TURKISH GERMANS IN TURKIYE
From their children’s perspective

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to all children...
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Oya Topdemir Koçyiğit graduated from Istanbul University, Medical Imaging Techniques Program in 1998. She worked in the American Hospital in Istanbul, Department of Radiology between 1998 and 2010. She graduated from Istanbul University Faculty of Letters, Department of Anthropology and Turkish Language and Literature (double major) in 2006. She completed her master’s in the Department of Anthropology, Institute of Social Sciences of the same university in 2011 with her thesis titled “Kentsel Yaşamın Sosyo-Kültürel Açıdan Sağlığa Yansıması” (A Reflection of Urban Life on Health from a Social and Cultural Perspective). She completed her doctorate in the same department in 2017 with her thesis titled “Ulus Ötesi Deneyimler ve “Türk-Alman” Olmanın Anlamlı” (Transnational experiences and the meaning of being a “Turkish-German”). She managed her postdoctoral studies as a visiting scholar at Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz in Austria, Institut für Kulturanthropologie und Europäische Ethnologie between 2018 and 2019. This project, titled “War Memory Across Generations and Mixed Families Between Europe and Turkiye,” was supported by the TUBITAK-2219 International Postdoctoral Research Fellowship Program.

Oya Topdemir Koçyiğit became a Research Assistant in 2012 and was granted the title of Assistant Professor in 2020. She currently works at Istanbul University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Anthropology, and lectures at undergraduate and graduate levels. Her research areas are related to infertility, reproductive technologies and in vitro fertilization (IVF), comprehension of health and diseases, marriage, family, cultural memory, and identity construction. Some of her publications are “İnfertilite ve Sosyo-Kültürel Etkileri” (Infertility and its socio-cultural impacts) 2012, “Savaşın torunları: Travmatik belleğe kuşaklar ötesi bir bakış” (The Grandchildren of war: A transgenerational perspective on traumatic memory) 2016, “Köyde Değişen Kültürel Bir Öğe Olarak Beslenme Organizasyonu ve ‘Kadın”’ 2017, “Comprehensions on Health and Diseases in a Black Sea Village” 2017, “‘Turkish-German’ Families: An Insider Viewpoint about War, Migration and the Transnational Family Building Experience” 2019.
This book is a revised version of my doctoral dissertation titled “Transnational Experiences and the Meaning of Being ‘Turkish-German’”. I presented it at Istanbul University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Anthropology in 2017. It was based on the ethnographic fieldwork I conducted in Turkiye. I interviewed 45 people whose mothers were German and fathers Turkish. I found the participants using the snowball method. I carried out the research using the in-depth interview and participant observation technique. Thirty-one of them were women and the others were men. In this research, I aimed to reveal how the family experiences of parents with different cultural backgrounds are evaluated by their children. In other words, I studied how being in a transnational family was perceived across generations.

There are not many studies in the literature showing the cultural dimensions of marriages, which have gradually increased between Turkish and German citizens, that focus on their children. This research includes striking findings in terms of war memory, high-skilled migrants and return migration, and experiences of transnational family, kinship, and identity, which are important phenomena in our present time. The research also reveals a transnational and unwritten common cultural history between Turkiye and Germany through mixed marriages that have increased as of the 1930s.

The book aims to make an original and important contribution to the national and international literature in terms of being based on ethnographic research, the framework of the subject, the sample (which also reflects the evaluations of different generations and siblings), and the results. It embodies the fact that the identity constructions of today’s “Turkish-German” generation in Turkiye are closely related to the experiences of war, migration, and kinship that occupy an important place in familial memory.

As the children recounted their life stories, they focused on the familial experiences that largely shaped their personal stories. Among these experiences, especially from the Second World War (WWII), migration between Turkiye and Germany and kinship practices were the subjects that children focused on the most. I was able to see how they made sense of these experiences, and on the other hand, I had the opportunity to understand how they construct their own identities based on these meanings. As an anthropologist, it was unique for me to see the relationship between personal experiences, identification processes, and the histories of several previous generations.

While conducting the research, I started to discover the aspects of cultural memory that connect the present with the past and relate them to the future, and I became more and more excited when I thought about the contributions that my results could make to the literature.
in this area. One of my most important motivations was to carry the transnational familial histories, which have been increasingly dense and settled as of the 1930s, to the future, and the other was to be a tool for the efforts of everyone interested in understanding their recent past. I hope everyone can find something for themselves in this book, which tries to be a voice for children’s voices. Therefore, this book is not only for those who are interested in anthropology, but also for students, researchers, academics in other related social sciences, and anyone who is interested in issues such as common family histories, forms of kinship, cultural practices, and identity.

The Turkish-German children forced me to think differently many times. The difficult aspects of their life stories often hurt me, but I learned a lot from them about the meanings and ways of staying strong in life. I think I reminded them once again how valuable they and their life stories were. While conveying their life stories to me, they sometimes faced the painful aspects of memory but also discovered its therapeutic value. In this respect, many of them gave great importance to my research and made great efforts to find people who could participate in my research. Moreover, there were those who brought gifts to the interviews, opened family archives that they did not show to anyone, and wanted to turn the research into a book.

The book reminds us that each life story has its own great value. Throughout the research, I witnessed the testimonies of the participants about their family backgrounds, their inner journeys, and even their reckoning. During the interviews, they sometimes were tired of facing their family history, but they were also happy to be a part of this research. I can’t express enough gratitude to these special people who opened up their own life stories and helped me present this book. I would like to thank each and every one of the esteemed heroes of this book.

Anthropology teaches man to discover both herself/himself and the other by connecting to the other. I am grateful to the academic staff from whom I learned a lot, especially Prof. Yüksel Kırımlı (my dissertation advisor). Likewise, Prof. Taylan Akkayan, Prof. Suat Gezgin, Prof. Nilüfer Tapan, Prof. Canan Ayata, Prof. Sevinç Hatipoğlu, Prof. Ersel Kayaoğlu, Assoc. Prof. Barbara Pusch, and Assoc. Prof. Gündem Baykal Büyüksaraç. I would also like to express my gratitude to the entire academic community that I couldn’t mention here for their untold help and friendship.

Finally, I am grateful to my beautiful family, who always stood by me with love, patience, and understanding. Especially, I owe a lot to my dear daughter İrmak Koçyiğit. She was born
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and grew up during the research process. She has always given me extraordinary strength. To create this book, I stole a lot of the time that I should have devoted to her.

I dedicate this book to all children, as it offers the opportunity to see our familial heritage and collection of experiences from their point of view, wishing that children’s voices would be heard more.

Oya TOPDEMİR KOÇYİĞİT
INTRODUCTION

“What do you mean by Turkish, what do you mean by Greek?
What do you mean by French, what do you mean by German?
A garden with a single fruit, it’s impossible!”
(Yalçın, 2014: 123, 131)

These words of Baba Yorgo, who was born and grew up in Ayancık, given in a book underline that cultural differences make sense in themselves and as a whole rather than emphasizing the existence of such differences alone. Similarly, the research covered in this book further reinforces Baba Yorgo’s abovementioned emphasis.

The recent increase in the means of communication and transportation in line with globalization has increased cultural encounters, contacts, and cultural exchanges and become unavoidable. The gradually increasing immigration has further augmented such encounters and contacts on the one hand and led to further clarification of the intercommunity cultural differences on the other hand. We witness that the embitterment of the distinction of “us” and “them” as a consequence of the prominence of differences in many places has augmented the social tensions including exclusion and inequality. Against this situation, the states adopt political attitudes which will allow different communities to live together in order to cope with the arising social and cultural problems. In other words, the questions and problems related to the cohabitation of cultures, their positioning against one another, and their convergence increase day by day. Bourse emphasizes that communalist phenomena become prominent and identity-oriented passions deepen in reaction to the augmentation of social inequalities and ambiguities within the process of globalization (2009: 244, 248).

I focused on the relationship between transnational experiences and identity constructions in the research covered in this book. Therefore, the persons whose mother is German and whose father is Turkish made up the sample of my research. Namely, I conducted the

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1 For more information, see: Kemal Yalçın. 2014. Emanet çeyiz: Mübadele insanları. A female interviewee from Ayancık (Sinop) recommended this book.
research by collecting the life stories of the children whose mother is German and whose father is Turkish. Their experiences and narrations shaped the research and I tried to find an answer to the following question: *How do transnational cultural experiences shape identity constructions?* The research suggests that transnational experiences reach beyond generations through cultural memory and familial transmission and the things transferred are directly associated with the Turkish and German cultural structures.

Turkish-German marriages contain a shared history of a minimum of fifty years going beyond the Turkish and German nations. The children born in those transnational marriages witness simultaneously a remarkable past and familial history produced from inside. Those marriages in which those children are born undoubtedly shape their own personal history. Paul Antze and Michael Lambek (1996: xviii) explain the dialectic relation between experience and narration as the production by humans of stories from their lives and their lives from their stories. The research offers a ground for discussing the cultural differences and similarities together and targets at propounding the comprehensions of identities. Thus, it was possible to see the mutual productions of the children’s life stories and their own stories.

One reason for my research on Turkish-Germans is that Germany has stood out among the countries with Turkiye’s most intense transnational contact in the last century. The establishment of the Republic of Turkiye and the occurrence of WWII played a fundamental role in shaping the relationships between the two counties. Looking through these relationships, the reciprocal immigration movements are notable. We can roughly classify those immigrations into three categories:

1. Planned immigration to Germany for limited periods for reasons including education etc. Those immigrations were made in order to respond to the requirement for a qualified workforce which started in the late periods of the Ottoman Empire, and which pervaded many fields upon the establishment of the Republic of Turkiye.

2. Immigrations of guest workers from Turkiye to Germany. They started in the 1960s in order to provide the human resources that Germany having recently come out of WWII needed.

3. Immigrations from Germany to Turkiye.

The contact between Turkiye and Germany directly affects the lives of many of us. Looking through my own familial history in the capacity of a researcher even I have numerous

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2 For more details, please see: Göle, 2012; Tekin, 2007.
maternal and paternal relatives who are connected with Germany for many reasons. Certainly, the close contact with my relatives from Germany further reinforced my interest in this issue. I have had the chance since my childhood to observe that the experiences they had gained in both countries affected particularly their social and cultural lives. In subsequent times, people with cultural patterns that seem different from each other in terms of beliefs and other life practices began to interest me even more. One of those groups was the Turkish-German children.

My research interest, which started with my personal history, was further consolidated for other reasons. Firstly, the nations with whom the Turks made transnational marriages included the Germans at the top ranks. Secondly, those marriages contained data in many fields including religious/sectarian, ethnic, linguistic, etc. 

How did the current generation interpret the cultural contacts between the two countries that had intensified since the 1960s? How were different cultural experiences interpreted beyond generations? I tried to reveal the different cultural experiences that the Turkish-German children gained at the citizenship level, how they interpreted those experiences, and how they positioned themselves in my research which I started in order to find answers to these questions which were formed better gradually. The fact that the children I interviewed had been familiar with the environment where their mothers’ and fathers’ cultures joined each other since they were born and had inquiry-oriented points of view at the same time supports that they were examples answering the research problem as will be seen in detail in the following chapters.

Migration Studies between Turkiye-Germany

The persons who immigrated to Germany are generally widely studied in the literature within the context of Turkiye and Germany. This literature has further expanded in line with the rising immigration from Turkiye to Germany since the 1960s. The socioeconomic change which had continued since the war accelerated in the 1950s-1960s upon the political independence of the colonies, particularly from the African countries (Asad, 2008: 12). The rapid economic development that the West European countries experienced in the post-WWII era with the effect of the Marshall Plan Aid oriented the countries having colonial relations to demand excess active population from their former colonies because of the shortage of workforce they suffered from and the ones not having colonial relations to demand the same from economically underdeveloped countries (Yalçın, 2002: 52). The tremendous mass immigrations corresponding to the 1960s were realized in this manner. The relations between Turkiye and Germany started to develop even further in those years when Turkiye
started sending immigrants to Germany. The persons who went in the initial immigrations to Germany were discussed in the literature as “guest workers”. The first research projects conducted are related to the processes of adaptation of the immigrants to the countries they had gone to. Nowadays, although such studies continue, the migration literature has expanded to the reverse brain drain to Türkiye (Sunata, 2014: 88).

The research projects in the literature began to discuss the immigrants’ children upon settlement of the generation in Germany following the first immigrants. The studies discussing the children were frequently conducted within the framework of the theme that those children were a minority within the majority. Looking through the issue from the viewpoint of the two generations, the detection of the results of cultural interaction came to the forefront. Additionally, some studies have revealed that immigrant children experience transnational identification processes with respect to some historical conditions and nationalist hegemonies (Kaya, 2015: 44; White, 2014: 14).

Looking through the studies conducted with respect to the immigrations from Türkiye to Germany, it is observed that the issues related to an identity crisis, education, and belonging were examined more. Two approaches were suggested in those studies: According to the first approach, the cultural differences regarded as a consequence of having limited Turkish culture and being too much affected by foreign culture develops dangerously against the Turkish culture. On the other hand, the second approach points out the fact that those generations had traces of both the culture of the country where they lived and the Turkish culture and consequently developed hybrid identities to define themselves (Abadan-Unat 1976, Türkdoğan 1984, Kağıtçıbaşı 1987, Sezgin 1992, Kılıçarslan 1992, Seçmez 1992, Güler 1992, Çağlar 1994, Necef 1996, Kaya 1997; c.f. Yalçın 2002: 56). The communication among the hybrid individuals who carry elements from both cultures realizes this through the mixture of the languages (Necef 1996, Küçükkcan 1999, Yalçın 2000; c.f. Yalçın 2002: 56).

The focal point of the studies conducted on the Germans who live in Türkiye is predominantly related to immigration and cultural interaction. Bianca Kaiser points out the citizenship problems, legal difficulties, the bureaucratic obstacles related to permanent residence and work permits in the research projects that she conducted in relation to the

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3 Political etc. majorities may be in a minority position with respect to the social power degree (Balibar & Wallerstein, 2007:103). Likewise, the persons whom I interviewed included ones who regarded their German mothers and even themselves as “foreigners” or a “minority” within the demographic structure in Türkiye. Here the concept of minority and majority should not be considered arithmetically.

4 It is also argued that the hybrid identities that will emerge in children may be problematic due to the “racial” differences of the spouses (Staples, 2000; Phonix & Charlie, 2000; Young, 2000; c.f. Yalçın 2002: 56).
citizens of the European Union who live in Turkey. Barbara Pusch and Tomas Wilkoszewski examined the international dimension of immigration to Turkey within the framework of social conditions and personal experiences. Sonja Galler and Zeki Uslu emphasized in their study the phenomenon of dynamic immigration between the two countries through the interviews held with Germans who lived in different cities and belonged to different professional groups. Antalya is at the top of the cities where research was conducted. Antalya is the most popular province that European pensioners have immigrated to. It was revealed in the research that Lale Dayıoğlu conducted with respect to the Germans who lived in Alanya that the Germans stayed there for longer periods compared to the other provinces and they rather wanted to live there together with Germans. A similar result is observed in the study of Galler et al. (Kaiser 2007, Pusch & Wilkoszewski 2008, Galler & Uslu 2010; c.f. Dayıoğlu, 2012: 37-38, 47).

Some books published in Germany in the last ten years are also noteworthy. Benbow (2015) has explored the notions of marriage in Germany and focused on gender, sexuality, and ethnicity. Vierra (2018) has explored the history of Turkish immigrants and their children from the early days of their participation in the post-war guest worker program to the formation of multi-generational communities. There is also a book that includes interviews with German women from Istanbul and Turkish women from Berlin and focuses on their lives (Grütjen, Huneke, Kamp-Yeni, Klammt, Marweld-Engin & Strumpen, 2010).

The difference in my book is that it is based on fieldwork in Turkey. Its subject is Turkish-German families from the perspective of children and it covers qualified migration (not guest worker migration), the transnational family, mixed marriages, and the Turkish-German identity.

**Germans in Turkey**

Looking at the marriages with foreigners in Turkey, it is observed that the contact between the two countries and consequently the marriages increased in line with the immigrations from Turkey to Germany. According to the 2002-2006 data of the Ministry of Domestic Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, General Directorate of Civil Registration and Citizenship Affairs, 88,081 foreign citizens married Turkish citizens. Among the foreigners who get married to Turkish citizens, women constitute the majority in terms of gender. This continues to be valid, yet a proportional decrease is observed on a yearly basis (Yıllar İtibariyle Türk Vatandaşı ile Evlenen Yabancı İstatistiği (2006 yılı), Retrieved from http://www.nvi.gov.tr/NVI,arama_sonuclari.html?Keyword=yabanc%c4%b1 (accessed on: 2014,
April 25). According to the 2010-2013 data of the Federal Statistical Office of Germany, 175,211 foreign citizens married German citizens. Among the Germans who get married to foreigners, men constitute the majority in terms of gender. This continues to be valid, yet there is no significant difference on a yearly basis (Marriages Between Germans and Foreigners, retrieved from https://www.destatis.de/EN/FactsFigures/SocietyState/Population/Marriages/Tables/MarriagesGermanForeigner.html (accessed on: 2014, December 03).

When the statistics of both countries with almost similar populations (Turkiye 76.7 million in 2013, Germany 80.8 million in 2013) are compared with regard to marriage to foreigners, the rate in Germany is higher than double the rate of Turkiye. Moreover, the group getting married to foreigners in Germany is predominantly men, contrary to the situation in Turkiye. The rate of marriage to foreigners in Germany on a yearly basis increases gradually again contrary to Turkiye (Retrieved from http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1059 (accessed on: 2014, December 03); retrieved from https://www.destatis.de/EN/Homepage.html (accessed on: 2014, December 03).

The number of Germans in Turkiye is not known since many are not reflected in foreign statistics. The reason is that Turkish-originated German citizens have dual citizenship, or the official identity called Blue Card (only given to Turks who are German citizens), and the majority of non-Turk German citizens enter and exit using tourist visas (Pusch, 2013: 126, 128). Dayıoğlu gives the number of Germans in Turkiye as 70,000 in the study he conducted (2012: 47). On the other hand, Kaiser claims that this number is between 90,000-120,000. The immigration of Germans to Turkiye increases due to economic and political liberalization that increased in the 1980s, the eagerness of Turkiye to join the European Union all the time, the difficulty of finding a job in Germany, and Islamophobia. As a result, Germany sends immigrants to Turkiye rather than letting in immigrants from Turkiye, particularly since 2008 (2012: 103-105).

On the other hand, the children born in Turkish-German marriages constitute a separate group among the German citizens in Turkiye. These children generally have dual citizenship and are not included in the foreign statistics in Turkiye. The number of members of this group increases continuously depending on the increase in mixed marriages (Pusch, 2013:128).

“Hybridity” and “Turkish-German” conceptualization

There are various opinions in the literature with respect to how individuals define/express themselves. Individuals who grow up with a different language and culture, whose parents
grew up in two different cultures, who get married to someone from any other culture or other immigrants etc. could be defined as “hybrid” (Wurgaft, 2006; c.f. Greenholtz, 2009: 392). The children who constitute the sample of my research did not feel disturbed to express themselves as “hybrid” either. The increasing current debates related to hybridity lead to intensification of the debates related to culture because the concept of hybridity is a concept developed against an understanding of a culture defined as a homogeneous, continuous, uninterrupted, and incomparable whole (Çağlar, 2000: 131). The concept of “hybrid” is mentioned in this book as well. The concept should be considered a transnational and heterogeneous concept, depending on how the children express themselves.

Questions on whether cultural hybridity indicates fluid identities usually varying depending on the situation or context or what kind of life experiences cultural hybridity reveals have been asked in the studies conducted on hybridity. These questions include “Is hybridity a separate cultural situation?”, “Does hybridization cause loss or revival of locality?”, “Is cultural hybridity being a cultural chameleon?”, “What are the consequences of cultural hybridity?”, and “Is it possible to participate in the processes of social change preserving cultural differences?” (Greenholtz, 2009: 392). Seemingly, in line with the increase of mixed marriages, the questions and debates on hybridity shall increase and intensify (ÖZbudun et al., 2006: 381).

**Memory, cultural transmission, and identity**

This research indicates that familial transmissions, memories, and personal experiences have a significant place in identity constructions. As will be discussed one by one in the following chapters of the book, the findings indicate that the familial histories of the German mothers particularly the older ones related to WWII, certain negative experiences that they gain in their families, and the social environments that they join through marriage, and the personal experiences that the children have personally have traumatic contents.

Memory falls within the fields of research of different disciplines and approaches. Memory studies were first performed by psychologists, then subsequently they became the subject of other disciplines such as philosophy, medicine, theology, and physics. On the other hand, anthropology and sociology are moving towards studies related to trauma and

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5 An academician who conducted research projects related to Germans recommended that I not use the concept of “hybrid”, which could be regarded as a “dirtied” concept, during my research. Accordingly, one of the reactions that I could encounter could be “Am I a dog?” etc. Although I never used the concept of “hybrid” or any similar concepts during the fieldwork because of the disputable aspect of the concept, the research subjects did not feel disturbed about this concept and defined themselves as “hybrid” as can be seen in the text as well.
memory relatively in more recent years. According to Sigmund Freud’s metaphor of mystic pad (yazboz tahtası metaforu) related to memory, although there may not be any trace of memory on the surface, there are deep memory layer remnants stored in a non-volatile manner under that surface. The traces found in this layer are difficult to access and are at the same time a form of forgetting (Freud 1925, c.f. Draaisma, 2014, 20, 22, 26, 300-301). According to Freud, who stipulates that trauma should not be degraded to a disease or pathology, trauma corresponds to an injury in the mind (Caruth, 1996, 3-4). Moreover, the effect of trauma is understood from how the things saved in the memory are narrated. The anthropological perspective deals with how the things saved are transferred as much as how they are saved in the memory (Lahaye et al., 2011: 19).

The studies related to the direct transmission of traumatic memory and identity have a significant place in the literature. However, the studies related to the indirect transmission of this memory covering a few generations are few. My research makes significant contributions related to memory to the literature. The first one of these is that it problematizes traumatic memory by looking beyond three generations. The traumatic memory that I mention here contains female history rather than male history since it is not desired to be remembered and reveals female agency. The second contribution is that the research presents the relation between traumatic heritage and cultural identity within an intergenerational framework (familial transmission). The content of the traumatic heritage here is related to how the things not remembered are transferred as much as how the things remembered are. The third contribution is that it shows how certain tendencies developed in line with the war are reproduced through transnational identities.

In the book, I will also use the concepts of habitus and cultural capital developed by Pierre Bourdieu. Those concepts help me with explaining better the progress of the relationship that the parents having different citizenship accumulations develop with each other and with their children in their shared lives. As such, the forms of relationships are also related to the processes of cultural memory, transference, and identity.

Habitus, defined as the tendency and potential systems of agents, is the systems of durable and transferrable perception, taste, and action scheme systems revealed upon the construction of what is social in bodies and socialness concretized and transformed into the body. Habitus is the strategy-producing principle that renders the agents capable of coping with unpredictable and changing situations (Bourdieu et al., 2003: 25, 87-90, 117-125). According to Bourdieu, habituses are formed based on daily life experiences. Those experiences create a universe using the representations in an individual’s memory. The individuals adopt and
reproduce the habituses from these spaces. The actor receiving the heritage is an agent who transforms the inherited. Identities different from one another are taken on according to the habitus determining the boundaries of a social area (Lahaye et al., 2011, 37, 88, 104). Maurice Halbwachs, pointing out the dialectic relation between personal and social memory, suggests that the individual defines himself/herself with a collective identity which allows one to determine oneself and his/her belonging (Nora, 1989, 9; Lahaye et al., 2011, 288).

Looking through the concept of capital that Bourdieu developed; different types, being economic, social, cultural, and symbolic, stand out in relief. The cultural capital is one of those capitals that encompasses all the acceptances and behavior patterns gained through education (Bourdieu et al., 2003: 108). Bourdieu defines cultural capital as a cultural source and power which cannot be distributed evenly within a specific social realm in embodied, objectified, and institutionalized forms (Karadağ, 2009: 191). Bourdieu (2003) claims that capital consists of habits or habituses with behavior tendencies regarding the family as the place operating the social reproduction mechanisms providing transfer of different capital accumulations. Accordingly, the family acts as a “collective subject”, and family integrity is achieved through the transfer of such accumulations to the next generations (Bourdieu, 2015, 135-137).

What the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes reflect are the cultural identities. Identity, a process which can never be completed, is created using memory, fantasy, discourse, and myths (Hall, 1990: 222-226). Identity requires management between forgetting and remembering. The colonial subjects who immigrate in order to forget their pasts and get rid of the burden thereof saw the past from different and various perspectives and transformed the same (Nora, 1989; Terdiman 1993, c.f. Antze et al., 1996: xxix, xiv). The Turkish-German generation adopts their familial pasts, experiences the present time, and holds on to the future through the power produced by their grandparents and their colorful identity productions. This book makes a mark on history by telling the story of such children.

**Content of the book**

Although the Germans in Turkiye and the Turks in Germany get intense attention, there is limited research conducted on the children born in Turkish-German marriages. An article on Turkish-German children tried to reveal their feeling of in-betweenness (Kayaalp, 1998). I shaped the research in a manner to manifest how the children shaped their lives in order to understand how they interpreted their mothers’ and fathers’ cultural accumulations, experiences, and their personal experiences. First of all, I asked the children questions related to how their parents met. Following this question, I concentrated on how the parents established a shared life and their relations developed within the living area they established.
Finally, I focused on the personal experiences of the children born in these marriages (the interviewees). The chapters of the book were determined accordingly.

Before introducing the content of the book chapters I should clarify that the focus of my research is not a generation study. Conversely, the life stories of the children were related to four generations. I classified the generations that I mention throughout the text into four different generations in order to ensure that the opinions changeable on an intergenerational basis appear more understandable. Accordingly, the first generation is the children’s German grandmothers and grandfathers who experienced WWII and their paternal grandmothers and grandfathers who witnessed the establishment of the Republic of Turkey and later periods. The second generation is generally the children’s mothers who experienced the war or post-war period since they were very young during the war and their fathers who usually went to Germany for university education. The third generation is the children whom I interviewed. The interviewees’ children should be considered as the fourth generation since those children shall be mentioned in the text from time to time.

I defined the children whom I interviewed sometimes as the third generation, sometimes as grandchildren, and at other times as the Turkish-German generation in the book depending on the themes I discussed and the children’s statuses and positions within the family. At this point, as Ayşe Çağlar (2000: 134, 135) remarked as well, I’m aware of the danger that the hyphenated identities may contain the idea of a materialized culture. Moreover, concepts such as creolization and hybridity become another means of anthropological textualization of otherness and this new mixture is recognized as essence. The theoretical weakness of these concepts is that they do not constitute a disengagement from essentialist cultural conceptualizations. I did not define the children as “hybrid” in the book since the concept includes negative connotations, but I often referred to them as Turkish-German because as I remarked previously, the children are not disturbed by defining themselves as a hybrid. Nevertheless, they usually and insistently called themselves as Turkish-German. For this reason, I used this concept not mentioned with an essentialist emphasis.

There was one among the children who defined himself as “a German Kurd” in addition to this. Similarly, some interviewees defined their maternal grandmothers and grandfathers and even their mothers whom they had defined as “German” further as “German with a Czech origin”, “German with a Polish origin”, “Prussian immigrants” and “German with a Dutch origin” etc. in terms of origin because of the political position of Germany before WWII.

6 Generation is a concept which combines more than one person with another and identifies them on the basis of lineage (Lahaye et al., 2011: 98).
concepts of Turkish, German, or Turkish-German as mentioned in the book from time to time were expressed by the children and do not contain any ethnic emphasis.

The methodology of the research is included in the first chapter of the book: Firstly, the preparations I made for the fieldwork covering the stages of subject selection, preliminary research, literature review, and preparation of question forms. Then, the interviews and studies I performed including participant observations. Finally, the data obtained from the fieldwork and the stages passed until I completed the writing.

The second chapter contains the information introducing the children: demographic characteristics included sex, age, birthplace, education, marital status, working life, and migration mobilities. Additionally, there is the base information introducing their parents and grandparents.

At the beginning of the fieldwork, the interview questions did not include questions related to WWII. The first interviews I performed revealed that this war occupied a significant place in the lives of the persons whom I interviewed. First of all, the fact that they interiorized their own German families’ war pasts and incorporated this past into their self-definitions manifested that I had to perform all interviews expanding them to cover the war stories as well. As Leyla Neyzi (2014: 2) pointed out, the traumas suffered could affect the process of self-definition of the modern subject. I continued with my research considering this marvelous development. I better understood the real value of this surprising discovery in my fieldwork as I progressed with the research because war memory affects more than one generation, including the grandchildren (namely the interviewees) who never experienced that war. Consequently, I allocated the third chapter to the war memories and the first generations.

Although studies related to the direct transmission of the memory and identity occupy significant spaces in the literature, studies related to the indirect transmission of this memory covering several generations are limited. The third chapter problematizes traumatic memory by looking through the issue beyond three generations. It presents the relation between traumatic heritage and cultural identity within an intergenerational (familial transmission) framework. This traumatic memory contains feminine history rather than masculine history since it is not desired to be remembered and reveals women’s agency. Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992: 115) point out the role of women as transmitters of culture in the ideological reproduction of the community (c.f. Fenton, 2001: 78). Here, it is necessary to indicate that the content of traumatic heritage is related to how the memories are transferred as much as the memories themselves. Furthermore, this chapter manifests how certain tendencies developed in line with the war are reproduced through transnational identities.
The fourth chapter contains the transmissions of the Turkish families. Here, the subject is related to how the Turkish-German generation (the interviewees) regard their paternal grandparents who witnessed the early years of the Republic and the fathers who tried to carry their motherland to a specific point. The fathers who went to Germany for education are the engineers who usually turned back to Turkey having obtained technical knowledge. The literature related to immigration from Turkey to Germany focuses rather on guest-worker immigration. The significant contribution of this chapter of the research to the literature is that it covers the Turkish men of the middle and upper class who were not guest workers. For this reason, the fourth chapter predominantly contains the Turkish fathers’ “service to the motherland”. It is possible to observe how various concepts discussed today including motherland, citizenship, modernity, and belonging are re-interpreted by time within the boundaries of this chapter.

Germany, which is a significant destination of immigration for Turkish men in terms of university education fields such as engineering and medicine, is at the same time a place where close relations between Turkish men and German women developed. The marriage experiences of the Turkish men in an effort to mature the young Republic and the German women who tried to put the war memory behind them are discussed in the fifth chapter. This chapter has been allocated to the international encounters containing those intersecting lives and developing relations. It is presented within the boundaries of the chapter on how intergenerational, intercultural, and intersexual encounters, where the relation between kinship and identity could be seen, could be interpreted both beyond one generation and as a child of the family.

The sixth chapter is related to which senses being Turkish-German correspond to, together with intergenerational cultural transmissions within the context of Germany and Turkey. The families’ behaviors containing similar patterns exhibited from the moment their children are born and the experiences that the children confront in life present a portrait where habituses overpassing nations are intertwined. Therefore, the scope of this last chapter contains the details related to the correlation between generation and identity construction.
1. METHODOLOGY

It took a very long time to determine the subject of the research. Later, I tried to execute the stages of the literature review, framing the subject, determining the persons to be interviewed, preparing and administering the interview questions, organization of the data, and the process of writing. This chapter includes the details of all those stages.

1.1. Preparations for the fieldwork

I targeted, with the research I would conduct, at understanding the mixed marriage experiences of the Turks with the members of a different nation. Although I considered conducting this research with other samples before deciding to conduct it with the Turkish-German children, my curiosity predominated as I mentioned in the introductory section of the book. Moreover, reasons include the fact that Turkiye had a connection with Germany for longer than seventy years, the gradual increase in the rate of marriages between the citizens of the two countries, and additionally, the fact that their children are older compared to the children of other mixed marriages kept my academic interest on this sample and this further excited me to conduct the research.

It was revealed through the literature review covering publications including the books, theses, and articles related to the subject that the research subject was usually discussed in relation to cultural contact and was framed with the concept of cultural hybridity. In order to understand this, I first tried to reach the persons conforming to the sample by means of the academic members and students of the foreign language departments of the university where I work (Istanbul University). The production of meanings of the persons who had different national and cultural experiences related to multi-identities and were living as a minority within a majority would be useful for this research. Those persons’ observations

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Polonezköy (Adampol Village) located in Beykoz county in Istanbul and established by a Pole who took refuge in the Ottoman State for political reasons in the 18th century attracted my attention as well. Today, old aged Polish people, the majority of whom were born and grew up in Turkiye, live in this village. I interviewed the notables of the village, the authorized persons of mukhtar’s offices and the Istanbul consulate general of Poland. I was informed that the young Poles had settled in foreign counties and that the number of the Poles who lived in the village had decreased in recent years. In this regard, it was difficult to find the children born of Turkish-Polish marriages.
and experiences would allow me to examine the research subject from different perspectives and ask different questions related to the subject. For this purpose, I interviewed not only the persons conforming to the sample but also the ones of different citizenships and nationalities as of 2012 during the preliminary research.\(^8\)

Then, I started to contact the associations, foundations, schools, companies, and other universities (predominantly the foreign language departments) in relation to Germany for the purpose of contacting the German population living in Turkiye by means of persons whom I had met recently. The employees, members, or students of TAVAK (Turkish-European Foundation for Education and Scientific Studies), Goethe Institute, Die Brücke Association, Rückkehrerstammtisch Platform (XING Istanbul), Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Association of German High School Students, Ernst Reuter Schule, ASED-German Social Events Association, GE, Siemens, Hadimköy Alkent 2000 Site where the German population is intense, German High School, Austrian High School, Istanbul High School, European College, Turkish-German University, ALEV schools, and certain German kindergartens were among the places I searched for persons whom I contacted. I further developed my connections using the snowball method or participating in the meetings of organizations such as associations and platforms by means of the interviewees and German mothers of the interviewees. I sent a text of the invitation to the research to the persons and institutions/entities who wanted to participate.

I witnessed in the initial interviews I made with the persons conforming to the sample that they defined themselves as Turkish-German. They stated that they began to define their identities for the first time in their first encounter with the social environment outside of the family (at kindergarten/elementary school), in other words from the very first moments when they started to encounter different identities. They explained the development of their awareness by finding similarities between their fathers and mothers rather than differences. Those initial findings were verified subsequently by virtually all the persons who made up my sample.

As mentioned previously, the gradual increase in the number of German citizens who live in Turkiye and the existence of a considerable German population in Istanbul highlighted

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\(^8\) I interviewed more than 20 individuals of different citizenships and nationalities during the preliminary research. Armenians and Jews of Turkiye, Turks who had made mixed marriages, persons of foreign citizenship, the persons, father, or mother who is Turkish and the other is a foreign citizen, and Turks who were born and grew up abroad. My interest in my research subject further increased when I listened to them. Furthermore, I had to stay distant from the research in 2014 since I gave birth to my baby in August 2013. My preliminary interviews continued till 2015.
Istanbul as the geographical area of the research. Istanbul, where many citizens of different countries live, is at the same time a city where mixed marriages are observed in high concentration⁹. All these led me to the conclusion that although the exact number is not known statistically, Istanbul may be the city where most of the sample lives. For this reason, I started the research in Istanbul.

The limits of the research subject were determined at the beginning by receiving the life stories of children the age of 17 or older with one of the parents who is Turkish and the other is German. (However, the sample was narrowed to persons whose mother was German and whose father was Turkish in the later stages of the research. The reason was that the ones whose fathers were German generally resided abroad). Those persons were the carriers of a cultural accumulation of more than fifty years that their families had at the transnational level. They were mature enough to be able to narrate their mothers’, fathers’, and own life experiences. The age limit defined allowed both the formation of a specific life experience covering the processes of education, work, marriage, and/or settlement somewhere and better narration of those experiences.

Access to the research sample

Further intensification of the relations of Turkiye with Germany encouraged me so that I could find interviewees convenient for the research in Turkiye. However, the insufficiency of the statistical data in this respect in Turkiye and the sensitivity of certain institutions and entities about the identity details of their German members who are in the position of a minority in Turkiye numerically pointed out that it would not be easy to reach the persons who would conform to the sample. Still, the snowball method that I used in the research quite affected my access to the sample.

The snowball method is a useful technique from the view that the researcher does not have much knowledge about the size of the sample. However, it contains the risks of being oriented at the beginning and reaching only specific groups or persons since other persons are reached by means of referrers in this technique (Kümbetoğlu, 2012: 99). I processed this method by diversifying my sources of contact in order to avoid its limitations and risks.

As seen in Figure 1, I reached the sample by means of 19 different sources of contact. Many persons in my kin, friend, and neighbor environment provided support for my

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⁹ The metropolises, being significant settlement places are the junctions where people from different counties interact culturally and called “mestizo city” in the literature (Burke, 2011: 111-114).
research finding interviewees. I contacted the persons working in Die Brücke Association\textsuperscript{10} participating in two different Rückkehrer-Stammtisch Meetings organized in Taksim and found a few interviewees. Apart from this, my environment of academicians helped me with finding persons conforming to the sample. Additionally, the interviewees whom I reached and interviewed allowed me to reach a further 28 individuals with their recommendations.

I performed the interviews with the 45 individuals in the sample from February 1, 2015, to November 27, 2015. As seen in Figure 1 as well, the total number of persons whom I interviewed within this period was 52. Nevertheless, as I mentioned previously as well, the persons making up the sample of this research are the 45 persons whose mothers are German citizens and fathers are Turkish citizens. I utilized in the study the interviews with the 7 individuals whose fathers were German and mothers were Turkish as special examples.

\textbf{Figure 1: Table of Finding Interviewees by the Snowball Method}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>participants</th>
<th>sex</th>
<th>age</th>
<th>date of interview</th>
<th>the person who found the source person</th>
<th>source person</th>
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<td>female</td>
<td>50  02  01  2015</td>
<td>Oya Topdemir Koçyiğit</td>
<td>my 1st relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>P.A.</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>48  02  13  2015</td>
<td>Oya Topdemir Koçyiğit and Asst. Prof. Güldem Baykal Büyüksaraç</td>
<td>Assoc. Prof. Barbara Pusch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>İ.İ.</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>49  02  15  2015</td>
<td>additional interview 06/21/2015</td>
<td>from the field (1st person - M.Ö.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>A.B.Y.</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>37  02  23  2015</td>
<td>additional interview 03/03/2015</td>
<td>from the field (2nd person - P.A.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{10} Being oriented by different referrers to the same individuals during the research was one of the surprises of the fieldwork. I had talked to someone that one of the relatives had recommended on the telephone in the morning of one day when I attended a meeting and arranged an appointment to meet this same person on another day. A tourist guide who worked in this association (I would like to thank him for his contributions) arranged a telephone call with a person who conformed to my sample. When we found out that those two candidates with whom I had talked to on the telephone within the same day were the same person, we laughed on the one hand and I received feedbacks including “It seems that you work hard” on the other hand. The guide’s confidence in me at first sight and his belief in my research further motivated me about my research and made me happy. I experienced a similar coincidence once more at a later stage in my research.
<table>
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<td>2015</td>
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<td>19 03 02</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>S.J.T.V.</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>29 03 03</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>from the field (5th person - J.A.K.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2015</td>
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<td>2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>A.K.</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>M.Ü.</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Y.O.</td>
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<td>36</td>
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<tr>
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<td>M.İ.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>G.S.</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>G.M.</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>R.S.</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
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Nine couples (18 individuals) included in the 45 individuals taken as the sample of this research are siblings. The interviews and participant observations that I performed manifested how the previous generations had narrated their experiences to the interviewees and how the interviewees preferred to narrate the things narrated to them. The differences between the answers that the siblings gave to the same questions I had asked revealed in detail different sensitivities. For example, the children of the same parents interpreted the same events in the familial history from different perspectives.

This research was not built as a sibling study. However, the interviews I made with different siblings showed how important the different reproductions of facts are. In other words, sibling interviews were the other surprise that my fieldwork offered to me. For this reason, I prepared in advance before interviewing the siblings. I interviewed the second sibling after examining the interview done with the first one. The details of the first interview showed at which points the interview with the other should be deepened.
**Preparation of the interview questions**

I determined the interview questions through my readings related to the subject and the themes becoming prominent in the first interviews I had made. I prepared different forms namely qualitative and quantitative\(^{11}\). I targeted deepening the interviews on the basis of the themes becoming prominent using the qualitative form and presenting specific patterns in the form of a systematic set of data using the other form. I focused on how the events experienced had been assessed and described while preparing the research questions and paid attention to two points. The first is related to how the persons consisting of mothers, fathers, and grandparents (the first and second generation) experienced the past and how they narrated their pasts to the interviewees (to the third generation); the second is related to how the interviewees (the third generation) narrated the same.

The qualitative form started with a question related to how the interviewees’ mothers and fathers met. The intersection of the lives of the mothers and fathers is important for both the interviewees’ contributions to the production of meaning and for having revealed the thinking patterns of different generations\(^{12}\) over time. The families’ experiences created an unwritten history on many social, cultural, economic, etc. subjects related to both countries. The interviews continued with questions related to the shared lives of the parents and the lives of the interviewees from their birth to date. I tried within this process to understand how relations such as family, kinship, friendship, and neighborhood had been established. The last question of this form was related to the place where the interviewees wanted to pass their remaining lives. The second form is related to the demographic details, marriages, migrations, and professional lives of the interviewees’ families and consists of questions allowing achieving quantitative results fast. Following the trial interviews, I revised the form and moved on to the actual interviews.

**1.2. The fieldwork**

Researchers can see culture from the inside when they do their fieldwork using participant observation and interview techniques (Bates, 2009: 44). In my research, I used the participated observation and interview technique, and I also benefited from the oral history technique. Although not a full-fledged study of oral history, there are two points indicating that the technique used in this research cannot be fully separated from the oral history technique. The

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\(^{11}\) Quantitative research consists of activities of explaining reality using statistics and qualitative research consists of activities of interpreting reality from a deep perspective (Kümbeoğlu 2012: 24).

\(^{12}\) Both forms contain questions related to four generations including the interviewees.
first one of these is that the interviews contain references to a time and memory other than the period in which the events took place, as Neyzi specified as well, and the other is that they have aspects allowing the understanding of how history is understood, interpreted, and experienced today by individuals (2011a: 10).

Many subjects addressed in the first interviews I did brought WWII into the agenda. I realized that as the interviews deepened many interviewees referred to the war stories in which the family elders had been involved personally or indirectly during that period while they talked about themselves and their families. This showed that it was necessary to go further back historically. In this regard, I also asked all interviewees questions related to war. Questions that I asked them included “When war comes to the agenda in your family, how is the subject brought up?”, “What did they do during and/or after the war?”, “What do you think about the war?”, “How do your family’s war experiences affect your life?” revealing the war memory in the Turkish-German families and its effects on the later generations.

Interviews

I included a total of 45 interviewees in the sample of this research of which 39 were from Istanbul, 2 from Izmir, and 1 from Sakarya according to where they reside in Turkiye and 3 individuals were from Germany. I had an appointment with them on the telephone at first. Later I communicated with them through various social media instruments as well13. I informed them about the purpose of the research, where I will use the research results, and that I would keep their identities secret, and all participated in the research voluntarily. I paid attention to allowing them to determine the date, time, and place of the interview. It was important to allow them to determine the best place to be selected for the interview and the time they would allocate so as not to interrupt their daily programs and to make them feel ready. The interviews were generally performed on weekdays at various hours of the day in places such as a house, business place, cafeteria, and outdoor locations. The elder interviewees rather preferred to meet at home or in their business places. Some of the interviews were performed once and others more than once. This varied depending on the work and business of the interviewees. Since the majority of them live in Istanbul, I performed the majority of the interviews (with 39 individuals) in this city. I met with the others in Izmir, Balikesir, and Muğla.

All interviews were performed in Turkish. I did not have many problems related to the
language since I generally interviewed the ones who live in Türkiye. Conversely, the ones who live in Germany had more difficulty speaking Turkish. I intervened grammatically in the citations I cited from the interviews performed with those persons to use in the text in order to have them understood better.

I did not interfere with any of them during the interviews. I audio-recorded all interviews, having obtained their approval. The recording period of the interviews varied between 46-218 minutes. The initial interviews lasted for three to three and a half hours. Conversely, the duration of the interviews could decrease down to 46 minutes later with the effect of having full knowledge of the questions on the one hand and the effect of gradual formation of the themes on the other hand. A significant factor that extended the duration of an interview was the fact that the life stories of the elder ones were longer as one may guess.

I informed them once more about the research when we met face to face. I started the interviews after asking whether they had reservations about having the interviews audio recorded. There were a few persons who hesitated about audio recording before starting the interview. But those persons were convinced when I stated that I used the device only because all details were very important for the research, and it was important to have texts of integrity. Yet, the initials of the names of a few interviewees were changed on the basis of their preference. I did not take photographs so as not to disclose their identities as I had promised. The factors that influenced my decision not to take photographs included war memory, exposure of the interviewees to discriminative discourses from time to time throughout their lives, and having fathers who worked in quite rare professions in Türkiye. I used the photographs included in the book after some interviewees gave those photographs of their own free will and asked me to use them. Some of them even opened the family archives and shared visual documents with me for my research. Those persons’ particular interest in my research and desire to carry their familial history to the future was quite striking for me. Briefly, all participated in my research voluntarily and shared their documents and photographs voluntarily.

Since the interviews were held in the form of conversation, the order and form of asking the questions varied on the basis of the factors such as the age and gender of the interviewees, the form of our mutual relationship, and the time that the interviewees allocated for the interviews. I tried not to orient the interview as much as possible. Some of the interviewees preferred to sustain the flow of the interview by following the order of the question form. On the other hand, the ones much more eager to talk preferred to sustain the conversation in an order they created. Namely, each interview had a particular flow and they determined
this flow. They joined the research so seriously and possessively that I usually felt very lucky and felt that I did very correct work. It was very efficient for me to catch the depth in the narrations, witnessing their discoveries related to themselves and their families while they were talking.

Firstly, I started the interviews using the qualitative form. I usually asked the questions contained in the quantitative form which contained demographic questions at the end of the interview in order to prevent time loss, and not to bother or tire the interviewee. The questions which they found the most interesting, important, and equally difficult to answer were the questions that were related to their language education, and which could reveal their personalities.

I asked all interviewees whether there was anything they would like to add or talk about before ending the conversation. I received the following answers: “It was quite good”, “You asked everything”, “I felt as if I entered a time tunnel”, “You reminded me of many questions that I had never asked myself”, and “Give me those questions later to ask my family”. Those answers evidenced from their perspective that the subject I researched and the interview questions were compatible.

**Participant observation**

The observations I performed during the interviews contributed to seeing the facts and behaviors in the interviewees’ perspectives and understanding their narrations as a whole as indicated by Kümbetoğlu (2012: 71, 126). My impressions are that they developed awareness related to the different cultural patterns of their parents. Their efforts of self-analysis and self-criticism were striking as well. Therefore, they developed a privileged point of view valuing “sense” and “making sense”.

The observation of the interviewees is as important for the research as the researcher’s observation. I understood once more how important their observations are in this third fieldwork I have conducted in my academic life. I was aware that I was seriously observed. I was taking short notes summarizing our conversations during the interview. They were carefully examining the notes I took, the codifications I made, and my attention. The reason for developing such a view of studying despite audio recording was to test whether I sufficiently understood the things narrated till then on the one hand and not to miss the interview flow. In this respect, I received feedback such as “You are a good researcher”, “You are good at catching the details” and “You analyze well”. Their positive comments indicated
that I had listened to them carefully and left an impression of paying significance to what I performed. Particularly, when they saw that I continuously took notes simultaneously with the audio recording in several interviews in order to better follow the interview flow, some made additions saying, “Note this too so that it is complete”.

**Challenges and possibilities of fieldwork**

Certainly, fieldwork has many practical and psychological difficulties (Bates, 2009: 44). The most important difficulty I had was my concern about whether I could obtain a sufficient number of interviewees. I should note that I had difficulty contacting the authorized persons of institutions such as associations and platforms for finding interviewees. Those institutions preferred to communicate via mail rather than meet face to face. They requested a “text of invitation to the research”. They justified this request by saying that researchers frequently referred to them and it was difficult to arrange a time for all. It was not easy to find any person calling back to participate in the research using this method because the persons who subsequently participated in my research said that they did not want to have regular contact with those institutions. They interpreted the cautious attitudes of the authorized persons of those institutions toward the research as follows: “Such institutions feel restless about disclosure of the personal data of the foreigners who live in Turkiye”. This revealed the unwillingness to talk about subjects including war memory, and the discrimination suggested by my research, though it is an inconvenient concern for scientific researches because, as will be seen in the following chapters, particularly the German mothers’ silence had deep meanings. Additionally, many of them assessed very seriously the advantages, difficulties, and invisible aspects of the experience of dual citizenship. This further clarified the areas on which I would focus throughout the research.

My concerns about finding interviewees decreased gradually after my first interview. Many persons whom I interviewed said that they believed those interviews would produce a good study and supported me with their social contacts to reach new persons. Particularly, some of them paid intense effort to complete my research. This was a blessing for me.

Another difficulty I had was that I sometimes had to make an effort not to cry during the interviews with the interviewees who had intense feelings when they talked about certain issues since some of them cried while they told of the efforts of their German mothers to hold on in Turkiye. They said that they had failed to care about their mothers who caught cancer or received psychological treatments and they had not made sufficient effort to understand them. They sometimes transformed the interviews almost into a therapy session searching their
souls and telling their regrets. I witnessed during the interviews attitudes such as responding to some questions by keeping silent and attempting to keep certain issues secret in addition to crying. I first waited for them to turn the silence into a voice in these moments of intense feelings. In the case of silence that lasted long, I told them that we could end the interview and continue later if they wished. But none wanted to interrupt and postpone the interview. On the contrary, they wanted to continue just at that moment. I suppose that they wanted to see their limits. Though rarely, they evaded certain details about which they did not want to talk or which they wanted to keep secret saying, “I don’t remember” or “I don’t know”.

Some tried to synchronize the cultures. Certain questions I asked particularly reminded them of the problems in their parents’ relations and the processes they underwent struggling against those problems. Although they tried to preserve their objectivity while narrating the events, their fatigue while they discussed the cultural differences which they regarded as the source of their problems was striking.

The interviews caused the interviewees to feel important as Thompson (1999: 138) pointed out. The ones who directly stated that the interviews served them as some sort of therapy predominated. The interesting point was that the ones who realized that the interviews had a healing effect and who had the feeling of therapy espoused the research more tightly. Consequently, I did not suffer from the problem of not being accepted as experienced by many researchers during fieldwork.

There were interesting coincidences during the research. For example, it was revealed during the interviews that the mothers of four interviewees who did not know one another (two of them are siblings) were friends. This manifested that the German women communicated with one another in Turkiye although their children did not. Similar coincidences started to increase in line with the increase in the number of interviews. It became apparent that it was no longer possible to reach different persons when the new persons referenced by the interviewees began to be the same persons. It became further apparent that it was no longer possible to produce different data when no different answers to the questions could be received and the narrations started to circle the same themes.

1.3. After the fieldwork

The data collected through ethnographic fieldwork should be arranged and interpreted in a manner to form an ethno-picture (Kottak, 2002: 10). I transcribed the interview records to arrange the qualitative research data after the fieldwork had been completed. I entered the
quantitative data into the SPSS program. I arranged them in the form of tables to compare them on a gender or age variation basis. The gender rate of the interviewees indicated that there was a numerically significant difference (14 men and 31 women). When I put their ages in order, the median was found to be 40. Accordingly, I compared the data in two groups; age 39 and below and age 40 and up, and utilized those findings in the text. Furthermore, since 18 individuals in the sample (9 couples of two siblings) were siblings, I subtracted 9 from the number of samples in the tables containing the demographic, immigration, etc. data related to the grandparents, mother, and father (N of such tables is 36). The siblings that I subtracted from the number of samples were the younger siblings. The reason for this was that the older siblings generally gave clearer information.

I will give the data indicating where and with whom the children lived, their ages, places of birth, education levels, marital statuses, professional lives, and immigration actions in the next chapter. Furthermore, I will mention certain demographic data related to the grandparents consisting of maternal and paternal grandmothers and grandfathers, their mothers and fathers, and their own children, in order to ensure a better understanding of the children’s assessments and even habituses and I will try to introduce the members of the four generations in full.
2. THE PROFILES OF THE PARTICIPANTS AND THEIR FAMILIES

2.1. The participants

I stated previously that the sample of the research consisted of 39 individuals from Istanbul, 2 from Izmir, and 1 from Sakarya according to where they reside in Türkiye, and 3 from Germany. One of the interviewees living in Germany has lived there since his birth. The second one is there to receive a university education. And the third one settled subsequently in Germany. Istanbul has quite a significant place in the lives of the children who live in Türkiye. Istanbul is the place where the German mothers of many interviewees and both the children and their siblings passed a large part of their lives (Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Place of residence of the interviewees</th>
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<tr>
<td>Istanbul, Türkiye</td>
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<td>Izmir, Türkiye</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sakarya, Türkiye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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I made interviews with the children who live in Istanbul and Sakarya in Istanbul, with the ones who live in Izmir, in Izmir, with one of those who live in Germany in Balıkesir, and with the others in Istanbul. The data I obtained during the fieldwork manifested the reason for the failure to exactly determine the number of Germans who live in Türkiye. Many persons in the sample of this research are dual citizens as pointed out in previous research and they can reside in both countries. Only seven individuals do not have dual citizenship. Among those persons, the ones at the age of 39 and below are merely German citizens whereas the ones at the age of 40 and up are merely Turkish citizens. A woman who is merely a German citizen said that it had been particularly her mother who had requested this in order to be able to leave the country easily in any extraordinary situations such as war etc.

The children live with their parents, spouses, and/or children. There are certainly the ones who share their houses with roommates or the persons with whom they have emotional/private
relations. A maximum of four individuals live in their own houses. On the other hand, looking through the number of their siblings, except for one person who is the only child, the others have on average one sibling.

A large part of the sample is composed of women (31 women and 14 men). It was a significant factor in revealing female memory relatively in this book having performed the research using the snowball method and consequently having reached a higher number of women in the research. I interpreted the research results by observing this balance as outlined in the following chapters. Their ages vary between 17 and 75. The mean age of these persons is 38.

More than half of them were born in Turkey. The ones born in Germany rather belong to the group of the age of 39 and below. Conversely, the rate of birth of the siblings in Germany is higher and this rate has increased rapidly over time. In other words, the German mothers maintained their lives between Turkey and Germany till the birth of their children though they had settled in Turkey after marriage. It could be stated that the practice of giving birth to babies in Germany became a common attitude of the German women over time. Istanbul is at the top of the places in Turkey where both the interviewees and their siblings were born. The states of birth of the ones born in Germany resemble the homelands of their mothers. Those states particularly include North Ren Westphalia, Bavaria, and Lower Saxony.

Three-fourths of the children started their institutional education with pre-school education. The country where they studied from pre-school to high school level is rather Turkey. This result is associated with the fact that their place of residence is predominantly in Turkey. Looking through this education data (particularly for the younger children), private foreign and Turkish schools prevailed. Almost all the interviewees studied at university. The interest in an academic career and specialization has increased over time.

Examining the marital statuses again on the basis of age, the ones at the age of 39 and below are predominantly single and the ones in the other group are predominantly married or divorced. The ones who got married in some period of their lives usually married only once. The average age of marriage is 27. The young interviewees now further postpone their first marriage experiences. The spouses of the ones having the experience of marriage are generally from Turkey. The spouses of the ones who got married twice are Turkish again. The first spouse of one person who married three times is Turkish, the second spouse is German, and the third spouse is from the Netherlands. Half of them have children and the number of children is a maximum of two. The children of the ones with children were usually born in Turkey. Istanbul is the center where they and their children (the 4th generation) were born.
All of them were employed a minimum of once in their lives. Today a large part of them (77.8%) continue to work. However, there are also interviewees who no longer work. These persons are female. Three persons among those active in professional life at the age of 39 and below sustain their professional life simultaneously with education. The ones employed predominantly work in the private sector. The ones who sustain the family business taken over from the previous generations or the self-employed ones are predominantly composed of interviewees age 40 and up.

Only five persons have never been employed so far since they continue with their education. They have had on average four job experiences in their lifetimes. The language education that the children received at school determined the institutional identity of the business place (as international companies) as much as the types of jobs they perform and contributed to promotion in their positions. When compared on a gender basis, the female interviewees worked more frequently in foreign companies, particularly German companies. The children became the bosses of their businesses just as their fathers did, or work in director positions in the companies they are employed in.

The men immigrated usually for education purposes and the women immigrated for finding jobs in addition to educational purposes. The men sustain their businesses (family business) in Turkiye whereas it was rather the women who performed alternative jobs they found and learned foreign languages.

I should finally state that the immigration movements are quite high. The fact that interviewees had contact with a foreign country starting from a very young age, e.g., visiting their grandmothers and grandfathers living in different countries, and the ability to speak more than one language created a generation interested in self-development through touring, discovering, and learning new languages. The ones with migration experience lived on average in four places for specific periods and there were even ones who emigrated from one place to another up to ten times. The migration of the ones with migration experience was both within their homeland and abroad, particularly to Turkiye. Looking at the migrations, immigration has popularized among the young and the diversity of the countries of destination has increased. The province that they moved to within their homeland is usually in the Marmara Region, particularly including Istanbul. The ones at the age of 39 and below joined the migration status mostly in the high school period. In other words, the age of going abroad for education purposes has decreased over the years from university age down to high school age.
Looking at the details of their migration mobility, half of the interviewees lived in Germany before their first migration, while the other half lived in Turkiye (predominantly in Istanbul). Migration from Germany to Turkiye was more common. The first migrations reveal that the interviewees at the age of 39 and below visited the countries that they find exotic and where they can have different experiences. The province in Turkiye to which the first immigration was made particularly includes Istanbul. The interviewees’ opinions about Istanbul are that they find Istanbul exotic and different as will be seen in later chapters. When they decide in the first place to immigrate on their own initiatives, except for their compulsory migration together with their families, education was influential in their decisions. The reason for men to immigrate is predominantly education whereas the women’s reasons are education and finding a job.

2.2. German families

The German mothers of the children are from various states in Germany. The hometown of six German women is the state of Baden Württemberg, and the hometown of six others is North Rhine-Westphalia. Other states include Bavaria, Berlin, Hessen, Lower Saxony, Hamburg, Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein, and Bremen. The older mothers are from Baden Württemberg, Berlin, Hessen, Bavaria, and Hamburg respectively from top to bottom, and the relatively younger mothers are from the states of North Rhine Westphalia, Baden Württemberg, Bavaria, Lower Saxony, and Saxony (Table 2).

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Table 2: The hometown of the interviewee’s German mother (states)</th>
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<tr>
<td>North Rhine-Westphalia</td>
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<td>Baden-Württemberg</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bavaria</td>
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<tr>
<td>Berlin</td>
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<td>Hessen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lower Saxony</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hamburg</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saxony</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schleswig-Holstein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bremen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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Note: 18 of the participants are siblings. Therefore, I subtracted 9 persons from the total (N) in the table.
The children have limited information about certain issues, particularly about the German side. One of the interesting things is that they have more information, particularly about the Turkish side and the second is that they have more information about male relatives from both sides. This result gives an idea about what is held aloft and what is remembered. One example of this is education.

The education levels of maternal and paternal grandmothers and maternal and paternal grandfathers in the first generation contain patterns quite different from one another. Examining the issue comparatively, it is revealed that the grandparents on the German maternal side (maternal grandmother and grandfather) were at least secondary school graduates and there are persons among the grandparents on the Turkish paternal side (paternal grandmother and grandfather) who have never received any institutional education. Looking at gender basis, the women have bachelor’s degrees at the highest and the men have doctorate degrees at the highest. The men have a higher opportunity for education on both sides. The German grandfathers usually studied medicine, pharmacy, and engineering, and the maternal grandmothers usually studied in the fields such as tailoring, domestic economy administration, childcare, and particularly teaching. Those grandparents continued to perform those jobs after the war ended.

Examining the education levels of the German mothers in the second generation, their minimum level of education is observed to be high school education. Virtually one-third of the mothers studied at university. The education that the German mothers received is similar to the first generation’s education. Many German mothers (27 mothers) received bachelor’s degrees or higher like their mothers and graduated from departments including German teaching, English teaching, and pre-school teaching/management. The popularity of social sciences among the German mothers increased over time and they established their lives in Turkiye on the basis of this education.

2.3. Turkish families

Turkish fathers are usually from the Marmara Region, although their hometowns are located in different geographical regions of Turkiye. Usually, men from the Marmara Region (particularly Istanbul) married German women in the first years, and the men from the Central Anatolia, Black Sea, Aegean, Mediterranean, Southeast Anatolia, or East Anatolia Regions got married to German women as well over time (Table 3).
A significant number of Turkish paternal grandmothers and grandfathers did not receive any institutional education. Although they received an education of a relatively lower level compared to the German side, there are examples manifesting that the Turkish paternal grandmothers and grandfathers contributed to many aspects of the young Republic established in Türkiye. There is one among the paternal grandmothers who had a bachelor’s degree. This person graduated from the department of teaching (please, see Photograph 1, pp.90). Turkish paternal grandfathers, on the other hand, studied medicine, in particular, attended military college, or studied in the fields of education, dentistry, or textile engineering.

### 2.4. Turkish-German families

The research revealed that the fathers of virtually three out of four persons received a bachelor’s and/or master’s degree in Germany and that the rate of fathers who went abroad for university studies had increased over time. However, the interesting point here is that the significance of the fathers to master’s degree education decreased over time. Even though, less educated fathers got married to relatively more educated German women (mothers) over time.

Most of the fathers with a bachelor’s degree (20 fathers) studied in engineering departments (there are those who studied in areas such as medicine, business administration, and economics as well). They immigrated to Germany to further progress their education. The engineering departments in which they specialized included textile, civil, chemical, agricultural, electrical, industrial, electroplating, and mechanical engineering, in particular.

The mothers and fathers who generally met in Germany later settled in Türkiye. Therefore, it is necessary to examine in more detail the immigration of German mothers to Türkiye.
Many of the mothers immigrated to Turkey together with their husbands after marriage. There are also ones who had come to Turkey and lived in Turkey for a while before they met their husbands. Fourteen mothers came to Turkey because they wondered about Turkey and wanted to see the country or find a job there. The German mothers did not immediately come to Turkey together with their husbands as soon as they got married. The number of wives who came to Turkey together with their husbands and children after having lived in Germany for a while has increased over the years. Only four mothers have never immigrated to Turkey. The aforementioned mothers are the mothers of younger interviewees.

The first immigration of mothers to Turkey happened in 1936. The average age of their first migration to Turkey is 28. Migration from Turkey to Germany increased after the 1960s (the years when the “guest worker” immigration began to intensify) and further accelerated in the early 1980s and 1990s (the years when the political movements and insecurity in Turkey increased) (Sirkeci, 2006). These situations have also increased the possibility of contact between German women and Turkish men in Germany.

The jobs that the Turkish fathers performed are predominantly marketing/sales/trade, engineering, and management. The trade category includes the fathers who were engineers and sold the products they produced in their own business places. The fathers who went to Germany to study engineering worked in the capacity of engineers in various factories for a while after returning to Turkey. However, the fathers engaged in trade by producing various materials using their engineering skills and subsequently incorporated companies and sold those materials. The fathers who worked as directors are directors of hotels, finance, hospitals, or factories. Those business places where they worked as directors usually belonged to them. There have also been fathers who have worked as doctors, architects, sailors, economists, biologists, psychologists, teachers, and translators in their professional lives.

A high number of German mothers participated in business life as well. However, approximately half of them (41.7%) were not employed in any position for their lifetime. The working mothers worked on average in one position. They predominantly worked as German and English teachers or performed administrative jobs such as school, hotel, or hospital directors. The other works they performed are director assistant/secretary, babysitter, dental technician, psychologist, lawyer/legal consultant, translator, accountant, tailor, fashion designer, marketing/sales/trade. There is only one mother who is an engineer.

Finally, when we look at the rates of parents who are currently alive, the rate of women is much higher. The living mothers and fathers usually live in Turkey. But they pass some part
of the year in Germany since they go frequently there. The provinces of residence in Turkiye for the mothers and fathers are Antalya, Muğla, Adana, Izmir, Bursa, and particularly Istanbul. There are those who pass the summer in Turkiye and the winter in Germany. Although the German mothers continue to live in Turkiye, it could be said that the younger ones are more inclined to settle in Germany.
3. THE GRANDCHILDREN OF WAR: A TRANSGENERATIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON TRAUMATIC MEMORY

Germany, suffering from the traumatic consequences of the First World War, went to WWII which had broken out a short while after this war as well. The Nazi Party, purporting to reinforce the national identity of Germany, turned to the population and national borders. The Nazis first attempted to clear their boundaries of all Jews and second, to span the boundaries outwards. Germany was defeated in this war as well. The effects of the war in Germany continue to exist at present although the war actually ended seventy years ago.

The experiences that the family members who suffered from the war gained created some sort of family memory through intergenerational transfer. Certain findings of the research that I conducted pose an example that this memory still survives. The research suggests that the children interviewed were solicitous about their family memories and made several interrogations about their family and themselves taking this memory as reference. Some studies examining the past (Kyvig and Marty, 2011: 7) manifest that unearthing the things experienced by the families or communities over the years helps individuals find out the reasons for their own actual conditions.

I will discuss the changes that the war created in the lives of three generations in this chapter where I will point out the relationship between German families and WWII. Here, I will show how the children with transnational identities whom I interviewed interpreted the

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15 The Nazis treated before the war the theme of Germany being driven into a corner and being betrayed. According to this theme, the Jews were regarded as a "foul race" and introduced as "mice", "rodents", "reptiles" or "insects" in the period of Goebbels as Minister of Propaganda. The Nazis claimed that the Jews were an almighty and dangerous power to be stopped. The lebensraum (living space) concept of the Nazis was based on the opinion that Germany was required to grow, expand and rule wide areas in order to survive (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 152-153).

16 Genocide, which was introduced in 1946 in the Nurnberg case, is a legal concept corresponding to the systematic extermination of the Jews by the Nazis. The genocide that the Nazis committed against the Jews is not the first genocide despite being the first genocide judged legally. Looking through the history of world, the genocides committed against the American Indians upon western expansionism in the nineteenth century, colonial empires created by great European powers and the discovery of America are observed (Clastres, 1992: 50).
war memory of German families (the mothers and their parents). I will point out the narrations revealing the traumatic aspects of the war memory and will try to manifest how war trauma affected certain trends and identity constructions of the generations.

3.1. Introduction: Transmission of traumatic memory and transnational identities

D. E. Kyvig and M. Marty (2011: 9) comment that the attempt of the individual to be informed about the past that affects his/her own life and to find out the intergenerational behavior patterns and the reason for the change of specific traditions is exciting. Similarly, certain transnational identity experiences that the children, born of Turkish-German marriages, whom I interviewed, gained within their families and social circles a consolidation of their curiosity toward familial history. Particularly the fact that German mothers of many of the children had had troublesome adaptation periods in Turkiye further increased this interest. Then, those children started to rake up the past. Such attempts have been effective in revealing a certain part of the war memory in their familial histories.

The mothers of many children have experiences related to WWII. Particularly the children older than the age of forty stated that the pasts of their German mothers and/or the parents of those mothers were full of unfavorable memories related to the war. German mothers who encountered the children’s inquiries related to the war in the process of emergence of the war memory initially didn’t reply to the questions that have traumatic answers. But the insistent seeking of the children for answers was partially replied to in due course.

The cultural problems that German mothers experienced in a different geographical region play an important role in the re-emergence of the traumas related to the war that they do not want to talk about after many years. According to what the children narrated, their German mothers regarded the new lives they built in Turkiye through marriage as a way of remaining firm and keeping distant from such traumatic heritage. However, German mothers confront a different kind of “war” in this country. They usually tried to cope with the troubles they have in their married life with Turkish men and not lose heart. The children’s narrations, as will be detailed in the following chapters, emphasize that their German mothers suffered from new traumas while trying to cope with various social and cultural problems, particularly the differences in language and religion. Many children think that having witnessed the war in their mother’s childhood periods further deepened their traumas. In other words, new traumas trigger the former traumas.
The German mothers’ efforts to draw the curtain on their relations with the war memory in Turkiye were fruitless contrary to what they had expected. Correspondingly, the Turkish-German generation (the children) started to get in touch with the war memory although they had not directly experienced the war. The children who directly observed their mothers’ marriage processes from within (particularly the female children who observe more carefully), noticed that they preferred silence to cope with adaptation problems in those marriages as well.

As in the marriage process of mothers, the children personally faced WWII in social environments many times. They were probably exposed to discriminative characterizations including “giaour”, “German offshoot” (Alman dölü), and “Nazi” at home by close paternal family members particularly in their early childhood years while they played games in the street with their friends or at school by some of their teachers and/or friends. As will be detailed in the following chapters, the children were further interested in the family memory when they witnessed that their mothers were characterized as well with such expressions as “giaour bride”, etc., and embarked on questioning such stigmatizations by the community.

The children’s mothers’ attempts for adaptation and the similar discriminative discourses that they and their mothers faced in the social environments rendered the children further interested in the familial history of their own German families related to the war and were conducted to seek answers to specific questions related to the past. Those questions include such questions as, “What did my German family live through during the war?”, “What do they think about what they lived through?” “What sense does the war make to them?” In other words, the experiences of transnational identity consolidated the children’s curiosity about familial history.

The Turkish-German generation (the children) faced their grandparents’ silence too when they first tried to access the war memory through those questions as was the case with their mothers. Michel De Certeau indicates that the weak ones developed silent and detailed tactics to turn the tables on themselves and exhibit their creativity (2009: 22-23). The children think that their German families developed a strategy of “alienation” from their familial history by keeping silent. Accordingly, avoiding the war traumas suffered seemed to be a method of remaining strong in life. At this very point, I should note that this chapter does not claim to cover the entire war memory or generalize the third generation (participants). Certainly, the obscurity and elusiveness of the non-transferred part of the war memory may reveal completely different discussions. But the important point here is the fact that even a small part of the war memory that could be transferred despite the previous generations’ efforts to keep it closed means a lot.
The experiences of the previous generations and the heritage that those experiences bequeathed to the next generations certainly transform both the individual and his/her family. Like many others, Bourdieu (2003) remarked on this issue and regarded the family as the primary place where the social reproduction mechanisms providing the transfer of different capital accumulations function. According to him, the family transfers to the next generations a body of habituses. Namely, the family acts as a “collective subject” and preserves its integrity by transferring such accumulations to the next generations (2015: 135-137). The research indicates that the habituses of the German families have a significant connection with the war. It is found out from the children’s discourses that the second-generation German women who got married to Turkish men tried to leave behind the war memory inherited from their parents or their lives in Germany on the one hand and take a role in the reproduction of this memory through the questions of their children in time although they do not want to on the other hand. War memories transferred from the memory and experiences were effective in shaping the habituses and identities of the next generations.

Nora defends that the memory, which is a body of strategies, has value with its manner of use despite emphasizing that the memory is open to censure and contains cherry-picked facts (1989: 8; 2006: 10). At this point, the content of the details filtered through the family members’ memories and the way of transferring those details to the next generations are critically important for this research. Looking through the content of the small censured part of the memory transferred to the next generations, it is observed that a large part of the German families had experiences of pain and poverty during the war and in the years following the war. The men had to experience Nazism and the women had to experience poverty under Nazi hegemony. The families experienced certain traumatic events during the war including death, loss, personal injury, and disablement. The experiences of war deranged physical and/or mental health and led to the occupation of the German families’ memories by a traumatic heritage.

Examining how the memory works, it is observed that the grandchildren (the children), among the three generations, faced women rather than men within the familial history related to war. It is striking that women talk rather than men when the issue of war is discussed within the family. The masculine history contained in the war memory is a history which contains experiences of Nazism, and which is not desired to be remembered. Namely, it is the women who rewrite, reproduce, and carry the familial history till today. The German women are the subjects who shape the history.
The theme of the content of the things reported is victimization and the framework is a struggle. Accordingly, they coped with the war by struggling against the victimization that it brings about. The strategies that the German grandmothers (the first generation) whose husbands were enrolled in the military service to be able to cope with the hard conditions they faced within their daily lives in order to survive during the war allowed them to leave behind victimization, thus getting stronger. The power-oriented habituses of the grandmothers have been a source of strength in the adaptation of their daughters to Türkiye and their grandchildren’s identity experiences as well.

The research revealed that there were major changes in certain habits of the families who try to conclude their struggle of coping with the war trauma by gaining strength in their daily lives including family and social relation styles, social status and class, property, heritage, and belonging. In other words, war victimization has been a factor rearranging the world view, ethical judgment, and attitudes. They entered the process of assessment of the social relations, values, and behaviors of their German parents on the one hand and themselves on the other within this period.

The children (the interviewees) concluded that they could develop certain strategies from this knowledge as they gathered information about their families’ war experiences. This point of view caused them to regard the experiences of their families with respect to war as some sort of “gain”, though they involve “pain”. Willy Lahaye et al. suggest that getting self-awareness over time allows the individual to gain information about oneself and to develop one’s plan on the basis of one’s interest (2011:10). The war memory has virtually been a guiding cultural capital through which the Turkish-German generation (the interviewees) could redesign their habituses.

The Turkish-German generation (the children) tried to comprehend what being German means at the same time as trying to understand their families’ war past. Stuart Hall defends the idea that identity could not be rediscovered by reproduction (1990, 224). The Turkish-German generation who attempted to face their families’ war memories and to discover their German identities reproduces their identities based on both nationalities on the basis of this memory as a consequence. This research suggests that different identity emphases orient individuals to reproduce those identities in addition to approaching them as their familial histories.

The questions, determining the framework of this chapter, where I tried to show how the traumatic heritage is interpreted from the perspective of a transnational generation are as follows: How does war affect the first (the German grandfathers and grandmothers) and
second generation (the German mothers)? How do the grandchildren interpret the war memory of their grandparents and mothers? Accordingly, I search for an answer in this chapter to the questions of how the generations who experienced the war shaped their own cultural perspectives of the war trauma they face on the one hand, and what role the war memory has from the point of view of the third generation on the other hand.

Firstly, I will discuss the war experiences of the first generation who experienced the war directly (the German grandparents) and the war experiences in the second generation’s (the German mothers) memories (the masculine and feminine history). This content is related to the German grandfathers’ struggle against being transformed into SS officers and the struggle of the grandmothers and mothers carried on from home. Secondly, I will discuss the changes in certain understandings of the German families depending on the war memory. And finally, I will try to reveal how the third generation (the interviewees) emphasized their own identities according to the changing habituses of the previous generations.

3.2. The Turkish-German generation’s interest in the memory of war and the content of the memory: The “war” of those who experienced the war

Eighteen million men from the urban and rural regions of Germany left their families to enlist in the army during WWII. The women tried to survive together with their children while the men were called for military service (Vaizey, 2011: 364-373). The German families of the interviewees faced many dramatic events in line with the war including men being taken by force and made into SS officers, the houses being bombed, the families getting lost or destroyed, death, personal injury, escape, being taken captive and migration. The men who managed to return from the war include men suffering from disabilities such as loss of sense and organ and critical diseases such as cardiac diseases. In other words, the war ended many lives and left permanent traces on the survivors’ bodies and lives. Those traces made up the ground for the traumatic war memory within the family.

The shock of the difficulties experienced led to the emergence of firstly the fear of being left alone and then other fears. The fears brought about by the war transformed into actual difficulties such as failure to think properly and certain physiological and psychological problems. The difficulties experienced in the war such as losses and hunger led to physiological, social, and cultural problems which some of the interviewees defined as “Nazism trauma” that lasted for generations. For example, Claudine Vegh (1984) detected in the interviews she made with French Jews whose parents were killed in the Nazi era that fear,
nightmares, anger, and shock occupied a wide space in those persons’ lives (Vegh 1984, c.f. Thompson, 1999: 139, 140). The distress caused by participation in the war in the grandfathers of the interviewees (the children) and the memories related to the difficulties suffered by the women are today’s inheritances full of trauma.

The interviewees said that when they wanted to learn something about the war, their German grandparents and mother took similar attitudes and preferred to keep silent about the subject. It is a frequently observed behavior pattern in German families to keep the war past of the family secret. Vegh (1984) emphasizes in her research that many of the two hundred Italians who managed to survive in the Nazi concentration camps kept secret what they had experienced since they were so horrifying and painful that they could not be expressed in words. A large part of those who were desolated regard it as taboo to talk about their pasts. They cannot talk rather than they do not want to talk. This becomes a silent pain which they have for their lifetime (Vegh 1984, c.f. Thompson, 1999: 139).

Although not talking frequently about the war within the family postpones the interviewees’ interest in the war memory at an early age, this made them further interested in the subject in their later ages. There are those among the interviewees older than forty whose German grandmothers and grandfathers witnessed the First World War, too. Although the preference of people who experienced the wars to not talk about war-related subjects postponed interest in war memories for a while, the experiences of the “Turkish-German” generation and their mothers in Türkiye eliminated the possibility of remaining disinterested in these memories. They started to question the war memory for the purpose of recognizing their mothers and the other German family members.

The determinant of the silence about the war period within the families was the grandfathers’ experiences of Nazism. Remarkably, a young male interviewee interpreted the fact that his grandfather had been an SS officer, which he learned many years ago, as a “black past”. The sense of ownership for this dark past was not known at all and the attempts to confront this past led to bringing the war memory out of mothballs:

“My grandfather was an SS general. Besides he was imprisoned for one and a half years because of his war crimes. The Germans keep silent about Nazism; they do not talk much. I learned about the event of the Holocaust very late. I even learned about it when I watched the film ‘The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas’. This was ten years ago. They put people in gas chambers and such… I asked mom ‘Is it true?’ Of course, I was shocked. What did we do? Unavoidably, I felt terrible. We never talked about this, and this is generally the case in German families. It is not mentioned since it is a black past. Now I ask and granddad tells me.
He shows some photographs. Granddad’s father even has a Wikipedia page. I learned things from that page too.” (K.A., male, 20, his mother is from the state of Baden-Württemberg)

A significant part of the interviewees mentioned that their family members included persons having nightmares related to the war, those who felt sick at heart because of having participated in the war, and those who questioned themselves. The dreams summarize the inner worlds of the German men who transformed into SS officers. A female interviewee reported what her German grandfather had lived through as follows: “He always had nightmares in the past years. Namely, he was affected by the war very much, I mean adversely... He sweated a lot; he suddenly woke up while sleeping. He woke up in a panic, he talked in his sleep, like ‘no, don’t take me’...” (L.M.O., female, 25, her mother is from the state of North Ren-Westphalia)

The trauma of war has led to serious actual fears, even the fear of thunder. The thunder has simulated the bombardment of houses. The war memory is reproduced through metaphoric associations although people want to keep it secret and forget it.

The grandchildren rather learn about feminine history although they try to learn about masculine history with respect to the war. The content of the narrations related to the war differs on a sex basis. When the subject of familial history related to the war is opened upon the insistence of the grandchildren (the interviewees), the men usually talk about the obligation to participate in the war and the women tell the difficulties experienced during the war and forms of struggle.

3.2.1. War experiences of men (maternal grandfathers)

The grandfathers of many of the interviewees had to decide between being a member of the Nazi party or not during the war. The obligation to ensure the safety of their remaining family members and the idea of keeping them together played an important role in their decision about whether to participate in the party or not. The men who participated in the party did not lose their jobs. Economic reasons obliged men to choose between dying and killing. One interviewee reported the reason for her grandfather’s participation in the war by pretending to be a pro-Nazi as follows:

“He said, ‘You had no choice but to be a Nazi’. Either they will kill you or you will join the army and kill people. You have no other chance. I know that many Germans pretended to be pro-Nazis against their will in WWII during the Jewish holocaust.’” (M.Ö., female, 50, her mother is from the state of Hamburg)
Neyzi mentions in his study a sample case that it is not possible to stay impartial under war conditions. This example case of the experiences of a German who had grown up in Istanbul but was sent to his homeland (to Germany, which he had never been to previously) as the other Germans and Austrians were as a consequence of the beginning of the First World War and the occupation of Istanbul. It points out the fact that everybody tried to survive by protecting the one who gave him/her his/her job in Germany, where the civil war continued (2011b: 15).

Many interviewees regard their grandfathers’ preference to join the army under war conditions as a much more rational option. This view arises from the correlation of today’s generation pro-Nazism of their German grandfathers with compulsion. The German grandfathers did what they believed would allow them to survive as some sort of strategy of survival, according to the grandchildren. The aforementioned grandfathers include the ones who adopt the Nazi ideology as well. An interviewee who assesses the experience of his grandfather who stayed on the frontline for a long time in the war and was captured within the framework of the chain of command is indecisive between his grandfather’s denialism and ignorance:

“My grandfather had already been an officer in the German army, but he was a captain. For that reason, although he had witnessed the bad aspects of war, granddad did not yet talk negatively about what had happened. Namely, from his point of view, the Germans actually did the right thing. Indeed, everything was roses until the Americans intervened. My grandfather had never believed in the concentration camps and such other rumors. He denied them. He said, ‘No, it’s not true, it is a lie. We, the Germans have never done and never would do something like that’. I guess that a captain sent from one front to another was not much aware of what was happening. But it is interesting in a sense. My grandfather was out of touch with his family because he passed much of his youth in the war and then he passed his time in the prison camps as a captive in Russia, Siberia, Norway, and France and then was acquitted… Yes, this man did really have clean hands; he just stayed until reaching that point since he was an aide.” (M.Ş., male, 37, his mother is from the state of Saxony)

The grandchildren assessed the participation of their grandfathers in the war considering the meanings of Nazism under the circumstances of the era. Accordingly, many grandfathers did not know what exactly Nazism meant, assessed the Nazis only on the basis of their practices such as road construction and economic development which they could observe closely and were not aware of the inhuman treatments suffered during the war, even with the influence of the press as well. On the contrary, there are such German grandfathers who rejected participating in the Nazi Party because of its character and took risks. For example, an interviewee correlates the non-participation of his grandfather who was forced to escape
from the Nazis, lost his job, and was then forced to leave his homeland, in the war with his
good temper:

“My house was bombarded. Both grandma and grandpa escaped by bike for four days to
the Denmark boundary. After that, the bombardment happened. Indeed, it is a region that
they should not have entered into. Sometime later, the Americans arrested my grandfather
and imprisoned him somewhere. He managed to escape. Namely, he escaped through the
wire fences. The press was dominated by the government and the people were not much
aware of anything. I mean, how is it that there, the government could go nuts in its third
period of power? They built roads and developed the German economy when they first
come to power. What people saw was the roads all the time. The ordinary people were not
aware of the Holocaust and its inhuman treatments. Of course, personal characteristics are
influential as well when one enters an environment of war, I guess... Namely, it is something
like the emergence of the good and the bad inside a person…” (S.H., female, 44, her mother
is from the state of Hessen)

As we can see, there are grandfathers who had to leave their duty to the state to keep their
families together and participate in the war on one hand (the vast majority) and there are a
few grandfathers who tried to fulfill this duty by themselves by escaping from the war on
the other hand. Hester Vaizey’s research shows that a significant part of the men called to
the front tried to keep their familial relations strong though remotely (2011: 364-373). In my
research, although the family members tried to communicate with one another under the hard
conditions of war and keep their relations at a certain level, their relations were damaged since
the men could not return home for a long time. This damage is observed from the content of
the war (struggle for life at home), which the grandmothers and mothers reported from their
memories.

3.2.2. War experiences of women (maternal grandmothers and
mothers)

The women struggled at home to survive when the men were in at the front. The
interviewees reported that specific scenes experienced during the war occupied a significant
space in their mothers’ memories. The scenes mentioned with respect to the changes in life
orders including daily nutrition, working conditions, and the collapse of the family unity is an
emotional heritage that the mothers carry to date from their childhood periods. This heritage
contains dramatic scenes such as the interviewees’ grandfathers being taken from home for
military service, the bombardment of houses, and famine:
“My grandfather had joined the army. Mom was four years old at that time. They were famished. At that time money was valueless. The money had already decreased in value. She suffered from hunger while going to school. For example, her mother used to give her bread and butter. This was what she would eat all day long. She used to think a lot about when to eat it. Mom said, ‘I used to eat and get rid of it, and then I used to be famished all day long’. She did not know about chocolate during the period of the war. They were so fearful. My grandmother was not able to think properly because of the psychological condition of the war. When the siren and alarms sounded, they went down to the cellar to hide themselves… My grandmother took my mother and aunt under her arms and opened the umbrella. Imagine, what protective effect could that umbrella have against bombs? You no longer know anything. People didn’t know what they did because of fear.” (B.D., female, 55, her mother is from the state of Bavaria)

While the women who could not hear from their husbands tried to survive with their children, they faced many problems including famine, hunger, and poverty. The first struggle of the first- and second-generation family members was to be nourished enough to survive. The persons who managed to find a minimum level of carbohydrates and protein within this period of struggle felt lucky. The majority of the second-generation (the German mothers) who lived the early years of their lives in a period when bread was rationed and meat could not be found at all faced with such a famine in their growing up periods. The women (the German grandmothers) struggled to have their children survive under these hard conditions. The things that a female interviewee reported reveal starkly the face of the war conditions at home. “Mom tells how they, a total of ten persons, were nourished with boiled potato peels. Mom so frequently tells how she had her meals on the potty.” (İ.İ., female, 49, her mother is from the state of North Ren-Westphalia)

The women started to make an effort to find ways of taking care of themselves during the war period. The hard conditions leading to the loss of welfare such as being left out and heavy working conditions together with hunger are the visible aspect of the difficulties encountered. They sustained their lives mostly separate from their children and husbands, in houses that lacked sufficient means, inside a single room, providing nutrition, one of the most fundamental needs, insufficiently and unhealthily.

Some women tried to hold on to life by taking charge of compulsory services such as sewing and caregiving in the cities they lived in and accepting working conditions without occupational health and safety and with ambiguous periods and wages. They tried to survive by working in business places including factories, mines, etc. for 50-60 working hours a week in the daytime and performing work at night such as sewing war garments that the men would wear in the front. The war changed the life orders of the families:
“Weapons etc. for war were produced in the factories. Mom had compulsory factory service since she was young. Firstly, she worked in a factory for the Germans. Then she worked for the Czechs. Then the Russians arrived. Later my mother went to Bavaria (My mother is German, but she is from the Czech Republic. They were deported after WWII). People used to work for fifty or sixty hours a week, depending on the quantity of work. Namely, there was no employment security. She was working for a company and at the same time she sewed for American soldiers in the evenings. Then we were born. I and my sister… She used to give us to a family since she continued to work. This was common in the past. I was with that family on the weekdays namely from Monday or Sunday till Saturday morning. They looked after kids for money. There were five or six kids. I and my sister were given to two different families. Our mother used to take us to her own house at the weekend. Actually, there was nothing that could be called a house. My mother rented a room from a woman. We used to live in a single room. She used to come to take us on Saturday in the afternoon and leave us again with the family on Sunday in the afternoon. We lived there for five or six years.” (P.A., female, 48, her mother is from the state of Bavaria)

While the war continued to change the life orders of the families, the women tried to keep their children both together and alive. However, some families were disintegrated as a consequence of the intervention of the political authority. Particularly the boys among the family members could be given to other families or orphans’ asylums in the cities which were less damaged while the cities were bombarded, and which were not dangerous. A male interviewee reported the reasons for his mother, born in 1939, being separated from her brothers during the war as follows:

“They used to live in Osnabrück. Mom’s house was destroyed by a bomb. When they found out that they could no longer live in the house, the children are sent to other cities. One of her three brothers stayed in an orphans’ asylum and with (other) families both during the war and a while after the war. Then one of the brothers was sent to Berlin. No correspondence etc. was possible. They did not do anything to the families in the undamaged places. The purpose was to sustain the generation because Germany would win the war and grow further! She would become the entire Europe! She needed humans for later times.” (O.E.B., male, 41, his mother is from the state of Lower Saxony)

Vandana Joshi (2011: 832) pointed out in her research the demographic policy that the German political authority executed for the purpose of re-increasing the population lost after the war. Germany, which had made her plans assuming that she would win the war, tried to reach the children born of the relations that the German women in prisons had with foreign men according to this policy. Similarly, the purpose of the German political authority sending the war victim children to different places is the aforementioned demographic policy, according to some interviewees.
The striking point in the narrations herein is that the women in the family are mentioned positively. Accordingly, the women tried to keep strong against the war with their attitude of struggling from the inside (home). Unfortunately, the disintegration of families was unavoidable despite the women’s efforts to keep their families together. Separation of the children from their families disintegrated the families and upset the familial balances.

3.3. German families, social-cultural transmission, and changing trends

The policy that started in Germany in line with the war and was sustained after the war directly penetrated the family and played an important role in the deformation of familial relations. Since the children were sent to different places, domestic dramas were experienced, and the relationships changed. Although the family members falling apart sought ways of coming together again, the efforts were ordinarily fruitless.

The experiences during the military service and having lost many of the things that they had owned made it difficult for men returning from the war to reestablish relations with their family members and became the reasons for their estrangement to their houses whereas there were some among the women who struggled to survive in the ruins when their husbands were in the war, who had to go be hospitalized for mental diseases. Relative solidarity was involved in such cases and this solidarity played an important role in preventing the increase of domestic dramas that the disintegrated families suffered. Close female relatives, such as aunts, provided care for the children and helped the next generations to hold on to life. Nevertheless, the war did not only separate siblings physically but estranged them from one another emotionally. Long-term interruption of the communication among the siblings separated by the state damaged fraternity relations.

Although the historians of today claim that the separations in the war period led to crises in familial relations, Vaizey suggests that the German fathers and the mothers and children left behind tried to preserve their relations through correspondence during the war. According to Vaizey, the children gave their parents the will to live in the period of the war and supported their processes of holding on to life and making sense of life (2011: 364-372). The children undertook to function as a bridge to keep the family whole. Despite this result that Vaizey had obtained, many interviewees emphasized that their German grandfathers who had participated in the war failed to contact their families during the war. At this point, one should keep in mind the silence strategy that the families developed about their war-related pasts and that the war stories told to the grandchildren were quite limited.
The extent of the familial disintegration arising in line with the war determines the extent of the familial ties established with the next generations as well. The narrations of the interviewees indicate how the troubles suffered during the war made it difficult to establish relationships with the German grandfathers:

“My grandfather had been held hostage in Russia for many years. He was a very difficult person. I mean he was a very strict and difficult father. As a matter of fact, the children left home one by one. And finally, my youngest uncle took my grandmother and escaped. And they divorced later (from my grandmother). I had not known my grandfather till I got much older.” (B.A., female, 46, her mother is from the state of Hessen)

Not only the experiences during the war but also the post-war developments, for instance, the physical obstacles such as the Berlin Wall built in 1961 between East Germany and West Germany to prevent escape from the east to the west, prevented the families for many years after the war as well. The form of loose relation developed by all those processes is transferred to the next generations as well. The Turkish-German generation may regard the separation of the first-generation family members during the war as the source of weakness in their fraternity and social relations. Another significant impact of the war on relations is being satisfied with a social environment consisting of persons of limited number. Loose familial ties cause the relations to be established in the future with those social environments to be kept loose, too. The relations established with persons of a limited number decrease the potential of problems that may arise among the persons and give the same a relatively “smooth” appearance:

“They managed to hear from their family a few years before the destruction of the Berlin Wall. When the Wall was destroyed, my brother and mother got in the car and went to visit their siblings. The first confrontation there was a very sorrowful moment... After the war, everybody was busy. Just the times of development of Germany... Since the family had already disintegrated during the war, the ties among the siblings were very weak within the family. I met my uncles and other siblings of my mother after many years. They are so distant that everybody is individual. There are no ties. It is not a matter like someone does not want a person. It is just very clear. A lily-white page, do I make myself clear? There is nothing complex or intricate that could not be solved. That impact is reflected in how I was brought up. Having a small environment of friends etc., a chain reaction...” (O.E.B., male, 41, his mother is from the state of Lower Saxony)

According to the details that the interviewees reported, it is clear that the families who lived in cities were affected the most by the war. The big and popular cities in Germany were bombarded first during the war and the destruction was huge in those cities. The wealthy
families who stayed during the war in the cities where they had been before passed this period relatively more easily compared to other German families. For instance, those families could manage not to suffer from hunger during the famine. Two siblings interviewed reported the experience of the families in the war period, depending on social status and class as follows:

“My mother’s family was a very wealthy family. They could find Swiss chocolate while others could find nothing. But certainly, it is the war; there is nothing when you go under the ground. Mom lived through this in entirety and remembers all though she was very young. And this has traces on her.” (E.K., male, 48, his mother is from the state of Baden-Württemberg)

“They rationed the food distributed in equal shares with others. They escaped to the shelters at night when the sirens sounded at the times of bombardment. Mom is one of the youngest ones. Then she is five or six years old. Mom has a memory (hatra). One day, they were going altogether in a mass vehicle. One man was grumbling: ‘What will happen in the end? We are not able to buy anything, we have no money.’ And mom said, ‘Nobody has money but dad has’. She says, ‘My father got very embarrassed and he was very angry with me’. They did not suffer from hunger but still, they were affected by the war.” (S.K., female, 52, her mother is from the state of Baden-Württemberg)

The bombardment of the cities led to a migration of a significant part of the Germans living in the cities to rural areas as well. The villages in Germany became the shelter of middle-class German urbanites during the war. The German women who had been left alone since their husbands were in the army and whose houses were bombarded were exiled for safety together with their children to villages which the war had not reached yet. Eric Wolf indicated that the villages were safe places for the people living in cities and industrial centers, where they could protect themselves against depressive destruction and attacks during periods of war and economic crisis. The fact that the land and cropping capacity of the villagers were under their own control and that they had both autonomy and capacity to survive played an important role in this detection of Wolf (2000: 38). The interviewees’ grandmothers tried to save their memories and futures from the war by migrating to the villages:

“My grandmother was somewhat a dominant and rebellious person; she had been so when she was a young girl, too. My grandmother said, ‘You will continue to eat dirt when I get recovered’ when the soldiers exiled them. Namely, she told the soldiers, ‘You will be under a very bad condition, I will be very well in the future, and you will catch the devil’. Normally nobody behaves so. I mean, you wouldn’t tease any soldier exiling you. She said all these things, but the soldiers did not do anything to her. I guess they may have laughed. Grandma and her sister passed through wire fences at night, turned back home, and took their family photographs. Of course, my grandmother took the factory plans too in order to reincorporate
the soap factory once more in the future.” (V.Y.T., female, 29, her mother is from the state of North Ren-Westphalia)

The women who escaped to the villages because of the bombardments in the cities encountered some unforeseen showdowns in the villages. Hunger, maltreatment, and sorrow attract the attention in their experiences with the villagers:

“My grandfather was captured in Siberia, and he got lost. My grandmother took her two children and her newborn baby and escaped. She took shelter in a farm of German villagers. It became clear during the war that the villagers among the German people nurtured enmity toward the urbanites. The German urbanites who took shelter in the villages were not much welcomed by the German villagers. They were tortured a lot. My grandmother worked in the potato fields. Sometimes they probably went so hungry that she gave her dog that she had taken with her to the farmer in return for a sack of beet, in order to nurture my aunt, my uncle, and my mother with beet.” (B.B., male, 48, his mother is from the state of Hamburg)

Marriage was regarded as one of the strategies for coping with the war in the villages. Although the female urbanites who took shelter in the villages and the villagers coming together led to conflicts, some of those confrontations turned into marriage. In other words, hunger and famine played an important role in determining with whom one got married. The villages became the places where inter-class dates were realized through marriage:

“My grandmother’s family was somewhat more… I mean, a family, some of whose members were actors, opera singers, etc. My grandfather’s family had more rural characteristics. The reason for the marriage of my grandfather and grandmother is my grandfather’s capacity to slaughter animals. At that time eating meat was forbidden, in fact, slaughtering was forbidden too.” (R.S., female, 34, her mother is from the state of North Ren-Westphalia)

Although the change in people’s lifestyle during the war prevented the expansion of some capital aspects of the urbanites including education, it allowed the survival of the family members. The persons who suffered from famine and hunger tried to compensate for the past through a harder and more disciplined work tempo. For the Germans who rendered production a lifestyle within this period, production did not mean consumption of the same proportion. They continued to consume in a specific discipline, too. Thanks to their attention to the economy, they gained a sense of consumption which allowed them to recycle the substances which they had previously regarded as waste. Their experiences of famine led them to expect the third generation (from the interviewees) to adopt similar attitudes in terms of nutrition. The generations who witnessed the war may interpret the selective attitudes of the last generation (the interviewees) as some sort of extravagance. The Turkish-German generation may not observe the same productive (entrepreneurial) attitudes that they observe in their German families and the Turks and themselves:
“My aunt is ten years older than my mother. My aunt graduated from high school and the state did not permit her to study at university at that time although she wanted to. The Nazis dismissed the teachers. There was a shortage of teachers. Who would they recruit instead? The graduates of a high school… They made them teachers and sent them to the villages as if they told them, ‘Here is your university’. Indeed, my relatives were content when they went to the village because they could find butter, eggs, etc. there. The villagers gave such products to her since she was a teacher. My aunt used to look after the whole family; mom, grandma… My family was not poor in reality, but the money was devaluated. Mom cannot still cast away any bread. The Germans have food cooked using stale bread. Mom cooks it and freezes it. I cast away bread secretly since mom will get angry if she sees me. Hunger is something different. The old Germans are thrifty. They are all Germans who witnessed war. It is not the case with the new generation. The old ones are very sedulous. I mean, so sedulous that any Turk cannot understand…” (B.D., female, 55, her mother is from the state of Bavaria)

The famines experienced led to certain changes in perceptions related to money. For instance, acquiring property had begun to lose its meaning. As a result of the war, the depreciation of money led people to question the value of saving money. Having lost everything in the war paved the way for them to establish their new lives within a framework distant from ambition for commodities. Reestablishing one’s own business, acquiring property, and buying things that one does not need became behaviors that lost meaning.

The first generation experiencing the war developed certain fears depending on the fact that they had to cope with famine for a long time. Particularly the fears developed in the women who struggle against the war from home tore the heart out of the feeling of trust toward the next generations, particularly with respect to legacy, and were transformed into serious concerns. Another sense, developed with regard to money after the war, is the change created by the concerns developed in this generation in the timing of the legacy to be left to the next generations particularly. Since their concerns prevented them to trust anybody, including their children for a lifetime with regard to issues related to money, they left dividing the existing legacy among the children after death. This concern became the insurance of guaranteeing and sustaining life:

“When my mother met my father, the company they managed was about to go bankrupt. Dad said, ‘I could recover that company.’ And he really did. Later my grandfather said, ‘I will bequeath this company after my death, I will distribute my other wealth differently, but this company shall definitely be yours.’ But that trauma was always with my grandmother. She always lived that trauma. She used to say, ‘I will famish again one day, I will be left in the street, I will beg, everybody shall take everything I have, and I will be down’. For
this reason, she told grandpa, ‘After you die, everything will be mine and then they will be left to my children’. My grandmother had my grandfather change his will when he was about to die. She attempted to have her children sign a petition of waiver of the will. Surely, that trauma always affected her and my mother too, and it still does. I’m angry with my grandmother for this reason. My mother still has to struggle in courts.” (V.Y.T., female, 29, her mother is from the state of North Ren-Westphalia)

Here the interviewee tries to explain her mother’s being “a victim of injustice” with respect to the legacy from the perspectives of two different generations. One of them is that her grandmother exaggerated the war trauma, and the other is that her mother failed to understand the grandmother sufficiently. In other words, the third generation does not find the previous two generations -since the other German families had similarly traumatic experiences and the second generation grew up relatively in a period of prosperity in Germany after the war- sufficiently sincere toward each other.

Another effect of the war is related to the distance that the first generation kept from religion. The power of humans to destroy everything with war has led individuals to question the power of God and the necessity of religion. The interviewees’ narrations point out that religion was no longer functional during the war. For this reason, the first generation taught religion to their children in a manner similar to their relationship with religion. However, they did not directly intervene in the relationship that their children would establish with religion:

“My grandmother is Catholic. She was 16 when the war erupted. She had been conservative till then. She used to go to church, etc. When the war erupted and all those events happened. She thought, ‘If it’s entirely God’s business, I don’t want to keep in touch with such a God’. Since then, neither my grandfather nor my grandmother had been much interested in religion. Consequently, my mother grew up in the same manner too. I mean she did not use to go to church.” (Y.O., female, 36, her mother is from the state of North Ren-Westphalia)

The fact that the second-generation women (the German mothers) who were in their early years of life during and after the war were both exposed to a huge famine precisely during their adolescence and that they were deprived of many rights and means including education and health and since they also experienced war in young ages, deeply affected their sense of spatial ownership toward “house/motherland/home”. The first generation, who directly experienced the war with respect to all those effects, raised their daughters (the German mothers) who experienced the war from inside with counsels for finding their cures themselves. The families gave their children initiative and responsibility on which to build their future lives in order
to allow them to adapt more easily to the changing conditions if similar situations arose. The striking points on how the children will build their lives are maintaining life in places with better conditions and focusing on the present day.

It was not easy to build a new world on the same ruins in a geographical region where destruction had been experienced although the war was over. The place of the new life to be built could be sought in any other geographical region for this reason. Turkiye took its place in the memories of the countries imagined as a new homeland where the war trauma could never enter in. There are many German women who married Turkish men and lived in Turkiye.

The research conducted by Grütjen et al. (2010: 43) suggested results similar to the findings presented above. A German born in 1945, who lives in Turkiye and is married to a Turkish citizen, explained what the concept of motherland meant to her as follows: “We grew up without the feeling of the motherland. After all those events we needed to forget that we were German. Such a feeling of the motherland has never been indoctrinated to us”.

The German mothers who were brought up distant from the development of a sense of belonging to the motherland built their lives by assuming their own responsibilities in their new homelands that they went to in order to live in other countries. Although marrying and coming to Turkiye allows the women to keep a distance from their pasts for a while, they failed to keep much distance from the history of their family after the birth of their children. In other words, although the mothers’ attempt to keep silent about the familial history and ignore it served as some sort of therapy for the past dark days, the silence ended when the children born in the new “home” started to question this memory. The younger of two brothers interviewed defined his mother’s strategy of “alienation” developed toward the familial history as “lost youth drifting apart from its past”:

“My parents met in 1961 when my mother came to Turkiye. Mom says that she grew up dreaming of different worlds such as Turkiye, and Arab countries since her childhood. Her childhood and early youth fully passed in that tangled period in Germany. A youth like a Lost Youth. They lived on a ship; they got on well with the American soldiers. My grandmother played music on the ship for the American soldiers. The American soldiers liked her very much. Grandma is not a musician, but she knows how to play music, playing the guitar. Very interesting… What I mean is that my mother grew up without any dependency on (developing any loyalty for) a specific country and without pursuing any goal in Germany. She already started to travel at an early age. When she wandered around here and there thinking about what to do, she happened to pass Turkiye. She broke off the ties with her past in Turkiye and entered a new world. Such a lost past…” (M.Y., male, 47, his mother is from the state of Baden-Württemberg)
The older of the two brothers emphasized that his mother stood behind the decision she had taken for Turkiye as her own initiative. He thinks that Turkiye is the door that pulled his mother out of the war. On the other hand, the two brothers’ mother expressed her perception of the motherland in the interview using the following words: “Here is my motherland. My children are here, my husband is here.” (Grütjen et al., 2010: 73). Mrs. Karin recreated herself in Turkiye where she built her new life. According to the children of the war (the mothers), the real homeland became the place where the families they built themselves, live, and are rooted.

The third generation (the interviewees) regards the life that their mothers built in Turkiye after coming to this country as a brave step and some sort of adventure. The children associate their mothers’ view of Turkiye as an emergency exit with the fact that Germany was under worse conditions than Turkiye both during the war and in the years following the war. The second German generation (mothers) found Turkiye as one of the places which could allow them to move away from home and where they could build a new life on their own initiatives under the conditions of the period. Turkiye, which did not take part in the war against Germany that had entirely been destroyed, was regarded as a place of “salvation” by the German mothers. The mothers found their new motherland rich and comfortable17.

3.4. War, memory, and identity

Germany, for whom the two big wars ended with defeat, carried on demographic policies within the period of recovery as mentioned above on one hand and accelerated the process of industrialization on the other hand. There are some among the interviewees who associate the recovery of Germany with its nationalist18 attitude and progressive/pro-modernization ideology. Accordingly, the revolutions that Germany had realized in the past for modernization and the sense of morals that she had developed accordingly19 carried Germany to date. Virtually all the interviewees pointed out that their German families were strenuous, combative, progressive, and paid importance to education.

For example, a male interviewee pointed out the difference created by having a transnational identity while reporting the reality at the root of the Germans’ success. The interviewee regards his transnational identity as the source of his ability to show a different approach considering the developments in both countries (Turkiye and Germany) together:

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17 The German mothers’ experiences in Turkiye are given in Chapter 5.
18 German nationalism became a current issue half a century before the establishment of the German nation state (Kadıoğlu, 2008b: 173).
“The German society is a difficult one. It is a society which experienced two world wars and ended both with defeat. Despite this, she has never been defeated in terms of culture, has always been loyal to her roots, and has always looked ahead. She produced science and philosophy. She managed this thanks to her roots. Namely, the salvation of Germany from the Middle Age -getting off with that dark Catholic oppression- realized the Protestant Revolution. This is what we have not managed to recover from in my beloved Turkiye. Now we live out our own Catholicism in Turkiye. The German philosophy produced after having recovered from this oppression is seriously deep. The German society is not aware of this fact, but they use their accumulation derived from this point. The innovation they made in science, culture, and art... thanks to this and the rapid development, carries Germany at some level. And the Germans become a society that directs world history and the economy. It shouldn’t be denied. I don’t like Germans much, but I respect the work they perform because they do not perform wrong work, they do the right work.” (B.E., male, 47, his mother is from the state of Lower Saxony)

In the post-war period of seventy years, it seems that fulfilling the requirements of being German reinforced developing strong qualifications. The Germans who had experienced the war made up the intense labor power in business life within this period and became the actors of rapid growth in order to achieve national integrity. The grandchildren (the interviewees) summarize this period as the “Period of Strenuous Germans”.

It is observed that the persons who experienced war learn to become self-sufficient and remain firm depending on their strategy to survive alone. The Germans managed to remain firm thanks to their rigorous and high working standards. The representatives of the first generation who managed to end the war by gaining strength and by holding on to life contributed to their children (the second generation/German mothers) by consolidating their combative aspects. The combativeness, strenuousness, and resistance of the German families during the rapid growth period of Germany became a heritage through which the next generations may produce new powers.

The fact that the first generation and their children, who were tired of the war, have made an effort nationally to work for Germany’s progress evoked admiration in the third generation (the interviewees). This admiration plays a significant role in shaping the third generation’s approach to morals and the development of the sense of belonging to Germany:

“It was leveled to the ground in Germany after the war. The reason for having reached up to this level again is that they are highly disciplined, and very strenuous and they work for the good of the whole. I feel very close to the German culture and mentality. Individual interests do not come to the fore as in Turkiye. This is something that I observe in all Germans. Greed,
violation of the rules of the queue, pushing others, trying to finish one’s work earlier; all of these are attributes peculiar to Turkiye.” (S.H., female, 44, her mother is from the state of Hessen)

Regarding oneself as belonging to Germany is a significant aspect of the self-identity construct of the current generation (the interviewees). Accordingly, being a German requires a sense of duty for the progression of the whole.

The struggle and effort during the war produced strong identities but also strict and cold-hearted temperaments. The difficulty to access many things or the necessity for a particular effort for this purpose during the war paved the way for developing inelastic and ruled behaviors. Strict obedience to the rules prevents the revealing of feelings in social relations. In other words, the war may demolish feelings and renders faces expressionless: “My grandmother was a cold-hearted woman. For lack of a better word, she was a very difficult woman who was self-opinionated, fabulously disciplined, etc. She was not an affectionate and soft grandmother; do I make myself clear? For me, she was a woman like a bust or a statue.” (O.E.B., male, 41, his mother is from the state of Lower Saxony)

The abovementioned accumulations of the persons who experienced the war and recreated Germany with the next generations’ habituses were reflected in their lifestyles. The Turkish-German children assess their German families’ point of view of life and their lifestyles in comparison with Turkiye. For instance, they may think that the power of the German side doesn’t exist in the cultural environment in Turkiye. An interviewee particularly underlines her grandmother’s characteristics of following the agenda, and holding on to life:

“There were born, who passed their infancy in that suffered from some famine. No food, no milk available… I know that they had such difficulties. I have always loved my grandmother very much. Grandma witnessed both two wars and her house was bombarded twice. She lost everything, etc. She is a fabulously positive person. Namely, she has never been a fussy person. Always a very strong woman… Perhaps she held on to life very tightly since she had such experiences. She always looks at the bright side; she never gives in. I mean, she still listens to the news at the age of 93, follows world politics, and states her opinions. She does everything on her own. Namely, she is a strong character, a person who holds onto life… A woman at that age does not live alone in Turkiye; it’s impossible. Many old people in Turkiye keep their hands off of life and isolate themselves after a while. They begin to live in such a negative mode. It is something that I don’t want. I hope I will be able to be a part of life when I get old, just like my grandmother.” (E.E., female, 44, mother is from the state of Bremen)
The third generation (the interviewees) thinks that aging means continuing to be a part of life for the first generation. The persons who live through the war “do not age” in the manner that we usually perceive aging. They understood a lifetime of working as a lifestyle, rather than retiring and withdrawing from the labor market. The sense related to dealing with work serves in a sense as compensation that reproduces many things lost in the war in different forms. In addition to turning work into a lifestyle, the senses developed include living focused on daily life. Busying oneself with art, sport, politics, and social issues in daily life could be associated with living focused on the day. The grandchildren admire the German side’s viewpoint on age and aging in this respect.

As a result, the war trauma created a specific (female) subject type covering the qualifications of being strenuous, combative, disciplined, resistant, self-sufficient, and following the agenda according to the third generation (the interviewees). A female interviewee whose mother is from the state of Bavaria expressed the details of this strong and productive woman type that many interviewees dwelled upon as follows, identifying herself with this type of woman:

“My mother is a typical German. There is such a special type of woman in post-WWII Germany. They did not know pain. My mother worked in the daytime and came home in the evening. She cooked in the evening, washed the clothes by hand at night, and did the ironing at one or two o’clock at night. Sometimes it was required to take pastry, cake, etc. to school. She made the cake at two o’clock at night. She slept maybe between three and four and woke up at five o’clock. Namely, this is what I mean, there is such a type of woman in Germany. I don’t know if there are such women in Turkiye. My mother did not cry (and did not complain either). They don’t sit, they work till they die. Such a type of woman. Namely, my mother worked till the age of 80. I guess I’m such a type of a woman, too. I don’t know pain. Namely, I cannot do it; I cannot say ‘This will be very difficult for me’. I don’t know what difficulty is.” (P.A., female, 48, mother is from the state of Bavaria)

It is observed in the interviewees’ narrations that parallels are drawn between personal/familial stories and national history. The sense of belonging and German identity has been reinforced with the motif of “national effort”. The identity build-ups have been realized within the framework of a progressive and pro-modernization sense. This could be associated with family education and transmission. The harmony between personal consolidation and national consolidation is remarkable. The emphasis of Louis Althusser (2000) that the family is the ideological tool of the state should be noted at this point. The transfer is a history formed and

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20 The sense of belonging to the motherland is meant here. As emphasized previously, the sense of belonging to the motherland is kept away by the effect of war. The re-interpretations developed by thinking about the identities together attract attention with respect to the development of a sense of belonging to the cultural identity.
to be sustained. Accordingly, the transfers to the younger generations within the family allow the social groups to develop a sense of belonging and thus provide social continuity (Lahaye et al., 2011: 9, 18, 40). The family operates a mechanism connecting the individual to national identity and sustains its functionality for generations.

Here, the narrations related to the formation of a combative, productive, and strong woman subject are remarkable as well. Neyzi (2014: 2) defends the idea that the traumas suffered could affect the process of self-identification of the modern subject on the basis of his studies related to memory. The figure of a lost father caused by the failure/inability of the family members to come together after the war on the one hand and the figure of a strong mother who managed to end the war getting stronger, on the other hand, affect significantly the manner of raising the next generations. It is striking that the Turkish-German generation observes the strong aspects of this woman type in themselves while they identify themselves in terms of being able to observe the place of the subject figures produced by the previous generations in the identity build-ups of the next generations. In other words, the war memory is transformed into a cultural gain where the Turkish-German generation could transform their habituses and rebuild their identities.

3.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, the otherization and identity crises that the Turkish-German generation (the third generation) experienced are observed to have consolidated their curiosity about what their German families had lived through in WWII. The relationship that this generation establishes with the war memory gives an idea about their attitudes toward adopting (or not adopting) the things transferred to them and creating their own reality.

It is observed in the war memory that the interviewees reported that the war was regarded as loss and pain by the generations directly experiencing it (rather, the first generation) and as a trauma to be coped with for the next generations. Furthermore, it is also remarkable that the generations who had confronted the war were unable to fully estrange themselves from the war (its effects) because of the traumas that the war had created. The Turkish-German generation tries on the one hand to pull their mothers out of war traumas and tries to think of ways to keep themselves out of this trauma. It shall be possible to cope with the trauma only by being able to see the things that the difficulties suffered made them gain. The things gained from the war contribute to the development of one’s own life and render it as much as possible.
The Turkish-German generation regards the war memory as the support for getting stronger though it may be oppressed through self-censorship. According to this generation, their mothers who came to live in the second motherland after having lived in Germany for many years took the war experiences of their families as a guide and source of power for themselves while they were struggling alone against the difficulties they encountered when they first came to Türkiye.

In other words, the war experiences and education within the family were effective in the reproduction of the identity for generations. The traumatic heritages transferred to the next generations could be read very differently beyond the generations as it may be observed. Having habituses with different cultural identity content may assist with mitigating the traumatic aspects of the heritage transferred. The Turkish-German generation regards the war as a reality through which strategy could be produced rather than interpreted within the framework of loss and difficulty as their parents did. Accordingly, the strategies that could be produced from the war shall strengthen the next generations. Painful and difficult experiences may assist with adapting to different situations and other places, relying on one’s own strength, and developing awareness in many fields.

The heritage which is created by the war trauma, and which contains concern and fear, serves today as consolation for the losses in the past. Settling the score with this heritage makes one feel safe with what it gives and creates some sort of therapeutic effect. The war memory, the catalyzer of holding to life, has become a form of struggling against war.

The Turkish-German generation who became the sound of the silence is observed to have built their own identities that they constructed with a sense of questioning and settling by using a language reconciliatory with the past. This generation has turned their faces toward the future with a memory analyzed and containing implications determining the routes to be followed. The war memory seems that it shall keep future generations in its orbit as is the case today. The war memory that the third generation reproduced appears to be the insurance of the peaceful construction of the future.
4. THE GRANDCHILDREN OF THE REPUBLIC: COMMENTS OF THE TURKISH-GERMAN GENERATION ON “SERVICE” TO THE YOUTH REPUBLIC

The Turkish fathers had been in Germany for university education and then took part among the founders of the institutions of the Republic in Turkiye including education, science, and industry. For this reason, immigration to Germany, back immigration to Turkiye, and “service to the motherland” are discussed in this chapter of the book. Accordingly, the immigration of the Turkish fathers for education purposes which conduced toward their confrontation with the German mothers and Germany. Then, the interpretations of the children of the services that the fathers provide for their motherland after turning back to Turkiye shall be discussed.

The fathers who had received an education in Germany and who had later turned back to Turkiye to serve their motherland constituted a significant part of the qualified human resources of the Republic. The fathers are regarded by their children as actors who developed the nation-state21 approach of the Republic within a modernist framework through the duties that they performed. The children consider that their fathers (and even their paternal grandparents) fulfilled their duties toward Modern Republican Turkiye and the Turkish nation through the services that they provided. In order to make it possible to comprehend the transfers of the German and Turkish sides together, particularly the fathers are discussed in this chapter through the narrations of the children. The contributions of the Turkish families and the interviewees to the project of modernization in Turkiye after the establishment of the Republic are discussed in this chapter where examples of interpretations of the citizenship duty from a transnational perspective are contained.

4.1. Introduction: The Young Republic, nation-state, and citizenship

While Germany had great losses in WWII from 1939 to 1945, the Republic of Turkiye, which was founded in 1923 and which made an effort not to participate in the war, focused on the process of development, modernization and westernization. The position of “the

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21 The idea of nation is an idea of a people who shares a common destiny, past and future, a series of traditions, collective memories and prevalent symbols that everybody knows (Fenton, 2001: 287). In other words, a political territory, a shared myth, historical memory, legal rights, and duties are the requirements of a modern nation-state (Smith, 2009: 32).
state looking for its nation”\textsuperscript{22} in modern Republican Turkiye, which highlighted the nation and nationalist feeling, has required building citizenship in Turkiye on the basis of “duties” rather than “rights”. Adoption of the principle of “ensuring national unity” as the reason for the existence of the phenomena of citizenship has reinforced the emphasis on the “duties” for strengthening the national unity rather than the “rights” of citizenship in Turkiye. This corresponds to rendering the passive and public identity real and to the concept of “public citizenship” (Kadroğlu, 2008a: 34; Kadroğlu, 2008b: 171-178). Turkish nationalism\textsuperscript{23} resembles German nationalism with its civilizational and culturalist structure. On the other hand, blood relation and/or the factor of lineage\textsuperscript{24} is highlighted in German nationalism, though it has changed today.

Large mass migrations, which started in the 1960s, experienced in the world and participated by Turkiye as well brought the concept of the nation-state up for discussion. The concept of the nation beginning to become vague has affected the concept of citizenship as well. While citizenship is interpreted as membership, loyalty, and devotion to the nation-state, it is also used as a synonym for the expressions of “national identity” or “nationality”.

\textsuperscript{22} Kadroğlu remarked on the studies that approach the concept of modern citizenship from three different points of view in the literature. These are categorized as “the state looking for its nation”, “the republican citizen-imposed duties” and “the citizen whose private sphere is occupied”. At this point, it shall be useful to mention the following remark of Stuart Hall on the discussions related to the concept of “nation” (ulus/millet). According to Hall (1992: 54-55), the effort to reconstruct itself as a nation (ulus) reflects a hope containing a mistake with respect to being a “nation” (millet). Nationalism could wrap itself up in different political attitudes in different historical periods since it depends too much on the other traditions, discourses, and powers that it articulates. Hall, Stuart: “Melez Şahsiyetlerimiz”, Çev.Özgür Gökmen, 06.06.1992, http://www.birikimdergisi.com/birikimyazi/3077/melezsahsiyetlerimiz#.WBCD8k27odU (E.T.:26.10.2016).

\textsuperscript{23} The word “nation” (millet) for the Ottomans was created on the basis of religious communities (cemaat) before the idea of nation (ulus) and nationalism was born and became the name of a system managed in this manner. The central authority of the Ottoman Empire having a multi-ethnicity social structure kept pace with different ethnic, religious, cultural, and denominational differences through sociopolitical mechanism called the “nation” (millet) system. The word “nation” means “millet” or “ulus” in Turkish today (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 141). While the religious (1919-23), secular (1924-29), and ethno-cultural motifs (1929-38) prevail over time in Turkish nationalism, the practices with respect to citizenship changed as well (Kadroğlu, 2008a: 34-35).

\textsuperscript{24} The cultural differences have crystalized in line with the immigration movements that started in the 1960s. Consequently, they brought out socially significant problems. Many countries implement various policies in order to cope with such problems. Germany, who receives intense immigration particularly from Turkiye, made a political change in May 1999 and excluded the right of citizenship from the rule of blood relation through transition from \textit{jus sanguinis} (the blood law which associates citizenship with being a member of the German race) to \textit{jus soli} (the law of territory imposing the condition of having been born in the territory of Germany for citizenship) (Özbudun, 2010: 51). The Federal Republic accepted for the first time with the Law of Immigration enacted to be valid from 1st January 2005 that it is a country of immigration. Germany invites her immigrants to integration through this law (Göçmenlik Yasası, retrieved from http://www.migrapolis-deutschland.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/Bahar/G%2C%B6%C3%A7T_ve_g%2C%B6%C3%A7menlik_yasas%C4%B1_T%C3%BCrk%C3%A7e_tam_metni.pdf (accessed on: 2014, April 25)). However, such steps remain at the level of multiculturalism that emphasizes the fact that cultures are fixed, and which leads to intercultural conflict and cannot yet reach the level which takes intercultural interaction as reference. This constitutes an obstacle before exiting from the limits of “us/others- collective identity/others” (Özbudun, 2010: 65).
Subsequently, the Western academic literature has defined the concept of citizenship in different ways by questioning the view defined as membership in the nation-state. Purification of citizenship of the nation covers the transition from a membership-based on discrimination and compulsion (on blood relation and the factor of lineage) in a national society to a conceptualization with respect to rights and participation (Kadıoğlu, 2008a: 32-35; Kadıoğlu, 2008b: 167).

Intensification of the discussions related to the concept of citizenship in Turkiye coincides with the late 1980s. The claims about absolute homogeneity and comprehensiveness of the concept of Turkish citizenship have been discussed since that date. On the other hand, the discussions in Germany in those years are related to German citizenship defined with an emphasis on blood relations. Although the concept of “constitutional citizenship”, which is a comprehensive and umbrella concept casting a veil over religious and linguistic differences, has been developed as a consequence of those discussions, it has been regarded to be problematic to discuss citizenship as membership (Kadıoğlu, 2008b: 170-182).

One may say that the children categorized their fathers’ view of citizenship in a form similar to “public citizenship” on the basis of their services for the motherland. On the other hand, their view of citizenship should be considered as a view which resembles the view of citizenship of both countries and at the same time differs from both. This view is remarkable with a transnational conceptualization as may be seen in the examples given in the text. In this chapter, firstly, the experiences of paternal grandparents, who are the source of the Turkish fathers’ approach to the motherland (as interpreted by the children), and their relations with the Republic are presented. Then their interpretation of their fathers’ immigration to Germany and return to Turkiye and being a part of the founding of the young Republic is given.

4.2. A look at the “Representatives of the Republic” from today’s perspective

References to the modernization efforts of the Turkish grandparents who witnessed the first years of establishment of the Republic were included in their stories during the interviews. Education, dressing style, and a specific lifestyle were listed among the tools of the modernization ideology of the young Republic in the narrations. The interviewees think that their Turkish families (the paternal grandmothers and grandfathers, fathers exemplified herein) mediated the practice of the social regulations related to westernization in daily life in Turkiye. The things that the interviewees have reported describe the relation that both the interviewees themselves and the generations before them established with the modernization
ideology of the Republic of Turkey. Accordingly, they define their parental grandmothers, grandfathers, and even their fathers who witnessed and contributed to the establishment and development process of the Republic as the “representatives of the Republic” or “model persons of the Republic”. Serving the Republic was matched with working for the functioning of the Republican institutions on the one hand and rendering its ideology visible in daily life on the other hand.

A female interviewee mentioned in her book covering her and her father that her father experienced the liminality between the pre-Republican and post-Republican periods. She reported in the book the role of Galatasaray High School in her father’s being a representative of the Republic -in her father’s words- as follows: “I entered in Mekteb-i Sultaniye, i.e., Galatasaray High School as a child of the Ottoman Empire and was honored to graduate as a Republican youngster” (Yazgan, 2011: 42).

It has been revealed in the interviews that I held that the education that the first generation received prepared a significant ground for the services that they offered. The members of the first generation who studied in significant high schools or girls’ institutes of Turkey became qualified to provide various services in the first years of the Republic. The following examples contain data indicating that the women and men in Turkey perceive themselves as the citizens who are responsible for fulfilling their duties (as Kadıoğlu indicates/2008b: 168). A female interviewee keeps a postcard showing that her grandmother, who was one of the first persons that the Republic of Turkey educated, was a teacher of a girls’ institute in the family archive as evidence of her service to her motherland (Figure 2).
Figure 2: The postcard showing that the grandmother of a woman interviewed was a teacher at a girls’ institute.

The same interviewee regards her grandmother as one of the vanguards of fashion in Turkiye as much as education. The gratitude and pride that she feels for her grandmother is reflected in her sentences while talking about her as follows:

“My grandmother was the headmaster of a Girls’ Technical School in Ankara. It was the school where girls received an education. It was the symbol of pride of the eras of Atatürk and İnönü. My grandmother, as one of the women whom Atatürk tried to educate, I mean in terms of developing the country, went to France to study fashion with a state scholarship in the 1922-30s. My grandmother is a woman who sewed a bathrobe (robe de chambre) for Atatürk. That school was immediately visited when the statesmen came to Ankara and my grandmother hosted them (Photograph 1). My grandmother and her husband were highly civilized. My grandmother was a perfect example of Turkish women. A civilized Turkish woman… In the end, she was the headmaster of a Girls’ Technical School. And my grandfather was the doctor of the assembly. I have never seen my grandfather, but there are photographs. Balls with members of parliament… Looking from the present time, it was one of the perfect model families of Turkiye which we call the Turkiye of the Atatürk period” (İ.İ. female, 49, her mother is from the state of North Ren-Westphalia)
Another female interviewee mentioned excitedly during the interview that her parental grandfather, who had been sent to France for his studies in the period of the establishment of the Republic, was one of the seven persons who brought geometry from France to Turkiye (and who was at the same time the founder of Fenerbahçe High School) and that her grandfather’s surname was changed and replaced with another surname underlining his geometrician identity.

Apart from this, the grandfathers who were commissioned as soldiers in the wars continued to serve the motherland after the war, too. For example, a male interviewee reported that her grandfather from Konya, who was commissioned in the Dardanelles Battle (Çanakkale Savaşı) for three years and returned, was granted the right to become a teacher.

The lifestyles of the parental grandmothers and grandfathers who witnessed the early Republican era in Turkiye give an idea about their class characteristics. Certain examples show the class change of the grandparents belonging to the Anatolian notables as well. Certain research that examines the social changes in class structure in provincial Turkiye within the framework of the transformations that the notables had, indicate that the notables’ families tried to be not only economic actors but also social actors influential in the social and cultural life of the city. The notables’ families became the vanguards of the implementation of the westernization project in daily life in this respect (Durakbaş, 2010: 7, 36; Karadağ, 2010:...
The results that research suggests have similar aspects to the results of the research that I conducted in terms of the emphasis made on the role of education in the transformation of the provincial but there are differences as well. My research suggests that the international content of the education and having a foreign/western (German) mother created some sort of distinction image which differentiates further.

The persons who belonged to well-established families of provincial origin among the parental grandmothers and grandfathers of the interviewees are examples of persons having class transformations in the familial history with an education with foreign language content that they offered to their children and the modern lifestyle they adopted. For example, a female interviewee who is the granddaughter of one of the well-established conservative families of the city of Erzincan emphasized that her father and his siblings studied at schools giving education in a foreign language throughout their life in Istanbul before her father went to Germany to receive an engineering education and developed and diversified this education at home through private foreign language and music lessons. Another point that this interviewee emphasized is that her Turkish family rarely went to Erzincan after having settled in Istanbul and severed all ties with their relatives there. This distinguished family living in Erenköy migrated to Erzincan during the First World War for a temporary period of time and returned to Istanbul.

Similarly, another interviewee whose grandfather is from Konya, Taşkent, explained one of the main factors realizing the structural transformation in his family was education, and the other was the change in the form of the relationship they established with their relatives. This interviewee’s comment that his father could have a different point of view about the world as a consequence of his engineering education received in Germany and his father’s marriage with his mother and regarding himself as different from his relatives from Taşkent who shuttle between “peasant” and “urbanite” identities and his pleasure about this are remarkable:

“The fence hanger position of many of the people who came from Taşkent and settled in Istanbul and failed to renew themselves within this system disturbed me very much. We are originally peasants on the one hand and urbanites on the other hand. We live like a peasant if necessary, but show off like an urbanite if necessary! Furthermore, they need to interfere in everything. I skate in the street, and they criticize me. They broke my toys when I was a child… Such jealousy all the time… You should not magnify yourself, but my father was well educated and developed himself well. He is a person who expanded his worldview by getting married to a foreigner. It seems to me that they always criticized him jealously thinking inside the box. Consequently, I have never regarded myself as a person from Taşkent and have never regarded them as my true relatives. They always thought I
was anomalous, and I have always liked this.” (S.Y., male, 50, his mother is from the state of Baden-Württemberg)

The examples above indicate that modernity was identified with being progressive and appearing western by the “double-national”/transnational children and it was assessed as a separator in kinship relations. The interviewees’ life histories, which give an idea about the social structure which their fathers were involved in, contain at the same time examples which reveal their father’s immigrations to Germany for education. Considering the circumstances of the era, it is observed that education in Germany was received within the context of the modernization project of the Republic.

4.3. Turkish fathers and migration to Germany

Looking through the history of high-skilled migration of Turkiye, it is observed that students were sent to Europe for education before the young Republic was established as well. The effort of the Ottomans to surpass the first consciousness of backwardness against Western science and technique started by sending students to Europe to receive an engineering education for the purpose of the modernization of the army. The values of statism and national economy in the 1930s paved the way for the emergence of Turkish engineers (Göle, 2012: 9). “The state looking for its nation” created its own institutions upon the development of the nation-state approach in the early years of the Republic and started to create the top-level class that would serve those institutions. The children pointed out that this class, which their fathers were a part of, matured the Republic through the services that they provided.

The basic tool in the process of civilization, which takes a localized form of enlightenment thought, is an educated youth. This youth is a new generation of elites who were educated in the European style as Benedict Anderson (2011) emphasized, too. The persons who governed Turkiye had been the urban elites till 1950 (Neyzi, 2011a: 104, 119). The fathers who studied in Germany assumed founder roles in many fields in Turkiye and supported the administrators having a voice in the modernization process of Turkiye. This research contains the data of the relatively distinguished male population who had exhibited a specific class character since the 1930s and who went to Germany for university education (middle and upper class). These data contain an immigration profile different from the guest worker immigration because of the fact that their fathers went to Germany to receive an education and returned to Turkiye again. This profile resembles the profile of Turkish engineers that Göle suggested.
I have already mentioned above the book written by a female interviewee (This person is 68 years old. I also interviewed her 75-year-old sister.) dealing with her and her father. She wrote in the same book about the decision of her father (city of origin Erzincan), the son of a distinguished family who lived in Istanbul as follows:

“My father had a very close friend called Cemil Gökçen... They were friends from Galatasaray High School…. Cemil went to Germany with a state scholarship to study hydraulic engineering after graduating from Galatasaray High School. He always wrote to my father in his letters ‘come and study engineering’… When Uncle Cemil came to Türkiye, they persuaded my grandfather… My father said good-bye to his father and mother in 1930 and prayed and they separated crying” (Yazgan, 2011: 53).

Germany is included in the countries where the Turkish fathers studied at university listed at the top rank25. She emphasized in the book that Germany came to the forefront in Europe in the 1935s in terms of the engineering education given and wrote that her father started to attend the courses in Technische Hochschule Mittweida in order to become a mechanical engineer. This school was established in 1867 as a technical school, became the biggest school of engineering in Germany in the early 1900s, and finally became the Engineering High School in 1935 (Yazgan, 2011: 60). (Photograph 2-3).

Photograph 2: A photograph of an interviewee’s father taken in the school of engineering in Germany in 1935. The father sent this photograph to his mother in Türkiye. Source: (Yazgan, 2011: 60)

25 The other countries where the fathers studied other than Türkiye and Germany are England or Austria.
Photograph 3: A photograph of an interviewee’s father taken in the school of engineering in Germany in 1935. Source: (Yazgan, 2011: 61)

The lives of the fathers who went to Germany for education in the subsequent years were not merely characterized by receiving education and becoming qualified in their fields. At the same time, they founded an organization called “Türk-Danış” (i.e., Turkish-Consultancy) for the purpose of providing support for those who came to Germany from Turkiye. An interviewee told the following about this organization, one of the leaders of which was his father, the son of a distinguished family from Sinop (Ayancık):

“They founded Türk-Danış there on some occasion since Turkish workers went intensely to Germany, particularly after 1960. I believe that he served there for about 3-4 years. I mean this is an office established for the first time in Germany. As much as I heard from my mother, they slept 20 persons together on the ground in an apartment of 60 square meters. For those who had come from Turkiye and who had no friends or relatives... Certainly, they have many bureaucratic affairs. Let me put it this way, for instance, they took there (i.e., to the consulate) 200-300 individuals. My father dealt with their bureaucratic affairs (i.e., in the consulate) individually. I know many bureaucrats including Altan Öymen26. There were also in the consulate… My father mediated for many people and sent them to Germany; he had them receive an education in Germany, sent them abroad…” (E.K., male, 48, his mother is from the state of Baden-Württemberg)

26 Altan Öymen, one of the significant politicians of Turkiye served as the Press Attaché of the Embassy of Bonn in Germany from 1962 to 1966. Retrieved from http://www.biyografi.info/kisi/altan-oymen (accessed on: 2022, February 20)
There are different patterns in the departure of fathers, who are relatively younger than other fathers, to Germany after the 1970s. The immigration of the aforementioned fathers turned into staying in Germany for a longer period of time rather than returning to and serving Türkiye as soon as completing their education. In addition to this, they worked in different fields other than engineering and medicine which they studied in Germany. For example, German-Turkish translation was the most frequently performed job. In other words, it is observed that educated fathers who migrated from Türkiye to Germany in recent years don’t act with a sense of service to Türkiye.

4.4. “Türkiye’s Gandhis” (Gandhi) and service

Göle suggested that Turkish modernization found a ground of easier development with the values of industrial civilization and the actors of this modernization ideal were -as stated previously as well- the engineers. According to Göle, the engineers became the carriers of science and rationalism, and furthermore, they gained a prioritized position among the political actors with the claims of social engineering. The engineers position themselves as the spokesmen and representatives of industrialization against capitalism, of rationalism and positivism against the traditions, and of social engineering against liberal thought (2012: 11-13).

The relations that the first generation (parental grandmothers and grandfathers) and the second generation (fathers) established with the Republican ideology resemble each other in terms of the formation of their own lifestyles. Both generations adopted a modern lifestyle, and their common objective is observed to serve the motherland. Taking the technological know-how and bringing the same to the motherland gained importance for the incorporation of many factories in Türkiye, under an industrialization attempt.

The initial public investments of Republican Türkiye within the process of urbanization, industrialization, modernization, and nationalization at the same time include the scientific institutions and the factories incorporated in various fields including iron and steel, fabric/textile, agriculture and construction. Some of the fathers were the first engineers that the
Republic of Turkiye sent to foreign countries\textsuperscript{28}. One of the interviewees explained the “Gandhi”\textsuperscript{29} character of her father as follows:

“My father went to Germany for education and returned. He worked in Gebze TÜBİTAK\textsuperscript{30} as an engineer. He was the head of the department of chemical engineering. He wanted to be the Gandhi of Turkiye. It was his motto. Namely, he defended that all humans were equal, and everybody had equal rights and believed that all should live under equal conditions.”

(M.Ü., female, 36, her mother is from the state of Lower Saxony)

The female interviewee who wrote a book about her father interpreted her father who took charge in the incorporation of Kayseri Fabric Factory (Kayseri Bez Fabrikası), the first public investment of Republican Turkiye as an actor in the attempt of nationalization:

“The history of Kayseri Fabric Factory, my father’s first business place in Turkiye and Kayseri, the first place where he lived with my mother has a significant place in architectural and cultural terms. First of all, the first public investment of the young Republic… Kayseri Fabric Factory is significant for being the first corporation of modern Turkiye on an urban scale. This factory, where my father worked as a very young engineer, and which was incorporated for producing folk-type cheap cotton fabric was a leading enterprise in the nationalization efforts of Republic of Turkiye. A valuable investment dressing Turkish people cheaply for many years and furnishing their houses (…) … a power plant was built first, since there had not been electricity in Kayseri yet. My father started to work in the factory as the “Chief of the Department of Water and Fire Installations” … Thus, the most significant step which would change Kayseri forever and render it a “modern” city had been taken.” (Yazgan, 2011: 70-74).

The book mentions the roles that the leading business persons of Turkiye played in the incorporation of the first factories of the young Republic and the process of finding a job in Turkiye as well. Being a member of Galatasaray\textsuperscript{31} provided job opportunities for the graduates of this school:

“He (she talks about her father) talked diffusively to the chief of Ford department. He found out that the department chief was a member of Galatasaray; “He took him (my father)
to Vehbi Koç\textsuperscript{32}... Vehbi Koç said “Let me send you to Germany for two years, perform inspections and get training there; you can already speak German. And then come back and work for us.” (…) (Mr. Vehbi said the following later:) “Dear Mr. Şadi, we had a deal with you to stay in Germany for two years, but now the work is developing very fast in Ankara, and we need men. I think that it shall be better for you. If you accept, you’d better return to the homeland after contacting a few companies, which I will write to you.” My father accepted this proposal, my mother was not so content but agreed willy-nilly ( ) My father worked with Vehbi Koç for a period longer than seventeen years.” (Yazgan, 2011: 82, 84, 99)

The education that the fathers received in Germany allowed them to be included in the special and popular human resources appointments in Turkiye. A female interviewee whose childhood passed in Zonguldak reported what role her father played in the incorporation of Ereğli Iron and Steel Factory as follows:

“They settled in Ereğli, in the Black Sea region in Turkiye, for work. My grandmother\textsuperscript{33} may have had some influence on the job that my father found. My father had previously been a teacher; public service was in question. And then he took part in the incorporation of the Ereğli Iron and Steel Factory. At that period, the number of persons having knowledge about refractors in Turkiye was very low. Refractor is a special material used for coating the inner part of furnaces, the thing that we call firebrick. That material is required to be configured and designed in furnaces in architectural terms. I’m talking about the furnaces where iron and steel are processed. My father took charge of the production of those furnaces since he was an architect. He worked in the factory till 1978.” (İ.İ. female, 49, her mother is from the state of North Ren-Westphalia)

There are also such interviewees who further universalized the missions that their fathers fulfilled for their country (further than medical practice) and expressed the admiration they feel for their fathers by building their feelings within this framework. Accordingly, this service is a service not only for the motherland but also for humanity:

“We departed from Germany and went to Diyarbakır. My father went to establish the Faculty of Medicine there… Dad was an excellent person, I adored him. He loved humans, wanted to serve humanity, he was a very clever, literate person of the world… A very skillful person who did all work, who helped everybody, who tried to help all whether he knew them or not… It was apparent from his attitude: He left a place like Germany and came to

\textsuperscript{32} Vehbi Koç, the founder of Koç Holding, is one of the most significant business persons of the industry in Turkiye. The years when Vehbi Koç entered into business life are known to be the periods when the National War of Independence had recently ended, Turkiye was tired of wars, the wars had consumed its human and material resources in the long lasting wars, the national economy was weak and the people were poor. Retrieved from https://www.koc.com.tr/hakkinda/tarihce (accessed on: 2021, November 21)

\textsuperscript{33} The grandmother is a graduate of Ankara Girls’ Technical School as mentioned above.
Diyarbakır. He was a person who loved humans. He was a perfect doctor. The doctors of
that time were different from the doctors of today. He did not take money from those who
did not have money, but also, bought the necessary medical drugs for them. People still love
him very much in Diyarbakır. Everybody knows him. His faculty was moved to a new place.
They named a lecture hall of a university after my father.” (B.D., female, 55, her mother is
from the state of Bavaria)

The economic, infrastructure and bureaucracy related difficulties, that another father who
went to Germany to further progress the education he had received in Turkiye and returned
to Turkiye in the 1970s to perform his duty of service for the motherland by establishing a
business, and indicates that it was not very easy to serve the motherland in Turkiye in that
period. However, certain difficulties suffered paved at the same time the way for the creation
of an area that the country needed:

“My father went to Germany (as a mechanical engineer) to bring back technological
development in order to perform the processes of a tender he had received in Hatay. The
76-78s… My father had to return to Turkiye; he did not imagine such a life in Germany,
living in Germany, etc. My father and his brother are together. My father worked as an
engineer and my uncle as a mechanical technician. They have always been together in their
lives. My father decided to settle in Antakya in that period in order to complete the tender. A
technical failure occurred in the hydroelectric power plant providing electricity for Antakya
and could not be repaired for many days and Antakya suffered from a lack of electricity
for 40 days. The municipality opened a tender and my father and uncle won the tender. My
father and uncle completed the tender, but failed to collect the money. Since municipal
officials could not afford the tender money, they offered and gave them (to my father and
uncle) a piece of land. My father was not a farmer, but he agreed thinking that he could
sell it or to do something else. He and my uncle established on that land a small sprinkler
irrigation factory to irrigate the agricultural fields. There is something called a spring; they
established it. And the two brothers performed that business.” (M.Ö., female, 50, her mother
is from the state of Hamburg)

As we can observe, the fathers filled a significant gap in Turkiye with the technical know-
how they had brought from Germany. The skills gained particularly in the critical areas
that Turkiye needed under the circumstances of the period, such as mechanical and textile
engineering, allowed the fathers to get special and privileged positions in Turkiye.

Among the interviewees, some siblings evaluate their fathers’ fulfillment of their
“fatherhood” and “successes” from different points of view. For example, the sister of a
couple of siblings remarked that her father’s success was realized together with his wife (i.e.,
the interviewee’s mother) and the brother remarked that his father achieved his goals thanks
to his characteristics. The fact that the father performed his national service together with his German wife indicates that the project of nationalization realized relying on transnational contributions as well. Furthermore, the national service was fulfilled by traveling across the cities as well. The female interviewee emphasized that his father, whom the state provided education with a scholarship, performed founding duties. The framework of the interviewee’s narration was determined by patriotism. She underlined that it was possible for her father to realize himself as an “Ideal Citizen” (makbul vatandaş)34 with this patriotism. The female interviewee who sustained her own life as a factory founder and director stated that she lacked the patriotism of her father who served as a founder in Izmir, Ankara, Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul:

“My father wanted to serve his motherland. He was an idealist patriot who went there because of his idealism thinking that ‘I can find many jobs here. I can find a job anywhere, but nobody will go there. I’m already a person who went there relying on a state scholarship. I’m indebted to my state; I have national service that I owe to my motherland. And I want to pay it back to my people’. He was an idealist patriot. He was also religious. I’m not. I mean I was when I was young, but perhaps, he would have transformed too if he were alive today. I mean he could have lost his patriotism because the current condition of today’s bigoted world has rendered us persons without any ideal. Namely, it is not a period of idealists, but I have its remnants inside me which I suppress.” (S.K., female, 52, her mother is from the state of Baden-Württemberg)

On the other hand, the brother of the siblings remarked in his narration that his father, the youngest child of the family, assumed the biggest duty (fatherhood) in the family. The father has transformed the paternal duty he learned in the orientation of family into a kind of “patriotic duty” in society. He continued these duties by using the time he would have devoted to his children and wife:

“Both (both the mother and the father were textile engineers) took charge. When my father moved to Ankara because of my father’s military service, my mother got on the bus perforce, went to Izmir, lectured (in the department at a university in Izmir which she established together with her husband), got on the bus and returned. I mean, self-sacrifices in the past were different, they were big. The age gap between my father and his siblings was 21 years from the oldest to the youngest. My father acted as if he was the oldest child of the family though he was the youngest. Consequently, he was essentially the dynamo of his family. A leader, an organizer, self-sacrificing… Particularly for the persons who did not have a father, since he had lost his father very early… He had the capacity to help one million, one billion

34 For more detailed information see: Füsun Üstel. 2011. “Makbul Vatandaş” in Peşinde. II.Meşrutiyet’ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi [In Pursuit of the Ideal Citizen: Civic Education from Constitutional Monarchy to Today].
persons if he could manage it… Perhaps he could spare more time for us, but… We used to go skiing for 10 days… He completed that time there because he both skied and passed time with us. I mean, we could share my father’s life only to that extent.” (E.K., male, 48, his mother is from the state of Baden-Württemberg)

Both siblings stated in the interviews held that they also provided particularly financial support for the sister who needed help. The female interviewee stated during the interview that she had more friends from different nations and different entourages such as Syrians, Armenians, Jews, etc. who had lived in Turkiye since her youth, and emphasized that she questioned her own approach to patriotism over time and “tried to suppress it”. She further stated that she helped her sister for many years, but she was tired of this because of the disputes between her and her sister and decreased her support. Both interviewees continue to provide for the sister a service similar to the service that their father provided for his motherland although they recently acted differently with respect to the supporting of the sister who needed help. The motherland has a metaphoric meaning here. The motherland cannot be designed independently from the family and vice-versa from the perspectives of both siblings. Although the sense of motherland is a question from a transnational perspective, the effect of kinship relationships is remarkable in the understanding of motherland. Accordingly, the motherland is the family at the same time. Being in solidarity with family members is some sort of service to the motherland.

4.5. “Factory children”

The fathers did not only bring technical know-how from Germany together with them. The transformation of the emotional relationship they had with the German women whom they met and married paved the way for the emergence of a transnational generation as well. This generation (the interviewees) that can be named the “grandchildren of the Republic” and at the same time as “factory children” have rather been in the groups emerging through transnational marriages within the periods when their fathers worked in Turkiye (particularly outside Istanbul) in their lives which usually coincided with their childhood years. The privilege that their fathers achieved in terms of economic and social status in Turkiye as a consequence of their fathers’ technical knowledge paved the way for those groups to be members of the middle and upper classes.

The fathers’ marriage to German women contributed significantly to their statuses in Turkiye. This contribution is based on the German mothers’ cultural accumulation. The accumulation caused the fathers to have daily lives different in cultural and social terms from
the lives of their own mothers and fathers (the interviewees’ grandmothers and grandfathers). For example, environments in line with the foreign wives’ expectations such as clubs of sport, art, and social activities around the house or factory and parks where the children could entertain were created by the factory owners. The Turkish-German generation (the interviewees) gained transnational experiences in the environments where those accumulations were exhibited:

“We had a great childhood as the factory children. All the family lived in the factories there. We certainly lived in public housing. The facilities were wonderful. They sent my mother to Ankara in a factory airplane for my birth since it was impossible in Ereğli. Ereğli Iron and Steel factory has a sports club. The College of Turkish Association of Education (TED Kollege) was there. There was a playground in each district. I find my childhood unique in this respect. There were many foreigners there. Engineers etc. had already come from abroad during the incorporation of the Iron and Steel Factory. I grew up in an international environment when I was a child. My parents had many foreign friends. My mother used to come together with them… We had Aunt Güneş, our neighbor. She and her two daughters helped my mother very much. Consequently, we grew up as members of the same family. I can call it “48 Houses Family”. Namely a relation pattern even closer than the district life in Istanbul in that period such as the couple of mother-father, neighborhood and kinship relations and social/sport, etc.” (İ.İ. female, 49, her mother is from the state of North Ren-Westphalia)

The engineers became the defenders of the social development models as well beyond their positions within the process of production (Göle, 2012: 9). The social meetings realized by means of the factories where the engineer fathers were employed are the activities which strengthened and reproduced the relations of the community members emerging around the factory. Conversely, life in the cities where social meetings could not be realized at a transnational level was not so easy for the German women though it covered certain activities that they had been familiar with. The years that a German mother passed in Kayseri, usually alone, were the reason for her disease (cancer), according to her daughter. The female interviewee, who wrote a book, expressed this as follows: “My mother and father stayed in Kayseri for two years, mom used to ride a horse and play tennis in the facilities of the factory in 1936 and 1937, but she was usually alone… Mom’s health-related problems started there, and I guess that she had always had health-related problems till the age of 48 when she died.” (Yazgan, 2011: 78).

Though their lives had difficulties, the mixed family experiences gave a very different point of view to the Turkish-German generation. The cultural accumulations that the German
families acquired through the war, the services, and self-sacrifices of the Turkish families to strengthen the Republic, and the experiences gained from different social and cultural environments paved the way of being capable of different solutions to the daily problems encountered as may be seen in the following example:

“The cultural thing that I most notice -many Turks do not notice this- is that: We know complaining very well. We criticize all the time. But what do you do to solve this? I’m from a family who reached to date from WWII in poverty. I can understand better than anyone what Atatürk did and what he means. For example, it would be more influential if the children from METU (Middle East Technical University) in Ankara went to Kocatepe Mosque and performed Friday prayer all together rather than getting polarized in Gezi Park Protests. I mean one should not give the opportunity to rivals in any field. I mean, I find it fruitless to hit the streets, shout or complain, to hate, etc.” (İ.İ. female, 49, her mother is from the state of North Ren-Westphalia)

According to the interviewees, being in relationship with different social and cultural environments made it easier for them to look at many problems from a different perspective and to produce alternative solutions. Accordingly, they could produce peaceful solutions in their own way to the problems they observed dissimilarly to everybody on the one hand, and they could assume the mission of raising awareness of, enlightening, and transforming their social entourage accordingly on the other hand. This mission, which the interviewees interpreted as being useful for their social entourage, could be considered some sort of national service as was the case for the previous generations.

4.6. Conclusion

It is revealed in this chapter that the Turkish-German generation regards the first generation who witnessed the early years of the Republic as the “representatives of the Republic”, and their fathers, whose education was supported by the Republic of Turkiye, as both the “representatives of the Republic” and as the “saviors” who transformed their motherland into a Western country. According to the interviewees, the individuals of the first generation were the actors significantly protecting and maturing the “big family” for their modern lifestyles and appearances, and the savior fathers assumed the same mission with their position of servant.

The fathers who played a role in the emergence of a transnational generation through their marriages offered a middle- and upper-class life to their families in the periods when they intensely served their motherland. These life experiences were significantly influential
in shaping the children’s habituses.

Although the fathers’ intense efforts for the motherland limited their relations with their spouses and children, it did not prevent the Turkish-German generation from developing a sense of belonging to Turkiye. The accumulations acquired, thanks to the self-sacrifice of the previous generations, influenced the views of the next generations as well. The relationship that this generation established with the formation of the ideology of the Republic of Turkiye and the individual activities of the elder members of the family reflects the codes that reproduce their sense of motherland on this basis. The Turkish-German generation created their own sense of motherland with an attitude of usually regretting their “fatherless” times when the fathers were far from home because of their jobs, but at the same time being proud of the provision of the time taken from them. Accordingly, the outgoing time was spent serving the motherland. The motherland is already a big family. Here, one could say briefly that the family was redesigned as the motherland and the motherland was redesigned as the family over the years.

As observed in the previous chapter, the German women’s sense of success is associated with the power that allowed the women to remain as individuals within the society and sustain their life according to the Turkish-German generation. Accordingly, being powerful meant self-sufficiency for the German women. According to the findings presented in this chapter, success is parallel to national service for the Turkish fathers. In other words, the Turkish-German generation inherited from their mothers and fathers or the representatives of the two nations two different heritages related to success and being powerful. One covers self-sufficiency and the other covers the codes providing service for one’s nation. What is remarkable here is that the Turkish-German generation claims both heritages with an approach of combining the two on common ground.

The children’s transnational lives and their self-perception as the citizens of both nations are remarkable. According to this perspective, the first generation (the grandparents) serve their motherland somehow by adopting the lifestyle offered to them, the second generation (the mothers and fathers) by donating their knowledge and time, and the third generation (the interviewees themselves) by circulating the ideas that they produce. Adopting the national services owed to the motherland provides wholeness to the family on the one hand and social integrity on the other and the meaning of being Turkish-German is recreated within the framework of those interpretations.
5. ENCOUNTERS: AN INSIDER VIEWPOINT ON THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF TURKISH-GERMAN RELATIONSHIPS

Sections from the familial pasts which shaped the habituses of the parents of the Turkish-German generation were discussed in the previous chapters. This chapter discusses the marriage experiences of the Turkish men who made an effort to mature the young Republic, and the German women who tried to elude the remnants of WWII and put the war memory behind them. Those experiences consist of the encounters of the parents shaped by the “us”/“them” duality of the communities they belong to within the process of becoming a spouse, family, and relative. This chapter of the book presents how the intergenerational, intercultural, and intersexual encounters where the relationship between kinship and identity could be observed are interpreted both beyond one generation and from the inside.

5.1. Introduction: On endless strangers and encounters

Marriage, which is a contract based on the ground of sharing property, economic responsibility, sexual relations, and parental responsibility, allows simultaneously the attainment of a new entourage of relatives and being together (Bates, 2009: 293, 311). The anthropological point of view bases the relations of persons on how such relations are regarded. Accordingly, if the relation of a couple is regarded by their community as marriage, the anthropologists define such a couple as married. There are persons among the interviewees whose parents are not married officially. Those relations have been assessed as marriage since the interviewees and their kinship/social entourages regard the relations of the mothers and fathers as marriage—whether they are officially married or not.

The Turkish men and German women who unite their lives with their cultural similarities and differences through marriage undersign at the same time a shared cultural history. The research suggests that this shared history left significant traces both in their lives and the lives of their children. Those marriages undoubtedly had the couples experience significant social and cultural changes. The intense and troublesome pasts shared by the German mothers and Turkish fathers became the ground for the cultural development of those parents and their children.
A large part of the marriages of the Turkish fathers and German mothers were not accepted immediately by the families of both sides. The mothers and fathers had quite a lot of difficulties with having their families accept their marriages. Both sides resisted those marriages at the beginning and had similar attitudes. The points of view of both sides toward the one different from them (toward the stranger who is the “other”) reflect similar cultural codes developed with respect to spouse selection. Accordingly, the families wanted their children to choose a spouse from the same nation, the same culture, and even from the same community if possible. The vast majority of the families from both sides challenged those marriages since they thought that cultural differences would create significant problems in the marriages, and it would be difficult to solve those problems.

The Turkish-German marriages were realized despite the opposition of the families and then the efforts of the families to homogenize the couples continued. Particularly, the Turkish side tried to change their German brides since they had closer contact with them in Turkiye. They tried to change certain cultural aspects of the German brides and simply tried to Turkify them. Certain problems arising from the cultural differences between the couples could grow further within this process. On the other hand, the Turkish-German generation thinks that their parents’ relations were indeed based on their similarities despite the differences. Accordingly, their mothers and fathers have similar characteristics in terms of both their national histories and their life struggles. Both are members of societies who suffered from big wars and have always struggled to survive or hold on to life. Because of this, they consider that the problems arising from certain cultural differences could be solved contrary to what their grandparents consider. Consequently, it is not necessary to attempt to transform the “stranger” joining the family. What matters is accepting the person as he/she is and searching for the similarities and combining the same rather than searching for the differences and making discrimination on the basis of such differences.

The members of families who oppose the Turkish-German marriages are usually the women of the previous generation who produced fear of differences (the paternal and maternal grandmothers). The gender roles and identities cast for women within the families are further crystalized by the persons who adopt them. Those family members who adopt those roles more strictly may ask the women who joined the family to subsequently act in line with such roles and identities as well. The German women have been expected in Turkiye to

35 A male interviewee defines such marriages as the “unity of similarities”.

36 The anthropologists use the concept of “gender” (toplumsal cinsiyet) to indicate the cultural structuring of sexual differences (Delaney, 2002: 45-46).
change certain cultural differences including their language, the religion they adopted, and the names they had. The agencies that force the German women to leave behind their identity are usually the (Turkish) mothers-in-laws. The hierarchy among the women required the German women’s subjection to the cultural system that they had newly joined. Accordingly, the women joining the family subsequently should be Turkified and accommodate themselves to the existing system. The hierarchy and domination that a woman applies to any other woman has become a mechanism that leads to the reproduction of the social system where the patriarchy seemingly prevails, but where it is the women who practice patriarchy. The sharpness in the model of thought of the women of the previous generation with respect to the subjection of the women to the cultural system that they join is remarkable. The children interviewed find those interventions toward their mothers meaningless. Looking beyond three generations, their German mothers, who had come to Turkiye and yet courageously made an effort to adapt to this new situation they encountered, were successful although they failed to stand sufficiently against the subjection.

Certeau (2009: 20-23), who focused on the issues of strategy and tactic that Foucault emphasized as well and who remarked on the silent and deliberate tactics in his papers, defended that uneven distribution of powers created similar resistance mechanisms. According to this mechanism, the weak and feeble ones use their intelligence and creativity to tip the scales in their favor. It is observed on the basis of what the interviewees reported that their mothers and fathers developed certain strategies including planning to conceive prior to marriage and managing conflicts through silence in order to have their marriages accepted. The strategies developed failed to prevent the growth of identity policy and cultural interventions although they accelerated the officialization of the marriages.

Hughette Eyüboğlu claims in her research that the foreign brides were still “marginal” (1994: 159). The children’s observations with respect to the later periods of the marriages indicate that all the German mothers may still be foreign in their trials to become part of the family and a relative despite their efforts to become “local” in a strange environment. Moreover, the Turkish fathers may also be criticized only for having gotten married to German women and regarded as “a stranger” by their relatives and other social entourages. Namely, the fathers could be placed in a marginal position in the Turkish-German families as much as the German mothers because of their marriages.

Although the mothers and fathers made an effort not to get separated from the whole, their cultural differences could further increase the problems of spousal relations from time to time throughout the marriage. Here it is necessary to take notice of the difficulties that particularly
the mothers encounter in their struggles against being strangers. The German women married the Turkish men and usually started their new lives over again with a completely new image. The German mothers, who spoke Turkish, became Muslim37, and tried to behave “as a Turk”, did not want to incorporate their familial history that they wanted to leave behind in Germany into their new lives that they established through marriage. However, they were exposed to attempts which reminded them of the war memory from their pasts that they wanted to forget and struggled against those attempts. As Zigmund Bauman claimed, the “far” is a location which the person could enter into only from time to time or could not enter into at all; where the things that the person cannot stipulate or comprehend happen and which contain troubles and risks (2012: 20-21). Although the German women tried to be subjected to this “location” (the cultural system that they wanted to adapt to) by keeping close to it, they protested the interventions toward them through silent screams. Those screams, that they did not share even with their children, injured their health and forced them to pay the price for “keeping distant”.

Today, the Turkish-German generation (the interviewees) question the prices paid38. They started the interrogation by first coming to terms with their family history. They criticize their fathers for having obliged their mothers to pay the price and their mothers for their failure to sufficiently resist the attempts of transformation/similarization. The prices that the mothers and fathers, who attempted to establish a family in an environment where strangeness never comes to an end, paid within the process of the marriage; there were traces indicating how much they held on to their own cultural habits as much as the strategies that they developed while they joined the linguistic, religious, and cultural practices of the community that they incorporated into. The Turkish-German generation started to settle the account with their recent familial history by interpreting those traces. This chapter continues by discussing how their relations turned into transnational families and how the children regard this process of transformation.

5.2. Transnational family-building initiatives

5.2.1. Acquaintances

The initial acquaintances of the Turkish fathers and German mothers were predominantly realized in Germany since the fathers had been in Germany for the purpose of having a university education or developing their professional skills as emphasized previously. The

37 The category of “Turkish” generally used synonymously with the word “Muslim” hides the fact that the majority in Turkiye is indeed very diverse in terms of language, ethnicity and religion (Neyzi, 2011a: 24).

38 I met the interviewees in a period when they tried not to get lost within those discussions. It was the time for settling the account through this encounter though it was delayed. The interviews we held turned many times into special places where such settlements of accounts found a foothold.
places of acquaintance predominantly include business places or school environments.

The 1960s, when large mass migrations to Germany began, also increased the probability of children’s parents reuniting. Therefore, it gains importance to regard the encounters of the couples as pre- and post-1965 periods approximately. How the families reacted to the initial encounters of the couples and the transformation of their relations into marriage could be expressed better through this distinction. The acquaintances that were realized before 1965 coincide with significant periods of both countries in historical terms. Germany, which had ended WWII tired and destroyed, tried to recover and the Republic of Turkiye, which did not take part in this war, tried to implement the conditions of its regime in this period.

The significant factors for the marriage of the German women to Turkish men included love, geography, and some cultural aspects of Turkiye. Turkiye was regarded by the mothers as an exotic place, having beautiful geography, and comfortable daily life. The interviewees further listed drifting apart from the coldness and destructive effects of WWII, their revolt against their families, and their desire to have an adventure as the reasons for their mothers’ preference for Turkiye. In other words, looking at the issue beyond one generation, the German mothers’ marriages were commented on as a union for escape, objection, or adventure, rather than love. Pusch also (2013: 132) emphasizes in her research that the reasons the German women who live in Turkiye came to Turkiye include love, adventure, or desire for change, in particular. The children interpreted the fathers’ marriage reasons as reasons other than love. As will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, the children regard those marriages as an attempt to create a transnational generation at the same time.

One of the most important factors that persuaded the mothers to settle in Turkiye is the cultural aspects of Turkiye as included in the reasons listed above. Accordingly, the Republic reflected the ideology of modernity in daily life in Turkiye. Turkiye was regarded by the interviewees’ mothers as one of the attractive countries where they could sustain their daily lives comfortably thanks to its “contemporary” character:

“Turkiye has such an image in Germany: People do not know modern life at all. Yet my mother always said, ‘Turkiye is a very modern country.’… My mother came to Ankara for the first time in the 1950s; she saw a very modern city. Namely, there were admittedly women with their heads covered at that time as well, but they were really the doorkeepers, persons coming from villages, etc. Apart from them, all habitants of the block were very modern women, certainly. And my mother always said: ‘The fashion comes to Turkiye directly from Paris, Rome and any other place and arrives to Germany only after two years.’ Namely, Germany always falls behind with respect to fashion. This is still the case. I mean,
if a new style is in question, I definitely see it in Turkiye. I see it in Germany only after one year or two years because the women in Turkiye are highly interested in fashion. Germany is in quite a controversial position (behind with respect to fashion) in Europe.” (P.A., female, 48, her mother is from the state of Bavaria)

The interviewees’ assessments emphasize the differences observed from the Germans’ points of view of Turkiye and Turkish citizens before and after 1965. Nazism and the economy came into prominence before 1965 and guest workmanship came into prominence after 1965 in those assessments. The following sentences about how the Germans regarded the Turks are available in a book39 that a female interviewee wrote:

“A company in Charlottenburg named Hawag accepted my father for training in central heating and water installation... It was a very bad period for foreigners. Nazism had begun to rise in Germany and tremendous xenophobia had started. For this reason, they did not send my father to the sites very much. He worked more often in the factory. His monthly salary increased from 50 DM to 75 DM recently. Antipathy expressed as “Verfluchte Ausländer”(damn the foreigners) started among the Germans, just like the xenophobia of that time. On the other hand, it is said that certain Germans entertained young Turkish men by thinking, ‘They have money’ (…). ‘At that period (1935) the Germans loved us very much’, says my father because the value of our money was very high.” (Yazgan, 2011: 62,83).

A male interviewee remarked that his mother was a person who preferred to marry a Turkish man (in 1962) and dared to change the marriage traditions in Germany which had lasted for many years. The German family was concerned about the idea that their daughter would marry a Turkish man and imposed financial sanctions on her. Although they behaved so, they failed to prevent the love:

“They (German grandmother and grandfather) had not yet given a girl in marriage in the neighboring city. Imagine, who managed to go to Germany in 1955? Very few people… My father went there for his studies. I mean the reason was not to find a job or anything else. The people in the Stuttgart region were somewhat more conservative… They were not the kind of people who could give a girl in marriage in any other country, in Turkiye. But mom said ‘OK, I love my husband, I will get married though I’m disinherited.’ Her parents did not support her, but they sent her things such as a dowry.” (E.K., male, 48, his mother is from the state of Baden-Württemberg)

According to the interviewees, the physical appearance of their fathers and mothers is a significant factor that attracted them to each other and gave rise to their love. For example,

39 This book was mentioned previously as well.
both the mother and the father of an interviewee are tall, auburn, and have blue eyes. She thinks that such “European” physical characteristics were effective in her mother’s approbation of her father and feeling intimate with him. Here, the transmission of certain categories from one generation to another and the interviewee’s developing approach to aesthetics is remarkable:

“They fell seriously in love. Particularly, my mother was madly in love. But my mother did not know at the beginning that my father was a Turk because dad is aesthetically attractive. He does not look like Middle Eastern people. He is auburn, 1.84 m tall, and has blue eyes. Turks were shorter in the 1950s, and they are still so. My mother thought that he was Italian. Later my father said that he was not Italian, but he was a Turk and my mother said it did not matter.” (M.Ö., female, 50, her mother is from the state of Hamburg)

Turkiye was an attractive country to live in preferred by the German women who married Turkish men under the circumstances of the era. Conversely, it was regarded as a part of Middle Eastern geography in all aspects in the German grandparents’ memory. The potential Turkish sons-in-law having “European” physical characteristics could not change either this classifying framework with respect to Turkiye. Furthermore, the fact that the German women (mothers) found the men having a “European” appearance as potential husbands indicates that they preferred the ones looking like “them”.

By the way, the Turkish fathers felt disturbed about the prejudices developed during that period in Germany against the Turks although they had friendly relationships with the German women. Those prejudices included insults such as “Below Paris it is garbage”; “Turks are pigs”. The couples tried to eliminate such prejudices on the German side against the Turks. They preferred to get married secretly when they failed to change the situation. Some had to finish with their German families until they had children.

Many Turkish fathers are members of nationalist and Sunni conservative families. This aspect of the men led Turkiye to become the area where many German mothers acquired a new name, language, religion, and habits and reestablished their lives and held on to life at the same time. So much so that, certain fathers managed to act like a Westerner changing their worldview, religious views, and behaviors in Germany although they had grown up in such families and had developed worldviews and cultural practices accordingly. Certain fathers, who used to introduce themselves as open-minded, intellectual, leftist, communist, or irreligious, began to exhibit conservative and nationalist behaviors after having settled in Turkiye. The behaviors that had changed after their new life had been established in Turkiye terrified the German women. For example, a German mother who had married a Turkish man whom she had been acquainted with in 1980 and came to Turkiye and started to work as an
English teacher despite her German mother’s and father’s objections later wanted to return to Germany because of her husband’s behaviors that had changed after having come to Turkiye. However, she could not return to Germany because her parents did not support her:

“My mother certainly comes from a completely different culture. The place she came from is a village (a village 60 km distant from the city center of Antalya). It is a very conservative place. My mother, having a rather strong German culture, adapted to Yörük culture. I think that she would perhaps not do this if she were not so flexible. Mom started to wear a veil (yaşmak) and kilt (fıstan) after a while. She looked like my grandmother with that appearance. In fact, she decided twice to return to Germany. I mean, although she had my sister. Even I was a baby in the second time. My mother went off. And my father forcibly took her back… I still don’t believe that my mother is Muslim. Mom used to say ‘I became Muslim supposedly, but I don’t believe sincerely…’ Indeed, it is something made for the social environment. ‘I recited the kalmia shahadah to become Muslim, but I don’t fast, I don’t pray.’ My father is a person with a former social democrat identity. He used to drink alcohol. He has been praying for the last 6-7 years. I believe that his belief is pure. I don’t find it wrong. In fact, he is a graduate of İmam Hatip high school. He went to Germany when he was focused on something… My father is deemed to be a member of the ‘60s generation; he is a leftist, communist… They called him “communist with saz”. Now my father prays excessively… He tries to pay for his former debts… When we talk on the telephone, I ask my mother ‘what does dad do?’ and she says, ‘Your dad prays all the time, he says Allahuekber all the time’.” (A.K., male, 29, his mother is from the state of Bavaria)

A male interviewee emphasized that his German mother severed all ties with her German parents since they objected to her marriage. The Turkish father, on the other hand, had not intervened in his Turkish family who caused his German wife to change her name, language, and religion at the beginning but later struck an attitude against them. Then he severed all ties with his relatives in Konya. The interviewee thinks that this shared attitude of his parents, who felt at peace in Istanbul, severed their social and cultural ties with their homelands, and who exhibited similar behaviors in this regard, is a “friendship based on the same fate”.

According to the interviewees, Turkiye was not only imagined as a place where Turkish-German marriages took place, but also a place where bad memories of the war (WWII) would no longer be remembered. Some children described Turkiye as a shelter in this aspect. The warm environment of this shelter rendered the troubles that the German mothers had tolerable. A young female interviewee described Turkiye as a place eliminating German coldness on the basis of the social relation pattern:

“My grandmothers’ certain sarcastic words and behaviors upset my mother very much. But people coming together frequently and laughing… You can never see this in Germany. I
was born in 1992. I guess that Turkiye was a somewhat terrifying place in the past. As far as I can understand, this country seemed like Texas to my mother for a few years. Later, there were some improvements and mom had already got used to. She saw the beauties here. My mother admires that village, the mentality of Yörük. That warmth. Emotional things, human relations…. She found here something that she could not find in Germany. She is German but a Turkified German. She is not strict. She is definitely a very warmhearted person. I love mom very much. She is an angelic woman.” (D.C., female, 23, her mother is from the state of Baden-Württemberg)

Although the mothers had many problems based on cultural differences, the children think that the marriages became sustainable since the mothers found in Turkiye the deficiencies that they missed in their lives. The children who make comments on the basis of the common characteristics of their mothers and fathers consider that the real laborer of the Turkish-German encounters and marriages are their “Turkified” courageous mothers. Although some of the mothers who had come with love tried to return, they stayed in the end and sustained their marriages.

The examples show that Turkish-German marriages involve more emotional processes for German women and logical processes for Turkish men. According to what the Turkish-German generation reported, the German women’s Turkish husbands are familiar to them for their efforts for the motherland. They compare their Turkish husbands, who made an effort to develop their motherland, to their own German families, who made an effort to bring into existence their motherland trying to leave behind WWII strongly. The strong characteristics of the Turkish husbands and the first-generation German families result from the life struggles they made for their motherlands. The German mothers made self-sacrifice a fortiori to contribute to the familial life they built, and the Turkish fathers did the same to contribute to the life of their community in Turkiye. In other words, the transformation of the encounter of the Turkish fathers and the German mothers into kinship through marriage is a union requiring both strength and self-sacrifice.

5.2.2. Encounters

After overcoming the processes of the first meeting with the families, the German women and Turkish men entered into the process of transforming their relationship into marriage. The families of many interviewees in this process said that they now respond “positively” to those marriages, but the couples continued to suffer from tremendous difficulties. A serious resistance from both sides against the realization of those marriages continued.
The difficulty of transport included in the reasons told to be an obstacle before the Turkish-German marriages is the shared concern of the German families. This difficulty arose from the long geographical distance between Turkiye and Germany and the limitedness of the means of transport, particularly before 1965. The children witnessed the overcoming of this problem over time, in line with the development of the means of transport.

Looking at the other reasons for objection to the marriage, the Turkish worker image/perception in Germany is an important reason despite the fact that the Turkish fathers were not guest workers. The images attributed to the workers who migrated from Turkiye to Germany en masse after the 1960s are related to the comprehension of modernity with respect to religion, identity, and class-related emphases. As underlined in the examples given previously, Turkiye was regarded by the Germans before 1960 as a relatively more modern country compared to the post-1960 period. In other words, the image related to the Turkish men in Germany was transformed from the image of a “modern-European-looking well-educated-high-class” after the guest worker immigration into the image of the “Muslim-Turkish worker”. The negative images that the guest worker immigration created in the Germans are reflected in the interviewees’ assessments regarding Turkiye. Many interviewees defined Turkiye of the period when they immigrated to Turkiye as a modern country, just like their mothers. As a matter of fact, a female interviewee based her German grandmothers’ objection to her Turkish father on a similar image created with respect to Turkiye. On this basis, the most tremendous concern of the German families when they objected to their daughters’ marriages is their concern that their daughters would not manage to be happy because of the cultural differences:

“My father is a member of an underdeveloped country. And the worker flows from Turkiye to Germany started gradually during that period. The impression that Turks left in Germany was very bad from the very first moment. My grandmother did not approve of fearing that everybody would think that my father was a worker since he was a Turk, but my mother was decisive. They were Protestant. My mother did not accept it at first sight when she heard that my father was a Muslim-Turk. But later my father returned to Turkiye and my mom does not give up. At that time, grandma understood the seriousness of the affair and says, ‘This is your life, but how will you manage it?’.” (M.Ö., female, 50, her mother is from the state of Hamburg)

A female interviewee who finds her German grandparents’ objection odd interpreted this attitude revealing the common characteristics of both sides. Both paternal and maternal sides’ standing aloof from this marriage is related to their ethnocentric points of view. Nevertheless, the German family’s concerns sharpened the attitudes of both sides. The German grandmother did not accept the historical developments in Turkiye whereas the Turkish father had difficulty accepting this:
“You know, the people of the Black Sea are usually conservative. In fact, this is the case for my mother’s side as well... I mean, not at the Nazi level but still the family has arrogant feelings about the aristocracy. They have the feeling of superiority. They have a concern for image, and they want to remain self-enclosed, they don’t want to be estranged. Namely, they want the family to expand with persons like them, not with strangers. The French cannot come in either. Nor the English, never the Turks... A Muslim? Of course not! Regular meetings started particularly after my grandfather’s death. My grandmother wrote a letter to us when we were in Istanbul. Istanbul is not written in the letters from my grandmother, but Constantinople is written. My father used to revolt: ‘How can this postman bring this, the postman should not bring this, he should return it. Here is Istanbul. She has to accept this now’. Namely, imagine it, my grandmother is from a country where people do not admit that Constantinople as Istanbul.” (S.K., female, 52, her mother is from the state of Baden-Württemberg)

From the perspective of the Turkish families, the differences on a class, religion, and nationality basis are significant factors determining their opposition to the Turkish-German marriages. Rich Turkish paternal grandmothers did not usually want poor and non-Muslim brides. The different religious belief of the German mothers was regarded as a barrier to the relatives of the conservative Muslim families with them. This wall started to be destroyed upon the German women’s becoming Muslim:

“My mother changed her religion, but my father was not a religious man. He did not fast, he did not pray... My paternal grandmother, who received a madrasa education, is a very religious woman. I always remember her with a head cover; I have never seen her without a head cover... my mother used to fast at the beginning. Mom also forced dad saying, ‘Why don’t you fast? Now that there is something like this, we should obey it’... My grandfather was quite wealthy; he had bakeries, etc. He is from the Safranbolu region. My grandmother always wanted a Turkish bride; she was shocked when she heard it. She wanted a bride having similar traditions, and customs with her. She used to tell me about my very young mother whose language she did not know, whom she could not talk to or with, or understand each other: ‘We loved your mother very much. I considered her as a daughter, but the background...’ It’s very natural that they loved my mother... My mother came at the age of 20; she adapted to the conditions of this place in a very short time. My mother has many German friends married to Turks here. It is my mother among them who speaks Turkish the best and who pronounces most of it correctly. She cooks Turkish food better than my aunts (her father’s sisters) do... Actually, my grandfather brought her up, too.” (B.G.M., female, 47, her mother is from the state of Saxony)

Although the family is familiar with mixed marriages and different ethnicities, they still continued to oppose the Turkish-German marriage. In families where there are no
grandmothers, it was the wives of the husbands’ brothers who opposed the marriages in families. The striking “European” appearance of the mother could affect the relationship between sisters-in-law (eltiler). The wives of the husbands’ brothers, who had mixed marriages as well, could also think that a foreign bride who would be a member of the family may not adapt to the existing order, may not be happy, and may not make them happy. Efforts were made to persuade the Turkish men not to get married to the German women, indicating the aforementioned as reasons:

“One of my uncles objected to my father’s marriage with my mother under the influence of his wife to some degree and said to my father, ‘She is not a person of this place, it is very difficult, how can you make that woman happy?’ In fact, my aunt (my uncle’s wife) (yenge) is also an Arab-Kurdish hybrid from Siirt. My mother is from North Germany, she is a woman so fair-faced that we can even call her white. She is a tall and very beautiful woman. My aunt is extremely different from my mother in aesthetical terms. One of them is 1.50 m tall and weighs 80 kilograms, and the other one is 1.72 m tall and weighs 50 kilograms. I mean there may have been tremendous jealousy. Her children said the same thing too. Anyone could be jealous of my mother. My father’s mother and father died at very young ages. My aunt is deemed to have raised my father and she always supported him because she loves him very much. My aunt had always wanted to find a wife for my father. My father rejected every candidate they showed him.” (M.Ö., female, 50, her mother is from the state of Hamburg)

The interviewee reported with this example that the physical characteristics of her German mother were regarded as another problem, particularly by her aunt. This reflects the social roles that emerge with respect to who intervenes to raise the children in the absence of mothers in Turkiye and the single step from aunthood (my uncle’s wife) to motherhood while filling this gap and status transitions. The sense that the interviewees built with respect to the kinship relationship is related to love. Accordingly, the factor which provides the women’s consent to transit from one status to another is love. Furthermore, this example also illustrates the role of the women with the status of sister-in-law in finding spouses for men and building their families in Turkiye.

As is seen, the viewpoint with respect to the Turkish-German marriages contains similar social codes with respect to cultural difference, social class and status, modernity, religion, and nationality, with the “contribution” of women on both sides. The view toward those codes beyond one generation constitutes significant data with respect to reviewing the concepts of modernity, progressiveness, and being Western/Middle Eastern which are still discussed today.

40 To access the publication containing examples of similar statuses, see: Yüksel Kırımlı. 1998: Köyde Sosyal Organizasyon ve Sihri Hisnîlîk İlişkileri (Eltiler) [1998: Social Organization and Affinity Relationships in the Village (Sisters-in-Law)].
5.3 Attempts to be a couple and family

The mothers and fathers who sustained their relationships despite the opposition of the families on both sides and various obstacles stood firm about turning their relationships into marriages (Photograph 4).

Photograph 4: The mother and father of an interviewee

The fact that the mothers of a significant number of interviewees conceived before marriage was a factor that facilitated the marriages happening as soon as possible. The expected babies both accelerated the process of marriage and created an impact, destroying the barriers put up by the families’ opposition.

The marriage ceremonies were generally held only with family rather than having large weddings, though there are exceptions. Though few, there are those among the German mothers and Turkish fathers who kept their marriages secret or who never got married. An interviewee’s father had married a woman in an official ceremony in Turkiye before he went to Germany and later went to Germany and started to live with the interviewee’s mother. The female interviewee narrated her encounter with her father’s official wife as follows:

“That woman had many difficulties. I didn’t go to Rize in order not to confuse her any further. I met my stepmother in my parental grandmother’s house when I was 20 years old. They have been very happy since I went to meet them. My stepmother said to me, ‘I hope she comes all the time’. We had taken my brother (born by the stepmother) with us (to Germany) and my mother behaved very kindly to him. I guess she wanted to respond to my mother’s kindness by talking about me like that. I came together with her sisters. I call them aunt.” (P.A., female, 48, her mother is from the state of Bavaria)
Although the relations between the German mothers and Turkish fathers started in Germany, the couples generally continued with their lives in Turkiye. The men’s attitudes were particularly determinant about in which country the marriages would continue since the men who went to Germany for education purposes returned to Turkiye to serve their motherland when they completed their education.

For the German mothers, this immigration41 built a serious infrastructure with respect to creating a transnational memory. Istanbul has a special place for the mothers in acquiring different cultural experiences. Istanbul became a special city where they wanted to establish a new life or to live. As Pusch (2013: 132) focused on, the women wanted to continue with their private and professional lives in this territory.

The formal education that the German mothers received and the jobs that they learned under war conditions including tailoring, childcare/education, and teaching transformed into a capital which allowed them to hold onto Turkiye and determined their life conditions. Although these jobs that allowed them to hold onto the “new homeland” were not always in line with the fields of their university education in Germany, they filled a specific gap in professional life in Turkiye. A male interviewee underlined that his mother, whose father was lost in the war and whose family disintegrated later, escaped from the war memory and held onto Turkiye thanks to the languages that she could speak:

“In that period (1968), military service lasted for 2.5 years. My father joined the army, and my mother came and started to work here. My mother stayed the night while she was working. My mother was the babysitter of a famous designer who now lives in Paris. She tells about it saying, ‘A very good family, I’m very lucky for having passed that period with such a family’. For example, mom swam in the sea every day… My mother creates a good alternative and presses forward. She does not complain. Do I make myself clear? Namely, she was quite happy for being there… My grandfather and my mother got on very well. When she took time off, she went to see grandpa. When my father’s business life became very active after they got married, mom and grandpa got on better. Mom used to call her father-in-law ‘grandpa’, too. She says she felt alone when grandpa returned to the homeland. They were so close.” (O.E.B., male, 41, his mother is from the state of Lower Saxony)

There are German mothers who found jobs for which they could generally use their mother tongue by contacting the German Consulate, Embassies, or associations including Die Brücke. The jobs that the mothers performed contributed to the household economy on the one hand and allowed them to have a word in the fields (institutions) with language education

41 Predominantly, well-educated persons and the 2nd generation participate in such migration movements in Germany (Sert, 2012: 93).
content on the other hand. In other words, the mothers transformed their language capital into cultural and economic capital in Turkiye. While the mother passed time in Turkiye, they did not only work as teachers in fields including English or German. They are observed to have contributed to the opening of the first German schools in Turkiye and helped with the spread of transnational education in Turkiye, the expansion of the cultural capital of the next generations, and even with the creation of specific classes42.

I have previously mentioned the importance of certain cities in the lives of the German mothers in Turkiye. When these are looked at in detail, the transformative effect of these cities on their lives is striking. The place that the German mothers came to first when they came to Turkiye is Istanbul. Certain mothers and fathers migrated to an average province in Turkiye when they were married and many of them stayed in Istanbul, the first place they had come. However, some of the mothers migrated to the other provinces of Turkiye and maintained their lives in those provinces. Those provinces, the majority of which are in the west of Turkiye, are Ankara, Antalya, İzmir, Adana, Muğla, Bursa, Kayseri, Kocaeli, Hatay, Yozgat, Diyarbakır, Malatya and Zonguldak, in addition to Istanbul (Table 4).

| Table 4: Cities where the interviewees’ parents immigrated and lived in Turkiye |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                 | Age 39 and below | Age 40 and up   |
| Istanbul        | 10              | 13              |
| Ankara          | 2               | 4               |
| Antalya         | 3               | 1               |
| İzmir           | 1               | 1               |
| Adana           | 2               | 2               |
| Muğla           | 2               | 2               |
| Bursa           | 2               | 2               |
| Kayseri         | 1               | 1               |
| Kocaeli         | 1               | 1               |
| Hatay           | 1               | 1               |
| Yozgat          | 1               | 1               |
| Diyarbakır      | 1               | 1               |
| Malatya         | 1               | 1               |
| Zonguldak       | 1               | 1               |
| **Total**       | **19**          | **29**          |

Note: The reason why N increased to 48 is that there are also immigrants to four different cities.

42 I have already mentioned in the previous chapter that the factory founder fathers created a lifestyle of middle- and upper-class around the factory together with their families. The German women’s efforts with respect to languages contributed/contributes to the class lives in many places in Turkiye.
The places that the older interviewees’ parents migrated to were not limited to a single province but covered various provinces of Anatolia (Photographs 5-7).

Photograph 5: An interviewee, her mother, father, and the inhabitants of the county where her father worked

Photograph 6: A family photograph
The German mothers’ lives in Turkiye were predominantly established in Istanbul which is relatively more modern. However, certain mothers lived in the provinces other than Istanbul and gained significant experiences. Particularly, the provinces other than Istanbul led to an increase in the mothers’ concerns about whether they would manage to live in Turkiye as a German. A female interviewee stated that her parents chose the place for passing their life more peacefully and thinking that it will facilitate the process of adaptation for her mother. This strategic selection drove forward Antakya as a place with tolerance to diversity and differences:

“My mother came to Turkiye for the first time in 1964. My father said to my mother, ‘You can come, but Adana is a very underdeveloped city’. They got married in Adana. When my father finds out that he would not be able to manage in Adana, he discovered Antakya (he won the tender in Hatay as well). Then my father said, ‘I can bring my wife here because it is a very cosmopolitan city’. My father’s father is Turkish, and his mother is Arab. People speak Arabic there too. There are also Christians, Jews, and Assyrians. Antakya is a place where democratic families lived. They settled in Antakya.” (M.Ö., female, 50, her mother is from the state of Hamburg)
Although the German mothers and the Turkish fathers targeted at establishing egalitarian lives in their marriages, the sharing of the housework was rather determined by social conditions. The distribution of the responsibilities to keep the marriage and the family together was substantially shaped on the basis of gender roles. The Turkish fathers dealt with sustaining the home and the German mothers assumed the housework, childcare, and the children’s education. According to the interviewees, democratic life in Turkiye can be realized by providing democracy in the home life first and foremost. The most important factor rendering life at home democratic is sharing the housework.

It is striking that the meaning of being a family is assessed as living in a modern and democratic environment. One of the children considers his father as the main actor in bringing modern life and democracy into the house in Turkiye. A father who tried to handle a transnational marriage established an order “beyond the times”:

“Everything was clear and very nice in the nuclear family environment where I grew up. My father used to have us take a bath and mom used to dry us. How many persons’ fathers do you think washed their daughter or children? None of my friends’ fathers is as progressive as my father. In other houses, the woman cooked, but it was my father who cooked in our house. My father was a person who lived beyond even today’s Turkiye in terms of mentality. Since Antakya is a small place, dad always came home for lunch, but many women’s husbands did not… Snacks, and fruits were always eaten altogether; dad took us on his lap, hulled them, and gave them to us. It was very amusing. He always read books to us and engrained the same in us. These are very special things.” (M.Ö., female, 50, her mother is from the state of Hamburg)

The interviewees often emphasized that particularly the German mothers had a very significant role in gaining the habit of performing all the work at home. Sharing at home where they grew up allowed the interviewees to exhibit similar behaviors in their own lives. For example, a male interviewee who occupies a superior position in the company where he works associated his resistance to hierarchy in the business place with being a person who regularly helps with housework at home.

The narrations exemplify the extraordinary efforts of the German mothers and the Turkish fathers in their trials to become a transnational couple and family. Although these performances were carried out successfully within the family, the same success couldn’t be achieved in the kinship relationships due to social norms.
5.4. Kinship experiences

The contacts with the families indicate that the German mothers usually passed through a specific process in Türkiye. The relatives made various interventions in this process to make “native” or “localize” the German women whom they regarded as “strangers”. These interventions are forcing the German mothers to change their names, languages, religions, customs, and even citizenship statuses. The German women were expected to make such changes in order to be included in the family. The German women who conformed to the expectations were then accepted as a member of the family.

Changing one’s name is one of the most important conditions for transition to the status of “our bride”. Though the attempt to change the name was not realized officially, many German mothers found it necessary to make such a change for the encounters in society. The most important factor that persuaded the mothers to participate in “us” is the discriminative discourse they encountered within the cultural environment where they tried to become family and a relative. The discriminative expressions of the relatives, neighbors, and other social environments such as “German pig”, “German gypsy”, “giaour bride”, and “giaour girl” containing negative connotations and images encouraged the German mothers to adopt the names, language, religion, and cultural practices of the “new homeland”. The ones who exhibited behavior patterns conforming to the expectations were promoted to the status of “native brides” of the “new homeland”:

“My grandmother grumbled since my father would marry a giaour girl and bridle my father for a long time. When they got married, she said ‘no need to change’ her name thinking that her name is religiously acceptable since the word Karin is mentioned in the Quran. Her name did not change, but my mother called herself Canan and felt relaxed. My father was always regarded as giaour by the people (since he married a German woman)... My grandmother became bedridden for five years. My mother slept with my grandmother at night because she could not get up and she needed to go to the toilet all the time... My mother cleaned her. My mother never said anything. Excuse me for telling this, she even took the woman’s things (adult diapers) to the toilet in her hands from time to time. She said ‘My dear, I need to go to the toilet’ to her bride... My mother received many benedictions for this reason. My grandmother died in 1980. We went to the village (in Konya) for the first time. Everybody kissed my mother’s hands. ‘How could you look after this woman? You looked after her for so many years’... Everybody thanked my mother. ‘God bless you. We are lucky that a German bride like you came to us’. If she were a Turk, she would not do anything. I may say that my mother was regarded as a semi-Saint after that event.” (M.Y., male, 47, his mother is from the state of Baden-Württemberg)

43 For more detailed information about leaving, transition and integration, see: Arnold Van Gennep. 2011. The rites of passage.
A German mother was expected not only to look after her children and do the housework but also to develop good relations with her husband’s close relatives. It has been emphasized in the above narrations that the promotion of the status of the German mother among the Turkish relatives was affected by the care that she gave to her diseased mother-in-law. It is observed in this example that the women are regarded to be responsible for providing care for the husband’s close relatives in addition to the housework, looking after the husband, and attending to the childcare in Turkiye where the gender roles are specifically defined.

The Turkish language has been one of the factors that allowed further development of the relationships that the German mothers established with the close family members. The Turkish fathers learned German either in Turkiye or within their education process in Germany or by using German books whereas the German mothers generally learned Turkish from social environments in Turkiye. Although the fact that their husbands could speak German postponed the German women’s learning of Turkish for some time, the German mothers had to learn Turkish since there were not many people speaking a foreign language in their social environments. Though they sustained their communications with the social environments for a while by using body language, it became mandatory to learn Turkish particularly when the children started to go to school. The German mothers improved their Turkish thanks to books and courses, thus they could develop relations with the social environments in Turkiye.

The most significant difficulties that the German mothers experienced included changing religion as a factor in determining and organizing social relations. Looking at how the mothers changed their religions in Turkiye, it is observed that this change usually occurred under the influence of the Turkish fathers and close relatives. In addition to the direct influence of the Turkish side on the mothers’ change of their religion, one may mention indirect influence as well. The processes which deeply affect the family members, such as disease and the death of close relatives, forced the German women’s will and became influential on their orientation toward Islam. A female interviewee who tried to understand her mother’s conversion, tracing and combining the pieces remarked that religion had spiritual power and was regarded as a port of refuge in hard times:

“My brother had congenital cirrhosis, he was hospitalized for two and a half years and then died. My mother probably needed to develop her spiritual aspects when she lost her child… I and my brother never slept at nights when we were about three years old. A new sibling would arrive too; my mother got very tired. My aunt (wife of my uncle) said, ‘There is a preacher (Hodja). I will ask him to pray for them’. The preacher came home and saw that

44 There is only one interviewee whose father does not speak German.
there is a girl and a boy. He said, ‘If I pray for the boy, he will sleep to the degree that he cannot wake up in the morning for his lifetime.’ Mom says, ‘Don’t worry, pray for him.’ In fact, she said so since she did not believe him. Interestingly enough, we started to sleep after the preacher went. I can wake up easily in the morning, but my brother never can, it is still the case. She never said it, but she probably thought, ‘I wish I had a preacher pray for my child’ (her dead baby)… My mother became Muslim when I was twelve years old. My mother told a close friend of my father (it was him who told me about my mother’s conversion), ‘Call me the mufti and I will convert to Islam and surprise my husband’… They never talked about religion at home. Religion entered my life at the age of ten. When I went to my maternal grandmother’s funeral, I found a paper between the documents and learned that my mother was removed from the Protestant church⁴⁵. (M.Ö., female, 50, her mother is from the state of Hamburg)

Many interviewees underlined that their parents did not offer them a religious family atmosphere and they were not forced with respect to the religion they adopted. Additionally, they stated that the place where they lived together and the time they passed there were significant criteria for the development of their belief. For example, respect for differences has a significant place in this trans-religious approach. A female interviewee who said that she read the Quran and the Bible interpreted this respect in association with the risks of having a religion section in the identity cards. Accordingly, belief is private. If a category is to be inserted in the identity cards, this should be being respectful or disrespectful to differences.

When it is asked how the relations of the families and the fathers were, it was replied that the German families’ interventions with the fathers were limited. At that point, one may ask the question, “If the mothers and fathers lived in Germany, what kind of practices would the fathers be expected to develop?” It is difficult to answer this question within the limits of this research. However, it should be noted that the father of the two interviewees changed his religion in Germany during the phase of marriage in order to marry in the church. Namely, we can say that the place where the marriage is sustained is important with respect to religious change.

Looking at the relations with a wider entourage of relatives, firstly the places where social and cultural contact are intense come to the forefront. These are predominantly districts and summer houses. The interviewees took nostalgic trips when they talked particularly about those places located in the cities where they passed their childhood. Another sense of those places for the interviewees is being a part of both their familial past and personal past since

⁴⁵ Certain interviewees whose mothers were Protestant stated that their mothers were anathematized in Germany since they did not pay tax.
they are the areas where certain interviewees established their first personal relations. Those places where the Turkish-German encounters were experienced, and relations were developed are regarded as a significant factor in the development of a feeling of belonging to Türkiye by the children. The children described their houses close to their relatives’ houses in the districts where they passed their childhood as places where their relations were shaped and consolidated. Likewise, the summerhouses where they came together once or a few times a year contributed to the reorganization of the relationships and reproduction and formation of kinship ties softening the relations and narrowing the distances and limits. The children described the summerhouses where they passed the summer months in their childhood as the area for the family members to come together, have a holiday, and socialize at the same time.

There were such German mothers who lived with their mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (görümcü). The patrilocal residence continued with risks narrowing the private sphere, isolating the individual, and bringing women into confrontation. Although the war memory made it easier for the German women to cope with those encounters, it failed to prevent some from having health failures:

“The door of the bedroom was opened at six o’clock in the morning. My aunts barged in, took my brother, and went. My mother said, ‘What’s happening?’ while she was lying in the bed… Jealousy of my father’s sisters… For example, my mother sent her things before she came from Germany. Seeing that the parcels were opened and rummaged through, loss of certain private belongings, my mother suffered from such problems… On the one hand, my grandfather was an illiterate villager. My mother could not speak Turkish. She says, ‘We understood each other speaking broken language’. But luckily my grandfather was a very good person and did not mind. Such an interesting environment… I mean it was an environment like in Turkish movies… My mother is a person who can overcome many difficulties and resume. This is something she has gained since her childhood starting from her experiences in WWII. She is a person who does not give in to poverty and difficulties and who struggles and wins in the end. She overcame cancer twice.” (M.Ş., male, 37, his mother is from the state of Saxony)

The German mothers tried to accommodate themselves to not only their husbands’ relatives but also the social entourage. The social relations in Türkiye are the relations that the German mothers had difficulty in getting used to in certain aspects. Turkish women’s behaviors, such as talking simultaneously, and talking behind one another’s back, forced the German mothers to accommodate themselves to the environment where they live. One of the female interviewees exemplified in her narration her mother’s self-sacrifice in neighborhood relations. In this relationship, the neighbors tried to develop an intimacy with the mother since
they were curious about the mother’s differences. It is striking that the interviewee positioned her mother differently from her neighbors while talking about her:

“One time, there were visiting days. My mother organized such a visiting day once a month in order to be able to communicate with those persons. In fact, I know very well that my mother did it only to keep pace with them, I mean, not for fun. They made so much gossip; this is something which my mother never likes. They came to us because of curiosity. They came wondering, ‘What kind of life do they have? What will she cook?’ because my mother cooked German cakes for them; they were different from what everybody else cooked. My mother never got used to drop-in visits. They knew this and they never dropped in; she managed to establish such an order.” (M.Ö., female, 50, her mother is from the state of Hamburg)

The examples demonstrate that the Turkish fathers determined the form of life in the transnational families that they established in Turkiye remaining loyal to their own cultural habits and exhibiting behaviors consolidating the sense of social belonging. The fathers managed the cultural rituals and behaviors living like a “Turk”. Additionally, the fathers tried to be a bridge between their families and their wives. They tried to repair the social relations that deteriorated or were interrupted and made an effort to maintain their marriages in this manner. The problems that the German wives had with their husbands within the process of looking like Turkish women in order not to be alienated from the whole could get still worse. Most of the interviewees stated that the disputes and cultural conflicts between their mothers and fathers were usually “solved” since their mothers remained silent. Although the silence strategy appears to be a solution, it could not go beyond creating an effect of casting a veil over the problems.

As Bourse emphasized, silence is negative; it is interpreted as a rejection of communication or the sign of discord between individuals (2009: 27). The children criticize their German mothers for their failure to exhibit their distance the neighborhood relations and their kinship relations as well. In addition to this, they do not approve particularly of their mothers’ conversion although they find their mothers strong since they passed the processes of changing their country, language, and name (they do not find themselves so strong), and they find this attitude meaningful under the circumstances. They think that their mothers did not/could not sufficiently use their power from their past.

Although the mothers passed through the process of being included in the group, they failed to develop a sense of fully belonging to the group. The transition was not realized completely as expected, and even still, it was not fully adopted by the German mothers either.
There are those among the mothers who later became Muslim, but who wanted to be buried in a Christian cemetery when they were about to die. The children’s queries about their mothers’ failure to resist inclusion in the group further intensified during such periods.

According to the interviewees’ assessments, it was a way of remaining strong and being alienated from the war memory for the German mothers to establish a life in another country. Nevertheless, this brings about problems difficult to cope with, such as being distant from the family and accommodating oneself to another cultural environment. The women found themselves in some other type of war in Turkiye because of the changes expected of them. Although there are some women who ended their marriages and returned to Germany, the women who maintained their marriages in tremendous problems predominate. The ones whose health worsened while they tried to stand strong in the process of coping with the problems they suffered from and the ones who were left alone in this process remembered the fears that settled in the war memory and the old traumas revived. The psychological therapies that they received in order to cope with the traumas failed to have them forget their pasts related to the war. The ones who suffered from disorders damaging their health, such as cancer, alcohol addiction, chronic depression, and schizophrenia, included the ones who died early.

The German mothers were more welcomed by the Turkish families, especially after conversion. However, although they appeared converted to Islam in Turkiye, it is revealed from their stories of funeral wishes that conversion to Islam was made only formally. The things inherited including culture, history, language, tradition, and a feeling of identity cannot be erased but are disintegrated, questioned, rewritten, and re-oriented (Chambers, 2014: 44). Although the women converted to Islam, the language and name in Turkiye, and are “Turkified”, this change does not mean that they renounced their German identities. Although the women’s efforts to become “native” or “localized” were accepted as being successful by the Turkish families, the critical question relates to how much the women desired to be included in “us”. The Turkish-German children whose mothers are not alive started to ask this question in its real sense after their mothers died. The action which caused them to ask this question is their mothers’ wills regarding their funerals. The German women selected the place and form of being buried that they were familiar with, namely, according to German customs.

It is remarkable that, as a result of her observations since her childhood, a female interviewee held her father responsible for the exhaustion of her mother who lived her life “in a vegetative state”. She thinks that her mother’s efforts to accommodate herself too much did not render her peaceful. Having broken with the family in Germany, it prevented her from returning to Germany, and her failure to return made the German mother ill:
“They lived in Ayancık (in Sinop). A civilized place… The family is civilized, too. They value reading and knowledge… It is such a family, but all families are conservative when it comes to religion. I guess my grandmother covered her head after her husband died and she further turned into herself. Loss, sorrow, financial collapse… Everybody who suffers turns his/her face to his/her religion. My mother no longer has a social entourage to which she belongs, she was left alone (she had German friends in the cities where she lived previously). My father broke her off from them… My mother lived in the house only with us and drowned her sorrows… She just kept silent, she wore a mask on her face, as if there was a statue before me. Mom had lung cancer. We informed my aunt. She came from Germany. My aunt said, ‘I talked to your mother, she wants to be buried in a Christian cemetery’. Your mother said ‘There is a cemetery in Şişli. Its garden is very beautiful, very spacious’. She also wanted the prayer to be made in it… (The interviewee cries here). My mother told us, ‘There is a priest there, tell him about me’ and we did so… My father oppressed my mother very much and mom kept a secret that she was Christian in reality. I was touched by this very much… I would call my father to account for this if he were alive… In fact, he was not fanatically religious, he was consciously religious. Consequently, it is more difficult to forgive him. My father used to introduce himself as a very tolerant person. I mean by tolerant, a sympathizer… I found it strange. I found it very strange.” (S.K., female, 52, her mother is from the state of Baden-Württemberg)

This mother, who is one of the German women who converted, could not implement her religious practices related to Christianity in her daily life in Türkiye just like the other mothers who converted. The mother died with the hope of realization of a funeral conforming to Christianity.

5.5. Conclusion

The German mothers had to live in Türkiye keeping in mind the conditions that make it possible to survive in their war memories and the strategies that they developed on the basis of those conditions. Although the mothers censor the heritage that they took over from the first generation who experienced war, this heritage occupied them in their “new homeland”. On the other hand, the Turkish fathers assumed significant roles in Türkiye offering service to their country. They showed their national feelings and loyalty to their country in the strategies that they followed in their marriages as well.

The German mothers (similarly to their families who directly experienced the war) and the Turkish men found themselves in some sort of war during their marriages. Since a large part

46 The interviewee said that she had occupied herself with those details since she was ten years old. She said, “I want to tell it, particularly, because I want it to be recorded, to be discussed, and to be known”. The interviewee shared further her own observations as well saying, “I would like to further state that the Turkish husbands from the Aegean Region around us did not force their German wives to convert, but the ones from the Black Sea Region did”.
of the lives of the German mothers and the Turkish fathers passed in Türkiye, the intervention of the relatives of the fathers in the marriages was relatively higher. In the beginning, the German mothers tried to elude their German side and the Turkish fathers tried to elude their Turkish sides in order to establish a union. Despite these efforts, they were able to hold on to their cultural habits more tightly over time.

The Turkish-German marriages pose examples of how the approaches toward being “local” and “foreign” varied. In addition to this, it reveals the meanings of being a family, relative, and community as well. They also developed the middle- and upper classes emerging in Türkiye while those social units were built. The combination of the professional skills of the Turkish fathers and the cultural accumulations of the German mother consolidated the growth of those classes.

Although the German women who had different characteristics (physical, social, and cultural) made a lot of effort to join the Turkish husbands’ relatives, they silently felt their “foreignness”. The children extracted a sorrowful story from their mothers’ attempts of localization (to be native). The children assessed their parents’ marriage performances on the basis of success criteria. Accordingly, the patriarchal attitudes of the fathers are abortive because of the cultural impositions on the mothers; on the other hand, the mothers’ courage is successful despite everything. The children who cannot observe inside them their mothers’ endurance try to carry their mothers’ silence into the future, today. Producing sound from this silence\textsuperscript{47} shall allow them to pay the debts they felt toward the children and the next generations.

The awareness of today’s generation has a dimension producing a solution for the deadlocks. Accordingly, the point is how one looks at the fact. Integrity could be provided by not being afraid of the differences as well. Focusing on the unitary nature of the similarities rather than on the discriminant nature of the differences may imprison the cultural distinctions and conflicts in history.

The children who attempted to settle accounts with their close family histories found themselves in identity negotiations at the same time. The generation that is in the negotiation process is still discussing the meanings of being Turkish and German among themselves. In the next chapter, the attempts in the process of becoming a generation and those negotiations are presented simultaneously.

\textsuperscript{47} Many interviewees said that they experienced the excitement of being heard by participating in this research.
6. CULTURAL TRANSFERS AND TURKISH-GERMAN IDENTITY

“I perceive the concept of hybrid in terms of race rather than any human. Before, I used to consider that it covered animals, plants, etc.; all are very reproductive and much superior. Perhaps my father thought that his marriage was based on logical grounds because he also knew that hybridization would reproduce many more reproductive individuals in the next generations, and he always repeated this. In the end, my father is an Arab-Turkish hybrid. My aunt (her uncle’s wife), who brought him up, was a Kurdish-Arab hybrid. My aunt was a very intelligent woman. Perhaps she was not very beautiful, but she was very skillful. She was a woman who graduated from a girls’ technical high school under the conditions of the 1930s. How many women who graduated from such schools were there in Turkiye in those days? I’m sure that my father examined these issues in detail. When it comes to the common points he shared with my mother, mom is a sophisticated woman who knows about music, ballet, and swimming. These are already parts of her culture, and perhaps my father married her since he liked such characteristics in her, and he wanted such things in his life.” (M.Ö., female, 50, her mother is from the state of Hamburg)

I have already discussed the process of the institutionalization of the Turkish-German coupling. The children underlined substantially the similarities of their parents in addition to the cultural differences between them while talking about the form of their parent’s marriage. The children generally expressed positive views about the concept of “hybridity” and used this concept to define themselves. As is observed in the abovementioned example, it is remarkable that the children consider that the idea of creating a “reproductive generation” (hybrid) was influential on their Turkish fathers’ decision to marry their German wives. Accordingly, the genetic inheritance shall prosper through genetic flow and the cultural heritage shall prosper through certain cultural sharing. The children born of those marriages shall be carried beyond the nation as the project generation.

This research suggests that the transnational habituses of the families -considering their attitudes toward their children born, their practices, and the cultural experiences that the children gain in life- have intertwined in line with the institutionalization of the

48 The factors which bring the mothers and fathers together include common traits such as a high level of education, experience of Europe, artistic and sportive activities, and establishing a modern life.
Turkish-German coupling. The characteristics which become visible in the children’s names, languages, education, cultural practices, and daily activities, which are related to their habituses, constitute the basis of this chapter for suggesting how a transnational generation built up its worldview and identity. Consequently, the details about the relation between generation and identity construction are given here.

6.1. Introduction: Attempts to create a generation and identity

The Turkish fathers and German mothers decided on the names that they would give to their children, the languages that they would teach them, and how they would determine their cultural practices and education considering a fortiori the cultural and social conditions prevailing in their lives. Mostly, the fathers intervene in the issues of giving names and cultural practices, and mostly the mothers intervene in the issues of acquiring linguistic skills and education. The fathers’ interventions are the actions performed to resist the discrimination toward their children in Turkiye49, and the mothers’ interventions aim at resisting the discrimination in transnational realms. Both parents target their children’s welfare through their interventions.

Additionally, the life that the fathers and the mothers will offer their children in Turkiye shall have a transnational nature in certain aspects as a consequence of their experiences both in Germany and in Turkiye. Accordingly, the children should live without being excluded from their social environment. However, the children’s lives should be shaped at a certain level within the context of the languages they acquire, the quality of education, and even the working conditions. Namely, the families aimed to raise their children in a manner that will allow them to live comfortably both in Turkiye and in various other countries and made transfers to their children accordingly.

The transfer allows the next generations to acquire similar positions in the social environment (Lahaye et al. 2011: 40). The transfers of the mothers, fathers, and even their parents affect the children performing specific activities in their daily lives and developing certain approaches. Some habits that the children maintain in their own lives, their activities including business, art, and sports are shaped by the effect of previous generations’ (particularly the German side’s) social relations and ethical approaches. The efforts of the mothers and fathers, the things transferred by the families and the children’s personal experiences added to this and determined how the children position themselves in their social areas, how they are defined, and how they express themselves.

49 Most children interviewed passed and pass a large part of their lives in Turkiye as mentioned previously as well.
Societies need memory and reinterpretation of the past in order to construct themselves in collective forms such as “nation” (Antze et al., 1996: xxi). In this context, Maurice Halbwachs remarked on the dialectic relation between personal and social memory (Nora, 1989: 9). Accordingly, the person defines himself/herself with a collective identity allowing the determination of his/her belonging (Lahaye et al., 2011: 288). The mothers and fathers made an effort to enable their children to develop both Turkish and German identities on the one hand and identities exceeding those identities on the hand. However, this effort, as Antze remarked, was an attempt to create a generation sensitive to cultural differences rather than the concern for creating a nation.

Michel Bourse (2009: 17) briefly defines identity as a “cultural, political and ideological structure”. Certain postmodernist theoreticians skeptically approach the issue of identity together with culture and defense of that identity is produced for specific purposes (Eagleton, 2011a: 9). Identity narrations could be produced for the purpose of creating specific groups and mobilizing them (Martin, 1995: 5). The mothers and fathers transferred to their children their identity experiences filtered through their memories and containing struggle against the discriminative discourses they encountered. The children, just as Stuart Hall (1990: 224) indicated, reconstruct their identities making use of the previous generations’ transfers rather than rediscovering their identities.

The children’s identity constructions are directly related to not only the things transferred but also the attitudes of the community toward them. As Frederik Barth suggested, the identity from a cultural heritage is the product and consequence of the processes of identification shaped by social inequality and power relations (Doytcheva, 2013: 122). The social encounters of the children in their own social environments indicate that their processes of identity, belonging, and identification change depending on the positions they take in the social environment.

The children stated in many examples they gave that they obtained a remarkable position in their social environments. The children explain the position they obtained with having a cultural background in addition to different phenotypic characteristics. They consider that particularly having grown up with both Turkish and German cultures rendered them more sensitive to cultural differences. The most important issue to be indicated at this point is that the children did not mention a situation created by the combination of two equal parts while defining themselves as a hybrid, and they don’t define the level of the influence of cultures on them through a proportional expression.
According to Bourdieu (2000), self-classification of each individual—which is not usually a conscious process—is at the same time classification of other individuals considering their similarities and differences with oneself (c.f. Karadağ, 2009: 200-201). The children were influenced by their personal experiences with their social environments and reflected these in their own behaviors highlighting from time to time the similarities between them and their communities and the differences at other times and relativizing the same arrangement of their distance to the communities. The inequalities that they produced mutually relied on the differences between them and their friends, and reinforced them to obtain privileged positions.

It should be noted that the children generally created their positions within the community on the basis of modernity and they arranged their identity constructs accordingly. Çağlar (2000: 131) remarks that persons with different cultural origins defined as hybrid, creole, and identities with a “hyphen” could synthesize differences and contradictions without destroying them. Likewise, the hybrid position, as defined by the Turkish-German generation, prospers through the participation of Turkish, German, and even other cultures (and languages) they contact with.

Identities could be compared to flowing rivers. They take something from each point they pass over and leave their traces on each point (Martin 1995: 2). The children’s hybrid positions and their Turkish-German identifications are influenced by many variables such as physical appearance, age, gender, education, country of residence and the time passed in that country, the form of the social relations established, and the conditions of the era. These variables are deterministic in the production of similarities and differences between them. Accordingly, the similarities shall bring together and create integrity; the differences on the other hand will allow them to keep themselves separate from others and develop their awareness at the same time. They frequently explained in the interviews that they viewed many social events differently from others, exhibited sensitive attitudes, and developed extraordinary solutions to problems (as may be seen in the following pages). As Keyman remarks, listening to and hearing the different shall orient one to understand and critically analyze (2009: 56).

Briefly, the children frequently emphasized that both the genetic inheritance and cultural transmissions from the previous generations and their different social experiences influence their perceptions of themselves as different from others, and the development of their awareness and process of identification. The findings which will reveal the differences of the Turkish-German generation viewed as different in their social environment from others and at the same time their similarities with them shall be given in this last chapter of the book. I will focus in this chapter on the children’s comprehension of identity depending on their
self-positioning and the practices of raising up the children and try to show how familial transmissions and cultural identity are interpreted.

6.2. Secular and religious practices in the child-rearing practices of Turkish-German families

What kind of habituses the children born in the families established by the Turkish fathers and German mothers will have from the moment they are born and how they will be brought up is related to their parents’ decisions and the expectations of their community and culture. The names given to the children, the education they receive, the children’s professional lives, leisure time activities, activities such as transition practices from one status to another, celebrations, and feasts contain secular and religious references. In addition to this, genetic inheritance is as deterministic as culture. Genetic inheritance directly determines physical characteristics. There are persons among the interviewees, though few, who stated that they and even their children had genius. One may say additionally that they are generally fair-faced with blue eyes, and tall in terms of physical appearance (Many of them stated that they had European appearance). On the other hand, a few interviewees have different characteristics. Those characteristics may allow them to obtain a separate “special” position in the country where they live. For example, a young, dark-skinned, hazel-eyed, and tall female interviewee stated that she worked as a model of bridal gowns for a while in Germany since she had physical characteristics different from the Germans and did well out of that job in that period.

Cultural heritages constitute the children’s cultural patterns. I mentioned in the previous chapter that the German mothers exhibited a silent attitude in the process of redetermination of their names, religions, and languages in Turkiye after marrying Turkish men. The mothers maintained their silence when their children were in question. The decisions about the children’s names, whether they would be baptized or circumcised, and the types of ceremonies to be celebrated within the family were usually taken by the Turkish fathers. In return, the mothers who passed the time at home together with the children were effective with respect to determining the language and institutional education areas and how the ceremonies to be celebrated would be realized. In other words, the fathers rather intervened in the form of the children’s habituses and the mothers intervened in the contents thereof.

A majority of the children have Turkish names. This should be assessed considering the decisions that the mothers and fathers had taken for living in Turkiye before their children were born. In general, the country where the family lived was influential in the selection of the names given to the children. The idea of giving only Turkish names to the children
usually belonged to the fathers. According to many interviewees who stated that their fathers particularly preferred to give them only Turkish names, by giving Turkish names to their children their fathers both exhibited their patriotism and offered cultural service to the motherland in addition to technical service.

There is nobody among the interviewees who has only a German name. If the life of the German mother and Turkish father was established in Germany and it was planned to pass a major part of the life there or it was planned that the child would live abroad, the name to be given to the child was generally determined as a double name, one Turkish and the other German, upon the shared decision of the mother and father. According to the interviewees, the actions of the families who succeeded in giving a double name to their child while living in Turkiye are particularly the German mothers’ victory against social oppression. An example which is found rarely, the mother who did not change her religion resisted cultural interventions only by rejecting to change her religion. In addition to this, she gave the name “Viktorya” to her daughter with her husband’s support and they did the thing contrary to what was expected of them (giving a Turkish name to one’s child). The German mother embodied the victory she won together with her Turkish husband with the symbolic meaning of her child’s name.

Certain interviewees may implement the technique of giving a double name developed by their parents while naming their own children. For example, a female interviewee, who started to learn Turkish at the age of 12 and who had quite a lot of difficulty with learning this language, stated that she came to Turkiye for the first time after the age of 20 as a candidate anthropologist and within the scope of her doctorate project. Although her husband is German and they live in Germany, she and her German husband gave a double name to their son. The reason for this is the discrimination that she suffered because of her Turkish name while looking for an apartment in Germany despite having a double name. She explained the reason for giving a Turkish name to her child despite her own experience of discrimination with her view of finding meaningful togetherness through national identities rather than an origin:

“We telephone together with my boyfriend -my current husband. We ask, ‘Do you have an apartment?’ At first, everything goes right. They ask me, ‘What time will you come, could I take a name?’ I tell my name, and then he says, ‘This is not a German name’. Later, I say ‘My father is a Turk’. He says ‘OK, I will see. Perhaps I will have a shortage of time in those hours. Maybe I have another appointment’. I mean people freeze up in Germany when they hear my name… For instance, when I talk to people in Turkiye, they say ‘You speak Turkish and you speak it quite well, what is the reason for this?’ They ask; ‘Is there a Turk in your family? How do you define your nationality?’. And I say, ‘I’m both Turkish
and German’. And they say, ‘Your father is a Turk, so you are’. Namely, they say that it is the seed that matters, not the soil50 … I and my husband made a decision. I wanted to give a Turkish name to our son as the second name. I wanted the Turkish identity to continue because it is something nice” (A.B.Y., female, 37, her mother is from the state of Bavaria).

There are some among the interviewees whose German families and Turkish families gave their children the names of family elders. A similar tendency is observed in the interviewees as well. The interviewees who try to give their children the names of the persons to whom they feel close and whom they love while selecting names for their children associate the meaning of giving the names of the deceased with the effort to carry the important/influential personalities in the families and at the same time the national identity for eternity by means of their children. This shared attitude further appears to be a cultural dimension of the efforts of the nations to render their socialness continuous.

The most significant place within familial and institutional education of the children is occupied by language education. They have received different language education since the moment of their birth. There are some who learned both languages simultaneously in the early years of their lives and others who learned only Turkish or only German. Approximately half of them started to learn both languages simultaneously. It is observed that the parents increasingly preferred to teach their children both languages; nevertheless, they paid particular attention to teaching German as a priority (Table 5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5: The first language the interviewees learned</th>
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<tr>
<td>Age 39 and below</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
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<td>Turkish</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turkish and German</td>
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<td>Others</td>
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The mothers and fathers who attempted to teach their children both languages did this by speaking only their own languages to their children. In such cases, the language which the mothers and fathers used to talk to each other is generally English. The children stated that they replied to the Turkish-speaking father only in Turkish, and the German-speaking mother only in German in the process of their language acquisition. The children who continuously heard English additionally learned three different languages simultaneously within the same

50 For detailed information, see: Carol Delaney. 2002. Tohum ve Toprak. Türk Köy Toplumunda Cinsiyet ve Kozmoloji (The Seed and the Soil: Gender and Cosmology in Turkish Village Society).
period. The interviewees stated that they learned the languages better as a consequence of the conscious teaching of different languages simultaneously by their mothers and fathers. The interviewees think that this method increased their interest in learning new languages at the same time.

The children who passed the majority of their lives in Turkiye emphasized that they could express themselves better in Turkish, and the idioms, proverbs, and even the swearwords they used were in Turkish although they learned both languages well. On the other hand, the children who passed the majority of their lives in Germany stated that they could express themselves better in German and they used German more intensely in their daily lives. It is observed at that point that the variable determining the more qualified and effective use of the language is the place of residence.

The methods of the families to teach language varies between the first child and the children born subsequently. Here, it is necessary to emphasize that the families determined their method of teaching the language to their children born subsequently depending on the result obtained from the process of the first child. If the first child learned the language(s) intended to be taught within the family as desired and if the child did not suffer from any discrimination within the community he/she lived in, the next children were educated in the same manner as well. If the contrary is observed, the child was taught the language of the place of residence first. It is necessary to remark at this point that particularly the children who learned only German until they went to elementary school in Turkiye were usually exposed to discrimination and exclusion when they started school. Many interviewees emphasized that their first debates relating to identity started in their years of elementary school.

The children’s unfavorable experiences in their daily lives do not only arise from their inability to speak Turkish. The ones who have foreign names, even though they speak Turkish fluently, needed to question their cultural identity as well. The different studies conducted have verified that having different names leads to feeling different during school years corresponding to childhood (Komşuoğlu, Örs, 2014: 231). The interviewees emphasized that having encountered discriminative discourses hurt them at the beginning, but later oriented them toward finding the answers to some questions with respect to the family. They attempted to find the answers to the questions they thought about by asking such questions as, “Who am I?”, “Why do they call us Nazis, etc.”, “What did my German family live during the war?”, “What do my German family think about their experiences related to the war?”, “How do my German family interpret the war?”. 
There are also German mothers who were forced by their Turkish husbands to speak Turkish in Turkiye, though few. Those mothers speaking only Turkish to their children conduced the child to try to learn their mother’s language subsequently by means of books, courses, etc. The efforts to learn the mother’s language subsequently never gave as good results as acquiring it within a natural process. Furthermore, the fact that the mother transferred the Turkish that she learned subsequently to her children with poor pronunciation makes it more difficult for the interviewees to use both languages (Turkish and German) efficiently. Similarly, the children who grew up speaking only German feel the lack of Turkish which they tried to learn subsequently.

This research supports the idea that language is not only a means of communication but also has aspects which reinforce social ties and even creates the feeling of belonging. A female interviewee who learned Turkish in Turkiye where she came with an Erasmus Student Exchange Program associated her sympathy for Turkiye with the meanings of the Turkish expressions containing hope and love:

“Idioms, proverbs… For example, you enter a store and say ‘May it be easy for you. / All power to your elbow’ (Kolay gelsin!). ‘Your work is perhaps too hard, your life is difficult, and I want to give you hope, let it be easy for you, may it be easy for you …’ Or you say, ‘Well done, thanks’ (Ellerine sağlık!) after a meal… Namely, you say ‘I wish health to your hands, your hands made delicious things.’ And you accept it. I mean Turkish is a very rich language and I like it very much.” (L.M.O., female, 25, her mother is from the state of North Ren-Westphalia)

Looking through the number of languages that the interviewees can speak including Turkish and German, it is observed that they added two more languages to their lives in addition to their mothers’ and fathers’ languages and that the young are increasingly more interested in learning foreign languages. Apart from Turkish and German, the languages they learned are English, French, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Latin, Greek, Arabic, Kazakh, and Ottoman Turkish (Table 6-7).
Comparing the interviewees on a gender basis, it is observed that the female interviewees learned a higher number of languages. One reason for this is that they grew up learning only German in the early years of their lives at higher proportions and as a consequence of this, they encountered problems arising from a lack of Turkish in their lives in Turkiye. Another reason is that they have been abroad for education and business purposes for a longer period of time (Table 8).

The children frequently emphasized that the number of the languages that the German mothers spoke and the countries that they had been to throughout their lives -compared to the Turkish fathers- was higher. They expressed on this basis that they particularly regarded their mothers as the ground for them having intense relations with different languages. An intense relationship with language shapes the inner worlds of the interviewees at the same time. For example, the interviewees stated that the language that they spoke in their dreams, the scene of the dream, and the actors in the dream varied depending on their natures. Accordingly, the scene, subject and content of the dream and the language that the person(s) they dreamed of determined in which language they expressed themselves while they were dreaming.
consequently with persons having different cultural characteristics. The interviewees stated that they also followed the method that their parents applied to them while they provided language education for their own children.

The mothers made a significant contribution to their children’s learning of different languages, playing an important role in determining their fields of education as well, and contributing to the reinforcement of the children’s professional skills. The German mothers intensely attended to their children’s institutional education within the period from pre-school education to the end of university education and at the same time were actively involved in their children’s professional lives. The country where the Turkish-German generation studied pre-school education to the end of high school education is a fortiori Turkiye. This result is associated with the fact that their place of residence was predominantly in Turkiye. The schools which had a significant place in their lives in Turkiye included the German High School, Austrian High School, Istanbul High School, Üsküdar American High School, European College, and Robert College (Photograph 8).

![Photograph 8: Elementary school graduation ceremony of an interviewee](image)

Education is generally provided by public schools in the education system in Germany. Nevertheless, from the viewpoint of the interviewees, private schools and particularly German schools\(^\text{52}\) are increasingly preferred in Turkiye.

Even though the countries where the interviewees received a university education included Turkiye placed at the top, Germany occupies a significant place as well. Looking at the issue

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\(^{52}\) The number of German education institutions further increases in Turkiye, particularly in Istanbul.
from a sex-based perspective, it is revealed that the men studied in various countries at a higher proportion and the women rather studied in Turkiye or Germany at the university level. The higher the level of education, the more the parents orient their children toward studying at private schools providing education in foreign languages or abroad. The interviewees have similar attitudes toward their own children as well.

The interviewees who studied in the field of social sciences at university mostly graduated from the departments of education and language including pedagogy, and German or English teaching, and the ones who studied in the field of natural sciences graduated from the departments associated with engineering. The fields in which the children studied at the university level were generally parallel to the fields of their German mothers who studied a fortiori in social areas rather than their fathers’ fields and this similarity increased year by year. Similar tendencies are observed for the interviewees’ siblings and even for the children of the next generation interviewees (the fourth generation).

The professions for which the fathers gave room to their sons are departments concerned with engineering, just like their own professions, and the professions for which the mothers gave room to their daughters are departments concerned with education and foreign language, again just like their own professions. In other words, one may say that the girls usually benefitted from the language capital of their families and the boys benefited from the economic capital of their families in addition to the language. Many families generally oriented the children who grew up with a minimum of three languages to the education fields, which would allow the maintaining of the businesses performed within the family. The mothers and fathers strengthened the cultural and economic capital as suggested by Bourdieu by offering their children such opportunities as learning foreign languages and studying abroad, which render them privileged in professional life and facilitate being preferred, and trying to preserve the children’s “scarcity” (Karadağ, 2009: 194).

There are similarities both between the interviewees’ education and their parents’ and between their jobs and their parents’ jobs. Those jobs particularly include marketing/sales/commerce, some part of which is related to engineering and editorship/translation. The ones who dealt with the work of marketing/sales/commerce benefited from the opportunities of the work offered to them in the family company. On the other hand, the editorship/translation jobs offer them the means for transforming Turkish, German, or English, which they spoke well, into capital.

The engineer fathers filled a significant gap in Turkiye under the industrialization thrust on the one hand and became determinants of the market, on the other hand, using the engineering
education they received in Germany. This research suggests that those positions of the fathers increasingly changed in today’s Türkiye. Although the professional fields that the family members oriented their children toward and the business order established gave advantage to the interviewees, the young persons have alternative job experiences as well. Particularly, the new generations started to be estranged from the tradition of a family company, trying to gain experience in different fields rather than maintaining the family businesses. The language education that the children received at schools determined the corporate identity of the business place (as international companies) as much as the types of work they performed and contributed to the ascension of their statuses in the jobs they performed. Since the female interviewees worked in foreign companies, particularly German companies, it was rather the women who increased the number of languages that they spoke.

The gradual estrangement of the children from the family companies led to a gradual decrease in the effectiveness of the fathers who are still in business life. Looking at the issue from an intergenerational viewpoint, although engineering and teaching have continued for four generations, the new generations tend towards alternative jobs which could be performed in different countries as well, and which are for definite periods, which could be sustained simultaneously with studentship, and which are practical and amusing, and allow the learning of new languages and the development of social skills.

There are individuals who found their first jobs by means of their family circles as well as those who found their first jobs by means of the social circles they created, and this approach develops. The German mothers who came to Türkiye and gained experience, particularly in the field of education, occupied positions in the management cadres in the education sector in later times taking advantage of speaking different languages and the opportunities that they and their Turkish husbands’ social networks provided. As mentioned previously, the German institutions/entities which the mothers contacted in Türkiye, including Die Brücke, etc., are the centers where they arranged their social relations on the one hand and developed their business relations on the other hand. It has been observed throughout the fieldwork that the interviewees were not much interested in the activities of such institutions/entities. In other words, although their mothers took active roles in those activities, the children exhibit a passive attitude. The children gained the chance to work in companies where they could earn more through those networks.

Although the average age of recruitment is 21, there are those among the interviewees who had entered into professional life before they reached the lawful age (the age officially accepted as the lawful age in Türkiye is 18). The most striking characteristic of the interviewees with
respect to professional life is that they began to work at an early age and have experiences in many different fields additionally. Although they have better economic conditions than many others, the families (particularly the mothers) encouraged their children to enter professional life at early ages. The children consider that entrance into professional life at an early age provided them with such advantages as developing language and communication skills, acquiring economic independence and status, learning about life, and maturing. The family’s doctrine on working became the ground of the children’s opinions related to the ability to hold on to life on one’s own:

“The summer holiday should not last for three months. Children aged 14-15 should work because they must earn money. This is something beyond being sophisticated (he says this in terms of education). They should work to gain a place within the society in order to stay in these territories. Or else, you can be sophisticated but stay as the spoonmaker’s diamond (kaşıkçı elması) in Topkapı Palace. You wait for your time to increase in value.” (O.E.B., male, 41, his mother is from the state of Lower Saxony)

Another male interviewee tried to demonstrate what gaining the practice of working at an early age contributed to him through the diversity of the types of jobs that he performed. Accordingly, he did the following jobs respectively throughout his professional life which started when he was eleven years old: water hawker, model, coach, investment expert, pizza boy, waiter, dishwasher, cook, textile transporter, interior architect and restorer, contractor, and marketing and sales (representative office of European companies in Turkiye).

The children who learned to earn money at an early age reinterpreted the understandings related to the styles of spending the money transferred to them by their families. For example, the ones among the interviewees who lived in Germany for many years and who still live there (particularly the youngsters) prefer “the typical payment style of German people” (Alman usulü ödeme). The interviewees define this style, which they say they have learned from their families, as the expenditures that everybody makes for what he/she consumes. I observed during the research that the interviewees preferred this style in their social rendezvouses. For instance, the interviewee, who is the daughter of a wealthy family and who came to our interview with a close girlfriend, did not pay for what her friend consumed.

Kyvig and Marty (2011: 5) emphasize that the habits of being thrifty, acquired by your grandmothers and grandfathers during the period of the great depression, affected both your parents and you. According to the interviewees, the war memory was significantly influential on the ability to hold on to life by starting to work at an early age and the emergence of a method of sharing this payment. It should be noted here that the interviewees did not insist
on applying that method of sharing the payment though they adopted the method. Having ties with Türkiye led them to exhibit different cultural behaviors. There were those among the interviewees who made payments with discourses such as “the typical payment style of Turkish people (Türk usulü ödeme) is valid here, the typical payment style of German people does not work”. The male interviewees older than me paid the bills despite my insistence during the interviews held in outdoor places. One of the women whom I interviewed exhibited the same attitude as well.

Assessing the viewpoints of the interviewees about money, remembering the war memory full of poverty and the stories of hunger transferred from one generation to the next, determined the method of paying money on the one hand and developed an awareness related to hunger. At that point, one may say that the experiences of the war were held aloft, and those experiences affected various behaviors for generations.

The places where the interviewees spent their professional lives also revealed important findings about their cultural capital and habituses. Half of them started their professional lives in Turkish companies and the other half started to work in companies in Germany, America, and other countries. It should be noted at this point that the international companies they were employed at encouraged the interviewees to learn new languages. The number of German companies included in the international companies in Türkiye has gradually increased in recent years. Deniz Sert defends that the Germans in Türkiye are more advantageous in the labor market since they are regarded as being more educated and professional (2012: 98). Thanks to this viewpoint, the interviewees, their siblings, and even the interviewees’ own children satisfy the human resource that those companies need.

Expansion of the children’s language capital provides a more advantageous position in professional life on the one hand and contributed to contact with cultural circles on the other hand. The interviewees frequently emphasized that the more they were acquainted with differences the more sensitive to the differences they became and maintained their identity negotiations on the basis of such sensitivity. Although they differentiated as they added new qualifications to their existing qualifications, the new cultural environments make it easier to learn new languages and consolidate their desires to be closely acquainted with persons having different cultural characteristics.

The things transferred by the families to their children include various activities such as art and sports in addition to language, institutional education, and the field of work. The interviewees with high rates of speaking foreign languages usually follow various publications
such as newspapers, journals, books, or TV in English or German. Bourdieu (2013: 245) emphasizes that the members of the privileged class acquired their artistic competencies unwittingly and that their habituses were an automatic transfer. The artistic and even sportive activities that the mothers and fathers orient their children to significantly determined the fields of interest of the children. Looking through the artistic and even sportive activities they performed, one may say that many interviewees do not regularly perform those activities in Turkiye. Nevertheless, they remarked that those activities were important parts of their daily lives, particularly in their childhood periods. It is usually the mothers who make their children like both types of activities.

The German mothers performed those activities in their own family circles and at the schools where they studied. The mothers performed such activities as singing in various choruses, listening to classical music and opera, playing musical instruments such as the guitar and flute, performing ballet, and dancing in their daily lives before getting married. The sportive activities that the mothers perform include such sportive branches as trekking, cycling, swimming, and skiing. On the other hand, the fathers were generally involved in many of those activities after getting married. Exceptionally, there are only a few fathers active in the field of sports in Turkiye. For instance, one of the interviewees mentioned proudly her father, who is a graduate of Istanbul High School, opened one of the first surfing schools in Turkiye.

Although dealing with art and sports appears to be the activities of daily life, the interviewees interpreted having acquired those hobbies as a part of their upbringing. The activities that the mothers and fathers (more frequently the mothers) shared with their children in their daily lives determined many of the children’s fields of interest. Some of the interviewees and their children participate in activities including tango, salsa, and yoga, etc., which are popular nowadays, despite their limited budgets. The activities that the interviewees perform are their characteristics which keep them separate and different from many other persons in their social circles. Moreover, the practices mentioned here may be regarded as indicators of class in Turkiye. However, discussing the issue within the context of Germany cannot be considered exactly a class indicator. The fact that the education provided in Germany is intertwined with art and sport and the price of this education is paid by the state rather than the families indicates that the issue of class should be discussed separately and multi-dimensionally.

The activities such as transition practices/rituals from one status to another, celebrations, and festivals in the Turkish-German families, on the other hand, are closely related to how the
family members live their religious beliefs. There are those among the interviewees’ mothers who are Protestant or Catholic. On the other hand, the fathers are usually Sunnis. According to the interviewees, their parents experience religious practices, mostly as practices that bring family members together, especially on holy days. Namely, they expressed the place of religious rituals in their own lives as a traditionalized cultural form rather than belief-centric.

As the children grew up, they started to be acquainted with transition practices/rituals from one status to another, and ceremonies for the celebration of special days, which are specific to both countries. Since the decisions about children’s names, and whether they would be baptized or circumcised were usually taken by the Turkish fathers, German mothers (who lived in Turkiye and the vast majority of whom became Muslim) were less likely to have their children baptized. A female interviewee was one of the rare persons who was baptized, and she took the certificate of baptism from the family archive during the interview and stated that her father, having changed his religion, played a significant role in her baptism53 (Figure 3).

Figure 3: The certificate of baptism of a female interviewee

53 There are two individuals whose Turkish fathers changed their religions and became Christians.
Unlike baptism, all the boys were circumcised. The interviewees underlined that their mothers did not intervene in their circumcision since they found it useful for health.

It was again the fathers who decided which celebration ceremonies would be held at home in the children’s lives in Turkiye. If the mothers converted to Islam, the celebration of Christian practices at home was restricted. In return, Islam was lived by being reinterpreted in daily life. The interviewees’ narrations related to special days such as Eid al-Adha, Eid al-Fitr, and Christmas, and indicate that those days were generally celebrated at home for the purpose of rearranging social relations rather than with a theological approach. The order and lifestyle established at home, the parties, including birthday parties, etc., organized at home by the German mothers that the Turkish entourage was curious about were transformed into events which brought differences together and where social relations developed. A female interviewee whose mother changed her religion reports how they maintained their lives in the context of which she was never exposed to oppression and how the celebrations made at home rendered her family different from other families as follows:

“...We never suffered from oppression. For instance, my father used to drink two double glasses of vodka a day except for during Ramadan. He read his book, and listened to classical music; this was the case every evening from half past seven to half past nine… My father used to fast in Ramadan, but I have never known things such as Islamic alms-charity, zakat, prayer, etc. Even Eid al-Adha has never entered our house. Animals were sacrificed for God in the factory where my father worked, but we knew nothing about this. Some meat of the animal sacrificed in the factory was sent to our house… I mean we were a very special family. For example, we had everything not found in Turkiye in our house… We used to celebrate a very tremendous birthday party at home for the three of us in December (the birthdays of the three siblings were celebrated on a common day). Everywhere was ornamented. All kinds of food was on the table, candles, toys, everything… And also, German cakes… The children of the entire district, all my school friends and the adults wanted to come. We had even a Christmas tree on New Year’s day before my mother became Muslim.” (M.Ö., female, 50, her mother is from the state of Hamburg)

As is seen, it is substantially the social expectations which determine the fathers’ decisions on whether the practices related to the traditions or special days would enter the house in Turkiye, if they would, in which forms they would enter. While cultural practices in line with these expectations are mostly realized outside the home, some practices peculiar to German culture can be experienced in the home. Although children find this lifestyle “perfect” for the first years of their lives, they have become more aware of the pressure of social expectations in the following years. For instance, they will witness in later times that their mothers -although they converted to Islam- did not cut off their relationship with Christianity.
The mothers and fathers decided jointly on what celebration ceremonies were to be held at home in the children’s lives in Germany. The special days which are peculiar to Christianity and Islam were rather celebrated as the days of coming together for the families within daily life in Germany. The children stated that their German mothers did not want their Turkish spouses to convert to Christianity. The children also stressed that their mothers did not interfere in the celebration of Muslim practices at home. In addition, they underlined that their fathers did not fulfill their religious practices in Germany as they did in Turkiye. They interpreted the contrary attitudes of their fathers when they returned to Turkiye making an emphasis on the social conditions in Turkiye. In other words, their fathers’ religious devotion became apparent in Turkiye.

The children who witnessed their fathers’ practices of devotion in their lives in Turkiye as well as the process of their mothers getting used to their “new religion” (Islam) interpreted both religions with a superior point of view. The similarities between the religions found by the interviewees who searched for the intersection points of the religions and interpreted the religions, shape their beliefs and ethical understandings:

“The reality of Islam is good morality as is the case in all other religions. My grandmother respected everything. When my grandmother came to Turkiye once, it was Ramadan. My grandmother said, ‘No, we will not have lunch on the balcony; we will have it inside because it is Ramadan.’ My grandmother used to say, ‘It will not be correct if people see us having lunch’. The one who says it is a Christian woman. Perhaps the biggest luck I had was that both my grandmother and my father used to say, ‘Be respectful to everything, never think evil, never damage anything, and never wish evil’. This was the common point of both sides.” (M.Ö., female, 50, her mother is from the state of Hamburg).

A female interviewee who was born and grew up in Germany explained the purpose of her mother, a psychologist and her father, a sociologist who were among the founders of the first kindergarten that brought the Turkish and/or German children together for the first time in Germany at this school as enabling these children to come in contact with different cultures by means of festivals, celebrations, and songs, etc.:

“My mother and father founded the first bilingual and bicultural German-Turkish kindergarten (in Hamburg). Half of the educators were Turkish, and the other half were German. The children were Turkish-Turkish, German-German, and Turkish-German. They were very careful about the proportions of children as well… They were granted an award, an award of integration. They received money from the state as well… Turkish festivals were celebrated at school too, they sang songs… That kindergarten was founded in order to enable us to live together, to benefit from one another, to learn something from one another,
to enable the German children contact with the Turkish culture there and not to perceive being a foreigner as something horrifying and to learn about the Turkish festivals. I mean, they wanted them to come in contact with different cultures. Certainly, everybody’s world was rocked thanks to such a school they had gone to since their childhood… Some of the German children who grew up there came here (to Türkiye) and participated in Erasmus, learned Turkish…” (J.A.K., female, 32, her mother is from the state of Schleswig-Holstein)

As is seen, the interviewee who studied at that school as well interpreted such enterprises bringing cultural differences together as actions providing cultural richness.

6.3. Forms of relating and comprehensions of identity

The attitudes of the Turkish-German generation while communicating with their family members, spouses and social circles bear a resemblance to the form of previous generations’ relations with one another. The family members’ approach to relations caused the Turkish-German generation to produce specific categories and stereotypes. For example, the interviewees underlined the German side’s prescriptivism and equal-mindedness against the Turkish side’s warmth in familial relations. A young male interviewee, recounting a memory of his mother (who died at a young age from cancer), interpreted his mother’s compelling behavior toward him as a “German doctrine” within the framework of mother-child relation:

“I guess I was 8-9 years old. I hate zucchini soup; my mother somehow forced me to eat this soup. I got annoyed; I had an attack of nerves. In the end, I was just a child. I went to my room, I messed up everything in the room, I ruined everything. If mom were a Turkish mother she would directly intervene, would even smack. Nobody laid a hand on me. My mother stood calmly at the doorstep and watched me having the attack of nerves for twenty minutes. Then I panted for air; my room was in chaos. My mother asked ‘Finished?’ and I replied ‘Yes’. ‘Now you will tidy all this’ she said. And she closed the door and went away. I’m very respectful of this in the sense that her equal-mindedness was great. It was apparent on her face that she was annoyed, but she had a poker face. She demonstrated her dominance, superiority, and discipline. I tidied my room like a lamb. Then she went on (behaved) as if nothing had happened.” (K.A., male, 20, his mother is from the state of, Baden-Württemberg)

The Turkish side’s very close (seemingly sincere) behaviors lead to social interventions and the German side’s distant behaviors lead to social disengagements. The interviewees who criticize both sides’ distant behaviors lead to social disengagements. The interviewees who criticize both sides’ distant behaviors developed an approach to establishing relationships of a specific form. The Turkish and German sides’ different approaches with respect to whether to show love or not caused the third generation to observe a specific balance while establishing
their social relationships. Accordingly, the balance of the distance to be kept in the social environments should be arranged well. The interviewees favor showing love absolutely at a specific level.

The relationship with the family members, as mentioned in the previous chapters, could be established on the basis of an approach of interpreting the family with the metaphor of motherland. Despite this fact, the style of this relationship was defined by one of the interviewees as “the typical German style” because of being distant. This style could be considered as one of the reflections of the changes in the relationship approaches developed in line with the war experiences. Yet, the length of time spent together in both family and kinship relations, and the form and content of the relationship determine the degree of the social ties established. Qualities such as being affectionate, protecting and looking after, helpfulness and self-sacrifice could be added to the German style of relationship, just like the qualities required in the relationship with the family and society in the metaphor of homeland.

Such styles of relationships that the children established with their maternal and paternal relatives affect the style of the relationships that they established with their spouses and even their social entourages. Looking through their approaches to private relationships, the female interviewees expect the men to be more educated, reliable, and open-minded. On the other hand, the male interviewees expect the women to be educated, honest, to pay significance to familial unity-loyalty, and have matronly characteristics. The most important common expectation of both sexes in their private relationships is the provision of a democratic and non-conservative environment.

The mothers and fathers did not generally intervene in the first marriages of the married interviewees. The interviewees find particularly the mothers’ approaches with respect to spouse selection more democratic than the fathers’. While the mothers did not make any comments, the fathers usually expressed their ideas about this issue. A female interviewee remarked the difference between her mother’s and her father’s approaches with respect to her first marriage. The Turkish father’s attitude in this example is related to the fact that the lifestyle of the person who will marry his daughter is very different from theirs. The female interviewee stated that she understood better the meaning of her father’s attitude when she saw that the gender roles were very prominent in the family of the person whom she married:

“My mother approached it very democratically. She said, ‘This girl can marry if she wishes to’. ‘We see them; they are humans like us’, she said. And my father said, ‘They are not such people as you see; their lifestyles are different’… A man, my father thought, should have been different, like him for example… They (she talks about her husband’s family)
were not like that. You want to create an environment similar to the one where you grew up, democratic, I mean an environment where the man and woman share the work, but since my husband did not grow up in such an environment... There was no division of labor there. No, I didn’t do the housework, there was a woman, she did it. But I’d rather do the housework together with my husband, not with a woman at home. The woman may come once a week for heavy work, but it is not difficult to clear the table, to cook. I mean I would do my best not to do anything which does not please me or to do it rarely… My husband came home whenever he wanted, and so did his father, I guess; at eleven o’clock at night. It (Gaziantep) is not my city I could not wait for the man until eleven o’clock. I was losing my patience thus and so... I was alone. I mean, there were his relatives, they did not leave me alone, but there is nothing I could talk about. All we talked about was what we would cook that day, what we could wear the next day, that we would have guests, you should wear this and that… They brought me the chicest things from the most luxurious stores. The commodities used to come in parcels from Istanbul, from Ankara and I would select from among them. But they were things not of my style… They would take me if I wanted, but they did not want to allow me to get dressed as I preferred. This is our tradition, this is our custom… I mean, “the woman has no say at home”… My father probably anticipated all this, but I couldn’t. I got married, but my father was right. I decided to divorce two and a half years later.” (M.Ö., female, 50, her mother is from the state of Hamburg)

Although the interviewees are open and sensitive to differences, they had trouble responding to the expectations of cultural environments different from theirs, and when they failed to accommodate themselves to these environments, they managed to end their marriages easier and faster than their mothers did. A male interviewee stated that the factor which ended his marriage was his wife’s conservative tendencies, which developed subsequently, despite the similarities between him and his father in terms of class and capital:

“My father always said to me, ‘Find a foreigner who has no mother or father and be at ease’. I always preferred foreigners in my relationships, since I could not get on well with Turkish girls. But I married a Turkish girl. She studied at Boğaziçi University and the German High School. We looked like each other. She began to be classical Turkish-traditional over time, she got conservative (here, the interviewee means that his wife started to pray and fast) and we separated.” (M.Y., male, 47, his mother is from the state of Baden-Württemberg)

The interviewees emphasized that, unlike previous generations, they would not interfere with their children’s choice of spouse. Yet, they have some expectations. For example, a female interviewee regarded her children as “arrows shot to the future” and she underlined that we are not the owner of our children. However, the expectation of the children is usually to get married to the citizens of the West. The reason for them to have such expectations is their concern that the differences related to social status, class, social relationship approaches,
and/or lifestyle would create tremendous problems as was the case with their German mothers’-Turkish fathers’ and even their marriages. When they assessed all those marriages, they concluded that the real obstacle to the relationships was the effort to change one rather than accepting him/her as he/she is. If their children marry persons with very different cultural characteristics, they could be unhappy just as their own mothers were and even just as they were. In other words, although the children are the arrows shot to the future, it is the duty of the parents to determine the direction of the arrows (the children).

The points that the interviewees remarked with respect to family, spouse, and even social relationships are usually related to their habituses and particularly the modern approach that the German side transfers to them. For example, the attitude with respect to this issue of a woman who was separately interviewed during the fieldwork although she did not directly take a place in the sample of this research, whose father is German and whose mother is Turkish, is striking. This person, who is a German teacher, tried to transfer to her students the behavior codes for the cultural capital forms transferred to her by the paternal family, such as speaking style and etiquette, and assumed the duty of transmission the approach of “modernity” which has a significant role in her own identity construction beyond the generations:

“I also wanted to lecture on etiquette at school, in order to refresh myself… How should you sit beside the elderly, how should you appeal to them? That you should put your chair under the table when you get up from a meal… We bring our children up in this manner. The German families with defined parental discipline bring their children up in this manner.”

(A.D.S., female, her father is German, 41)

The approach that the interviewees developed with respect to relationships determines belonging, the forms of expression of identity, and the place where they want to pass the rest of their life. In other words, the nature of the social tie established with the country contacted with determines the degree of belonging to that country (even to the city) and creates the positioning of identity and forms of existence (hybrid).

The questions intended to receive descriptions of mothers and fathers in order to understand how the interviewees assessed their parents’ performances from the date of their encounter to date were among the questions that the interviewees said to have had difficulty with answering and found to be both the most difficult and the most interesting. As Bourdieu (2003: 21) remarked as well, the categories and typifications that the children used for the description of both contain clues with respect to their own approaches and identity construction and indicate the approach of their communities. An individual creates his/her own identity through
social relationship practices. He/she defines himself/herself with an identity which allows the determination of his/her belonging (Lahaye et al., 2011: 288). As a matter of fact, the individuals who participated in this research usually defined themselves on the basis of their relationships with familial and social circles.

Generally speaking, the interviewees’ descriptions of their fathers, such as patriot, modern, and at the same time interfering, are related to their fathers being idealistic, hardworking, helpful, fond of their family, and at the same time strict/irritable, and ambitious. The interviewees think that their fathers acquired modern characteristics through socialization, reading, and participating in artistic or sportive activities despite remaining between Europe and Turkiye and they keep their fathers special and separate from the other men in Turkiye thanks to those characteristics. Conversely, they regard their fathers as selfish, mixed-up, irresponsible, hardline (meaning stubborn and someone who thinks categorically), and cowardly because of their efforts to change their mothers.

The interviewees described their mothers, underlining their self-sacrificing characteristics, as figures who self-sacrifice for their families, are silent (introvert), quiet, patient, responsible, tidy/disciplined, hardworking, helpful, honest, remote, cool-headed, and at the same time, sensitive. A female interviewee’s description of her mother could be summarized with a single sentence in the German mother profile, which could be described in many pages: “She doesn’t have a life of her own”. The children expressed their admiration for their mothers by highlighting their mothers’ brave characteristics. Conversely, they criticize their mothers since they failed to sufficiently show their powers hidden in their memories.

Keeping in mind Homi Bhabha’s (1994; c.f. Neyzi, 2011a: 21) question on how the personality could be built through silence, particularly when the relationships with the past are full of violence, we can interpret the mothers’ silence and their failure to show their powers as a form of struggle. Accordingly, the mothers who cut off their familial relations in Germany tried to protect themselves through silence as they remained silent about their war memories. Although the children (particularly the female interviewees) find their mothers successful because of their courage, they find this success missing since their health deteriorated. At this point, it should be noted that the persons who get married more than once -when compared on a sex basis- are the female interviewees. The women who have been to a higher number of countries and who have different contacts tended to change their husbands rather than forcing themselves to accommodate themselves to their husbands, unlike their mothers, in their marriages that they regard to be problematic. Success, according to the Turkish-German generation (particularly the women), is acquiring something together with oneself rather than acquiring it despite oneself.
Identities are variable and may be multi-layered (Güvenç, 2009: 34). Those who regard themselves as being both Turkish and German constitute the majority of the interviewees. The comprehensions of their own identities are shaped around the definitions such as “half-half”, “hybrid”, “half-breed (kırma)”, “synthesis”, “half and half”, “both ... and”, “disconnected (kopuk)”, “in limbo (arafta)”, “world citizen”, “bi-cultural”, “German”, “German panzer”, “German bomb”, “German Kurd”, “Türk”, “Turkish-German”, “German-Turkish hybrid”, “multicultural (çok kültürlü-karma kültürlü)”, “double smarted (çift akıllı)”. The vast majority define themselves as Turkish-German because they can live together with cultural similarities and differences.

The interviewees observe in them the characteristics of being hardworking, helpful, and fond of the family which they observe commonly in their mothers and fathers. According to them, they have the patient, remote, responsible and honest aspects of their mothers and the sociable and comfortable aspects of their fathers. Yet, they also expressed themselves as flexible and modest persons whose awareness is developed and who do not have the feeling of belonging to any place. They used such expressions as, “I found a happy medium between my mother and my father” and “I resemble my mother spiritually and my father mentally” many times in the interviews. A male interviewee who compared the Germans to the Turks on the basis of his mother’s method of bringing up children expressed that stretching the strict rules applied in daily life could produce more happiness saying:

“The German society is a bit different from the Turkish society. They provide the things necessary for the child to acquire his/her identity and personality early on from the moment of his/her birth, but for example, a German mother does not give her child food with a spoon. She puts the baby on the feeding chair, ties the baby’s pinafore, puts the spoon on the table, and lays a cloth under the chair. Then the baby may spread the food here and there and even stick it on the ceiling… What is the logic behind it? To teach the baby to hold that spoon, namely, to develop hand-eye coordination… She let us (he and his sibling) out, we were permitted to stay outside until it gets dark if we did not have any homework. The time for everything was defined. It is okay if you come on time and sit at the table… Otherwise, a beating… My mother used to beat me. Or if the meal ended, but you still had not eaten it, she took the plate… Something like a military regime. My mother had such strict German characteristics. Namely, my father is absent (for business purposes) and my mom tries to play the role of both mother and father. Now, when I look at the issue as an adult, I say, ‘What else could that poor woman do?’. But I didn’t want to be so strict and disciplined. I don’t think that such despotic things contribute much to one. I think that if I do something more meaningful, it will provide more happiness for the human life to further stretch it because I want to be friends with my child, I want to share everything with him.” (B.B., male, 48, his mother is from the state of Hamburg)
A female interviewee who compares the Turks and Germans and bases the emergence of the flexibility she finds in Turkiye on the Republic states, as many interviewees did, that she finds this flexibility warm at the same time:

“Turkiye is flexible, I like this, but they are too flexible. This flexibility could sometimes be dangerous. Flexibility makes daily life more difficult. Normlessness predominates in Turkiye. Here, people think that obeying rules means being an idiot, fool... There (in Germany) people internalize and obey the rules. The Germans experienced both the first (WWI) and the second (WWII)... They have been struggling for centuries. They gained their rights by making an effort. I think that people accessed things more easily here... All rights were granted with the Republic; they are too easeful for this reason.” (M.S., female, 34, her mother is from the state of North Ren-Westphalia)

As mentioned previously, another behavior found to be warm in Turkiye is about being included in the community. Another interviewee who finds Turkiye attractive thanks to the Turkish language remarked that the Turkish language had aspects creating the feeling of belonging. One of the female interviewees who was born/lives in Germany and who came to Turkiye to stay here for a specific period of time explained the impact of being included in the “us” in addition to the attractive aspects of the language:

“Here there is, ‘You are our daughter, you are a part of us’. You cannot find this in Germany. I feel as if I belong to something, I have ties with somewhere, as if I’m protected, I mean as if I’m inside something, I’m a part of a whole. This feeling both relieves me and gives me mystery. It gives some excitement, some trust, and makes me feel precious.” (S.J.T.V., female, 29, her mother is from the state of Hamburg)

Looking at the issue in more detail, having German mothers creates two different effects on the interviewees’ daily lives. One of these effects is being excluded in Turkiye, and the other is being found exotic and different in Turkiye and other countries. They sometimes hide the fact that their mothers are German, against the discrimination. It is striking that a child who does not speak Turkish hides his/her German identity in order not to suffer from discriminative expressions anymore and sustains his/her effort to analyze them:

“I have very bad memories from the first grade of elementary school. For example, “giaour’s daughter”... I remember that I cried. I was always alone. The children in the class, the friends at school, used to say it. The expressions on their faces were bad, I understood what they meant from their faces. Then, I thought that I should not share that my mother was German with anyone. I didn’t say it if they did not know. Moreover, Antakya is a very cosmopolitan place. I think that they did not mean being non-Muslim by saying “giaour” because there were other non-Muslim friends in the classroom. I mean they may have meant the daughter
of someone from outside or outside Antakya or that region.” (M.Ö., female, 50, her mother is from the state of Hamburg)

According to a female interviewee, her father suffered from discrimination because of being Turkish while he studied in Germany. Because of these experiences, her Turkish father and German mother married secretly. She emphasized that she also suffered from discrimination in Türkiye for being “German” and explained the strategy she had developed against this as follows:

“Hitler called the hybrid persons like us ‘mule’. Like my father, I suffered from serious racism, religious-based discrimination, and insults. But I experienced all these in Türkiye. For example, a child threw a stone behind me while I was passing by the mosque saying, ‘You damned heathen, you cannot pass by the mosque’. After that, I understood that I should have lied saying, ‘I fast’… Particularly, a religion teacher said throughout the lecture, ‘The Europeans are so bad’ looking at me in the eye and causing me to cry; I was very annoyed. On the contrary, there was a philosophical atmosphere in our house. I mean there is no openness in Turkish society, this is my interpretation.” (M.Ü., female, 36, her mother is from the state of Lower Saxony)

The interviewees sometimes had to develop strategic behaviors in their daily lives depending on the time, location, place, conditions, and social environment when they thought that they would be excluded and change their habits or behaviors including dress style, going out at night, etc., and using identity functionally. For example, a male interviewee who generally defines himself as a “German-Turkish hybrid” sometimes changed this definition in the case when he thought it would facilitate daily life:

“I’m a Turk from Türkiye when I’m in Türkiye; I’m German or a world citizen when I’m in Germany. Namely, many things could be told. Being German allows me to adapt to the environment abroad more easily. The specific values from my mother, dependent on living in a more developed country, are knowing the ropes and acting accordingly or obeying the rules, absolutely driving according to the rules in the traffic… People who live abroad continue to obey the rules even in a traffic jam. Therefore, they can communicate and interact with each other more easily. Wherever we go in the world, we do not encounter any negative attitudes when we say ‘I’m German’, but the opposite is true when we say ‘I’m Turkish’.” (M.Ş., male, 37, his mother is from the state of Saxony)

It is striking that a male interviewee who stated during the interview that he did not like Germans interpreted the meaning of being German as unnecessarily excessive glorification of the German identity by the Germans and criticized this:
“Generalizing the Germans, a society… Indeed, one should not make a mistake. But generally speaking, the Germans regard themselves as superior to all other nations and cultures. Additionally, they are fed and grown up with this idea. Because you are German, you are different. I mean, a German regards himself as having a superior culture over a black, an Eskimo, a Turk. He thinks that he can control and dominate him.” (B.E., male, 47, his mother is from the state of Lower Saxony)

A female interviewee who questioned the discrimination that she encountered at school in Turkiye stated that this discriminative language forced her to question religions at a very young age, that her mother did not intervene in the new idea (while she had nationalistic ideas during her youth thanks to her father), and that she would develop with respect to religion though she was hurt:

“The teacher was talking in the religion course at a school in Edirne… At a specific moment of his speech, he said ‘The giaours shall not be able to enter into heaven’. ‘All Muslims will enter into heaven’. I raised my hand, I was sharp-tongued, I could not keep silent… ‘You think so, but I’m one of those people who you call giaour and I don’t like it. Your words are neither correct nor logical’, I said. ‘I don’t want to listen to your lecture’, I further said… He did not answer; he tried to elude and to drop the subject… All (monotheistic religions) battled in recent centuries, shed blood, and damaged humankind and at the moment it is the monotheistic religions which glorify this (the battle). I said to my mom, ‘No religion is better than others’…. My mother was a learned person who studied at good schools… ‘You will think by yourself, you will research, find and make your choice by yourself’, she said. She further said, ‘I don’t want to talk about this issue and influence you’…” (S.K., female, 52, her mother is from the state of Baden-Württemberg)

The interviewees listed their maternal and paternal grandmothers in addition to their parents among the persons who influenced them in their lives. The common point which brings women from both sides together arose within the framework of the themes of love and power. The first-generation women who exhibit strong profiles of being affectionate and with their attitudes in life (the maternal and paternal grandmothers) are the inspiring subjects who constituted the ground for the interviewees’ identity construction. The quality of the time they passed together, their affectionate approaches toward their grandchildren, and their closeness that allowed their grandchildren to express themselves are the characteristics of those women who made them occupy deep places in the Turkish-German generation’s memories.

The capitals that the interviewees inherited from their families and were enriched by their own efforts play an important role in their comprehension with respect to identity. Although the capital forms have an important function for discriminating oneself from other social
categories, it is observed that those functions are questioned through identity negotiations. Speaking a foreign language (particularly a European language) allows one to be different from others in their environment, rendering them popular and interesting. Yet, it is striking that a male interviewee problematizes his German characteristics rather than instrumentalizing them to obtain the advantage. The interviewee creates his form of existence by incorporating all his identities and relying on the moral discipline he acquired within the family:

“There were ones in the high school belonging to very different categories of the country. There is no problem when I say, ‘I am German’. Later I say, ‘My father is from Diyarbakır’, and things change suddenly… A very funny environment was created; they called me ‘Nazi Kurd, Kurdo’. They gave me such nonsense nicknames. People (the high school friends) told me all the time ‘Bro, behave like this, speak German, you will chat up the girl for certain’, but I disregarded this. I wanted to highlight my Kurdish side more. I had such a kickback. Saying, ‘I’m German’, boasting… What did the Germans do? Automobiles, war… They are very good, very rich, a very good country, etc. But saying ‘I’m German’ does not contribute anything to me. I didn’t do these things… I didn’t live in Germany. I hadn’t even studied in Germany… I think I regard myself more European in terms of turn of mind; my mother educated me to be fair and optimistic.” (A.K., male, 20, his mother is from the state of Lower Saxony)

The interviewees emphasized that an understanding distant from politics, being educated, relating to and loving humankind and the world, and containing empathy prevailed in their growing up and development periods. Although their fathers had nationalistic opinions, the children exhibit an attitude different from their fathers’ over time. A male interviewee who emphasizes that he does not like Germans expressed the possibility of finding similarities and having a modest worldview with the following principle that he has adopted throughout his life: “Find the golden point, catch the positives”.

Many interviewees emphasized that the new friendships they established with different entourages contributed to their understanding that what they had known about those entourages was not correct. For instance, a female interviewee reported how her understanding of identity and at the same time her political attitude changed over time as follows:

“My father was fairly nationalistic. My father was a member of the harmless intelligentsia of the Turks. He was a nationalist, but not with a political content; fully an attitude, motherland, flag… I was also nationalistic when I was a young girl but now, I fairly degrade nationalism because it has become very aggressive and harmful… The period between the age of 25 and 30 was the period when I started to understand world politics, and world balance better. The coup d'état (the coup d’état of 1980) disturbed me very much. I had long conversations with the Turks who experienced the coup d’état. We talked a lot about this with foreigners
Kaya (2007: 87-88)\textsuperscript{54} emphasizes that the “German-Turks”\textsuperscript{55} whom he defined as the Turks who lived in Germany, particularly the young ones, regarded themselves to be equally distant from both countries, to have created a transnational realm for themselves, and developed cosmopolitan, modern, and plural identities which constituted a bridge. Although the interviewees have contradictions and different comprehensions with respect to identity, they highlight the definition of “Turkish-German” which they consider to be a general synthesis: “A separate world. We are Turkish-German. We are both disconnected and here. We have always experienced discrepancies such as religion and language. We don’t know exactly in which part of something we exist. Namely, we are in limbo. In fact, we are a part of a society to some degree, and we are not to some degree. This has never been clarified. Neither my mother nor my father managed to keep us in a definite place.” (M.Y., male, 47, his mother is from the state of Baden-Württemberg)

The view of a female interviewee who defines herself as Turkish-German about the persons like her who belong to different ethnicities/nationalities and have different points of view as bridges to the later generations gives an idea about how much importance she pays to her position: “I have a mission (and I think all bicultural individuals should have one): I should be able to explain better both this country (Türkiye) to that country (Germany) and that country to this country.” (İ.İ., female, 49, her mother is from the state of North Ren-Westphalia)

The interviewees described through the Turkish-German identity Germany as a country providing “freedom” and Türkiye as a place where “people live with traditions”, and as a country at the threshold since it is geographically located in Asia and Europe. They regard Türkiye, where they live, and particularly Istanbul as an exciting habitat since they find the country and the city chaotic, cosmopolitan, and exotic. Despite this, the interviewees’


\textsuperscript{55} The “German-Turkish” people are mentioned in the literature as “German Turks”.

most tremendous concerns are the political developments. The interviewees who find Türkiye unsafe because of its political conditions\textsuperscript{56} feel themselves under threat. On the other hand, their thoughts regarding Germany are rather related to the understanding of social relations (they find it too remote). Additionally, the interviewees regard their siblings who preferred to live abroad as the ones who failed to adapt to Türkiye and consequently lost their grips. According to the interviewees, those siblings who live abroad substantially define themselves as German.

The interviewees of an older age rather want to maintain the balance of their lives in Türkiye. They desire a silent, stress-free, flexible, and comfortable life like they have sustained so far in Türkiye (Photograph 9).

\textbf{Photograph 9:} An interviewee at a family dinner

The number of individuals who prefer to live abroad (outside Germany) among the younger ones is quite high. They seek a job, love, better economic conditions, order (without traffic jams), a multicultural environment, safety, and social activities. Looking through the general assessments of the interviewees, they find the “hybrid areas” combining chaos and order.

6.4. Conclusion

The children’s names, languages, education, cultural practices, daily activities, leisure time activities, worldviews, and characteristics with respect to identity visible in their forms

\textsuperscript{56} There were many explosions (bombing) in Türkiye in 2016. If I completed my fieldwork at the beginning of 2016, this research could not have been conducted because a significantly high number of interviewees settled abroad after this date since they felt highly concerned.
of establishing relations have substantially been developed by the families through the implementation of specific practices. However, looking at the forms of their expressions, although one of the two societies is emphasized from time to time, the identities are plural, ambiguous, and contradictory. The intertwined identities influence the interviewees’ comprehension with respect to being a transnational generation.

As Andreas Ackermann emphasizes, the ambiguity of their positions is creative and yet contains risks (2012:10). Although their sensitivity to different cultural identities is developed, they have realized their identity negotiations through a painful process. Their contradictions regarding being German and/or being Turkish fail to prevent their suffering from pain, particularly because of their familial history. The German mothers’ “struggle” against being the foreigner/other was distressing particularly for the female interviewees. A woman (the female interviewee) seeks a cure for the pain which a woman (the Turkish paternal grandmother) gives to another woman (the German mother) within the process of establishing and maintaining the family.

In other words, if the previous generations’ approaches to different identities in Turkish-German families contained an attitude of intervention, it produced sadness, but if these approaches contained an accepting attitude, it produced happiness. The emotions produced have shaped the relationship of the next generations with identity. It is the women who approach the issue of identity relatively suspiciously compared to men and who participate in identity negotiations more intensely. The cautious attitude toward identity has become the basis for identity constructions to gain cosmopolitan tendencies.
In this book, where I tried to demonstrate what kind of relation there is between transnational experiences and identity constructions using the example of the children whose mothers are German and fathers are Turkish, the Turkish-German children assessed a few important dimensions related to their own lives: The traumatic memory transferred from the previous generations to them, the experiences which they usually witnessed personally, and their own personal experiences. My research, on which the book is based, contributes to the literature with respect to war memory, an immigration structure different from guest-worker immigration, forms of creating a kinship with the “foreigner/other”, and identity constructions which cannot be restricted to nation.

The memory and experiences inherited from the previous generations by them included the war memory inherited from the German family and the German maternal grandmothers and mothers who struggle to get rid of the painful memories in that memory (strong woman figure) and the image of Turkish fathers (patriotic man figure) who make an effort to raise the modern regime established and inherited from the Turkish side. The most striking thing related to the fiction of the narrations was that the children generally told the stories related to their families by making a story of the events within the framework of heroism. The common point of the narrations related to both sides is the struggles of the family members for producing power with the role of “savior”.

The German families rather mention their losses and struggles when the issue of war becomes the main topic of conversation in the family. The efforts of the grandparents to construct the present and future of Germany are mentioned with respect to the post-war period. The children presented the things transferred to them, describing the same within specific fictions. Those forms indicated the children’s own judgments, values, and meanings as much as the stories. The involvement of the children (third generation) with the traumatic memory of their families has enabled this research to reveal how this memory is transferred, the struggles of the generations who experienced the war, and certain changing tendencies.

The data gave an idea about the fact that the previous generations’ war experiences kept a minimum of three generations in the orbit about the cultural heritage and mental categories.
with emotional content which the German side transferred to the Turkish-German generation. The heritage of the family makes it possible to find ways of standing firm when difficult conditions are encountered and holding tightly onto life. The most precious heritage filtered through the war memory to date for the children is having gained the understanding of continuing to live without giving in. In other words, although the war actually ended seventy years ago, it occupies substantial space in the memories and could be interpreted as some sort of “acquisition” beyond the generations and may have a significant share in the formation of habituses and identities for generations.

Many German mothers’ close family members experienced the war or the post-war period. Significant findings related to the German side were achieved in the research. One of these findings is that the German families tried to hide the war memory containing their experiences related to Nazism from the interviewed children. The second finding is that major changes occurred in the understanding of the families trying to recover from the war trauma. These major changes are related to relationship styles, social statuses and class, property, heritage, and belonging. The generation who experienced the war determined the way they bring up the later generations according to those changes. The third finding is that the war played a significant role in the German mothers’ decision to come to Turkiye and in the strategies that they developed while they tried to take hold in Turkiye.

Although the German mothers tried to forget the war past through their silence in their marriages, the children joined this past by raising their voices. They learn about the past of the family, though limited, and try to understand the experiences under the circumstances of the period. Furthermore, they feel responsible and indebted to this past and seek ways to pay those debts. The way they seek and find this is to reveal the past.

With respect to the Turkish family side, the children emphasized the efforts of the families to glorify the young Republic. The Turkish side maintained those efforts within the framework of serving the homeland. The fathers immigrated to Germany for education purposes and brought their technical know-how to Turkiye and “grew” their homeland. The Turkish-German generation discussed their fathers’ understanding of homeland and reinterpret life and being a citizen. Accordingly, the homeland is the family, and citizenship is first of all membership in this family. The feeling of belonging to the homeland is substantially determined by the family’s attitude.

The German mothers and Turkish fathers who were usually acquainted with each other as a consequence of the fathers’ immigration to Germany for education purposes experienced the
process of “getting distant from” Germany and “getting close to” Türkiye in their marriages. They covered hard and rugged distances in their transnational family encounters. Within those encounters, they attempted to find answers to cultural expectations, together from time to time, but usually on their own (particularly the German mothers). The children emphasized while interpreting the encounter of their mothers and fathers that their mothers failed to exhibit sufficiently the female agency emerging in the war memories, and their fathers failed to sufficiently protect their mothers’ cultural differences and the children criticized their parents for these failures.

Looking through the children’s own personal life experiences, the environment where the identity construction is created culturally/socially and the attempt to become/create a generation are striking. The families realized this attempt in the activities performed while bringing up the children, including giving names, language, institutional education, working field, and artistic and sportive activities as well as in the “sacred” practices. These generational characteristics became visible in the forms of establishing relationships and in identity comprehensions. The discriminative and/or connective expressions encountered in the social environment and the conditions of being accepted and/or rejected determined the identity strategies and shaped the manner of the children to develop the feeling of belonging and their identity construction depending on this.

The children puzzled their brains over the emphases made on their Turkish and/or German sides in the social environments and maintained their own identity negotiations keeping in mind the strong woman and man figures that they inherited. Türkiye was experienced as the place where their German sides were reproduced within many encounters for the Turkish-German generation similar to what their German mothers experienced. The children reproduce their own identities depending on intense contact with Turkish, German, and even different languages and cultures.

The meanings of being Turkish-German are constructed through the transfers covering the experiences of several generations and combination and recreation of the familial history and personal history consisting of the experiences. In other words, the contacts surpassing the nations have a tremendous share in the construction and reproduction of identities over time with integrated, intertwined, and plural forms. The Turkish-German generation is aware of the wealth that the families of both sides transfer and expand at the same time by getting involved in it. This wealth allowed the children to gain different perspectives although it may from time to time hurt them depending on the place, time, and social conditions.
It has been revealed in the research that the Turkish-German generation established their current worldviews within a framework surpassing the nations and recreated their identities holding on to their familial stories and personal experiences. The children have become the subjects indicating that differences can exist by being together and that identity is a never-ending process. They developed identities of synthesis as a form of existence. Being Turkish-German was created as a form of expression which does not contain any emphasis on any equalization. This generation makes an effort to talk about the future with a peaceful language as it is the case with the familial past.

Considering the data obtained through this research with respect to how the identities were built over time, the research has suggested that the debates held with respect to culture and identity and the policies produced should be held by embracing different understandings and interpretations more. Furthermore, this research remarked a significant point suggesting once more that the fieldwork is full of surprises as well as the significance of such research. Although the research was not designed as a study of generations at the beginning, it has become apparent that this study should be conducted with a perspective covering the generations when the researcher goes to the field and holds in-depth interviews.

The results obtained from the research indicate that the researches which are conducted today with respect to identities are required to be conducted deeply, in a multidimensional/multilayered manner covering different sexes and generations. Dealing with each generation separately (as defined in this research) in the researches to be conducted later shall point out many different details with respect to cultural identity. Moreover, the experiences of the children whose father is German, and mother is Turkish shall suggest exciting results as well (the researches will be conducted in Germany since they usually live in Germany).
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