KADİR HAS ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

THE "I" IN ISTANBUL: REFLECTIONS OF AMERICAN EXPATRIATE WOMEN ON THE CITY AND ON THEIR CONFLICTS OF IDENTITY

DOKTORA TEZİ

NESLİHAN SABUNCU

Aralık, 2014

"Ben, Neslihan Sabuncu, bu Doktora Tezinde sunulan çalışmanın şahsıma ait olduğunu ve başka çalışmalardan yaptığım alıntıların kaynaklarını kurallara uygun biçimde tez içerisinde belirttiğimi onaylıyorum."

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ABSTRACT

THE "I" IN ISTANBUL: REFLECTIONS OF AMERICAN EXPATRIATE WOMEN ON THE CITY AND ON THEIR CONFLICTS OF IDENTITY

Neslihan Sabuncu

Doctor of Philosophy in American Culture and Literature

Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Mary Lou O'Neil

Dec., 2014

This dissertation explores identity conflicts of American expatriate women in Istanbul. The ongoing debate on whether a category as "gender" exists or not and whether this category yields "otherness" or not are within the scope of this study. Being an American woman in Istanbul and experiencing cross-cultural conflicts which result in "otherness" are also in focus. Standardized interviews were held with a group of 32 American women to uncover gender approaches and cultural practices in Istanbul and how the participants' identities transformed in this location. Participants varied in length of tenure in Istanbul, ranging from 2 months to 41 years, and also were employed across a variety of professions. Using Grounded Theory, the major thematic codes that surfaced from the research were related to identities under construction, superiority and inferiority issues, the indelibility of otherness, and globalized vs. polarized cultures. Data and analysis suggest that the participants carried their multiple identities from one location to the other. Having been encountered with a culture which is neither completely Oriental nor fully Occidental, these American women in Istanbul extended their identity borders and boundaries. Even though a shift from American expatriate woman as the "other" to "one of us" was expected by this group, it has not been achieved in the Turkish context. The

study concludes that a flexible attitude toward embracing expatriates as "one of us" has not been negotiated, and this group carry on their lives with an enforced status as a "yabancı" (foreigner) in Istanbul.

Key words: gender, culture, identity

ÖZET

İSTANBUL'DAKİ "BEN": AMERİKALI KADINLARIN ŞEHİR VE KİMLİK ÇATIŞMALARIYLA İLGİLİ İZLENİMLERİ

Neslihan Sabuncu

Amerikan Kültürü ve Edebiyatı, Doktora Tezi

Danışman: Doç. Dr. Mary Lou O'Neil

Aralık, 2014

Bu tez, İstanbul'da yaşayan Amerikalı kadınların kimlik çatışmalarını incelemektedir. "Cinsiyet" diye bir kategorinin olup olmadığı ve bu kategorinin "öteki" liğe neden olup olmadığı konusunda süregelen tartışmalar da bu tezin kapsamında yer almaktadır. İstanbul'da Amerikalı bir kadın olmak ve "öteki"likle sonuçlanan kültürlerarası çatışmaları deneyimlemek de bu tezin odağında bulunmaktadır. İstanbul'daki cinsiyet yaklaşımlarını ve kültürel uygulamaları ortaya çıkarmak ve bu kadınların kimliklerinin bu şehirde nasıl dönüştüğünü incelemek için 32 Amerikalı kadınla standart görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Araştırmada yer alan katılımcıların İstanbul'da yaşadıkları süre 2 ay ile 41 yıl arasında çeşitlilik göstermekteydi ve ayrıca bu katılımcılar farklı meslek alanlarında çalışmaktaydılar. Grounded Theory (Gömülü Teori) yöntemiyle yapılan araştırmanın sonucunda ortaya çıkan başlıca tematik kodlar kimliğin inşası, üstünlük ve aşağılık, ötekiliğin silinemeyişi ve küresel ve kutuplaşan kültürlerdir. Toplanan veriler ve yapılan analizler, katılımcıların çok katmanlı kimliklerini bir yerden ötekine taşıdığını göstermektedir. Ne tamamiyle Doğulu ne de tamamiyle Batılı olan bir kültürle karşı karşıya kalan İstanbul'daki bu Amerikalı kadınlar, kendi kimlik sınırlarını genişletmişlerdir. Bu gruptaki Amerikalı kadınlardan "öteki" kategorisinden "bizden birisi" kategorisine geçişi beklenmesine rağmen, Türk bağlamında bu beklenti

gerçekleşememiştir. Bu çalışma, yabancı bir coğrafya olarak İstanbul'da yaşayanların "bizden birisi" olarak benimsenme konusundaki uzlaşılamaz tutumu ve bu grubun İstanbul'daki yaşantılarına kendilerine yakıştırılan "yabancı" statüsüyle devam etmekte olduğu sonucunu ortaya koymuştur.

Anahtar kelimeler: cinsiyet, kültür, kimlik

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joined this wonderful family a few years later; together, they all offered their genuine love and support. Varolun…

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction

"If the Earth was a single state, Istanbul would be its capital."

Napoleon Bonaparte

Istanbul, which is located on two continents, Europe and Asia, has always preserved its unique nature with its long history dating back to the seventh century BC, being the imperial capital of Roman and Ottoman Empires for more than 1500 years, and uniting the Orient with the Occident. In contemporary Istanbul, one can experience the modern metropolis and the ancient city simultaneously. Eastern and Western cultures stand side by side and beckon people from all over the world to explore it. As McDowell argues, "…the growing dominance of global forms of capitalism and the assumed loss of belonging to a local place" make more and more people explore other places and lifestyles (1999: 3). As a consequence of globalization, cultural boundaries are more fluid than ever, providing individuals more convenience in their new settlements. "Immigrants and refugees resettle in search of a new life, side by side with temporary sojourners finding employment overseas…" (Kim 2005: 375). Be it for settlement, education, employment, relationship, marriage, adventure, sense of belonging, and/or otherwise, individuals as expatriates expand their horizons as well as their identities in their new "homes".

Istanbul has become a new "home" for several people from all around the world including the American expatriate women of the current study for multifarious reasons. As Kaiser points out, "… the last two decades have observed a marked increase in migration flows …" from other countries to Turkey and she explicates three major reasons of such trend for its becoming a politically and economically

liberal country since 1980s, therefore being an attractive holiday destination, as well as its bid for full membership of European Union (2004: 91). Individuals who have moved to Turkey in general and to Istanbul specifically may or may not face challenges in the process of geographical and cultural transition and adaptation. Much research has been done on expatriate adjustment the extent to which expatriates adaptation is investigated extensively "across social science disciplines since the 1930s in the United States" (Kim 2005: 375) as well as many other countries including Turkey. The overall outcome of such broad and profound study affirms that individuals may have different modes of adjustment from expatriation to repatriation (Mendenhall and Oddou 1985; Ralston et al. 1995; Caligiuri and Tung 1999; Sussman 2000, 2001; Kim 2001; Shim and Paprock 2002; Kaiser 2004; Gao 2007; Olsen and Martins 2009). The ability and inability to adjust to a foreign environment from its weather to its culture has been extensively studied to enlighten the challenges and to enhance opportunities to live in the new "home" without having so many obstacles. Crossing cultural boundaries and providing a smooth adaptation is a significant aspect for global business market because "nearly 40 percent of American expatriates return home prematurely" (Gao 2007: 33) which can be costly both for organizations and individuals. Other research may also indicate similar results for other countries. However, Istanbul as the new "home" of American expatriate women has not been studied before. Understanding the experience of such people in several respects with regards to gender, cross-cultural, and therefore, identity conflicts is the main approach of the current study.

Gendered identity is highlighted throughout this study because gender is a contemporary social issue which is being studied extensively. Experiences and reflections of American expatriates in Istanbul may probably yield different results

than experiences and reflections of American expatriate women in Istanbul. The ongoing debate on whether a category such as gender exists or not and whether this category yields "otherness" or not (de Beauvoir 1989; Butler 1999; hooks 1990) is canonical in the feminist literature. Assuming that "gender trouble" (Butler 1999) is no longer trouble in regard to hierarchy, power, politics, and sexual orientation in one specific community, it is still perceived as trouble for the great majority of the globe. It could be considered that Western women are more liberal than the rest of the world. However, these women may not enjoy their liberty outside their comfort zone. Any given American woman could enjoy equal rights with their male counterparts in the U.S., whereas a new geography might enforce a new status onto these women. Migrating to a new landscape, an American woman is no longer who she was in the U.S. She might be advantaged or disadvantaged, superior or inferior in her new settlement. While constructing a new life in her new territory, she also constructs her identity.

1.1 Purpose of the Study

This dissertation explores the identities of American women who live in Istanbul in terms of their individual, social, and cultural structures and their adaptation to their new life. No two individuals are alike and no two societies are analogous. Yet, a great majority of people attempt to stereotype every individual with regards to multifarious signifiers of identity. Race and gender are the most visible signifiers of identity, because to label a person in terms of his/her race and gender, one does not need to use any means of communication or body parts other than one's eyes. We start establishing categories within the first moment of an encounter with any given individual. When the easiest part of the categorization –race and gender- is completed, the curiosity of human nature desires for more: "Who are you?" This

simple interrogative on the surface, in fact, has an extremely deep structure. The more we learn about an individual, the more we try to fit this person into existing social categories (Brewer 1991). Our perception, judgments of, and interactions with an individual depend on a holistic picture of identity.

Identity is not formed by only internal factors. As in the famous quote of Simone de Beauvoir in her book *The Second Sex*, "One is not born but rather becomes a woman," external factors are also extremely influential in one's identity (1989). Identity is not only an individual decision nor choice. Internal and external factors such as physical appearance, psychology, geography, politics, culture, and history are a set of complex categories that shape an individual. In fact, identity formation is a lifelong process because life is dynamic and anything in an individual's life can change at any time. One cannot permanently say, "I am Jane from the United States, a middle-class, heterosexual, Christian woman, with a high school diploma, working as a nurse," because she is much more than those categories. This statement is only a way of defining oneself depending on one's daily experience and preferences. Moreover, the statement above is a tentative one which is subject to change over time. A decade later the same individual can say, "I am Ayşe, a Turkish citizen, an upper-class, homosexual, Muslim woman, with a university diploma, working as a doctor." Thus, identity formation may be more radical for immigrants because they live in at least two cultures and they may want to associate and affiliate with the new culture to avoid being the "other" or outsider.

This dissertation elucidates the identities of American women with intersecting parameters of identity within a unique social context, namely their lives in Istanbul. I decided to conduct my study on those American women who preferred to live in

Istanbul to see the impact of such a cosmopolitan city on their identities and to how well the expatriate adjustment is achieved.

"İstanbul bir şehir değildir. İstanbul bin şehirdir."[1]

(Şafak 2012: 29)

Istanbul as a bridge between the continents of Europe and Asia is a unique and appealing geographical locale. It is neither completely eastern nor fully western; the old city is blended into the modern metropolis. Istanbul is now standing where Byzantium once had been and Constantinople once was. This city surprises both dwellers and visitors with its rich history, geography, beauty, and culture as well as its contrasts and conflicts.

"I am attached to this city because it has made me who I am."

(Pamuk 2006: 6)

I am an Istanbulite. I was born, grew up, and have always lived in this city. I am as attached to this city as Orhan Pamuk was. My family has been dwellers of this city since the "fall of Constantinople for Westerners and the conquest of Istanbul for Easterners", in Pamuk's definition (2006: 156). My family and I have witnessed the evolution of this city. Knowing this city and its culture much better than the average person, I decided to explore the lives of American women in Istanbul with their bi- or multicultural existence. Istanbul shows its oriental face or occidental face depending on who the spectator is; I explored the city through the Western eyes of these

1 Istanbul is not one city but a thousand cities.

American women. I also listened to these women's tales of self-recognition and identity transformation in this unique city. As such, I believe that this study will shed light to gender, culture, and identity studies with the representation of the participants being the "I" as a woman in the gender category, American in the cultural category, and any other adjective for the identity category. The ways by which these women identified themselves, and the ways by which they were identified in the context of Istanbul yielded several results which will be discussed in further chapters. Specifically, results will be presented regarding themes related to how the identity of these American women were shaped in a new geography both with internal factors (e.g. being brought up in a Western culture, and being resistant to mix with a new culture) and external factors (e.g. Istanbul culture, and approaches of its dwellers to American women) which clashed constantly.

1.2 Methodology

Interviewing American women residing in Istanbul and conducting a qualitative analysis were the initial components of this dissertation. I decided to listen to the tales of women who have their unique experiences as a/an American, woman, guest, traveler, resident, businessperson, girlfriend, wife or mother in Istanbul. Race, age, education, occupation, marital status, religion, and other intersecting components of their identity which made every individual a unique one led me to quest for answers to the following questions: What makes these women preserve or forget their national identity? Are they American women living in Istanbul, or American-Turkish, or Turkish, or global citizens with their multicultural existence? As an overall focus, does identity have borders and boundaries?

To find the answers to these questions, I prepared interview questions and found voluntary interviewees with three features necessary for the interview: being a woman, being an American citizen, and residing in Istanbul. While and after conducting interviews and gathering my data, I analyzed my findings and provided descriptive categories for the writing process of my dissertation. Following these steps, I ended up with four chapters in this unique study which explicate these women's lives, identities, and challenges of their adaptation process in specific and shed light to gender, culture, and identity in general. The thesis statement of this dissertation based on the findings is that identity is culturally bound but borderless. The identities of the participants are influenced by cultures that they have lived in and/or encountered, however, culture cannot limit identities as in the findings of this unique study.

Several theories formed the theoretical bases for my study. Expatriate literature the extent to which cross-cultural adaptation is emphasized is the main discipline to be referred when doing research in people living other than their home country. Feminist theory is a required approach for reference when women's perspectives are represented; cultural studies play a central role in a study in which nationality, gender, and place provide alternative lifestyles and result in cross-cultural conflicts. Social identity theory, optimal distinctiveness, and otherness strive to represent diversity in a more globalized world. When the theoretical bases were blended with the gathered data in the present study, the results yielded a rich source for gender, culture, and identity aspects of social sciences in regard to American expatriate women in Istanbul.

1.2.1 Interview Questions

Before the interview process started, I prepared two sets of questions, one that was structured and required filling in a form, and the other a set of open-ended, semi-structured questions. While preparing the questions, I carefully selected them based on feminist theory juxtaposed with the expatriate literature.

The first set of questions, the form to be filled in, was a one-page-long paper with an assurance of complete confidentiality, stating that the responses would be used solely for research purposes. This form consisted of the following questions: Name of the participant, date and place of birth, education, job, marital status, and, if married, husband's nationality, number of children, locations in which the participants lived outside of the U.S.A., and the reason(s) to live outside of the U.S.A. The answers of the participants were then transformed into a demographics chart providing to the readers background information about these women, for comparative purposes (See Appendix A).

The open-ended, semi- structured interview questions included 21 items whose answers were expected to vary in length (See Appendix B). Apparently, talking about one's biography would take a much longer time than merely answering a yes-no question. Having over 20 years of experience in English instruction, I knew that the questions would have been boring for the participants if all of them required long answers. Therefore, I distributed the questions evenly by assuming the length of the potential answers. However, "…because the order of the questions can profoundly affect responses…." questions of satisfaction were grouped by topic and asked earlier than the negative experience ones (Miner et al. 2012: 250). The three crucial

components of designing questions are comprehension, retrieval, and reporting. The understanding and interpretation of the questions affect the accuracy of retrieval (to recall information needed for response) and reporting (to formulate a response) (ibid.). Therefore, questions of the current study included clear and unambiguous language.

"… Interview research is research conducted by talking with people. It involves gathering informants' reports and stories, learning about their perspectives, and giving them voice in academic and other public discourse" (DeVault and Gross 2012: 206). The simple act of talking with people in fact becomes such a complex issue as DeVault and Gross claim that the fascinating complexity of human talk including the nuances of speech, gesture, expression, specialized vocabularies, and even the uses of silence may yield several different representations and interpretations. "Merely letting the tape recorder run to present the respondent's voice does not overcome the problem of representation" (Olesen 2005: 253). With the awareness of having the risk of having some specific data hidden by the participants and how they recount them may not yield rich source of data, the first interview question interrogated the participants to narrate their own story. Life history interviewing was significant for the current study because I did not want to limit the participants' experiences but rather hear diverse voices in regard to any issue which would represent them in a more fruitful way.

Questions related to religion and sexual orientations were not directly asked with the belief that these questions might be sensitive to participants' concerns and feelings. I expected such data to emerge from the interviews naturally. Even if the participants would not have referred to such topics or this data would not have appeared in the

research, it would have been interpreted as neglected social issues in the participants' lives. Questions related to expat life included the reasons of settling in Istanbul, challenges related to big city life, culture, and language. Identity questions were designed with the belief that these questions would shape and complete the framework of my study which helped me conclude that identity is culturally bound but borderless.

During the question preparation stage, I did not include any questions out of mere idle curiosity. Rather, the body of questions, as shown in Appendix B, was chosen to reflect different aspects of expatriate women's experiences, including questions relating to identity formation and change, questions related to experiences as a woman, questions related to the expatriation process, and questions related to cultural aspects. Questions were made open-ended because such questions allow interviewees to give unrestrained and free responses, thus allowing for a wide range of potential responses, and thereby avoiding predictability (Weiss 1994). When the question preparation stage was over, I addressed all the questions to myself first to see if there were any questions that I did not want to answer or could not answer. When I was fully convinced that the questions were neither too challenging to answer nor too private, and believed that they would contribute to my study, I proposed them to the committee members of my dissertation. The final questions were then decided upon, with minor changes, and used in the associated interviews.

1.2.2 The Participants: American, Expatriate, and Women

"Scholars and managers have long had an interest in issues related to expatriates" (Mjoset 2005: 348). In the present day, more and more people are moving and settling down internationally other than their original settlement. As a result, there is

more research on expatriate literature since 1980s. The word "expatriate" is a highly popular term used to define those people. This word is interpreted in several different ways and believed to define especially those professional people who are sent to international posts by their companies (Yeoh, and Khoo 1998: 162). However, the word "expatriate" embraces a larger group of people than the professionals working abroad. "Expatriate" is derived from the Latin term "ex patria", ex- meaning out and patria meaning native country referring to one who is gone out from one's country (Merriam-Webster, Oxford dictionaries; Yeoh, and Khoo 1998: 162; Hess 2007: xxiii; Beaverstock 2002: 526). "This meaning [expatriate] has nothing to do with the concept of patriotism or being proud of one's country, although the terms are sometimes confused" (Hess 2007: xxiii). Even though the word "expatriate" is believed to include only skilled workers abroad, or patriots, or used to represent more "elite" people than an "immigrant", there is no clear cut definition to identify who is an expatriate, who is an immigrant, and even who is a tourist.

The broader understanding of migrants is categorized in 13 subtitles by the United Nations as asylum seekers, contract migrant workers, diplomats and consular personnel, domestic employees, foreign retirees (as settlers), foreign students, foreign tourists, foreigners admitted for family formation or reunification, internally displaced persons, military personnel, refugees, stateless persons, and trafficked persons (Kirk and Okazawa-Rey 2010: 378).

In the Turkish context, the categorization of foreign people in Turkey is an unsettled issue. Any foreign person in Turkey is categorized as a "yabancı" (foreigner) which is an umbrella term. According to the research of International Strategic Research Organization (USAK) in Turkey, "Yerleşik yabacılar" (settled foreigners/expats) are

different from "yabancılar" (foreigners) in several respects. The report entitled, "Yabancıların Türk Toplumuna Entegrasyonu" (The Integration of Foreigners to Turkish Society) defines an expat as someone who had never resided in Turkey or become a Turkish citizen before but settles down in Turkey sometime in life, owns or rents property, and stays in Turkey for more than six months annually (USAK 2008: 13). These people are not labeled as "minorities" because they do not hold Turkish citizenship. On the other hand, a foreigner is defined as a person who does not reside in Turkey, but visits the country for touristic or any other purpose for a "short time" and cannot be identified as an expat if the visit is extended.

The report states that expatriate literature in Turkey is a new area and the definitions above are not legally approved and draws attention to the urgent need of a systematic work on foreigners with the purpose of visit, duration of stay, and several other issues. The flexible regulation of current immigration system lets foreigners stay in Turkey until the end of their legal duration of stay. The report claims that just a couple of days before the legal time, several foreign residents leave Turkey even for a day, come back and extend their visit as a tourist, say another six months. As a result of such practice, Turkish government cannot identify who is an expat or a tourist, therefore data and statistics about foreigners in Turkey are not reliable.

In the current study, the research was planned to be conducted on American expatriate women in Istanbul. Based on the literature, I assured that the participants fit in the category of expatriate rather than tourist during the process of finding them. These women all obtained their residency permit from Turkish government and some of them already had dual citizenship which indicated that they were not tourists. As for the agreed denotation of an expatriate, meaning individuals who were away from

their home countries for an extended period of time, both working and non-working individuals, and devoid of nationalistic connotations (Yeoh, and Khoo 1998: 162; Hess 2007: xxiii; Beaverstock 2002: 526). These participants were away from their country, none of them were sent to Istanbul for an international post but found jobs as they wished. Holding at least a Bachelor's degree, these participants as expats fit into the skilled workers and "elite" people categories.

1.2.3 Finding the Participants

Initially, I decided to start my interviews with American women I knew at my workplace. I was hoping to reach other women with those people's help. I believed that the snowball effect would work in my case and it really did. After interviewing a few of my colleagues and friends, I was given an email address of a Professional American Women of Istanbul (PAWI) member. This member of the organization sent out a PAWI- gram to the group informing the members about my research. Those women who received the email through the PAWI network and who found my research interesting contacted me via email offering to participate in my research voluntarily. I was also put in touch with the group International Women of Istanbul (IWI). However, the members of this organization were beyond my scope including international women from all over the world residing in Istanbul rather than only American women. Yet, during my interviews, a few American women told me that they were members of both PAWI and IWI groups.

My initial estimation was to conduct 20 interviews, but I only finally stopped gathering data after the 32nd interview, in order to gather a richer trove of information. Although I could have gone beyond even this latter quantity, according to the theory I had chosen to analyze my data, which I will acknowledge below,

"saturation" is the key word to indicate an end to data collection efforts. That is, one should stop "when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new theoretical insights, nor reveals new properties of your core theoretical categories" (Charmaz 2006: 113).

1.2.4 The Interviews

In my early emails, I informed my potential interviewees about my research and the potential places I preferred to hold meetings at. To ensure interview standardization, I offered to meet all participants in similar settings, namely their choice of cafés, close to their work place or home, during evenings after work or in their free time. Assuming that a short slot between work hours would not provide a promising interview atmosphere, the time constraint would probably force both parties to keep the conversation short. I even postponed a few fixed arrangements after being notified that the interviewee had to rush somewhere after the interview. I did not turn down any offers in terms of place, and tried to arrange my schedule as much as I could.

The majority of the meetings were held in cafés where a direct influence of symbols such as a Turkish flag or a statue of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the modern Turkish Republic, was not visible. Assuming that semiotics may lead to positive or negative connotations, the interviewees might have not reflected their true feelings. Therefore, the settings were as symbol free as possible.

All initial conversations started in English. Only one interviewee with fluent Turkish offered and even insisted on carrying out the conversation in Turkish. This was probably she wanted to emphasize her respect to the culture or her assimilation by Turkish culture, or even expected admiration for her enthusiasm. Having concerns

about standardization of the interviews and believing that expressing one's self in her mother tongue is always the best choice, I asked her to give the interview in English and offered to switch to Turkish after the interview was done. Therefore, all 32 interviews were held in English and audio-recorded.

After the first form was completed, I asked interviewees whether they wanted to see the questions I was going to ask prior to our interview. The great majority of the interviewees did not want to see the questions and told me that they were ready to start answering them. Each participant had her own way of answering the questions, and all left the impression on me that they did their best. The shortest interview took approximately 18 minutes. The longest interview lasted about 54 minutes. Throughout the interviews, I avoided making comments on the answers and/or judging them. I sometimes asked follow-up questions when initially provided answers were not elaborate enough.

Every interview kept its unique nature as a result of the unique tales and experiences of these American women in Istanbul. All interviews started with participant biographies. These biographies enabled me to see the "big picture" in regards to participant experiences as expatriate American women living in Istanbul. Every participant provided a rich source to develop descriptions, to integrate multiple perspectives, to develop a holistic description of identity, and to identify variables and frame hypotheses for the study.

The data were collected between July 2012 and December 2012. The form that the participants filled in was converted into a chart and the audio-recorded part was transcribed verbatim by a professional, native-speaking, English language specialist.

The only translated parts of the transcribed interviews were a couple of Turkish words, phrases or sentences that the participants preferred to use during the interview (e.g., "merhaba", "iyi akşamlar", "nasılsınız?"[2]). In sum, however, usages of Turkish words were few and far between, and limited enough in scope that we may, for practical purposes, assume all interviews to have been conducted completely in English.

1.3 Demographics

The focus group of my research was both homogenous and heterogeneous in many respects. The homogenous features of the group were that they were all women, that they were/are all American, and that they were all living in Istanbul. On the other hand, they varied in their race, age, education, occupation, marital status, having children or not, and religion. Either resembling to or being different from each other, that group provided me with rich data allowing me to find common ground with the members of the group in some respects. Being a woman and residing in Istanbul were the distinguishing commonalities to make me have empathy and understand these women's' experiences better.

In my study, all respondents were given a pseudonym to protect their anonymity. The participants ranged in age from 24 to 70. Two participants (6 %) did not write down their date of birth. Apart from one participant aged 70, three of the participants (9 %) were in their sixties. Ten of the participants (31 %) were in their fifties, six of them (19 %) were in their forties, six (19 %) were in their thirties, and four participants (12.5 %) belonged to the group of women in their twenties. One participant was born

2 Merhaba = Hello; İyi Akşamlar = Good evening; Nasılsınız? = How are you?

in Turkey, one in Hungary, two in Japan, one in Indonesia, one in England, and the rest of them (75 %) were born in different geographies of the United States. Despite the fact that six participants were born elsewhere, they identified as Americans and/or were American citizens.

All the women I interviewed held at least a Bachelor's degree. Fourteen women (44 %) had obtained a Master's degree, and three (9 %) held Doctoral degrees. The interviewees' occupations ranged from English instruction to photography. The most commonly practiced profession was English instruction in which eighteen women (56 %) were actively involved. Two interviewees (6 %) were retirees: One, a retired English teacher, and the other, a retired businesswoman. One of the interviewees was a professor, and 9 women (28 %) mentioned different occupations which are photographer, editor, engineer, writer, part-time accountant, travel agency worker, business planning specialist at a TV channel, college counselor, and businesswoman. One woman identified herself as a homemaker and the other non-working woman first wrote that she was the Chief Operating Officer (COO) of her family but when she thought that I could have thought that she was running some sort of family business, she replaced what she wrote with "stay at home mom".

Twelve interviewees (37.5 %) were married, eleven (35 %) were single, two were engaged (6 %) five (16 %) were divorcees, and one (3 %) was widowed. One participant did not report marital status. One of the single women at the time of the interview returned to her hometown, Tokyo, and married her Turkish boyfriend whom she met in Istanbul in early 2013.

All the women in my research followed the "traditional family values" notion of having children within their marriages.

> Eva: I didn't have many friends because I was having children, and I was busy.
>
> Neslihan: Because you have 7 children…in total?
>
> Eva: Yes. And I decided early on, I was going to dedicate to them.

As the extract above suggests, one of the women I interviewed had seven children (3 %), and fifteen other women (47 %) had children from their traditional marriages. One married woman and one widow had only one child. Twelve of those women (37.5 %) had two children and only one had three children (3 %). One of the respondents also acknowledged her two step-children in the form she filled in. Although those children were born into traditional marriages, five of the women I interviewed were single mothers (16 %). On the other hand, only one of those mothers had young children to parent them. Fifteen respondents (47 %) did not have any children, and the respondent who did not want to mention her marital status also did not answer this question as well.

> *...At times, home is nowhere. At times, one knows only extreme estrangement and alienation.*
> *Then home is no longer just one place. It is many locations...*
> *bell hooks*

Regardless of where one lives, one's never-changing home is one's body. The body is the boundary between the individual self and others. While the body is the permanent home, the individual's residence is ephemeral. His/her first settlement is the a-few-

inches-long womb. When it is time to leave the first temporary "home", the individual encounters his/her second temporary home which is provided against his/her will. However, as an adult, the individual generally chooses his/her homes by his/her free will. The individual identifies a "home" not only as a construction which shelters him/her, but a country which embraces his/her body, language, culture, and identity. One of the focuses of my research was locations. I wanted to see the impact of locations on the lives of expats. In today's world, more and more people are leaving "home". Initially, I wanted to learn in which geographies the women I interviewed have been to and for what reason(s) they left their former "home".

Thirteen participants (41 %) had only lived in one other location outside of the U.S.A. (Istanbul). The minimum duration of their stay in Istanbul was a couple of months and the maximum was forty-one years. Seven women (22 %) lived in two countries, another group of seven people (22 %) lived in three countries, and five women (16 %) lived in four or more countries as one of them (3 %) staying in ten different locations. The reasons these women were living outside of the U.S. varied. Some women had multiple reasons to be away from the U.S., and to live in any other geography, whereas, some had only one reason. These reasons included education, internship, employment, voluntary work, father's work or husband's work, learning a language and culture, travel, relationship, marriage or family, adventure, and change. One respondent wrote in Turkish "Uzun hikaye" (a long tale) for the reason of living in Istanbul.

> Jane: …the country seemed really interesting to me. Because there's nothing else like that. There is no other secular Muslim country…
>
> Neslihan: …You enjoy travelling…

> Camilla: It's not so much travelling. It's culture junky. I enjoy experiencing other cultures…

The broad range of participant experiences helped me end up with rich data enabling me to analyze the multilayered identities of those women and linking them to the context that I was working on.

1.4 Data Analysis

> "…there is no fundamental clash between the purposes and capacities of qualitative and quantitative methods or data. What clash there is concerns the primacy of emphasis on verification or generation of theory…" (Glaser and Strauss 2008: 17)

The data I gathered were qualitative and required systematic strategies for analysis. Specifically, I employed the use of Grounded Theory. Choosing this method was highly demanding because of its guidance which should be strictly followed and the criticism that it constantly received. Gasson does not recommend a grounded theory approach unless the researcher is really enthusiastic about his/her topic stating that "It demands a great deal more energy, time and commitment than any other method I know" (2003: 100). However, the systematic guidance of the approach and its nature of best suiting to "the investigation of what theory might apply in a specific type of situation" (ibid.) were the significant factors to use it. The American women in Istanbul were in a specific type of situation which had never been studied before from the confluence of a gendered identity and cultural value perspective. Studying the same participants in a different context, say a European city where English is the lingua franca or widely spoken, Christianity is the main religious practice and with a

more liberal societal stance than Turkey, would probably yield different results. This study derives specific results with the contribution of Grounded Theory which does not require forcing data to fit any existing categories or theories – in Grounded Theory, the researcher is required to find codes and themes that emerge from the data itself. The theory will be explicated below by how it was originated, developed, applied and evolved.

Grounded Theory methods first emerged in 1961 when the sociologist Barney G. Glaser joined another sociologist's, Anselm L. Strauss, research team to study the experience of dying people in hospitals. To analyze their data, they developed systematic methodological strategies. They explicated their methodological approach in their seminal book, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967). The dying people's experiences in fact bore a theory which would later be widely adapted to several social sciences. As Charmaz states, "… grounded theory methods consist of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theory 'grounded' in the data themselves" (2006: 2). In other words, the researcher generates theory from his/her data rather than deducing hypotheses from prior theory.

Inductive research might be interpreted as less reliable because sky is the limit when collecting data. As goes the analogy of a person sitting on a river bank and counting swans passing by and all white in color, and "…after counting 10, 20, … 100, or more, one might be tempted to conclude that 'all swans are white', unaware that the black swan went by some time earlier, or will pass by soon after one ceases making observations" (Bryant and Charmaz 2007: 45). However, in any data collected, the issue of generalization might always be problematic. Induction provides for deriving

generalizations from specific instances, whereas deduction provides for specific instances from generalizations. Both of these inference types may sometimes fall short of explanation. In the nineteenth century, Charles S. Peirce proposed a third form of inference, namely abduction. If no appropriate explanation or rule exists in literature when processing data, abduction suggests inventing or discovering a new one by means of a mental process. "Abduction 'proceeds', therefore, from a known quantity (= result) to two unknowns (=rule and case)" (Reichertz, J. 2007: 219 – 220). Searching for a brand-new explanation rather than trying to fit the data in inductive or deductive reasoning is challenging and risky. On the other hand, we live in a world full of exceptions and every single phenomenon needs an explanation. Therefore, abduction seems to cater this need. While using Grounded Theory, the inductive approach is applied initially to generate substantive codes from the data. Doing literature review and integrating it with the codes as well as developing a theory indicate the deductive phase of the Grounded Theory process. Therefore, applying both inductive and deductive reasoning, Grounded Theory can be categorized as an abductive method, whereby one makes initial conclusions derived from the data and then uses extant literature to triangulate toward the derived conclusions.

The stages of Grounded Theory may be best described as collecting data and coding them simultaneously, deriving categories form codes, and having the theory emerge after data are saturated. At every stage of the method, data can be thoroughly compared and contrasted. The originators of the theory, Glaser and Strauss, were called the first generation of grounded theorists because Grounded Theory evolved in time and even Glaser and Strauss had their divergent approaches to the theory later on. However, Grounded Theory methods with different approaches of Glaser and

Strauss, Strauss and Corbin, Glaser, Charmaz and Bryant have a common goal of guiding the researchers "from early ideas and insights toward substantive theories and models that have "grab" and "fit" and that "work" in some manner" (Bryant 2014: 132).

Grounded Theory has received much support and criticism of different camps until the present day. When traditional research design usually follow the pattern of literature review, formation of a hypothesis, and the experimentation of the hypothesis, Grounded Theory analyzes the collected data with no preconceived hypothesis (Allan 2003: 1). The idea of "theory free" hypothesis has been questioned with the claim that we have adopted certain ways of seeing and objectivity cannot be fully provided especially in the hypothesis-testing phase (Gasson 2003: 90). Gasson poses the question, "If two researchers are presented with the same data, will they derive the same results if they use the same methods, applied rigorously?" (ibid.). Her answer is both yes and no depending on understanding the reality as being independent of individual and as being socially constructed. Therefore, Gasson advocates for establishment of clear and repeatable procedures for research which Grounded Theory could provide with a constant data comparison method.

One other major criticism of Grounded Theory specified by Gasson is that "it is not "scientific" (deductive) in its analysis of the data, but based on inductive conclusions from a superficial analysis of collected data" (2003: 85). Gasson cites Strauss and Corbin (1998) and Pigeon (1996) who object to this criticism and point out the interplay between induction and deduction. Strauss and Corbin state that a switch from inductive to deductive thinking occurs, at the phase of theory being generated.

Dick (2000, as cited in Gasson 2003: 86) also supports the inductive phase of Grounded Theory stating that the researcher may not know which literature is relevant, therefore, reading relevant literature is not a requirement until the study is in progress.

The positivist-interpretive position debate is another criticism for Grounded Theory (Gasson 2003: 87). According to the positivist position, reality is somewhere waiting to be discovered, whereas the interpretive position argues that the world is subjective and reality is constructed socially (ibid.). Gasson argues that applying positivist criteria may risk the application and methodology of Grounded Theory, whereas an interpretive Grounded Theory researcher takes a risk of defensibility of the work "as interpretivism does not yet have a body of knowledge and tradition, embedded into formalized procedures for how to perform rigorous, interpretive research" (Gasson 2003: 89).

The evolution of Grounded Theory with new, flexible, and postmodern models also brought much criticism. To illustrate, the use of software packages for qualitative data analysis may or may not be seen as helpful for Grounded Theory research. As Gasson puts it, computers automate the repetitive and labor-intensive tasks of data analysis and theory-recording very well, however, "they are not capable of the inductive-deductive cycle that is integral to grounded theory generation" (Gasson 2003: 99).

Having read Grounded Theory approaches and criticisms, I decided to apply Kathy Charmaz's version to my study because her version of Grounded Theory "looks back into its past, explores its present, and turns forward to the future" (Charmaz 2006:

183). As having a wide perspective and being updated, I believed that Charmaz's model would best contribute to my analysis among the other Grounded Theory methods. Rather than having more rigid approaches to analyze the data, it was extremely appealing to apply a flexible and evolving qualitative research method.

> "A grounded theory journey may take several varied routes, depending on where we want to go and where our analysis takes us." (Charmaz 2006: 13)

Following Charmaz's Grounded Theory method, I stopped after every interview and started coding my data. Qualitative coding is the bridge that leads one from the data to the theory. In Charmaz's term, it is the bones of your analysis and the further steps of Grounded Theory assemble these bones into a working skeleton.

Having three phases, including initial, intermediate, and advanced coding; Grounded Theory provides three steps for the analytical process of the collected data. As the first analytic step of Grounded Theory, I worked on the initial coding of my transcripts which required close reading of my data and allowed new ideas to emerge. I did not force my data to fit any categories. I checked a few examples of coding in some books and articles and saw that every researcher has his/her unique way of coding his data at this level. Therefore, I decided to apply a systematic approach to be able to see my data at one glance. I prepared a Microsoft Excel chart and included all questions across it. The raw data of every interviewee was down the chart. Going over the data several times, I was able to eliminate unnecessary parts such as irrelevant conversations and repetitions from my chart. By comparing and contrasting the whole data I was more comfortable to develop theoretical sensitivity. Eventually, I managed to convert each item on the chart into a single line of

information. As a next step, a schematic presentation of 16 codes was produced (See Table 1). That was the initial coding phase of my study. After completing initial coding, I once more conducted a more detailed analysis of how the American women in Istanbul reflected themselves. I also discovered a word which was used frequently by the participants. "Yabancı" is a Turkish word meaning foreigner which signifies those women's experiences both in positive and negative ways. This word fit very well to the gap when they were sharing any experience as they were being the subject of any incident.

Moving to intermediate coding upon completing the initial coding, I had to be more selective. In Charmaz's model of Grounded Theory, this phase is named as focused coding which requires carefully selecting and refining the codes to make the most analytic sense. In this stage, I tried to make connections between the codes by comparing data to data. The schematic presentation of those 16 initial codes was to be converted into new codes which would make the most analytical sense for categorization. After acting upon my data, I identified 8 codes which would represent the whole data and help generate a theory in the final stage of my analysis. Upon completing the second phase of analysis and obtaining my refined codes which can be named as subcategories, I carried on my analysis with the advanced level of coding. Based on Charmaz's Grounded Theory model, this phase is called theoretical coding and it is a sophisticated component of the analysis. At this level, codes provide a framework to let categories emerge from the data to promote a potential theory. Theoretical coding stage of my analysis process did not pursue in a linear form. I avoided working from a forced framework and accomplished this stage when I was convinced that my codes represented my data thoroughly.

Memo writing, the pivotal intermediate step between data collection and writing the paper, is the significant component of analytic steps during all coding phases (Charmaz 2006). However, I applied this strategy more often in the last stage of coding than the other two stages. Memoing helps the researcher keep track of his thoughts, feelings, insights, and ideas about the data. It may be thought that memo writing could be optional in the analysis process. However, the power of memoing should not be underestimated because it ensures quality in Grounded Theory. "If data are the building blocks of the developing theory, memos are the mostar" (Stern 2007: 119). Memoing is an ongoing process throughout the study and all memos are active and remain open until the final theory is constructed. According to Birks, M. and Mills, J. the researcher should view his memos as dynamic documents (2011). One should aim to build on or revoke earlier thinking through additional comments.

My initial attempt for memo writing was to keep a log book because there is no prescribed way to keep track of gathered data. Flexibility and freedom are agreed criteria by the grounded theorists. I started and continued to memo at every stage of my analysis. Jotting down key words, terms, and concepts, producing tables, comparing codes that I obtained from every interviewee, and comparing the entire analysis with existing literature are the overall summary of my memoing process. I wrote my initial memos in short hand and then converted them in electronic format later.

As Charmaz states, "Memo writing leads directly to theoretical sampling" (2006: 103) which might be applied both in early and later stages. My codes were tentative when I was memoing. I still needed to develop my categories. "…and these categories are not based upon quotas; they are based on theoretical concerns… 'Oh,

you don't have enough women; go get more.' No, that is not theoretical sampling." (Charmaz 2006: 101) As Jane Hood indicates in the quotation above, quality vs. quantity is a controversial issue when doing research. Some analysts believe that the larger the population they analyze, the more reliable their generalizations become. However, quantity of the data does not guarantee the quality of it. According to Charmaz, the researcher may have the risk of collecting unnecessary and conceptually thin data when he is forced to reach to a certain amount of data.

Theoretical sampling leads the analyst to move back and forth between data collection and data analysis throughout the research. Codes emerge from the analysis and eventually categories are generated. Theoretical sampling also leads one to clarify relationships between categories. When categories start to emerge, here comes the crucial moment of the analysis; the researcher asks himself/herself the following question: "When do I need to stop collecting data?"All the Grounded Theory analysts agree on the answer of this question. The researcher should stop when his categories are 'saturated', namely when gathering new data no longer sparks new theoretical insights or no new properties of the pattern emerge (Charmaz 2006; Stern 2007; Glaser and Strauss 2008).

> "I usually guess at 20 to 30 interviews and/or hours of observation adequate to reach saturation of the categories" (Stern 2007: 117).

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, I stopped gathering data after conducting the thirty-second interview. I was completely convinced that my categories were saturated at that point. I produced codes and categories from my interviewees' experiences, and used these to build a framework that was "grounded" in the data.

Eventually, my data yielded a framework which reflects two worlds in the same city; the "I" in Istanbul from the American women's perspective and the "she" in Istanbul from the indigenous people's perspective. This cross-cultural conflict is analyzed throughout this dissertation. Therefore, this study provides a paradoxical understanding of American women living in a different geography, Istanbul, from their own and from Turks' perspective with identity, belonging, and cultural aspects which are analyzed throughout this dissertation. How the participants of this study constructed their social identities as the "I" in Istanbul is explored with the cross-cultural conflict as the leading factor of the confrontations.

1.5 Chapter Outline

In Chapter 2, *Identity: Under Construction*, the reflections of participants' self-identification and how Turks identify these American expatriate women are analyzed. The "I" in Istanbul is seen to clash with how Turks see the "she" in Istanbul. As a result of conflict, participants set their own boundaries of lives and identities. Identity growth is something to be achieved, and residing in Istanbul yields its unique consequences for these women's identities.

Chapter 3, *Superiority and Inferiority Juxtaposed*, aims to shed light to gender asymmetry and its conclusions in general, and specifically, in Istanbul. The general assumption of two genders and the dichotomization of these two genders, both socially and culturally, results in conflict. Any given American woman may feel superior or inferior in the U.S. or in Turkey given different contexts. Participants' reflections contributed to frame this chapter to explicate where, how, and under which circumstances they were superior or inferior.

Chapter 4, *The Indelibility of Otherness*, starts with questioning reasons for these American women's journey from their "Promised Land" to a faraway destination, Istanbul, which carries both Oriental and Occidental features. Engaging with this host culture or disengaging from it was a personal choice of the participants. However, their choice was not enough to get accepted or rejected by Turks. The "otherness" issue gains momentum at that point and this chapter explicates who the "other" from a Turkish and also an American perspective is.

Chapter 5, *Globalized vs. Polarized Cultures*, focuses on the impact of globalization on life. Fluid borders and boundaries of the present day provide similar lifestyles and consumption habits to people around the world. For some people, it might be perceived as boring or even scary to think that all people are going to have similar lifestyles, whereas for others, it is an inevitable truth that the world is becoming a global village. The participants of the current study are at the intersection of global - local, Western – non-Western, and home –host cultures. Their confrontations and preferences as well as being accepted or rejected by this alien landscape, Istanbul, are discussed in this chapter.

The conclusion chapter briefly addresses and summarizes the above findings, and discusses their implications.

Chapter 2: Identity: Under Construction

"Who am I?" the individual asks when they want to discover the self. However, this question does not have one specific answer because of several intersecting features different from the self because others would definitely evaluate the visible components of any individual such as physical appearance, race, gender, and age, by perceiving these from the perspective of his/her own beliefs, culture, and prejudices. In other words, the answer to this question is "profoundly influenced by our cultural socialization, and acculturation and identity change process" (Ting-Toomey 2005: 211).

Our identity is a reflection of our existence. If we had not possessed different features of identity, we would all have been the same. Each individual on earth is unique due to a range of factors including some internal factors such as physical, psychological, emotional, and spiritual and external ones such as geographical, historical, political, all of which have a direct impact on identity. When individual choices and decisions are added to these intersecting internal and external factors, a unique individual appears with a unique identity. Even identical twins may end up being two very different individuals from changed physical appearance to differing decisions and choices such as relocating to a different part of the world. Therefore, in time, the identical features of those twins may diminish or even vanish.

All the internal, external factors, and individual choices and decisions for unique identity formation are embedded in the Social Identity Theory which was proposed by Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986). The theory asserts that individuals have multiple selves and social identity is created through membership in groups. Brewer

schematizes social identity theory; personal identity refers to the individuated self, including both personal and social identities, with personal identity at the core of the individual and concentric rings of growingly inclusive social identities (1991). Therefore, "I" cannot remain as an exclusive category but becomes "we" within any given group. The American women of the current study were the "I" in Istanbul but they also belonged to the "we" category in this host location regardless of individual volition.

Optimal Distinctiveness Theory is built upon Social Identity Theory, by Brewer (1991, 1999, and 2007). The theory indicates the inclusion of self in any given group; this inclusion ranges from a low to a high level. For example, being a woman is at the low end of the scale referring to total de-individualization. Being a woman in Istanbul creates a higher level of distinctiveness. However, being an American woman in Istanbul is at the high end of the scale as a highly individualized category (Brewer 1991, 1999, and 2007). According to the theory, human beings do not feel comfortable in social contexts when they are too distinctive or too indistinctive.

Defining the self as "Who I am" and definition of others as "Who he/she is" are highly subjective. "We therefore are sometimes confused about who we really are and about our relationship with our cultural heritage and social circumstances" (Lindholm 2007: 4). As Lindholm puts it, cultural and social factors are two leading determinants of how self is perceived. To illustrate, any given American woman wandering in conservative neighborhoods of Istanbul with a tank-top and a mini-skirt, and a smile on her face is too distinctive for Turks but indistinctive from her own perspective. This woman might identify herself as a liberal American woman, whereas from a conservative Turkish man's perspective, she could be identified as a

"loose" foreigner. Coming from a different cultural heritage, it would be hard for this woman to understand the stigmatization as such. She could either choose to change or struggle to get rid of this stigmatization. However, both choices could be painful because the former is probably not a desired one and the latter requires a strong personality.

Identity should be considered a dynamic component of human nature since nothing stays in its original form forever. As the title of this section, *Identity: Under Construction,* suggests, identities of the American women in the current research are analyzed below with regard to the dynamic nature of identity, and the self-identification/other-identification conflicts that these women experienced in Istanbul. Y. Y. Kim's cross-cultural adaptation theory (2001) addresses "the evolutionary process an individual undergoes vis-à-vis a new and unfamiliar environment" (Kim 2008: 508). Upon relocating to a new milieu, individuals deviate from the familiar and assumed life. In a brand new cultural system, "they are forced to suspend and even abandon their identification with the cultural patterns that have symbolized who they are and what they are" (Kim 2001: 50). In their new environment, expatriates undergo an internal transformation; rather than the basic values, "common adaptive changes in strangers take place in more superficial areas, such as overt role behavior" (Kim 2001: 51).

Identity is shaped and transformed depending on circumstances and location because there are generally discrepancies between requirements of the new milieu and "the strangers' internal capacity to meet those demands" (ibid.). Therefore, individuals expend their identity borders and boundaries to adapt their new environment. Self-discovery is a significant tool to ascertain its formation, evolution, and change. I

asked my participants the following two questions simultaneously: "Who are you?" and "How do you figure out your identity?" expecting them to share their experiences with the intention of eliciting their definitions. Their narratives helped me find out whether they believed in or discovered any formation, or evolution of, or change in their identities. A significant majority of the participants had their inner journey before or during the interview with a self-awareness of their identities. They defined themselves both from an American perspective and from an expatriate one because living in Istanbul definitely had an impact on their identities. I also wanted to understand when and how the identity formation, evolution, or change occurred. Eventually, the answers to those questions yielded two axial codes for my research method: "carrying identities in plural with self" and "transformed and evolving identity". These two codes will be discussed and explained in the course of a comprehensive analysis of the interviews to shed light on how the participants in my research define themselves in terms of their identities and also how they are defined by Turks.

2.1 Carrying Identities in Plural with Self

The subjects of my research were American women who identified themselves mostly by citizenship when asked who they were. The answers were as varied as "American", "foreigner", "outsider", "southerner", "global citizen", both American and Turkish, or neither, or a mix of American and Turkish. These women also identified themselves by gender, race, family status, and profession. They used words such as "woman", "white", "woman of color", "mother", "daughter", "grandmother", "wife", and career words such as "university instructor" to define themselves.

The main reason for the participants identifying themselves mostly with citizenship might depend on some dominant umbrella terms of identity; nationality and gender. This research also emphasizes these two components of identity, namely a study of American women and more elaborately, a study of American women who live in Istanbul, which connotes settling down in a foreign land.

In the present day, due to the ease of international mobility, more and more people are traveling and settling down in all parts of the world. Therefore, many travelers or expatriates identify themselves as being a global citizen. "Millions of people do not live in their country of citizenship. Millions have multiple citizenship and live in more than one country [sic]" (İçduygu 2009: 199). The American women in my research fit İçduygu's description of "millions of people [who] do not live in their country of citizenship". Except for one participant, Julia, all participants preferred living in Turkey rather than in their country of origin or in their country of citizenship.

Debates about citizenship might seem interminable depending on different types of regulations and practice of countries as well as how citizenship is perceived. According to İçduygu's definition, the legal aspect of citizenship is the formal membership of a state (2009) and the members of a state form the nation while according to Anderson's anthropological definition, a nation is an imagined political community (2006: 6). Be this community small or large, it is impossible to know, meet, or hear about the most of the fellow-members but imagine of them. "An American will never meet, or even know the names of more than a handful of his 240,000-odd fellow-Americans. He has no idea of what they are up to at any one time. But he has complete confidence in their steady, anonymous, simultaneous

activity" (Anderson 2006: 26). In this imagined world, members are expected to have a sense of belonging. However, some people might identify themselves with a nation, whereas some others might not and search for a sense of belonging in other social identities.

Citizenship can be considered as the membership of a state as well as a nation (İçduygu 2009). On the other hand, Erel summarizes different levels of citizenship such as those which can be defined as legal, social, or political, and different aspects of citizenship such as active/passive and public/private, as well as different tiers of citizenship such as local, regional, national, and transnational (2009). All these dimensions of citizenship make the issue of inclusion and exclusion complicated. In other words, what sort of citizens can benefit from all the rights and privileges of a state? As Erel states, "… each system of citizenship also constructs its ideal-typical subject as those who are best able to fulfill their obligations and are presumably thus best equipped to exercise their rights" (2009: 40). Therefore, it is hard to imagine a "global citizen" who could enjoy all the rights of any country in which he/she resides.

Aleinikoff draws attention to a post-national membership model which mainly focuses on the issues of tailoring the reserved rights and privileges of citizenship and reframing them in accordance with international human right norms (2003: 110). For Aleinikoff, the national citizenship may not be replaced by a universal model of citizenship. However, although the world might not be a post-national one, it will be rich in terms of diversity (2003: 124).

In fact, a universal model of citizenship might work very well for those who do not want to identify self with the nation or its values but still want to share the same social rights as full citizens. However, given such rights, individuals would prefer to migrate to well-developed countries, such as the U.S. In today's world, people do not want to feel the hegemonic power of any state and want to travel and settle down freely. Also, many people do not want to integrate with the nation of the host country even if they become a citizen.

In my research, those women who identified themselves as 'a global citizen' and 'both and neither a citizen' are believers in a post-national or universal citizenship model which privileges human rights over nationally bounded citizenship rights (Erel 2009: 41). With the potential of living anywhere in the world, these women quest for equal rights rather than being the privileged or the inferior other.

2.2 A Global Citizen

The question of a sense of belonging is unavoidable: does one need to be identified with specific communities such as a nation or ethnicity throughout his/her life? Or is it possible to reject a citizenship category of identity in order to better define oneself? The participants in my research who identified themselves as global citizens prioritized the cultural aspect of identity. Having interactions with different cultures, they explored similarities between cultures. Rather than being identified as an American, they reflected on the fact that they were global citizens sharing a great many similarities with people from different localities.

The first participant who identified herself as a global citizen was Maya. Through her travels, Maya experienced being in other cultures, and, rather than feeling an isolated

American, she integrated with other people. Her having studied anthropology might have had an impact on her world view of cultures and enabled her to recognize more commonalities and similar values. In her account, she also claims that she was not brought up patriotic. This is likely a further reason why she felt like a global citizen.

> Maya: I would identify myself as a global person, like a global citizen… because the more I travel, the more people I meet abroad, the more I have in common with people that are from all over the world, and the more we can relate to each other, and the less I feel tied to strictly an American identity…. And I think partly because where I'm from in the U.S. is not particularly patriotic…

In her account, Grace mentioned her bi-racial and global identities both with negative and positive internalizations.

> Grace: I don't feel like I sometimes fit in anywhere because my parents are, they're bi-… I'm bi-racial. I don't like that word, bi-racial, cause that sort of… mankind; I think we are all one race, but for some reason when it comes to ethnic divisions in America, we are supposed to identify, but I never really have... My father and mother come from completely different worlds, so maybe in that way, coupled with traveling all the time as a kid… travelling was part of that my whole life… I feel like I have always been caught in-between two worlds, and now it is even more so, I have a foot in America, and I have a foot here, and… I have a foot in my mother's home country too, so a global citizen…

Having a Filipino mother and an American father, Grace identified herself as bi-racial. In fact, she did not like people to be categorized for their race and ethnicity. Having her bi-racial physical appearance, Grace might have been disadvantaged. She also ascribes her global citizen identity to having a foot in three countries, the U.S., Philippines, and Turkey, as well as, as a result of traveling all the time as a child because of her father's post as a navy man.

Molly stated that she did not want to be identified with any nation, that she did not believe in citizenships but felt that she was a global citizen. She was concerned about her children's identity formation with the impact of the education system that they were in. Having her two children studying in Turkish state schools was upset about the "indoctrination" of elementary school system and shared her son's experience about how lack of critical thinking was imposed upon him. Rather than being part of a polarized culture, Molly wanted both herself and her children to be true to themselves, as citizens of a global village.

> Molly: And my son learned how to write. He wrote 3 pages of Atatürk'ü seviyorum [I love Ataturk]. I said, "Who is Atatürk?" and he said "I don't know". He was six years old. And we both laughed and we said, okay. But you know it's not a problem for me because it's so blatant, it's so obvious this whole thing, that it's not a problem, but of course it does, it does feel very um, heavy sometimes.

Madelyn who comes from a very large family with 8 children and having many of siblings living abroad including herself identified herself as a citizen of the world.

Madelyn: …coming from kind of somewhat a multicultural family, I realize I'm not Mexican, um, I appreciate things that are Mexican. But, um, but I'm just not really Mexican, when I'm in a group of Mexicans, I definitely don't feel like I… one of them. Um, and… so I listed myself as a citizen of the world. Ya. And a creative person and, ya. And um, um, yeah, citizen of the world. Someone who just loves to continually learn new things; that's kind of more who I am…

Her multiculturalism led the way to her multidimensional personality of being creative, an entrepreneur, and citizen of the world. As an entrepreneur, Madelyn started her own business manufacturing children's clothes and developed it into a fairly large business. Eventually, her business failed during the 2008 recession. However, she enjoyed her identity as a businesswoman more than any other aspect of her identity. She married her Turkish husband 35 years ago and was recently divorced. She did not consider herself to be a Mexican, American, or a Turk but a citizen of the world. This is likely to be because of her being surrounded by and immersed in diverse cultural contexts.

Kennedy's narrative below emphasizes both otherness and being a citizen of the world.

Kennedy: Ten years ago or so, I was teaching in the United States and one of my students said to me, 'Miss, whenever you talk about Americans you say "they" you don't say "we"', and it was a very interesting insight and I could never have occurred to me [sic]… Well, it wasn't a question, and all I could do was agree with it, and say yes, I don't feel like I am an American, I'm

> really just, I don't know now, it sounds like such a cliché, but a citizen of the world. Yeah, I don't um, I don't … there are certain things that I recognize that are American: American spirit, typical values… and I have those, some of those, but many of them I reject. I can't stand them, and I think there is a certain arrogance in my culture that… and maybe in every culture… that our way is the right way…

One of Kennedy's students helped raise her awareness about the otherness issue. As Yuval-Davis puts it, "All societies have a pool of cultural traditions, collective memories and 'common sense' in which the image of the 'others' and the 'rules' about how they should be handled are to be found" (1997: 47). In Kennedy's account, although she was expected to share the collective values of-American society with her class of American students, unconsciously she divided her world into 'us' and 'them' in which 'them' represented Americans. In contrast to what was expected of her, Kennedy saw her own community as the 'other'. She carried, what can be described as, American spirit and some American values, yet she did not feel American. Instead, global citizenship represented her better. According to Yuval-Davis, "… any culturally perceived sign could become a boundary signifier to divide the world into 'us' and 'them'" (ibid.). In Kennedy's case, she disagreed with and rejected some values. The "arrogance" of Americans thinking their way is the right way, as well as some values were clearly triggers for her to see the Americans as the 'other'. It was obvious that Kennedy's approach was not what Brewer calls "ingroup love vs. outgroup hate" Seeing herself as a global citizen rather than an American, Kennedy's "ingroup attachments and loyalties are not necessarily associated with outgroup antagonisms" (Brewer 1999: 442).

Some people might have a strong sense of belonging to a nation or a state, whereas others might not. It depends on the many variables mentioned above such as being brought up patriotic or not, racial and ethnic discrimination, a multicultural perspective, and agreeing or disagreeing with the agreed and/or shared values of a given society. The participants of this study who identified themselves as a global citizen did not want to be identified only with their American citizenship because of not settling in the U.S. for a lifetime but traveling and settling in different parts of the world as well as sharing a great many similarities with people all around the world. Therefore, those participants who preferred global citizen identity rather than American citizenship believed in a universal model of citizenship in which human rights are prioritized rather than having some nations being privileged. Paradoxically, these women did not completely give up their American citizenship because of its advantages almost everywhere in the world. They excluded the sense of belonging to a nation while they were constructing or shaping their identity. This was achieved through a process of learning to adapt to the new settlement. By accepting and/or rejecting Turkish culture and its values, setting up physical and psychological boundaries in their new settlement, and negotiating cross-cultural conflicts, some of these women were still American, some were global citizens, only a small population felt like a Turk.

It is probably much easier for an American to reject a nation category of identity than a Turk. Baban argues that in countries such as the United States, a liberal citizenship regime is in practice which focuses on the primacy of the individual and on diversity. However, in Turkey, where the republican citizenship regime is in practice, diversity is not welcomed and unity and cohesion is obligatory (2009: 52). Therefore, any

given American citizen can easily describe themselves as a global citizen and therefore be relieved of the pressure to force one's self to feel like an American.

These American women of the current study with their dual citizenship as American-Turks feel embraced by the country although they are not perceived as fully Turkish. Brewer's theory of "ingroup love vs. outgroup hate" does not apply to these people as Turks' ingroup attachments and loyalties do not necessarily result in outgroup antagonism. These American-Turkish women in Istanbul are the privileged "other" with their positive connotations of being Westerners. These people are not a threat for the country, whereas the ethnic minorities of Turkey such as Kurds, Armenians, and Greeks are believed to be so. "… it is in a sense universally true that "we" are more peaceful, trustworthy, friendly, and honest than "they"" (Brewer 1999: 435). The social interactions between any given American woman and a Turk is more negotiable than between a Kurd and a Turk. From a general Turkish point of view, both are the "other", in former friendship and in latter hostility is likely to be experienced.

As diverse citizens of a liberal country, the U.S., some of the participants of my research believed in universal citizenship and identified themselves as a global citizen. However, Turks perceive and identify these people as foreigners and in a broader term as the "other".

2.3 Both and Neither a Citizen

In a globally interconnected world, people exploit globalization in many respects. Be it due to communication, technology, travel, education, or work, people experience more diverse lifestyles than the past. Any individual may choose to integrate with

any community in order to build a new or better life. As a result of international settlements, international marriages are commonplace. In these marriages, one of the spouses may choose to live in the other spouse's country or the couple may move to a third country. One may acquire foreign citizenship by marriage in order to benefit from the rights and privileges of the spouse's country of birth. In other words, this person is a citizen of two countries at the same time. If the spouses live in a third country, which isn't the country of birth of either of them, they still have the right to dual citizenship. Their children may also acquire dual nationality. In any of the combinations above, dual citizenship-holders may still not be content with their status in regard to belonging and seeing themselves as misrepresented.

In the current study, some of the participants felt "both and neither" a citizen. Those who felt like citizens of both countries implied two things; they either had parents one of who was American and the other not, or they were the American women carrying dual citizenship, one American and the other, say, Turkish. Those who felt like citizens of neither country were the ones who rejected belonging two or even three specific countries, namely, they disagreed to choose to be a citizen of the parents' country of origin or they rejected to be an American or a Turk.

Sophie, with a Japanese mother and an American father, had a dilemma about her national identity. She felt neither fully Japanese nor American. Her biculturalism was reflected in her behavior in everyday life. When in Japan, she did not fit the culture as a Japanese person and in the U.S., she did not feel like an American.

> Sophie: I am both and neither Japanese and American. When I am in Japan, I know how the Japanese people think. I speak Japanese fluently. I feel

> comfortable in Japan. So if I want to, um I could feel Japanese but that is not how I persuade myself… and both and neither. So sometimes I act differently when I am in Japan than from other Japanese people, I am comfortable with that. If I am in America maybe there are some things about me that aren't American. If I wanna blend in, I can blend in. If I don't have to blend in, I won't.

Even after spending 27 years in Turkey, Eva still did not feel like she belonged in Turkey. Neither did she feel she belonged to the U.S. Her sense of belonging did not mean attachment to a state. With her motherly instinct and with her wife and homemaker status, she identified herself as belonging to her private territory, namely, her home.

> Eva: I don't feel like I belong here, I don't feel like I belong there. But when I'm in my home, its mine, and you know, I like being in my home. And it's here. And I cannot see myself having a home in America with the same feeling now.

İçduygu states that the belief about membership of a nation is possible when citizens share a history, ethnicity, mother tongue, religion, culture or the conception of good (2009: 200). After spending almost 20 years in Turkey, Summer still had the ambiguity of calling both Turkey and the U.S. home. She was both alienated from and identified with an American and a Turkish citizenship depending on where she was. Additionally, she did not enjoy being categorized as a foreigner after all the years spent in Turkey. She was sure that she had shared as much as possible with the Turks. Remarkably, while her husband was a Turk, she did not become a Turkish

citizen. Instead, her husband and children acquired dual citizenship, while she retained a single citizenship thereby potentially further contributing to her sense of alienation.

> Summer: When I'm here in Turkey, I'm very much at home, and I feel just as Turkish, in fact I get upset if you can tell automatically that I'm a foreigner, I don't like to stand out, I don't like to be categorized as something different, but I think… so I'm very comfortable here, I think I have more of a problem when I go home to the States, I still call it home…. But when I'm back to the States, because I feel so out of place there now, I've been living here so long, so although I enjoy being there, I'm kind of… when I'm there I'm American, when I'm here I'm Turkish. I kind of feel that way.

In Kylie's account of her citizenship, she emphasized three nationalities: Turkish, Japanese, and American. With a Turkish father, a Japanese mother, and having lived in the U.S. since birth and moved to Turkey recently, she is a multicultural woman with the influence of all three cultures.

> Kylie: I... at first I kind of identified myself as being as like Turkish and Japanese, but not so much American, because I never had to challenge myself at being an American, er, when I moved, I… definitely [laughs] felt like I …. I wasn't fully Turkish, I mean I don't know much about the Japanese culture, but my background is Japanese, so I do hold onto that, but, I'm not fully American neither. And… I think when I actually started to live in a new culture that was predominantly Turkish, I didn't really have any American friends. I tried to stay away from Americans, for my first year, so I could

> assimilate into the Turkish culture as much as I could… and I kind of realized… since I was brought up in a mixed culture, I had just… strengthen my background…

The ambiguity about Kylie's identity continued throughout the interview. It seems that she might have had an identity conflict and could not decide how to identify herself. Being exposed to three different cultures caused her to have an ambivalent reflection of herself. The hyphenated identity of Turkish-American and even Turkish-Japanese-American account probably indicates that the boundaries of Kylie's identity were flexible and subject to change.

> Kylie: I'm like, I'm American. I mean I can be Turkish-American, I can be Turkish-Japanese-American… It was difficult to come to that because in America, you know, you always say 'Oh, you know, I'm Turkish, I'm Japanese', you don't really say I'm American. So… it was difficult to change how I identified myself, but also I kind of changed how I personally identify myself too, but now I can say I'm American [laughs].

Mary was another multicultural participant of Hungarian decent. She preferred not to identify herself with a nation. Rather, she stated that for her there are three places that she calls her home including her homes in the U.S., Turkey, and Hungary. Thinking about such an exceptional situation, she called herself 'homeless'. Her reflection was a result of internalizing the cultures of all three countries.

> Mary: In my opinion I've got three places I call home, I say it, I don't even realize I'm saying it, but I'll say home to there, to Ohio, to here, I would say

home to here, and then I also say home to Hungary, because I was born there, and I have relatives there, so its… it's like in a way I'm kind of homeless. By saying all this… because what is home? Well it is different places for me… It's, I mean, this is kind of a cliché, but they say home is where the heart is, and that's really, really true. You know, part of my heart is there, and part of it is here. I know that when I leave here, even though I know I'm going to leave, and I don't plan on returning here, but I know that when I leave I'll miss various things…

Chloe recounted how she explored wonderful things about both American and Turkish cultures. She preferred to use the hyphenated description Turkish-American and calling herself a Turkish-American mother. She also indicated the importance of preserving both cultures rather than being assimilated by one of them. She emphasized that she would bring up bi-cultural children.

Chloe: I'm starting to do that, to realize that there are so many wonderful things here that I do take for granted, um… and there are many wonderful things that living in America and being American there that I take for granted, but this is an extraordinary opportunity for me, for our children, for my husband too, for us to be able to go back and forth between both countries, is really rewarding, and I don't mean in a financial, I mean….. it gives you a deeper appreciation of… even though we can be considerably different, we are so similar no matter what culture we're from… I would like to be that Turkish-American mother who is fully fluent in both languages. I may not be fully fluent in both cultures in the future, but I would like to be fluent in both

> languages so that I am better able to help my children with their homework, to help them to develop love and appreciation for both the U.S. and Turkey.

Molly did not want to be identified with a country. She felt foreign both in her country of birth and the country where she resides now. Although her friends accepted her as a Turk, it was a meaningless compliment for Molly.

> Molly: I don't identify with country, I identify with a small area. I'm Molly. I'm different when I go to New York, I'm foreign, when I come here, I'm foreign… Turkish people see it as a compliment saying you're a Turk, you're not, you know, some of my friends tell me as a compliment… I realize it's a compliment for them, oh you're not American, you're Turkish. But for me it means, it doesn't mean anything.

The participants who contributed to the current research had mixed feelings about belonging. Through having bi- or multicultural families or by traveling, they interacted with different cultures which broadened their horizons. They made a choice to add new dimensions to their already existing plural identities. Some concluded that they belonged to one or more nation or state, others that they belonged to a specific nation as long as they stayed in that state. For some, belonging was not necessary and they were "citizens of the world" who could adjust themselves to the culture of wherever they were. These American women were those who had drawn their own boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, and, as Lilly mentioned below, the environment did not circumscribe their plural identities

> Lilly: I think you carry your identities in the plural with you… I think your identities are something that you carry with you when you develop on your own, certainly in relationship to your environment, but I don't think it's circumscribed by your environment.

The dynamic nature of identity is open to growth, transformation, and evolution. Any individual is generally identified with one, or in some cases more than one, group membership (Brewer 1999, 2007). "American" or "Turk" or "Turkish-American" are categories which that form the fundamentals of identity and belonging to larger and imagined communities (Anderson 2006). That is, one's relative sense of belonging to a larger group is defined by the extent to which one identifies with that group as a whole – for example, an individual that thinks herself to be part of a s more tightly defined imagined community is less likely to be accepting of memberships in other and affiliated communities or groups (Anderson 2006). Therefore, some of the participants (e.g. Molly) may have had a more expanded sense of imagined community, whereby they likely saw themselves not merely as a woman or American but rather part of a globally integrated and imagined community. On the other hand, some participants (e.g. Carol) may have had a narrower sense of an imagined community, whereby they may likely have seen themselves as American first and foremost. Thus, we can see from the above that the identities of these American women were not set in stone, but rather evolved based upon the interplay of their past experiences as American and as women, their current lives as American women in Turkey, and the extent to which their idiosyncratic notions of group belonging contributed to the breadth of the larger and imagined community.

2.4 Transformed and Evolving Identity

Throughout our lives, we experience biological, mental, psychological, and spiritual growth and change. Our identities are also fluid. As the title of this section, *Identity: Under Construction,* suggests, all individuals experience a shift in their identity in terms of transformation, evolution, and change. Be it gradual, slow, slight, rapid or radical, the fluidity of identity is unavoidable. In the present study, participants experienced a shift in their identities mainly due to the new life in a new geography. As Kim points out, "the emerging identity is one that develops out of many challenging and often painful experiences of self-reorganization under the demands of a new milieu" (2001: 65).

The great majority of the participants of the current research agreed that their identities changed on different levels, to different degrees, according to time, places, and circumstances. Only one participant, Lydia, claimed that her identity was solid and did not change. However, she mentioned her flexibility and adaptability to different circumstances. Experiencing two hurricanes in the Caribbean and living without water and power solidified her identity. Therefore, she benefited from her experience by acquiring adaptability to different locations and cultures.

"Transformed and Evolving Identity" is the second axial code of this section. Identity in terms of fluidity is analyzed in this chapter with two subheadings; "Growing out of the box who one is" and "New chapter in life". The participants' experiences of how and when their identities were transformed, evolved, and changed are analyzed below along with their identity conflicts in the Turkish city, Istanbul.

2.4.1 Growing Out of the Box

According to Brewer's identity model, personal identity, namely self, is located in the center, and all other social identities form concentric circles around that core (1991: 476). These social identities contribute to the personal identity by shaping and transforming, therefore, changing it. In the current research, the core identity of the participants could be imagined as a box and all added social identities could be considered to be growing out of it. The two salient factors of these participants were that they were American and women. Other than these two, they became a member of several diverse social groups which all contributed to their identity growth keeping the original in the center. During my research, I requested that the American women share their experiences with regard to their identity growth. I wanted to find our whether the participants regarded their identities as having changed, and if so, I also wanted to learn when and how this change happened. Agreeing on the change, transformation, and evolution, the unique experiences which guided and influenced their identity construction varied.

Some of the participants claimed that individuals preserve their core values and add to this core identity. Andrea recounted that her genes, personality, and characteristics cannot change. However, her identity can improve and needs to be improved.

> Andrea: The inside core is never gonna change. That only develops and improves but I think that the identity of who I am as a human, American, Turkish, Chinese, whatever, I think it needs to definitely be open to growing to push the boundaries.

In her account, Nelly was sure about two stable things; her values and her parents. Her experiences changed depending upon time and place. She was one of the women who grew out of the box who she was.

> Nelly: …my values don't leave, um, but my experiences change, and the way that I interpret them has changed over the years, and every place you live, um, it just challenges those questions, I don't have a single answer except to say that I know who my parents are, I know what my values are….

After leaving her home in the U.S. almost 30 years ago, as well as becoming a grown up person, Adrianna agreed that she had changed. She believed she had a main identity and sub-identities. Her main identity was her American identity, which consisted of her culture and language, and her sub-identity, which was Turkish, supported the main one. What Adrianna referred by main and sub-identities was Brewer's personal and social identities theory (1991). Her personal identity was the American self, whereas her Turkish identity was one of her social identities that she chose.

> Adrianna: I realize I am not the old American who left it… 18 years old; Of course no one is exactly the same… I still have those same core values… when I speak Turkish that is an identity within my main identity, the sub-identity… the culture and the language they are together. They are all together in one parcel in that personality.

Identity develops over the course of one's life. However, as Adrianna claimed, the core of being brought up influences one's entire life as the main identity and the experiences form the sub-identities.

> Adrianna: You have probably a core of self-knowledge about yourself ,as life goes on you realize you know, you may go here, may go there, you have different experiences in life, but there is a core [to] who you are which is the way you grew up ,the way your parents brought you up.

"…People often feel that they have to choose one aspect of their identity over another" (Kirk and Okazawa-Rey 2010: 92). Having an American-style upbringing and an American identity, Kendall did not want to lose it completely. On the other hand, she wanted to assimilate Turkish culture, too. When the interview took place, Kendall was a-few-months-long resident of Istanbul who had not decided to live in Turkey or in the U.S. yet. She was trying her relationship with her Turkish boyfriend in the Turkish context. She was experiencing a dilemma about whether or not to add a new dimension, a Turkish identity, to her American identity. She was concerned about acquiring the Turkish identity and losing the American one.

> Kendall: I feel part Turkish, you know, I don't want to lose my upbringing and identity completely from America, but I wanna feel, I think I want to feel split…. Someday I hope I feel like I'm… like I feel I could live there or here…. And I want to be sort of tortured by it… like I wanna ….feel that it's a really difficult decision whether I want to live here or there… so I want to assimilate you know partly with the culture, but without losing everything…

Julia recounted that any individual grows out of the box who he/she is, namely the family and culture a child is born to dominates the rest of the life and all the experiences stem from the emotional ties of childhood. She argued that all senses and perceptions are shaped during one's childhood and this core never changes.

> Julia: …And you have smells, you have the music, you have the words, you have the touch, you have…. All those things and they get absorbed into your very skin. And they become part of you and even if you leave all of that and you would live all of your life in another country, something inside of you will always be who you were when you were 12. You can't take that away.

"Identity formation is a lifelong process that includes discovery of the new, recovery of the old, forgotten, or appropriated… individuals mark an identity change in tangible ways" (Kirk and Okazawa-Rey 2010: 93). These American women of the current study discovered a new geography, Istanbul, and its culture. They got engaged in this cosmopolitan city life. Their old lives and habits clashed with the new one. They longed for many aspects of American lifestyle, from language to religious practice, from consumption habits to dress code. They also appropriated and adopted some aspects of Turkish culture such as the warmth and helpfulness and explored a city and culture which was moving back and forth between the East and the West. These women's identities were growing, evolving, and transforming in harmony with their lives in Istanbul.

In her account Lucy referred to the possibility of slight changes in one's identity. She claimed that it is possible to change ways of speaking, acting, and dressing. Those changes can be put down to discovery of the new, and recovery or appropriation of

the old. Lucy made necessary changes to adapt to life in Istanbul. However, as she argued, it is not possible to change the entire identity.

> Lucy: I think you can change parts of your identity… but you, you can't change it as a whole, what I mean as a whole is, you know, as in the whole… saying you're a Turk when you live here, I think for me, that's changing your identity, because you're an American, and just because you're living somewhere doesn't mean you can change that. But things like, you change the way you speak, or you change the way you act, you change the way you dress is a boundary I think you could cross, so I think there are small things you can change…. The whole package, not the whole identity, but the small things you can always adjust or change about yourself.

In her account, Violet referred to identities of Turks in Istanbul from all over the country rather than the expatriate women's identity clashes. Coming from a different background than the Istanbul dwellers, those Turks lead a life that does not fit to this city's spirit. According to Violet, the Black Sea people or people of other communities can be perceived as the 'other' with their different dialects, lifestyles and identities in Istanbul. She remarked that both they and the Istanbul residents feel uncomfortable because they act the way they like. Carrying on their rural lifestyles in this modern city from their dress code to the music they listen to, these people do not represent the Istanbul dwellers. Their identities clash rather than evolve. What Violet claimed was that people from different communities should melt in a pot like in the popular metaphor once used for the U.S. so that Istanbul would look like a modern international city.

> Violet: A person born in the Karadeniz [Black Sea] area doesn't feel very comfortable in Istanbul, because the traditions, the identity that they refer to or feel comfortable in are quite different. They have a different speech pattern. They have different customs. Um, they just don't feel comfortable; in fact most of them do not change, as you know. The problem is Istanbul. It's more like a gecekondu [slums].You just have just a whole bunch of people just living here from other cities, and they're all just acting like where they came from instead of melting in.

Ayata claims that cities in the developing world are becoming more heterogeneous but residential areas are grouped according to the income of the dwellers so locations are homogeneous. "Cities are thus divided into a number of localities in which imagined differences between classes and cultures are established as social and special boundaries" (2002: 25). In different parts of Istanbul, it is inevitable that one will see the social and cultural differences of the residents. However, this kind of diversity may not please people like Violet. She expected all of Istanbul's residents to integrate in a perceived Istanbul lifestyle.

In Grace's narrative, we learn that living in Istanbul contributed to her identity development. Her analogy of seeing herself as a student is a reflection of her being open to learning. Grace did not limit her experience only to staying in Istanbul. She wanted to see the whole picture of Turkey and was surprised about what she learnt about it.

> Grace: I think being here is stretching my identity, and being able to adapt as I've said before and also I feel er, like every day has adventure in it, and not

just in Istanbul but in Turkey in general, and surprises and adventures I love them anyway; but I feel like I'm a student here....

Venus and Mary are two participants who believed that their identities strengthened but did not change due to their unique experiences. Venus indicated her roles in the society and thought that they were parts of her identity. She believed that as a woman, an American, and a teacher she had to work hard to deserve these titles. Her efforts to accomplish this goal strengthened her identity. On the other hand, Mary's narrative supports the idea of growing out of the box. Mary did not believe that the whole identity of a person might change. For her, the core identity is the same and all outer factors that shape one's identity are built upon this core.

Venus: I think that my identity has probably strengthened because people have expectations of me as a woman, as an American, as a teacher.

Mary: I don't think my identity as a whole has changed... I mean I don't think it's really, really changed...you have to be open to change and new things, so I mean, sure your ultimate identity, who you are, you know, that's the same... You know all those things that's the same, but then again you grow out of this box...

Considering the participants' accounts, one's identity can be assumed to be like a parcel and it is not completely possible to change the whole package but rather add new features to it. Istanbul, Turkish culture and Turks might have contributed to the participants' identities. Turks could witness the identity growth of these people. Struggling to learn the language and the culture, these people were appreciated by

Turks. However, Turks do not expect an American woman to completely become a Turk believing – like many participants – that their core identity would never change. Therefore, any given participant is identified as an "American woman" by Turks rather than identifying her with any other components of her evolved, transformed, or changed identity. Having less diverse cultural roots of nationalism as compared to the Americans, Turks have a narrower sense of an imagined community. Therefore, an American woman in Istanbul is not a member of Turks' imagined community.

2.4.2 A New Chapter in Life

> *We assume that all Americans control their own lives, create their own identities.*
>
> *James M. Jasper*

Human nature is always on a quest for a better life. To achieve this goal, individuals might choose different methods. Among these, migration is very popular. According to the United Nations, several types of migrants are distinguished. "Personal dreams and decisions, community expectations and pressures, macro-level immigration policies, or global labor markets all influence who moves, where they move from and to, the conditions under which they relocate, and the situations they face at their destinations" (Kirk and Okazawa-Rey 2010: 379).

People migrate both voluntarily and involuntarily. These migrants are grouped as asylum seekers, contract migrant workers, diplomats and consular personnel, domestic employees, foreign retirees (as settlers), foreign students, foreign tourists, foreigners admitted for family formation or reunification, internally displaced persons, military personnel, refugees, stateless persons, and trafficked persons (Kirk

and Okazawa-Rey 2010: 378). All study participants moved to Turkey on a voluntary basis. Those participants' own employment as well as their husbands' was the two major reasons for their settling outside the U.S. In other words, they may be categorized as contract migrant workers. The participants who married Turkish men also wanted to experience Turkish culture which was initially introduced to them in the U.S. by their husbands. These women fall into the category of foreigners who migrated to form a family or for reunification. Some participants as "restless Americans" traveled to many countries but were fascinated by Turkey and Turkish culture and settled down here. According to the United Nations' migrant categories, such participants were foreign tourists who went "off-track" and became contract migrant workers in Turkey.

Any reason for settling down in Istanbul which is such a remote location (more than 5,000 miles) for Americans signifies one important result: a new chapter in life. Childhood, adolescence, maturity, and old age are biological 'new chapters' in human life which all contribute to the identity of an individual. Settling down in a new milieu could be seen as a geographical 'new chapter' and this re-settling also contributes to the identity.

Although the expatriate carries his/her identities in plural with his/her self, in a new location this individual needs to include, exclude or adjust values, beliefs, and culture. Life cannot be the same in the host country as in the home country even if those two countries carry lots of similarities. Adapting to the new home may not be easy, especially when the individual feels alienated. The country to which the person moves, or the country which is left behind, might either be superior to the other, for a variety of reasons. However, the choice of the individual who hopes for a better life

determines how this new chapter will look. On the other hand, given the reality of external forces on individuals, the new chapter might not be a desired one.

The women of this study were all excited to have a new life in Istanbul because this new location was attractive with its hybrid Eastern and Western identity. However, the new chapter was full of challenges including the language and culture. The participants would use their own cultural orientation model to fit or not to fit in this geography and the new chapter would end sooner or later for the ones who saw themselves as guests. The women who were planning to stay in Istanbul for a long time, or even for a lifetime, found ways to make their lives as good as their life in the U.S. or even better by accepting and/or rejecting Turkish cultural values.

As quoted earlier from Jasper, Americans are assumed to control their own lives as the citizens of a liberal country. In my research, all 32 participants made their own choice to live in Istanbul. Out of these 32 American women, 11 married Turkish husbands. One participant also married her Turkish boyfriend a few months after giving the interview. One participant and her husband obtained Turkish citizenship. Three of the participants had Turkish boyfriends. Some of the participants or their husbands obtained dual citizenship. One participant preferred to live in the U.S. and stay in Istanbul 1 to 4 months almost every year. Other than her, these international marriages or relationships led the way to a new chapter in the lives of the women in terms of a new environment to settle down in.

It was perhaps inevitable in many instances that these international marriages would one day bring these American women to Istanbul to live. Andrea came to Istanbul in the second year of her marriage and she was enthusiastic to learn Turkish language

and culture. Adrianna was another participant who came to Istanbul as a student for the first time and stayed here for the rest of her marriage.

> Andrea: I dated different people but then I met one, a Turkish man. We married in 2004 and in 2006 we came to Turkey and now I've been here teaching…

> Adrianna: I first came to Turkey in 1973, right after my high school graduation I came and met with my husband's family and just you know, got a general tour around… If I count also the years, also when I was at Boğaziçi [University], let's say, we got married at 80 so [I've been in Istanbul for] 32-33 years let's say.

Melanie and Summer moved to Istanbul soon after having babies. These women were brave enough to start a new chapter not only for themselves but also for their newly born babies in a brand new milieu. Eva, on the other hand, had her first three children in the U.S. and had the other four in Istanbul. Therefore, moving to Istanbul was a new chapter for four people of the same family.

> Melanie: We came here when he [their son] was two months old.
>
> Summer: …my only demand was that I wanted to have my first child at home with my mother and my family…. So, as soon as the baby was born, six months old, my son, we came… we moved.
>
> Eva: We came to Turkey in 1986, in the summer of 1986, um, I had three children. The eldest was, I think, 6 or 7…

Owing to their unique experiences, some American women opened a new chapter in their lives not by marrying a Turk but by other changes. Lauren, for instance, traveled for a very long time, settled in Istanbul with her husband, started her own business, and became very successful. Her identity as a businesswoman was her best chapter in her life. Recently, a new chapter for her is her retirement.

> Lauren: … I've moved… and adjusted my life accordingly. I used to um, for 13 years identified myself with my work. I identified myself as Delikız, and most people still know me as Delikız, so when I closed the shop I had a major identity crisis, I didn't know who I was. I'm back to where I was before I ever opened the shop. I'm just me who has a good time, and likes to do a lot of different things, but it's taken me two years, to find that. To be able to say that, because I was… so tied up with my shop identity… so tied up.

Natalie's account refers to a well-known saying; "Never say never". She admitted that she would not believe that she would be living outside of the U.S. one day. Natalie, as a widow in her seventies, abandoned her home in Arizona and decided to live with her daughter's family in Istanbul. It was a radical decision for her and she did not regret embracing a new identity as a grandmother. Her experience was an indication of a new chapter in her life.

> Natalie: When he [her husband] passed away, and I had grandchildren somewhere else, that's where I wanted to be and so I have just kind of abandoned my house in Arizona… Since coming to Turkey, my new grandson has grown from a little baby to a little boy and I have a new granddaughter. The identity of the grandmother has grown; I've never

considered myself a grandmother much before. You're just learning about this new grandchild. And this identity of being an expat, I have never thought of myself. 10 years ago, somebody if… said, "Will you be living some place besides the United States", I would say "No, I will visit but I won't be living there".

The assumption underlying the concept of beginning a new chapter through marriage, becoming a mother, relocating or establishing a business, does not suffice to explain all new and positive starts. Many people like Camilla and Madelyn may have ups and downs in life. Both Camilla and Madelyn experienced marriage which had ups and downs. Camilla married to a German Jew although the husband's family did not prefer a Christian daughter-in-law.

Camilla: When I married my husband, I …his parents were Jewish…they wanted him to marry a Jewish woman… was very important to them…their identity …and of course…think about it… so I converted to Judaism…I went to the synagogue…you know it was reformist not fundamental… it was easy…. I went to classes and did the conversion…and became Jewish… did I feel Jewish? No…

Having had a Christian identity, Camilla had to sacrifice it for her husband's family. However, her Jewish identity did not mean anything to her other than satisfying her husband's family. Her marriage lasted for a long time (25 years) yet it was not a happy one and Camilla was an alcoholic mother. 8 years ago she decided to start a new chapter in her life by quitting alcohol, ending her marriage, and starting a new career as a language instructor after getting her teaching credentials. However,

another new chapter, moving to Istanbul, would start when California was on the verge of bankruptcy and she lost her job there in 2008. In short, for Camilla, her life was full of new chapters and her plural identities all emerged from her experiences.

> Camilla: … I'm a recovering alcoholic… I'm a teacher… and I'm a mother … and I am a creative person… They are all really significant things …. and a traveller, too.

The ups and downs in Madelyn's life eventually forced her to start everything from scratch. Ending her marriage, going bankrupt and starting a new career in Istanbul as a language instructor were all big changes for her. She put a lot of effort into being strong, without getting much support from anyone. Her reflection about her challenging life indicated that losing something came like a chain order of losing others as well. However, all her difficulties enabled her to become a stronger woman and enhanced her identity formation.

> Madelyn: ... so many things changed, my career… um, well I, I give a lot of conscious effort to it, because this was a really, ah, totally new chapter in my life, you know, because I gave up my residency, I gave up, I lost my job, I, um, I actually have one daughter here now, but I, I don't see my other daughter regularly. My younger daughter is going to Boğaziçi [University], but, yeah, there were so many changes, I mean I lived, ah, you know, in a whole other country, and then I have to think who am I, what am I, and what's my job, and, um, and I came without, with, I only had one friend who I, what… just a young person who was a family friend that helped me a little at the beginning , but basically I was on my own, and I, yeah…. So… um,

yep my identity, yeah, it had to really… um, I had to kinda start from scratch, because I was unemployed and I had, really had no friends…

When a brand new chapter starts in an individual's life, this new chapter is an extension of the experiences lived earlier. A new location, Istanbul, and its culture were definitely a part of the new life. The early experiences of the participants were blended with the new ones in this city. This new life both satisfied and frustrated participants in diverse occasions. However, their identities were solidified as a result of all lived experiences.

2.5 Chapter Summary

Identity: Under Construction chapter provided the reflections of participants who believed that their identities are growing each and every day. As can be expected, living in a different location, Istanbul, has definitely contributed to that growth. Therefore, the implications of living in some other location have yielded its unique consequences. Firstly, these American women were all brave enough to come to Istanbul, a remote destination with a different language, religion, and culture. Secondly, they set and extended their own physical and psychological boundaries by rejecting and/or accepting Turkish citizenship as well as Turkish values. Thirdly, they put effort into learning to respect Turkish culture even though they did not fully agree with it. Finally, settling down in Istanbul meant a new chapter in their lives in which they were surrounded by East and West juxtaposed. These findings emphasize the inevitable truth of change both in the participants' lives and for their identities. Identifying self and being identified by others may not always yield the same results. Because individuals derive their sense of self through membership in social groups (Tajfel and Turner 1979, 1986), these women were constructing their identities to be

part of a new and different imagined community. However, their globally integrated and imagined community clashed with this new imagined community. Hence, actual and perceived community memberships were not the same. These findings indicate that those participants changed, transformed, or evolved in terms of their identity formations after negotiating cross-cultural conflicts. The current study highlighted that one's identity is constantly under construction with regard to its dynamic nature as well as the sum of learnt experiences.

Chapter 3: Superiority and Inferiority Juxtaposed

Based on the assumption that "woman" is a contested category and that women quest for equality in a male-dominant world (de Beauvoir 1989; hooks 1990/2000; Butler 1999; Lorber 2010), one might wonder about the relational understanding of feminism by a specific group of people, namely American women in Istanbul. This chapter seeks to examine whether participants of the current study felt superior and/or inferior in their new location, and whether feminism was invoked outside of the Western world to the new milieu by participants or not. Also, how well crossing cultural boundaries as a woman was achieved is another aspect to be discussed. Therefore, this chapter explicates historical development of feminism and compares liberation of American women to Turkish women. Theoretical discussion of sex/gender conflict as well as gender asymmetry, and heterosexuality, are also in the scope of this section. In the current research, "Breaking female stereotypes" and "Living in a bubble" were the axial codes I came up with while seeking the answers of those questions in regards to gender issues. The women who participated in the current study were either actively involved in the daily life of Istanbul, or prevented themselves from being too visible for a variety of reasons. Also, some of these women struggled for embracement of this city and its culture which indicate different modes of adjustment to a new milieu as an expat. They felt superior or inferior in different circumstances and their past clashed with their present situation constantly.

3.1 History of Feminism in the U.S. and Turkey

Feminism is a movement whose scope is women and a sustainable life for women. The term feminism originated in France in the 1880s as the combination of the word "femme" meaning woman, and the suffix "-ism" meaning political position (McCann

and Kim 2013: 1). The denotation of feminism has never been sufficient to better explain the movement and feminism has been misunderstood or underestimated even until the present day. "Many women are reluctant to advocate feminism because they are uncertain about the meaning of the term" (hooks 2000: 24). Even today, some people believe that feminism is a racist, lesbian, and political movement, and that advocates of feminism see men as the enemy. It is hard to deconstruct this prejudice because of the wide scope of feminism including racial, sexual, political, and many more dimensions.

"Contemporary feminist movement in the United States called attention to the exploitation and oppression of women globally" (hooks 2000: 34). However, as hooks states, feminism in the U.S. has never emerged from the women victims of all sorts of sexual oppression but from a group of "college-educated, middle- and upper-class, married white women- housewives bored with leisure, with the home, with children, with buying products, who wanted more out of life" (hooks 2000: 1). Feminist theories and movements, in turn, emerged and shaped over time to embrace and cater for the needs of women globally rather than to be the efforts of white women's rights.

The current feminist movement is embedded in a combination of coexisting frameworks from the feminist theories which have emerged to provide and address a basis of understanding women's unique experiences, lives, and challenges. This was a necessity because of the diversity of women in regard to all intersecting identity components as well as the cultural phenomena which results in unequal representation of all female voices. Historically, feminist movements were divided into three periods as first-wave, second-wave, and third-wave. However, the wave

metaphor is criticized by some scholars. This metaphor "is of limited usefulness as a tool for explaining various coalescences and fractures in feminist movements" (McCann and Kim 2013: 11). The highs and lows of feminist waves honor the lives and activities of white, middle-class, heterosexual women in the global north and overlook and mask the rest of the women and their struggle. Rowley is among the scholars who are skeptical of the wave metaphor, its representation of women, and how well feminist waves disseminate and therefore, interrogates "Are waves transatlantic?" (2013: 77). In fact, women in the U.S. are better represented compared to other women in the world, including their Turkish counterparts.

American women first raised their voices at the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848 in their quest for equality. This was the milestone of the women's liberation movement. "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States" was drafted as an amendment to the U.S. constitution by Alice Paul of the National Women's Party in 1923 (Kirk and Okazawa-Rey 2010: 11). However, it was not until 1972 that this amendment got approved and sent to the states for ratification but still was not been adopted because the requirement of 38 states' approval was not reached. From the 1970s until the present day, struggle for a sustainable life for women has carried on with different types of feminist approaches in order to represent all sorts of women from different walks of life.

Women in Turkey have had a different history of liberation than their American counterparts. The country had a massive transformation from its eastern Muslim Ottoman identity to a modern Westernized secular Turkish identity in the 1920s. As Duben and Behar puts it, "Western manners, dress and numerous material items had begun to take over imperial circles" in the 19th century and started to move to the

larger population of Istanbul (2002: 202). During the later years of the century, the non-Muslim Ottoman community had a direct impact on the Muslims with regard to European lifestyles, advertisements in newspapers and magazines would introduce European consumer fashions; non-Muslim merchants would start selling European consumer goods (ibid.). Print media of the time would introduce the modern European family to Turks. Therefore, Western thought would have a great influence on family and the status of women, and especially on the elite households of the late 19th century. The dilemma of choosing Ottoman and/or European values and lifestyles carried on until "Mustafa Kemal Atatürk attempted to move his people away from their Ottoman and Muslim past" (Huntington 2002: 144). His radical reforms in national, political, religious, and cultural arenas were no longer catering for the elites only but all citizens would enjoy a modern Western life. Atatürk's reforms clearly enhanced the status of women. Not only the elite women of Istanbul would lead a Western style of lives, but all women in Turkey would have the equal rights as men. Applying Swiss civil code to the Turkish Republic, the country would be as modern as any European country.

The liberal women of the U.S. would get the right to vote in the 20th century. Passed by Congress June 4, 1919, and ratified on August 18, 1920, the 19th amendment guaranteed all American women the right to vote. Turkish women would be considered as the victims of a patriarchal society at that time. However, with the foundation of the modern Turkish Republic, they won voting right in 1934. Women's modernization in Turkey thus largely owes its roots to the founder of the country. Halide Edip Adıvar (1884-1964), the prominent Turkish writer, scholar, and public figure who dedicated her life to the rights of women, said in a conference in

India that, "women's rights movement in Turkey was not a reaction to the superiority of men" but the movement was part of the Turkish reforms (Durakbaşa 2009: 198).

Be it male domination, sexism, or oppression, women experience more challenges than men. The vision of feminism as a movement is the quest for equality. Women are not supposed to be subordinate but equal to men. However, hooks raises the following questions to confront the diverse perspectives and ongoing disagreement about feminist women: "Since men are not equal in white supremacist, capitalist, patriarchal class structure, which men do women want to be equal to? Do women share a common vision of what equality means?" (Kolmar and Bartkowski 2000: 19) This holistic view indicates two crucial facts. Firstly, there can be no universally-recognized standard of gender equality, because of vast differences that exist both with and across societies. Secondly, the feminist movement, for some women such as women of color, disabled women, or uneducated women, does not embrace all women regardless of their differences.

Different theories and models of feminism might help enhance or alter women's lives as long as a common ground of agreement is established. True believers and activists of feminism might make the world a better place for women. As hooks claims, "Feminists are made, not born" (2000: 7), all individuals have the potential to become one. As postulated by feminist theory, the stereotypical female portrait in a patriarchal society is difficult to deconstruct. However, the determination to break the prejudice of such a belief is the goal to be achieved. In a more contemporary approach to feminism in the world, an effective implementation of empowerment and advancement of women seem to be more achievable. This is all possible if patriarchal societies do not see women as the "other" or subordinate to men.

3.2 Sex/Gender Conflict

Judith Butler indicates the sex/gender conflict in her book Gender Trouble questioning the genealogy of sex; whether it is natural, anatomical, chromosomal, or hormonal (1999: 10). Butler also questions the cultural construction of gender and possibility to deconstruct the "constructedness" of gender. The fierce debate about sex/gender conflict will probably carry on; therefore, leaving gender equality as a problem unsolved. From a scientific perspective, humankind was created in two versions: male and female. Being a male or a female was once only a biological distinction; DNA sequences are said to determine maleness (XY chromosomes) and femaleness (XX chromosomes) to constitute sexes which in time deviated from its ontological rational to an irrational epistemological dichotomy of power issue. For the individual, gender construction starts with assignment to a sex category on the basis of what the genitalia look like at birth (Lorber 2010: 64). How de Beauvoir defines a woman in her seminal book *The Second Sex* is striking, because a female is considered as a womb and an ovary (1989: 3).

From a sociological perspective, social and cultural meanings that are loaded to sexes construct gender. As Butler claims, because gender is culturally constructed (1999: 9), societal norms determine the shape and trajectory of an individual's life. "Even though the sex/gender distinction has been productive for feminist politics, it has too long been read as nature versus culture" (M'charek 2009: 97). Unfortunately, within the sex/gender distinction, not much choice is left to individuals. In other words, the XX sex chromosome should be identified and matched with female appearance, behaviors, and life styles, whereas a male stereotype needs to be a representation of the XY sex chromosome.

Overlooking the life of humanity throughout history, in his book, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State,* and cited by de Beauvoir, Engels refers to life in the Stone Age, stating that both sexes had equal contribution to economic life because both sexes had productive labor – men hunting and fishing, women making pottery, weaving, and gardening. When agriculture moved from gardening to cultivating fields, and when men started to own land and slaves, "the great historical defeat of the feminine sex" began (de Beauvoir 1989: 54). Women were no longer equal to men because the domestic duties of women were no longer as productive as cultivating, which provided men with power and paternal authority. What Engels claimed was that equality would not have been re-established until the two sexes enjoyed equal rights under the law.

Hence, it is clear that the early paradigm of sexes simply constituted of more or less two similar classes. Ironically, although civilization has battled for equality with laws and regulations up until the present day, it destroyed equality earlier. For the sake of an "ideal" world, civilization exploited both sexes by assigning them roles to be played on behalf of their separate sexes. Social and cultural norms formed gender stereotypes. Two innate qualities, being a male or a female, were expected to match with two sets of human-made norms, one designed for men, and the other designed for women. Butler, referring to de Beauvoir's famous quote, "one is not born a woman, but, rather, becomes one," claims that nothing guarantees that the "one" who becomes a woman is necessarily a female (1999: 12). It is obvious that gender categories are imposed upon human beings rather than giving individuals freedom of choice in their self-expression.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal...

The Declaration of Independence, 1776

Article 1: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948

As evidenced by the above language from the American democratic movement, human rights and legal constitutions have been drafted, adjusted, and legislated to equate all humans. Ironically, one can still witness race, class, gender discrimination, asymmetry, and oppression even in the world's most liberal countries. The dichotomization of gender is an inevitable truth. Lorber argues that the genders are grouped as gender A and Not-A, regardless of whichever these two are. However, she claims that "...in Western society, "man" is A, "woman" is Not-A" (2010: 66). Lorber's assumption that A refers to "man" and Not-A to "woman" is not limited to "Western society"; therefore, it is generally true for the great majority of the world, including Turkey. Gender A is generally perceived as "the touchstone, the normal, the dominant, and the other is different, deviant, and subordinate" (ibid.). This perception of gender asymmetry is experienced at various levels across contexts. Men are generally advantaged over women as gender A in education, the business world, and within positions of power in general. Such inequality is an outcome of asymmetrical perceptions regarding males and females in societies.

Although Turkey is a patriarchal and Islamic society, it "has given women rights and established supportive public policies since the founding of the Republic" (White 1999: 78). Yet, women in Turkey can still be identified as gender Not-A because

male dominance is observed in all areas of life in Turkey, from business to politics. The traditional roles of mother and homemaker are supported by the current government, AKP, and President Erdoğan asks all married couples to have at least three children. It is generally not possible for a lower or even a middle-class woman to care for three children and get to the top of her profession at the same time. Therefore, women in Turkey are not likely to achieve the goal of being equal to men because of such subtle power politics.

Male-based assumptions clearly do not suffice to explain female oppression. Even in the present day, in many societies a more promising life for men than for women might be recognized when social, cultural, economic, and political trends are considered. To examine the bigger picture, all of its components need to be assessed in its unique context rather than taking another picture's components and making generalizations by using them. Thus, the "One size fits all" approach does not represent two genders; it is possible that both men and women worldwide might encounter a range of challenges. However, feminism emerged as a result of incomparable challenges of women to men caused by various reasons including gender inequalities in education, work, and power. Violence against women is another significant reason to think that women's lives are more challenging. Compounding these problems is the issue of whether we should accept two genders as male and female, with heterosexuality as the norm.

People in different places and under different circumstances may be treated differently. An American woman in New York City may feel superior to her male counterparts, whereas she may feel inferior in Istanbul. On the other hand, depending on various reasons, the opposite case could be possible in these two locations.

American women who live outside of their country for any number of reasons might choose several paths to enjoy their identity be it a feminine one or not. They might prefer inclusion or exclusion of their existence in a society. These women could also get accepted or rejected by the society they live in. The fact that they were women was a significant determinant in adjusting to their new milieu, because in the patriarchal Turkish context, they were judged and evaluated as women first and foremost. "One's culture imperceptibly forms a mental framework through which individuals define their ontology, motivate and select their behaviors, and judge and evaluate the actions of others" (Sussman 2000: 356). The participants of the current study were females who were expected to fit the stereotypes from a Turkish perspective. It would be their own decision to fit into that category, or not. They would either deconstruct the gender stereotypes, or live in their bubbled world with minimum encounter with this culture.

3.3 Breaking Female Stereotypes

Superiority and inferiority can be analyzed from several perspectives. As the scope of this paper is gender, culture, and identity, superiority and inferiority issues are highlighted in regard to gender. To be superior or inferior as an individual or as a group depends on the self/selves and the others. Because genders are culturally constructed (Butler 1999), male domination is an inevitable truth in patriarchal societies although any given woman could desire for power or a group of women could demand for, say, better pay than men. The struggle could result in a betrayal or a victory depending on how determined and strong the self/selves and how much the others are willing or ready to accept the demand.

When the power issue is considered from a micro perspective, females could be superior to men in some contexts. To illustrate, female CEOs are more likely to be seen in the business world compared to past, be it cheap labor or as a result of feminist movements. However, the macro perspective of power indicates that inequalities between males and females are still widely experienced all over the world. As the global agenda of women from all walks of life, females did unite, are uniting, and will unite to take action for equality with their male counterparts. Summarily, the gender superiority vs. inferiority issue could be resolved by breaking female stereotypes.

The word "stereotype" is defined as "…applying an assumed set of "typical" characteristics and behaviors of a group to an individual based solely on knowledge of that individual's membership in the group" by Karsten (2006: 122). She argues that any given individual may exhibit a few, none, or most of the characteristics of the group. Stereotyping is helpful to organize thoughts about individuals by fitting them into categories (ibid.).

In the past, women were stereotyped as wives, mothers, and homemakers. In the present day, women are better represented thanks to women's rights movements globally and awareness-raising actions taken by communities and NGOs, although the assumption that women should pursue their traditional roles is still supported in some societies. Breaking gender stereotypes is much easier in Western societies than the traditional Eastern ones today. In my research, I wanted to find out whether this assumption was true or not based on my participants' views. Having an American background and coming to live in Istanbul, a new geography which could be perceived not as Westernized and modernized as the U.S., these American women of

the current research reflected their views about the clash of genders. Their reflections yielded results on whether these women were willing to deconstruct gender stereotypes or not.

3.3.1 Contemporary Women

Women of the 21st century define themselves by comparing their present situation to the one in the past. In the current study participants framed their understanding of contemporary women from their Western perspective with the emphasis on work-life balance. The participants in general were seeking to see women more than a wife, mother, or homemaker. The great majority of the participants emphasized the necessity of modern women to be involved in work force. However, the agreed issue was that gender egalitarianism in the work force has not achieved yet.

The juxtaposition of the old and the new ways of life and gender roles do not always enable women in Turkey achieve a high career goal. The current sample tried hard to achieve work-life balance and break female stereotypes, both in the U.S. and in Turkey. These American women experienced cross-cultural difficulties while achieving this goal. The reflection of some participants as the "I" in Istanbul indicated the language barrier in the work force in Turkey as well as homemaking as a more complicated issue than in the U.S. Be it themselves or any other women, a contemporary woman profile for the participants was the one who could break gender stereotypes.

When I enquired my interviewees to explain what it means to be a woman, the participants agreed that being a woman has both benefits and drawbacks and requires extra effort to sustain a life of ease.

> Sophie: … in the past women used to stay home and take care of the kids, take care of the husbands, cook, do laundry. Now women are working and women are making money and they are in leadership positions.

Sophie's indication regarding roles of women shifting from homemaking to contributing to the total household income of their family explains that today's women are generally more powerful than the women of the past. When the Equal Pay Act of 1963 was passed in the U.S., employers would still believe that women should earn less than men doing the same job. Their justification was that "men are family breadwinners and women are less committed to the workforce because most will bear children" (Karsten 2006: 55). However, the increase in higher education levels and women's movement and rights helped to break these gender stereotypes. More and more women started to have career expectations. They also became breadwinners with equivalent skills, efforts, and responsibilities in the workplace.

> Violet: In America, in 1970, you could not get jobs other than like secretary to president, if you wanted a higher position, they called you an executive… administrative assistant...or executive assistant… it's a "glorified" secretary… They would not let women really get high up; you can't find even today very many CEO women. It's very unusual, and like Hillary made it big in America, I think she broke the way for some of the things to change; a little bit... so more CEOs are women now than in the past. Yeah. I think that changed and Rice when she became …. These things helped to break the stereotypes in America…

Violet drew attention to several important issues regarding to women in the work force. Firstly, most women in the world are working, if it is agreed upon that homemaking is a profession. However, even today, homemaking is considered "unproductive" work because it is unpaid (Kirk and Okazawa-Rey 2010: 305). "Business hours are twenty-four/seven. Every moment is awake and every moment works" (Albrecht 2010: 329). The global business world is integrated; therefore, twenty-four/seven is an unavoidable and extreme peak of capitalism. In such a tough world of business, it is even harder for women to shift their parenting time to employed work time. The "survival of the fittest" approach would apply to business life although labor laws and legislations regulate wages and provide security and sustainable work conditions. As a result, women of the present day still have to work harder than men to take an equivalent place among their counterparts.

Secondly, Violet also attracted attention to the gendered division of labor. Some jobs are associated with women; for example, elementary school teachers, social workers, nurses, and health-care workers tend to be women (Kirk and Okazawa-Rey 2010: 305). Violet thinks that even in the 1970s, a higher position meant a "glorified" secretary that women were subordinate to men and helping men, rather than taking the counterparts' place in a profession. Violet believes that contemporary female political figures such as Hillary Clinton and Condoleezza Rice made it possible to break female stereotypes. Both figures have played an active role in U.S. politics. Clinton was the first lady of the United States from 1993 to 2001 and served as a U.S. senator from 2001 to 2009. In that year, she was approved as the 67th U.S. Secretary of State and served in that position until 2013. She is still thought to be a potential candidate for the 2016 presidential election (Biography.com 2013).

Rice was appointed national security adviser by President George W. Bush in 2001. She was the first black woman to hold this position and to pursue it for one more entire term. In 2005, she was appointed as the 66th Secretary of State and served in this position until 2009 (Biography.com 2013).

The connotation of having female politicians in senior positions is that the strict patriarchal rules of sexism are changing and also influencing the global arena in favor of women. Today both of these women are well-known in the world. They are also admired by American women like Violet.

As Violet acknowledged, higher positions, such as being a CEO of a large organization is possible for women, though not very common. A complete eradication of unfairness in employment opportunities seems not to have been achieved yet. Thus, albeit having similar qualifications regarding education, work experience, and skills with men, women are still less likely to get to the top of their professions; career advancement for females is generally slower than for males because women may take potential maternal leave and child-care breaks.

The interviewee Chloe, who is married with two children and has her mother live with her family, noticed that societies have had higher expectations from women throughout the history of the world. In today's world, women are expected to achieve a work-life balance. From Chloe's cultural perspective, educating oneself to find some sort of employment outside of the home, building a family and having children, and being responsible for other people in the family – in her case, she takes care of 4 people other than herself- are present day societal expectations that are highly challenging to accomplish.

> Chloe: Guess what? I spend 20 hours a week doing laundry! [laughs]… … and I'm a well-educated individual.

With a large family instead of a nuclear family of a spouse and a child, Chloe spends more time on house chores than an average housewife. Having to care for an elderly mother, two young children, and a full-time working husband who pursues his PhD, she seems not to be demanding assistance for homemaking from the household although she could.

Life might be easier for middle-class people in some parts of the world like in the U.S. in regards to practicality, convenience, and access to goods and services. In Chloe's Istanbul experience, the cost of being responsible for a large family is high:

> "In Turkey there has not been a culture of what do we do to make life easier for the women at home, she's going to go to the bazaar, she's going to walk to the bazaar, she's going to buy her fruits and vegetables there, she's going to walk home with you know, 10 kilos worth of produce, and then she's going to wash and chop, and cut it all up …. And she's going to cook dinner, and she's going to cook for like 4 hours in the afternoon, whereas in the U.S. you can go into places like Trader Joe's or All Foods, your regular grocery store, and you can buy salads that have been pre-washed, I mean, they were made that day…when you have to feed your little people and take care of them, it kind of takes over your whole life."

Through adopting a focus what Chloe complained about is that as a U.S.-born woman, she was longing for the life of ease that she used to have in the U.S. in

regard to family care. Her commitment and dedication to her family is obvious. However, some barriers in her life stunted her life satisfaction. Despite being well-educated, her inability to speak fluent Turkish was a constraint on her job prospects:

> Chloe: …I just don't have the language skills here to do the kind of work I'd like to do…

It is obvious that in Turkey, language is a barrier for people who do not speak Turkish, which is the official language of the Turkish Republic. On the other hand, whether or not a foreigner -and in this specific study, an American woman- should learn Turkish is a question whose answer depends on the lifestyle choice of the expat in question. To illustrate, any given American woman may prefer to live in a gated community of Americans in which she would have minimum contact with Turks. In such a circumstance, she does not need to know the language. However, knowing basic Turkish enhances communication with Turks and it might open doors for several benefits and improve one's quality of life. Language skills are necessary for a more self-sufficient life in a foreign country, from getting directions in the city to interacting in social groups. As for careers, one definitely needs to know the local language if she is planning to take a job in a local company. In the excerpt above, Chloe indicated that she could not take the job she wanted because of her poor Turkish language skills. Although not having mentioned the kind of work she wanted to take (and probably a post not in an international but a local company), Chloe seemed to need the language skill to achieve her goal.

Language is a general challenge for all expatriates in a foreign country where neither the native nor the official language intersects with the expat's language(s). On the

other hand, challenges for female expats are not limited to language and communication but related to issues that feminist approaches indicate. As modern women and belonging to an elite community, these American women's main focus was career, and therefore, home and work balance. The great majority were breaking the gender stereotypes by not merely being a wife, mother, and a homemaker. According to participants, a contemporary woman meant more than these imposed roles upon them. They were well-aware of the areas that they could be superior or inferior within the Turkish context. Talking about some aspects central to feminist discourses and modern women, sexual orientation was a neglected area in the interviews. The nature of participants mostly being heterosexual, or perhaps pretending so, could be one reason for neglecting this topic. Alternatively, considering sexual orientation could have been considered to be a minor issue not worth discussing.

3.3.2 Sexual Orientation

Historically, in both matriarchal and patriarchal societies, heterosexuality is the norm to be accepted and life needs to be designed accordingly. As Monique Witting claims, "Matriarchy is no less heterosexual than patriarchy: it is only the sex of the oppressor that changes" (1993: 104). The universal truth about societies is that there has always been a group of people who have been oppressed because of their race, class, or gender. Those who are oppressed do not fit the norms of the society they live in. Another universal truth is that heterosexuality is the norm of both matriarchal and patriarchal societies. Adrianne Rich's famous term "compulsory heterosexuality" suggests that dominance of heterosexuality disempowers women and forces everyone to construct a heterosexual-centric cultural perspective and lifestyle. Thus, the enforcement of heterosexuality is clearly a denial of alternative lifestyles. As noted

by Rich, "The assumption that "most women are innately heterosexual" stands as a theoretical and political stumbling block for feminism" (1993: 238).

In fact, from a wider perspective, it is not only lesbian women who suffer from a heterosexual lifestyle but also gay men are equally oppressed. However, Rich claims that "To equate lesbian existence with male homosexuality because each is stigmatized is to erase female reality once again" (1993: 239).

It is generally accepted that that heterosexual people are more advantaged than homosexuals. Bunch states that heterosexual society offers women privileges on condition that they give up their freedom and become wives and mothers (2013). "…mothers are "honored", wives or lovers are socially accepted and given some economic and emotional security, a woman gets physical protection on the street when she stays with her man, etc." (Bunch 2013: 131). However, both lesbians and heterosexual women often refuse to play the role of a "woman" which is dictated upon them. This rejection is "the refusal of the economic, ideological, and political power of a man" (Witting 1993: 105). Sexuality is a taboo in Muslim societies, and homosexuality is largely unacceptable; on the other hand, some Western societies have started to legalize same-sex marriages. Turkish people are generally homophobic, and same-sex marriages do not seem to have any potential to be legalized in the near future. Although Turks are against the idea of homosexuality, they are biased against lesbians and gays. They do not respect lesbian women for their sexual orientation, believing that lesbians will choose heterosexual life sooner or later. On the other hand, gay people in Turkey generally prefer to hide their sexual preference for safety reasons. This marginal status may bring some trouble to them, including harsh reactions from conservatives. Vicinus refers to the roles of people,

that everyone acts out their scripts, and paraphrases Marx with the following sentence, "People make their own identities, but they do not make them as they please" (Vicinus 1993: 434).

In the current study, sexual orientation of the participants was not directly asked, to avoid enforcing the frame of their identifications as well as believing that the participants might be sensitive about this topic. Prior to the standardized interviews, participants filled in a one-page-long paper with questions in which there were questions including marital status, children, and reasons to live outside of the U.S.A. The demographics indicated that the great majority of the participants were heterosexual women who were either in a heterosexual relationship, engaged, married, or divorced. One participant did not report her marital status and she was the only participant who criticized the question of what it means to be a woman.

> Jasmine: I do not know if I identify as a woman. Maybe that is a kind of loaded question. You have a lot of assumptions in your questions, you are assuming that I identify as a woman. But why do you think that?

Jasmine's criticism was indicating an inevitable truth that people are categorized with their physical appearance at first sight. Assuming that she was a woman, I expected her to respond this question, just like the other participants did, in her own and unrestricted way. However, it was hard for her to answer this gender question when she did not feel like one. It was my fortune that she did not prefer to give an inaccurate answer but let the data reveal itself. A general concern of researchers is that respondents either do not answer sensitive questions like religion and sexual orientation or they prefer to answer with an inaccurate response. In the current study,

religion and sexual orientation questions were not directly asked, to avoid limiting participant reflections regarding their identifications. Interviewees were informed in advance that they did not need to answer the questions which they did not want, to help avoid inaccurate responses. When Jasmine asked me why I assumed that she was a woman, I gave her the answer below.

> Neslihan: Because of your appearance people think that you are a woman. You are an American woman in Istanbul…What is the definition of a woman for you?

Accepting my interview request which was about American women in Istanbul should have given Jasmine the idea that gender is in the core of the study. Otherwise, the interviews would be held with Americans in Istanbul without the emphasis on women. Jasmine did not refuse to answer my question and gave an elaborate answer as follows:

> Jasmine: I mean, I teach gender studies but I do not really like in terms of an essential meaning of woman I don't really believe in one, but in terms… yeah, I'm read as a woman, I understand that… what does it mean for me here? … There is a general… women have structural disadvantages. Period… All over the world… And who knows, maybe some of the jobs I applied for in my own field in sociology maybe, who knows, maybe I would have gotten the job if I had been a man, I have no idea…

Jasmine did not refer to herself as a woman throughout the interview, but used the word "person" when she identified herself. Her reflection was that she was a white, no class, U.S. American with a lot of privileges. Her race and nationality as well as

her education provided all the privileges she had. However, as she mentioned earlier, she believed that as a man, she would have gotten better jobs.

Questions on gender reveal different dimensions of identity. One could accept or reject to be identified with a specific gender category. One could indicate the superiority and inferiority dimension of genders. One could talk about her support of feminism and her concerns about global women. One could reveal her sexual orientation directly or indirectly. In the current study, except for Jasmine, no other participants rejected the idea of being identified as a woman. Jasmine, by refusing the idea of an essentialized woman but not indicating her sexual orientation, was the only participants to break the gender stereotype of internalizing the assigned role of a woman. It is not possible to conclude that Jasmine's sexual orientation was revealed in her account. Therefore, sexual orientation was a neglected area in the interviews.

3.3.3 High Expectations of Society

Through adopting a focus on "breaking female stereotypes" code of my research, it is obvious that the two societies – American and Turkish- have high expectations from contemporary women. Being responsible of themselves, their families, and jobs as well as achieving work-life balance, contemporary women have probably more roles to achieve compared to the past. Making a living has never been easy for either sex. In patriarchal societies, men are bread-winners and women are homemakers. However, even in patriarchal societies like Turkey, more women are entering the workforce in the present day, therefore, breaking gender stereotypes. This shift in women's roles enhances women's status in society. Some participants of the current study compared traditional roles of women to contemporary women's concluding that women are more productive than men partly because of their maternity and

partly because of contributing to society and economy. Despite carrying the burden of societal expectations, women break gender stereotypes by their accomplishments.

Some American women in the current research referred to these traditional roles rather than the status quo regarding women's changing roles in the modern world. As Kendall stated:

> "…men are expected to provide the financial support for the family, whereas the women are sort of the emotional support. Maybe the men are the bricks and the women are the glue that makes the wall…"

While internalizing patriarchal roles of men and women, in contrast, Kendall also argued that women have a lot of responsibilities such as being responsible for her career, self, family, and friends. Melanie shared the responsibility aspect of Kendall's argument, saying that she was responsible for herself, her job, and family.

> Melanie: I'm responsible for… for myself and for my job and for my family aside from my husband and my son.

Other than responsibilities, some women I interviewed referred to the maternal instinct of females and considered it as productivity.

> Jane: … being a productive member of society… it's very important to work, but at the same time, women can make little people, so that's important, too.

What Jane seems to indicate is that females are productive societal and economic contributors. This pitfall of the societally-defined role of homemaker is that mothers are not rewarded with material support.

> Molly: We were talking about this with some friends about how the real power is in the women and the mothers behind the men… but they don't get paid, unfortunately.

Maternity is not enough "in all cases to crown a woman's life" (de Beauvoir 1989: 521). In the present day, women are breaking the stereotypes of being only a homemaker, a wife, and a mother. Women of our age are demanding more than those titles to enjoy their existence. In addition to the titles mentioned above, they want a career, equal rights, and opportunities with men. In such a circumstance, a woman might feel that she is "crowned".

> Molly: I'm very happy to be a woman. I don't think I'd want to be a man. [laughs] Women do have power, it's very subtle power… we [women] are stronger.

Although some aspects in Molly's life, such as her career and her children's education, did not satisfy her, and that she believed capitalism is invading the world, she still enjoyed being a woman, and probably she was a "crowned" woman in her own way. Molly related her assumption that women are stronger than men to her own life, and values her existence with subtle power. Another participant, Claire, also referred to maternity and career.

> Claire: I was raised to believe that women do whatever they want. They can do their own careers but still I think no matter how old I am, I'll still think a woman should definitely have children, you know, a woman should take care of children and if I had one, no, I would still work, I don't think I could ever stay at home. Definitely, a lot of Turkish woman do, like traditional ones…

In Claire's view, staying at home after having children is a traditional approach for a woman. She claimed that a woman can simultaneously achieve being a mother and having a career. However, Claire argued that Turkish women prefer to pursue traditional gender roles. Therefore, Turkish women are less likely to break gender stereotypes.

As Fritzsche and Marcus state, "the nature of work has changed, such that individuals may now expect to hold multiple jobs and careers throughout the course of a life time" (2013: 352), no individual need to be stuck into one sort of profession. Today's mother may become tomorrow's successful job incumbent.

When all sorts of unfair treatment to women such as unequal access to education, training, and workforce inequality in the sharing of power and decision-making in business, low-pay, low-status, and structural barriers in professions are eradicated, more women will definitely be more than happy to be involved in the business world. However, as Rubin acknowledges, "It has been argued that women are a reserve labor force for capitalism, that women's generally lower wages provide extra surplus to a capitalist employer" (2000: 229). This is probably not the ultimate goal of encouraging women to the work force. As Madelyn argued,

"… In the business, as a woman you have to over-prove yourself and you are not judged equally with men really, you are judged on another measure stick."

Such gender-based stereotypes were voiced throughout my research. In addition to gender discrimination, participants generally did not make a distinction between the American and Turkish business contexts, with the exception of Chloe and Molly. Chloe mentioned the language aspect of her dissatisfaction of not being able to take the job she wanted, while Molly referred to the professionalism aspect of business life in Turkey.

Molly: …Working with Turkish people was, I worked in television for 3 years here, and that was interesting working closely, with um, learning how to deal with, with the relationships in a work situation is a bit different, it's not as professional. On one side it's good because they let me do things that I never did before, so they would never let me do that if I was in a real professional situation. On the other hand, you expect other people to deal with a professional way, but the word professional is not really in the vocabulary here sometimes, and er, and everything kind of, you know…. tradition of working things out, everything at the last minute, but it has its efficiency…

Molly's assumptions depended more on a cultural basis than on the gender issue. The business life in her past workplace seems to be functioning not in the world standards but a local convention of efficiency. Molly complained about the last-minute mechanism of that organization. However, as she phrased above, efficiency was still provided in that workplace.

Balancing work and family responsibilities is one of the major stressors which have a direct influence on task performance. Most women who work outside the home still work inside the home as the main responsible person for housework and caring for children. Sociologist Arlie Hochschild identified this situation as a "second shift" (Kirk and Okazawa-Rey 2010: 307). Any given woman who works both inside and outside the home is more likely to struggle balancing home and work. Therefore, this challenging lifestyle results in stress.

"Stress costs billions of dollars each year in the U.S. …The American Institute of Stress (2002) estimates that total stress-related costs are $ 300 billion annually" (Karsten 2006: 318). Both the family and the employers expect women to accomplish their responsibilities. Now that men and women are tried to be compensated equally in jobs and pay, similar performance is becoming a must, regardless of women's extra responsibilities outside the work. "Though females and males both are able to care for children and elders and perform domestic chores, women still do more of that type of work" (Karsten 2006: 306). This quote represents American society at large. However, in Turkey, transformation from a traditional family structure to a modern one has not been fully achieved. According to Sancar, the modernization process of the young Turkish Republic is based on a family-oriented model. As she puts it, "throughout the history of Turks, men have founded states and women have founded families" (2012: 306). The roles assigned for women as wives, mothers, and homemakers have not changed much. The additional role of Turkish women in present day Turkey as part-time or full-time working career women does not represent the entire country, and a stereotypical Turkish woman is still perceived within her traditional roles.

Violet referred to the gender stereotypes and problems of women as seeing the situation similar to the struggle of people of color in the U.S. In her account, Violet used the word "negro" without the purpose of being offensive but as a representative of an old American generation who would use it rather than later-coined words such as "African-Americans" or "people of color".

> Violet: it's a long process; anything that's related to a social problem takes time for it to change. Just like the Negro situation. The women and the Negro situation… I think are very similar actually, and it took decades before people started treating Negroes better, as you know. I think the same can be said about women almost, it's really quite tragic…

As Violet indicated, social problems are not solved easily and quickly. Breaking female stereotypes can be achieved at an individual level or as a group. The American women of this study deconstructed some stereotypes individually. All of the participants had at least a college degree. Therefore, it was not hard for the great majority to find employment in a foreign geography, Istanbul. The ones who moved to Istanbul without a male companion and started working in this host culture deconstructed the vulnerable and dependent-to-a-man stereotype, and sustained their lives at middle to upper-class socioeconomic level. Some participants who built a family and had children pursued traditional gender roles and they were either reluctant to break the stereotypes or did not think that it was necessary. The high societal expectations of being responsible of themselves, their families, and jobs were accomplished by some participants with the support from their husbands or families. Breaking gender stereotypes was not the top priority for the participants of this study. However, they contributed to the process as a group indirectly, by their

education, workforce, determination, wisdom, and strength. Therefore, they either struggled or lived in their "bubble".

3.4 Living in a Bubble

"Living in a bubble" is the second axial code of my selective code entitled *Superiority and Inferiority Juxtaposed.* By this axial code, I refer to those women who prefer to isolate themselves from the society they live in. Participants of the current study were distinct because they were American women. Being a woman in a patriarchal society could bring some challenges from not having opportunities for self-expression to having unfair treatment in the workplace. However, being an American woman put these women into a more distinct category; these women were the members of a foreigner out-group. Therefore, they were too visible with their cultural background, language proficiency, and their physical appearance in some cases. They were both superior and inferior from diverse perspectives and in different circumstances. As a result of distinctiveness, some of these participants chose to live in their bubbled world to isolate themselves from the host milieu.

Turkish culture is familiar with the concept of isolated women. However, the distinction with my assumption of American women who are isolated from the society is different from Turkish women who were isolated against their free will. In the history of the Ottoman Empire, with the influence of Islamic culture, the isolation of women was common practice, as was practiced in the harems of the Ottoman Sultans.

The term "harem" has multiple denotations; from a Western perspective, it also has multiple connotations. This term by definition is "…a sanctuary or sacred precinct".

By implication, it is "a space to which general access is forbidden or controlled, and in which the presence of certain individuals or certain modes of behavior is forbidden" (Peirce 1993: 4). Schick defines the word "harem" as "both the female members of a household and the dedicated spatial enclosure in which they live" (2010: 69).

Having multiple denotations as a space and as a category of people, harem also has multiple connotations that are alien to Islamic culture in the late Ottoman era. Firstly, the harem is associated with polygamy, as Schick points out by referencing a demographic study conducted by Alan Duben and Cem Behar that polygamy was very rare, "…in late Ottoman Istanbul, only 2.29 percent of all married men were polygamous…" (2010: 71). However, the image of the harem is still extremely negative. As Graham-Brown indicates, it was believed to be a place where males could enjoy "…an exotic sexual fantasy beyond the reach of the constraint and taboos of European culture" (2003: 503). The lives of women in the harem were apparently similar to the lives of women in a brothel.

Secondly, harem women are also associated with the victims of this "sacred" territory who have no other choice than obedience to the male head of the household and his rules. Thus, complete male domination over women's lives was the picture of a harem from a western perspective. Within the dynastic family "…any attempt by women (of the royal palace) to influence events beyond its walls was viewed as "meddling" in an arena to which females have no rightful access," is an argument which is corrected by Peirce (1993: 6). Because the males and females in the Ottoman household were segregated, the two sexes had their own power dynamics. Power structure became more elaborate in larger household. The matriarchal elders

had superior status and had considerable authority over not only other women but also over younger males of the household. In the dynastic family, the mother of the reigning sultan would even have authority outside the royal household (ibid.).

The harem as being a spatial configuration as well as representing female household of a family had its own unique way of functioning. Because of their isolated lifestyles, it can be construed that such female-headed harem households "lived in a bubble", regardless of whether they used their authority behind or beyond the walls. The women wore a veiled head-dress, outside their "sacred" territory until the founder of the modern Turkish Republic Mustafa Kemal Atatürk instituted clothing reforms with the modern dressing law. This practice of veiling served to keep women "inside" even while they were outside of the harem walls. In Schick's expression, they were "ritually "inside" while physically "outside"..." (Schick 2010: 72).

Although the extant literature on harems evinces that the modern Turkish state eventually rescinded the practice of veiling and consequently shifted from a veiled, slave-like Turkish female stereotype to a modern woman dressed in western attire, the word "harem" continues to carry a loaded connotation in western eyes. In the present day, however, the tendency for Islamization of Turkey can be observed with the influence of the political party in power, AKP or AK Parti. Therefore, any given expatriate in Istanbul may encounter Turkish women in headscarves or veils unlike the early years of the republic.

The phrase "living in a bubble" represents a compulsory practice adopted by female households in the Ottoman era. The same phrase, on the other hand, is a voluntary practice for some of the present-day American women. Each participant shared her

unique experience of choosing to live or being forced to live in a bubble. The bubble is their comfort zone where they feel safe and have minimum contact with the host culture. These women identified themselves as being too visible or invisible. According to Brewer's optimal distinctiveness theory, individuals do not feel comfortable in social contexts when they are too distinctive or too indistinctive (Brewer 1991, 1999, and 2007), therefore, they may choose to isolate themselves. The participants of the current study also identified themselves as belonging to an elite community which results in a "gated community" lifestyle.

> Jasmine: …because of my race, nationality, privilege, because I had a very good education, and because I'm read as a white U.S. American, unfortunately, I don't want to say status symbol, but people kind of without thinking, just thinking, 'oh wow, cool,' I mean from the United States, and even If I would say, well what's cool about that, why do people always think of that as cool? …Because I'm from the United States.

The concept of being a U.S. citizen often connotes superiority in Turkey. Turks believe that the United States is the super power of the world and its citizens are privileged people. Therefore, Jasmine is considered to belong to the elite minority in Turkey.

> Mary: …here, we're in sort of the elite 1% of the whole rest of the country. They don't live as well as we do. So in that sense, I am pretty much the same here [in Istanbul] as I am there [the U.S.]. I would say that my life here would be in the same category. I would not say Turkey in general is like that, no. So the Turkish women I know here are quite independent, quite strong, and you

know… but then again that's this sort of one per cent. Or I've been told by Turkish friends. Just 1%.

Mary is the participant who used the phrase "elite 1%". As a language instructor in a well-known university in Istanbul, she was a member of a community of well-educated, middle-class people. She was in her comfort zone as she compares her life in Istanbul to her hometown in the U.S. and believes to lead similar lives here and there. Knowing some liberal and strong Turkish women of her class, Mary believed that this is a very small bubble which holds only the 1% of the entire society.

Camilla: I'm really spoiled living here… I mean even in this building on my elevator… where other teachers live in the area and different apartment buildings… um I have … because this is more upscale than the rest…

Another language instructor, Camilla, enjoyed the privilege of having upper-class standards in her apartment building. She grew up in a white collar family. However, she made decent money in the U.S., working in jobs she did not enjoy. Her Istanbul experience started in 2008 when the American economy "collapsed", as she phrases it. In Istanbul she found a job in a school and managed to afford an upscale apartment, and started enjoying an upscale life.

Two other language instructors, Penelope and Sydney, felt good in Istanbul because they, too, perceived themselves to be part of a privileged crowd.

Penelope: … And that I am a hoca [instructor], a teacher has great respect in Turkey.

Sydney: Coming from Koç [University], being part of the university, I think there is a lot of respect for teachers still here, so that's been nice.

Stella is the interviewee to talk about an assumption of the Turks. For her, Turks believe that foreigners are rich.

Stella: I don't know if everyone assumes that we're like rich. Um …

Neslihan: Why do you have such an impression?

Stella: Well… because I'm old. If I was a student, they wouldn't think I was rich. But if we're older, they know we come with companies…

As seen in all examples above, the American women I interviewed were satisfied with their lives in regard to their life standards in Istanbul. Financial security is a significant dynamic of life. The participants felt safe and they were in the elite 1% of the society. Therefore, they did not mix with the rest of the society but lived in a sort of nice and secure bubble.

Competition in labor markets both in the U.S. and Turkey is inevitable. However, for professional American women in Turkey, business life could be more advantageous than for professional Turkish women. Having a good education and international experience, and being a native speaker of English helped these women find an international job in Istanbul easily. It is possible for even a language instructor to afford a luxury apartment and a middle-class or upper-middle class life. Being an American citizen connotes superiority for the local people of Istanbul because they are Western people with high qualifications for several jobs; therefore, these expats are valuable and earn a good wage. On the other hand, any given American

expatriate woman could not be as valuable as in Turkey back at home because of a great number of women with similar qualifications. The "valuable American expat woman" in Istanbul could be an ordinary candidate for any given job in the U.S.

Some Turks, never encountering an American before and only seeing Hollywood movie stars, might have an assumption that all Americans would look like or behave like those Americans who appear in the movies. Chloe indicated the wrong assumption about Americans' lifestyles, saying that a great majority does not lead an upper-middle class, luxurious life as depicted in the movies:

> Chloe: American women are not… those depicted in 'Sex and the City'. That's an anomaly. Maybe in New York City it's not an anomaly, but the United States, I want to remind people, is not New York City, so the vast majority of people in the U.S. live outside New York City…. We don't live that way… we live in ways very similar to the way people live here.

The women depicted in the American TV sitcom "Sex and the City" are not only upper-middle class New Yorkers but also beautiful and sexy women who are admired and become extremely visible for all of these features. In the present day, women are forced to look like the attractive women in the media representations to be visible and popular. Stereotypes regarding beauty are imposed upon females from a very early age. The first encounter of little girls with beauty standards is when they start playing with one of the most popular and well-known of toys, Barbie dolls. These dolls are highly popular among little urban girls in Turkey, and especially in Istanbul. Many little girls consume Barbie products from dolls to stationaries and even a birthday cake with this doll itself on top of the cake.

The hidden message of those dolls is that a girl needs to look like this doll, with a beautiful face, well-groomed hair, tall, slim, and lean body. The preferred skin color is white because the great majority of such dolls are white. The sexual preference of this doll is heterosexual because she has a boyfriend called Ken. It is easy to guess that "Barbie" belongs to the upper-class. She has an endless closet of fancy and expensive clothes and accessories, and a "dream house", as the website of Barbie names it. According to the website http://www.barbie.com/en-us, the Barbie doll has had some "cool" jobs, from a race car driver to a pizza chef. She also switches to a fairy, a princess or a mermaid.

The Barbie doll was first introduced in 1959 and the first black Barbie was introduced in 1980 (Fashion Doll Guide 2013). Since inception circa 1959, the doll has undergone many changes. A variety of different skin tones, hair colors and face sculpts has been used to form the diverse versions of the doll. However, the message remains the same - females need to look attractive, and be heterosexual.

In today's world, ideal beauty standards are imposed upon people. Mathematical formulas are proposed for both the face and the body of human beings. The ideal human face is based on the measurements and calculations of the "Golden Section" or "Divine Proportion". Furthermore, women are supposed to have 36"-24"-36" body measurements to look beautiful although every individual is born with a particular body type, shape, and therefore, a peculiar measurement. Beauty pageants are held all around the world every year to impose upon people that a few particular facial features and body measurements make a person beautiful. Such beauty standards might be harmful. Young girls who watch these contests may and often are led to think that they are imperfect; this also affects their self-esteem. Consequently,

these widely propagated and unrealistic beauty standards often drive individuals to constantly strive after consumer products or services such as diets, for the sake of an attractive appearance, and sometimes even with fatal consequences. These are all done to be "visible".

Superiority might be replaced by inferiority when ageism, namely discrimination against older people is at play. As women age, they become more invisible because they are no longer as attractive as young women. De Beauvoir argues that there are distinguishing crisis in the life of women such as puberty, sexual initiation, and the menopause. Although ageing is a universal truth, it creates an immense crisis for a female "when she loses the erotic attractiveness and the fertility which, in the view of society and in her own, provide the justification of her existence and her opportunity for happiness" (1989: 575). Contrary to the belief that a woman cannot exist without attractiveness and fertility, "she still has about one half of her adult life to live" (ibid.).

Young women surpass old ones with their visibility, as de Beauvoir argues that the female existence depends on erotic attractiveness and fertility. These two features connote youth. On the other hand, what hooks claims is that sexist thinking was at play before women's liberation, "our (women's) value rested solely on appearance and whether or not we were perceived to be good looking, especially by men" (1990: 31). Although hooks does not mention old age, it is obvious that a young woman probably attracts more male attention.

3.4.1 Being too Visible vs. Not Quite Visible

Being visible might be considered as something good, which could connote popularity and physical beauty, but it could also be perceived as bad because of deviation from standards. During the current research, some women complained about being too visible. In order to avoid being too visible, some preferred to stay in their bubble.

> Julia: There were not that many foreigners in Turkey… so being this blue-eyed blonde-haired woman was something different um, for Turks. And especially, I got a lot of attention from men, and I was married, so I didn't want this attention, but it was there. But in the past twenty years, it's less and less different, and there's no difference almost at all now, because there's so many foreigners here, and there's in fact probably so many blonde haired women here, that it's no longer any different, so nobody pays any attention to me for… one time I actually was in Trabzon [a city in the Black Sea region of Turkey], and I got knocked off of the sidewalk in the street of Trabzon, because these 3 women coming down the street thought I was a Russian prostitute, and I never was treated that way before...

Julia sharing her experience of 20 years ago indicates that she was too visible at that time. She was within the beauty standards for Turks having her blue eyes and blonde hair. Her assumption of more foreigners and more blonde haired women in Turkey today reflects only one side of the coin. On the other hand, her being a middle-aged woman might be why people reportedly do not pay attention to her in the present day.

Melanie explicates the point made above:

> Melanie: When I came to Turkey the first time, everyone looked; I mean almost everyone turned actually. It would be like, you know how. Now I think Turkey especially Istanbul is so much more metropolitan and there are so many diverse cultures and there were used to be, so, I don't get noticed as much. Also age, I think when you are younger, women get looked at anyway. So it means I don't believe necessarily… they were thinking porn in staring at me. They might just have been thinking blonde girl… but I don't know.

Kennedy who celebrated her 40th birthday in Beirut complained about ageism and the pressure on her that she had to dye her hair to look young:

> Women [in Beirut] spend a lot of money, and make a lot of effort to maintain their looks and I was walking round with visibly grey hair and it was very hard; people would say something to me every day, or somebody, usually women, would speak to me trying to help me by saying 'why don't you color your hair?' In faculty meetings, strangers on the street… anyway, so I did start coloring my hair so people could stop bothering me.

Kennedy had been to many parts of the world. Visiting Turkey twenty years after her first visit, she did not feel quite visible. She claimed that people still respond to her but it was no longer in an annoying way.

Kim is another participant who contributed to my research. Although she is in her mid-forties, she still assumes to be visible in Turkey. She compared Asia and Turkey and the United States for the visibility issue:

> You are invisible in Asia, and here you are too visible. Because in Asia, women aren't stared at, you know, they just the way [they are] treated is very very different from here [Turkey], so here women are more like something that men more to touch or be with. In the States, I mean, men look at you and you look at men but it is much more relaxed than here.

Although Kim did not elaborate this issue further whether being stared at is a result of being a woman, foreign, or uncovered, she might mean that women in Turkey are more vulnerable to men's attention and attempt to abuse. Coming from an Eastern culture, those men could be less liberal than their urban peers; therefore, they may see women as subject to harassment. Even young urban men could act with same attitude.

Camilla, although in her late fifties, also felt that she was still too visible in Istanbul:

> I'm 56 for crying out loud… These are like men in their 20s and 30s hitting on me…. It just seems so bizarre ….in America that just wouldn't happen…. It wouldn't even shock me to think it okay… but I didn't even know it…

Camilla made her justification about why she was still too visible and popular among those young men:

> I realized that… this is what they [young men] want… there's three different things that they want… there's a type that wants a green card… then there's the type that wants sex because they're not getting sex…. because the Turkish women don't give it up… and they know that the Americans do… which is true… we do… [laughs]…and the other type wants a mommy.

Conversely, young participants complained about being too visible in regard to street harassment and talked about how they handle visibility. Two participants, Maya and Jane, mentioned a group called Hollaback which was set up to unite and protect them from street harassment.

> Jane: Do you know the website Hollaback? … Last year, there was a website project that got started and you might need to Google it because every major city can start a website called Hollaback dot com, but Istanbul has a version, New York city has a version, every city has a version, and it's about street harassment so women can post stories about their street harassment on there and it's supposed to be providing a community and feeling safe about things and I remember when it opened, I read a lot of the posts on there, and some of the girls are talking about how they were being harassed on the bus or something and they're terrified, and they don't know what to say.

> Maya: Do you know Hollaback? It deals with street harassment… and a friend of mine started the local chapter… and it was way for girls and women to get together and kind of talk about how do you deal with street harassment as either as a foreign woman or as a Turkish woman, um and you

know…wasn't a good response, because it doesn't feel like there is a lot you can do sometimes in Turkey.

Hollaback seems to be a useful website for the victims of street harassment anywhere in the world. It is a kind of protective bubble for those women who want to share their experiences and need help. Many young women seem to deal with street harassment using this strategy, namely sharing their experience and supporting one another against it.

Another visible participant was Lydia. However, she owed her visibility in Istanbul to a different dynamic, namely, belonging to a different race. Lydia identified herself as a woman of color. Her father's side was from Cayman Islands and her mother was a first generation American whose parents came from Canada.

Lydia: One of the nice things about being in a country or city of so many people is the anonymity. In the Cayman Islands, everybody knows you, [laughs], so I think being invisible… that I can walk around and not run into everybody, you know, I don't look like everybody so that's kind of funny…

Neslihan: Where? Here in Istanbul you mean?

Lydia: Yeah. Yeah. Because there's not a lot of ethnic diversity, like I'll be the only person who looks like me on the train, or the bus or whatever, so people will recognize me…but just simply, I don't encounter everyday people who know me.

In fact, Lydia thought that she was both visible, because of her ethnicity, and invisible, because she is just an individual among millions of people in Istanbul.

Coming from Cayman Islands of 500,000 people to a big metropolitan of 14+ million dwellers, she enjoys the anonymity and relative privacy.

Visibility and invisibility juxtaposition was experiences by several participants. Some participants were not "young" enough for Turkish men to be recognized, whereas some young participants identified themselves as being too visible. Some were visible with their physical features that made them distinguished from Turks as such the racial typology of Turks does not contain non-whites. Other than physical features, these women were visible with their Turkish accents and the way they behaved as such that they do not expect doors to be opened or bags to be carried by men.

3.4.2 Language

Choosing to live in a bubble might be an outcome of the language barrier for any given expatriate. "Strangers cannot fully develop host communication competence, the main engine that drives the cross-cultural adaptation process" (Kim 2001: 121). One will probably feel extremely isolated if they do not have language proficiency. In Turkey, where Turkish is the medium of communication, language can be seen as a great barrier for any foreigner who strives to be a part of the society. Therefore, voluntarily or involuntarily, they stay in their bubble. It also makes them visible and invisible at the same time because any given person who cannot speak Turkish may prefer to have minimum level of communication but attracts more attention when he/she is struggling to communicate.

Camouflage can be achieved to a certain extend in Turkey if desired. Any given American woman walking in the streets of Istanbul may not be recognized at a first

glance if she does not have an extremely light skin, blue eyes, and blonde hair or if she is not red, or a non-white. Wearing conservative dress may make this woman invisible, but a tank-top and shorts would have the opposite effect. However, when this woman starts communicating, she would no longer be camouflaged. Regardless of how accurate and fluent her Turkish is, she would definitely be labeled as a "yabancı" (foreigner). Although there are several dialects of Turkish language, it is extremely easy for a Turk to spot an individual as a foreigner, because a foreigner's accent and intonation are totally different form the Turkish dialects.

Camouflage or isolation is not always desirable because individuals generally enjoy the sense of belonging. American culture is individualistic, which emphasizes self over collectives, as opposed to collectivistic cultures, which emphasize collectives over self (Hofstede 1980, 2001). However, some participants of the current study preferred to be a part of some community in Istanbul, Turkey. As mentioned earlier, I had contacts with Professional American Women of Istanbul (PAWI) and American Women of Istanbul (AWI) for the current research. These were associations which can be seen as American bubbles. Rather than being inferior and dependent to someone in the Turkish context with poor language skills, some participants limited their territory with some American communities because staying in an American bubble would likely mean to stay in their comfort zone.

For Julia, by depriving themselves of getting into a culture, those people miss the great opportunity of learning about and enjoying it. She reflected both her American and Turkish experience of the same issue.

> Julia: I always felt sorry for foreign women, whose husbands came to America, and they live their whole life, and maybe raise their children, and

they never spoke much more than yes or no or something. You know what, they died in their houses, and they were never invited to many parties and um, they only went to their… for example, the Greek women, we have many Greek communities, and … the older generation just simply didn't learn; the only friends they had were Greek.

Neslihan: They live in small communities.

Julia: Some Americans do that here in [Istanbul]. We have a …. Turkish American association here... and if they don't learn the language and they're living here, there's so many things they're not going to know what's happening, and they're going to be, um, limiting themselves to so many experiences.

It is significant that Natalie wanted to enjoy the sense of belonging. As a member of AWI, she spent a good time in the English speaking community. She tried hard to learn Turkish, knows words but she was not able to put sentences together. Therefore, it was challenging to express herself. Because she did not speak Turkish, she assumed that she was not embraced by Turks.

Natalie: I belong to a group called "the American Women of Istanbul" and they are wonderful group of people and l love to be with them because when I met them everybody there is speaking English. And I have never realized how much that is a comfort thing until I was without it. I didn't know… It also means that people…when they hear you are from America, a kind of look at you in a different way, "You are not one of us."… I want to be a part of this society; I want to be accepted as a member of this society. And so I need to learn more and language is really a big thing…

Another participant who argued that language is a barrier is Kennedy. What she believed was that if two people do not know each other's language, the one who lives in the host culture need to put effort to learn the language.

> Kennedy: …there's a wall there that can only be overcome by one of us studying the other language, because I live in Turkey it should be me.

Venus is one of the participants who speaks Turkish. However, it was difficult for her to understand if someone spoke fast or with an accent. She argued that people who learn Turkish live with Turks. She spoke enough Turkish to survive. She preferred to live in a bubble and justified the advantages:

> Venus: Okay, so I get a plumber and then I have to explain to plumber that what is going on. But then a lot of times I don't understand what they are talking to me. Their accent… Maybe they are talking too fast for me and they don't stop. So it is a challenge, the language is a challenge, of course. And I have been studying it but I don't live with a Turk. People who learn Turkish live with Turks. So that is the challenge, languages, learning the languages because it is different. But on the other hand, I appreciate living in the bubble.
>
> Neslihan: What are the advantages?
>
> Venus: Because I don't know everything that people are saying around me. And if I did, I would have a great understanding… In Turkey around the time when they are going to go to the polls and thank goodness that I don't understand that much Turkish. And then sometimes I see people fighting, and I'm thinking I'm glad I don't really understand because it's making me mad,

just watching them fight, especially it's a men I don't like that but I'm glad that I don't know what he is saying to her…

Lauren, a Turkish citizen who has been living in Istanbul for almost 20 years (with breaks) since 1973, claimed that foreign women stay in in their international community because the language as well as business is difficult. She excluded herself because she identified herself with Turks.

Lauren: A lot of the foreign females, not myself, but I think a lot of the foreign females tend to stay within an international community, not necessarily because they're more comfortable with the language and all that, but if you really involved in Turkish culture, as a foreign female, I think it can be quite difficult. Especially if you're running a business, and have to deal with a lot of ah… ah, the smaller middle men, or the suppliers and things like that, sometimes you can make it work to your advantage, you really can, I think. Um, you can, because ah, American women in general tend to be a little firmer, we don't take no for an answer, and we expect things on a certain time etcetera…

Lauren ran a souvenir shop for 13 years in Arnavutköy (an upscale location in Istanbul), Grand Bazaar, and a branch of her shop in Iznik (a town close to Istanbul). She identifies herself with her work. Although she has retired recently, she still misses the early days. However, she still makes souvenirs for herself and for the American women's Christmas bazaars. As a businesswoman, she knows what the business life in Istanbul is like. Her experience in Istanbul was sort of walking in-between two worlds. She believes that she embraced the culture very well. However,

she believes that being an American woman in Turkey can be extremely difficult without knowing the language and the culture. Even winking and joking might be misinterpreted.

Stella preferred to stay in an American community in Istanbul. She was living in Istanbul because of her husband's job. As a couple, they were planning to go back to the United States when the husband's mission was completed in Turkey. She enjoyed living in Turkey as an expatriate and she had no desire to be involved in the culture much or learn the language with the idea that she would not stay in Istanbul more than necessary. Therefore, she carried on her life in an American bubble.

> Stella: There's a group called ARIT, it's called American Research Institute in Turkey, and it's a group that um, funds researchers that come here and that maybe go to the U.S., but there's another group called the friends of ARIT, and they go on tours, and help support this, and so, I'm in that group, and we go on these little groups, and we have professors come and talk to us about Turkish things, so that's been… we had this woman from Koç University help us with this trip to Mardin [a city in the southeast of Turkey]… she's an archaeologist, so that has I think helped us make a group… I'm an expatriate now, but when I go back, I really have to beam back to myself…

The phrase "beaming back to myself" indicated that Stella, or probably some other women as well, might not internalize this host culture. Stella was expecting to have some sort of metamorphosis by going back to her home in the U.S.

Language as being a great barrier for host communication certainly has a big impact to facilitate the adaptation process of expatriates. Any given expatriate may choose to learn the host language at least to some extent, which is "survival Turkish" for the current case, and have at least a limited level of interaction with the host nationals. "As their host communication competence improves, so does their self-confidence regarding participation in host interpersonal communication activities" (Kim 2001: 125). Depending on willingness to adapt, any expatriate could extend their language proficiency by means of host mass communication processes. By host media use, "…they are exposed to the culture's aspirations, traditions, history, myths, art, work, play, and humor as well as current issues and events" (Kim 2001: 131). As an outcome of language proficiency, the expatriates leave their comfort zone to socialize with host nationals. However, some expatriates may have no attempt either to learn the language or to leave their bubble. This could be possible depending on the length of sojourn or adaptation motivation. By having no or low Turkish proficiency and by adhering to a social circle that includes only Americans, some participants of the current study accepted to be inferior with regards to effective communication within the Turkish social context.

3.5 Chapter Summary

The human condition is not stable and subject to change. Be it voluntarily or involuntarily, one can be superior or subordinate to another. The sample I interviewed voiced this reality by expressing their privileges and challenges. With their multiple and intersecting identities and their unique experiences, those American women of the research support the "superiority and inferiority juxtaposed" framework of my study. To illustrate, participants were simultaneously "superior" in that they were privileged, middle and upper-middle class Americans, yet were

"inferior" in that they were gender Not-A. Accepting their existence assigned to them by nature and by the societies they live in, they also accept the reality of being either superior or inferior in different circumstances. Breaking gender stereotypes vs. living in a bubble is an outcome of the juxtaposition of the binary oppositions. Orient and Occident cultures, old and new world values, and choosing to struggle for or accepting the faith that the participants were gender Not- A, and the "other" in Istanbul enforced them make their unique choices. The participants transformed their identities in the Istanbul context as to live happily and peacefully, be it superiority or inferiority at play.

Chapter 4: The Indelibility of Otherness

Whose house is this?
Whose night keeps out the light
In here?
Say, who owns this house?
It's not mine.
I dreamed another, sweeter, brighter
With a view of lakes crossed in painted boats;
Of fields wide as arms open for me.
This house is strange.
Its shadows lie.
Say, tell me, why does its lock fit my key?
Tony Morrison, Home

People have always traveled. However, the purpose of their travel has evolved over time. They travelled in a quest for a sustainable and better life; in the past people travelled in search of shelter, animals to hunt, fertile land to cultivate, and a livable climate. The more people spread across the Earth, the more they discovered an immense variety of other humans, plants, and animals as well as new geographies. This curiosity about other places, people and cultures later included other reasons to travel, such as for business, pleasure, health, pilgrimage, and even shopping. Up until the present day, human beings have also chased the dream of settling in the "Promised Land". Immigrants believed that the United States was the best country in which they could fulfill their dreams. Americans are a unique nation for James M. Jasper (2000). In his book *Restless Nation,* he explains that they are unique because people from all around the world have built up the population of the United States. Jasper also calls it a "restless nation" because Americans have no loyalty to place; they carry on spreading and moving in the country. "The vast sameness of it (the U.S.) all saves one from attachment to any particular place" (Jasper 2000: 34). Therefore, Americans have always moved in search of fresh new lives in which

fulfillment of their dreams mattered more than place. "The automobile – which was invented in Europe but found its first mass market in the United States – is the perfect embodiment of this restlessness…" (Jasper 2000: 4).

Jasper indicates that almost one out of five Americans move in an average year. In other words, "Today, with advanced technological means at our disposal, we change our residence, on average, once every five years…" (2000: 71). However, he does not conclude that all Americans are equally likely to move, indicating that younger people, people in the West, Blacks and Latinos, home renters, and people of lower income are more likely to move than others. For Jasper women are more reluctant to move than men because "Until the 1930s, the majority of immigrants were men" (Jasper 2000: 13). Jasper argues that men's focus is making money, whereas women's is having a place to live and be connected. However, this tendency is changing in the present day. Having earned a more respectful place in today's world due to access to better education and career opportunities than in the past, women are more open to extend their horizons. They are far beyond being merely a wife, mother, and a homemaker who are tied to their homes. Therefore, it is more likely to see an American woman moving from one place to the other in the U.S. as well as seeing American women settling internationally even in overseas locations including Istanbul, Turkey.

In this chapter, *The Indelibility of Otherness*, the migration backgrounds of the participants' U.S. ancestry as well as the reasons of the American women's settlement in Istanbul are analyzed. Having settled down in this new geography, the participants experienced otherness because Turks and their culture did not completely embrace the participants. Equally, some of the participants preferred not

to fit in this host culture. The reflections of these American women as the "I" in Istanbul with their myriad lives but the same stigmatization as the "other" is explained below. The salient feature of the participants as being the "other" started with their setting foot in Turkey, which is simultaneously both a Muslim and a secular country. As an extension of Turkish culture, Turks would respect the expatriates at the individual level as American women and would not let them be "one of us". Learning Turkish culture and the language, and even acquiring Turkish citizenship would still not be sufficient to overcome the indelibility of otherness. Identity formation of the participants would be in a state of flux in their journey from the U.S. to Turkey and their new chapter in Istanbul.

4.1 From the U.S. to Turkey

The American women of the current study are expatriates in Istanbul. Leaving the "Land of Promise" and settling down in a far-away geography could be perceived as surprising. While the great majority of immigrants all over the world dream about settling in the U.S., these American women chose the opposite, namely to live outside this "dream land" and settle in Istanbul.

Living abroad brings one a new status - expatriate. This status carries both advantages and disadvantages. If the expatriate moves with the support of an organization or a company, things might work better due to expatriate orientation prior to the movement or support provided during the stay. Highly skilled international professionals are provided with excellent supportive systems. Yet expatriate adaptation is not an easy process and may sometimes result in failure (Ralston et al. 1995) because of the discrepancy between the expectation and experience across cultures (Kim 2001; Sussman 2001). On the other hand, sojourners

who move internationally without any support may need to work hard for a life of ease in the new milieu.

The reasons for moving to Istanbul provided by the American expatriate women of the current study were numerous, including education, internship, employment, voluntary work, father's work or husband's work, learning a language and culture, travel, relationship, marriage or family, adventure, and change; these will be explicated below. Other than the participants who traveled to Istanbul for adventure, all the American women had the information and support they needed prior to their settlement. With the settlement, they were identified as expats, with their lives changed compared to back in the U.S.

Migration results in a new life, "…as migration theory tells us, temporary migration can easily be transformed into permanent settlement…" (Toktaş 2012: 5). Because "sojourns may last 1 week or a lifetime… the outcomes may influence present or future careers, marriage partners, relationships with extended families, and leisure pursuits" (Sussman 2000: 355). It is usually expected from professionals who work abroad to accomplish their mission and return home for their next post elsewhere. However, as Toktaş points out, while living and working in a foreign country, expatriates may become lifetime settlers. Lauren and Violet are examples of two individuals who are determined to stay in Istanbul for the rest of their lives.

> Lauren: …we (she and her husband) knew we wanted to stay here forever. We don't ever intend to go back to the United States; we intend to stay here forever and ever and ever.

Violet: I wouldn't, for example, if my husband died, I would not go back to America, my life and everything's here in Turkey. I felt my whole life is here. And I almost feel like I was born here.

The International Strategic Research Organization (USAK) in Turkey provides a broader report which is not limited to German and Turkish expats, but to expats in general. According to this report, the reasons for expats to settle in Turkey support migration theory of temporary settlement which can easily be transformed into permanent settlement given the right conditions which are explicated below.

The report states that the great majority of expats in Turkey are 50+ year-old retirees who long for a life in a sunny country with low expenses. A minority of the expats consists of young skilled workers who believe that it is materially beneficial to permanently settle in Turkey. According to the report, Turkey offers cheaper and better health care and education to Western expats than their own countries. Also, life in Turkey is peaceful because of the friendliness of the indigenous people; the culture is not complicated, and keeps its authenticity. The concept of "mature" foreign bride and young Turkish groom is also a common practice which generally lasts until the groom's settlement in the bride's country. The well-developed infrastructure, cheaper and high-quality life standards, as well as employment as a language instructor are the significant factors for expat settlement in Turkey. On the other hand, some governments direct their old citizens to other countries to "get rid of" the problems of ageing populations. To illustrate, 100,000 Norwegian retirees are estimated to be settled in Izmir and some other cities in Turkey as well as Romania (USAK 2008: 46). According to the report, this project is not finalized yet but the probability is rather high (USAK 2008).

As Kaiser's research indicates, there can be other reasons for expats to settle in Turkey, depending on the country from which they come. The most unique two groups of German expats in Turkey are the Bosphorus Germans and refugees fleeing the Nazi regime, with the former being the descendants of trades people, military personnel, and academics in Turkey during the Ottoman Empire, and the latter being Jews and political activists who fled to Turkey during WW II (2012: 108).

As for the American expatriate women in Istanbul, regardless of their reason for settlement, they were no longer in their comfort zone. Adaptation to a brand new life in Istanbul was challenging because many things in this new geography, from language to culture, were different. To prepare oneself adequately to the new environment could be hard especially when language is a barrier. As Hess puts it, "Without the language you will be more isolated, move solely in English-speaking circles, and rely on help from others to get things done" (2007: 44).

"Living in a bubble" is one solution when one does not have the language skills, or not prefer to integrate with the host location, indigenous people, and the culture. However, "The human species is highly adapted to group living and not well equipped to survive outside a group context" (Brewer 1991: 475). Even though Americans are believed to be highly individualistic, there is still a need for them to be a part of a group to improve the quality of life in an alien geography.

Being categorized either by self or by others, any given individual both distinguishes oneself from the others, while also maintaining a certain level of inclusiveness with those others. Therefore, personal identity is adjusted and shaped in relation to internal and external factors. Participants identified themselves with a variety of

identity aspects such as woman, mother, American. On the other hand, Turks may identify these women with any social identity. However, the inevitable truth about these women from a Turkish perspective is that they are foreigners in Istanbul, Turkey; otherness is unavoidable regardless of these women's self- identifications. Therefore, they were too distinctive from Turks' perspective. Some of the participants avoided this uncomfortable social context by living in a bubble and the others worked for optimal distinctiveness in which the need for differentiation is exactly equal to need for assimilation and provides a comfort zone. They tried belonging to more inclusive social units by learning the language and culture and experience less of the "other".

The Indelibility of Otherness chapter is an outcome of a process of the participants which started by setting foot in a remote geography and continued experiencing otherness in it. When immigrants move to the U.S. for the first time, they are the "other". However, those immigrants are accepted and assimilated easily in the U.S. compared to many other countries, including Turkey. Coming from such as a diverse nation, participants could have expected a similar acceptance from Turks. With a possible immigrant family background and having no doubt that they would get accepted just like their immigrant families, these women might have decided to move to Istanbul. Therefore, I asked them whether they were established Americans, or immigrants. The answer was both. Those American women who live in Istanbul varied in their answers on settling in the United States. There were three interviewees who said that that they were first-generation Americans.

Neslihan: How many generations have your family members been in the United States?

Lucy: One generation. My parents moved there when they were 36, so really with me…

As well as Lucy, Kylie is a first generation American. Her mother's story is interesting as she was an adopted Japanese girl who became an American engineer.

> Kylie: I was the first generation that was born in America. My dad is Turkish, my mom is Japanese; but my mom is adopted, by Polish-Americans because my grandmother's husband at the time was in the military, and his, I think stationed in Japan, so since my grandma couldn't have kids, they adopted my mom. We have no idea about anything about my mother's side of the family, her biological side, because my mom felt that since her parents gave her away, why should she look for them because they didn't want her.

Mary's family are immigrants who escaped from war in their country, Hungary. As a first-generation American, Mary kept her ethnic identity and compared Turkish culture to the Hungarian culture later in the interview.

> Mary: I was born in Hungary and my family left when I was 2. We escaped during the war, and we went to Austria, from Austria we went to America and my father had an aunt in Ohio, and that's how we ended up there.

The other participants date back from a few to "countless" generations in their inhabitancy in the U.S. Adrianna is a participant who claims that the US is a melting pot, and is thus difficult to predict the roots. She responded to the generation question as follows:

> Adrianna: …Countless, I don't know how many generations. I mean no Americans still know their roots.

Some participants stated, dates and others both mentioned the dates and the reasons for migrations of their families. Lauren used the idiom "dyed in the wool Americans" which indicates being established Americans both on her family and her husband's family side. Ironically, both Lauren and her husband became Turkish citizens, even changing their first and last names to Turkish ones to have the full sense of being Turkish.

> Lauren: We don't ever intend to go back to the United States; we intend to stay here [Turkey] forever and ever and ever. So we wanted to cement our relationship with the county…when you get a second citizenship, because it was more practical, but for both of us, it was more, um, besides the practicality, it was showing solidarity…

Lauren and her husband's situation could be interpreted as being the last generation of Americans in their families. They have tried to maintain ties with the host country and achieved becoming citizens of it and in which they are planning to lead the rest of their lives. Their approach to belonging to a new country deconstructs the idea of being "dyed in the wool Americans".

Julia's assumption about migration relates to the image of people as rich and poor. Her view reflects the fact that people try to forget about sad memories of their family by not talking about them.

> Julia: Probably, my parents' ancestors came… during the Irish potato famine…which um, I suppose was the 1700's or something like that. Actually the people who immigrated to America… um… were really, really poor people. They don't talk too much about it. If you immigrated as a rich person, you have your family background and you talk about it. If you came as a poor person, you just want to forget about that and start building your new life, so um, my families came as poor people to the United States so they didn't talk too much about it.

Starting with the colonies of European descendants in the seventeenth century and accepting immigrants from all over the world up until the present day, the United States has been the most diverse country in the world. Although being one of the most popular countries in the world to live in, some Americans still move out of the U.S. As mentioned earlier, there are multifarious reasons to leave home and start calling another piece of land as "home". In my research, some enquiries mentioned enjoyment of travel; some have traveled intensively, and while traveling, a few of them decided to settle down in Turkey.

> Madelyn: I saw a picture of the city [Istanbul], a photograph, and I thought that is the most fantastic place visually, I've got to go there. I wasn't thinking to stay; I thought I would just visit. Er, because I had a job lined up in India, and um, in fact I fell in love, and um, I felt really, actually I felt really comfortable here.

Another participant, Claire, mentioned moving to a few states from the age 24 to 26 "just for fun", while another, Lauren, travelled around the world after marrying for a

long time, in her words "gazillion years". Yet another participant, Maya, stated that she "has always liked traveling" and her justification was that she and her family were always going to Canada across the border, so she was used to going out of the US. Finally, Jasmine's family moved a lot and all her five siblings were all born in different places. She viewed moving to Turkey as the major event of her life.

> Jasmine: I guess the major event of my life, when I was 15, I moved with my mother to Turkey, and then kind of set off an interest, um, and then I went and did my graduate work, in BA in English, and I came and taught English after college. And then I went and I did graduate work in Middle Eastern Studies. And that let me around through Germany back to Turkey. I've been here on and off for the last thirty years, so I do know I was really missing it and wanted to come back.

Penelope grew up around the world because her father was working for the Foreign Service. As an American citizen, it was only when she was 15 that she lived in the US for the first time. Penelope could be identified with the "restless" feature of an American citizen. The countries of residence varied in her experience and either her father's, or her husband's, as well as her own work contributed to the list of countries. Penelope identifies herself and her husband as "third culture kids". That identification is closely bound up with their immigration experience.

> Penelope: My [Turkish] husband also grew up in an internationally mobile family, so we continued to travel the world with our kids. We're both what you call "third culture kids" that is someone who grows up outside of their parents' passport country, so they don't really grow up in their own culture,

but they certainly are influenced by their parents' culture. And also the host culture, so both my husband and I are kind of mixed up.

Another "restless" participant was Kennedy. She and her friend gathered their backpacks and traveled for a while after she gained her art degree. Upon returning to graduate school, she realized she was not ready to settle down. Hence, she has continued traveling up to the present date

Kennedy: I finished my masters and I started travelling and it's just been very hard not to keep doing it because it's so great.

Every participant had her own unique story of settling in Istanbul, Turkey. When I enquired the reason for settling down in Istanbul, participants mainly referred to employment as the primary reason.

Lilly: I was here for a conference in July 2006… I was here for a conference, and really liked Istanbul and soon afterwards found that there was a job here, and moved here the end of September of 2006, which was about a month later…

Jasmine: I came for employment because I have a long history here and I wanted to come back.

Sydney: My husband and I came to Istanbul for 10 days, that was January of 99, and um, at that time, we met somebody who was working at the university, also a poet, and um, we started talking about opportunities,

teaching opportunities , but it was mostly just cocktail talk, we discussed it a little bit, and said "sure, why not?", so we had planned to come for one year, so they [the daughter and the son] were still young enough to be able to come, you know, come to a different place, and do a year in a different school and then go back, but we decided that it wasn't long enough after one year… it's been 13 years [laughs].

Nelly: For employment. So Ned [fiancé] first graduated from Brown, a year before I graduated with my masters…. Um, and he was teaching in Providence while I was writing you know, my thesis, and then, he saw the job listing on the Chronicle of Higher Education to work at Koç University… he got it up with me, and I said "sounds like an adventure", um so he applied, and got the job, and we moved here, and then I met the dean at the opening party, I was of course now that I had graduated, I was going to be looking for work…. Um, and he called me on the Sunday and said… you know we need someone, so I went in, and then like a few months later on an official one came up, I applied and got the job, you know, and now I'm here.

What is common about the participants above who came to Istanbul for employment is that they did not set off an adventure with their backpacks. Lilly, Jasmine, and Sydney had already visited Istanbul before they decided to work in Istanbul. Lilly came for a conference, Jasmine had known Istanbul since she was 15, Sydney as a visitor got a job offer, and Nelly applied to the school where his fiancé was already working. For all of those women, Istanbul was not an unknown geography to be explored or a city full of mysteries and danger. They had already encountered with

the local people and the culture. Therefore, starting over a new life in Istanbul was not full of unknowns or surprises for them.

Apart from their own employment, some women I interviewed settled down in Istanbul for their husband's employment. Stella is one, who lives in Istanbul because of her husband's employment. Her husband is from southern India, who went to the U.S. when he was 21. Upon receiving his PhD, he never returned to India.

> Stella: Well he's from Southern India. And so then, he came when he was 21 to study, in the States. He got a PhD and never went back… never went back to live.

The rest of the women who came to Istanbul for husband's employment all have Turkish husbands. They all have different reasons for settling down in Istanbul. Eva, as the homemaker of a large family of 7 children and having the first 3 children in the United States, came to Turkey because of her husband's affiliation with his professors.

> Eva: We got married, he continued with his PhD. We had three children there [in the U.S.]. And he finished, um, he worked there for a while, and he decided to come back here [Turkey] for work purposes. His professors called him back and, we came to Turkey in 1986.

Violet's husband had to pay back his scholarship that he got from the Turkish government. Therefore, they came to Ankara first, and moved to Istanbul when he paid his dues.

> Violet: His education finished and they sent a letter to return. He was on a scholarship. So we came back... he started working at İmar İskan [Ministry of Development and Housing], because he had to pay back 10 years in Ankara.

Years later, in 2003, Violet's mother also joined the family in Turkey because of her old age.

> Violet: In 2003, I got a phone call from my mom saying that she was burning everything in the kitchen, and that she felt that she couldn't live by herself anymore. So I said, "Why don't you come to Turkey?" And she said, "Do you want to have me?" My husband took the phone away and said, "We're coming to pick you up immediately", which we did.

On the other hand, Penelope's husband, just like Penelope, did not stay in his parents' passport country-Turkey- for a long time. After his retirement, they decided to stay in Istanbul which both of them know very well and also they wanted to be close to the husband's family who were getting old.

> Penelope: This is my fourth time living in Turkey. This time I came to Turkey, my husband took early retirement. And, um, we wanted to return to a place that was very familiar.

Chloe followed her husband to Turkey twice for employment. Not only Chloe, but also Chloe's mother, Natalie, joined them in Turkey because of her old age.

Chloe: Because my husband is Turkish and he took a job offer that he received to come and work here. He had been living in the United States for ten years prior to our getting married. We were only here [Istanbul] for about 4 months, somewhere around there in 2007… it was also work related for my husband.

As is seen in the excerpts above, those American women's Turkish husbands are very much family oriented. Therefore, they prefer to live with or close to their parents or in-laws. In both Violet's and Chloe's case, the Turkish husbands were more than happy to live with their mother-in-laws in the same apartment or house. Penelope's husband preferred to be close to his parents because of their old age. Molly's comment below on this cultural aspect supports that argument from an American woman's perspective.

Molly: The family is very important [in Turkey] and old people are not abandoned like they are in the States. Old people are really abandoned. I mean if you don't produce in the States, nobody's interested in you.

For Summer, it was not a surprise to move to the future husband's homeland. Even when Summer and the husband were dating, she knew that there was a big emphasis on the family and that they would eventually move to Turkey.

Summer: My husband's parents had lived in America for over 35 years, total, so they are very Americanized in a way, although still very very Turkish. But their plan was to retire and come back to Turkey of course. So they always wanted that their kids who… even though they raised them in the States for

many years to come back to Turkey, so my husband was very well conditioned that he would come back, and he wanted to come back. So when I first started dating him, I knew immediately that his future was to go to Turkey, so as we dated and as we got more serious, I knew that if I was going to be with him, I would be in Turkey most likely, so we just, decided to move…

In the current study, the women who came to live in Istanbul for husband's employment did not decide on this destiny on their own. In most of the cases, the inevitable truth was that the husband would convince the wife to live in Turkey someday. Therefore, this kind of mobility impacted their identity, forcing some of them to live in their "bubble" by limiting their interaction with the husband's extended family rather than the indigenous people and their culture. Some of them, on the other hand, achieved a much better social life as well as being involved in Turkish business world.

Some American women in my research decided to move to Istanbul because they wanted to experience living in Turkish culture. They heard and read many things about Istanbul and were ready to be a part of it. For example, before Andrea and Melanie moved to Istanbul, they had already been introduced to the city and the culture by their husbands. Therefore, they decided to benefit from what they had learnt, and moved here to reframe what it might be like to live in Istanbul.

Andrea: I came to Turkey because I wanted to learn Turkish and I wanted to learn the culture.

Melanie: Primarily, because we had our son and we wanted him to be exposed to Turkish culture, too.

Molly extended her one-month-Istanbul-experience to a sixteen-year-city dweller life because she was fascinated by its history, architecture, and geography.

> Molly: A friend of mine was doing his doctorate thesis on Italian architecture in Istanbul and he asked me to photograph for him… and I thought that was a nice opportunity to see the country… and so I came and stayed with him for about a month and did photographs and it was a perfect introduction to the city because every day we would go out and study the light and look at buildings and, now he's a professor at Bosphorus University, but he used to explain to me, you know, all the, all the stories about the architecture and the history of the city so… I loved it here. And I loved the fact that there's a sea, and people really lived using the sea. I think Istanbul if it didn't have the sea it would be like another city. But it's just so marvelous the way the sea is used so much and how you feel that. So that really fascinated me.

As an anthropologist, Maya was interested in meeting people from all over the world. She first went to Brazil to do some anthropological research and learn Portuguese, and moved to the U.K. to work in her aunt's company. When she completed an English teaching course, she moved to Turkey.

> Maya: I really had heard good things about Istanbul, and I met a lot of Turkish people when I lived in the U.K. …and at the end of my course, we were all my friends and I, we were going to different places, some to Spain, some to Mexico, and I just thought that Turkey would be really interesting, you know, part Europe, part Asia…and Turkish seems like a valuable language to learn…

Grace is another participant of my research who was fascinated by the eastern part of the world. In her first trip, she felt like home. Therefore, in her second trip, she settled down in Istanbul, which she thinks is similar to San Francisco in regards to its rich and diverse culture.

> Grace: Well, I wanted to learn Turkish first of all, and the reason I wanted to learn Turkish is, I have always been interested in this part of the world, um, since I was in high-school, and it was triggered by a western civilizations course and we were talking about the Roman empire, and it was archaeology and art and I just felt very drawn, but I wasn't able to actually come here until over 2 years ago… and I felt comfortable the minute I got out the plane here, even on the first trip. And I had never felt that in any other place in my own country…. except for San Francisco, um, er, there's a… richness and a very deep texture to the multiculturalism that's here, um, and the same goes for San Francisco.

Venus is another participant who was not alienated but felt at home in Istanbul. She does not consider Turkey as a European country, and argues that it is culturally different from Europe. Although Turkey is different in her view, she still prefers to live in Istanbul because she feels comfortable and safe.

> Venus: I chose Turkey because it was so different, it was not Europe. And it was just I don't know it was accessible. When I was here before, visiting, I felt very at home .I had no idea anything about the language, but I just felt okay and it's just fine. You know, Turkish people are very, very friendly.

In the research I conducted, Lucy was the only participant who came from a family of Turkish (Armenian) descent, and moved to the United States at the age of 6. When she decided to live in another country other than the U.S., her choice was Turkey, because "she knew it very well".

> Lucy: I wanted to try to live in another country, and for me Turkey seemed best because I was used to the city, and I have people I know here. I love the city. I've always been in love with the city. I love the people, the food, the culture… it was the right choice for me to make.

The final excerpt from the research to reflect on American women's reasons to settle down in Istanbul is Jane's reflection. She argued that Turkey is, paradoxically, both a Muslim and a secular country.

> Jane: When I was in university, I was studying actually Turkish history, like the switch from like Classical Islamic law to like Ataturk's secular republic, and I was really interested, yeah, I was very interested like academically, the country seemed really interesting to me because there's nothing else like that. There is no other secular Muslim country…

As the excerpts above suggest that every participant had her own tale of settling in Istanbul. The different reasons for settling down in Istanbul had different outcomes of lifestyles and identity formation for the participants. The women who settled down in Istanbul to experience living in Turkish culture as a short-term-experience did not feel the necessity of being deeply involved in Turkish culture. They made very little attempt to learn the language and the culture, and generally preferred to live in their

bubbles which consisted of their American peers. The ones who were married to Turks and planning to stay for a long time or even for the rest of their lives made a great effort to fit in by learning and assimilating the culture, and having an active social life.

4.2 Turkey: Muslim and/but Modern

It might be contradictory to imagine a country which carries elements of Islam and modernity at the same time. Turkey is probably a unique country to achieve being both secular and Muslim. Learning about the history of Turkey might inspire some expatriates to go and live in such a country. The great majority of the participants in the current study were fascinated by its history; some of them witnessed the recent history of Turkey and had the opportunity to observe its development. However, it is not possible to conclude that Turkey is an entirely Western country. This section introduces a brief overlook on Turkish history, the participants' accounts on the recent past, and how the image of Turkey is Oriental yet Occidental.

As of 2014, the Republic of Turkey was 91 years old. It might be argued that the Turkish Republic is an extension of the Ottoman Empire. However, Turks have existed on Earth since the third century B.C. The first historically recorded Turkish state is that of the Asian Huns of the third century B.C. (Seydi 2007: 10). Throughout their history, Turks have founded more than a hundred small and large states on three continents, including Asia, Europe, and Africa. During the Ottoman era, it reached its largest borders of 20 million square kilometers. Its citizens consisted of different religious and ethnic origins, making the Ottoman Empire "among the greatest and most powerful political formations that have ever been recorded in history, comparable only to the Roman and British Empires" (Seydi 2007: 5).

The analogy for the Ottoman Empire to have a life like a human being might be proper, because it was born, grew up, became "sick", and died which corresponds with the empire's four periods; the classical age, consolidation, decline, and dissolution. In other words, it was born in 1299, when the founder, Osman, named the new state after him. In 1529, Süleyman the Magnificent reached Vienna, the furthest western point to be conquered. However, after several unsuccessful attempts "the Ottoman Empire had reached the line beyond which it could not advance, from which it could only withdraw" (Lewis 2002: 25). The Empire gradually lost its power starting from the seventeenth century, and the First World War was the last war of the Ottoman Empire. "At the end of 1918 it seemed that the Sick Man of Europe was about to die at last" (Lewis 2002: 239).

The rebirth of the Turkish nation was achieved by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk with the declaration of the republic on October 29, 1923. The endeavor to create a secular, modern, democratic, Muslim nation-state was accomplished. "… by 1939 the Turkish republic arguably became the second most successful independent developing nation outside Europe and North America, outstripped only by Japan" (Findley 2010: 247). In the early years of the republic, although it was extremely hard to achieve economic growth, Turkey followed a strategy of growth through inward-oriented import-substitution industrialization. From the 1930s until 1980s, its policies were mainly designed to protect domestic industry from foreign competition (Utkulu 2001: 2). Until the early 1980s, economic stability was not possible and life was hard in regards to standards, inflation, and earnings.

One of the American women in my research, Eva, experienced life in the early 1980s and described how hard life was then, as follows:

> Eva: I came, I think in 1981 or 1982 and it was under Martial law. There was nothing available as for food, and… even like the radios, I remember…even the feminine hygiene things you could not find. My husband did his military service; he left me in Hendek [a small town of a small city, Sakarya, in Marmara region] with his mother. I cried every day. It was horrible. I was miserable. And there was nothing. I remember I brought an iron, and everybody was fighting over it. There were no irons in Hendek. They were fighting over it… and my medicines. I had aspirin. Not aspirin… T…, whatever you call it. Everyone would come and ask me, like I was the pharmacy… I have a great gratitude to Turgut Özal because he brought so much to this country. And he made my life easier. Because when I came here before Özal it was like, it wasn't the 20th century, and he brought Turkey into the 20th century.

Turgut Özal was a former economy bureaucrat who was appointed as deputy prime minister by the military rulers in 1980, who later became the prime minister, and the president of Turkey, until his death in 1993 (Güneş-Ayata & Ayata 2001: 93). Özal implemented his economic policy reforms which "…aimed to improve the balance of payments, reduce inflation and shift the economy toward the free market and export-led growth" (Findley 2010: 374). With Özal, for the first time Turks were introduced to foreign goods. Therefore, Eva thinks Özal brought contemporary life standards to the country, liberating the populace from 19th century living standards.

The other participant who made a comment on Özal's tenure was Violet, and her argument corroborated the former. In Violet's view, Özal's reforms were an important attempt that was taken in the modernization process of Turkey in the 1980s.

Violet: …slowly products were coming into the system, foreign products were accepted here. Before, there were black market products as you can remember. [In] Özal's time, things started to change, so there were foreign products available at the market, and this changed people's way of spending and thinking here in Turkey… He had ideas that I didn't agree with all of them, but some of them… I think… the fact that for the first time people could own foreign currency, before I always had my currency if I wanted it, dollars, but my husband couldn't have any, then after that it changed, so banking changed. A lot of things changed….

Turgut Özal had a vision. "Embodying the combination of economic liberalism and Islamic values that bested overtly Islamist parties in gaining voter support, he reoriented Turkish politics more significantly than anyone since Atatürk" (Findley 2010: 354). Economically, export-led growth strategy was put into practice which brought a significant change in the Turkish living standards. In fact, the history of Turkish modernity dates back to the Reformation period of the Ottoman Empire in the year 1839. Modernization of the country has been believed to have been achieved through Westernization. "… the basic aim of the state was to Westernize the country, but at the same time to make it powerful enough to resist the West" (Kahraman 2009: 71). In fact, implementation and institutionalization of Westernization and transformation of existing norms and institutions had been aimed at competing with the West. However, the West was always considered as a potential risk for the country. Integration to the modern world accelerated with Atatürk's reforms. As a Muslim country, secularism was achieved through the process of taking the Swiss Civil Code as a model, and implementing it in the new republic (Kahraman 2009: 76).

The young Turkish Republic struggled on the path to modernization and Westernization. Although great effort was put for implementation of a modern Turkey since its establishment, it was not until Özal that the country achieved living standards similar to that of Western countries. It might have been possible for Eva or Violet to go back to the U.S. rather than struggling in a country in which they would have lived in the 19th century standards.

As the participant Jane mentioned earlier, there is no other secular Muslim country in the world, and it might be seen that Turkey holds a unique position of achieving both a secular and a Muslim state. Since its establishment, Turkey has been transformed so that it is now associated with the West. Additionally, the foreign policy that was pursued aimed at international peace based on the principle of "Peace at home, peace in the world", as laid down by Atatürk (Balkır 2001: 195).

Within its ninety-one years of inception, the Republic of Turkey has been followed closely by the world, as "the decline of great empires has always been a subject of fascinated interest" (Lewis 2002: 21). The newly established republic is equally interesting because it might be the extension of the old empire, or it might be a brand new country which emerged with its totally independent form from the old. However, as the title of this section suggests, "The Indelibility of Otherness" indicates that once something is stigmatized, it is difficult to deconstruct the prejudice.

In my research, I discovered that both the American women I interviewed and the Turks that those women referred to were mutually prejudiced against each other. After all of those 91 years of Westernization, Turkey is still seen as an Oriental

country. A mixture of Turkish, Western, and Arab elements has dominated the culture. Therefore, the perception of Turkey by the Western women in this study, despite all the reforms and Westernization process, has remained unchanged.

> Claire: In the past I might have been more judgmental, I'm definitely not such a judgmental person, I'm definitely more open to that Arabic culture, and I know Turks don't consider themselves as Arabic, but you are far more Arabic than Bulgaria, for example, which is next door.

Eastern countries connote Orientalism and Arab culture from a Western perspective. Claire emphasizes that she is not a judgmental person and shares her observation that Turks are identified with the Arab culture and lifestyle. Although Turks have been determined to push the country upward and onward to achieve their vision of modernity, it is still not a fully accomplished target. Even in the present day, Turkey may be classified in the same category as Afghanistan as in the excerpt below. It is probably the outcome of conflating everything in the East into the specific concept of Orientalism.

> Lydia: You know Americans are pretty geographically ignorant, and explaining… that Turkey is not Kabul, that it's… Istanbul… A friend wrote to me yesterday and said, 'how are things?' when heard that things were very unstable in Turkey and you have to explain that it's a big country with regions much like the United States has states but think of it as one single thing so something that happens in the East… you know… everything happens in Istanbul…. And you say 'Well…' when there's an earthquake in L.A. we don't write to people in New York and say, 'what's happening?'

From Lydia's American friends' perspective, both Istanbul and Kabul are similar eastern cities regardless of their origin of country, history, and location. From a western approach, all the countries located in the east are generalized and connoted with all orientalist features which were invented by Europeans. "We need to decide here whether this kind of imaginative (geographical and historical) knowledge infuses history and geography, or whether in some way it overrides them" (Said 2003: 55).

In his book, *Orientalism*, Edward W. Said –arguably the most prominent literary critic and theorist of recent decades- examines Orientalism in relation to Occidentalism. Said argues that the world is divided into two as the East and the West, or the occident and the orient, or civilized and uncivilized, by the Europeans. Therefore, we and they, or ours and theirs, or the concept of "otherness" emerged from this European mind. Said also states that all things in history, like history itself, are made by men. Therefore, people assign roles and give meanings to objects, places, and times. Said illustrates his argument with the example of a group of people living on a piece of land and setting up boundaries between their land and the territory beyond and calling that land "the land of barbarians". However, people living in the territory beyond do not acknowledge the distinction of "our land-barbarian land" because those boundaries are subjective and the mentality of those people is different from the ones who live in the territory beyond (Said 2003: 54). Brewer's theory of "ingroup love vs. outgroup hate" (1999) clearly indicates that ingroup attachments and loyalties do not necessarily result in outgroup antagonism. However, the man-made concepts of "the Orient" and "the Occident" are widely accommodated and "the Occident" or the West is generally perceived as superior, while "the Orient" or the East is perceived as inferior.

Said argues that a very large mass of writers accept the East and West distinction. These writers are highly influential in societies as poets, novelists, philosophers, political theorists, economists, and imperial administrators, and they "elaborate theories, epics, novels, social descriptions, and political accounts concerning the Orient, its people, customs, "mind", destiny, and so on" (Said 2003: 2,3). These writers' awareness of the East-West distinction became a more powerful and settled issue when the idea was supported in their writing with theories, descriptions, and literature. Said indicates that Oriental history, character, and destiny have been plotted for hundreds of years, and that the power of imaginative and travel literature cannot be neglected (2003: 99). The great contribution of this genre is embedded in the building of Orientalist discourse. Fact and fiction could be blended into writing, and historical facts could be narrated in literature. Various geographical, temporal, and racial facts of the Orient have been depicted in historical and literary texts to contribute to interchange between the Orient and the Occident. Turkey is a significant geography in regard to its ever oscillating nature of Occidental and Oriental spheres. The rich history and culture of the Turkey could be projected both from a Western perspective and form an Eastern perspective. The American expatriates of the current study may have a Western projection and they might also want to hear or read about other Western scholars, historians, authors, as well as ordinary expat memoirs in this country. In the next section, Istanbul will be depicted from American writers' accounts, and whether these accounts could have an effect on these American women's decision of settlement or not is discussed.

4.3 Turkey: Occidental Reflections on Oriental Culture

In the present day, media representation of people, cultures, and places plays a dominant role in spectators'/readers' overall impression and decision to interact with

these people, cultures, or visit these locations. On the other hand, before the invention of visual media tools such as photography, movies, and television, most people obtained information about other cultures from books. It was difficult to access a wide variety of resources and some sources of information were highly subjective and often biased. In today's world, however, before expats settle down in their new environment, they are more likely to find as much information as they can to avoid any future inconveniences regarding their new country. In this way, they know more or less what kind of a life they will likely lead in their new location and have a chance to transform their identity depending on their requirements. To illustrate, any given American woman could learn about Istanbul and Turkish culture from a variety of sources. Therefore, she could prepare herself for the new chapter of her life. However, the sources that she consults might be subjective, not current, or lack credibility. Reading expats' highly subjective reviews in travel writing genre could be misleading. Reading about Istanbul, say, from Mark Twain's point of view could be entertaining but still misleading when the birthdate of the author is considered. Movies such as *Midnight Express* could give the spectators the feeling that Istanbul and Kabul are similar in appearance and culture. Even in the present day, any expat could be biased against Turkey due to the media representations and depiction by travel writers. On the other hand, there might be as much advertising of a place by means of media representations and memoirs of expats which could inspire and encourage other potential sojourners.

Travel writing is one of the earliest forms of introducing people to "the rest of the world". In her book *Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Mary Louise Pratt argues, "In contemporary travel accounts, the monarch-of-all-I-survey scene gets repeated, only now from the balconies of hotels in big third-world cities" (1991: 216). She also

refers to travel writers as Western observers and their subject matter as chosen observees. One could infer from Pratt's argument that travel writing is highly subjective because the writer chooses anything or anybody to write about. Therefore, anyone reading an account by a travel writer may sometimes be misled by the writing.

When travel writing is narrowed down to American writers, it is possible to see a link between Americans traveling abroad and travel writing. "By 1840, American travel abroad could be called an industry. By 1850 an estimated thirty thousand Americans were traveling to Europe each year. International tourism and a national taste for travel narratives evolved together (Fortuny 2009: 31). Therefore, starting from the mid-nineteenth century until the present day several well-known American writers as well as ordinary American tourists and expats contributed to the genre of travel writing. In her book, *American Writers in Istanbul*, Fortuny analyses the accounts of eight canonical American writers who visited or lived in Istanbul sometime in their lives. Fortuny places "each author's Istanbul writings within their own oeuvre as well as the aesthetic history of the period in which they were writing" (O'Neil 2010: 136).

The first author Fortuny acknowledges in her book is Herman Melville who visited Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire at that time, for six days in the mid-nineteenth century. Melville kept a diary of his travels in which his depiction of Istanbul is both realistic and romantic. For Melville, the city is full of contrasts; its beauty is contemplated with chaos and lawlessness. Nature represents beauty and man-made constructions contrasts with this beauty. What Fortuny observes in Melville's identification of Istanbul as a unique city is "from his observations of the city's paradoxical intermingling of the aesthetic and the unsightly, its cosmopolitan

mayhem and delicate beauty" (2009: 26). By reading Melville's diary on Istanbul, the reader can imagine a city of contrasts where "nature and architecture are syntactically intertwined" (Fortuny 2009: 29).

Mark Twain is one of the greatest novelists of American literature. When he set off for a five-month cruise trip to Mediterranean Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East in 1867 for journalistic purposes, he could not imagine that his travel account would become a best-seller with seventy thousand copies in the first year alone (Fortuny 2009: 32). In the preface to his book *The Innocents Abroad*, Twain acknowledges that the book is an outcome of a pleasure trip, not a scientific expedition (1990). He explains the purpose of the book in the preface as follows: "[the purpose] is to suggest to the reader how he [himself] would be likely to see Europe and the East if he looked at them with his own eyes instead of those who traveled in those countries before him" (1990). As is seen, Twain, even in the nineteenth century, was aware of the fact that travel writing is highly subjective. He claims to deviate from the usual style of travel writing by adding humor to it and offers no apologies. On the other hand, it can be said that he did not keep his promise of looking at the places with his own eyes rather than through the eyes of earlier travelers' as it is evident that he was guided by those travelers. "His subjects – the bath, the street dogs, the narghile or Turkish water pipe, the coffee, St. Sophia – are the standard topics of interest prescribed by any guide book, past, and present" (Fortuny 2009: 39).

In his book, Twain depicts Istanbul with the words: "… by far the handsomest city we have seen" (1990: 227). However, its attractiveness begins and ends and one can execrate it once he is ashore. He says, "Mosques are plenty, churches are plenty,

graveyards are plenty, but morals and whiskey are scarce" (1990: 233). His style of depicting Turks is both sarcastic and exaggerated. Twain claims that no two men were dressed alike, as if it was a wild masquerade of all possible costumes. He also referred to people on Golden Horn displaying deformities, such as a three-legged woman, and a man with his eye in is cheek, and asks, "Where would he hide himself when the dwarf with seven fingers on each hand, no upper lip, and his underjaw gone came down in his majesty? Bismillah!" (1990: 229). Twain believes that Istanbul is a city which is not necessarily to be seen more than once, "A street in Constantinople is a picture which one ought to see once – not oftener" (ibid.).

Twain deconstructs the Romantic Orientalism which finds splendor and luxury in Constantinople, and finds filth and decay in it (Fortuny 2009: 39). The charm that his predecessors created is reduced in a systematic way and his discontent for this Oriental city is reflected in an exaggerated rhetoric throughout the Istanbul section.

In her book *American Writers in Istanbul*, Fortuny acknowledges Ernest Hemingway's Greco-Turkish war correspondence from Istanbul in 1922. Studying journalism taught Hemingway objective realism which is blended with fiction in his writing and provided "an unusually balanced yet vivid account of an "Eastern" war (Fortuny 2009: 70). Projecting historical information with honest witnessing was Hemingway's main goal. However, through fictional techniques, his writing became more powerful because he was communicating the reality from the war victims' point of view. With the worry of distancing effect of memory, he would close the distance between the war in the East and the audience in the West with striking language such as "As you read this Star, a quarter of a million people are still stumbling in the mud

and rain toward the unknown" (Fortuny 2009: 75). With such words he was depicting the exodus of Greek refugees from Eastern Thrace.

In his writing, Hemingway introduces his readers to three characters, Madame Marie, the owner of an inn in Adrianople where he stayed, Hamid Bey, high-ranking member of an outlaw Nationalist movement, and İsmet Pasha, first prime minister of modern Turkey. These characters contribute to his writing in regard to realistic public personalities rather than abstract ones who would be interesting for distant readers. What Fortuny states is that applying fictional techniques in his journalism, Hemingway both aestheticizes and historicizes the Greco-Turkish war (2009: 83) and his experiences in Istanbul contributes to his future fiction.

Orient Express by John Don Passos is both a collection of travel narratives as well as "a collection of critical assessments of the social tension and tragedies that continued in the region after the Armistice" (Fortuny 2009: 98). Traveling through "exotic lands" and arriving in Turkey in 1921, Dos Passos witnesses the uncertain political and social change of a country and acknowledges real characters of the turmoil. His collection of experimental essays reflects "modernist literary techniques in various politicized, historical context" (Fortuny 2009: 130). However, as cited by Fortuny, Rosen finds his writing rarely analytic, sometimes intuitive, and often simply recording of details (103). Dos Passos's text is successful from a modernist reading in which aesthetic flexibility is lacking unlike in Romantic understanding.

In the Turkish chapters of *Orient Express*, the Armenian diaspora is central which Fortuny finds particularly interesting because Turks and Armenians had lived together for centuries but their relationship was destroyed by the societies and

systems. The cliché that "Turks are barbarians" is stigmatized and embedded in the writing. Dos Passos's early work Orient Express is "a work of youthful leftist protest against the failure of human development under oppression" (Fortuny 2009: 130). Orient Express is one of the most influential literary texts that depicts social and political struggles of Eastern nations and extends its stigmatization to present day Turkey and its people.

Paul Bowles sailed to Istanbul in 1953, thirty years after the foundation of the modern Turkish Republic, with the initial aim to write an article about Istanbul for a travel magazine but ended up writing a book with a chapter of Istanbul in it. Bowles did not consider himself a travel writer and for him the essays he wrote about places he visited were travel sketches. His travel companion to Istanbul was a Moroccan painter Ahmed Yacoubi whom he would address with the pseudonym Abdeslam and would reflect his own severe criticism from Abdeslam's point of view rather than putting himself as a central narrator. Bowles had the prejudice of thinking all the Oriental countries and their people would be more or less the same with negative traits such as dishonesty, illiteracy, and lawlessness (Fortuny 2009: 137).

Throughout the essay Bowles's tone is extremely sarcastic and critical arguing that Turkey's determination to be modern is a crude appropriation and indicates the perils of forced hybridization with several examples. Language is the first aspect of his sarcasm claiming that phoneticizing loan words from other languages such as "tuvalet" for toilet is crude and destroys the culture. As Fortuny argues language revolution to replace Ottoman alphabet with Latin letters would cut Turkish people off from their Ottoman past but "it is difficult to conclude that Atatürk's reforms have led only to the destruction of culture" (140). For Bowles, Turks are not only confused

by the alphabet, clothing, or eating styles, they are also lost spiritually. Bowles insists on placing Turkey in an Oriental Eastern culture with its Muslim face and Westernization of the country could mean cutting off the roots and leads to devaluation of the country. Like several Western sources, Bowles criticizes Turkey for its struggle and attempt to rebuild a modern one for "a better life out of the ruins of exhausted monarchies" (141). Bowles's preference for an Oriental Eastern Turkey will probably not become true. However, his sketches will carry on enhancing stigmatization of Turkey as an Oriental country.

Travel writing is not limited only to famous authors' accounts or the length of stay in a location. Nelson Algren would visit Istanbul only for three days in 1960 with his lover Simone De Beauvoir. His twenty-page essay about the city is mainly a political satire. In his chapter on Istanbul, "he feels no responsibility to record what he sees genuinely (Fortuny 2009: 192). Instead, he writes about the impact of cold war years on Turkey. He sees Turkey as the slave of his master the United States. He also emphasizes the ambivalent stance of the country between Russia and the U.S. What Fortuny claims is that Algren lost his subject in the Istanbul chapter because his subject is not Istanbul as one expects from his travel narrative. Instead, his subject is the U.S. government policies and Turkey's wrong decision to struggle to become a modern country. He is confused about cold war, heroes, villains, and cause and effects both in Turkey and in the United States. Algren is not at his best in his Istanbul chapter and his tone is highly critical in this satiric section.

In her book *American Writers in Istanbul*, Fortuny acknowledges James Baldwin who was one of the canonical American writers. Baldwin lived in Istanbul for eight years from 1961 on and it was a semi-residency. Istanbul inspired him but he never

made Istanbul or Turkey the subject of his writing. In fact, he was working on a novel about Turkish immigrant workers in Germany and Switzerland but the project was never completed. Choosing to live in Istanbul, he was not distant from the U.S. politically or emotionally and some of his best nonfiction was produced here. Baldwin could be considered as a successful writer who was far away from home and wrote about the black experience in the U.S. "within the safety of a non-Christian cosmopolitanism" (Fortuny 2009: 198).

Mary Lee Settle finds her place as the most recent writer about Istanbul in Fortuny's book. Settle lived in Bodrum, Turkey in 1972 and lived there for three years in complete happiness and satisfaction. "The Turks I saw in *Lawrence of Arabia* and *Midnight Express* were ogrelike cartoon caricatures compared to the people I had known and lived among for three happiest years of my life" (Settle 1991: xii). Sixteen years later she returns to Turkey to explore all the country. The outcome of her travels a book entitled *Turkish Reflections: A Biography of a Place*. Settle's travel account is highly positive in which she praises Turkey and Turks. In the Istanbul chapter, Settle is impressed by the great monuments, wonderful neighborhoods and streets unlike some American writers mentioned above who find chaos, filth, and decay. She even praises taxi drivers who are incredibly polite and helpful. Her constructive approach to historical fact that the city was no longer what it had been after it fell in 1453 brings a fresh angle to the Western gaze; "The Ottomans did not destroy Constantinople; they rebuilt it as Istanbul" (Settle 1991: 49). Fortuny indicates Settle's narrative as reinterpreting Turkish history which the "terrible Turk" image is deconstructed (Fortuny 2009: 212). The synchronized past and present of the account with an aestheticized, exotic depiction of the geography are juxtaposed and offer a transcendent travel book to the readers.

Fortuny's book *American Writers in Istanbul* informs the reader about the presence of eight canonical American writers who wrote about Istanbul, except for Baldwin who did not write about it but from it. Her success in her book is embedded in the idea of tempting the audience to get the original copy of each writer and read every single work thoroughly. This stimulation might cater for both in a positive or negative way to any given American expatriate who is at the threshold of settling in Istanbul or for American readers in general. If the chronological order of the writings is considered, it is possible to observe the great metamorphosis of a country in the authors' account. Melville and Twain witnessed an empire and its capital which were coming to an end. Their harsh judgment about chaos and lawlessness in the city and the country function as a mirror to the turmoil of the country at the time. The incapability of the empire to control its territories and population as well as military and political weakness found their place in Melville and Twain's bleak rhetoric. Having witnessed the Greco-Turkish war in 1922, Hemingway depicts a chaotic Istanbul, whereas, Don Passos's rhetoric supports the "barbarian Turk" image without taking into account the Turkish War of Independence of that period. Bowles and Algren cannot imagine a modern Turkey; the former believes Westernization of Turkey is a clear rejection of its identity and the latter believes that Turkey is a slave of the West. Coming to 1960s, the reader can observe a more positive tone in the authors' accounts. Baldwin, with some breaks, leads his eight peaceful years in modern Istanbul, whereas Settle lives three years in Bodrum in 1970s and comes back sixteen years later in the quest of her happy and peaceful days.

It is probably the case that any given country cannot get rid of its past and transform its identity easily. Modern day Turkey is no longer a place as depicted in the early writings of those canonical American authors. The Ottoman Empire was replaced by

a republican regime which brought secularism and democracy to the country. Social reforms also provided a more Western look. Therefore, Orientalism was - at least at a minimum level - replaced by a modern global approach. Nevertheless, these canonical writers might still influence the perception of their readers with their indelible "Oriental" identity of Turks. The same historical fact can be interpreted from multiple perspectives. To illustrate, the fall of a city for one nation means the conquest of the city for the other. Victory and defeat are two sides of a coin and historians as well as war correspondents write the history from their own viewpoint. All the victories and successes of the Turks could be criticized and interpreted as the rejection of "Oriental" identity from a Western perspective. Therefore, as in most of the cases of Fortuny's selected writers, Turkey should have kept its Oriental identity rather than insisting on an ambivalent existence.

The audience as well as potential settlers to Istanbul or some other place in Turkey might agree with these canonical writers' interpretations. They could even do further research by means of several modern day tools including Internet sources, movies, documentaries, and memoirs. In fact, memoirs as blogs or in books could be effective for expats to learn more about or compare experiences in the place lived or potentially to be lived in. *Tales from the Expat Harem* by Ashman and Gökmen was awarded as the number one international bestseller book in Turkey in which thirty-two women, including the editors, write about their experiences as expats in Turkey. By looking at the title, any given reader could guess that the book carries Orientalist motifs in it. Ashman, one of the editors of the book, explains their word choice "harem" as follows; "Infusing 'harem' with new meaning, we declared our foreign-born contributors were modern reflections of the foreign brides of the Ottoman sultans: wedded to the culture of the land, embedded in it even, but forever alien"

(Ashman 2014). Ashman believes that modern Turkey still carries its Ottoman past and these foreign brides live in the Ottoman harem which already carries negative connotations of the Orientalist tradition.

The narratives are grouped under nine themes related to Turkish culture some of which are Turkish bath, neighborhoods and hospitality. Each tale is as successfully written as the rest of the tales which clearly indicates some professional editing. The style of the tales is highly descriptive so that the settings are easy to visualize. The stories are interesting in which the storytellers define their lives and voice their experiences yet some exaggeration might be easily seen in the accounts. To illustrate, one of the expat women who suffers from yeast infection tries to find a pharmacy in Nişantaşı, one of the most upper-scale neighborhoods in Istanbul and in Turkey. At the pharmacy she struggles to communicate her problem, attracts the attention of a dozen people inside who focus on "to observe their boss who could have earned an Oscar for her stellar performance as 'young woman with an itch'" (Ashman and Gökmen 2007: 144). After completing her shopping, one customer asks her how she got the infection and she mumbles that she does not know and leaves the shop. Her account above may reflect some reality as well as some fiction. Having read this expat woman's account, any Istanbul dweller would be skeptical about the challenges she has encountered in such an upper-scale neighborhood from the language barrier to a curious crowd as well as the customer who tries to know the reason of her problem. However, she is the "other" for the indigenous people because she does not speak the language. After spotting that she was a foreigner, other customers might have caused discomfort by interrogating her. She might even have been judged and negatively stereotyped as a "loose foreigner" who probably did not have a safe sex

life. In fact, one could observe the emphasis of Orientalist features of Turks in this excerpt such as ignorance, collectivism, and curiosity.

All the accounts in the book include several dimensions of Orientalism, which is the binary opposition of Occidentalism, and fully support the thesis that Turkey is completely an Oriental country. Throughout the book, Turks are stereotyped as living in a patriarchal society with big families in which women are suppressed, not well-educated, cannot speak English, and in some extreme cases they are uncivilized, backward, and dangerous. The reader could also conclude that some regions in Turkey as well as some citizens preserve their peculiar or uncivilized appearance in the way Melville and Twain depict.

As for Turkish women, they are depicted exotic in their traditional beauty practices such as enjoying Turkish bath or going to beauty salons for a better appearance for blonde hair and waxing especially when they have deep olive complexion. These women also help the expat women get assimilated into this Oriental culture. For example, Ashman marries a Turk and in her wedding ceremony she feels like an Ottoman princess. All preparation stages as well as the event itself make her feel so special. However, she also feels alienated with what she experiences. After the makeup artist finishes her job, she sees "a 1960s film star Cleopatra" in the mirror and she even comments on her own appearance writing, "I looked like a drag queen" (Ashman and Gökmen 2007: 192). What she expects to see in the mirror conflicts with what she sees in it. The ceremony takes place in a historical setting, Esma Sultan Palace which contributes to her feeling as an Ottoman princess. Ashman's identity conflict is successfully reflected in her writing with overemphasized Oriental motifs. Although she becomes a member of an elite family by marriage, her tone

reflects her discontent with this Oriental culture. Ashman emphasizes her otherness with her feelings of alienation and difference. She might not be psychologically prepared for assimilation by the culture. She might even have no desire to get assimilated. Her initial thought that she would become a member of an elite Turkish family who probably leads a Western lifestyle clashes with all the Oriental wedding preparations. The discrepancy between what she has expected and what she experiences is reflected in her account very well.

The experiences of 32 expatriate women form 4 continents and the image of Istanbul that is created by their accounts leave the audiences with an image of a culture neither fully modern nor absolutely Oriental. "…each woman divulged her internal journey and lasting emotional connection to the place and its people" (Ashman and Gökmen 2007: 21). While discovering Turkey, these expat women unmask themselves with insightful reflections which contribute to the image of the country. At the back cover of the book, Daily Telegraph asks the readers to book a flight to Istanbul upon completing reading it. It is possible to conclude that the tales of these 32 expats create an inspiring image of Turkey to be discovered be it Oriental or Occidental.

Orhan Pamuk, the prominent Turkish novelist and winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2006, is grateful to the Western eyes who can offer him a depiction of Istanbul which is "a complementary version – whether a piece of writing, a painting, a film" (Pamuk 2006: 260). Pamuk "who is in the quest for the melancholic soul of his native city has discovered new symbols for the clash and interlacing of cultures" (Nobelprize.org 2014). Pamuk believes that the Western travelers have constructed the exotic existence of Turkey, therefore, contributed to the past and history of it in

their representations. These representations of Turkey make him feel the way a Westerner feels counting, weighing, categorizing, and judging it. In the absence of Western eyes, however, he becomes his own Westerner with his Eastern background. As he wanders the streets of Istanbul in contradictory thoughts, Pamuk feels "not quite belonging to this place, and not quite a stranger. This is how the people of Istanbul have felt for the last hundred and fifty years" (Pamuk 2006: 261). The great transformation from an Eastern culture towards a modern country in which old and new, East and West, Orient and Occident, and past and present are blended, it is inevitable to question a sense of belonging both at the individual and societal level. Pamuk's identification with Istanbul in his book *Istanbul: Memories and the City* indicate that whether we truly belong or not is always open to debate. "A true home is the place – any place – where growth is nurtured, where there is constancy" (hooks 2009: 203). Passing through a transformation process, it is not possible to expect constancy; therefore, a sense of belonging is at the threshold, even in Pamuk's account. However, Istanbul is the city which has nurtured not only the Turks but also the Western travelers with its ever shifting identity.

In the current study, American expatriate women in Istanbul explored this new geography through history and literature as well as media representations. The city nurtured them and just like Pamuk did, they felt both not quite belonging to this place, and not quite strangers. When exploring the city, they also advocated for the city at times. It was Penelope who mentioned the prejudice of her American friends, and defended Turkish culture to deconstruct those myths depicted by western eyes.

> Penelope: I brought many of my American friends here to Turkey to um, visit, we got a Mavi Yolculuk [Blue Voyage, a cruise trip in the Mediterranean].

> People who said they would never visit a Muslim country, had I not invited them… Muslim country… Which shows how much they don't understand Turkey, so when they come… in fact, my grandmother was er, when she met my husband, she looked at me, and she says, 'he's just like any other American, nice young American man I've met'. She was surprised. I think she was expecting him to be something extraordinary, a monster or something, because he was Turkish so unfortunately Turkey is misunderstood by much of the world.

Generalization of countries and its people is unavoidable. The image of the Eastern Muslim countries worsened after 9/11. Turkey is among the oriental Muslim countries which could be viewed as uncivilized, crude, and conservative. Even Penelope's grandmother stigmatized Penelope's husband as an uncivilized person before meeting him. It is hard to deconstruct these myths because history, literature, and media representations could be interpreted from two different perspectives and the Western approach is the mainstream ideology of the present day. As Said argues, Orientalism is the creation of the East by the West and the highly influential poets, novelists, philosophers, political theorists, economists, and imperial administrators of societies emphasize the distinction of the East and the West (2003: 2,3).

Categorization is reciprocal. The research findings of the current study indicate that both the American women and the Turks that they have encountered see each other as the "other". Turks can be perceived as Oriental people from those American women's perspective. Having an Ottoman past with its harem culture, patriarchal lifestyle, Arabic style dress code, and Arabic alphabet, Turks are still stigmatized as Orientals even after all of those years of modernization and Westernization attempts

since the late 19th century. On the other hand, Turks see these American expatriate women in Istanbul as Occidentals as regards their different culture and even their physical appearance. Both the participants and Turks experience cross-cultural and identity confrontations because negotiation on these profound issues is not easy or sometimes impossible. Historical and literary texts as well as media representations will always play an important role in categorization and separation of people. I came up with the categorization and separation issue as the first axial code of my *The Indelibility of Otherness* chapter. This axial code is explicated below.

4.4 Categorization and Separation as "Yabancı" (Foreigner)

When anyone sets foot in a different country, he/she may encounter people who are like him/her in appearance, clothing, language, behaviors, and lifestyles. The other option is also possible; in the host country, one may not find many similarities between oneself and the local people. Be it a culture shock, or alienation, or feeling homesick, one either tries to adjust oneself or rejects being part of the host culture. These options depend on several factors. Firstly, it might be difficult to internalize the cultural values of the host country. On the other hand, the indigenous people might be reluctant to embrace the newcomer. In other words, when the individual is exposed to a new country, it is not only the internal experiences of him/herself, but also the external experiences that lead the individual to engage or disengage from the host culture.

In a general sense, the participants of my research referred to a Turkish word "yabancı" (foreigner) which they heard from Turks frequently to identify people from abroad. This word has another denotation which is unknown and alien referring to unfamiliarity. Although the word "yabancı" does not have a negative connotation

for Turks when they refer to foreign people, it was seen as a negative word by the participants. Turks do not use the word "yabancı" but "gavur" (meaning a non-Muslim foreigner with bad intentions against Turks) when they want to be offensive. Nelly complained that the over-frequent use of this word makes one feel like an outsider.

> Nelly: The word yabancı, that word is used so frequently. I mean yabancı is used all the time; it's just a regular word. Right, but because that word is constantly being used, it's also, it's suggesting that you are another, but in the States for instance, if you're walking around, say you're in New York City and you're walking around, you don't hear a bunch of Americans saying "that's a foreigner, that's a foreigner, that's a foreigner, that's a foreigner."
>
> Neslihan: Do they discriminate here?
>
> Nelly: That's not, or at least, I mean, discrimination would have a negative connotation, more even just the separation, the identifying, the categorizing, right…. I'm aware of it. I am a foreigner… and historically, you see the separation between us and them, and it's a part of the country…. What is Turkishness? It had to be defined and developed, and the way of defining and developing it, it had to be separated into something else. Right? So you see that…

The excerpt above suggests that in both cultures, Turkish and American, being a foreigner is either a big issue or not an issue at all. In Turkey, one is categorized either as a Turk or as a foreigner. Although the word yabancı does not have a negative connotation for Turks, it definitely refers to someone as an outsider. When Nelly thinks about the United States, nobody is seen as a foreigner because of the

American culture which embraces everyone and forms a mosaic in which diversity is embedded. This is probably because the United States is one of the countries that gets the most immigrants worldwide and Americans are used to seeing every nation and ethnicity in their country. On the other hand, in Turkey, only a very small portion of the population consists of people from other countries. The number of foreigners who reside in Turkey was 234,111 people according to the 2000 census in which 7,561 were from the U.S. (more recent data were not available for foreign populations; TÜİK 2014). When compared to the population of Turks, over 67 million as of 2000, and 76,667 864 as of December 31, 2013, foreigners in Turkey seem to cover only a very small place in demographics (TÜİK 2014).

Nelly was clearly uncomfortable believing in stigmatization, at least in her case, that Turks categorize people as local or foreigner. In the discourse of "otherness", there might not always be a stigmatization but the outsider could also be an object of desire. Looking from the non-western perspective to Westerners, one could desire to be like those who are "Occidental". Historically, the connotation of being from the West meant being civilized and superior. Therefore, the "Orientals" or, in a better phrase, non-westerners, have tried to adjust and change the self to be more 'appropriate', to "the other". In the past, the main goal of colonizers was to rule 'uncivilized' colonies and transform them to reflect their own cultures. Homi K. Bhabha refers to a term, mimicry, which represents the 'normalizing' of the colonial state or subject, and 'appropriating' "the other". However, mimicry is an absurd or partial representation of "the other" as being almost the same but not quite (Bhabha 2004: 122 – 123). Thus, what is of importance here is the idea that one can never fully assimilate—one is always the other, and that includes these women.

In the Turkish context, any American woman's effort does not suffice to get complete acceptance even though she has a complete sense of belonging.

Kennedy does not enjoy the sense of belonging which she sees as a restriction on her freedom. In her Turkish experience, however, sometimes she finds it frustrating not being accepted by the people.

> Neslihan: Are you one of the Turks?
> Kennedy: No. I think in some ways I prefer it because there's freedom in it, by not belonging... I mean people excuse you and say, 'well you're not one of us.' Sometimes that would be very frustrating… So maybe that's one of the reasons why I like living abroad and moving around. There's this disengagement…

Most of the time Kennedy enjoys being a foreigner; the equivalent Turkish word for it is her favorite "crushing name" on her coffee cup.

> Kennedy: … when I go to the Starbucks I change my name… sometimes I'm "Yabancı" which they always love, when I tell them. My crushing name that "Yabancı"… and I like to see "Yabancı" on my coffee cup… It is fun for me. I like to be a foreigner.

Venus thinks about the components of identity such as being a mother, having an occupation, and belonging to a nation. She argues that one can know how the other feels if she has a similar experience. Isolating herself from the society, she does not identify herself with Turks because she is a guest and she prefers to be the other.

Venus: I do kind of feel like I am a Turk except I don't know how a Turkish woman feels but I feel like I am comfortable. I have been a waitress, I know how she feels right now [pointing at a waitress]. That turns in a mother, I know also I understand how Turkish mothers feel but I am I guest. I am the other…I walk around thinking I am the other…

Claire: I'm definitely known I am a foreigner in Turkey, but I think Turks look at me as less of a foreigner because I can speak some Turkish, because I know the mannerisms. So I don't feel so American anymore, I am so proud of it but…

Claire refers to her physical appearance – read hair, blue eyes, and freckles- which makes her being spotted as a foreigner. However, in her view, there is a concept of being "more or less of a foreigner". What Claire advocates is that if one internalizes the values of a host culture or speaks the local language, this individual is less of a foreigner. This argument can be supported with what Bhabha says as 'being almost the same but not quite' (2004: 122 – 123).

Claire: you know there are some redheaded Turks, obviously I know I still look different, but I think I've started to wear more Turkish clothing and all my clothes come from Turkish stores. All my jewelry, so I think I blend in more now. And because I'm alone all the time, I don't think people see me so much as a foreigner.

Lydia is another participant who distinguishes herself as a foreigner, based upon her physical appearance in the Turkish context. "As long as the black man remains on his

home territory, except for pretty internal quarrels, he will not have to experience his being for others" (Fanon 2008: 89). In Turkey, it is uncommon to encounter people of color because Turks are not commonly mixed with other races. Lydia faces the racial otherness but it does not bother her because based on her experience and assuming that people in Turkey generally do not have a negative attitude toward people of color. In fact, it is not possible to fully agree with Lydia due to the misrepresentation of people of color in some biased news and some Hollywood movies. The negative connotation about these people may also be experienced in Turkey based on these biased media representations.

> Lydia: I guess in a way [I am] an outsider. I think simply on appearance, you know being colored, um, not seeing people who look like you, I mean, seeing black American, they are few and far between, um, but not in a negative or uncomfortable way.

Lydia mentions further in her interview that she has always been welcomed in Turkey regardless of any of her identity components. She has never had any bad experiences but felt the warmth of Turks during her stay.

> Lydia: I feel welcomed here, I've never felt unwelcome, I've never had a bad experience, so.... I think it's, you know, a great.... My goal is to just to educate my ignorant friends... come to Turkey.

Physical appearance is an important factor to be spotted as a foreigner for some other participants, too. Although having a Turkish citizenship and being fluent in Turkish,

Lauren is still identified as a foreign woman. Other than differences in her physical appearance, she seems to have internalized the cultural values of the Turkish context.

> Lauren: … if you put me next to a traditional Turkish woman, and I'm not talking about a peasant one, I'm talking about an Istanbullu [Istanbulite], the differences would be extremely obvious. I mean, you know, I don't always take care of my hair, and my nails, the way that they do. I don't worry about all the froufrou stuff. I'm not into all of that um, superficial stuff that makes a big difference here. Um, but on the other hand, I, we're on the same wavelength underneath all that.

When the American women shared their experiences in the Turkish context, it was Lilly who talked about an extreme reflection based upon her physical appearance.

> Lilly: Once… I was walking to the bus-stop and the man behind me tapped me on my shoulder, and spoke in very broken English… he never tried to speak to me in Turkish… but in very hesitant English, and told me that my backpack was open… so even from the back of my head… I'm a foreigner, you know…from the back! And it wasn't easy for him to speak English, it wasn't like he wanted to practice his English on me…it was very kind of him…

Lilly was identified as a foreigner even from the back of her head and this evidence clearly indicated that she would never get accepted as one of the Turks. Lilly's strategy to avoid being identified as the "other" was to live in her bubble. She would devote a great amount of her time to her work and she would socialize with her

American friends. However, throughout the interview, she referred to herself as an old person. Regarding to her identity formation, Lilly would consider herself older than anyone else. Therefore, she did not think that she needed to change or struggle, having a very good sense of who she was.

Stigmatization as to the "other" may or may not hurt an individual. Some participants in the Turkish context got hurt with the categorization while some of them likely knew what Brewer claims, "… it is wrong to equate in-group favoritism and out-group hostility" (2007: 730). The ones who stayed in their American bubble probably got less hurt than the ones who strived to establish a functional relationship with the milieu though still stigmatized as the "other", because in the collectivistic Istanbul context, individuals probably "act discriminatorily against the relevant out-groups" (Olsen and Martins 2009: 314).

> Penelope: Our director was just in here a little bit ago…and I said you were coming to talk about American women… and she said, 'Why is she interviewing you, you're not American, you're one of us' [laughs]. I feel very comfortable. I don't necessarily think it's so much about me, it's the people that I've met here, the friends, all my Turkish colleagues, they treat me like I'm one of them. So they welcomed me. My husband's family has welcomed me, and, you know, everybody, from the guards, to the people I meet in the restaurants, they treat me… they make me feel like I belong. So I do I feel like I belong. I am one of them... I hope [laughs]…

Penelope's experience indicates that she was embraces by people from all walks of life, from her director to the guards, as being one of the Turks. Penelope, growing up

all around the world, was already a multicultural woman. Having lived in Turkey in different times, she has witnessed the history of the country and the transformation of the culture. For her director, her status as an American woman in Istanbul does not reflect the reality. In her director's view, she is a Turk. As being married to a Turk and living in Turkey for a long time and from her multicultural perspective, she wanted both for herself and for her two children to be identified with their Turkishness. Penelope believed that all the places that she had lived made her who she was. Her identity constantly transformed and changed. Living in Istanbul for a while, she felt like she belonged. It was clear in her account that she would fit in any culture with her flexible identity borders and boundaries. Her experience of living in different geographies for her entire life was the indicator of such a flexible identity.

Individuals are often biased against people who do not belong to their groups, be it a nation or religion membership, or otherwise. Although in-group bias does not imply out-group derogation, a general preference for the familiar over the unfamiliar may result in categorizing people as "we" and "they" (Brewer 1999, 2007). The ones who remain outside of the group feel as the "other", however, categorization is reciprocal. In the Istanbul context, both the American women and the Turks saw each other as the "other". Depending on their experiences, both parties might reframe and shape their attitudes towards each other. However, for the great majority of the time, it is the "yabancı" who is forced to fit in Turkish culture rather than Turkish culture to adapt to the expatriate.

Individuals may be content with what they possess or it could be the opposite. Modern consumer culture sends the message to consumers that what they possess is never enough. Therefore, there is a growing tendency in people's consumer habits of

getting more and getting better of anything that they can. Apart from materialistic needs and desires, people need to feel safe, have a sense of belonging, and fill in the gaps of the identity components. Having a broader range of vision, people of the present day perennially quest for a better life than they currently have. Thus, people are transformed all the time. This transformation may not always fit the individual as desired or it may be a perfect fit. Below is the second axial code of this section, crude cultural appropriation, which explicates this issue from the American women's perspective.

4.5 Crude Cultural Appropriation

Humans learn to relate to their social environment and its culture and "the familiar culture is the "home world"" (Kim 2001: 46). Enculturation, acculturation, deculturation, and assimilation are different facades of what an individual might be involved in regarding to the milieu and culture. As Kim explains, enculturation occurs in the "home world" as a process "by which persons adapt to surrounding cultural forces throughout the years of socialization" (2001: 47). Acculturation occurs when the individual encounters a new culture and acquires new cultural practices, from attire to behavioral norms, and this process may result in deculturation, namely the act of losing something old. The adaptation process of an individual to the new milieu may range from minimum to maximum level of acculturation/deculturation. The highest degree of acculturation and deculturation is assimilation; however, complete assimilation is rare (Kim 2001).

One's culture forms a mental framework to choose to define self and to judge and evaluate the others (Sussman 2000). Therefore, blending into Turkish culture could be seen as crude or normal from both Turks' and American women's perspective.

Anywhere in Turkey, a total stranger starts a general conversation with the initiative question, "Where are you from?" The answer is extremely important to identify mutual affiliations for the person who asks this cliché question. Being from Turkey points the way to be embraced as "one of us". However, even having dual citizenship as American and Turkish, the individual is not "one of us" and is never going to be "one of us". Instead, this person is categorized as a "yabancı". Turkish citizenship provides a full membership of the nation to any given individual while he/she is not fully accepted culturally. Both for Turks and also for some of the participants of this study, seeing the American self as a Turk is considered as crude cultural appropriation.

Obtaining citizenship does not indicate a complete assimilation. The participants who acquired Turkish citizenship did this for practicality rather than having a sense of belonging. According to the findings, out of 32 participants, 9 of them said that they hold dual citizenship. One participant did not want to respond to this question because of the position she held. 6 participants who currently hold Turkish citizenship either were married or are still married to Turks. Lauren got married to an American but her husband also became a Turkish citizen. Lucy, coming from a Turkish-Armenian descent, got her American citizenship when the family moved to the U.S. when she was six. Kylie, having a Turkish father, holds dual citizenship, too. When the reason for having dual citizenship was asked, the women talked about the advantages.

> Andrea: Well, I think I have the right obviously to travel here any time I want…I can be free I can always come here, I can vote. So in and out the

country is easy. I don't need a visa. I don't have to pay extra money. This is nice. I can own property…

Lauren: Basically what we do is when we are in Turkey we use Turkish credit cards, and when we are in the States we use American credit cards… When we leave the country, so I don't have to show both. When I go into the U.S, I just show my American, and when I come back here, I just show my Turkish…

Lucy: When I came here, I didn't have to get a workers permit, because I am a citizen. I didn't need a work permit; I just got straight into a job, so it's super easy… I mean it's easy for me to live here, and the advantage of having an American citizenship is of course so much. You don't need a visa to travel anywhere like all my friends here need, and you know, its ah, the doors are always open for you, and I feel like if anything were to happen in Turkey, I always have somewhere to go. You know it's an easy 'out' for me. So it's really nice having dual citizenship.

Julia's citizenship experience is different from all the other participants. When her doctor husband took a job in a government hospital in the U.S., they required citizenship and he became an American citizen. However, he had to relinquish his citizenship in Turkey in order to take the American citizenship, because at that time dual citizenship was not accepted by the Turkish government. Then, as soon as Turkey changed that law, he reclaimed his Turkish citizenship. On the other hand, Julia had some issues with citizenship as well.

Julia: Well, when I married my husband, I didn't even ask for it, they just sent me a letter and said you are a Turkish citizen. Then at the time that he became an American citizen and they took away his citizenship, they also took away my citizenship, and so um, and in fact it wasn't so difficult to have it changed.

Julia is proud to carry a Turkish citizenship. She decided to retake it because she was impressed by Turkish history and sees similarities with American history in regards to defeating great powers and declaring independence. Now both Julia and her husband hold dual citizenship.

Unlike Julia, two participants, Eva and Molly, got Turkish citizenship but do not care about being Turkish citizens. When Eva married in the US, she got the Turkish citizenship there and moved to Turkey afterwards.

Eva: When I got married, I became a Turkish citizen for the paperwork and… it was easier. Well, at that time, my husband wanted it so it would become easier for getting the passport, for, ah… then for owning property here and a business.

Neslihan: Did you really want to become a Turkish citizen?

Eva: I didn't care… because it wasn't important to me. I never come here… it was just okay if you find that it's important then I don't care…

Although the participants reviewed above held, and sometimes even took pride in their Turkish citizenship, other participants provided a deconstructive response to the citizenship question. These latter participants rejected the nationality component of

identity, sometimes stating that if they held dual citizenship, it was purely for practicality and bureaucracy. It is obvious that all participants who held dual citizenship chose this for practicality rather than a sense of belonging or patriotic reasons. However, in time, a few of them being impressed with Turkish history and culture thought that it was a right decision not for a life of ease but also for being part of this nation.

> Neslihan: Should you feel or be like a Turk?
>
> Molly: When I got married, [I got Turkish citizenship]. I kept my American citizenship. I have two… I don't believe in citizenships, I just did it for practicality, it means nothing to me. The American citizenship means nothing to me, either. I hate flags. I hate countries…

Should any given American expatriate woman in Istanbul feel or be like a Turk? Some may enjoy all the benefits of it, whereas some may find it ridiculous and not a necessity. Some prefer to be one of the Turks, whereas some prefer to be the other or the outsider. There is a clear-cut separation between the categories of being a Turk vis-à-vis being an outsider. It is often the case that being a Turkish citizen has far more advantages than being a non-citizen in Turkey. Despite the material advantages, however, the separation is fundamentally of a psychological nature related to self-identification. The women who already saw themselves as a guest or a short to medium-term expatriates or employees in Turkey obviously did not need an attachment to Turkishness. On the other hand, the participants who acquired their citizenship after marriage voluntarily or most of the time for practicality issue drew their own boundaries of affiliation. Speaking Turkish to a certain extent, knowing Turkish culture and selecting and internalizing parts of it as they wished were two

main agreed upon issues rather than a strong claim of becoming a naturalized Turk with even a Turkish name and changed religion. Living as an American up until adolescence or adulthood and living the rest of one's life as a Turk without retaining American citizenship is not common practice. Psychological processes of self-identification dictate that if assimilation into a greater whole is perceived to be over-inclusive, people are likely to react by emphasizing their unique and distinct self-identities (Brewer 1991, 1999, and 2007). Therefore, being an American woman in Istanbul as the other or the outsider may provide some measure of distinctiveness of self, in order to retain a psychologically coherent identity. American-Turkish participants respected Turkishness, but still identified themselves as Americans with the psychological instinct of being a member of a greater group. In my research, I encountered both of these views.

> Adrianna: I don't think it is necessary. I think it is artificial sometimes you talk to people they change their names, change their religion. It seems they are trying to accommodate too much. I feel comfortable, I celebrate the Turkish holidays, and celebrate the American holidays, I speak English and I speak Turkish at home. I think for me this is the right combination. I would never want to be swallowed completely by a foreign culture.

> Maya: No… not necessarily… I think you should sometimes try to fit in with the culture where you are, but I think part of what makes an international city like Istanbul, is variety and diversity…. So if everyone came here and tried to be Turkish, you would lose that, and it's also not true…me trying to say, "I'm Turkish," … is fake…

Chloe: I'm… an American woman who is married to a Turkish man who's a dual citizen, but I'm also a newly-minted Turkish citizen, I have my nüfus cüzdanı [Turkish ID]. Still predominantly probably think of myself as an American. I've not immersed myself in the culture, in a way that would allow me to feel… the Turkishness, I think I probably should feel after being here for 3 years… but ours is a unique situation, we go back and forth between Turkey and the U.S. a lot…

Lilly: I think it would be an illusion to think that a foreigner could ever be one of the Turks… it's a very insular um… culture… I would like to say that I am treated like an outsider, but I don't really mind it.

As shown above, these participants' worldviews are not limited to nations and their flags. Both Adrianna and Maya emphasize the artificiality of identifying oneself with the host country's identity. Having established strong bonds with American identity, both participants believed that the full sense of belonging to Turkey is not possible. Also, Turks would not completely embrace any foreigner as a Turk.

As Erel argues, belonging is negotiated at several degrees rather than an either-or (2009: 151). Although Adrianna and Maya preferred to enjoy the host culture without really belonging to it, the attempt of any given American woman who would like to be identified as a Turk should not be seen as crude or fake. Chloe has not had the opportunity to be fully integrated to Turkish culture yet as the family keeps changing location for business. Therefore, she keeps her culture of origin but does her best to embrace Turkish culture.

For Lilly, internalizing Turkish culture is impossible as she calls it an insular culture. She accepts her outsider status and neglects the challenges of it. Earlier, she experienced living in Paris. Although she spoke the language and her physical appearance would not be distinguished there, she still thinks that Istanbul is more comfortable for her.

One participant, Grace, felt ambivalent about identity herself, arguing that "life is not stable", and that "external factors may change her life at any time". As an expat, she argues that people and things may come and go into her life. She believes that she may adapt to any situation. However, her identity is the core that would never change in the surrounding unstable world.

> Grace: … I do have a hunger for learning. And I've learned all kinds of… things that as I said, just even about pop culture, that make… about language that make, er, interesting conversation with people, with…Turks that are here…but identity, Jesus!

In her account, Grace clearly rejected to be identified as a Turk. She had been enthusiastic to learn Turkish culture and as an outcome of her experience, she concluded that Turkish identification did not fit her. The criteria for expatriates to be identified as a Turk are highly subjective. Drawing their own boundaries, they may or may not choose to belong to this culture. They may choose to stay in Turkey not long enough to be identified as a Turk. Even upon a decision of a lifetime settlement, they could still preserve their American identity strictly. One of the findings of my research is that none of those American women had a negative attitude to the religious practice and cultural pluralism in Turkey. However, a few women referred

to the difficulty of being a Christian in a Muslim society. Living in a country in which the great majority is Muslim, they felt like the "other" when they wanted to practice their religious rituals. For example, Adrianna mentioned that she missed a religious protestant community to get together with and have a conversation.

> Adrianna: I have missed a religious community; I am very liberal kind of protestant. And there is not that church here. I don't feel comfortable in orthodox or catholic. I don't feel good… in Christian. I don't consider myself actually Christian. I always stayed Unitarian, which is more humanitarian, has a lot to do with actually modern and secular Islam and Yunus Emre and this, this philosophy. But I miss… not finding people who have similar ideas about their religious belief, and their philosophy of life to meet on the regular basis.

Adrianna also shared her negative experience of getting a Turkish ID. On a Turkish ID card, the religion box is right behind the front page on the top row, in the middle box of marital status and blood type. When Adrianna got her Turkish ID card, she realized that on the paper, by mistake, she became a Muslim citizen.

> Adrianna: …They said. "Sign here," and then stamp, stamp and then they put it in PVC and said, "Here you are," so I put it in my pocket, started driving home. I said, "Let me look at this a minute." Everything was right, except for it said Din (Religion): Muslim. I stopped and I said, "absolutely not if this is a requirement for me to become a citizen that you are talking to the wrong person!"

Adrianna reflected on that experience that they labeled her as Muslim, thereby ignoring her potential of being a member of another religion.

> Adrianna: It is their mistake, just thinking, "Oh, everybody, you know, should be like us and we're the majority." So I gave it to my husband and said, "I don't know how you are gonna do this but I am not gonna be the citizen if this is what is gonna be written on my card."

On the other hand, Summer argued that it is easier to be a Christian in Turkey than being a Muslim in the U.S. as an issue of stigmatization. She claimed that her religion has caused stress over the years, but did not elaborate upon her argument.

> Summer: I think we would have more problems if we lived in America with my husband being quite Muslim. I think he has much more of a problem for us if he lived there with his religion, than I do.

As a Jew, Molly prefers to live in a Muslim country than a Christian one because for her, Judaism and Islam have more similarities than Judaism and Christianity. Molly's assumption is that religion and culture are two concepts that interrelated to each other. People through the bond of shared religion also share a similar culture.

> Molly: I lived in Italy for 10 years and it was a very Catholic culture…And I feel much more comfortable in a Muslim country…I'm not religious myself. But, even if people are not religious, it has to do with everything, this whole thing about, you know, taking care, from taking care of visitors to taking care of your mother, every little part of your culture has to do with your religion,

> even if you're not religious, it has to do with it. And it… and it's nice, I mean, if you could respect each other for that, but in general I found this interesting, I still haven't figured out exactly why. Coming from a Jewish family made me more comfortable in a Muslim country… I think there is a very strong cultural similarity… More than Catholic.

Sophie was planning to marry her Turkish boyfriend when this interview took place; they are married at the present time. During the interview, she stated that her boyfriend was not a strict Muslim. Sophie is a supporter of religious liberty for individuals. However, she foresees that her children would probably become Muslim and she does not think that circumcision is a good practice. Thus, she does not want her future children to get circumcised.

> Sophie: My boyfriend is not religious, first of all. I wouldn't want anything forced on them [her future children], circumcision might be a problem. I don't know if I want my children to get circumcised, I know that it is a big thing in Islam. He and I are gonna figure that out later.

Melanie is the other enquiry who talked about her child's religion. Melanie and her husband have a five-year-old child. The couple believes that their child is the one to choose his religion but what Melanie prefers is he should choose Islam. However, she does not justify why her child become a Muslim instead of a Christian.

> Melanie: I want him [her child] to believe in God… I don't think religion is something you should give to your children and they should just take it. If it doesn't come from him, then I think it's not real. So I would rather him

choose Islam than be Christian because I want him to… But it should come from inside. But he … Batu [her husband] said," I have to learn about Islam first before I can teach him" [laughs]. He didn't mean it, but… but I don't think either of us is very worried about that. I think we are more concerned with his morality than his religion.

Eva was perhaps the most interesting participant in my research. I did not expect to meet an American woman who became a Muslim Turk with a headscarf, the wife of an electrical engineer with his PhD from UCLA, and a mother of seven children. In fact, that was the stereotypical representation of a conservative Turkish woman. During the interview, Eva told me that she converted from Catholicism to Islam, because not Christianity but Islam made sense to her. She explained that there was a pressure on her to cover her head. She first struggled, but then accepted, and claims to now be comfortable with her headscarf. Eva's family seems to have strong patriarchal rules. Coming from the west, Eva did not construct a western liberal culture for herself. However, she is satisfied with her life.

Eva: I was Catholic now I'm Muslim.

Neslihan: You're now Muslim. Who decided?

Eva: Me.

Neslihan: Why?

Eva: Because I, I, I, never, I was raised Catholic, and… I went to Catholic school and I was never comfortable, I'd never made sense, and then when my husband handed me the Quran, and I started reading, and it made more sense, it made sense um reading the Quran. But, um, Christianity never made sense to me.

Neslihan: So you also covered your head… was there any pressure on you to do so?

Eva: There was pressure. But you know I fought it. But now I'm very comfortable.

Those women I interviewed respect Turkish culture even if some of them do not like or approve it. As they come from a country where multicultural concept of nation is in practice, in Istanbul they lead a life of either full or no integration in this host culture.

Violet: When I came to Turkey, I felt like the glove fit the hand. Yeah. I worked in right away, I was accepted by everyone and I was happy here, and I just felt that I think I was born in the wrong place… Because in America, I never felt like I belonged… You know you saw those puzzles that little children play with… you have a square and a triangle, and ah different shapes, and they put them into the identical places, yeah, well it always felt like I was a square trying to be put into the rectangle or into triangle or something.

Violet reframed her life after she moved to Turkey. It was her "second life" in which she felt she belonged. For her, American culture is the host and Turkish culture is the home culture. Stemming from her experiences both in the U.S. and Turkey, the sense of belonging emerged only in Turkey.

The sense of belonging may not be expected to occur in the host culture. It may not even appear after spending a lifetime in it. One of the findings of my research was

that rather than being one of the Turks, some American women preferred to stay as the "privileged other". This way of life was more convenient for some participants of my research. Jasmine believes to be the privileged other as a white, no-class well-educated, U.S. American. She does not identify herself as a woman or a person who belongs to a class. What Jasmine assumes is that carrying both a U.S. and a European passport places her as the privileged other. Therefore, life for a privileged other is easy, whereas a person of a lower-class and a Turkish nationality needs to struggle for a better life.

> Jasmine: … economic options in life are very limited. Um, there's, you know, just because of my education, because of who I am, the passports I have, I have a huge range of options. Um… so… you just can't pick up and 'oh I want to be in Europe and I want to get a job in Europe'. You can't do that if you have Turkish nationality. So, in that sense, I love being here, but, I don't have to deal with the whole conflicts about nationalism and um, competing ethnicities, I mean, I'm just outside of that whole thing….

Adrianna also identifies herself as the privileged other carrying the features of WASP – White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant. She thinks she is very different from Turks. She feels somewhat an outsider. As is seen, even in the present day, race, class, gender, and nationality are still important features in regards to privileges. Although all human beings are equal, in practice, white people enjoy belonging to a race which is assumed to be superior to the others, or an American passport may be seen to be more valuable than any other passport.

> Jasmine: White people adopting um, racialized children and, then having this well, you know, either "we're all the same", or "I'm black, too,"... it's just not true. So I think to just kind of blindly say "oh yeah, I'm Turkish, too" without really having gone through, I mean if you, if you are a person who has grown up here, that's different, but sort of a transplant.

Jasmine strongly argues that trying to change people in terms of their identity, or people forcing themselves to be like the "other" is a crude cultural appropriation. As mentioned earlier in this section, mimicry is an absurd or partial representation of the "other". Jasmine is against the idea of making such changes to one's identity.

Some participants of the study agreed that "crude" appropriation was unnecessary for individual identity. Rather than changing, they chose to remain as an outsider in Istanbul. As Brewer puts it, "Individuals may recognize that they belong to any number of social groups without adopting those classifications and social identities" (2007: 477). Those who chose to live in the city as an outsider still belonged to some groups. The "I" in Istanbul was clearly the "other". The salient feature of the participants was that they were foreigners, not one of the Turks. After experiencing the culture they knew that the struggle would not change the biased approached of the Turks.

4.6 Chapter Summary

Choosing to be one or the other has a two-fold outcome. The individual's choice is not enough to get accepted in a group. The group has its own dynamic to embrace or reject this individual. However, this rejection is not a complete leaving the individual

outside of the group. As in this current study, the individual still lives in this community but with the categorization of being the "other".

Identity is such a complex phenomenon that the multifarious combinations of it make every individual a unique one. The American women of this study had their unique self-concept. They identified themselves as being an American, global citizen, woman, mother, American-Turkish mother, businesswoman, recovering alcoholic, and so on. Nevertheless, their self-conceptualization did not correspond with how Turkish society identified them, namely they were the "other" from the Turkish point of view.

Chapter 5: Globalized vs. Polarized Cultures

This chapter focuses on American and Turkish cultures from the perspective of the American women whom I interviewed. It describes their cross-cultural conflicts and how it affects their lifestyles and identities. The aim of the first part is to explain what it means to be globalized in the present time and how we experience the impact of globalization in modern societies as well as individual self-identities by living in a host culture. The second part will provide how these American women reconcile such conflicting identities through being part of the unique city of this study, Istanbul.

The participants of my research have lived in at least two cultures, namely American and Turkish. They have witnessed the impact of globalization both in their home and host countries, whether by consuming the same products, watching the same movies, and celebrating holidays more or less in similar ways.

Cultural diversity does not force any individual to be a part of a specific or dominant culture but cultural interaction may change one's own culture by either enriching or by diminishing it. When the situation in the United States is observed, it is clearly seen that the increasing number of immigrants have caused cultural, economic, and political change although many people do not or may not want to accept these changes. In the case of Turkey, however, cultural transformation through immigration may not be as prevalent as in the U.S., because Turkey is not as attractive for immigrants as the U.S. Though cultural diversity exists in Turkey, too, rather than experiencing immigrant impact on Turkish culture, globalization plays a significant role in the transformation of Turkish culture in the present day. In effect,

globalization has been the major actor of the modern world in terms of its implications of innovations, inventions, discoveries and the impact of all of these on economies, politics, and cultures.

5.1 Globalization and Its Cultural Consequences

In the present day, we are visualizing the world as a global village because it has become smaller than ever. Thanks to modern day technology, neither distance nor communication is a problem. There is more cultural interaction than ever before. Thus, people are more likely to witness a multicultural world. On the other hand, cultures might be seen as either hybrid or homogeneous. The reflection of different cultures might be seen in every culture. "Different combinations of plural inputs create a new synthesis or mixed culture" (Martell 2010: 96). Martell's quote can be taken as a definition of hybrid culture. He also argues that all cultures are hybrid because isolation of a culture from the others is not possible in the global village. Hybridity brings homogeneity. Martell explains this argument with the following quote, "If hybridity is increasingly found around the world, from Shanghai to Bangkok, London and New York, then hybridity is becoming generalized and homogenized" (2010: 99). Any indigenous individual from Shanghai may consume any Western goods or services, whereas any New Yorker might do the same with Eastern brands. In effect, both individuals are doing the same thing, namely experiencing another culture in their daily lives. However, hybridization is not symmetrical. Superiority of one culture over the other(s) results in a globalization of culture, and this culture in the present era is largely the hybrid American culture.

In my research, these participants who are the members of this hybrid American culture arrived in Turkey and started their new lives. Although it was a new chapter

in their lives, the past was still there in their identities. They were still the American women in Istanbul. When these American women were constructing their lives, they experienced conflicts across American and Turkish cultures. As Triandis puts it, "… culture is quite heterogeneous and can include many dimensions" (2009: 190). Triandis refers to innumerable cultural dimensions in variation from simple vs. complex, tight vs. loose, to collectivist vs. individualist cultures. This chapter refers to Turkish culture from the multidimensional perspectives of the American expatriate women of the current study. Collectivism, power distance, formality, food, political secularism, dress, celebrations, and holidays were the aspects of Turkish culture which were brought to focus by the participants during the interviews. They expressed their awareness of similarities and differences in American and Turkish cultures and how their identities were affected by cross-cultural conflicts.

5.2 Delving into Turkish Culture as an American Woman

As the first axial code of this chapter, *delving into Turkish culture as an American woman*, an analysis of the shared unique experiences of these American expatriate women in Istanbul in regard to both home and host cultures, on how these expatriate women reconciled globalized yet polarized cultural identities. In the research I conducted, I found that the American expat women found themselves in the routine of Istanbul daily life and witnessed the similarities and differences between American and Turkish cultures. Being engaged in Turkish culture, they experienced mixed feelings of love, hatred, confusion, surprise, stress, alienation, and many others for this culture. Below are the excerpts of interviews regarding cultural aspects of identity as experienced in Istanbul daily life through the eyes of these women.

5.2.1 Experiencing "Traditional" Turkish Culture

A new culture is not always easy to understand and negotiate. For an American expatriate woman who comes from an individualistic culture, the collectivistic Turkish culture might be difficult to negotiate (e.g. the communal style of living within extended Turkish families). Participants generally agreed that family-oriented structure is different from the American family structure, especially with regards to adult children living with their parents. Also, hierarchy in Turkish culture is more complicated than in American culture. To illustrate, the subject pronoun "you" is expressed with two separate words in Turkish, singular "sen" and plural "siz". However, "siz" is also used to address people who are not acquaintances, or who may be older, or higher in job rank. Generally, foreign people who learn Turkish are confused about how to use these two words. Your professor/manager/boss will address you using "sen" and you are expected to reply using "siz" because of the position of this person. This asymmetrical "you" is a challenge and the improper use of it is considered rude.

Mastery of a foreign culture cannot be expected from any expatriate. However, respect for the host culture and its accompanying cultural values are necessary in order to avoid conflict. For instance, in American culture, the flag has been the symbol of the nation's strength and unity and also a source of pride and inspiration for millions of citizens. The American flag can be used for decorative purposes on goods including underwear. On the other hand, the Turkish flag is sacred for Turks and is not to be used as a pattern on any goods other than souvenirs. In effect, for Turks it is an insult to use this sacred symbol for any decorative purpose, say, as a

table cloth. Turks expect foreigners to understand and respect their norms although sometimes these norms do not make any sense for foreigners.

To negotiate and resolve conflicts across cultures, any expatriate should put some effort to learn and understand the host culture. It is ideal to start getting cultural awareness before moving to the host country. This could help prevent potential culture shock. To make it a meaningful learning experience, upon arrival in the host country, the expatriate should carry on his/her willingness to engage in the host culture. In effect, not all expatriates would like to have a meaningful experience but rather live in their own bubbles. Therefore, conflicts across cultures might be unavoidable. In my research, I wanted to find out the cultural awareness of these American expatriate women. When I enquired these participants to share what they know about Turkish culture, seven American women claimed to know a lot about it.

> Claire: I know everything! I've been to a sünnet [circumcision ceremony]. I've been to the birth of a baby. So I know a lot. At least the basics of the cultural, you know...
>
> Neslihan: Right. So what about Turkish bath, Turkish coffee?
>
> Claire: Yes, been there, done that. I read coffee cups.

In her everyday life, Claire tried several ways to engage in cross-cultural experience. Therefore, she was involved in Turkish culture with her American values. However, her claim that "she knows everything" does not reflect the relatively basic nature of the examples she provided, thereby forming a contradiction in terms. In fact, a number of other participants did the same, as explained below.

Stella acquired her cultural knowledge through interactions with Turks including their private driver, exchanging information about ethnic groups in Turkey such as Kurds, and learning Turkish history. Not only reading Turkish history from books but discussing the history with Turks and Kurds contributed to her knowledge more than an average person.

> Stella: I think I know a lot of things, like for instance, we were talking today, my husband's driver and I were talking about the Kurds, and I knew, I knew he was going to say Turkey would never give even one inch of land… and I knew that… There's a strong feeling about country, strong…. And there's a lot of pride in the country…

Lilly combined her interaction with Turks, her observant character, and analytical thinking to understand and even to learn subtle nuances of Turkish language. She was very successful in her observation of the Turkish word "yalnız" which stands both for the words alone and lonely: Seeing both concepts as one and naming it as loneliness is a reflection of the collectivistic Turkish culture.

> Lilly: Well I know a lot actually… … I think I have a pretty good understanding, partially because I am very observant… so I had to ask somebody recently, I said the word *alone* in English, and the word *lonely* in English is the same word in Turkish... right? I didn't know what the word was but I knew it was the same word, because I observed that Turks are very seldom alone… they are considered lonely if they are alone… and others like that…

Jasmine, living in Istanbul for a long time and studying Turkish folklore, developed a great understanding of Turkish culture. As a modest person, she claimed to know only a little bit more than the other expatriates.

> Jasmine: I did my MA thesis on "Kadın Aşıklar" [Female Lovers] so I know a little bit about folklore in terms of how the state was invested in folklore as a part of nation building and, in 1960's, and, yeah, in that sense I might know a niche more than other people. I mean I have lived here for a long time…

Kim mentioned the diversity of cultures and claimed that within the borders of Istanbul as well as Turkey, people are culturally different.

> Kim: I know a lot of things. Well, I know about the holidays. I know in Turkey cultures are very different in different parts of Turkey depending on where you are, even within Istanbul.

Madelyn, having been married to a Turkish husband for almost a quarter of a century, and Sydney living in Istanbul for almost one and a half decades, claimed to know a lot about Turkish culture. Their cultural awareness was far beyond a basic understanding of it because of their constant interaction with Turkish culture.

> Madelyn: I think I know a lot. Because I was with a Turkish husband for 24 years, and I also had a lot of close friends in America that were Turkish, my best friend was Turkish in the States, my kids are half Turkish….
> Sydney: I think that I know quite a lot about the Turkish culture (laughs).
> Neslihan: Because you've been here so long?

Sydney: Yeah.

In the accounts above, all participants claimed to know a lot about Turkish culture for a variety of reasons. Claire, Stella, Lilly, and Kim were observant while Jasmine also studied Turkish folklore. Having been married to a Turkish husband for 24 years, Madelyn was quite knowledgeable about this host culture. Living in Turkey for a long time contributed to Jasmine and Sydney's cultural knowledge; both Jasmine and Sydney are fluent in Turkish. On the other hand, although married to a Turk, the medium of interaction between Madelyn and her husband was English, therefore preventing her from improving her Turkish. As for the rest, Claire, Stella, Lilly, and Kim only know basic Turkish. Hence, it can be seen that the cultural awareness of those seven participants did not correlate with their Turkish language skill – as shown above, the participants who spoke fluent Turkish did not provide comments that were particularly more insightful of Turkish culture as compared to those that only spoke basic Turkish. Rather, other factors such as length of time spent living in Turkey, and interest in the culture, may be more relevant. They live in an elite part of the society in which the Turks that they communicate with can speak English and the communication can be held in either language.

5.2.2 Collectivism

When Turkish culture was delved into during the interviews, the great majority of the participants emphasized one of the most distinguished features of this host culture, namely the family-oriented structure, or collectivistic structure. Briefly, collectivism is the extent to which the group takes primacy over the self; group goals and group harmony are prioritized at the expense of individual needs and aims, and the extent to which the self is defined as in relation to others (Hofstede 1980, 2001; Gelfand et al.

2004). The strong family bonds among Turkish members may be surprising through the lens of a Westerner. However, Turkey, as a conservative country compared to its Western counterparts, still values the traditional family structure. Multigenerational families form the traditional family structure whose members consist of parents of either of the spouses, husband, wife, and their children. However, in modern day Turkey, the nuclear family structure has started to become more common, given burgeoning urbanization. Yet, even in a nuclear family, there is supposed to be a husband and wife, and at least one child. The President Mr. Erdoğan advises all newly-married couples to have at least three children as he is concerned that a fall in the birth rate might affect the future labor market in Turkey. Be it a nuclear or an extended family model, strong ties among the members of Turkish families can be clearly observed even in the present day.

The concept of family is different in the U.S. Kirk and Okazawa-Rey refer to the idealized family concept of 1950s, a heterosexual couple, married for life, with two or three children, and the father is portrayed as the bread-winner and the mother as the home-maker (2010: 303).This imposed stereotypical family was used regularly in ads. However, this family portrayal both masked and delegitimized the diversity of family structures. In the present day U.S., everyone agrees and respects different forms of families from sexual orientation to race, from single parent-homes to large extended families. Therefore, the traditional family form in Turkey is a sort of nostalgia for Americans. Traditional family structure was longed for by some participants of my research, and yet was considered as weird by some of the other participants of my research.

Being married with seven children, Eva was longing for traditional family structure in the U.S. and was glad that she didn't need to abandon this form in Turkey. Her family is a typical Turkish family in which the husband is the bread-winner and Eva is the home-maker.

> Eva: The family is, well, in my time it was very family oriented; now it's not that much in the United States. Everything's been so relaxed. And that's one reason I'm glad we moved here.

Unlike Eva, Lauren was not a believer of a strong family bond. She was extremely surprised to witness that all the extended family members should support a remote relative in hard times in Turkish culture. She did not believe that it was about taking care of the family but it was all about the minor problems which one could overcome without the support of family members.

> Lauren: The other thing that I think is very different here is the sense of family. Um, my staff was always saying, "What do you mean, you don't miss your family?" Let's put it… I'm the only one left, but even when I had my family still alive, we don't jump every time something happens. Here, you know, if your uncle's second-cousin, you know, is in the hospital, well everybody has to go.

Maya was glad to be under the protection of a Turkish family which she coincidentally met in Istanbul. For her, that experience was a unique one which is unlikely to happen in the U.S. The famous "Turkish hospitality" deeply influenced

Maya, even leading her to think that this Turkish family behaved as if Maya had been their own daughter.

> Maya: I feel like I have a small Turkish family which is really nice.... Some friends of mine run a café, and I was always going there. When I first got here, and they kind of adopted me... its wonderful... that wouldn't necessarily happen in the US, because there's a big emphasis on the family in Turkey, so that's something that I think is really good.

Kendall noticed the strong family bond in Turkey. However, it was not something surprising for her because she also experienced the same family value unlike many Americans.

> Kendall: I think family is very strong here... um... but I think for me it was very strong as well... I know for a lot of people in the U.S. it's not...

For Lilly, Americans as a restless nation move a lot. They have constantly moved with the quest for fresh new lives. On the other hand, Turks migrate to urban areas; a great majority settles down in Istanbul and a small portion moves to a foreign country. According to Turkish Statistical Institution (TÜİK), the rate of migration to Istanbul was 9.4 % annually in 2011, which came after Antalya with 9. 9 % annual migration rate (tuik.gov.tr. 2013).

> Lilly: ...the main difference would be the family... Americans move a lot, and their separation from their family is very different than what I've experienced in Turkey.

Lucy, Jasmine, Natalie, Chloe, and Nelly were the other participants who were aware of the fact that family is an extremely important concept for Turks. Children are mostly raised in patriarchal families where traditional roles of the family members are pursued. Transformation of the family structure is experienced in Turkish society, too. However, this transformation is not as profound as in American society.

> Lucy: Turkish culture is very family oriented which is great, very different from America; America is not so family oriented.
>
> Jasmine: … family is more important here, um, that, you know, despite part ….. people kind of stick with their families and support members of their family… um, so that's maybe one of the biggest, er… differences I suppose.
>
> Natalie: I know that family is very important.
>
> Chloe: I've seen about culture here, is that family is a hugely important part of most people's lives.
>
> Nelly: I do think that Turkey is very strong in family values. I mean even more so than the States. Um, just because families there are so much more divided. Um, and here it seems it's very… so you… lots of old people with their grandchildren, like… all the time, so the generations are very…. They come together very much.

During the interviews, several participants shared their surprise about how much power Turkish parents have over their children. They were also surprised that adult children still live with their parents. From a Western perspective, these are unacceptable or exceptional situations because the children cannot have the total control of their own lives and cannot become mature adults in such circumstances. Except for Stella, all the participants who referred to this issue mentioned the

disadvantages of such empowerment of the families. Stella, however, compared the situation to the homeless, criminal, or insane people with the belief that those are the people who do not have families to take care of them.

> Stella: Well, I think Turkish families are more… they put more pressure on their adult children than American families… and that's good because I don't see, there are not a lot of people who are loners, I don't see people who are just weird and lonely…

Lauren talked about the pitfalls of family environment as well as the education system in Turkey. In her view, both of them are obstacles for children to think critically and make their own decisions. She believed that Turkish children should be encouraged to be creative and learn to make their own decisions.

> Lauren: … children are not raised to be independent or to think creatively, and that's, that's the school system. Um… The other is the family environment, you know, you never make your own decision, the family… you make it, I don't care if you're 40 or you're 12. And we certainly don't do that. We expect the kids to start making decisions as soon as they start to think, we try to get them to think creatively, to always look for different solutions, to think outside the box, to, you know, come up with other ways of doing things. That is not encouraged here at all. That is a major difference.

Both Lucy and Jane were surprised to see that none of the Turkish university students they knew were working, unlike in the U.S. The family supports their child for her/his entire university life. Even after the graduation, some families still continue

giving financial support, this time thinking that their child's salary is not sufficient to lead a middle-class life. Therefore, this extremely protective approach of Turkish families results in adult children, even in their 30s, living with their parents.

> Lucy: Here my friends um, never worked in University, never worked in high school, whereas in America everyone I now was working throughout university, making their own money, they had moved out, here none of my friends… my friends are, 30 some of them, and still they're living at home with their parents which is very different from American culture.

> Jane: …living with family, I couldn't believe it like, when I found out how many of my university aged students are like men who're working like still live at home with their parents and it's something like , I moved out when I was 18, and it's so difficult for me to understand like, a guy living with his mum when he's like 32, it's just something that's really different, it's like a very different idea, that… you know…like… but that still happens and that maybe some other people thinking that he should get married by then, but it's still okay, he really can, she's still going to do his laundry, and like iron his t-shirts, you know, like, things like that, so…

According to the participants' observations, Turkish culture clashed with American culture in several respects including education, family structure, and empowering parents. Turkish culture was the culture that the participants respected but they did not agree with the practices such as university students who are financially dependent on their parents, adult children living with their parents, and having their parents choose their spouse. These cultural aspects would never be negotiable and

Turkish culture would never be internalized by any of the participants. Therefore, these American women were never fully assimilated and usually experienced otherness because Turks and their culture did not completely satisfy or embrace these participants' expectations.

Venus believed that someone living with parents even in their thirties and forties, have two main reasons, one cultural, and the other economic. After her observation, she concluded that financial problems force some adult children to live with their parents.

> Venus: I have a friend who just married with a friend and a colleague who is British. And her brother still living home in one is almost forty and the other one is in forties. In America it never happened. It was just because I say no American woman is going to date a man who still lives with his mother. That is too weird. But it is also economic. You know I understand that. I think that it is part culture but also part economic… They [Americans] can develop a life of their own without having to ask everybody, how we make a decision or how their whole lives. It is really difficult for people here… because the parents are so involved in their kids' lives… so involved.

Venus, Lydia, and Mary emphasized the dominant role of the parents on their children's lives and decisions. Lydia and Mary indicated the unusual way of decision-making for marriage in Turkish culture.

> Lydia: Well I think certainly the big difference is the family thing, that is, adults living at home. There's a very, very… or even… the strong sense…

some of my friends, people that I've met, have more conservative or traditional ideas that a family member would pressure them to marry…. Or pick out someone at a certain age like you need to get married…. And maybe, the influence or involvement in our parents, in our lives as adults, is very unusual or really different for me, I find that… pretty hard to believe [laughs] that you do what your parents want you to do. Our idea is that our parents want us to be happy…

Mary: I've asked my students, if your parents were completely against somebody that you wanted to marry, would you marry that person? 80% of them, if not 90, say no. And America would never say that, I mean an American would say I'm going to do what I want, and then my parents would have to deal with that. So I think that the parents have a sort of an overpowering…Yeah…

Marriage is considered to be a sacred institution and therefore a necessary duty to fulfill in traditional Turkish culture. Children are generally pressured to marry in their early twenties in urban areas, and even much earlier in the rural areas in traditional Turkish families. In the past, and still in some families of the present time, families have been involved in the process of picking someone for their son to marry. This is called "görücü usülü", meaning a blind date-style selection of the wife for a man.

Arranged marriages might make sense for some traditional Turkish families in the present day. However, as de Beauvoir states in her book, *The Second Sex*, "Marriages, then, are not generally founded upon love" (1989: 434). In effect, it is

difficult to understand someone who ignores love in a marriage. Even in Mary's mini-poll of her students, at least eighty per cent stated that they would not marry someone whom their parents would not approve. This poll indicates that family is just as important as love when making a decision for marriage along with some other factors. Family bond is the most significant indicator that Turks in general are not capable of making independent decisions without the family approval.

The last, but not the least comment about family oriented structure of Turkish culture came from Kylie, arguing that children do not even breathe without letting their parents know.

> Kylie: Turkish cultures, it's a lot more traditional, a lot more family oriented… I mean I call my parents maybe once a week; I e-mail them a couple days, um, Turkish people… it seems they call their mum…
>
> Neslihan: Five times a day? [laughs]
>
> Kylie: Oh, every hour! [laughs].

5.2.3 Other Cultural Aspects: Power Distance, Formality, and Food

The participants of my research talked more about Turkish culture. They gave specific examples about their awareness and knowledge as well as different dimensions of this host culture.

Venus indicated the hierarchical aspect of Turkish culture in comparison to American culture. Specifically, Turkey is a culture that is also high on power distance in addition to collectivism, with power distance being the relative extent to which individuals across various levels of a society are viewed as being more or less equal

to each other (Hofstede 1980, 2001; Gelfand et al. 2004). Venus used President Obama and PM Erdoğan to illustrate this point:

> Venus: Americans are generally much more direct .It's our culture. There is so much directness. And Turks are more … and the hierarchy, you obey and understand hierarchy and I observe the way you talk to other people like often older person comes in, I could speak to that person or you were dean or somebody like that… so much more respect than Americans. Because Americans still, like everybody is the same, If Obama walks in here. You know "Hey, have a seat, I get you something". You know, imagine Erdoğan [Turkish Prime Minister during the interview and President in the present time] will walk in here…

People base their actions on a cultural background. If Obama walked into a café, Americans would likely strike up a relatively casual conversation with him over a beer. If Erdoğan walked into the same café, Turks would mostly stand up, applaud, kiss his hand, and talk to him with respect. There could also be a minority who would leave the café to show their disrespect. It is difficult to say that one action is superior to the other, more polite, or more appropriate. There is no one to praise or blame. Cultural differences add fragment to life as long as they do not insult someone foreign to the culture. To understand and respect the others' culture would definitely help overcome cross-cultural conflicts.

It is clear that hierarchy is something that Americans do not favor much. On the other hand, many participants enjoyed the hierarchy in Turkey. Belonging to a privileged minority group, these American expatriate women were rare and precious. They were

respected as Americans, Westerners, or as teachers. All of these categories placed these women on an upper part of the hierarchy scale. Apart from many things that the participants did not like about Turkish culture, hierarchical placement was something unusual and sometimes nice to experience.

Andrea mentioned that family, marriage and education are values in both Turkish and American cultures.

> Andrea: Marriage and family are both things that I value. We value these in both cultures. Education, I think, is valued in both cultures.

Cooking and music are two of the several components which build up a culture. Sophie was the participant who appreciated and gave them a place in her daily life.

> Sophie: I know about Turkish cooking, sometimes I cook Turkish food, I know about music.

For Summer, Turkish culture is extremely formal, unlike casual American culture. Therefore, she struggled to learn the customs and traditions but she achieved it. Because Turkish culture is also formal in the old European sense, one should learn to be a part of it and fulfill its formalities. Summer illustrated this formality of structure, saying that if someone is sick, people expect you to say "Geçmiş olsun" ("May you be past it") to the family members if not to this person, meaning get well soon. If someone dies, you should express your condolences saying to the family members "Başınız sağolsun" ("Health be to your head") or "Allah rahmet eylesin" ("May God protect his/her soul"), with the former being more liberal, and the latter more

religious. Although these phrases might look confusing in regards to when and where to use, Turks expect to hear them from the people who are involved in their culture.

> Summer: I struggled with it [Turkish culture] when I first came here, because there were so many things I had to learn, you know. If someone dies, what do I say, you know, or sick, what do you say….if you don't say it, people get upset, and there's… it's a very formal um, culture, there are so many formalities, whereas American culture is so casual, there's hardly any formalities any more, and so I did have to get used to that but I actually did like it, I think it's very endearing… and, um, I think that's why the Turkish culture's so strong, because they have those cultures, they are losing them as well, just as Americans have, but I hope they hold onto the basics… and I have adapted also, I have learned everything there is to learn, not that I am good at it…

Jane, Violet, and Penelope referred to food culture in their interviews. Jane witnessed the clean homes and homemade food in Turkish culture frequently which are abandoned as a result of challenging and stressful work life in the U.S.

> Jane: …work and food culture are really different, I mean, I think Turks love a clean house, and that's something… its very valued here… like it's really really valued in a way that I think like that in American culture because so many women work, because so many women are in school, because food culture has changed… people don't know how to cook in the same way anymore, so people have kind of forgotten that in America like they don't

really know how to make a meal, they just go grocery shopping, they buy their food, it's like prepared already…

Violet referred to friendly and hospitable features of the culture illustrating it with her experience with a neighbor. She learnt cooking Turkish dishes from her as well as other cultural nuances such as soup is generally brought to a sick neighbor. In effect, the aggressive urbanization of the country and cosmopolitan city life have put immense distances even between the neighbors next door. In today's Istanbul, it is not possible to get to know your neighbors and have good relations with them. The big city life affects the inhabitants of Istanbul like the other cosmopolitan cities in the world. Therefore, time spent with neighbors in the past has been replaced by time spent in traffic, shopping, TV, and social networks. Our neighbors are substituted by our network of friends.

Violet: I met my neighbors and they were very nice to me. In fact, um, I became ill, I got the flu or something, I don't remember what it was, and my doorbell rang and I opened it, and here's this nice lady with soup in her hand. And I couldn't believe it. She said "I heard you were ill". So people were so friendly…. And the lady in the building took me over like a second mother; she taught me how to cook Turkish dishes…

Penelope was the participant who appreciated Turkish cuisine and even reached a mastery level to teach it in Netherlands.

Penelope: I can cook Turkish, I make Baklava, ….in fact kısır and dolma and everything, börek [traditional Turkish dish names] all kinds…um… and my,

> my husband's grandmothers and her… and his mother, I spent a lot of time in the kitchen with them when I was a young bride, and in fact when we lived in the Netherlands, I used to teach Turkish cooking classes, er, for the adult education at the school…

Grace mentioned that besides living and working in Istanbul, she put extra effort to learn this host culture from pop culture references and history.

> Grace: I find that I'm absorbing facts along the way from pop culture references, movies and singers to um, historical um, facts, and also customs and traditions along the way… um, just, just picked up along the way, living here, working here.

Meal time of Turks was not proper for Natalie who was not used to eating or drinking late at night. In Istanbul, restaurants serve dinner from 7 p.m. until 10 or 11 p.m. Within this time span, one can always see customers having dinner. At homes, dinner time changes from family to family. Thus, it is difficult to generalize the meal time of Turks. On the other hand, doctors encourage people to have early dinner. This might have an impact on the meal time. To summarize, Natalie referred to her own experience and generalized it. However, this might not represent the whole community.

> Natalie: One tradition here is that people eat dinner later and I am not used to that and I find that I need, and I can't drink coffee here late at night, so you know at 10 o'clock I don't want a cup of coffee, I won't be able to go to sleep.

All the participants of the current study referred to different aspects of culture which is multidimensional and highly complex. The more they reflected their experiences, the more it was clear that Turkish culture conflicted with American culture in several respects. Turkish culture had an impact on the participants' lives in Istanbul. The "I" in Istanbul was not the same as the "I" in the U.S. They had to transform at least at the minimum level if not transform completely to negotiate. It was clear that they would not fully internalize the culture and lifestyle. However, the aspects of the culture which looked modern and Western did not represent the roots of the culture which was conflicting with its Oriental and Occidental nature. The mixture of Western and Eastern values was not the desired identification model for these American women.

5.3 The Changing Face of Turkish Culture

5.3.1 Capitalism

Some participants in the current study were extremely upset about the impact and spread of capitalism in which wealth is the leading motive and meaning of life. As Huntington puts the analogy of "the Western virus", the culture and capitalist model of the West infects Eastern countries. "… once it is lodged in another society, it is difficult to expunge. The virus persists but is not fatal; the patient survives but is never whole" (2002: 154). Huntington's quotes are illustrated by Molly and Camilla as follows:

> Molly: Well, I like the Turkish culture, the way it was, I don't like the way it's changing. Because I think that it's just, the globalization is just taking over and people are… I don't know, they're… they are just blinded by money. Yeah… values are going down the drain. I don't think it's so much

everywhere, because it's more in Turkey because here they're not used to it, I mean all over the Middle East, they haven't had capitalism like we had in the West, so they're not, you know, they're not overwhelmed with images, you know, that's why I lived in Yemen for a year, and it was just a relief to be in a place with no advertisements.... and here all of a sudden it came quickly, very quickly, and that they want, you know, the nicer car, they want the nicer clothes and the objects and... the whole world is going that direction...

Camilla: I get really irritated by the nouveau riche, nouveau riche mentality... nouveau riche meaning newly rich... there's a lot of newly rich stuff here... and it's just vapid... the word vapid I'm using now... I'm sorry I'm not doing my ESL thing... um... mindless.... Culture... like it's all about how you look... what kind of car you drive... what kind of place you live in... it's not about substance... personal substance... and that makes me sad... because we have that too in our society... every society does... but I'm seeing it a lot around here...

Sydney was another participant who was complaining about the capitalist world believing that in both cultures money is the determinant of individuals' value. In Turkey, she witnessed that people with less education and less money are better in all humanistic values. She was content to be among those people.

Sydney: I mean there are two... I mean this is true in America too, there are two very distinctive groups, there are the people ah, with money and there are people without money, and I think that socially it's a huge factor. I think that the people who are less educated and have less money are actually much

nicer [laughs] than the people with… the important part is the car and the cell phone, and the cigarettes [laughs]… I think that the… the people who don't have a lot of money are extremely sympathetic, very very nice, very generous. Um, I think Turkey if…. for that reason is a wonderful place to travel in, because people are so hospitable and helpful and caring. So I really think that there are two different strata of people.

5.3.2 Political Secularism and Dress

When the recent past of Turkey is analyzed, a shift from a liberal country toward a more conservative one can be observed. The conservative political party AK Parti or AKP (Justice and Development Party)[3] came to power in 2002 and had an Islamist agenda which encouraged religiosity. Many secular people believe that rise of the AKP/ AK Party's power is a threat to Kemalism. This concern of secular Turks has grown since the general elections of 2007 in which the party "…managed to increase its vote share from 34.3 percent in the 2002 general elections to 46.5 percent…" (Kalaycıoğlu 2011: 27). However, Kalaycıoğlu's research indicates that "the performance of the AKP at the polls in 2007 depended mainly on its economic performance in government between 2002 and 2007" (2011: 41) rather than its conservative nature. What Kalaycıoğlu further argues is that party identification was the other significant predictor of voters' choice in the elections. Although, the impact of ideological factors played a relatively minor role compared to the economic growth factor, AKP/AK Parti might be seen as a threat to a secular republic model.

3 The former PM Erdoğan insisted that the abbreviation AKP for Adelet ve Kalkınma Partisi is not the correct abbreviation. Rather than AKP, AK Parti should be more appropriate to use when referring to the party. Ak means white in Turkish which connotes purity, cleanliness and innocence. The supporters of this ruling party use AK Parti, and the rest prefers AKP when they refer to it.

On the other hand, people will probably continue supporting this conservative democracy model as long as it provides economic stability and growth.

In the current study, Chloe mentioned her husband's family's concern about the conservative nature of Turkey. Both Natalie and Chloe commented on women's clothes in Turkey. Natalie compared married Turkish and American women regarding their choice of dress, concluding that married women in Turkey dress more conservatively. Chloe claimed to have seen more covered women and women in hijab since 1997. Her assumption could be the result of the Islamist agenda of AKP/AK Parti. Ironically, the invisible covered Turkish women of the past have become visible with their headscarves or hijab because of the polarized ideologies which are voiced more frantically than ever before in Turkey. Therefore, Chloe's family's concerns might carry on and Chloe might see more covered women on the streets of Istanbul.

> Nathalie: The idea that I think part of the culture here is that married women should dress more conservatively than they do in the United States. Well I come from Phoenix, married women would go to the store in shorts and a tank top but they wouldn't here.
>
> Chloe: In the United States we don't see women walking down the street in full çarşaf [hijab] with just their eyes showing, and since I've been here since 1997 I've seen more and more of that… my husband's family does not cover, they don't agree with that way of life in fact… my husband's mother gets really angry, she thinks that it is a scourge, a scourge on Turkish society, and

that these people are oh, they are destroying everything that Atatürk worked to build…

Turkish culture is a collectivist, hierarchical, formal, family oriented, and Muslim but a secular one. It embraces both the Eastern and the Western cultures and is unique because of its ever-shifting tendency between the East and the West. Kennedy's analogy that Turkish culture is like an onion with too many layers to be peeled and discovered clearly describes the complicated nature of it.

Kennedy: I feel like it is a… an extremely complicated place, and very diverse, much, much more complicated and much more diverse than I realized before I came here, and I'm actually surprised and I've been frustrated off and on while I've been here that I can't seem to get to the core… it's still such a mystery to me and I feel like it's an onion and I've peeled away a few layers, and there's still so much there. I don't understand what's going on a lot of the time, and, there have been times where I have offended people and I… I try very hard to not offend anyone, be respectful, but I have stumbled onto things a few times.

5.3.3 Similar Celebrations and Consumer Culture

When cultural variations are analyzed, it is more likely to find several similarities as well as peculiar differences, as mentioned above, across cultures because of the more frequent interaction within the modern day world. Be it globalization of the world, Americanization, or "the Western virus", the world is becoming a global village. Friedman's analogy of pizza for culture explains how cultures are similar and different. As he puts it, "It (pizza) is a flat piece of dough on which every culture puts

its own distinctive foods and flavors" (2007: 478). For Friedman, the dough represents the basics of cultures, whereas the ingredients on it reflect the differences. In my research, many participants agreed upon similar celebrations and consumption patterns and illustrated them with their own experiences.

Holidays and special days are celebrated in the same style in both American and Turkish cultures. Family members and friends get together, eat, drink, and chat. The only difference could be that some conservative Turks might avoid drinking during these special occasions. Claire, as a social American woman, in Istanbul got involved in a variety of social situations and celebrations. Comparing American weddings to the Turkish ones, she observed that there is less drinking in Turkish weddings. Claire also mentioned about the baby shower ritual claiming that it is held in Istanbul, too. She was right that baby showers are organized in Istanbul and maybe in some other big cities of Turkey. However, this ritual is known only by a very small minority, probably not even by one percent of the population. This imported ritual does not even have a Turkish word or a phrase, and is known by the original name. Claire's assumption that people have baby showers here is a result of living in an elite society. As an English instructor, she is surrounded by international and Turkish faculty who closely interact. In this community, Turks are more open-minded and enjoy celebrating special days with their foreign colleagues such as Halloween, Thanksgiving, Christmas, and Easter which do not exist in Turkish culture.

> Claire: Weddings are very similar, obviously except… I mean, there is a lot more drinking usually at the American weddings and American weddings are much more party but I have been to some that are quite party here… You

know like the baby shower things that we've been doing. I know they have them here.

Stella made the distinction between government and religious holidays in Turkey and stated that holidays move.

> Stella: ... you have the same kinds of holidays, government holidays, religious holidays… um… Yeah… the holidays move… that's an interesting concept actually; they're not always the same time…

Stella was well-aware of the different types of holidays in Turkey. These holidays are grouped as milli bayramlar (national holidays) and dini bayramlar (religious/Islamic holidays). Four national and two religious holidays are celebrated annually in Turkey. During the national holidays, Turks commemorate the founder of the Turkish Republic, Atatürk, and celebrate the special meaning of the day. Religious holidays are celebrated in all Muslim countries almost at the same time. However, these holidays do not have a fixed date. The lunar calendar is followed instead of a solar calendar to arrange the dates of these holidays. The lunar calendar has 12 months and 354 days on a regular year, and 355 days on a leap year. Therefore, the holidays move back almost 11 days every year.

The first religious holiday of the year is Şeker Bayramı (Sugar Feast), as secular Muslims in Turkey use the term, or Ramazan Bayramı (Feast of Ramadan), as conservative Muslims use it. This holiday is celebrated at the end of Ramadan month in which Muslims fast from dawn to sunset for the entire month. The second religious holiday is Kurban Bayramı (Feast of Sacrifice). In this feast, people

sacrifice animals such as sheep, rams, or cows. The purpose of the sacrifice is to provide meat for the poor. If the religious holidays start during the weekdays, the Turkish government extends the three to four-day- long holidays to a nine-day holiday including the weekend before and after this period. Wearing new clothes, visiting relatives, neighbors, and having meals with them are the rituals of these holiday. Elderly people also give sweets and pocket money to children to cheer them up. A few days prior to Sugar Feast, fitre and zekat (charity for the poor) is given so that the poor also enjoy this holiday. These are more or less how conservative and traditional Turkish families celebrate the feasts. On the other hand, many Turkish families, especially urban and secular ones, prefer to go on vacation during this holiday rather than fulfilling these religious rituals. These diverse approaches to this religious holiday indicate the diversity of cultures and views within Turkish society.

It might be interesting to discover Turkish holiday rituals and the ideas behind them for some American women. Being involved in multicultural locations, Penelope witnessed cross-cultural holidays. Her parents celebrated American holidays and her own children came of age celebrating American and Turkish holidays. Penelope and her Turkish husband wanted their children to become bi-cultural individuals. For her, the holidays are different but the celebrations are the same in these two cultures.

> Penelope: Growing up internationally, my mother made an attempt to celebrate American holidays, especially, er, the… Thanksgiving was an important celebration in our family and um, Christmas. Er, although my parents were not very religious, those holidays were important. Thanksgiving was an important holiday, so when we were raising our children bi-culturally, we tried to maintain some of those… and celebrating with food, which is the,

> er, the center of the Thanksgiving and the Christmas holiday is also a way of er, sharing in many Turkish homes for holidays… so the sitting, the preparing of the food, the grandmothers' recipes, the sharing the same food at certain times of year… even though it might not be the same holiday, the idea is similar, so through the foods….

Natalie knew that Christmas is not celebrated in Turkey. Instead, Turks celebrate the New Year in the similar way that the Westerners do and this is what Natalie witnessed in her own experience.

> Natalie: Well, I think the New Year celebration is very similar to our Christmas, New Year. So, that is common. The families getting together in holidays, my family always had, my mom, dad, all of the kids and then various uncles, cousins, aunts… All we get there. And if you knew somebody who didn't have anywhere to go, you would invite them to your house for a special meal, and that's what the Turkish families that I know do. They get together.

Chloe was pleased to have experienced similar ways to celebrate holidays, namely getting together with family members. Like all the other participants, she did not share any experience about the religious dimension of the Turkish holidays. This is because these American expatriate women all lead a modern life alone or with their secular and modern Turkish partners, friends, husbands in Istanbul. Under such circumstances, cross-cultural conflicts might have been negotiated and resolved. Cross-cultural awareness and respect provide the opportunity to both these women and their Turkish counterparts to enjoy these two cultures in Istanbul.

Chloe: Getting together with family for um, I mean, Şeker Bayram, Kurban Bayram… those are, those are very similar to the way we celebrate our holidays, but like I was telling you at the beginning, holidays for my family in the U.S. were always a time for family to come together, extended family to come together, so that's one of the most familiar things I've seen about culture here, is that family is a hugely important part of most people's lives.

Kim was not fascinated by the holiday rituals claiming that it is a forced tradition shared with people with whom one may or may not want to associate. She was the only participant to talk negatively about the holidays. Kim also thought that Feast of Sacrifice is different and the rest of the holidays were the same.

Kim: We don't have "Kurban Bayram", so I suppose that's different. But we still have the same culture of having a holiday, getting together with your family and eating and seeing the old people, sitting around with people you don't wanna see, people you do wanna see.

Neslihan: Oh, really?

Kim: You know what I mean, like… have the same thing for holidays.

Neslihan: Thanksgiving, Christmas?

Kim: It is the same stuff. You have to go and you eat together and talk bla bla bla…You visit; you know it is important you see your grandparents, people like that. So, these things are the same.

Nelly reflected that family and food are the most distinguished components of holidays in both American and Turkish cultures.

> Nelly: Holidays, of course, yeah... But I think even those are about family and food. And I think that's the same. I think, I think wanting to be with family and wanting to come together for holidays. I think they're very shared…

Similar celebrations and lifestyles in home and host cultures enhance adaptability to the host culture. It cannot be expected from any individual to fully integrate with a culture even if this is the home culture. "Ethnic, occupational, religious, and other subgroups within societies may experience different cultural pressures and develop different value preferences" (Schwartz 2009: 147). Any given Kurd in Turkey experiences cultural pressures because he/she has to accept an enforced Turkish identity and cannot even have education in the mother tongue. As Schwartz indicates, social tension, conflict, and change are unavoidable. Either the Kurdish citizen has to identify himself/herself with Turkishness, or the state needs to find ways to negotiate. On the other hand, any given American expatriate woman in Istanbul does not feel the pressure of being identified as a Turk but she may need to fit in because of the cultural pressures. She is still the unique "I" in Istanbul. Nevertheless, to embrace the culture and to be embraced by the culture, she needs to broaden the borders and boundaries of her identity.

When I completed all the interviews with my participants, I was not surprised to see that the daily life in Istanbul was more or less similar to life back in the U.S. for these American expatriate women except for some cultural fragmentations and peculiarities. Some of these women felt at home, whereas some of them felt alienated. Some tried their best to fit in, whereas some did not mind living as an outsider. Their choices shaped their sentiments and they reflected on these sentiments

during the interviews. Living in Istanbul had inclusionary and exclusionary identity confrontations. Their narratives were in fact the reflection of their mixed feelings. They were either indecisive or insistent about being an American, a Turk, or a global citizen. However, the reality was that they were living in Istanbul and in Turkish culture with its similarities to and differences from American culture.

5.4 Political and Cultural Identities to be Crossed

Identity is partially constructed at birth, and formation of it is an ongoing process for one's entire lifetime. That is, individuals are ascribed certain categories of identity at birth (e.g., sex, race), but also attain and/or change elements of identity within the span of life (e.g., religious affiliation, gender). Thus, individual identity distinguishes the self from others. While attained collective identities such as political and cultural ones serve to create group distinctions, the jury is out on whether one has to choose or be involved in any such attained group identification or not. Accordingly, this controversial issue was viewed from myriad perspectives by participants and the second axial code of this chapter, *political and cultural identities to be crossed*, was formed. The participants' contributions yielded the following questions to be answered. Is it scary to think that all are going to consume the same products, do the same things? Should we all support the same political view and economic approach? Is it possible to say that the world is becoming more and more Americanized? Should we unite to deconstruct the political and cultural barriers? Or is it better to embrace all in the minds, bodies, lives, and locations? Is Istanbul the place where East meets West both geographically and culturally to cater for the idea of embracing civilizations of the past, present, and the future?

For Sydney, such boundaries should be crossed because strong identification with nationality and/or culture results in confrontation and clash across civilizations.

> Sydney: I don't think people are born with these identities, these political identities or cultural identities, but again if we go back to nationalism, in the U.S. you know, Americans are nationalistic also, then it's not a matter of, I think that people basically are good.... people ah, want to, ah, help each other. They don't want to say, well you are, you are different from me, so I don't like you, this sort of thing. But, um, identity and a cultural identity is very strong, and again, I mean, I think that it should be.... That these barriers have to be crossed, I think this is why we have so much war at this time. Its misunderstanding, its political manipulation for... financial gain... But until people can cross these barriers, these cultural barriers, you know, the world doesn't have much of a chance [laughs]... so I really try through education, and through crossing these cultural and ah, cultural barriers is very important.

The word "barrier" has a negative connotation as an obstacle in front of something that is desired to be reached or achieved. On the other hand, a barrier could also be considered as something positive because of its protective function from outside threats. Therefore, deconstructing all barriers may not always be the best solution to end confrontations. It might even be scary to think that the world is flat, with a homogeneous world order. In effect, the American philosophy which embraces diversity is against the idea of a single voiced world.

5.5 Scary (Or Not) to Think All are Going to Do the Same Things

The world is changing, be it more globalized or polarized. Borders and boundaries are becoming more fluid. Nevertheless, intolerance of diverse voices and dominance of one political or economic power remain barriers to progress. Sophie acknowledged globalization, illustrating it with two-way interaction of the cultures. Starbucks has spread all over the world, thus, the American coffee culture. However, Sophie learnt Turkish culture in Istanbul either while enjoying her American coffee from Starbucks or enjoying her Turkish coffee from Kahve Dünyası (meaning Coffee World, the most popular local coffee shop chain in Turkey). Our interview took place in Kahve Dünyası, which was her preference, and her enthusiasm about learning Turkish culture was reflected in the interview.

> Sophie: …There is globalization. Starbucks is everywhere… you learn about different cultures. I think that… I think that in a way people are so good at… to their cultural identities, but at the same time I think the borders are very fluent, like myself, you know I am here in Turkey and I learn many things about Turkey and I think it is a product of my identity. Now when I go back to Japan I'll probably miss Turkey…

Earlier in this chapter, I presented the cultural awareness of these American expatriate women. The participants shared their views even if they experienced only a fraction of Turkish culture. The more we talked about American and Turkish cultures with these American expatriate women, the more I heard diverse voices from them. One interesting finding of my research was that some participants did not recognize much cultural difference. Cultural awareness may not always be expected

to be at its peak especially when fundamental daily lives are more or less the same or when one inhabits the host culture for a long time. However, similar cultures might bring the concern of a unipolar, homogeneous, and a dull world. Below are the views of some participants about the similarities and their awareness of it.

> Kendall: … I don't find the culture that different, and I don't know if that's because I'm naïve and that I'm not really paying attention if it's that different… it's just we're all just people… you know we have breakfast…. We have coffee… we meet friends… we're there for our families… you know, so… I haven't found the real differences, yes… I'm sure they're there…

Kendall did not find any difference across American and Turkish cultures because for her, the pedestrianism of everyday life is similar here and there. Kendall later referred to American culture which gives equal opportunity to everyone to work and prosper and therefore, the U.S. is the "Land of Promise". One of the main reasons why the U.S. is so attractive for any foreigner is its nature of promising a better, richer, and happier life. However, Turkey is not a promising country for the great majority of the world's population. Kendall considered this feature as a distinction between American and Turkish cultures. Other than that, she was told but could not see any difference between these two cultures.

> Kendall: … you know the culture there is sort of Land of Promise, come everyone, you know, make your own life here…

After settling down in Turkey in 1971, Violet experienced much more differences across these two cultures. With the impact of globalization, or Americanization, or "the Western virus", Violet could not distinguish much difference in the present day U.S. and Turkey.

> Violet: Let's not compare today, because today there's more similarities than differences, but when I got here, there were a lot more differences than similarities…

The rise of capitalism is experienced in all corners of the world in the present day. As Zakaria puts it "…between 1990 and 2010, the global economy grew from $ 22.1 trillion to $ 62 trillion, and global trade increased 267 percent" (2011: 21). These figures clearly indicate that purchasing power of consumers has increased. Also, "money can be moved more easily across national boundaries as a result of technological and political changes" (Martell 2010: 142). However, the impact of capitalist markets which impose or even brainwash people to consume as much as they can also helped these figures skyrocket. Chloe shared her concern about burgeoning consumerism. However, she was also content to see that quality of life increased with the consumption of same quality products all around the world. She illustrated her view with the Nike store in the mall in which we held the interview.

> Chloe: There are many ways in which the cultures are similar; we were all unfortunately … late 20th and early 21st century becoming consumers, as we sit here in the mall. Um… so those aspects of culture, I think that as the quality of life has increased for so many people and mass media provides people with images of all of these different things that people think they want

or need, I mean there's a Nike store across the way that could be in any mall in the United States, so the consumer culture is very very similar.

Kim was another participant who could no longer see the difference across American and Turkish cultures. She believed it was the result of her living in this host culture for more than three years.

Kim: …I got used to and it doesn't seem… I forget... You know when you asked me about traditions I'm like , I don't , I'm used to it. So, I've seen every day and have been in and I'm used to the culture and been in the culture that I can't see it as well. If you asked me three years ago, I can answer these questions. But now I have been here for so long, I cannot see it anymore. You know what I mean… that I don't see the big differences any more…

Globalization and consumerism are two aspects which have two-fold effects. From a negative perspective, they satisfy only two specific groups of people, namely, who make profit in the global economy as producers and who have purchasing power as consumers. On the other hand, access to all sorts of products is easier more than ever in the present day as a result of global trade and technological advances. Therefore, the participants of this study probably feel more comfortable in the present-day Turkey because Turkey is becoming more familiar to them and let them consume what they already know.

Lauren focused on the political aspect of culture in which different ethnic groups may come into conflict with each other. With Turkey's removal from its Ottoman

identity in the 1920s, the idea of multinational empire was rejected. "… Kemal [Atatürk] aimed to produce a homogeneous nation state, expelling and killing Armenians and Greeks in the process" (Huntington 2002: 144). Kemalism reached its peak in 1930s with its practitioners claiming that "all of Turkey's past and present inhabitants were ethnically and racially Turkish." (Cağaptay 2006: 57). Kemalist nationalism dealt with Turkey's diversity in different ways. Ethic and religious, racial, and linguistic classifications were made. As a result of these classifications, assimilation, naturalization, dislocation, relocation was enforced to all the diverse communities to create a secular Turkish national community.

It is unavoidable to be skeptical about the idea of a homogeneous nation-state where all citizens are equal but no diverse cultures or voices are allowed. This model is exactly what the founder of Turkish Republic, Atatürk, aimed at. However, in today's Turkey, a paradigm shift from a strict state model of a single voice toward dialog across ethnicities and pluralism is occurring. Lauren thought that ethnic diversity in Turkey should be welcomed like in the U.S. and like in early 20th century Turkey. For her, a united nation with diverse ethnicities, religions, languages, and cultures is more desirable than a state which experiences confrontations and conflicts in regards to its polarized approach as "us" and "them".

> Lauren: I think that actually, we're becoming more polarized. People are becoming Kurds, they are becoming this, they are becoming that, instead of being a Kurdish Turk, or a Turkic Kurd, or a… ah… African American or a Mexican American… I think more people are becoming polarized into either the land they were born into, or their own ethnic culture. I don't… I know I think we're going in opposite direction, but I think we all have the potential

> of mixing and matching. I mean, this particular country is a perfect example of what could be, not the way it was before when you had Armenians and Turks and everyone living together, celebrating each other's holidays, um, you know, going back and forth, having ah, having er, er, Turkish neighbour, having an Armenian neighbour, light a candle in a church for them, and vice versa… that was a true… they were all Turks, but they were of different backgrounds, but it didn't matter.

Chloe supported the idea of deconstructing the barriers across countries and cultures. She believed that there is no barrier ever to isolate one culture from the rest of the world. No ideology, power, or human force could stand as a block in front of cultural interactions. As Martell argues "…technology allowed culture to become mass and global" (2010: 104). Therefore, Chloe is right to think that cultural borders and boundaries are fluid even if guards protect the geographical borders strictly.

> Chloe: …People need to be mobile. I think that um, like physical geographical borders and boundaries need to be fluid, no matter how many walls we try to build, no matter how many soldiers we put in place to guard a border, on both a physical geographical level and internal level, no matter how many guards and… stops and holds and things we might put up within ourselves to resist things about a culture, some things are going to seep in…

Molly was a fierce supporter of diversity. She did not want to think of an extremely homogenous world where all people eat the same food and speak the same language. For Molly, it is scary to imagine such a situation because it is apocalyptical to live in a world where there is no improvement, and nothing to learn from each other.

> Molly: …I don't want everywhere to be the same. That really makes me sad. You know, I want to go in a place and see something that's totally upside down and not understand what the hell people are thinking or doing, so… it's a, it's exciting to be in a situation like that, people of different cultures, and they should hold onto them, they should er, yeah, there should be different languages, there should be different styles, ways of living, yeah,, it's very scary to think to think that we're all going to be eating the same food and speaking the same language… I like the fact that we're all different, we have different cultures and we have so much to learn from each other, were as if we just become one, its dead… deadening. And what we are going to become, I mean, if we're all Indian… I mean, if, you know, the Indian culture comes to us instead of the American, it's the same really, it just, you know, all of a sudden. I mean, I would like…. I still dream, I'm a traveller at heart, I dream of going somewhere before it gets ruined…

Molly mentioned that she wanted to explore new geographies which were not destroyed and still remained unique and which were neither similar to her home of origin or her present home in Istanbul. In effect, for many expatriates Istanbul is the right place to settle down. When explored, this city's chaotic life makes one hate it. The exotic and mysterious atmosphere, however, makes one fall in love with it. Like a superstar, Istanbul has its fans, rivals, and haters.

5.6 Istanbul from the American Women's Perspective

The American expatriate women in my research shared their views about Istanbul in their accounts. This city amazed them with its history, geography, culture, combination of the modern urban life with the ancient city, and its people, from their

good traits to their peculiarities. As an overall impression, none of the participants had regretted coming to Istanbul. In contrast, they all thought that it was a spectacular experience to explore this piece of land and its indigenous people. These participants were all careful observants sharing with me their impressions with their Western eyes.

> Lauren: …look how many tourists come here and some of them might not be too sure about Turkey and the Turks, and they leave with this wonderful impression about how fantastic it is, because the Turks are warm and friendly, they meet them with a smile on their face.

Lauren indicated the number of tourists who visit Istanbul stating that they are a lot. In effect, according to the statistics of Ministry of Culture and Tourism the number of tourists who visited Istanbul gradually increased from 7,509 741 in 2009 to 10,474 867 in 2013 (Istanbulkulturturizm.gov.tr, 2014). However, the prejudice of some Westerners still continues about their safety or hygiene when they travel to the Eastern regions of the world. Fortunately, with technological advancement, travelers are now better informed about the destinations that they are planning to visit. When the ease of international mobility is added, it is observed that more and more people are becoming mobile to discover the world in the present day. Still being concerned about safety, hygiene, language, food, culture, and other things one might think of, many of these negative thoughts are generally dispelled upon arriving in Istanbul. As Lauren mentioned in her account, travelers are generally fascinated by the city and the culture and leave Istanbul with fond memories.

Istanbul is a mix. It is the city which embraces binary oppositions. The ancient city blends into the modern one. The Bosphorus has inspired writers and poets to create masterpieces, juxtaposed with some grotesque buildings of the present and tremendous noise of traffic disturb sight and sound pleasures. One can link to the past and ancient civilizations in the city, whereas he/she can witness high-tech buildings, malls, and even mosques. Minarets, churches, monuments, houses, city walls are all mixed both with harmony and cacophony. The sun rises from the Asian side and sets on the European side of the city. Multifarious individuals from the very east to the very west, from the very north to the very south of Turkey and expats, tourists, and visitors all fill up the city with their fragmented existence. Women in mini-skirts, tank tops, along with women in headscarves, hijabs, men in casual to formal or Islamic clothes and from modern to Islamic beards travel in the same bus heading to the east or to the west with their Occidental or Oriental backgrounds. Istanbul is a real mix which greets the east and west at the same time.

In her account, Maya talked about the different dress conventions of different parts of the city. She was aware of the fact that in the conservative neighborhoods of Istanbul such as Fatih and Eyüp, people wear more conservative clothes parallel to their ideology. Apart from these areas, however, people with all sorts of clothes wander around the city. Maya also thought that the younger generation was less covered than the older one. However, it is not possible to agree with Maya's account on this. Eradicating the practice of veiling in the early years of the modern Turkish Republic did not endure. With the rise of AKP/AK Party, the conservative life style and headscarves gained popularity. As of today, both secular and conservative women can be seen all around the city.

> Maya: I think sometimes I, like today, I'm not dressed as conservatively as um as I maybe did when I first got here…um but in Istanbul it is such a mix, at least if you're in Beyoğlu you can wear what you want, but if I went to Fatih, I wouldn't wear this, or Eyüp, cus women are much more covered and have …. And that's not as common as where I'm from… at all. But I think in Istanbul you see a big mix, especially the younger generation is much less covered and doesn't always wear the headscarf…

Camilla's account indicates the difference between Istanbul and rural areas of Turkey in regard to dress conventions.

> Camilla: When I travel out of town [Istanbul], I feel angry when I see women in raincoats and headscarves and there... it's 100 degrees in the..... And this man next to them, is sitting there wearing shorts… this fat belly hanging out of his wife-beater shirt… the shirt you know… that pisses me off…yeah… with good reason… it pisses me off…

What Camilla experienced in rural Turkey was ironic when a couple was dressed in totally different styles. Regardless of the weather conditions, conservative Muslim women wear the same style of clothes, namely they cover themselves from head to feet. The man next to him was, however, in extremely disrespectful clothing for Camilla. A wife-beater shirt has a negative connotation to categorize men who beat their wives in American culture. It was possible, thus, that Camilla felt angry to see such a couple. However, no such connotation of a wife-beater shirt exists in Turkish culture. For Turks, this couple represents an ordinary couple although gender asymmetry is obvious. Camilla had no evidence to refute that this depiction of a rural

couple in Anatolia (rural Turkey) was both the man's and the woman's choice. Camilla's disappointment about such a representation of a couple was a result of not being aware of the distinction between rural and urban women in Turkey as well as living in her comfort zone in an upper-class area in Istanbul.

A study on social conservatism by Binnaz Toprak which was cited in Criss' article "Dismantling Turkey: The Will of the People?" indicates "all forms of pressure and discrimination against secular women, especially outside of the three large cities of Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir" (2011: 53). It is a well-known fact that big city life is different from the rural life in Turkey regarding to conservatism. However, even the urban women may have pressure and discrimination depending on which part of the city they live in. Some old and conservative areas such as Fatih and Eyüp, as well as recently built conservative areas such as Başakşehir, one cannot consider leading a secular lifestyle. Istanbul is a cosmopolitan city with all of its diverse citizens from 81 cities who migrate to the city constantly. They all try to pursue their cultures and these cultural peculiarities clash with the city's modern face. Therefore, any migrant from rural Turkey chooses to live in a specific part of Istanbul which fits his/her lifestyle and values best. Compared to other cities, Istanbul is still one of the most secular cities in Turkey. Therefore, it attracts expatriates more than any other city in this country.

With its cosmopolitan nature, Istanbul amazed Julia when she first came here from her small hometown in 1967. Even at that date, Julia felt like she was in the center of the world. Her love for the city grew every year until the present day. Julia related her analogy of seeing Istanbul as a feminine and New York as a masculine existence to the hard life conditions. Julia claimed that it was harder to live in New York than

in Istanbul. Julia is right when annual statistics about the most expensive cities to live in the world are taken into consideration. New York City is generally ranked among the most expensive cities, whereas Istanbul is not in the top ten of the rankings.

> Julia: …coming to Turkey, and especially Istanbul, I was a girl from the country and in fact that the town that I live in, in the States, is only 150,000 people, that's nothing. And um, but suddenly I came into Istanbul, which was er, the center of the world, very cosmopolitan, and people here from all over the world, and I can get news reports from all over the world, and… and… on the radio, TV, newspapers… and I think that I was very enchanted with um, that I liked that, um, and on the other hand, Istanbul, um, is, it's a much more gentler city than New York city for example, which I knew New York, and I have a son that lives in New York city all the time, but it's a harder city, and Istanbul is a very feminine city, New York is very masculine. It's much more hard to live in New York City.

Julia referred to the Bosphorus strait stating how strategic it is for the whole world. This strait is a significant waterway for western Asia and Russia in regards to transporting oil to Europe. Julia's analogy of the Bosphorus as crowning jewel of the city indicated that she was enchanted by it.

> Julia: …You have the Bosphorus strait, and no one else has the Bosphorus strait except Istanbul, and it is the most wonderful thing in the world, and it has always been the crowning jewel of this city. And people pay homage to it. They really almost worship it, they treasure it. And I think it has an effect on the whole city.

Summer's overall account about the city and the culture was striking. She loved to live in Istanbul and had a very strong bond with the culture. Her son, upon moving to the U.S., had difficulty in adapting to the life there after internalizing Turkish culture for so many years. She was actively engaged with the culture and life in Istanbul and was happy to share her experiences and impressions wholeheartedly during the interview.

> Summer: I'm very happy here, I love it. My kids now are, my oldest son is in the States, struggling with… adapting to the lifestyle in America… he's had a couple of tough years and he misses his culture here so so so much, so I really value it, I value that I have adapted to the Turkish culture, as much as I have…. It's definitely added to my life.

Penelope was extremely content about her life in Istanbul and to be surrounded by Turks who loved, respected, and protected her. Even in such a cosmopolitan and crowded city, she was spotted as an instructor and a foreign bride and got accepted as a family member. She believed that both teachers and foreign brides gain respect in Turkish culture. Penelope's account reflects that Turks are very hospitable. However, many other expatriate women might think that Turkish men are not extremely respectful to women in general and to expatriate women in particular. As a result of being part of a patriarchal society, Turkish men could see women as inferior while some Turkish men could regard expatriate women as vulnerable and might consider harassment.

> Penelope: I'm being really truthful when I say that I've always felt very comfortable in this country, and um, been treated with love and respect by

> everyone that I meet. And I'm not just saying that to… it's the truth. When my American friends ask, "Are you nervous, worried, living in a city like Istanbul?"… Never. The people look out for me. They know me on the ferry boat that I take in the morning. Within the few months that I started taking it, the captain started looking out for me, if I didn't come, he'd say 'Hocam [addressing word to an instructor], are you okay, what happened?' So…And then in, where I walk, on the way that I walk back and forth, I always pass some of the same shops ,and everybody…. And immediately they seem to know that I'm the yabancı gelin [foreign bride]. And that I'm a hoca [instructor], so… and both of those gain respect, a teacher has great respect in Turkey, in Turkish culture, and then to be a foreigner also is a… has a place of honour or respect…

Lydia's reflection was very positive about Istanbul, locals, and the culture. As some of her friends had rigid prejudice that Istanbul and Kabul are similar places, she would accuse her friends of being ignorant and her mission would be to educate and convince them to visit Turkey and enjoy this land and culture.

> Lydia: I feel welcomed here, I've never felt unwelcome, I've never had a bad experience, so…. I think it's, you know, a great…. My goal is to… just to educate my ignorant friends… come to Turkey.

Madelyn praised Turkey. She knew both challenges and advantages of living in Istanbul and it would be utopic to quest for the perfect place to live. Madelyn was amazed that in such a big metropolis of almost fourteen million inhabitants, life was still safe and comfortable. Her Turkish-looking physical appearance helped her blend

easily because curious Turks would not spot her as a foreigner and try to establish affiliation. Madelyn also acknowledged that one could live in Istanbul as one pleased.

> Madelyn: Well, I like Turkey a lot. Um, I mean it's not a perfect place, but nowhere is, but its, it's also um, yah there's a lot of good things about it. And this is such a big city, but yet I feel so safe and comfortable all of the time, and I, I, I think I look borderline so that I can blend in enough, that people don't sort of see me as a sort of… tourist. I don't look like a tourist or expat obviously. I mean it depends sometimes when I'm wearing… but… often I just sort of blend in I think, but its, it's a comfortable, comfortable place, and I think Istanbul is, Istanbul is particularly is a city where you can have all kinds of different experiences depending on who you know, where you go…

5.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter explored several significant aspects of Turkish culture and cross-cultural intersections, namely American and Turkish cultures which result in both conflicts and negotiations in the American expatriate women's identities. In their accounts, these participants referred to the cultures as global and local, Western and non-Western, and home and host. They were Western women in a host culture in the global village. Therefore, these women represented a subculture group in the Istanbul context as "…nations consist of thousands of cultures and subcultures" (Triandis 2009: 192). Their reflections as the "I" in Istanbul conflicted with the "I" in the U.S. because of several aspects of a culture which can be both negotiable and nonnegotiable. Collectivism vs. individualism, formality vs. causality, family structure, religion, and Islamism vs. secularism were the major conflicting aspects of

American and Turkish cultures. Global aspects of Turkish culture such as holidays, consumption habits, and international brands helped the participants internalize some aspects of this host culture. A complete internalization of Turkish culture would not be expected from these women. However, with varying degrees of success, they managed to broaden their identity borders and boundaries via expansion of the relevant communities they imagined themselves to be a part of.

The current study indicated that some of the participants were longing for a world where political and cultural identities were crossed and a global culture model would be implemented, whereas some others advocated a polarized culture model with the assertion that a homogeneous global culture model might result in a dull world. For the supporters of diverse cultures, it is scary to imagine a single global culture, and apocalyptical to live in such a world because human beings can no longer learn from each other, and thus cannot improve.

It is usually inevitable to experience diverse cultures even within the same community. Both global and local cultures interact with one another. However, it is not always easy to negotiate on the intersectional cultural features. To illustrate, Coca-Cola can be regarded as a global drink although everyone knows that it is an American brand. This is a striking example of globalization of a local brand because it is consumed globally. However, some people are concerned that by consuming Coca-Cola, they may become Americanized, whereas others think that such consumption does not make anyone American. The intersection of global - local, Western – non-Western, and home –host cultures is a hot topic of the present day due to the fluid borders and boundaries. It also seems probable that cultures will have confrontations by accepting or rejecting one another in the future.

Istanbul was the main protagonist of my research with its local, non-Western, and host culture features from these American women's eyes. Be it in Istanbul or Kabul, Starbucks or Kahve Dünyası, mutual affiliations of home and host cultures are always possible as long as it is possible to retain optimism and belief in negotiations. The participants, with their multi-layered identities and multicultural lives, proved their strength in adapting to this alien landscape. They stumbled, were stunned, and struggled, but ultimately transcended and triumphed. They are the American expatriate women who once lived, are living, or will continue living in this new settlement, Istanbul.

Chapter 6: Conclusions, Limitations, Summary, and Implications

6.1 Conclusions

> Theory – the seeing of patterns, showing the forest as well as the trees – theory can be a dew that rises from the earth and collects in the rain cloud and returns to earth over and over. But if it doesn't smell of the earth, it isn't good for the earth.
> Adrienne Rich

Drawing upon interviews with American expatriate women in Istanbul with their diverse backgrounds and using a Grounded Theory approach in my analysis, the study yielded a number of findings that make contributions to feminist literature as well as cultural studies. Grounded Theory methods guided my research and helped me produce theory drawn directly from the data, and buttressed by the extant literature. My reasoning method was abductive, a blend of inductive and deductive methods, deriving neither generalizations from specific instances nor specific instances from generalizations. My interviews with participants sought to understand what it means to be an American woman in general, and in Istanbul in particular. The collection of narratives also included the impact of the host location and culture on identity. In exploring the articulation of gender, identity, and culture in the discourse of a different geography, namely Istanbul, I came up with a number of findings.

As applied to the present and empirical study, a feminist theory perspective indicates the determination of women leading an independent life in contrast to experienced traditional beliefs and prejudices. Despite a century of feminist activity, women still strive for equality. Therefore, this study supports and contributes to feminist theory which quests for a sustainable life for women. The first finding of my study is that participants deconstructed the existing female stereotypes such as passive,

dependent, emotional, vulnerable in general and even "loose" label in the context of Istanbul.

The tales of these American expatriate women started with a "movement". Initially, they moved to an alien geography across the Atlantic either alone or with a male companion. This travel might be seen as an adventure without a male companion because of prejudices regarding destination and female vulnerability. Located in the east, Istanbul might not look like the ideal location for an American expatriate woman, with its "Oriental" culture, from a Western view. However, the participants who traveled alone deconstructed the vulnerable woman stereotype who cannot sustain a safe life in an alien milieu. Settling in Istanbul and dealing with all sorts of difficulties from the language barrier to all big city challenges, from bureaucracy to being pulled into a foreign culture, these women proved their strength, wisdom, determination, and ambition. The women who lived with their male companions were luckier because of the supportive attitude of these men. Although advantaged, these women put similar effort to fit in this milieu. The women who did not put much effort to integrate to the culture were the ones who limited themselves to many experiences of Turkish culture by living in their comfort zones. Yet they still achieved to sustain an independent life by breaking passive and vulnerable stereotypes. They deconstructed these stigmatizations because they were active and strong in their comfort zones.

Secondly, this study sheds light on challenges associated with being "the other" in Istanbul. Being engaged or disengaged in a culture is a twofold issue. Both internal and external factors make an individual either part of a host culture or serve to disengage him/her from it. Turks generally categorize people dichotomously, as

"Turks" or "foreigners" and deconstructing the "otherness" concept in Turkey is not possible. In fact, Turks are the victims of 1930s High Kemalism ideology which has extended to the present day. The process of homogenizing all citizens of Turkey and enforcement of Turkishness of 1930s (Çağaptay 2006) is still a very popular belief in Turkey which disappoints many Kurds and other minorities of the country. Fortunately, however, the word "yabancı" (foreigner) does not have any negative connotations for Turks. Especially people from Western countries are respected, admired, and even envied because the West also connotes civilization, modernism, and advancement. For some Turks, Western people are seen as superior to Turks in many aspects of life such as their economies, application of the human rights and other legal rights, language – if this Western country is an English speaking country - because the lingua franca of today's world is English, and their education because top universities in the world are mostly Western universities.

Although a foreigner especially someone from the West is perceived as a "VIP" in this host location, this person does not generally get accepted as a Turk even if he/she legally becomes one. Without a single exception in my study, none of these American women were seen or treated as a Turk although the hospitability and warmth of Turkish culture was generally there. Turks related these American expatriate women other than a Turk, either as expatriates or "yabancı gelinler" (foreign brides) but always as the "other".

Looking at the same culture from different angles, namely American perspective and embedded indigenous perspective yields different results for these people. It is normal for Turks to identify and treat anyone from any other country than Turkey as a foreigner, outsider or the other. On the other hand, the participants who desired to

get accepted as a Turk were disappointed to be treated as such. American culture with its diversity embraces anyone who wants to join from outside. Conversely, Turkish culture, with its diversity yet mostly with its homogeneous ideology for its native-born citizens, puts any international individual to a different category other than a Turk. Be it called as a foreigner, an outsider, or the other, this category does not mean to underestimate, subvert or hurt anybody. There is no one to blame for such classifications as long as they do not stigmatize or offend anybody. This second finding of my study sheds light on a broader understanding of negotiability of cross-cultural conflicts if the boundaries of these cultures and people are fluid.

Thirdly, the current study supports and contributes to the literature of identity with regard to transformation through the lens of these American women whose diverse backgrounds indicate an inevitable truth about identity as subject to change. Settling down in Istanbul was a new chapter in the participants' lives, and therefore, required adaptation to a new environment. Learning Turkish at a basic level was the first requirement to have better interactions with the indigenous people, most of who cannot communicate in English. Coming from a Christian or Jewish heritage, hearing ezan (call to prayer) five times a day in all corners of the city was something to be tolerated with. Big city challenges were also everywhere to be dealt with. The culture was to be respected and at least minimally agreed upon if not fully so. When all the challenges are added up, the big picture of Istanbul yielded its consequence, namely requirement of a fluid identity to live "happily ever after".

It was agreed upon by the participants that the core values formed the base of their identity just like genes which form some of the physical and functional base of a human being through the parents. At the macro level, the society passes the core

values on to the individual. At the micro level, the people who brought up the individual mostly pass them on to him/her. Core values, attached to identity while being brought up, generally influence one's entire life in terms of his/her identity formation. The identity formation process "is filled with ambivalence and internal conflict between loyalty to the original identity and the necessity to embrace a new one" (Kim 2001: 66). This suggests that some of the participants who resisted internalizing Turkish culture were likely under the resistive influence of their core values, which clashed with this host culture.

Hence, the participants both benefitted from and struggled with living in Istanbul in regard to their identity formation. The dual nature of expat life constantly forced them to choose or negotiate between two options and push their identity boundaries. The internal and external factors shaped both these women's lives and their identities. These expatriate women needed to reframe their relation to the new environment regardless the extent to which they internalized or rejected Turkish values.

"Every new experience, particularly the drastic and disorienting ones that strangers encounter in a new environment, leads to new learning and growth" (Kim 2001: 45). Participants' experiences within the new milieu contributed to identity formation, though it was likely often painful to realize that the home and host cultures did not overlap. This is perhaps expected from a cross-cultural adaptation perspective, as "assumptions and life tools, such as language and social norms, are no longer relevant or appropriate" (Kim 2001. 46). Hence, internal factors obviously clashed with external factors in these women's experiences. To illustrate, whether or not the participants internalized conservatism, they knew that a mini-skirt or a tank-top was

not to be worn in conservative neighborhoods such as Fatih or Eyüp. Also, regardless of how friendly a character an expat woman has, her "roaming around smiling manner" is generally connoted with being a "loose" woman. Therefore, she should not overly portray her cheerful manner. If she insists on doing so, she should be ready for the reactions such as harassment from people. Living in a bubble was one of the reactions of these expats so that their solidified identity would not be changed by external factors. The necessity of integration into the daily life of Istanbul caused at least at the minimum level of identity change, transformation or evolution. Be it isolation from the daily life in Istanbul or integration into it, this population supported the theory of identity being constantly under construction.

The fourth and last finding, the impact of Turkish culture on these American expatriate women, cannot be separated from findings regarding identity. This finding brings a broader understanding of the contradictions between the American background of the participants and the context of Istanbul. Intersectional (internal vs. external factors) clash of participant identities signifies culture as the fundamental reason resulting in the conflict. As mentioned above, the internal factors of American values and culture conflicted with external factors related to the cosmopolitan Istanbul culture. Turkish culture dates back several centuries. Carrying elements of such cultural remnant of the Ottoman past, Istanbul enforces limitations and restrictions regarding modern lifestyles in its traditional neighborhoods. The modern face of Istanbul, however, is similar to urban life in the other cosmopolitan cities in the world.

Any expatriate in Istanbul may experience belonging to and exclusion from different neighborhoods of the city in which different cultural practices can be observed. The

shanty and the wealthy neighborhoods distinguish from each other from dress code to consumption trends. This is the micro level of the cultural conflict which can be easily dealt with and was dealt with by the participants. Belonging to middle to upper-middle socio-economic strata with at least a college degree, the sample in the current study was aware of the cultural nuances and thus avoided conflicts. Their education and income provided a life of ease in modern and newly popped-up neighborhoods - with some exceptional modern Islamic ones - which look more Western in terms of lifestyle. Therefore, they did not need to encounter a conservative life but rather enjoyed the Westernized culture of the city.

On the other hand, the macro level of Turkish culture caused the main confrontations for participants. A few macro level cultural practices of Turks disappointed these American expatriate women. First of all, some participants witnessed the asymmetrical lifestyles of women and men in Turkey in general, and in Istanbul in particular. What they observed in some regions of Turkey was frustrating, in which some girls are not allowed to go to school by their fathers. Despite the enforcement of the government, some families still insist on not sending their daughters to school, especially in the east of Turkey. They try to ground their practice saying that they need the daughter at home for the chores or in their fields for harvesting. In fact, in such patriarchal contexts, an educated girl connotes a disobedient girl who has the potential of deconstructing patriarchal power. The second assumption of the families is that the role of a woman is not more than a wife, mother, and a homemaker. Therefore, school education is unnecessary and is a waste of time and money. Venus witnessed such an incident in Diyarbakır (a south eastern city in Turkey) and asked by her Turkish friend to convince a family to send their daughter to school. After her

talk with the family, she got the answer, "No!" from the father but she insisted on her request;

> Venus: … I said "What if she has a cure for cancer? What if she is able to speak ten languages? You know, what if she is able to negotiate with the powers?"

Unfortunately, all her reasonings on why the family should send their daughter to school were rejected.

In urban life such incidents are very rare. However, women are still subject to gender asymmetry in their lifestyles regardless of the change from neighborhood to neighborhood or level of education or income. To illustrate, females do not or should not go to a nightclub by themselves. Being a Turkish or a foreign woman does not make any difference because any woman hanging out in a nightclub without a male companion connotes that this woman is "loose" and vulnerable to abuse and harassment. Therefore, women should be dependent on men. This is generally a frustrating practice for American expatriate women. Doing everything themselves in the U.S. and experiencing the reverse case in Istanbul, partly because of the language barrier and partly because of the cultural practice, these independent and self-sufficient American women felt very dependent on someone and felt very incompetent. This was an immense clash for their identities because they needed to carry out their daily activities by partly subverting their former life.

Another macro level of cultural dimension indicates that the formal nature of Turkish culture was challenging for participants. Turks expect expatriates to learn the basics

of the culture. However, even these basics include too many formalities. Using relevant Turkish language in everyday interaction from greeting, with different words and phrases depending on the time of the day, to wishing all the best for a variety of occasions is an expected practice. It is highly recommended to say "Afiyet olsun" ("Bon appétit") to any acquaintance who is eating or has finished eating, "Geçmiş olsun" ("Get well soon") to directly someone who is sick or indirectly to this person's relatives. Even during an ordinary day at work, people say "Kolay gelsin" (no English equivalent phrase) to each other wishing the work to be accomplished easily. It is extremely important to show sympathy and express condolences to someone who has a loss in family by saying "Başınız sağolsun". If an acquaintance starts a new job or buys new property, car, furniture or even sometimes clothes, people should say "Hayırlı olsun" ("Enjoy your new …") to show their good will. All the mentioned phrases above are demanding and even confusing for expatriates. Some of the participants thought that all of these formalities of the language were too difficult to learn. However, they still did their best in order to fulfill the expectations of Turks and also to internalize the culture.

Some other basics of Turkish culture such as extremely close family bonds and parents' power even on their adult children indirectly influenced the participants. The participants who were married to Turks had to respect family bonds. During the interview with Lauren, she mentioned how exaggerated Turkish family bonds are, illustrating it with an example that all family members have to visit a sick relative in the hospital even this person is an uncle's second cousin. This assumption extended to the participants' lives because as a family member, they were expected to do whatever the other family members were doing. With or without a Turkish partner in

their lives, these American expatriate women observed such family structures and empowerment of the parents.

The fact that casual American culture conflicted with this formal Turkish culture and these women's views about their identity could be concluded as such; because identity is not a solid either / or state, being an American expatriate woman in Istanbul requires a minimum level of transformation of identity in order to have a life of ease. Internalizing new cultural elements provides a shift from cultural to intercultural identity for expatriates. However, this transformation is not usually smooth. As Kim points out; "upward-downward-forward-backward movement" of identity development is a personal journey which is done for a more inclusive group identity (2001).

Having lived at least in two milieus and cultures, the participants of the current study were bi-, multi- or as in a more generic and flexible term of Kim (2001) "intercultural persons". Thus, participant identities were influenced by cultures that they lived in and/or encountered; summarily, the transformative experiences of these American expatriate women in Istanbul clearly indicate that identity is culturally bound but borderless. "The process of becoming intercultural is never complete" (Kim 2001: 235); therefore, these participants will carry on their intercultural transformation as they continue living the process of adapting to the Istanbul context as expatriate American women.

6.2 Limitations

One potential limitation of any qualitative study could be the sample size to be sufficient for generalizability of any given research finding. The researcher could not

be sure about when to stop gathering data or whether the trove of information is rich enough to yield satisfactory results or not. The Grounded Theory method that I used guided me to decide when to stop my interviews and whether I gathered rich data or not. It was on the 32nd interview that I decided to stop because new data would no longer yield new theoretical insights or help me generate a new theory.

The second limitation which is considered to be a potential problem for all interviews is the risk of going into the private territory of the interviewees. An innocuous question for the interviewer could be perceived as an abuse of privacy by the respondent and probably preferred not be answered. In my interviews, I tried to be extra vigilant for not asking any questions out of mere idle curiosity. However, two participants were reluctant to answer a few questions about gender and citizenship, one for refusing the gender category, and the other for her governmental service work.

Establishing a good interviewing partnership is crucial to gather useful data. Weiss describes the pattern of an interview as follows, "Interviewer and respondent get to know each other, get a sense of the rhythm of interchange, and establish the outlines of the respondent's story" (1994: 57). This is a desirable outcome of an interview, yet may not always be achievable. My attempt to establish trust and a good rapport was appreciated by all the participants. However, my Turkish identity might still have been another limitation of my study. Some participants might have been avoided to be too critical about Turkey and Turkish culture knowing that I am an established Turk although I did not sense so.

A final limitation of the current study is that the representative population consisted of American women who belonged to middle and upper-middle socio-economic strata. The lack of blue-collar participants might be interpreted as the exclusion financial and social status problems in this study. However, it is almost impossible to find blue-collar American women workers in Turkey when minimum wages in the U.S. is compared to Turkey. According to the United States Department of Labor, excluding the states with no minimum wage law, consolidated minimum wage per hour varies from $7.40 to $9.32 effective as of January, 1, 2014 (Dol.gov 2014). In Turkey, the minimum wage is not calculated hourly but monthly. According to the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, minimum net monthly wage in Turkey is TL846 (Csgb.gov.tr 2014). Assuming that a 40-hour work is essential on a weekly basis and 160 hours is the requirement on a monthly basis, a minimum-wage earner gets TL5.2 (approximately $2.22) effective as of January, 1, 2014.Although cost of living might depend on the city one lives in and the lifestyle one chooses to lead, it is not a feasible strategy for any blue-collar American expat woman to cross the Atlantic and settle down in Turkey with the same status. Therefore, blue-collar American expatriate women were excluded in the current study.

6.3 Summary and Implications

The findings from this study provide an understanding of how identity is shaped in some new geography, in particular as when seen from the viewpoint of an expat woman who is alien to the geography, language, and culture. As summarized above, the major themes regarding gender, culture, and identity include "identity under construction" (the extent to which participants' identities were ever evolving during the shift to the Istanbul context), "superiority and inferiority juxtaposed" (the extent to which they were both seen as part of a superior category, American, while

simultaneously being viewed as part of an inferior category, woman), "the indelibility of otherness" (the extent to which they were always seen as being the "other" and never as "one of us"), and "globalized vs. polarized cultures" (the extent to which they felt in between both the global and the local cultures, and the extent to which the borders of their identities were expanded depending upon acceptance/rejection of the host culture, or vice versa). Taken together, these themes indicate that although the American women in Istanbul who were the focus of this study could integrate to a certain extent to the Turkish context in Istanbul, they were never likely to be completely accepted as a Turk. Although there are many potential reasons as to why this may have occurred, one potential explanation is the lack of structure concerning immigrant issues on the part of the Turkish state itself.

The United States has a very practical understanding of supporting the immigrants' lives by guiding them in a secure and accurate way with an official publication. The publication entitled, *Welcome to the United States: A Guide for New Immigrants*, by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services is available in 14 languages. The purpose of this guide is to provide practical information to help immigrants settle into everyday life in the United States. The guide also gives basic civics information about the U.S. system of government. Therefore, life becomes comprehensive and easier even before the immigrants set foot to the U.S. by only clicking the official website of the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, http://www.uscis.gov/, and accessing all necessary information to know.

One significant finding of the current study is that life in Turkey is not that comprehensive and easy for an American expatriate woman who would expect a similar service from any equivalent ministry here. Neither did any American women

of my study mention about an official guide similar to the one in the U.S.; nor did I come up with a similar guide after my research of official government websites. The website of the Embassy of the United States in Turkey is the one that American citizens in Turkey can get information about the country (Turkey.usembassy.gov 2014). However, compared to the guide for immigrants in the U.S., this website does not contain elaborate information. Lack of such an immigrant-friendly guide gives these people a difficult time to learn everything from scratch in their own way which might not always be reliable. A guide for immigrants could make a big difference in regard to deconstructing the prejudice about Turkey, such as seeing Istanbul and Kabul as equivalent cities before setting foot in it. It would definitely be effective to refer to this guide not only before but also after settling in this new environment because a well-prepared guide will teach at least the basics of life, from the history of Turkey to citizenship, from the rights to culture. The current study evidences a lacuna with regards to the relevant cultural services by the associated ministries. Provided that support is given to immigrants in general and to the American expatriate women specifically, quality of life will definitely be better for these people. Istanbul, then, will be more appealing to new American expatriate women who consider choosing a new destination to live.

The findings of the current study suggest that these participants represent women who deconstruct female stereotypes such as passive, dependent, emotional, vulnerable, and even "loose". It was obvious that these women did not need a man to survive in Istanbul. Some of them preferred a male companion not for protection but as a life partner, whereas some of them continued their lives as single. This population could be a role model to Turkish women who find it hard to survive without a man's support. Turkish women can reach a full potential of personal

growth by struggling against all female stereotypes just like the women of the current study did.

What is extremely significant about the sample of the current study is that, without an exception, all participants held a college degree, a masters or a PhD. It is definitely true that any woman could be powerful without a degree or could even be more powerful than a woman with a degree. However, in today's world, a degree adds up a new vision and financial power to any woman's life, and therefore, more freedom. One can lose anything in life, from family to fortune but not a degree. Madelyn was the participant who went bankrupt in her business, ended her marriage, and gave up her residency. She had put much energy and passion to her business prior to her loss. However, she was a strong woman with her fluid identity and her qualifications which helped her start a new career and a new life in Istanbul. Many women may have similar stories like Madelyn but with a degree a secure life is much more possible as well as self-esteem. The lives of these American women in Istanbul may inspire other women, Turkish or global, in regard to starting fresh new lives anywhere in the world.

The ultimate destination to achieving goals in life may not always be in the country of origin for any given individual. Thanks to the technological advancement, any given individual could find an international job much easier today than in the past. Thanks to feminist movements, a female with a degree in the present day has more or less a similar chance in the global labor market to her male counterparts. If the American women in the current study achieved a secure and sustainable life across the Atlantic, it could be achieved by Turkish women elsewhere. As indicated earlier, the identities of the participants were influenced by cultures that they lived in and/or

encountered, however, culture cannot limit identities. Women worldwide are full of potential to achieve their personal identity and professional growth and this growth is not necessarily to be fulfilled in the country of origin. As Jasper puts it, "The Promised Land is always elsewhere…" (2000: 31), humankind in the present day is running and will always continue running after their dreams, be the "Promised Land" is in New York City, Istanbul, or Kabul.

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Appendix A

Participant Demographics

Pseudonym	Date and Place of birth	Education	Job	Marital Status and Children	Locations Lived outside of the U.S.A	Reason(s) to live outside of the U.S.A
Andrea	1975, Palm Springs, California	BA Sociology and Communications MA Education	English Instructor	Married, Turkish American husband, none	Istanbul (April 2006 – present)	learn Turkish and the culture
Sophie	1979, Japan	BA French MA TESOL	English Teacher	Single, none	France (2000 for 6 months) France (2002-2003) Mauritania, West Africa (2005-2007) Turkey (2011-2012)	study study volunteer (teaching English) Turkish partner
Claire	1982, Washington DC	BA Philosophy MA Sociology	English Instructor	Single, none	Dublin, Ireland (Dec 2001 - July 2002) Ankara, Turkey (2009-2010) Istanbul, Turkey (2010-2012)	study abroad work work
Melanie	1971, Decatur,	MA Applied	English	Married, Turkish	Guadalajara, Mexico (May	study abroad

	Alabama	Linguistics	Instructor	husband, 1	1991-July 1991) Istanbul, Turkey (June 1995-October 1995) Istanbul, Turkey (November 1996-present)	 travel work and family
Stella	1955, St Paul, MN	MA Creative writing MS International Nutrition	Tutor, teach English for Caritas	Married, Indian American husband, 2	Sana'a, Yemen (Sept.1979-Dec.1980) San Jose, Costa Rica (Jan 1994-June 1996) Istanbul, Turkey (June 2010-present	job (hers) job (husband's) job (husband's)
Lauren	*, Newburgh, NY	BA English Literature	Retired	Married, American- Turkish husband, none	Turkey (1973-75)(1980-1982)(1997-present) Beirut, Lebanon (1979-1980) Islamabad, Pakistan (1982-1985) Casablanca, Morocco (1985-1987) Paris, France (1991-1994)	work, retire work work work work

					Riyadh, Saudi Arabia (1994-1997)	
Molly	1958, New York City	BA Anthropology	Photographer	Single (divorced Turkish husband), 2	Milano, Italy (1986-1996) Sana'a Yemen (1993-1994) Istanbul, Turkey (1996-present)	work work work
Eva	1955, Bakersfield, California	BA Spanish	Homemaker	Married, Turkish husband, 7	Istanbul, Turkey (1986-present)	marriage
Camilla	1955, St. Louis, Missouri	MA Education, TESOL	English teacher	Divorced, American-first generation German/Jew husband, 2	Seoul, Korea (2008-2009) Istanbul, Turkey (2011 – present)	teaching teaching
Maya	1988, Rutland, Vermont	BA Anthropology	Editor	Single, none	Melbourne, Australia (Sept.2007-Nov. 2007) Salvador, Brazil (March 2009-July 2009) Surrey, UK (May 2010-Jan.2011) Kisumu, Kenya (July 2012-Sept.2012) Istanbul, Turkey (Jan.2011-	travel study internship and family volunteer project

					present)	work
Kendall	1981, New Hartford, New York	BA Bio resources Engineering	Environmental Engineer	Divorced, Boyfriend Turkish, none	Istanbul, Turkey (Aug.2012-present)	relationship
Lilly	1945, Boston Massachusetts	PhD	Professor	Single, none	Paris, France (1965-1966) Porto Rico (1997- a couple of months) Istanbul, Turkey (Sept. 2006 – present)	education work work
Julia	*, Teays, West Virginia	MA Liberal Arts MA Writing	Writer, Educator	Married, Turkish American husband, 3	Turkey, (1967-present) visited 1-4 months at a time almost every year	husband's family
Lucy	1987, Istanbul	BA	English teacher	Single, none	Los Angeles, U.S.A (March 1993-June 2012) London, England (Jan.2012-May 2012) Istanbul, Turkey (July 2012-present)	immigration last semester of university work
Jane	1985, Washington, DC	BA Humanities	English teacher	Single, Turkish boyfriend, none	Izmir, Turkey (2008-2010) Istanbul, Turkey (2010-present)	

Violet	1946, Los Angeles, CA	BA Business Administration	English teacher	Married, Turkish husband, 2	Istanbul, Turkey (Dec.1971-present)	married to a Turk
Summer	1965, Ann Arbor, MI	BS Finance	Part-time Accounts/Billing	Married, Turkish American husband, 2	Ankara, Turkey (Sept.1992-Oct.1993) Istanbul, Turkey (Oct.1993-present)	husband's family couldn't find work in Ankara
Jasmine	1967, England	PhD	Instructor	**	Adana, Turkey (1983-1985) Munich, Germany (1985-1987) Adana, Turkey (1990-1993) Berlin, Germany (2002-2005) (2008-2012) Istanbul, Turkey (2012-present)	moved with mother study at university employment doctoral research and employment employment
Penelope	1959, Jakarta, Indonesia	BA Education MA TESL	English Instructor	Married, Turkish husband, 2	Jakarta, Indonesia (1959-1963) Samaru, Nigeria (1964-	father's work father's work

					1968) Lahore, Pakistan (1969-1971) Islamabad, Pakistan (1971-1972) Ankara, Turkey (1973-1974) Islamabad, Pakistan (1981-1983) Erzurum, Turkey (1983-1984) Istanbul, Turkey (1993-1998) The Hague, Netherlands (1998-2004) (2008-2009) Istanbul, Turkey (2010 – present)	father's work father's work father's work her work husband's military service her work husband's work husband's work
Grace	1975, Yokosuka, Japan	BA Business Administration BA Theatre Arts	Travel and Tourism	Single, none	Istanbul, Turkey (Sept.2011-present)	"uzun hikaye" (a long tale)
Natalie	1942, Akron, Ohio	BA English MA English	Retired high school teacher,	widow, American husband, 1	Istanbul, Turkey (March 2009-present)	living with daughter and

			mentor, evaluator			family
Chloe	1969, Phoenix, Arizona	BA Political Science MA TESL	Stay at home, mum	Married, Turkish husband, 2	Madrid, Seville, Barcelona, Spain (July-Aug.2002) Istanbul, Turkey (May-Oct.2007) Istanbul, Turkey (May 2009-present)	Spanish language acquisition and flamenco husband's work husband's work
Venus	1948, Tennessee	PhD	Instructor	Single (divorced, American husband), 2	Diyarbakir, Istanbul, Turkey (2003-present)	work
Kylie	1987, La Palma, CA	BA Business Administration	Business planning specialist at a TV channel	Single, engaged, none	Istanbul, Turkey (April 2011 – present)	Work, personal life (fiancé)
Kim	1969, Washington DC	BA Political Science, Social Science	English Instructor	Single, none	Nijmegen, Netherlands (2002-2003) Taichung, Taiwan (2005) Antalya, Istanbul, Turkey (2008 - present)	university work work
Adrianna	1955, Ohio	BA Anthropology and Economics	College Counselor	Married, Turkish husband, 2	Cincinnati, Ohio (Jan.1955-Aug.1973)	went to college

					St. Paul MN (Sept.1973-July 1975) Istanbul, Turkey (Aug.1975-Aug.1976) St. Paul, MN (Sept.1976-June 1977) Medford, OR (Aug.1977-July 1979) Istanbul, Turkey (Aug. 1979-present)	student Junior year abroad at Bogazici Uni. final year as student worked in banking work and live
Lydia	1956, Philadelphia	MS Education/Reading	Executive English Trainer	Single, none	Cayman Islands (1978-1980) Virgin Islands, St. Thorns (1989-1992) Hawaii (1992 – 1995) Cayman Islands (1995-2010) Istanbul, Turkey (2010-	work work work adventure and some work

					present)	
Madelyn	1958, Los Angeles	2 year college 2 year graphic design program	Business woman (20 years) teaching English (now)	Divorced, Turkish husband, 2	Mexico (1970) Greece (1979 a couple of months) Germany (1978-1979) Turkey (1980-1981) Istanbul, Turkey (2010, present)	relative visit romance travel, adventure, and work travel, adventure adventure, work
Kennedy	1966, Illinois	BA Art MS Education: Curriculum and Instruction for ESL/Linguistics	Instructor, Academic writing	Single, none	Tokyo, Japan (March 1990-May 1991) Barcelona, Spain (Aug.1993-Aug.1994) Niigata, Japan (Aug.1996-Dec.1997) Beijing, China (Aug.1998-Dec.1998) Kathmandu, Nepal (May 1999-May 2001) Istanbul, Turkey (Aug.2007-present) Beirut, Lebanon (Aug.2005-Aug.2007) Roma, Italy (Aug.2011-Dec.2011)	work work work work work work work work

Mary	1955, Hungary	BS Art Education MA English	English Language Instructor	Divorced, (American husband), 2	Hungary (1955-57) Ohio (1957-2006) Turkey (2006-present)	was born there and escaped with family during war life change, work
Sydney	1953, Louisiana	MA Linguistics and TESOL	Instructor, Artist	Married, American husband, 2 children and 2 step children	Istanbul, Turkey (1999-present)	like Istanbul, husband's work (art gallery)
Nelly	1980, Santa Barbara, California	MA	Instructor, academic writing and creative writing	Single, engaged to an American, none	Paris, France (2000-2002) Mexico City, Mexico (2004-2007) Istanbul, Turkey (2010-present)	college job/work job/work

** These participants did not wish to share the date of birth information*
***This participant did not wish to share marital status and children information*

Appendix B

Interview Questions

1. Your brief biography.
2. How many generations have your family members been in the United States?
3. Why did you come to Turkey?
4. How long have you been here?
5. Who are you? How do you figure out your identity? How do you identify yourself?
6. What does it mean to be a woman?
7. What does it mean to be an American woman in Istanbul?
8. What do you know about Turkish culture?
9. Which traditions here are similar to your traditions and which are different from yours?
10. What are the challenges of living in Istanbul?
11. Do you speak Turkish? Should an American woman in Turkey learn Turkish?
12. Has your identity changed since you came to Turkey? If so, when and how did it change?
13. Are you a Turkish citizen?
14. Do you ever consider changing your citizenship to a Turkish one?
15. Do you ever consider changing your first name to a Turkish one?
16. Are you homesick?
17. What do you miss most about your country?
18. Who or what helped you construct your new identity in Turkey?
19. Are you one of the Turks? Why / not?

20. Should you be one of the Turks? Why / not?

21. Do you think identity has borders and boundaries?

Table 1

Codes and Categories Derived From Data

Open / Initial Codes	Axial / Intermediate Codes	Selective / Advanced Codes
1. A global citizen	A. Carrying identities in plural with self	I. Identity: Under Construction
2. Both and neither a citizen		
3. Growing out of the box	B. Transformed and evolving identity	
4. A new chapter in life		
5. High expectations of society	C. Breaking female stereotypes	II. Superiority and Inferiority Juxtaposed
6. Being judged on a different measuring stick		
7. Being too visible vs. not quite visible	D. Living in a bubble	
8. Being in the elite 1%		
9. Over frequent use of the term "yabancı" (foreigner)	E. Categorization and separation as "yabancı" (foreigner)	III. The Indelibility of Otherness
10. To be or not to be a Turk		
11. Identified as a foreigner even from the back of the head	F. Crude cultural appropriation	
12. Privileged other		
13. Experiencing Turkish culture in the global village	G. Delving into Turkish culture as an American woman	IV. Globalized vs. Polarized Cultures
14. Similar celebrations and consumer culture		
15. Scary (or not) to think all are going to eat the same food	H. Political and cultural identities to be crossed	
16. Istanbul from the American women's perspective		