
I went to a school full of returnees and we had our own world there very different from the outside world. School was not very hard except for classes in Turkish but the teachers knew our situation and were mild on us. There were three school trips in six years and I went to one. There was nothing much the school had to offer at that time. We used to talk a lot.
40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**
In the first few years there was nothing here. Later were many European goods everywhere but we did not buy them, because they were much more expensive than in Germany. I felt like our living standards had dropped, like we got poorer, because we used to be able to afford them but now we couldn't. We had many family friends who would come to Turkey in the summer. They brought us whatever we wanted from Germany. I usually wanted clothes.
41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**
We went to see the greater family every summer when I was little but that stopped. The beach was too much trouble, so my parents got a summer home and we went there every summer. That was boring.
42. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**
It was way harder than I first realized. Everything was a problem, the buses, the money, the rules. I had a very hard time adapting.

- 43. How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
I rebelled and clamed down several times until I just passively adapted to the circumstances.
- 44. What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**
Everything was set and organized there. Here it was like a zoo. Life and everything about it were torture here, if one didn't know how to play the game. I am constantly concerned with what will happen to me when I stop working. Unless you have own real estate it's impossible to afford even rent with the retirement pension you get.
- 45. How did these make you feel / think?**
They made me feel hopeless.
- 46. How in time did you adapt?**
I did not have any other chance.
- 47. Have you received any help?**
Minor help.
- 48. From whom have you received help?**
From family and friends.
- 49. In what form was this help you received?**
Talking through the problem.
- 50. What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?**
I think I can have a good job now here because of knowing German. I can see things from two dimensions. I mean by that that I understand when something that is weird to the people in Turkey happens, like some rules of the European Community. But, I also understand when something that is normal in Turkey appears weird to a western person. I get very amused by this. When I was younger I tried to explain these differences, now, I just sit back and smile.

Interviewee Number Ten

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Zeynep Fidan |
| 2. Location | Bahcelievler-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1974-Solingen |
| 4. Gender | Female |
| 5. Marital Status | Married |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate |
| 7. Occupation | Finance |

Research Questions

- 1. When did you return?**
1985
- 2. How old were you when you returned?**
11
- 3. From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**
We came back from Solingen to Bahcelievler, Istanbul.

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**
We are a large family. I have two brothers and two sisters. My mother did not work but my father worked really hard. We lived in a rather small flat in Germany. There were many other Turkish families around. We were generally a happy family, not with great communication though.
5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**
I liked school very much and was a very good student. I used to walk to school with my brothers and sisters. My teachers liked me a lot and my classmates too because I was a really good student. I did not do very much but loved bike riding.
6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**
There were quite a few Turkish shops around and we shopped there. There was a small and dull playground where my older sister used to take us. I had to help my mother a lot and did not enjoy that. We did not use to travel in the city a lot but were more around the house. All we needed was there.
7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**
I studied a lot and went bike riding with Turkish friends but that was rare. We used to travel to Turkey in the summer, but sometimes not all of us. We went with presents and returned with traditional food that was not easy to get in Germany and if, it was not the same as my father used to say.
8. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**
It did not feel very much like a foreign place although I remember being treated harshly because I did not look German. I generally liked it there.
9. **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**
We had not many relations with them because there were more Turks around and we did not need the Germans. The Turks were closer and warmer and we shared the same destiny.
10. **How did they make you feel?**
They made me feel like a foreigner, but only not when I was successful. Then, even they were surprised.
11. **How did you feel about the idea of returning?**
I did not have any idea, it just happened.
12. **Were you involved in decision-making?**
No I wasn't.
13. **How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
My mother told us. I guess my father had enough of working in a foreign land as he used to call it.
14. **What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I did not think much about it but just accepted it.
15. **What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
Large family and many people to visit and serve. Somehow I found it primitive, especially the village. The city was ok.
16. **How do you feel about returning now?**
I think it was a good idea after all we hear.
17. **Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
I probably would have got higher education there as I did here and do more or less the same things we heard in the years that followed
18. **Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**

Yes some.

19. **Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**

No.

20. **Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**

No.

21. **How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

22. **How long after your final return did you go back?**

23. **How did you feel?**

24. **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

25. **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

26. **How well was your command of the Turkish language?**

It was pretty good from being surrounded with many people speaking Turkish.

27. **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**

Learning about the differences between here and there.

28. **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**

That school was based on memorization and that there were many ridiculous rules.

29. **How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**

I did not like it very much at first but now I feel better about it because my whole family is here and I made something good out of my life.

30. **Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**

Prejudice, memorization, chaotic streets and a dirty school and streets.

31. **What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**

I had my brothers and sisters and we would play games and talk when we got older.

32. **Did you receive any help from other people?**

Nothing official.

33. **Who helped you?**

Bothers and sisters.

34. **How have you been given help?**

Nothing official.

35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**

We would play games and when we got older we would talk a lot.

36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**

Yes, sometimes.

37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**

Because I learned more and better things in school there.

Describe your

38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**

When we came back we lived in a larger flat here and my father opened a shop under our building. We owned the building. We seemed to be better off but still careful with money because we were so crowded. Our mother looked after us together with my older sister and we went to school. We were very close.

39. Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.

School was a disaster. I had a very hard time adapting to school because of memorization. I learned how to play the game after some time and became pretty good at it. My teachers did not pay very much attention to me and my classmates ridiculed me until my grades spoke for themselves.

40. Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.

Our building was not a pretty one and the street and neighborhood was dirty and chaotic. Going somewhere was a great deal but we had everything we needed around us so that saved us time.

41. Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.

At first we had many relatives staying for lengths of time but as we grew older and less freshly returned they stopped coming so much. We went to the village from time to time in the summer when we were younger but that stopped as we got older.

42. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?

At first it was a difficult time but things worked out over time. We had to adapt because this was to be our new home.

43. How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?

I was a calm child and did not become easily frustrated. I even helped my siblings to accept the change.

44. What differences did you observe between these two cultures?

The way people viewed the world was very different. There people would go for stability and quality but here for saving the moment. That is in every aspect of life here. Even after all these years it is happening in many areas of our lives.

45. How did these make you feel / think?

I just saw it as another challenge.

46. How in time did you adapt?

It just seemed to happen, there was no other choice.

47. Have you received any help?

Nothing organized.

48. From whom have you received help?

Bothers and sisters.

49. In what form was this help you received?

50. What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?

I can evaluate the east and the west fairly because I know both perspectives well. I have gained depth in personality and become a more colorful person in general thanks to the experiences I had in both countries.

Interviewee Number Eleven

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Saadet Ogun |
| 2. Location | Erenköy-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1972 -Düsseldorf |
| 4. Gender | Female |
| 5. Marital Status | Single |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate |
| 7. Occupation | Tourism |

Research Questions

1. **When did you return?**

1984

2. **How old were you when you returned?**

12

3. **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from Düsseldorf to Erenköy, Istanbul.

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

My father had died in a job related accident so it was me, my mother and my younger brother. We had close relations and after my father's death, we got closer and were always together. We lived in a nice flat in a green area.

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

School was fun, although, I was not a very bright student. My teachers and classmates liked me and we always did something together other than school. We would visit each other a lot.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

There were not many Turkish families. We were very close with one German family. We are still in contact.

7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**

We played a lot all the time and did some pre-teenage stuff. We used to talk a lot too and went swimming, I loved it. We went out with the bike a lot.

8. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**

I was extremely happy there. I felt home.

9. **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**

We had excellent relationships. I was like one of the family with my friends' parents.

10. **How did they make you feel?**

At home and special.

11. **How did you feel about the idea of returning?**

I was not ready and did not want to at all but I had to understand.

12. **Were you involved in decision-making?**

No I wasn't.

13. **How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**

My mother told us. After my father died, we had to come back.

- 14. What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I did hate it but had to pretend for mother's sake.
- 15. What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
We had a great extended family and we were close. Then, it was traditional Blacksea food and traveling a lot.
- 16. How do you feel about returning now?**
I am happy to be back.
- 17. Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
I have really no idea.
- 18. Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
Yes a few.
- 19. Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
Yes, very closely.
- 20. Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
Yes.
- 21. How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**
A few times.
- 22. How long after your final return did you go back?**
Two years after we had come back.
- 23. How did you feel?**
Strange. Like it was home but nothing was the same anymore and it was not really home.
- 24. What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**
I had though that it was more that I had imagined for the two years. I realized some things were the same and that was comforting but some things were irritating. These I had not been subject to before.
- 25. What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

- 26. How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
It was very good actually.
- 27. What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
I don't remember many pleasures other than being closer with my mother and brother.
- 28. What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
I did not like the school system here. There were so many small brained and jealous people.
- 29. How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I liked being closer with my family but that became suffocating after some time. The landscape outside the city is fascinating me now.
- 30. Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
Small brained people and stupid questions and jealousy.
- 31. What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
I talked to my mother but after some time I just listened to music.
- 32. Did you receive any help from other people?**
Nothing official.
- 33. Who helped you?**
My mother.
- 34. How have you been given help?**
She just talked to me and tried to comfort me.
- 35. Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**
Escape into writing letters to my German friend and listening to music.

36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
Yes, all the time.
37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**
My life was set there.
Describe your
38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**
We lived in a nice flat in a rather green area. It was not very different from Germany except it was bigger. My mother did not work but we were very well off from the insurance we got for my father's death.
39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**
I did not like school here very much and was never a good student. There was no point in memorizing all the things taught, so we just cheated. My classmates were ok with me after some time. First there was prejudice and isolation. They called us 'Almanci'.
40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**
It was a nice place and I liked it. The people around us were very civilized and respectful. The streets were confusing and the traffic chaotic. There were no playgrounds around us.
41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**
We went to the Blacksea to our town there and stayed every summer when we were younger. There were many relatives and that broke our loneliness. I did not have many hobbies but wrote letters all the time.
42. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**
I got used to it, had to but was not very happy about it.
43. **How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
It was frustrating to see people so prejudiced and I got angry but that never helped, so I tried patience.
44. **What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**
People there are more relaxed because there is a system that takes care of them. There is a set social security system where people know that they will live at the standards they were used to when they worked even when they retire. Here things change all the time and one does not know what will happen next. On the other hand, here life is more dynamic but that brings chaos with it. They are just different places and one has to accept that.
45. **How did these make you feel / think?**
I sometimes was fed up and wanted to run away, but where.
46. **How in time did you adapt?**
I had no other choice.
47. **Have you received any help?**
Nothing organized.
48. **From whom have you received help?**
My mother.
49. **In what form was this help you received?**
Just talking mainly
50. **What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?**
I know German and that gave me a head start in tourism. It has also always felt good to travel back and forth between 'home' and 'home'.

Interviewee Number Twelve

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Perihan Özkan |
| 2. Location | Küçükbakkalköy-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1973-Berlin |
| 4. Gender | Female |
| 5. Marital Status | Married |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate |
| 7. Occupation | Sports |

Research Questions

- 1. When did you return?**
1984
- 2. How old were you when you returned?**
11
- 3. From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**
We came back from Berlin to Küçükbakkalköy, Istanbul.
Describe your
- 4. Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**
It was my sister, mother and my father. We lived in a nice place with not many Turkish people. My parents both worked hard, so it was me and my sister having closeness.
- 5. Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**
I liked school but not for the lessons just for my classmates and friends there. The teachers liked me and I was an average student. We used to go swimming a lot with school and on small trips. I used to play the guitar.
- 6. Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**
It was a quiet place with only a few Turks but more Germans. Downtown was far away but we managed with what we had in the neighborhood. There was a garden behind our home and we played there all the time.
- 7. Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**
I was learning how to play the guitar. We came to Turkey in the summer holiday and that was boring because there were too many people. I loved roller skating and horseback riding.
- 8. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**
I was very happy. I felt home.
- 9. What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**
Very good ones. They accepted me as I was and I guess that's because I did not look very different.
- 10. How did they make you feel?**
Comfortable.
- 11. How did you feel about the idea of returning?**
I did not want to return at all
- 12. Were you involved in decision-making?**
No I wasn't.

- 13. How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
My father told us. He just said we had to move back to Turkey because he wanted to live there.
- 14. What did you think/feel about this decision?**
Very depressed. I had to leave everything that I liked behind and go into the unknown.
- 15. What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
My parents were getting a house built so there was always some problem with the repairmen. We would stay at relatives and I had no personal space.
- 16. How do you feel about returning now?**
I am caught in between but still feel resentful that we came back.
- 17. Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
I have really no idea.
- 18. Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
No.
- 19. Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
No.
- 20. Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
Yes.
- 21. How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**
A few times.
- 22. How long after your final return did you go back?**
Ten years after we had come back.
- 23. How did you feel?**
It felt like a foreign place because I did not have new memories there, just childhood memories. The streets felt smaller because I got bigger.
- 24. What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**
I thought that I would feel more comfortable but it felt like I was a tourist in a foreign land but somehow known place.
- 25. What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**
The streets got smaller and other places too.
- 26. How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
Not too bad, I spoke with a heavy accent.
- 27. What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
Playing in the street.
- 28. What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
I hated school and prejudiced people.
- 29. How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I had a very hard time adapting but now Turkey has changed so much that it feels easier to live here. Germany is not my home anymore.
- 30. Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
Prejudice and time wasting activities both in the family and school.
- 31. What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
I drew pictures and wrote in my journal.
- 32. Did you receive any help from other people?**
I went to a psychiatrist a few years later. But there was no help from anyone.
- 33. Who helped you?**
Nobody.

34. **How have you been given help?**
No.
35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**
I wrote a lot and drew a lot.
36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
Yes, all the time.
37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**
I felt home there.
Describe your
38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**
We lived in an ugly building, in an ugly and dirty street. There was nothing fun here even playing in the street sucked after some time. My sister and I got apart because we went to different schools and started to have different lives.
39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**
I tried to belong to a group but did not find one that fit me, so I was in all but really none. School and lessons and teachers were a nightmare and the school uniform was torture.
40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**
It was like a bigger village with too many people and too much dirt. There were many shops around.
41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**
I played volleyball and basketball because I was tall but got fed up with them and did what I liked doing the most and wrote.
42. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**
I absolutely hated it.
43. **How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
I couldn't cope with it.
44. **What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**
Everything was against one here. There was no room to breath and I felt choice-less. The people here were not thinking and if they did it was always for them.
45. **How did these make you feel / think?**
Very, very depressed.
46. **How in time did you adapt?**
I got professional help.
47. **Have you received any help?**
Yes.
48. **From whom have you received help?**
Psychiatrist.
49. **In what form was this help you received?**
Therapy and antidepressants.
50. **What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?**
I should not have come back. It gave me the greatest help and hinderness in life. Once I got over the adaptation problem I started to enjoy being able to see both cultures from a neutral perspective. The language helped me in getting good jobs.

Interviewee Number Thirteen

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Hülya Bayrakci |
| 2. Location | Göztepe-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1972-Frankfurt |
| 4. Gender | Female |
| 5. Marital Status | Single |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate |
| 7. Occupation | Photographer |

Research Questions

1. **When did you return?**

1984

2. **How old were you when you returned?**

12

3. **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from Frankfurt to Istanbul.

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

I have a younger brother, mother and father. We did not have much communication but I loved my brother. We lived in a small flat with not many but a few Turks around. My parents both worked.

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

School was ok. I was not a big fan of school any way. I loved to swim and was good at it. I do not remember having any problems with teachers or classmates.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

We lived close to downtown but there was everything we needed in close reach.

Transportation was never a problem. We had a car anyway but buses were frequent and on time. We used to play in the small playground close to home. It was safe.

7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**

I used to swim all the time and that was my greatest hobby. We would drive to Turkey in the summers and that was a torture. We had to carry so many presents for people here because there was nothing here.

8. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**

I really enjoyed it there and loved to be able to be so free.

9. **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**

Not terribly close ones but we would have normal neighbor relations. There were some old German ladies who used to adore me and my brother so we hung out at their places a lot when we were little.

10. **How did they make you feel?**

Very warm and welcome.

11. **How did you feel about the idea of returning?**

I did not accept it.

12. **Were you involved in decision-making?**

Yeah sure!!!

- 13. How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
My parents told us. My brother was too young to understand anyway and I was not aware of the tremendous change that would mean.
- 14. What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I did not like it.
- 15. What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
A hot place with lots of traffic and so many sweaty people.
- 16. How do you feel about returning now?**
I am still not sure it was a good idea but I guess it is too late now anyway.
- 17. Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
I have no idea but it would probably have been much better than now.
- 18. Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
No.
- 19. Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during your stay in Germany?**
No.
- 20. Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
No.
- 21. How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

- 22. How long after your final return did you go back?**

- 23. How did you feel?**

- 24. What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

- 25. What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

- 26. How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
Not very impressive but I got along just fine.
- 27. What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
I don't remember any pleasures. I did not want to be here and I did not care about anything else. I just wanted to have the life that I was used to back.
- 28. What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
Dirt, crowded places, traffic, confusion and that nothing happened on time and of course the school uniforms.
- 29. How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I like it better now, of course, because Turkey has changed a lot since the early eighties. There are still things that annoy me but I have not given up hope that this place will one day be civilized too.
- 30. Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
The way people view life. There people are more experimental and open. Here people always first reject and then think about it. It is so primitive sometimes.
- 31. What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
I had some close friends who were in the same situation so I shared my desperations with them.
- 32. Did you receive any help from other people?**
Friends.

33. **Who helped you?**

Friends.

34. **How have you been given help?**

We just talked for hours and compared life here and there.

35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**

Talking it off, if that is a mechanism.

36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**

Yes all the time.

37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**

Because I thought that I belonged there.

Describe your

38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**

There was not much difference. We still lived together but my mother did not work anymore. My father had his own business. There was still not much communication.

39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**

I did not have any special people that were close to me. There were some people that came into my life later who I felt close to. I was not a terribly good student.

40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**

There was no place to play at all. There were some shops around but downtown was close.

41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**

I did not swim as much as I used to that was very depressing. We stopped going to relatives because they were coming to us.

42. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**

I hated it for a long time. Then I got used to here.

43. **How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**

I did not and could not cope very much with it. There were too many things I could not understand, so I just gave up.

44. **What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**

So many, where should I start. I think the most important one is the way people do things here. They do it and after that, they think.

45. **How did these make you feel / think?**

They made me feel cold toward this place.

46. **How in time did you adapt?**

It was a big struggle but happened within time.

47. **Have you received any help?**

No.

48. **From whom have you received help?**

None.

49. **In what form was this help you received?**

50. **What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?**

I got a more diverse perspective onto life. There are things that only people who have been raised in two different cultures can understand. It is another dimension onto life.

Interviewee Number Fourteen

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Fatma Eken |
| 2. Location | Vize/Kirklareli |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1971-Wuppertal |
| 4. Gender | Female |
| 5. Marital Status | Married |
| 6. Education | Highschool |
| 7. Occupation | Housewife |

Research Questions

1. **When did you return?**

1985

2. **How old were you when you returned?**

14

3. **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from Wuppertal to Vize, Kirklareli.

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

I have one brother and one sister younger than me so I had to help my mother taking care of them because she was working. We used to live in a very nice place with some other Turkish families around. Our flat was not very big but we got along well. My mother and father worked in a factory.

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

I got along well with everybody in my class but hung out with other Turks because I felt more comfortable with them. My teachers liked me although I was not a terribly bright student. Other than school I did not have much time to play games because I had to help my mother with the housework or look after my siblings. When I did have time, I would play typical children's games or ride the bike.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

There were some Turkish shops around and we used to shop there for traditional food. We would also take the bus downtown and do larger shopping there. I did not have much time for friends but there were some other Turkish girls that I sometimes talked with and hung out at home together.

7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**

We would drive to Turkey in our car and it was serious torture because there were always so many packages we would carry back and fourth. From Turkey we would get food and from Germany gifts of all sorts. There was nothing here at that time that we could find there.

8. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**

Generally speaking, I liked living there and being able to have all the things that were not to be found here. I loved the way things were organized.

9. **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**

I had limited contact to German people, probably just in school. Our family friends were all other Turkish families living close by and I would be friends with their children.

10. **How did they make you feel?**
Nothing special.
11. **How did you feel about the idea of returning?**
It did not matter very much to me but I was a little sad because I had got used to living there.
12. **Were you involved in decision-making?**
No.
13. **How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
Dad just one day said that soon we would be leaving the country and go home. That sounded a bit strange because Germany was the only home I knew of.
14. **What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I had not developed any feeling really.
15. **What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
Many packages to be delivered and hands to be kissed and service to be made.
16. **How do you feel about returning now?**
I think it was a good idea that we came back because God knows what would have happened to us if we had stayed.
17. **Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
I don't think that it would have been very pleasant. We are much better off here because we are somehow richer from all the money we made there.
18. **Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
Yes.
19. **Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
No.
20. **Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
No.
21. **How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

22. **How long after your final return did you go back?**

23. **How did you feel?**

24. **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

25. **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

26. **How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
Pretty good actually, people could easily understand me.
27. **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
I did not have to take care of my siblings anymore because my mother stopped working when we came back.
28. **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
I did not like the school uniforms and there were always so many people that knew me. I live in a small place and felt observed all the time.
29. **How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I did not like it during the summer holidays very much but now I find it warmer and quieter. The people here are more humane and have time for each other. The weather is more pleasant too.

30. Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?

I think, what annoyed me the most was disrespect in general and disrespect to private boundaries. Here, people want to know everything about you and they gossip a lot too. There, everybody used to mind their own business

31. What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?

I did nothing in specific.

32. Did you receive any help from other people?

No.

33. Who helped you?

34. How have you been given help?

35. Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?

I don't remember any. Sometimes I fought with my mother about things that were different here and blamed her for having brought me back but that went away as I got older.

36. Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?

No.

37. Why did you want to go back to Germany?

Describe your

38. Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.

My mother did not work anymore, so that was great. My father started his own coffeehouse and my brother and sister got older, so I had more freedom. We lived in a house with a garden and I loved that.

39. Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.

There is just one highschool here anyway so I went to this one. I squeezed by. Because I was older now, I was not very interested in playing games but more in chatting with my friends. I loved hanging out in the garden or on the small side streets with neighborhood girls.

40. Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.

Vize is a small place anyway and everybody knows each other. It was very different in that sense but I prefer living in a small place. It takes only 2 hours to go to Istanbul and there you can find anything you need, now of course, not in the eighties.

41. Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.

Somehow I seemed to have more free time and enjoyed spending it with friends. We did not travel as a family very much.

42. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?

I had some difficulty understanding the differences but I am a calm and patient person. I just left it to time and all went well.

43. How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?

Some things I still find meaningless but there is not need to try to understand why. Things just are different and one has to find a way to cope with it no matter if you understand it or not.

44. What differences did you observe between these two cultures?

There is the issue of being on time. Gossip is more here than there and of course prejudice towards the unknown.

45. How did these make you feel / think?

I did not feel very happy about them of course but I got used to them within time. What else is there to do?

46. How in time did you adapt?

It just happened. I am not very aware really.

47. Have you received any help?

No.

48. From whom have you received help?

49. In what form was this help you received?

50. What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?

I am more comfortable and less prejudiced than many people who grew up here. I can see things from a more relaxed perspective.

Interviewee Number Fifteen

Identification Questions

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Bora Aydin |
| 2. Location | Feriköy-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1975-Wuppertal |
| 4. Gender | Male |
| 5. Marital Status | Married |
| 6. Education | Highschool |
| 7. Occupation | Tourism |

Research Questions

1. When did you return?

1985

2. How old were you when you returned?

10

3. From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?

We came back from Wuppertal to Istanbul.

Describe your

4. Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.

I have two more brothers. We lived in a nice but rather small place as a family. Both of my parents worked, so we had to do things around the house too. We had good communication but my father was an angry man.

5. Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.

I was a good student and very good at ball games so my teachers and classmates loved me. I was pretty popular actually. I had Turkish and German friends and make no preferences. Other than classes, I was involved in all sorts of sports, especially ball games.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**
There were not many other Turkish families around so I used to hang out with other foreigners and German children. There were not many shops around. There was a forest area and it was cool to hang out there.
7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**
We would do anything physical: riding bike, roller skating, hiking, you name it.
8. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**
I had so much fun there. It was the best years of my life.
9. **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**
Excellent. I knew many things concerning sports and compared to my age range so I was very popular around Germans too.
10. **How did they make you feel?**
Great. I felt welcome and at home there.
11. **How did you feel about the idea of returning?**
I did not like it at first, but then thought it would be another advantage.
12. **Were you involved in decision-making?**
No.
13. **How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
Our mother and father both told us. My older brother was more unhappy than us little ones.
14. **What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I felt sadness to leave Germany but excitement for a new adventure.
15. **What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
We used to come in the holidays and that meant carrying things to here all the time.
16. **How do you feel about returning now?**
I am working here now and have a good job and earn well, so I am glad to be back here.
17. **Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
I might have become a great football player. No just joking. I would go to school and become some sort of service profession employee.
18. **Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
Yes.
19. **Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
No.
20. **Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
No.
21. **How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

22. **How long after your final return did you go back?**

23. **How did you feel?**

24. **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

25. **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

26. **How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
Not really well. People here made a lot of fun but I got used to it easily.

27. **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
Playing football in the street and watching ballgames. The view of the Bosphorus was enchanting.
28. **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
The Turkish people were very disrespectful and had a really bad mouth. There was cursing everywhere.
29. **How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I feel better about it now than I felt then.
30. **Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
That people were more open there than here and friendlier. Here they would judge first and then talk to you.
31. **What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
I played sports and worked out when I got older.
32. **Did you receive any help from other people?**
No.
33. **Who helped you?**

34. **How have you been given help?**

35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**
Nothing in specific. I just did what I always did when I felt overwhelmed with life.
36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
No.
37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**

Describe your

38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**
My family had more time with me. My older brother rebelled and went through a hard time. My mother had more time for us, so that was great and my father continued with his shop keeping job here as he did there.
39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**
The school here was really bad. Uniforms were a nightmare. The teachers were jealous and prejudiced but got to like me within time. Because my brother was a problem maker, I was thought to be the same. I could not do many sports here because there was no opportunity and no time for all that. The lessons were memorization and that did not make much sense.
40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**
It is not the best place to live but we owned the whole building so that was comfortable and it was close to everywhere. I found it very dirty and crowded. My father traveled
41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**
I still played on the streets and in school but much less than I used to. I had less free time here. Life was much harder.
42. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**
I was really disappointed at first but then got used to it within time. .
43. **How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
I stopped trying to understand and decode behavior. Until I discovered that though, I had a very hard time but saw my brother and saw that what he was doing was useless.

44. What differences did you observe between these two cultures?

There people had more time for things other than school but here life was much harder. People were less open-minded here.

45. How did these make you feel / think?

Depressed at first but then I got over it.

46. How in time did you adapt?

I am not very aware, really.

47. Have you received any help?

No.

48. From whom have you received help?

49. In what form was this help you received?

50. What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?

I am a tour guide thanks to knowing German that I got from my education in Germany. I feel relaxed when meeting new people and am not shy with them at all, but I guess that is my character, still Germany helped me to flourish as a child.

Interviewee Number Sixteen

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Mithat Kilic |
| 2. Location | Günesli-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1973-Wuppertal |
| 4. Gender | Male |
| 5. Marital Status | Married |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate |
| 7. Occupation | Engineer |

Research Questions

1. When did you return?

1984

2. How old were you when you returned?

11

3. From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?

We came back from Wuppertal to Istanbul.

Describe your

4. Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.

I am an only child. We lived in a really small place and my parents had a tailor's shop under our flat. Both of my parents worked, but it was right under our flat so they were always there for me. We had good communication. We lived on a main street and there were many shops around but not many other Turks

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

I liked school a lot and was a good student. My relationship with my classmates and teachers was fine. I had Turkish friends too but my friends were mostly German and of other nationalities. I used to ride my bike to school and loved playing football.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

We had contact with a few other Turkish families. There were many shops around because we lived on a main street. Transportation was never a problem. It was easy to go everywhere and we had a car too.

7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**

I used to be an active child, so I was playing a lot. Mostly I stayed after school and played ball in the yard.

8. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**

I really liked it there and was very happy. It was home for me after all.

9. **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**

I had good relationships with the German people around us. Most were either classmates or my parents' customers. They were always nice and friendly to me.

10. **How did they make you feel?**

Nothing different than any other people.

11. **How did you feel about the idea of returning?**

I really objected but there was nothing I could do at that age.

12. **Were you involved in decision-making?**

No.

13. **How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**

My father told me and my mother was there with him.

14. **What did you think/feel about this decision?**

I did not like leaving my homeland.

15. **What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**

We drove in the summer holidays and it was a very long and uncomfortable journey with many difficulties to overcome. We would be loaded with gifts for relatives because there were many things that Turkey did not have at that time.

16. **How do you feel about returning now?**

I have a good life and do the job I like, so I feel happy.

17. **Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**

I still would have had a good education because I was a good student even then.

18. **Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**

No.

19. **Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**

No.

20. **Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**

No.

21. **How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

22. **How long after your final return did you go back?**

23. **How did you feel?**

24. **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

25. **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

26. **How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
It was good actually, although I spoke with a heavy accent.
27. **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
There were so many people here that we knew, which sometimes was a pleasure and sometimes not really. I loved the city, but only when I got older.
28. **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
The streets were way too crowded and people were too close before there was even time to get to know them. Private life was too intermingled.
29. **How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
At first I felt out of place but now I feel home here.
30. **Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
I hated the fact that people had a hard time keeping their promises and things were never carried out as planned.
31. **What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
Nothing in particular. I just felt bad and waited for it to pass.
32. **Did you receive any help from other people?**
No.
33. **Who helped you?**

34. **How have you been given help?**

35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**
Even if I used any I am not aware. I liked reading so I guess that was some sort of an escape.
36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
Yes.
37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**
Because I felt like that was where I belonged.
Describe your
38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**
After we had come back my parents had a tailor's shop here for a while but then they got tired of working and closed the shop. We had some real estate so our income was pretty good. We lived in an ugly neighborhood and it felt so less modern and civilized than back in Germany.
39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**
I had a hard time getting used to the school uniforms. Some things did not make sense to me and punishments were irrational and out of place for the most time. It was difficult to memorize everything, because that was not what I was used to, but I was smart and managed that too. My classmates first called me and a few more people like me 'Almanci, but within time they shut up. The teachers were against me at first but that changed when I proved to be a good student.
40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**
Everything was within reach of walking but that did not mean very much because there was nothing I fancied. Turkey got more modern in that sense in the late the nineties. My father would travel to Germany and bring something if I wanted anything specific.

- 41. Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**
I started not to play sports very much but read more and later I was busy with computers all the time.
- 42. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**
There were many things missing from my life when we returned. I got used to do without them in time, but the first few years were not fun.
- 43. How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
As time proceeded I got used to the mentality here and found it less primitive and stopped derogating but before that I tried to make sense out of senseless things. Here you just learn to accept because it doesn't matter if you don't, nothing changes.
- 44. What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**
There was no system to things here. Everything just seemed to happen by chance or God's will. People thought that Allah would take care of everything and they were helpless creatures when compared to Allah's will. There was also a laid-back attitude because things somehow did work out however stressful for people like me they were anyway. I think that life is in our own hands and we shape it according to our will.
- 45. How did these make you feel / think?**
Hopeless, till one day I stopped bothering and just took it as it came.
- 46. How in time did you adapt?**
I had no other chance.
- 47. Have you received any help?**
No.
- 48. From whom have you received help?**

- 49. In what form was this help you received?**

- 50. What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?**
I think I became a more organized person and gained a deeper perspective to things. Knowing German has always been a great advantage.

Interviewee Number Seventeen

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Gülhan Ozgur |
| 2. Location | Küçükbakkalköy-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1976-Berlin |
| 4. Gender | Female |
| 5. Marital Status | Married |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate |
| 7. Occupation | Business |

Research Questions

1. **When did you return?**

1984

2. **How old were you when you returned?**

8

3. **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from Berlin to Istanbul.

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

I have an older sister. We had good family relations and we were loved as children. Both of my parents worked so my sister took care of me a lot. We lived in a quiet place with not many Turks around. My sister used to take me to the playground a lot.

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

I just went to school for a short time when I was there but I remember it being fun. We used to do many creative things and a lot of playing and learning. There were other Turkish kids too but we were all together all the time as a group with German kids and kids of other nationalities.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

I don't remember that entire time terribly well, but we used to have Turkish families as guests and go to their homes a lot. There was a playground close by and we used to go there often.

7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**

It was mostly playing. I loved music and had a small part in our class orchestra.

8. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**

I was happy in general, a happy child.

9. **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**

That I don't remember very well. People used to treat me nicely and for me there was not much distinction between nationalities.

10. **How did they make you feel?**

Happy.

11. **How did you feel about the idea of returning?**

I had no idea about what was going on. I was told we were going home, like were not already home anyway?

12. **Were you involved in decision-making?**

No.

13. **How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
I think my parents told me and my sister.
14. **What did you think/feel about this decision?**
Not much. It did not mean much to me.
15. **What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
I was really little but I can remember the sea and swimming in hot weather.
16. **How do you feel about returning now?**
I came back when I was young so I made my life here actually. I feel home here now.
17. **Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
I have no idea.
18. **Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
No.
19. **Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
No.
20. **Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
No.
21. **How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

22. **How long after your final return did you go back?**

23. **How did you feel?**

24. **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

25. **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

26. **How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
It was good but my German was better at that point. Then it changed.
27. **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
Everybody was around me all the time. I was little and that was cute so they wanted to carry me around a lot. I did not like that very much.
28. **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
I could not go to the playground anymore because there was none nearby.
29. **How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I felt happy but shaken then, and happy now.
30. **Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
I was not aware of cultural differences then.
31. **What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**

32. **Did you receive any help from other people?**

33. **Who helped you?**

34. **How have you been given help?**

35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**
When I felt sad, I played with my sister or cousins a lot.
36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
No.
37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**

Describe your
38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**
There was not much change other than me being in a way more serious school now. My parents were together than but they got divorced later.
39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**
School was hard for me because it was very different from what I was used to. There was less learning and more sitting and being quiet. The teachers were scary and I did not want to go to school for some time. My classmates laughed at me because of my broken Turkish and I hated the uniform. It was black!!! I did nothing other than going to school.
40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**
We started to live in a very dirty place that's what I thought then. There were too many people around and there was always garbage on the streets.
41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**
We had many visitors at first. We did not travel very much.
42. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**
It was a limiting and boring place for me. I did not like it here at first.
43. **How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
All I know at that age was that I was very young and loved playing and being creative. They took that color away from me and wanted me to be the same with everybody else. I hated that idea.
44. **What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**
I was too young to observe that but I felt more relaxed and creative there. I could express myself the way I wanted to. Here they wanted me to repeat their words. Where was 'I' in their words?
45. **How did these make you feel / think?**
Bored and trapped.
46. **How in time did you adapt?**
I don't know how it happened. It was not a conscious choice.
47. **Have you received any help?**
Yes.
48. **From whom have you received help?**
My sister I guess.
49. **In what form was this help you received?**
She consoled me a lot and played with me when I felt bad.
50. **What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?**
I have forgotten the German that I knew but I guess the only thing left was thinking in a more creative and broad way.

Interviewee Number Eighteen

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Turan Dogu |
| 2. Location | Besiktas-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1975-Götingen |
| 4. Gender | Male |
| 5. Marital Status | Single |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate Degree |
| 7. Occupation | DJ |

Research Questions

1. **When did you return?**

1985

2. **How old were you when you returned?**

10

3. **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from Götingen to Besiktas, Istanbul.

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

There are four people in my family: me, my sister, my father and my mother. We were all peaceful people and had a good communication. We lived in an area with not so many Turkish people but Germans and mostly people of other nationalities. We had good relationships with all of them but were in visiting terms with other Turkish families mostly. It was a quiet neighborhood with much green around and a great playground.

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

I went to a good school. My teachers and classmates were all on good terms with me except this one German kid but he was just a troublemaker anyway. My grades were not excellent but I got by just fine. Other than school, I would ski and make music even then.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

It was not very close to the city centre so we had to take the bus to go there. The buses were very clean and organized and convenient. We had a car anyway so transportation was not much of a problem. There were a few shops around. The streets were clean and wide.

7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**

We went to many places with the school. In the summer holidays we would come to Turkey to visit relatives. I did not like that very much because it was stressful, crowded and very hot. My greatest interest was in music. I was learning how to play a few instruments and really enjoyed that. We also would ride our bikes in the neighborhood.

8. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**

I loved it there. I could pursue my interests and still be a good student. I felt home there.

9. **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**

Pretty healthy ones. We never had a problem with anyone.

10. **How did they make you feel?**

They did not make me feel as if I was different. I was comfortable and could be myself.

- 11. How did you feel about the idea of returning?**
I was not terribly excited about it. We had to come back because of some family issues my father needed to be here. I did not really want to leave Germany.
- 12. Were you involved in decision-making?**
No. It was not like we had any choice anyway.
- 13. How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
My father told me and my sister. He explained the reasons to us.
- 14. What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I was unsure and uncomfortable with it.
- 15. What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
For me it was just an endless and hot journey, many relatives and sun and sea.
- 16. How do you feel about returning now?**
I am not terribly happy even now.
- 17. Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
I would probably still be doing this profession but things would have been easier. Here I had to struggle a lot.
- 18. Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
Yes.
- 19. Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
Not with the ones I knew then but other German people.
- 20. Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
Not to my hometown but other places in Germany.
- 21. How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

- 22. How long after your final return did you go back?**

- 23. How did you feel?**

- 24. What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

- 25. What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

- 26. How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
Not well at all because I would not hang out with many Turkish people other than some family friends and kids would speak German among us.
- 27. What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
There were no pleasures really. I did not understand the reasons behind many rules and traditions. I had not been exposed to them in Germany. When I came back there were so many rules I had to obey and traditions we had to observe. All that was just tiring and useless to be and it was limiting my freedom because I mostly did not want to do anything they told me to do.
- 28. What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
Everything was a frustration. Especially that they tried to put me into a form they wanted me to be. I had to do things I did not believe in, like treating people with respect and obeying them just because they were old. And the worst, it did not matter if they were bad people or if I was right or not. They were old and deserved respect that was it. They did not earn my

respect! They were not with us in Germany and life was much easier then. They wanted me to behave in a way that was against my personality and to pretend. All seemed like living a lie.

29. How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?

I am still not very happy and wish we had at least dual citizenship. That would make my life much easier.

30. Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?

That the society did not allow room for individuality. It was very depressing that I was not accepted as myself. I had to be as they wanted me to be otherwise they would talk behind my back. It was disgusting and I never complied.

31. What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?

I played music.

32. Did you receive any help from other people?

No. I coped with it myself. It was hard at puberty but then things just were as they were and there was not much to do to change them.

33. Who helped you?

Nobody.

34. How have you been given help?

None given.

35. Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?

I escaped into my music.

36. Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?

Yes all the time.

37. Why did you want to go back to Germany?

Because I was much more comfortable there. People accepted me as I was and the system did not force me to change.

Describe your

38. Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.

We were still four people but my father was away a lot for some time dealing with family estate issues. Nothing changed except that my mother had more time for us.

39. Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.

I absolutely hated school and everything around it especially the school uniform. The music classes were a big disappointment because there were no instruments and there was no room for creativity. My music teacher killed my creativity. There was no time to do anything except memorizing useless knowledge. The teachers hated me because I would question them a lot and behave rebellious. I hated every day of my highschool life because of all those people that treated me badly just because I would not let them shape me. Their punishments, both physical and psychological, hurt my pride as a young adult.

40. Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.

There was nothing I could do here that I used to do in Germany. It took me a very long time to find friends and other people like me. It was a hassle to go somewhere with public transportation because they were never on time and I hated to touch the bars.

41. Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.

We did not have a reason to travel very much anymore but would go to my father's hometown in the summer holidays for some time.

42. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?

They were completely negative. Life was limiting and frustrating here.

- 43. How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
 I rebelled for a long time and did not allow them to mold me. I suffered a lot from that and learned just not to voice my objections anymore. I appeared to do what they wanted me to but did not change my style or my thoughts.
- 44. What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**
 There was a lot of standardization in behavior here but no standard to systems that really matter. They tried to subdue what was different and did not allow for room of expression. It was considered to cross legs when sitting together with older people. Whenever I did something that was ‘culturally inappropriate’ I felt restrained for being I. There was senseless punishment in school and narrow minded people were ruling everything.
- 45. How did these make you feel / think?**
 I felt very disappointed and trapped.
- 46. How in time did you adapt?**
 At first I rebelled but then I was the one that got hurt. So, I conducted my rebellion secretly. I appeared to have adapted but still haven’t really.
- 47. Have you received any help?**
 No.
- 48. From whom have you received help?**

- 49. In what form was this help you received?**

- 50. What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?**
 It made me a more creative person and I think that made me successful. It changed my perspective onto things. I have gained wisdom from the hardships I can make my music remembering the terrible times I experienced here.

Interviewee Nineteen

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Kemal Ege |
| 2. Location | Beylerbeyi-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1973-Hamburg |
| 4. Gender | Male |
| 5. Marital Status | Married |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate |
| 7. Occupation | Business owner |

Research Questions

- When did you return?**
1985
- How old were you when you returned?**
12
- From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**
We came back from Hamburg to Istanbul.
Describe your
- Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**
I was an only child. My mother and father were working. I spent more time in the kindergarten than I did with my parents. They were busy all the time I had fun at the kindergarten. I had friends so I would visit them a lot and they would come over to my house.
- Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**
School was fun and I liked being out of the house. My classes were pretty good. I never had any problems with teachers or classmates. I had more German friends and of other nationalities than Turkish.
- Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**
There were not many Turkish people where we lived. The flat was nice and our neighbors were friendly. We would play outdoors a lot. I would go home only to eat and sleep, so to say.
- Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**
In the summers our destination was Turkey but we sometimes traveled in Europe as well. I would go swimming a lot and played games
- What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**
I was extremely happy there.
- What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**
Very good relationships. I felt like one of them. I did not know that distinction then.
- How did they make you feel?**
Very welcome.
- How did you feel about the idea of returning?**
I hated that idea.
- Were you involved in decision-making?**
No.
- How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
My father told me.

14. **What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I hated it.
15. **What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
Just the relatives and sea and the heat.
16. **How do you feel about returning now?**
I am not thrilled but ok with it now. It has been so many years.
17. **Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
No.
18. **Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
No.
19. **Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
No.
20. **Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
No.
21. **How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

22. **How long after your final return did you go back?**

23. **How did you feel?**

24. **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

25. **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

26. **How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
Not very good.
27. **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
Being with relatives that I saw rarely and having so many cousins.
28. **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
That we had to stay here forever. I thought we would go back after some time.
29. **How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I slowly got used to it, but still fail to understand some things.
30. **Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
People were rude and would be too close. There was too much dirt and too many people around. They would not listen to children over here.
31. **What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
Nothing.
32. **Did you receive any help from other people?**
No.
33. **Who helped you?**

34. **How have you been given help?**

35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**
I guess, I just rebelled and then achieved nothing and sat back down.
36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
Yes, very much.

37. Why did you want to go back to Germany?

It was my home.

Describe your

38. Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.

We were more together and I was not used to that. I started to get to know my parents better and I did not like what I saw. In Germany, I would not see them that much but when we came back we were in the same place way too much. It is the end of a dream to see what your parents are really like.

39. Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.

I was called 'Almanci' because I was different and they did not understand me. I was alone for most of my school years. Teachers were way too hard and the lessons were senseless.

40. Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.

It was more crowded and less green and there were always so many neighbors in our house. As I got to know the kids in the street, I spent more time playing games.

41. Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.

I could not go swimming anymore and that made me feel depressed. Other than that I was a very active child anyway and started to do rock climbing when I got older.

42. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?

I did not like it here at first.

43. How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?

I could not understand so I rebelled quietly after some time.

44. What differences did you observe between these two cultures?

There was zero tolerance here and people did not listen to anyone.

45. How did these make you feel / think?

It drove me crazy.

46. How in time did you adapt?

I rebelled a lot but within time that changed too.

47. Have you received any help?

No.

48. From whom have you received help?

49. In what form was this help you received?

50. Have you ever benefited in any way from having lived in Germany?

I am what I am thanks to what I have lived there and the way I was educated. I can see things from 2 perspectives and that makes my life richer.

Interviewee Number Twenty

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Meltem Kaya |
| 2. Location | Ümraniye-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1977-Munich |
| 4. Gender | Female |
| 5. Marital Status | Married |
| 6. Education | Highschool |
| 7. Occupation | Housewife |

Research Questions

1. **When did you return?**

1988

2. **How old were you when you returned?**

11

3. **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from Munich to Ümraniye, Istanbul.

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

I have two younger sisters. My parents were working very hard so we all were in a kindergarten. We used to be taken there in the morning and would be picked up in the evening when our mother came back from work. My father was an unhappy man and had stomach problems related to stress which disappeared when we returned. We lived in a small neighborhood close to downtown.

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

I liked school but was never a great student. I liked the kindergarten more. There was always something to do and we had a lot of fun. I never had any problems with German people or other foreigners but we were closer to some other Turkish families. My teachers were nice and supportive and I never encountered any problems with my classmates either.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

I had a lot of friends in the kindergarten because most of my time was spent there. There were some shops in our neighborhood and transportation was never a problem.

7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**

The school used to take us to trips around the close by area. My hobbies were playing, riding my bike and roller-skating.

8. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**

I was very happy there because there was always something to do and I felt comfortable.

9. **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**

Very good ones. We were playing together. Our German neighbors were nice people too.

10. **How did they make you feel?**

Comfortable.

11. **How did you feel about the idea of returning?**

I felt nothing really, because I did not know what was waiting for me there.

12. **Were you involved in decision-making?**

No.

13. **How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
My parents told us. They made us sit down and explained why.
14. **What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I was uncomfortable with it.
15. **What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
It was just a holiday spot for me. It took long to get there on the bus but even flying was not much fun.
16. **How do you feel about returning now?**
Yes, I feel glad that we returned.
17. **Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
I have no idea.
18. **Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
No.
19. **Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
No.
20. **Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
No.
21. **How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

22. **How long after your final return did you go back?**

23. **How did you feel?**

24. **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

25. **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

26. **How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
It was not very easy to understand me because I spoke with an accent but that changed after a short time.
27. **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
Being with the greater family was fun.
28. **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
I could not busy myself with creative games and activities. I was bored here and many games I loved were not available here.
29. **How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I am glad that we came back after all we heard about what happened to the ones that stayed.
30. **Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
That there was no room for freedom was very annoying. Another thing is that people did not even know and had already an idea about me. It was obvious in the way they approached me. They excluded me because I did not act the way they were used to.
31. **What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
I talked to my mother.
32. **Did you receive any help from other people?**
Yes some.
33. **Who helped you?**
My mother.

34. **How have you been given help?**
She would console me and talk me through my problems as good as she could.
35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**
I escaped into my music.
36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
Yes, for some time.
37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**
I felt happier there and had more fun.
Describe your
38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**
We came back to a really bad neighborhood and I was really depressed. We did not do much outdoors anymore and there was nothing to do in the house either. My father opened a store but mom was at home and that was good.
39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**
At first I had great difficulties because of my accent. I was called 'Almanci' and I hated that. The teachers treated me differently and I was very unhappy with that. Naturally, I was not a very good student but then things slowly started to change.
40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**
There was not much around us, just a small store here and there. The things I was used to in Germany could not be found here and that annoyed me a lot. Traveling somewhere in the city was a nightmare anyway.
41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**
I watched TV a lot and would sit with my mother's neighbors. That was the only thing to do.
42. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**
I had very bad feelings for this place initially.
43. **How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
I accepted it with passivity. There was nothing I could do, so I just boiled inside but did nothing about it.
44. **What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**
The way people behaved did not make much sense. There was a lot of lying and cheating going on. People tried to trick each other and would not do decent jobs. There was not much for children to help them learn and have fun.
45. **How did these make you feel / think?**
Unhappy.
46. **How in time did you adapt?**
It just happened within time.
47. **Have you received any help?**
Yes, informally.
48. **From whom have you received help?**
My mother.
49. **In what form was this help you received?**
Just talking.
50. **What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?**
I can think differently and I can educate my child the way I was educated in Germany. Yes, I gained a deeper understanding of two totally different cultures and that made me richer.

Interviewee Number Twenty-one

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Turgay Doganlar |
| 2. Location | Sariyer-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1974-Gelsenkirchen |
| 4. Gender | Male |
| 5. Marital Status | Single |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate |
| 7. Occupation | Actor |

Research Questions

1. **When did you return?**

1984

2. **How old were you when you returned?**

10

3. **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from Gelsenkirchen to Sariyer, Istanbul.

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

I was the youngest in the family and there was a huge age difference between me and my parents. We all five siblings lived together. We were very close as a family. Two of my sisters were not always with us. I was not so close to my parents. They belonged to a different generation. We lived in the centre with many Turks around. There were some Germans in our street too. It was fun to play on the street. There was no park around. The street had many other nationalities too. There were Turkish shops too.

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

I never had a problem at school. My friends were mostly German. There were not many Turks in school. I never thought about was I was but felt different. My lessons were good, I liked school. There was Turkish too, two hours a week.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

There were some Turkish shops around, but no playground. .

7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**

The school used to take us to trips around the close by area. My hobbies were playing, riding my bike and roller-skating.

8. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**

I felt like I belonged there.

9. **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**

We were in very good terms with German kids.

10. **How did they make you feel?**

Very good.

11. **How did you feel about the idea of returning?**

I did not think anything. I was here for the holidays a few times.

12. **Were you involved in decision-making?**

My father had a problem with his passport and he had to come back so we returned, me and my mother, the rest stayed there. No, I have not been asked.

- 13. How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
As I said above.
- 14. What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I was not aware of the situation until a year later.
- 15. What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
The village and people in Istanbul. Bees and my grandmother
- 16. How do you feel about returning now?**
I am glad that we came back, but also glad that I could go there again.
- 17. Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
I would not have found out about the Turkish culture. I don't know what would have happened of me. I would be more German and one dimensional.
- 18. Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
Yes, my sister and many friends.
- 19. Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
Yes.
- 20. Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
No, but to a neighborhood town. It was very close.
- 21. How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**
Many times.
- 22. How long after your final return did you go back?**
6 years later.
- 23. How did you feel?**
It felt like something I had wanted had happened. My German was not as good after 6 years. I started missing Istanbul.
- 24. What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**
How much I had missed it and how my wish had come true.
- 25. What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

- 26. How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
I spoke with a heavy accent. I could speak slowly and clearly but could express myself.
- 27. What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
Nothing really. I lost too much to be happy with what was here because to me, there was nothing here.
- 28. What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
I knew all would not be excellent here but I wasn't expecting some things. Human relationships were so different. People would be nice to me and then talk about me. I believed in their sincerity but then got hurt when I heard what they said about me. I think it was because of jealousy. In Germany everybody would just mind their own business.
- 29. How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I am glad that we came back after all we heard about what happened to the ones that stayed.
- 30. Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
That there was no room for freedom was very annoying and people were cold.
- 31. What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
I talked to other people like me.
- 32. Did you receive any help from other people?**
No.

33. **Who helped you?**

34. **How have you been given help?**

35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**

36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
Yes always.
37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**
The education there was better for me and there were great memories.
Describe your
38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**
There were just three of us left here. My father went back after a year. I stayed with my mother. I did not go out on the street very much. It was a great place where I lived. I did not have any friends in the neighborhood but friends from school.
39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**
My school was at the Bosphorus and that was very beautiful. There was too much memorization. The educational system was very bad. Freedom was very important to me and that was taken away from me.
40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**
It was a beautiful place, under protection. The place was very nice.
41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**
My hobbies went on, some of them. I started theatre here.
42. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**
People were too one-sided and primitive in the way they thought.
43. **How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
I just observed it. I think that that is necessary too. I just continued the way I was and let them be.
44. **What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**
The approach to freedom and liberal thinking. People are warmer there and other things like that.
45. **How did these make you feel / think?**

46. **How in time did you adapt?**
There were different stages. I was happy at first but then felt really depressed and helpless.
47. **Have you received any help?**
No.
48. **From whom have you received help?**

49. **In what form was this help you received?**

50. **What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?**
I am thinking two dimensionally. I can analyze both cultures and understand and criticize both. The differences made me stronger. I can still go back and forth and am richer and deeper.

Interviewee Number Twenty-two

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Fikret Seyhan |
| 2. Location | Bakirköy-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1973-Stuttgart |
| 4. Gender | Male |
| 5. Marital Status | Married |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate |
| 7. Occupation | German Teacher |

Research Questions

1. **When did you return?**

1984

2. **How old were you when you returned?**

11

3. **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from Stuttgart to Bakirköy, Istanbul.

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

There were four people in my family, my parents and my older brother. We lived in a street with no traffic and there were mostly German people, but also people of other nationalities. We were close enough as a family.

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

School was fun for me and I was not a bad student. I never had a problem with my teachers or classmates. I used to walk to school. I learned playing chess and would play chess with friends.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

There were not many shops around and we bought everything from downtown which was easily reachable by car or bus. We used to play in the street a lot. There were many kids and we had a group of four who would always hang out together.

7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**

Playing chess and playing games on the street. We came to Turkey every other summer.

8. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**

I had a really happy childhood there and was very comfortable.

9. **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**

Normal ones.

10. **How did they make you feel?**

Not different at all.

11. **How did you feel about the idea of returning?**

I thought it would be fun and a new excitement.

12. **Were you involved in decision-making?**

No.

13. **How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**

My father told me and my brother.

14. **What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I felt excited about it.
15. **What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
The sea and good food.
16. **How do you feel about returning now?**
Now I am happy to be here.
17. **Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
I have no idea.
18. **Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
No.
19. **Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
No.
20. **Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
No.
21. **How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

22. **How long after your final return did you go back?**

23. **How did you feel?**

24. **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

25. **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

26. **How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
People could understand me and I thought it was great but some laughed when I talked and that felt uncomfortable.
27. **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
Nothing. I could not find anything to entertain me.
28. **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
I loved that everything was so different and new.
29. **How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
When I realized that it was not a fun experience to have come back, I felt trapped.
30. **Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
I hated it that people made fun of me and looked at everything from only one dimension.
31. **What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
I talked to other people like me.
32. **Did you receive any help from other people?**
No.
33. **Who helped you?**

34. **How have you been given help?**

35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**

36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
Yes always.

37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**
I remembered my beautiful childhood days there and how much fun I had and how much easier life was.
Describe your
38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**
My father traveled back and forth but we stayed. The place we lived in was bigger than our place there and I had a huge room.
39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**
The school was depressing and there were rules and punishment I did not understand. There was memorization and I hated it. The school uniform felt uncomfortable. The teachers did not care about me in person and my classmates were not that fun either.
40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**
There is not much to say about here. It was a dirty street and there were too many people. The noise was terrible and the buses never on time. I still hate the minibuses.
41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**
It took a long time before I found someone to play chess with me. We went to our village every summer until I grew older. I stopped playing on the street because I had not made friends.
42. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**
It was one big disappointment. I felt alone and out of place.
43. **How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
There was not much to do. I felt helpless and just left things to time. I could not understand why things were the way they were.
44. **What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**
Nothing was organized here and all happened just due to some coincidence. The people were rough and intolerant. The people gave me a hard time with their prejudice.
45. **How did these make you feel / think?**
Very depressed.
46. **How in time did you adapt?**
It just happened.
47. **Have you received any help?**
No.
48. **From whom have you received help?**

49. **In what form was this help you received?**

50. **Have you ever benefited in any way from having lived in Germany?**
I know German and that is great for my job. I can see both cultures with a clear view. I can think deeper and understand more aspects of things. Everything started to make sense when I got older and wiser.

Interviewee Number Twenty-three

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Selçuk Ozkan |
| 2. Location | Erenköy-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1975-Munich |
| 4. Gender | Male |
| 5. Marital Status | Married |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate |
| 7. Occupation | German Teacher |

Research Questions

1. **When did you return?**

1985

2. **How old were you when you returned?**

10

3. **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from Munich to Erenköy-Istanbul.

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

I do not have any brothers or sisters. My parents used to work and I would be in school or the kindergarten for most of my time. We were close as a family but did not talk very much about anything. I was a happy child and my parents showed me affection. We lived in a cue de sac and that was great for playing games. I had many friends in that street, German and of other nationalities.

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

School was fun and I was an average student. There were many creative activities in the kindergarten that I loved to be part of. I never had any problems with any teacher or classmate. I loved roller-skating, riding my bike and playing football.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

It was a very quiet street with many old people. Downtown was close by and it was also easy to find everything we needed around us. There were buses and we had a car. We used the street as our playground.

7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**

Mostly I would play in all my free time or ride my bike. We used to travel to Turkey in some summers.

8. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**

I felt happy there and felt at home.

9. **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**

Good ones. I don't remember having had any problem.

10. **How did they make you feel?**

Good and not different at all.

11. **How did you feel about the idea of returning?**

At first I objected but then I got excited about it.

12. **Were you involved in decision-making?**
No.
13. **How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
My mother told me one Sunday.
14. **What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I was curious about Turkey in general anyway.
15. **What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
There were always many people that visited us when we came back here. I remember loads of presents.
16. **How do you feel about returning now?**
I am glad that we came back.
17. **Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
I would not have gone to gymnasium and probably be somebody working in the service sector.
18. **Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
No.
19. **Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during your stay in Germany?**
No.
20. **Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
No.
21. **How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

22. **How long after your final return did you go back?**

23. **How did you feel?**

24. **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

25. **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

26. **How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
I thought it was great but people could sometimes not understand me and made fun of my accent.
27. **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
Being with a greater family was fun and having so much attention.
28. **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
The heat was unusual. There was no more playing on the street and people were sometimes too touchy.
29. **How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I was disappointed when we first came back but I am happy here now.
30. **Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
That people wanted to know everything and that they would have definite opinions and not much tolerance.
31. **What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
Nothing, I read a lot at that time.

32. **Did you receive any help from other people?**

No.

33. **Who helped you?**

34. **How have you been given help?**

35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**

36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**

For a few years after our return, yes.

37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**

I felt home there but not here.

Describe your

38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**

We started to live in Erenköy which was a nice place. It was very modern and I liked our apartment. We were still with my mother but my father had left and my parents got divorced. We got closer with my mother. She did not work anymore.

39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**

I went to a nice school and never had any problems with anyone. At first, some kids made fun of my accent but that stopped after some time because I learned fast. I hated school uniforms and some ridiculous disrespectful treatment by some teachers. There was a lot of memorization and I had a hard time with that.

40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**

There were many shops around and we were closed to the main street. I could not play on the street very much anymore because I had no friends, and the kids on the street were jealous of things I had like my bike. I had some hard time getting used to our new neighborhood.

41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**

I started staying at home more and reading more. We would go to my grandmother's house in the summers with my mother or my father would take me somewhere.

42. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**

It was very hard at first and I was disappointed but then all worked out fine.

43. **How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**

It wasn't easy. I was looking for sense in everything but there was none in some.

Memorization took me a long time to get used to and the way people are too close when they talk to you.

44. **What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**

There was no organization in many things. Some things did not have an obvious reason but just happened or I did not understand them, I still don't understand.

45. **How did these make you feel / think?**

Depressed and helpless.

46. **How in time did you adapt?**

It just happened.

47. **Have you received any help?**

No.

48. **From whom have you received help?**

49. **In what form was this help you received?**

50. **What effects do you think being raised and educated and having lived in Germany have on your life today?**

I can see both cultures on an equal basis. I can evaluate things from different perspectives, from the German side and the Turkish side. Sometimes I would get depressed about why things did not work out in an organized way as they do in Germany, but then I remember the nice things about Turkey that can't exist in Germany. They are just two different countries and I have come to learn to take pleasure in both. I can understand the West, and I am what I am today thanks to being brought up in Germany and having returned to Turkey at such a critical time in my life.

Interviewee Number Twenty-four

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Serap Antay |
| 2. Location | Küçükçekmece-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1978-Gelsenkirchen |
| 4. Gender | Female |
| 5. Marital Status | Married |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate |
| 7. Occupation | Teacher |

Research Questions

1. **When did you return?**

1988

2. **How old were you when you returned?**

10

3. **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from Gelsenkirchen to Küçükçekmece, Istanbul.

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

I have three younger sisters. My parents both worked in a factory. My younger sisters were my responsibility most of the time, but would share it with my aunt who came for extended periods to visit us. We all were living in a small apartment. It was close to the city centre.

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

I did well in school and never had any problems with classmates or teachers but my younger sister did because she was a rebel. I did not have time for much because of taking care of my younger siblings but would watch TV when I could.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

It was a nice street we lived on. I had Italian and Yugoslavian friends. We used to play in the nearby playground with them and my younger sisters. My father had a car so we would always go somewhere.

7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**
Some summers we would come to Turkey with many gifts. The village we went to was small and not very developed. I rode my bike when I could and collected stamps.
8. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**
I liked it and was very comfortable there.
9. **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**
I did not have many relationships with them but generally I never had any problems either.
10. **How did they make you feel?**
Ok.
11. **How did you feel about the idea of returning?**
It did not matter to me at first because I did not understand what that meant.
12. **Were you involved in decision-making?**
No.
13. **How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
My mother told us.
14. **What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I did not understand what it meant.
15. **What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
The village and many people, primitive lives and cows.
16. **How do you feel about returning now?**
I think I would have been better off if I had stayed.
17. **Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
No.
18. **Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
No.
19. **Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
No.
20. **Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
No.
21. **How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

22. **How long after your final return did you go back?**

23. **How did you feel?**

24. **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

25. **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

26. **How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
Pretty good I would think.
27. **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
My mother stopped working so I had more free time. I liked to be with my relatives.
28. **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
We lived in a more primitive place and that was not fun. There was nothing that I was used to. I could not find any of the sweets I liked or any magazines. Thanks to God I had brought my

games with me because there were no games to be bought and even if they were three times the price in Germany.

29. How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?

I was disappointed than but now I feel ok about it.

30. Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?

That there was nothing here and this place was not developed at all then.

31. What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?

I did nothing.

32. Did you receive any help from other people?

No.

33. Who helped you?

34. How have you been given help?

35. Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?

36. Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?

Yes.

37. Why did you want to go back to Germany?

Because it was more developed and comfortable.

Describe your

38. Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.

We lived in a bigger place but there was nothing there. There were not shops and nothing I was used to in Germany. I did not like the place. My mother did not work, so we spent more time together.

39. Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.

It was a long commute to school. School was hard for me because I was not very interested in studying when I came back. The systems of memorization did just not make sense. I had bad grades and bad relationships with my classmates and teachers. There was nothing to do other than studying for school.

40. Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.

We played in the street all the time. It took a long time to go somewhere. We had friends from the neighborhood.

41. Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.

In the summers we went to my grandparents' village and stayed there for the whole summer. I could not collect stamps anymore because I had no access to any.

42. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?

I found it primitive and did not like it here.

43. How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?

I tried to understand and when that failed I rebelled and that failed so I just learned to accept.

44. What differences did you observe between these two cultures?

People were envious and they talked a lot about each other. There was no basis to many actions.

45. How did these make you feel / think?

I hated it because of these.

46. How in time did you adapt?

I had no other choice.

47. **Have you received any help?**

No.

48. **From whom have you received help?**

49. **In what form was this help you received?**

50. **Have you ever benefited in any way from having lived in Germany?**

Yes, I have a more relaxed approach to life; know German and can raise my children the same way so they are able to see life deeper. After I have stopped to choose the better side, I just accepted both sides and that's how I got more relaxed and got a better insight into things.

Interviewee Number Twenty-five

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Ali Dursun |
| 2. Location | Kadiköy-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1979-Heilbronn |
| 4. Gender | Male |
| 5. Marital Status | Married |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate |
| 7. Occupation | Shop Owner |

Research Questions

1. **When did you return?**

1988

2. **How old were you when you returned?**

9

3. **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from Heilbronn to Kadiköy.

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

I have a sister who is younger than me. My father worked but my mother was at home. We lived in a neighborhood with some other Turkish people but mostly Germans. We were a happy family.

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

I was an average student who was very active in PE and in the breaks. I could run as much as I wanted to. They chose me to be in the athleticism team for youngsters. I was happy at school.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

There was a Turkish shop we used to shop from a lot and other little shops owned by Turks. It was not a problem to get anywhere because of the bus system. We would play on the street or in the nearby park.

7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**
Running mostly and training. I loved playing detective games too.
8. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**
9. **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**
Very good ones.
10. **How did they make you feel?**
Very nice.
11. **How did you feel about the idea of returning?**
I did not like it at all.
12. **Were you involved in decision-making?**
No.
13. **How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
My father told us.
14. **What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I was not happy about it at all, because it meant that I would have to change things and I don't like changes very much.
15. **What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
Just sea and sun and relatives and a long journey.
16. **How do you feel about returning now?**
I am happy to be here.
17. **Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
No.
18. **Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
Some.
19. **Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
Not many.
20. **Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
Yes.
21. **How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**
Once.
22. **How long after your final return did you go back?**
Fifteen years later.
23. **How did you feel?**
Strange. It was like I was back home, but did not belong there anymore.
24. **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**
How little it had changed in so many years.
25. **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

26. **How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
Not very good.
27. **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
Being able to play in the street and having so many admirers around me.
28. **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
That everybody always wanted something from me. Also the streets were very dirty.
29. **How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I got used to things here and learned how to survive in this jungle.

30. **Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
That people were so greedy and selfish.
31. **What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
I ran as fast as I could.
32. **Did you receive any help from other people?**
No.
33. **Who helped you?**

34. **How have you been given help?**

35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**

36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
Yes.
37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**
Because I was treated better there. They let me be what I wanted to be not what they wanted me to be.
Describe your
38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**
We lived close to Kadiköy. It was convenient and we could also play on the street.
39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**
I was not a good student at first but once I got adapted to the way things were here I became popular among teachers and students too. I continued to do sports but different ones.
40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**
There were many small shops where we lived and it was easy to go anywhere from Kadiköy. I got some friends later in the street but my school friends were closer.
41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**
Playing football and basketball. We would go to the sea in the summers.
42. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**
I hated it at first but then loved it here.
43. **How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
I tried to fight it but then bend down and accepted it to some extend.
44. **What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**
The people here were harder on you. They would be very negative and did not encourage the weak ones. Life was harder here.
45. **How did these make you feel / think?**
Negative and depressed.
46. **How in time did you adapt?**
I had no other choice.
47. **Have you received any help?**
No.
48. **From whom have you received help?**

49. **In what form was this help you received?**

50. **Have you ever benefited in any way from having lived in Germany?**
In every sense of the word. I am very active and courageous. I can express myself comfortably and thoroughly. I can speak languages and do business with Germany.

Interviewee Number Twenty-six

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Burcu Erkan |
| 2. Location | Ataköy-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1976-Göteborg |
| 4. Gender | Female |
| 5. Marital Status | Single |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate |
| 7. Occupation | Tourism |

Research Questions

- 1. When did you return?**
1988
- 2. How old were you when you returned?**
12
- 3. From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**
We came back from Göteborg to Bahcelievler.
Describe your
- 4. Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**
I was an only child. I went to kindergarten since I was three and after school when I started school. It was fun there. My parents were both working and my family was an ordinary one.
- 5. Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**
It was great fun to be in the kindergarten and very educational. We used to play lots of games and do arts and crafts there. I had great relationships with all German and foreign kids. The teachers liked me. I was the only Turk in kindergarten and one of the two in school. Other than school, we would play in the huge playground across the kindergarten and be busy collecting all sorts of forest things.
- 6. Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**
There were not many shops where we lived but the street was perfect to play games. There was a huge garden behind our house. It was easy to go anywhere. The buses were perfect.
- 7. Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**
I played a lot indoors and outdoors. We would invent games and play them with my Italian and Spanish friends. In the summers we flew to Turkey and came by bus a few times. That was a nightmare. I collected leaves and berries.
- 8. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**
I felt at home there.

- 9. What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**
Perfect ones. I was not very close with anyone but as close as I could get. I had more German friends than Turks.
- 10. How did they make you feel?**
They did not make me feel any different.
- 11. How did you feel about the idea of returning?**
I was skeptic about it not very happy but more careful.
- 12. Were you involved in decision-making?**
No.
- 13. How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
My father told me.
- 14. What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I did not like it initially and thought there was a strange reason behind it.
- 15. What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
Hot weather, gifts, relatives and a lot of sweating.
- 16. How do you feel about returning now?**
I am glad to be back.
- 17. Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
No.
- 18. Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
No.
- 19. Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
No.
- 20. Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
No.
- 21. How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

- 22. How long after your final return did you go back?**

- 23. How did you feel?**

- 24. What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

- 25. What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

- 26. How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
It was not very well actually and people made fun of me.
- 27. What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
Nothing.
- 28. What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
Everything. I hated the hot weather and crowded streets. The many relatives were suffocating me and the harshness of people. I was trying to be molded into something I was not.
- 29. How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
Now I am happy to be here, because this place is alive.
- 30. Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
There people had more room for personal expression and they were freer in what to wear and to say and so on. Here was a lot of prejudice and gossip.

31. **What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
I cried.
32. **Did you receive any help from other people?**
No.
33. **Who helped you?**

34. **How have you been given help?**

35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**

36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
Yes.
37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**
Because I was at home there.
Describe your
38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**
We started to live in a smaller flat with way too much furniture. We lived in a crowded street and there was a lot of noise. My mother and father stopped working and we were together way too much.
39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**
The school I went to was horrible and I hated the school uniform. I had no friends for a long time and hated everything about my school. I rebelled a lot and got punished a lot too. Life was hell. There was nothing to do and most my time was spent on the road.
40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**
I could not play on the street anymore because I did not know anybody. I was very alone all of a sudden. There were more shops and I would be sent out to get small things and I hated that. People laughed at me when I spoke.
41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**
I would watch TV and read a lot. We did not travel anymore and I did not have the opportunity to continue my leaf collection because there were no trees.
42. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**
I absolutely hated it.
43. **How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
I could not cope with it but rebelled and when that failed, I passively had to accept things but still I feel uncomfortable about many things.
44. **What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**
The people here were very judgmental, put their noses into other people's private lives. There was too much talk and not enough objections. People were passive in action but active in talking.
45. **How did these make you feel / think?**
They made me feel very depressed. I hated this place for a very long time.
46. **How in time did you adapt?**
It just happened and that was a very hard process.
47. **Have you received any help?**
No.
48. **From whom have you received help?**

49. **In what form was this help you received?**

50. **Have you ever benefited in any way from having lived in Germany?**

I can speak languages comfortably and I can see everything from a deeper perspective. I think it has made me able to see both cultures more or less critically. I perceive things with the western and the eastern side of my brain.

Interviewee Number Twenty-seven

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Melih Saglam |
| 2. Location | Avcilar-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1978-Berlin |
| 4. Gender | Male |
| 5. Marital Status | Single |
| 6. Education | Highschool |
| 7. Occupation | Business owner |

Research Questions

1. **When did you return?**

1988

2. **How old were you when you returned?**

10

3. **From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**

We came back from Berlin to Avcilar.

Describe your

4. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**

I have a younger brother. We lived in a place with many Turkish people so I did not have much contact with many Germans except school. We lived in a pretty closed community. The apartment was small but enough for us.

5. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**

I did not like school very much. There were many Turks and we used to hang out together. The German kids did not treat us terribly well all the time. I did nothing other than school.

6. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**

There were Turks and of course Turkish shops. The Germans that were there did get along well with us. There was no problem going anywhere because transportation was never a problem.

7. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**

We went to Turkey to our village every other summer. I watched very much TV.

8. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**

I was not crazy about it at all but that was the place I called home.

9. **What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**

Not terribly pleasant ones. I stayed away from them.

10. **How did they make you feel?**
Unwanted.
11. **How did you feel about the idea of returning?**
I felt happy about it.
12. **Were you involved in decision-making?**
No.
13. **How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
My mother told us.
14. **What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I was happy because I thought it would be better than being an outsider there.
15. **What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
The village, relatives, presents.
16. **How do you feel about returning now?**
I am glad that we are back.
17. **Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
No.
18. **Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
Yes.
19. **Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
No.
20. **Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
No.
21. **How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

22. **How long after your final return did you go back?**

23. **How did you feel?**

24. **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

25. **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

26. **How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
Pretty good. I never had any problems with expressing myself or being understood.
27. **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
Being where I felt I belonged.
28. **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
Being called 'Almanci'.
29. **How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I was disappointed because I thought I would feel more comfortable. Now I am comfortable.
30. **Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
Nothing really but maybe that people were gossiping a lot.
31. **What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
Nothing.
32. **Did you receive any help from other people?**
No.

33. **Who helped you?**

34. **How have you been given help?**

35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**

36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**

No.

37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**

Describe your

38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**

We lived the same way as before but had more visitors what I liked for most of the time.

39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**

School here was boring but I was a clam kid so I got along. My classmates liked me within time. I did nothing other than school really

40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**

We did not go far away anyway and when we did it took a long time. The shops were really Turkish this time. There was no place to play.

41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**

We still went to the village in the summer.

42. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**

I liked it here.

43. **How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**

I got used to it.

44. **What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**

People did not always have a purpose in what they did for example memorization was pointless.

45. **How did these make you feel / think?**

Negative.

46. **How in time did you adapt?**

It just happened.

47. **Have you received any help?**

No.

48. **From whom have you received help?**

49. **In what form was this help you received?**

50. **Have you ever benefited in any way from having lived in Germany?**

Yes of course, I know German and that helped me a lot in work.

Interviewee Number Twenty-eight

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Gülay Özbayar |
| 2. Location | Erenköy-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1975-Mannheim |
| 4. Gender | Female |
| 5. Marital Status | Married |
| 6. Education | Undergraduate |
| 7. Occupation | German Teacher |

Research Questions

- 1. When did you return?**
1985
- 2. How old were you when you returned?**
10
- 3. From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**
We came back from Mannheim to Istanbul.
Describe your
- 4. Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**
I have an older sister and we lived in a quite place where there was a lot of room for us to play and there was a playground nearby too. We had good communication as a family. My parents were both working.
- 5. Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**
I was a good student and liked school I had very good relationships with everybody at school. There was always a lot to do at the kindergarten. I would play with everybody and many games and sports if I had the time and opportunity.
- 6. Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**
We lived in a small but comfortable place. There was a garden in the back where we could run all we wanted. My father had a car so we would use no public transportation.
- 7. Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**
I loved inventing new games. We would go to Turkey in the summer.
- 8. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**
I generally liked it there and was very comfortable.
- 9. What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**
Very good ones.
- 10. How did they make you feel?**
Good.
- 11. How did you feel about the idea of returning?**
Not very happy.
- 12. Were you involved in decision-making?**
No.
- 13. How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
Mum told me.

14. **What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I was not happy because I do not like change very much.
15. **What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
The hot weather, sun and sea, many relatives and never ending presents.
16. **How do you feel about returning now?**
I am happy that we came back.
17. **Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
I have no idea.
18. **Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
No.
19. **Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
No.
20. **Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
No.
21. **How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

22. **How long after your final return did you go back?**

23. **How did you feel?**

24. **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

25. **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

26. **How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
Not terribly well.
27. **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
Playing with my cousins on the street as I was used to.
28. **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
That things were so different here. I could not play a variety of games but things were not various here.
29. **How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I was unhappy initially but now I am ok.
30. **Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
There was too much of the same. There was not much variety and once somebody would start something everybody would do the same without thinking. Analytical thinking does not happen very often.
31. **What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
I escaped into my fantasy world.
32. **Did you receive any help from other people?**
No.
33. **Who helped you?**

34. **How have you been given help?**

35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**

36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
Yes, from time to time.
37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**
Because I was happier there.
Describe your
38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**
We started to live in a bigger place but the street was too noisy and crowded. I could not find the things I was used there. We would have people coming in the summer and bringing us these things.
39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**
I hated school from the very first day. I was not a good student because the system was not logical. They wanted me to do things I did not believe in and memorize everything. I learnt to cheat.
40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**
It was a crowded place and it took time to get used to that.
41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**
We went to the village and sea sometimes. I invented new games still but somehow my imagination was less than before.
42. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**
I was not very happy here.
43. **How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
I was not very aware of that. There were things that I hated but things just were the way they were. I had to accept things.
44. **What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**
There were more discouraging people here. There was not much room for individuality here and people were rude.
45. **How did these make you feel / think?**
Very negative.
46. **How in time did you adapt?**
It just happened within time after various stages of adjustment problems.
47. **Have you received any help?**
No.
48. **From whom have you received help?**

49. **In what form was this help you received?**

50. **Have you ever benefited in any way from having lived in Germany?**
It was easier to get into university because I know German and easier to find a job. I can speak German and understand that culture. I can see things with a western and an eastern perspective.

Interviewee Number Twenty-nine

Identification Questions

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Name / Surname | Zehra Kaba |
| 2. Location | Levent-Istanbul |
| 3. Date of Birth / Place | 1976-Munich |
| 4. Gender | Female |
| 5. Marital Status | Married |
| 6. Education | Highschool |
| 7. Occupation | Tourism |

Research Questions

- 1. When did you return?**
1986
- 2. How old were you when you returned?**
10
- 3. From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**
We came back from Munich to Istanbul.
Describe your
- 4. Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**
I am an only child and we lived in a big flat close to the city centre. My parents were both working so I went to the kindergarten.
- 5. Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**
I had many friends both German and other foreigners. My teachers and classmates never caused me any trouble or me them. I was an average student and liked school in general. We would go on many trips with the school.
- 6. Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**
I had some friends in the street and we would play all the time. We played classic games but when the weather was bad, we would play board games at home. There was a playground near the kindergarten and near our home.
- 7. Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**
I liked reading and sports in general. I went ice skating with the kindergarten and swimming with the school. In the summers we came to Turkey.
- 8. What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**
I loved it there and felt home.
- 9. What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**
Pretty good ones.
- 10. How did they make you feel?**
Comfortable.
- 11. How did you feel about the idea of returning?**
Not positive but rather unwilling.
- 12. Were you involved in decision-making?**
No.

13. **How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
My father told me.
14. **What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I did not want to leave all known behind and go to the unknown.
15. **What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
Sun and sea, relatives and gifts, fast talk and my grandparents.
16. **How do you feel about returning now?**
I am glad that I live here now.
17. **Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
No.
18. **Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
No.
19. **Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
No.
20. **Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
No.
21. **How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

22. **How long after your final return did you go back?**

23. **How did you feel?**

24. **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

25. **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

26. **How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
Not very good.
27. **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
Being with my grandparents.
28. **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
Had problems understanding the language and the reasons of many things.
29. **How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
Then I was unhappy but know I enjoy it.
30. **Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
They did not make sense in many things they did here. There were too many rules about ridiculous things and everybody broke them and everybody knew it. Everything was pretentious.
31. **What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
Nothing.
32. **Did you receive any help from other people?**
No.
33. **Who helped you?**

34. **How have you been given help?**

35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**

36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
Yes.
37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**
Because I was more at home there.
Describe your
38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**
We lived in a smaller place here in a crowded street. It was very dirty and people were rude.
39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**
The school uniform evoked hate in me. Memorizing was against my nature so I learnt cheating. The teachers were too strict and they gave pointless punishments. There was nothing to do outside school.
40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**
It was a nightmare to go to places. There were many shops and all was convenient, there were many things I was used to, missing from my life.
41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**
We did not go to the sea very often anymore. I started collecting small items that I found interesting.
42. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**
I did not like it here at first at all.
43. **How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
I couldn't. Nothing seemed to make sense but within time I stopped looking for a reason.
44. **What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**
Life was harder here and so were people. The streets were dirty and so was people's mouth. There was a lot of jealousy going on and people had no patience and tolerance for each other.
45. **How did these make you feel / think?**
Very negative.
46. **How in time did you adapt?**
There was no other choice.
47. **Have you received any help?**
No.
48. **From whom have you received help?**

49. **In what form was this help you received?**

50. **Have you ever benefited in any way from having lived in Germany?**
It was easier to find a job and easier to communicate with abroad. I gained a deeper perspective onto things. I can evaluate things from two different perspectives. There is always an alternative to things and I am very open, I think I got that thanks to being raised in Germany.

Interviewee Number-Thirty

Identification Questions

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. | Name / Surname | Hayri Sele |
| 2. | Location | Besiktas-Istanbul |
| 3. | Date of Birth / Place | 1973-Hamburg |
| 4. | Gender | Male |
| 5. | Marital Status | Married |
| 6. | Education | Highschool |
| 7. | Occupation | Business owner |

Research Questions

- When did you return?**
1985
- How old were you when you returned?**
12
- From where in Germany did you move back to where in Turkey?**
We came back from Hamburg to Istanbul.
- Describe your family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Germany.**
I was the third of two boys. My mother and father were working and we went to the kindergarten. I had great fun because being the youngest in the family has many advantages. We lived in a place with many other tall buildings. It was vary secure and just right for children.
- Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, Turkish and German friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Germany.**
I was not a very bright student but I liked school. My teachers and classmates treated me nicely. There was a lot to do at the kindergarten and that was fun. I played football and loved that.
- Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Germany.**
We lived in a very nice place with lots of area to play for kids. We had a car and did not use buses or anything very much. I had many German friends I would play with but not many Turks.
- Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Germany.**
I played football and loved watching TV. In the summers we went to Turkey to our town in Thrace.
- What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Germany?**
I was very happy there.
- What kind of relationships did you have with the German people?**
Very good ones.
- How did they make you feel?**
Excellent.
- How did you feel about the idea of returning?**
Did not like it.
- Were you involved in decision-making?**
No.

13. **How were you informed about the decision to return to Turkey? Who told you and how?**
My brother told me.
14. **What did you think/feel about this decision?**
I hated it.
15. **What were your thoughts and memories of Turkey before you returned?**
Not as comfortable as home, we just came for vacations.
16. **How do you feel about returning now?**
I am fine with it now.
17. **Can you guess how your life might have turned out if you had stayed?**
No.
18. **Do you have friends that you are still in contact with who have not returned?**
No.
19. **Do you still have contact with any German people you have known during you stay in Germany?**
Yes.
20. **Have you been back to your hometown in Germany?**
No.
21. **How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?**

22. **How long after your final return did you go back?**

23. **How did you feel?**

24. **What did you think about your ex-hometown during your visit?**

25. **What kind of differences did you notice initially and later on upon your final return?**

26. **How well was your command of the Turkish language?**
Not really good.
27. **What were the first pleasures you encountered upon your return?**
I loved being able to play in the street.
28. **What were the first frustrations you encountered upon your return?**
People made fun of my accent. I felt full of rage.
29. **How did you feel about Turkey initially and now?**
I did not like it then but now there is everything here too.
30. **Which cultural differences made you feel most depressed?**
That people were so rude and not had tolerance.
31. **What did you do when you felt most troubled with the differences?**
Nothing.
32. **Did you receive any help from other people?**
Yes some.
33. **Who helped you?**
My brothers.
34. **How have you been given help?**
They would talk me through my problems
35. **Which problem solving mechanisms did you use?**
Talking and playing football.

36. **Had you felt the desire to go back to Germany after you have returned?**
Yes all the time.
37. **Why did you want to go back to Germany?**
I felt at home there.
- Describe your**
38. **Family life and family relationships, your living conditions in Turkey.**
We lived in a smaller place but it was a nice neighborhood. We were all together but my father would travel to Germany from time to time.
39. **Educational life: school building, your relationships with your teachers, friends and classmates; your performance in your lessons and your extracurricular activities in Turkey.**
The school I went to was a boring place and my lessons were bad because I had to do a lot of studying and I was not very hardworking. My classmates made fun of me at first and my teachers would call me 'Almanci'. That stopped after some time.
40. **Neighborhood: shops, friends, transportation, playgrounds in Turkey.**
It was easy to get anywhere and we would travel to see relatives until I got older. Everything we needed was around us. We played on the streets. There were no playgrounds around us.
41. **Free time activities: vacations, hobbies in Turkey.**
I played football again and was happy being able to at least do that. We did not travel so much anymore.
42. **What were your overall thoughts concerning life in Turkey?**
I really did not like it here.
43. **How did you cope with the mentality in Turkey as someone who had a more western education?**
I tried to understand but had to give that up after some time.
44. **What differences did you observe between these two cultures?**
People were so negative here and they would insist all the time.
45. **How did these make you feel / think?**
Very pessimistic.
46. **How in time did you adapt?**
It just happened.
47. **Have you received any help?**
No but my brothers would talk to me.
48. **From whom have you received help?**
My brothers
49. **In what form was this help you received?**
They talked to me.
50. **Have you ever benefited in any way from having lived in Germany?**
I am more open and relaxed. I don't care about little things so much. I have seen that life is just a matter of perspective. When you get too involved with one perspective you can't see anything else and 'lose perspective' as they say. So, I try to remain cool most of the time. I can speak German and have a more easy-going approach to life.