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GETTING OVER THE "DOUBLE TRAUMA": THE SECOND-GENERATION TURKISH-GERMANS' NARRATIVES OF DEPORTATION FROM GERMANY AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION IN TURKEY

Abstract

This paper explores the social integration processes of the second-generation Turkish 'migrants' from Germany who were deported to Turkey on account of criminal activities. Based on the life-story narratives of 14 male respondents (collected in 2014-2015) who work and live in Antalya – the Mediterranean tourism hub of Turkey – the paper aims to analyse the ways in which tourist places offer spaces for self-healing, as well as enable social/economic integration. The paper aims to contribute to the academic knowledge regarding deportation as a forced-return migration phenomenon which has been overlooked in 'the second generation return migration' literature. The premise of the research is that for the second-generation Turkish-Germans, deportation evoked a "double trauma": on the one hand, they had to adapt to their new lives in Turkey without having parents and social networks, and on the other, they had to integrate to the civil society as ex-criminals.

Keywords: Turkish-Germans, deportation, return migration

1. Introduction

This paper explores the Turkish-German second generation's post-deportation lives in Turkey in relation to their social integration and psychosocial wellbeing. The subjects of this study are both counter-diasporic individuals who experience stigmatization and exclusion by their co-nationals (Tsuda, 2009; King & Kılınc, 2014) and also ex-criminals who have brought with them to Turkey their traumas related to social discrimination. Through their childhood years in Germany to their resettlement in Turkey, they have experiences of being neglected (by their parents, co-ethnics, German and Turkish authorities) and they also have anxieties related to

identity crisis and morality, as well as unpleasant experiences from their imprisonment years in Germany. The paper offers a qualitative analysis based on open-ended, in-depth and non-standard interviews with 14 male Turkish deportees from Germany who currently live and work in Antalya, a tourism hub on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey.

Deportation as a forced-return migration phenomenon has been overlooked in the literature of 'the second generation return migration' and there is a lack of empirical research regarding the post-deportation and social integration experiences upon the 'return' to Turkey. Although the deported second generation is invisible in empirical research dealing with return migration from Germany to Turkey, they are an integral part of the tourism and hospitality workforce mainly in the Turkish coastal towns and cities in the southern region (Kaya & Adaman, 2011).

The overarching research question is in what ways does a tourist place enable social and economic integration for the deported second-generation Turkish migrants from Germany? In this context, the paper further explores the following questions: First, what were the circumstances that led the second generation to be engaged in criminal activities in Germany? Second, once deported to Turkey, what were their experiences in terms of social, economic and cultural adaptation? Third, why did they decide to settle in Antalya? And fourth, in what ways do they benefit from living and working in a tourism destination?

To understand the ways in which they negotiate their new contexts in Turkey to heal this "double trauma" and achieve social integration as well as well-being, Wright's (2012) human well-being approach was found useful in evaluating migration and human-centred development for its focus on agency and freedoms rather than on what people lack. Because this paper suggests that any social integration process starts with the individual's own self-development and improving of their well-being.

The paper demonstrates that, in the case of engagement with criminal activities, most of the second generation face the consequence of deportation to Turkey unless they possess German citizenship. Subsequently, the second generation goes through a 'double trauma': on the one hand, they are forced to leave their families and the country they were born and raised in; on the other hand, they must cope with the new environment in Turkey where they become marginalised not only for coming from Germany, but also for their criminal past.

Thus, for the second generation 'returnees', disillusionment and disappointments in their post-return lives in Turkey, together with the

practical hardships of fitting into the society and the structural system, create a "counter-diasporic" condition, meaning that the second generation's idealisation of places is reversed and this time they develop a feeling of longing for the country they left (King & Christou, 2011). However, in the case of the deported second generation, life in the counter-diaspora entails other hardships, as they need to also erode the boundaries related to their criminal identities.

Based on these arguments, the theoretical contribution of the research is established on the problematisation of return migration with regards to the specific case of the second-generation migrants' deportation. The research has the potential to offer valuable insights for the local authorities, tourism directorates and stakeholders to understand the socio-economic challenges of the deported migrants and what kind of re-integration assistance needs to be implemented at the micro and macro level.

2. Background of 'Turkish' Migration to Germany

Due to labour shortages in its booming post-war economy, the Federal Republic of Germany signed intergovernmental contracts with the following countries: Italy (1955), Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961 and 1964), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968) (Kaya & Kentel, 2005: 7). The widely-used term *Gastarbeiter* for these labour migrants illustrates the German government's attempt to recognise the contribution of foreigners to the country's economy, while also emphasising the idea of temporary stay. Nevertheless, guestworker populations became more permanent, maturing into diasporas (Mihajlovic, 1987: 188-189).

Today, Turkish migration to Germany is the third largest international migration in the world, after Mexican migration to the US and Bangladeshi migration to India (World Bank, 2011: 5-6). In addition, Turkish migration to Germany resulted in the emergence of the largest Turkish community within Europe – nearly 3 million Turkish residing in Germany (making up 16% of the total migrant population) and 1.5 million of them retaining Turkish citizenship even though 440.469 of them were born in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2015). It needs to be mentioned however that 'Turkish' here refers to a heterogeneous group, and within the context of this paper it includes those people who hold or whose parents hold citizenship of the Republic of Turkey. Similarly, Sirkeci (2002) states that, Turkish migration flows refer to those of the Turks, Kurds, Arabs and others, as ethnic groups forming the population in Turkey.

The Turkish guestworker community has matured into a multi-dimensional diaspora in the last 57 years, due to family reunifications and irregular migration between 1973-1980s, and new migratory flows with refugees, students and highly-skilled migrants during the 1980s, following the political turmoil and the 1980 *coup d'état* in Turkey (Aydın, 2016). Turkish labour migrants were recruited mainly for factory work, filling the shop-floor jobs that German workers were reluctant to do (King & Kilinc, 2013). Most of the early migrant workers were men who were given temporary contracts and which were provided accommodation in worker houses. However, some women were also recruited, mainly to work in light industries such as electrical goods and textiles/clothing, and the number of migrant women in the workforce increased when family reunions were allowed in 1972.

In 1965, the conservative-led coalition government under Chancellor Erhard responded to the presence of (mostly Muslim) migrant groups, with a 'foreigner law' (*Ausländergesetz*) granting limited rights to 'guestworkers'. The government, at the time, considered the presence of foreigners a temporary problem which would resolve itself over time (Faas, 2009). The peak of Turkish labour migration in Europe was between 1971 and 1973, during which time more than half a million Turkish workers came to Western Europe. Around 90 per cent of them were employed by German industries (Özüekren & Van Kempen, 1997). When Germany was hit by the oil crisis in 1973, it decided to stop the intake of foreign workforce. In the same year, the Federal Republic introduced a 'recruitment ban' (*Anwerbestopp*) to halt the inflow of guestworkers. However, this had the unintended result of convincing many Turkish guestworkers in Germany to stay.

Yet the slowdown in the growth of the number of immigrants was temporary and the number of new entrants again peaked in the 1980s. A mass migration of refugees was recorded following the 1980 military intervention in Turkey. The second oil crisis resulted into an economic crisis and long-term unemployment became a serious problem. From that moment on, migration from Turkey consisted almost exclusively of family and asylum migration (Euwals et al., 2007). This was first followed by a steady inflow of asylum seekers and later by clandestine migrants until the 2000s (Sirkeci et al., 2012). Since the turn of the millennium, there has been a continuous decline in Turkish migration to Germany and elsewhere, largely due to strong economic development in Turkey and the fluctuating prospect of EU membership.

3. Return Migration from Germany to Turkey

In Germany, between 1974 and the early 1980s, the leadership of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt formulated three principles to regulate guest work, namely (1) the 'integration' of those who have the right to live in Germany, (2) the continuation of the 1973 ban on recruitment and (3) financial incentives to support the return of migrants to their countries of origin through the 1983 law for the 'Promotion of Readiness to Return' (*Gesetz zur befristeten Förderung der Rückkehrbereitschaft von Ausländer*). Under this law, every guestworker who voluntarily left Germany received a financial incentive of 10.500 Deutsche-Marks, but only about 250.000 Turkish migrants responded to this 'opportunity' (Bade & Münz, 2000).

Nevertheless, it can be claimed that return migration has been an ever-present feature of Turkish migration to Germany. Martin (1991) estimated an aggregate of 1 million returnees during 1960-90, but there have been phases of greater or lesser return. According to Gitmez (1983), 190.000 migrants returned in the wake of the first oil recession (1974-77) and another 200.000 between 1978 and 1983 (second oil crisis). Mainly, the 'return incentive' scheme operated by the German government resulted in around 310.000 Turkish returning to Turkey between the end of 1983 and 1985. Figure 1 illustrates the recent migratory flows between Turkey and Germany, highlighting that every year between 2006 and 2012 more people moved from Germany to Turkey than in the opposite direction.
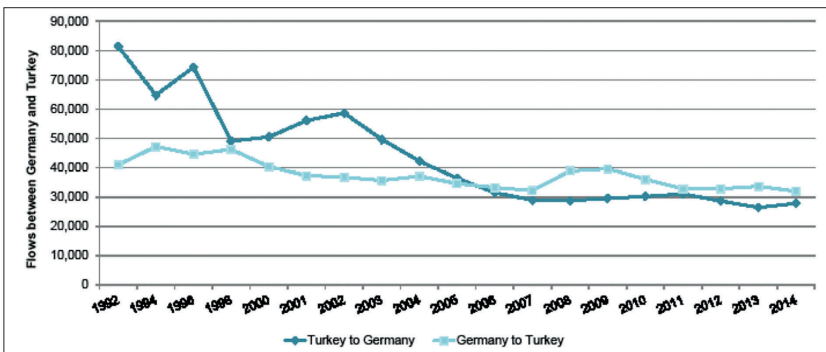

Figure 1: Migration flows between Germany and Turkey 1992-2012 (all nationalities) (BAMF, 2016)

Return migration to Turkey has been the subject of a number of studies over the past forty years, starting with the detailed field research on the impact of return migration on employment and development and continuing with several other, shorter contributions over the intervening period (Toepfer, 1985; Razum et al., 2005; Rittersberger-Tiliç et al., 2013). However, there are still not many studies that focus on the second generation and third generation who 'return' to Turkey. Yet, the current research and media articles suggest that this is a growing migratory phenomenon in Turkey nowadays.

With regards to the second generation's 'return' to Turkey, it is widely accepted in the academic literature that 'return' is a paradox for this group because it occurs to a country where the majority were not born and raised in, but only have vague memories of from childhood visits (or were taken to Germany at a very young age). Therefore, for the second generation, the act of resettling to their parents' country of origin is, in fact, a *myth* of return and reuniting with the roots (Tsuda, 2003). There are three socio-anthropological studies that mainly focus on the resettlement of second-generation Turkish-Germans in Turkey:

One study that focuses on this group's return to Istanbul has demonstrated that the lively and eclectic life in Turkey's metropolis together with vast job opportunities was favourable amongst the returnees, whilst the city chaos, high living expenses, traffic, and different setting when compared with domestic migration from the rural parts (higher rates of criminality, diminishing of Istanbul manners and etiquette, unplanned urbanisation etc.) created disappointments and frustrations (King & Kilinc, 2013). This group acknowledges a strong 'Istanbul identity' which they proudly embraced whilst living in Germany as well, as a social class status to distinguish themselves from the other members of the Turkish community who fit into the classic "guestworker type"[1] – those who immigrated to Germany from the rural areas of Turkey with limited or no prior education and skills, conservative and protectionist in terms of their traditional values.

The second generation who settled in the rural areas from the Black Sea Coast project their 'return' as a reunification with their parents' places of origin, hence base their choices on family and kinship networks, with the expectation of living in a secure environment (King & Kılınc, 2014). In both cases, 'return' is predominantly influenced by the second generation's family-related decisions – either their parents leading the return project, or encouraging the second generation to return to Turkey to find a partner,

and/or to conduct their high school/university studies. The places of 'return' were therefore either where the parents came from, or the ones where they had established most of their networks through childhood visits and holidays. Furthermore, for both samples, the realisation that Turkey has gone through an immense political, economic and societal transformation since the 1990s – mostly for the better, whilst Germany's weakening welfare and the gaining popularity of anti-immigrant public and political discourses – acted as rationalisation for 'return' decision, despite the second generation's various disappointments about their lives in the ancestral homeland.

The third strand of research within this topic focused on the tourism districts of Alanya, Side, Kemer and Antalya city in 2014 (Kılınç & King, 2017). The findings of the research highlighted a different dynamic of second generation 'return': the main reason why the second generation settled in the Antalya province was the uniqueness of the place as a touristic region, offering open spaces for the manifestation of more liberal and 'alternative' lifestyles in an environmentally and culturally attractive setting (Kılınç & King, 2017: 1493). Their 'narratives of lifestyle choices' demonstrated that the second generation in this particular locale projected their 'return' to utilise their social, cultural and human capital (mainly German and English language skills) to work in tourism-related jobs. Combined with the naturally beautiful scenery around them, flexible working hours and the social aspects of tourism work, the informants reflected that they could lead more 'fulfilling' lives in these relatively affordable and relaxed touristic towns (Kılınç & King, 2017: 1495).

4. Pathways to Deporation to Turkey and the German Legislation

In the late 1990s, the German government took important steps in terms of integration policies concerning its immigrant populations. The victory of the Social Democrats and the Greens paved the way for a new Nationality Act, which came into force in 2000. With this Act, German citizenship based upon the principle of *ius sanguinis* was reformed, allowing foreigners to obtain German citizenship through naturalisation. This legislation gave the right of citizenship based on the *ius soli* principle to children born in Germany and whose parents had resided legally in the country for the past 8 years (Hailbronner & Farahat, 2015).

Regarding the dual citizenship, the German government of 2001 introduced the Immigration Act (*Zuwanderungsgesetz*), a reduced and compromised version of which came into effect on January 1, 2005. The citizenship laws in this Act allow foreigners to obtain citizenship in a much more proactive stance towards integration. Since January 2000, immigrants' children born in Germany (who have at least one parent who has been in the country continuously for eight years) gain automatic citizenship (*ius soli* principle). They have the right to hold dual citizenship until the age of 23 when they need to decide between German citizenship and the citizenship of the country of origin (*Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen*, 2000). The new law also includes provisions that ease the acquisition of citizenship for first generation immigrants, by reducing the residency requirement in Germany from 15 to 8 years (Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2003).

However, the German statistics widely use to the term "migration background" (*Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund*) to refer to those individuals not born in Germany, foreign nationals (even born in Germany), and those with at least one parent not born in Germany. Hence, the second generation Turkish even though born and raised in Germany or holding German citizenship are considered migrants. Such conceptualisation and the statistical numbers reveal a problematic situation for the *de facto* citizens: they had become German residents with a foreign passport and were demanded to assimilate to the legal, social and economic order and cultural, political values (*Ausländergesetz* of 1991) (Fischer & McGowan, 1995).

Furthermore, despite similar conditions of recruitment between the Turkish guestworkers and other groups from the Former Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece, Portugal and Spain, there prevailed an especially strong ethnic and religious labelling for the Turkish guestworkers (Faas, 2010). Whilst the immigrants from the above-mentioned nation-states have increasingly gained rights due to their countries' membership to the European Economic Community (EEC) (later the European Union), the "Turkish Question" has been exploited in the political discourse based on the cultural, educational and religious differences of Turkish people, as well as on their inability to integrate into the German society (Fischer & McGowan, 1995). Since 9/11, as well as the later attacks in London, Paris, Madrid, the rhetoric has evolved into the justification of discriminating against the 'non-Christian other', which is the strengthening public and political discourse when referring to the recent flows of refugees to Germany (i.e. Palestinians,

Syrians). Despite the policy changes in 1999 regarding the citizenship law (to *ius soli* principle), the highly-criticised political discourse of "*Deutschland ist kein Einwanderungsland!*" ("Germany is not a country of immigration") remained until the Merkel government agreed to adopt the EU's common principles for immigrant integration policy in 2005 (Brubaker, 2009: 174).

The Turkish community reacted to the stigmatisation practices throughout the 1970s by mobilising through diaspora organisations, ethnic neighbourhoods and the Turkish government's services (e.g. *imams* – religious leaders – and teachers were sent to Germany for religion, Turkish language and history courses) (Triadafilopoulos & Schönwälder, 2006). Nevertheless, in the long run, the lack of perspective about their future in Germany in terms of social, economic and political security had a negative impact on the integration of the first generation and second generation (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003). Most of the second generation inherited the experience of marginalisation, non-recognition, and exclusion, as well as the structural non-integration in German institutions (especially in schools) (Faist, 2000).

For instance, some academic literature depicts that, throughout the 1980s, the Turkish youth found alternative ways of coping with these integration problems, the birth of Turkish-German hip-hop and the creole language of *Kanak Sprak* reflected their identity struggles (Kaya, 2002). However, some members of the Turkish second generation (predominantly the men) were engaged in gang violence as a rebellion against the majority society in which they experienced discrimination, as well as a reaction to racist attacks towards the members of the Turkish community (Tertilt, 1997). On an individual level, some second generation suffered from drug abuse and they were involved in drug-related crimes, robbery and vandalism (Dünkel, 2006).

Dünkel & Geng's study on ethnic minorities and youth crimes in Germany (2003) reveals that the Turkish and people from former Yugoslavia shared the highest crimes rates, followed by the young naturalised immigrants, in the 1990s. Empirical findings show that economic difficulties within the family, hopelessness about getting a good education and a professional job, facing refusal and/or discrimination by their German peers and experiencing violence from parents can be the reasons behind violent crimes.

Another study shows that the Turkish committed the highest rate of violent offending compared to the Germans, the ethnic Germans

from the Soviet states (*Aussiedler*), ex-Yugoslavians and the southern European minorities, and even when the variables of "educational level", "socio-economic status" and "unemployment" were controlled in multivariate analyses, the significant difference remained in terms of violent offending between the Turkish and ex-Yugoslavian male juveniles (Wilmers et al. 2002). Enzmann & Wetzels (2003) evaluate these differences through utilising a theoretical framework of the "culture of honour". The authors argue that violent offending within the Turkish group is "characterised by a greater acceptance of violence as a means of restoring one's reputation and honour as a man" and show the "violence-legitimising norms of masculinity" as the prevalence of the Turkish youth's engagement with violence crimes (Enzmann & Wetzels 2003: 319).

The Turkish offenders who were prosecuted were given the choice of deportation (*Rückführung* – 'forced return' or *Abschiebung* – 'deportation') to reduce their imprisonment to half of its initial length or to two thirds of the sentence[2]. Deportation in this case would happen for those Turkish residents in Germany who did not hold German citizenship, thus the Turkish second generation who were naturalised (i.e. acquired German citizenship) were exempt from the deportation procedure, based on the Alien's Act which was amended in 1997.

A highly-debated deportation case in Germany concerned a second-generation Turkish youngster whose parents had immigrated to Germany as guestworkers. In 1998, 14-year-old "Mehmet" (pseudonym) was deported to Turkey unattended by family members due to his criminal activities (Green, 2003). Mehmet was born and raised in Munich, Germany however he did not hold German citizenship – consequently, according to the German law, he could be 'sent back' to his country of origin. Despite the public and legal debates on whether the deportation of a juvenile who was 'the product of the German society' to a country that he barely knew from summer vacations served the justice, the result was that the German authorities did not consider him to be their responsibility.

This example demonstrates how issues of citizenship, belonging, inclusion/exclusion and social responsibility are problematically dealt with at a socio-political and policy level. The official German criminologists' conceptualisation of the Turkish and other minority groups as "foreigners" indicates "a criminology of the alien other which represents criminals as dangerous members of distinct racial and social groups which bear little resembles to 'us'" (Garland 1996: 461) and this translates into policies of

not allowing them into the country (Law of Asylum), or deporting them after having defined them as criminals (Alien's Act). In fact, there are no Turkish reports and statistical data publically available about the number and living conditions of the deported Turks from Germany. In addition, there are no counselling or rehabilitation services when these people are delivered to the airport police in Istanbul. Hence, empirical research on their well-being and living conditions in Turkey can inform the policymakers and local authorities to take initiatives for developing mental/emotional/physical health and providing education or sector-specific professional training.

5. (Forced-)Return Migration and Social Integration

There are many interrelated factors contributing to or decreasing post-return social integration. Recent return migration studies increasingly put focus on the concept of well-being with regards to post-return experiences, by adopting a more holistic approach wherein human activity is understood beyond an economic framework, and include the role of 'quality of life', social remittances and networks as well as emotional and psychological aspects in return migrants' (re-)adjustment and (re-)integration processes in their countries of origin (Erdal & Oeppen, 2017; Vathi, 2017).

Within the second generation 'return' migration literature – and since the deportation topic is lacking – the aspect of psychosocial well-being has received little attention as the pillar of social integration and has often been evaluated with regards to the emotionally complex and unsettling experience of facing "social marginalisation at 'home'" (Stefansson, 2004: 56), empirical research demonstrating that the second generation's construction of the mythical 'home' is often challenged once they get the lived experience of the ancestral homeland (Wessendorf, 2007; King & Christou, 2011). These feelings of disappointment, rupture and disillusionment, together with the practical hardships of fitting into the society and the structural system, create a "counter-diasporic" condition wherein the second generation's idealisation of places is reversed and this time they develop a feeling of longing for the country they left (King & Kilinc, 2014).

Psychosocial well-being and mental health have been more emphasised in the case of forced-return (i.e. deportation of migrants and refugees) compared to the studies dealing with voluntary-return (DeBono 2017). Even though this paper focuses on the deportation-social

integration nexus for the second generation Turkish-Germans, it is also vital to acknowledge the criticism that the existing migration literature tends to put the psychosocial issues at the centre of discussion when the research is concerned with forced migration and migrants' war-related traumas; whereas voluntary return migration is considered psychologically safe (Vathi, 2017). Vathi further highlights that such a dividing approach that ties force and volition to macro level factors such as states' action consequently leaves voluntary migrants out of the policy-making focus and relieves the return migrants' country of origin from taking responsibility for the returnees' well-being and integration.

Human well-being is a complex notion and scholars recognise the difficulty of offering an adequate conceptualisation. Wright (2012) adopts the conceptualisation of Gough et al. (2007: 34) in which human well-being refers to "a state of being with others, where human needs are met, where one can act meaningfully to pursue one's goals and where one enjoys satisfactory quality of life". However, Vathi (2017) argues that the concept of psychosocial well-being is more suitable in the case of migration for being more considerate of the emotional, social and cultural aspects of migration. Vathi (2017) further suggests that human well-being is a 'state' whereas psychosocial well-being refers to a 'process' that emphasises the value of interactions, social/emotional consonance and the individual experience.

In this paper, I will use to term well-being without getting into a conceptual debate, and utilise Wright's (2012: 4) approach to well-being which includes both the objective and subjective dimensions and encapsulates the interplay between *functional domain* (concerned with welfare and standards of living such as income, employment, housing, also incorporating people's subjective assessments of these), *psychosocial/ perceptual domain* (values, perceptions, and experience in relation to what people think and feel about what they can do and be, including identity issues and psychological states such as self-esteem and anxiety, need for autonomy, competency and relatedness) and *relational domain* (concerned with both intimate relations and broader social relationships).

As the above framework shows, Wright (2012) does not ignore the overlaps, interdependence and interplay between different dimensions that operate in well-being, on the contrary, she highlights that individuals' conceptualisations of well-being are contextual, informed by the different social networks within which they are entwined, locally, nationally and transnationally. Here, Wright highlights the issues of place and scale,

explaining that the context and the structures within a place, such as the housing facilities, language(s) spoken, its migration regimes, welfare systems and particular spaces (e.g. sport facilities, community centres, markets etc.) may have positive or negative effects on migrants' well-being and life satisfaction. The relationality aspect in terms of place and people is quite relevant in the case of return migration; as for the second generation 'returnees', psychosocial well-being is found to be directly linked to the notions of home and belonging (King & Kilinc 2014; King & Kilinc 2016). However, more recently, scholars argue that neither belonging or homeliness are 'already-given' or static states, but in fact, the 'returnees' need to actively engage themselves in place-attachment practices to construct "the sense of physically being and feeling 'in place' or 'at home'" (Yüksel, et al. 2010: 275).

Therefore, it is vital to put focus on the specific localities of 'return' rather than dealing with the abstract and wide concept of 'ancestral homeland' and understand how well-being is constructed in 'returnees' everyday lives in different spaces/settings and how well-being 'travels' across spatial boundaries (Wright 2012: 469). With this, the issue of scale arises, which is also highly relevant for understanding the post-return experiences of the second generation. As return is not a finalised project, there may be further migratory paths (i.e. to different parts within the ancestral homeland, to different countries, or migrating back to the sending country of the second generation) and/or sustaining transnational ties and activities between the receiving society and the country of origin (Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004). Thus, Wright (2012) evaluates how living well is transformed or reinforced through instances in a "transnational social field" – for instance, focusing on the ways in which the maintenance or disruption of the social and other ties in several localities affect the migrants' well-being (Vathi 2017).

Wright's (2012: 85) analysis is also sensitive to different positionalities such as the social variables of gender and generation in order to demonstrate how well-being is embedded in local meanings/understandings and how well-being expectations, needs and the agency to achieve well-being vary according to gender, age, generation and stage in the life cycle. Gender and generation have been the key issues with regards to the second generation's 'return' experiences wherein the 'return' is not always an autonomous decision, especially for the women, but one initiated by the parents (the first generation), female returnees' autonomy being more limited upon return on matters such as where to study/work and how to

live, as families expect that the return will result in the second generation's marriage with a co-national (for both genders) (King & Kilinc 2014). So, for the returnees there is also an ongoing re-negotiation regarding their gendered identities in the "gender geometries of power" in which gender operates simultaneously on multiple spatial and social scales (e.g., the body, the family, the state) across transnational terrains where gender ideologies and relations are reaffirmed, reconfigured, or both (Mahler & Pessar, 2011: 445).

Based on the discussion presented until now regarding Wright's framework for human well-being and its possible integration and interpretation within the case of second generation deportees' social integration, this paper makes certain adjustments to offer a more effective theoretical framework for the specific case of the deported Turkish-German second generation who settled in Antalya. First of all, in order to accentuate the importance of place in providing environments that offer/promote well-being, this paper utilises a translocality angle which grounds transnational experiences in particular localities. Thus, the paper suggests that instead of understanding the second-generation 'returnees' lives in "transnational social fields", we need to conceptualise it as 'translocational social fields'. Brickel and Datta (2011: 6) offers a conceptualisation for translocality as the following, which this paper adopts within its theoretical framework: "We examine translocal geographies as a set of dispersed connections across spaces, places and scales which become meaningful only in their corporeality, texture and materiality – as the physical and social conditions of particular constructions of the local, become significant sites of negotiations in migrants' everyday lives." By focusing on the local, the contextual and social aspects that support or undermine the achievement of desired well-being outcomes can be better understood.

Secondly, following Anthias (2008) social roles, performativities and discursive practices of identities can be understood within "translocational positionality". According to Anthias (2002: 501), positionality is "placement within a set of relations and practices that implicate identification and 'performativity' or action". Anthias (2008) further explains that translocational positionality is the space at the intersection of *agency* – involving social positionings as well as meanings and practices attached – and *structure* in which social positions and effects are merged. In this space, identities are embedded within power hierarchies being constructed by narratives both in individual and collective levels. Anthias (2008) debates about 'identity' and 'belonging' in light of "translocational

positionality", in which she stresses that the understanding of 'belonging' and 'identity' is shifting because the national borders are challenged by newer migration flows (with refugees, asylum seekers, skilled migrants etc.) where "there exist complex relations to different locales; these include networks involving social, symbolic and material ties between homelands, destinations and relations between destination" (2008: 6). This framework is also useful to understand the relationship between agency-structure, who has access to certain spaces, who has autonomy to change their lives for the better, what attributes of identity help or limit an individual's active agency and to what extend an individual can go beyond the given structures through negotiating their identities in the power geometries within their 'translocal social fields'.

Thirdly, for analysing how the deported second generation socially and economically re-integrated themselves in Turkey, which led to the positive development of well-being, this paper adopts the notion of "field" (Bourdieu, 1999) which reflects the individuals' subjectivities, navigation practices and negotiation processes. The metaphor of "field" represents the social space(s) where the individuals learn how to play the "game". However, their interactions with the "field" are always related to their "habitus" – their worlds of meaning, subjectivities and the sum of their social, cultural, economic capitals. Habitus incorporates both structure and agency, acting as a "power of adaptation" in the field, through the exchange across different types of capitals (Bourdieu, 1993). This theoretical framework is useful to explore how the deported second generation found ways and created strategies to socially and economically adapt to the circumstances in Antalya and how they managed to benefit from liquidity, hybridity and (trans-) notions of identity and belonging (Bauman, 2005).

For the deported second generation 'returnees', changing their ex-criminal and counter-diasporic status to socially integrated locals require a level of self-reflexivity, i.e. active agency which seems to be difficult. However, the paper discusses that the second generation Turkish-Germans who come from a working-class background should not be evaluated in relation to class and class-related limitations, because class is a problematic approach in the individualised, hybridised and globalised societies of late modernity, as misalignments can often emerge between one's economic capital, social class, self-identity and lifestyle choices. Instead, the paper focuses on their cultural capital and habitus which are not durable but transformative. Hence, the second generation's evolving

subjectivities are based on their "transcultural capital" (language skills, know-how of two cultures, educational and professional qualities etc.) (Meinhof & Triandafyllidou, 2006).

6. Entering the field: Methodology and Characteristics of the Sample

Recognising that "migration is also a social and cultural phenomenon bound up with issues of place, identity and subjectivity" (Ni Laoire, 2000: 232), the primary data of this qualitative research is non-standard interviews that are semi-structured, open-ended and in-depth. Life-story narratives were chosen as the core research instrument to cover the different time-place stages of the interviewees' lives in Germany and Turkey. The fieldwork took place in the Antalya province, located in the Mediterranean region of Turkey. The research is a cross-sectional study as the data was collected in the framework of 2 months in 2014 and 3 months in 2015.

The criteria for the interviews were set as the respondents who would be classified as the second generation, based on Thomson & Crul's definition (2007), children of two immigrant parents (first generation) who were either born in the receiving country, or brought in before the school age (before the age of 6). Out of the total of 74 interviews collected in 2014 and 2015, 14 respondents had criminal backgrounds and were deported to Turkey when they were in their early 20s. All the 14 respondents are men, coming from guestworker family background, mainly in their 30s and 40s. Half of the sample was born in Germany and the other half was born in Turkey and was taken to Germany before the age of 5. 10 respondents have a secondary level education from Germany (predominantly vocational schools), and 4 respondents had to leave school, either because they were sent to prison, or the schools expelled them due to inappropriate behaviour. All the respondents are working in tourism-related businesses, predominantly in the service sector. None of the respondents' families are from the Antalya province, thus they had no prior ties to these localities. Furthermore, except for 3 respondents who have siblings in Turkey, none of the other respondents' parents or siblings live in Turkey, they either passed away or still reside in Germany. The sample group of this paper holds only Turkish citizenship, and this was the reason why they could be deported to Turkey, and they had a 10-year ban on entering Germany

from the date they were sent to Istanbul Atatürk Airport accompanied by the German police and being handed over to the airport police in Turkey.

The questions were also constructed to understand how the deported second generation found out about Antalya and imagined that they could have a better future in this tourism-oriented city. These interviews took around 1 hour, and the interviews were recorded on a digital recorder. All the interviews were held in the respondents' working places, however, in order to have a discrete environment, the interviews were held either when they were alone, or we sat down outside, far from their colleagues. During the interviews, the informants spoke in both Turkish and German, hence they were given the freedom to express themselves in two languages they feel comfortable using. These interviews were then translated and transcribed into English, however words and phrases unique to Turkish and German languages were kept in original and explanatory footnotes were added.

The informants were contacted through various sources followed by snowball sampling. I have used my previous networks for reaching potential interviewees and I have visited almost all the shops in the touristic districts of Kundu and Old Town area in Antalya city and asked if there were workers who were born and raised in Germany. In addition, I visited tourism agencies and hotels and asked the human resources departments if they could direct me to any possible interview candidates.

Certain ethnical procedures were followed during the data collection and analysis process, such as not giving away informants' personal stories to others, as in the tourism spaces most of the workers know each other. Secondly, I have adopted an 'empathic' approach to interviewing to allow the informants to speak in their own voice wherein I have embraced an active role, revealing personal feelings about the issues under discussion (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). It was important to be ethical to my views and principles regarding certain issues such as violence, drug abuse, vandalism and robbery which I could not be neutral to or accepting about, and I believe my honest thoughts and reactions about these stories made my respondents to trust me more, to evaluate more on the experiences without feeling the need to justify their past actions. Thirdly, once the interviews were collected, the names of the respondents were anonymised through using pseudonyms and the names of their working places are not used.

During the transcription process of the recordings, I noted all the significant pauses, hesitations and interruptions that took place during the interviews, because in narrative analysis, not only what people say is

important but the way they say it also carries importance (Riessman, 2002). The transcriptions were analysed through following a thematic analysis narrative, putting an emphasis on *what* is said rather than *how* it is said. In addition, I paid close attention to the hermeneutic process involved in my own "activity of making sense" of the narratives (Schwandt, 2003) whilst reading and re-reading the transcriptions and creating the initial codes and themes. Once themes emerged, I re-arranged the themes using the human well-being theoretical framework of Wright (2012).

7. Starting a New Life in Antalya: Social Integration after Deportation

To start with, the respondents narrated their stories of marginalisation and the paths that led them to minor and major crimes in Germany, due to having turbulent relationships with their parents, lack of interest in school stemming from discrimination by peers or/and teachers, negative neighbourhoods or a 'ghetto' environment with problematic friendships and general identity struggles which put them in a complex and hopeless emotional state. When they were deported to Turkey, they did not have family support as their families remained in Germany and they found themselves in a completely new environment wherein they did not know where to settle in or how to start a new life in their so called 'ancestral homeland'. All the respondents mentioned that they firstly tried to live in the small towns where their parents come from, hoping to get support from their relatives there, and some informants also tried to live in Istanbul, expecting that the big city life would offer them jobs and they could socially integrate. However, the findings show that in both cases, the respondents were disappointed and their first months or years in Turkey evoked a 'double trauma' for them. Davut, who is 38 years of age and currently working in a clothing store in Antalya as a sales person, was deported at the age of 30 and he explains this 'double trauma' with the following:

> In Germany, I had a horrible family life, many problems… Then I had a thick criminal record. I became paranoid at some point, as if the police were always after me. Jail time in Germany was tough as well. Then when I got deported to Turkey, I somehow felt I could finally start over in a new place. I went to my parents' village and tried to work there, but one of my fingers got chopped in the machine, because in Turkey things are not

done professionally as in Germany. My relatives there were not supportive either, they were seeing me as the black sheep of the family. I went to Istanbul a couple of times, but I got scared, that city would eat me alive… I said, "enough!" and I came to Antalya, knowing that I could get a sales job in a touristic shop. Until I came to Antalya, I was living in hell both in Germany and Turkey (Davut, 38, Antalya).

Davut's narrative has commonalities with the other respondents' narratives in terms of the hopelessness they felt when they were deported to Turkey, where they did not have knowledge about the country and places, and they had limited or no social networks.

The narrative accounts also show that they had received information about the life in Antalya mostly through other Turkish people in Germany (especially when they were in jail and discussed about what they could do after deportation to Turkey), or through their relatives and acquaintances in Turkey. In all cases, the informants were recommended to move to Antalya. As Aziz (46 years old) explains,

If you were an *Almancı* with especially a dark past, everybody would tell you to go to Antalya. Especially in the 1990s. It was tourism's golden years, so many Germans were coming, they even bought houses here. There were many job opportunities, but there were no people who could speak German and English. It was perfect for people like me. We spoke Turkish, German, English and we were keen on starting a new phase in life (Aziz, 46, Antalya).

Indeed, it was also mentioned by the people in the tourism sector in Antalya that there was a flow of Turkish men from Germany who settled in Antalya from the 1990s onwards and filled most of the job positions in the tourism and hospitality sector. Here, it is important to acknowledge that return is a process of 'translocal dwelling' (Brickell & Datta, 2011) – meaning that, for the deportees, 'return' to Turkey was overall a stressful and at times disappointing experience, however Antalya, as the specific locale, provided them with new social and economic opportunities. In this framework, the informants' habitus and 'transcultural capital' of growing up with both Turkish and German languages, cultures, values etc. have a good fit with the 'field', i.e. Antalya, because the informants were able to adapt to the 'game' relatively quickly as their qualities via various types of capitals were valued in the tourism sector.

In terms of how the respondents reflect upon their social integration processes, it can be said that their improvement of their well-being in the *functional domain* was the first step to a transition to a better life. All the informants have been at all times employed since they moved to Antalya and some of them have even opened their own businesses. Four informants have their own tourism-related businesses and the rest mostly work in sales in touristic shops. Therefore, their improvement of their economic welfare, living conditions and income enabled them a sense of security. Here, it is important to acknowledge that their 'transcultural capital' played an important role in getting and sustaining these jobs, but also their commitment to a disciplined life was the main reason why they could sustain their economic ventures. Their economic integration was important to boost their social integration, considering that none of the informants had consistent or legal jobs in Germany, or were able to get a sustainable career elsewhere than in Antalya in Turkey. Hence, the 'functional domain' was an enabler for achieving well-being in the 'psychosocial/perceptual domain' and in the 'relational domain'.

The narratives further showed that living and working in Antalya changed the informants' perception about themselves and the social Others. To start with, all the informants mentioned that they felt like foreigners both in Germany and Turkey, not particularly because they saw themselves as 'different', but because they were perceived as 'different' by the dominant Others. Irfan, who was deported to Turkey in his early 20s, explains this in the next paragraph. Irfan now owns a souvenir shop in the Old Town area and he is happily married with children.

> I was born and raised in Germany. I was quite good at school. But I had a teacher who didn't like me, he believed that I needed to go to a special school for slow kids. Turkish students experience this sometimes, it is harder for us to go to higher education because we were neglected by our constantly working parents, and teachers. Even though I had many German friends, in these instances I would feel like a foreigner. Then I had to come to Turkey, thought it would be different in our motherland. But this time I had to deal with people's judgements. At least in Antalya, please don't care about my background and we Turks from Germany have a strong position here, the sector depends on us (Irfan, 35, Antalya).

Most of the time, as in the case of Irfan, the respondents felt disappointed about the German society for excluding them – because they considered Germany their 'home', the place where they were born and raised in.

When deported to Turkey, this time they had to face stereotyping from the Turkish society and were dubbed as "Almancı", denoting that they were Germanised, degenerated people – or that they are not 'Turkish' enough. However, in Antalya, tourism spaces enabled them to go beyond such identity struggles, because even though they had a bad reputation as being Turks from Germany, they were valuable for the tourism sector and the locals could not discourage them with their words. In addition, the respondents mentioned that they realised their multiple identities allowed them to interact with different nationalities in Antalya, make friends with especially German-speaking tourists/expats and other Turkish people who returned from Germany. In that sense, through the touristic working environment, they not only gained autonomy and competency, but they also re-built their self-esteem and relatedness with these new social networks. The oldest respondent Rüştü (53) who was deported to Turkey 25 years ago reflects on his new life:

> Since I moved to Antalya almost 20 years ago, I finally stopped thinking who I am. Doesn't matter. Look around you, in Antalya you see people from all over the world. I have been working in the jewellery sector since I came here and I made a good career. I enjoy my life, I have good friends here, many German customers of mine became my friends over the years. During the day I speak Turkish, German, English, Dutch, French... I even forget which country I am in sometimes (laughing). Calmness, good people, that's what I care for in life now, and I feel good about myself. The rest is history (Rüştü, 53, Antalya).

Finally, the respondents mentioned that their economic and psychosocial integration allowed them to improve their well-being in the 'relational domain'. Half of the sample are divorced, two of them are married, and five of them are single. Somehow, even though their marriages did not always go as they wished, having kids (5 respondents have children) was a push factor for them to have a sustainable income to support their children's lives. However, the narratives accounts show that having intimate relationships is still the weakest part in their lives; many respondents mentioned that they would like to focus on themselves instead of taking bigger responsibilities – for instance, the previously introduced informant Rüştü has been divorced three times and has five children in two different countries from three women of different nationalities. He says he tries to visit his children, but he is mainly interested in keeping up his work discipline and healthy lifestyle in Antalya. Other than this,

five respondents mentioned that since they moved to Antalya and "fixed" their lives, they started to be closer with their families so that their parents would come and visit them in Antalya. For example, Idris mentions:

> My family had lost hope in me when I got into jail and when I got deported to Turkey. They stayed in Germany and they were worried that I was never going to fix my life. After the army service in Turkey I was even more traumatised. Then I came to Antalya and build a life from scratch. I earned well here. My parents started visiting me, and they are impressed… Everybody says I am a new person now, and I guess I am because I work here with people who are also trying to be better people, we support each other, we work hard. (Idris, 44, Antalya).

In that sense, as in the case of Idris, they improved some of their previous intimate relationships. The informants pointed out that they get on well with their colleagues, neighbours and customers who are mainly German tourists and expats. Furthermore, they value the friendly and open-minded environment in the tourism spaces, where they feel a part of a community of people who think alike.

8. Conclusion

This paper focused on the social integration of deportees based on a well-being analysis which encompasses the objective situations that typify people's lives, such as income, employment and housing, which relate to the broader economic, political, social and cultural institutional contexts (Wright 2012: 50) and include people's own subjective understandings of these objective conditions in relation to how they perceive 'living well'. Thus, the narratives of the respondents were analysed based on their functional and psychosocial/perceptional experiences in Antalya, by looking at what kind of adjustments the respondents needed to make (whether of not they needed to learn a new language, get an educational/professional qualification, move to a certain neighbourhood, find employment etc.) in order to achieve their goals of living a better life and being a better version of themselves. Furthermore, the paper evaluated how far the respondents manage to meet their goals and what have been the main obstacles that limit them. It needs to be noted however, that the themes explored cannot be understood in isolation but they

are all interdependent and there are overlaps because the respondents' development in one area eventually has influence on other parts of their lives.

Subsequently, it can be said that tourism environments in Antalya allowed the deportees to overcome their identity struggles by providing them spaces to re-build self-confidence and competence, as well as offering them various job opportunities to have economic independence, develop business ideas and utilise their 'transcultural capital' to become successful in their occupations. Finally, the findings showed that, because their personal backgrounds were tolerated in Antalya and that they had the freedom of being 'who they are', they were able to build new networks with locals, Turkish-German returnees, international tourists and expats. In addition, they could afford rents in Antalya, benefit from the naturally beautiful surroundings, and, most importantly, maintain a work-life balance, which all added up to their overall well-being. In the long run, the respondents felt that they were socially integrated and considered Antalya as 'home'. This study was a first in the literature of deportation from Germany to Turkey, and more research is needed. However, as it stands, the paper hopefully showed that return migration from Germany to Turkey has many layers in which people 'returned' for various reasons and they have different experiences in Turkey depending on which city/town they live, what they expect from their post-return lives and what economic/social circumstances they live with.

NOTES

[1]   Two common terms are used for this group in the Turkish discourse. One is "gurbetçi", referring to someone in *gurbet* (diaspora) – deriving from the word "garaba" in Arabic with the meaning "to depart, to emigrate, to be away from one's homeland, to live as a foreigner in another country" (Kaya, 2007: 18). Another is a more derogative term "Almancı", meaning "Germanised" or "German-like", associated with pretentious behaviour (e.g. showing off with products such as German-made cars or, with 'culture': dressing, eating and living like Germans) and losing one's "Turkishness" (Kaya & Kentel, 2005: 3).

[2]   In the German system, youth prisoners are juveniles (14-17 years old) or young adults (18-21 years old) who are sentenced to a youth prison sentence (from 6 months up to 5 years, in extreme cases up to 10 years). They can stay in the youth prison until the age of 25 (Dünkel, 2006).

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