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Twofold Muhajirs at the Crossroads of Three Cultures: Turkish Georgians in Bergneustadt, Germany

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"And yet, if everything is moving where is here?" Doreen Massey

The contemporary world has been facing legal and illegal migrancy due to social, economic, political, and religious problems, or a combination of these. The number of migrants is growing every day. Mostly they are moving from the East to the West or to Europe. Movement includes not only the physical activity, but also the displacement of culture, traditions, and customs from one ethnical space to another. During migration, two different cultures – Eastern and Western – cross each other, as people take with them a part of the their culture. On the new soil they encounter unfamiliar culture and a new reality where the past and the present clash. This could be the reason for the migrants' dual existence, dissatisfaction with the new reality and reluctance to accept it, which prompts them to lock themselves into traditions in order to protect their identity.

On the other hand, this new reality may win migrants over and create "new" people, "free from past". However, before this happens, they may be overwhelmed with the following questions: Who am I? What is home? Is it the place where I was born? Or where I grew up? Where do I locate my community? Is home a geographical space, a historical space, or an emotional and sensory space? And when does it become my fortress, a strategic space I could call home? These questions are essential and meaningful in their lives.

Our work addresses the migration of Turkish Georgians from Turkey (Village Hayriye) to Germany (Gummersbach /Bergneustadt) in the 1960s. Three different cultural elements – Georgian, Turkish and German – influence their mode of life and affect their everyday perceptions of reality. However, before we discuss their present lifestyle, the past events must be briefly remembered. As Reshmi Dutt-Ballerstadt writes, "in order to intuitively and physically un-

derstand the trajectory of migrancy, the old route *must* be travelled" (Dutt-Ballerstadt 2010: xi).

Back to the past: 1. Muhajirs in Hayriye

Muhajirat was a complex phenomenon. During the Russo-Turkish War in 1877-78, on the basis of the Berlin treaty, Achara and other historical provinces of Georgia were attached to the Russian Empire. One part of the Georgian population came under Russian rule; the other part immigrated as "Muhajirs" to Ottoman Turkey. As a result of living in culturally and traditionally different countries (Russia, Ottoman Empire), the lifestyles of the Georgian Muslim communities began to diverge, influencing their mentality and family economic-cultural mode of life. "Muhajirat" was not only a Georgian problem; it concerned the Caucasus too.

Georgian Muhajirs, leaving their homelands, were subjected to Turkish political, economic, and cultural influence. They either intentionally or unintentionally absorbed "new traditions", but in spite of the natural process of assimilation, they tried to maintain self-identity, traditions, and customs, which were reflected in different ways.

Due to Russian and Ottoman policy, Georgian Muslims had to leave their dwellings to find shelter on new soil. Some of them could not reach their "desired heaven" and died on the way. But those who survived went to the mountain and coastal regions of Turkey. One of these places was the village Hayriye ("Small Moscow", "Machakhela"), established by Imam Haci Mehmed Efendi between 1880 and 1888.

About two hundred and fifty Georgian muhajirs left their villages near Artvin by some sources villages of Machakhela: Chukuneti, Chkhutuneti, Kirkiteti, Khinkileti, Kirnati to find a "new hope" in Turkey. According to villagers, their ancestors constructed Hayriye in accordance with their previous residence in Georgia. Georgians call the central part "Ortamahalle" the district of Khinkiladze. There are a school, mosque, shop, tea-house, cooperative society, and administrative building there. In the Eastern part, there are the districts of Cambazoğlu and Kirkitadze. In the Southern part of the village, there is an upper district "Yukari mahalle" (in Turkish) i.e. "Sikaleti". In front of it, in the Western part, there is a district of "Vakielebi" i.e. "karşımahalle".

Hayriye derives from the word *"hayir"*, which means "*happiness, welfare, and good*". But there are several existing versions of the story behind the village name: Georgian liked the place so much that they shouted "Hayırdır inşallah!" (May God give us good). Some attribute this name to the Circassians. Ethnic Georgians call the village "Machakhela", because their forefathers emigrated

from Machakhela villages. The village has a nickname "küçük Moskova" (small Moscow) given by the residents of nearby ethnic Georgian villages. The success and welfare of the village earned it this nickname. After migration to Germany in the 1960s to the 1970s, Turkish Georgians gained European experience and used it for the sake of the village. European culture had a great influence on them. Hayriye became a very successful village with a well-established infrastructure. Because they lived by European experience and not by religious dogmas, they became "Communists" to neighbouring villagers for forgetting their traditions and customs. As for the nickname "Small Moscow", it became an expression of success and material prosperity.

Back to the past: 2. Muhajirs in Germany/Bergneustadt

"*The issue of belonging among Turkish individuals in Germany needs to be considered in the context of social, political, historical, local, national, transnational and global influences, which play a role in the construction of complex individual patchwork identities*". *Werner Schiffauer*

In the 1960s, due to high levels of unemployment in Turkey and the need for inexpensive labour in the expanding economies of Europe, Turkey concluded a bilateral agreement to supply workers to Germany. Approximately one million Turks crossed the border until 1974, hoping to get rich fast. Europe was attractive to them due to its high living standards.

The majority of migrants with rural backgrounds and primary school educations could not gain higher positions in Germany. They began working in fields of the metal processing industry, taking positions of low occupational hierarchy. But later, the branches in which they were employed diversified to include the service sector, food production and technology.

The oil crisis in 1973 stopped the following recruitment of foreign labour (Anwerbestopp für Ausländer) and accelerated the decision-making process for emigrants. It resulted in growing numbers of arriving family members in Germany, exceeding the number of returnees at the end of the 1970s. The growing numbers of "foreign elements" created difficulties for Germany. Thus the stop of foreign labour recruitment became a barrier for incoming labourers, but a boon for those already living in Germany. However, in the 1980s, the Federal Republic of Germany approved a sanction to prevent family reunification by limiting the arrival of family members and decreasing the maximum age of arrival for immigrants' children to sixteen years. In 1983, the Kohl Government passed the so called "Voluntary Repatriation Encouragement Act which offered migrants financial incentives (Starthilfe) to return to the homeland. The act offered a grant of 10.500 Mark per adult and 1.500

Mark per child, which resulted in return of 100.388 Turkish migrants in 1983" [Bozkurt 2009: 33]. However for the majority of them this decision proved to be disadvantageous, causing financial retrogression in Turkey due to ill-judged investments and unemployment problems. This greatly influenced their relatives in Germany and slowed down the process of returning to their homeland. Moreover, the social-political tension in Turkey, especially after the military coup and Kurdish movement in the 1980s motivated most Turks to reconsider their return.

The migration continued in the 1980s "with arriving children, spouses, asylum seekers, students, as well as birth to Turkish families in Germany and reached a population of 2.6 million residents in 2005 that is expected to exceed three millions in 2030" [Bozkurt 2009: 33]. Such a wave of migration was not expected by the receiving country; the Turks were considered temporary guest workers (Gastarbeiter) who would return to their homeland after a few years. But the German Republic "made a mistake" in planning to get off cheap. Turks were offered lower positions with modest salaries, which would never be convenient for an ordinary German. At the outset, such "unpretentious" labourers seemed very attractive to the government; they could not foresee that in years to come, guest workers would not return to Turkey but rather their numbers would grow, furthered by the birth rate and advantage of living in Europe.

A small but steady stream of Hayriye villagers immigrated to Germany in the 1960s for better employment and living opportunities. Due to the high level of unemployment in Hayriye, Ahmed-Ozkan Melashvili,[1] an architect, and Faik Ertan, a teacher, interpreted the Turkish Government's announcement[2] as a wonderful opportunity for Hayriye. They prepared the "Village Development Cooperative" (VDC) charter and filled out the necessary government forms. Once Turkey approved their application, the Hayriye men went via the VDC to West Germany, where most got jobs in manufacturing industries. But unfortunately, this migration emptied the village.

Since the 1960s, Turkish Georgians (from Hayriye village) have been living in Gummersbach (Bergneustadt, Derschlag, Apfelbaum, Börnchen). Turkish Georgians also reside in Heidelberg, Halle, Eppelhaim, etc.

Bergneustadt, a part of the Berg region, is located 50 kilometres east of Cologne, in North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany). This small town resembles Hayriye with its beautiful nature, forest and water. When Georgian Muhajirs

1 He popularized Georgian culture in Turkey. He was killed in Bursa on July 5, 1980.

2 The idea of promoting rural development through cooperatives. In 1964 when Turkey's Ministry of Village Affairs was formed, the ministry devised a plan to utilize the earnings of migrant workers to improve village conditions. It encouraged residents of poor villages to organize village development cooperatives (VDCs).

went to Turkey, they chose the land to mirror their homeland (with rich natural resources).

About five hundred to six hundred villagers from Hayriye reside in Bergneustadt. The population has continued to grow since the 1960s. In 1996, they had the idea to create an organization "Hayriye köy yardımlaşma derneği" (village charity/development society). Before the society was established, the villagers could hardly collect any money for Hayriye infrastructure. At that time only two hundred and fifty to three hundred villagers lived in Bergneustadt. The majority of them were working in the car industry (in Turkey they were workers with rural backgrounds, cutting and cultivating the wood. This activity could not be useful in Germany).

In 2005, the villagers from Hayriye established the "Kafkas Club"[3] (Caucasian Club) society in Bergneustadt. The aim of this organization was to gather ethnic Georgians and Caucasians (Circassians, Abkhazians) residing in Bergneustadt. Every year ethnic Georgians hold Hayriye days, when they gather, make Georgian foods, and play accordion. They think that such gatherings are very important for being together, because a foreign place and setting will make them foreigners to one another in the course of a decade.

Saadetin Güntekin, the head of "Kafkas Club", shares (speaking in Georgian): *"Hayriye köy yardımlaşma derneği" is a very important organization in Bergneustadt. We collect money from a monthly salary and send financial support to Hayriye village for infrastructure, mosque, cemetery; we help poor and sick people. Now we have thirty thousand Euros. "Kafkas Club" is our community, domestic space. We hold the days of Hayriye village, play Georgian folk music, dance "kolsama", "Gandagana", etc. Our women prepare Georgian meals, which also are cooked in Hayriye. We are happy to be together. Sometimes Circassians, Abkhazians join us and spend very good time."*

Three generations of Turkish Georgians in Bergneustadt

The main motive of the first generation arrivals to Germany was financial success followed by a quick return to Turkey. Germany was their temporary "home", which is why they were not expected to learn the language. They concentrated on work to gain capital. Many of them did not go to see other towns (even Cologne, located not far from Bergneushadt), as they were saving money to send to their families, and could not afford to spend finances on travelling. But later they began to regret not enjoying life and using opportunities in Germany. For the first generation, whose "home" is in Turkey, most are

3 This society is subordinated to the Turkish consulate in Cologne. There are about ten organizations established by migrants from Turkey.

retired. They spend their summers in Inegol/Hayriye (Turkey) and winters in Germany. Germany is referred to in the past tense, with the only reason they still go to Germany being their children and grandchildren. Despite the fact that they spent their lives in Germany, they could not fit in with the way of life there. Germany is still cold and foreign for them. They remember the past (where their ancestors were from, the reasons they came to Turkey): Georgian surnames, (Kirkitadze, Khinkiladze, Dzvelishvili, Qoqoladze, etc.) language (many of them speak Georgian), and traditions and culture, longing for the days they left behind. They try to teach Georgian to their grandchildren.

Melek Baştürk/Kayaca, a 66 year-old woman (speaking in Georgian): *"My father's surname was Kirkitadze, and mother's surname was Dzvelishvili. My husband was 28 years old when he came to Germany. At first we resided in Apfelbaum and then moved to Derschlag. When I came here, I did not know anything, it was very difficult for me to live in Germany. I miss Turkey and often go there. I am here because of my children and grandchildren. Sometimes I teach them some Georgian words. They understand Georgian but cannot speak. My daughter knows Georgian language and my sons dance. When we hold the days of Hayriye at the "Kafkas Club", they dance "Gandagana" and "Kolsama". Our grandmothers in Hayriye did not speak Turkish; they only spoke Georgian. I learnt Turkish only at school, because teachers forbad us to speak Georgian. I have a house in Hayriye and Inegol. My mother is still alive; her Turkish is mixed with Georgian. Sometimes we watch Georgian channels but they speak too fast but we catch some words. We were very sad because of bloodshed in Georgia in 2008. I have daughters-in-law; they both are ethnic Georgians (Gürcü) from Inegol. We do not want to give our daughters to foreigners (non-ethnic Georgians), our sons also marry ethnic Georgians from Inegol. Nowadays young women unlike us are very pragmatic and prefer to study and then marry."* (Endogamy is still widely practiced in Inegol too.)

"While the first generation longs to go back to their country of birth...., the second generation struggles to "fit in" within their country of birth itself" [Dutt-Ballerstadt 2010: 58]. While the former remembers ancestors, the latter remembers them by way of their parents. Many of them even do not know who Ahmed-Ozkan Melashvili was (although his picture is on the wall of the "Kafkas Club").

Casim and Filiz Yıldız. Casim, born in Turkey, is 35 years old. His wife Filiz, born in Germany, is 33 years old. Casim, speaking in Turkish and Georgian: **"***I am from the village of Hayriye; I am Gürcü (Georgian). In Inegol there are lots of ethnic Georgians' villages, you know all of them (smiles) I remember what my parents used to tell me about my forefathers. My Georgian surname is*

Malakmadze, but now I cannot remember my mother's Georgian surname. Wait, I am calling her right now (Casim is calling his 67 year-old mother, who lives in Inegol/Turkey). Her surname is Goglidze. Now I will not forget it (smiles). My father taught me Georgian dances. In my childhood all weddings were held in villages, all men used to dance Gandagana, Kolsama... We would watch them dance with pride... I have two teenage sons. Unlike me, they rarely attend weddings, only in summer, when they are away on holiday in Turkey. That's why I try to teach them here. Our youth gather once a week at the "Kafkas Club" and I teach them how to dance. It is very important not to forget ancestral traditions."

Filiz Yıldız says (speaking in Turkish and Georgian): *"unlike my husband I was born in Germany and speak German fluently. I am an ethnic Georgian too. Sometimes I watch Georgian channels but they speak too fast, but I catch some words and I am pleased (smiles). My father's Georgian surname was Tavdgiridze. We want our children to speak Georgian and try to teach what we know. When our parents are here in Germany, they teach them."*

Some of the second generation members were born in Turkey and joined their parents in their adolescent years prior to schooling, while others were born in Germany. They often criticize parents for not enjoying life. They think that it is a big mistake to live just to gain capital, because one should use all opportunities that life gives them. This exactly is one of the main differences between them. The motto of their lives is "life is not only family or work, but it is also a journey with lots of opportunities".

The second generation wants to gain a foothold in Germany: they speak German fluently (unlike their parents), enjoy the European lifestyle, and often do not even travel to Turkey. Most are citizens of Germany, but there are exceptions too: some of them are reluctant to apply for German citizenship and still keep their Turkish passports. Passport is associated with place of birth and citizenship, but it also has emotional connotations and connects a person to his or her past. It should be added that almost all migrants feel anxious when their passports are cut to get new ones, as if someone has cut their arms. It resembles a farewell to the past, self-rejection or loss of self. Turkish citizenship and parents bind them to the past. Turkey is a bridge between the past and the present; without it, ties with Georgia (the ancestral land) are lost. Parents are considered to be the reason of their return, "for the first generation the news of death of a parent becomes … another step closer to losing the urgency to return back to one's homeland .... For the second generation, however, the loss of a parental figure becomes a loss of both root and route" [Dutt-Ballerstadt 2010: 58].

The third generation in Bergneushadt speaks only German, but knows its origin. Some parents forbid them to speak German at home, because they tend

to forget Turkish. Parents, who speak Georgian, teach them some words and dances (Gandagana, Kolsama, etc.) so that they do not forget the past.

Illusory perception of home - Turkey/Germany

"... Home comes to signify not only a personal space of belonging and sheltering that is protected against others, but expresses also a collective imaginary placement that divides us from the other, who have their own mentality maps, boundaries, social and political references and spatial projection on territories." Esin Bozkurt

In the 1880s, when Turkish Georgians immigrated to Turkey, they initially tried to choose lands that reminded them of Georgia, creating the illusion of their homeland and dwelling, because "home is the place where things and relations, materials and bodies, fantasy and facts can be dominated and domesticated, governed and articulated" [Chamber 2001: 161].

After settlement, they began to build their houses. One's dwelling is very important in one's life. Being among the most salient expressions of traditional world-view and culture, a dwelling, first of all, can be seen as a pure and sacred material phenomenon and secondly, as a temple created by one's ancestors. It is a capital source of information, also creating the mood of inner space, which helps a person to form a sense of self-identity. When beginning to set up their own space by way of dwelling, the migrants in the first place bordered "inner" from "outward", uniting two worlds, "symbolic and real", within the former. "… Dwelling as a material complex of practical value, and as an ideal object of symbolic value. We can see its economic and social aspects and analyze its import in social life … [and in] formation of a social and economic model…" [Bukhrashvili 2005: 111].

When ethnic Georgians settled on the lands of Turkey, they bordered the territory from an ethnical point of view and determined it to be a solely Georgian space, distinguishing between "we" and "others". Turkish Georgians established communities and lived together, forming one social organism. Some villages in Turkey were named after Georgian villages they emigrated from. By building the houses, they drew a line between "Inner" and "Outward", that is, the micro and the macro worlds from the ethnical as well as individual point of view.

After setting up their dwellings, it was very important for them to maintain the memory of their origin and be in touch with the past. An empty house did not provide relevant reminders for the reconstruction of memories stored in their minds and affecting their daily perceptions and interpretations of reality. A building alone cannot fully ensure a connection with one's past and

ancestors. A perception of self-identification, linkage with forefathers, and a search for a long lost past are particularly necessary in foreign countries, and different reminders regarding the past and origin are considered to be the best means. Therefore Turkish Georgians used to bring to their dwellings various things associated with their homeland to make Muhajirs perceive an ethnic space. Empty buildings turned into dwelling places and were filled with ethnic elements, which made Muhajirs feel comfortable. Touching them, one was closely connected with the past and could remember one's origin and separate "I" from "others". In this way, the distinct concepts of "Chveneburi",[4] "hısım",[5] "Gürcü",[6] and "all the others" were formed by Muhajirs.

On the second stage, it was important to maintain this ethnic space and to follow rules that were supposed to become dogmatic for the future generation, too.

In order to protect this ethnic space, it was important to avoid the invasion of "outsiders", i.e. non-Georgians, who could cause the diffusion of other ethnic traditions and customs, putting their ethnical identity in danger and causing degradation. That is why Turkish Georgians used a "protective shield" – they never sold land to outsiders, in order to avoid assimilation with foreigners and foreign traditions, which was facilitated by Turkish policy.[7]

Turkish Georgians not only protected territory, but also their genetic heritage against contamination. They were strongly endogamic and preferred to marry within their own tribes. It is well-known in science that marriage is not only a social but also a biological event. Muhajirs were aware that in the mixture of blood, accompanied by "characteristically new traditions", the Georgian space would be violated and devalued.

Thus, on the basis of the following components – 1. dwelling as the place where the past and the present cross each other, creating spiritual linkage with ancestors; 2. "territorial borders", defining "I" and "others", "one of ours", and "the outsider"; 3. protection of inner space from other ethnic groups by a) not selling the land to outsiders, and b) unmixed marriage – Turkish Georgians maintained their ethnicity and survived themselves and the future generations.

4 The Georgian word "Chveneburi", used by Turkish Georgians, means "one of ours".

5 Hısım is a Turkish word for "related by blood". See Türkçe Sözlük, 1998.

6 "Gürcü" is Turkish for "Georgian".

7 One of them was a compulsory military service, which channelled Georgians and other ethnic minorities into a unified stream of Turkish society; besides, by the constitution of Turkey, Chapter Four "Political Rights and Duties", Article 66, "everyone bound to the Turkish state through the bond of citizenship is a Turk."

"Homelessness is coming to be the destiny of the world."
Martin Heidegger

The movement and migration from one place to another and the drastic change of dwelling involve a complex "transformation and transmutation of self, psyche, language and the experience of citizenship" [Dutt-Ballerstadt 2010: 135]. Muslim Georgians in Inegol (Turkey) could maintain their identity with the help of an illusionary homeland and dwelling. However, since the 1960s, the second movement of Turkish Georgians to Germany (as a country of third culture) has changed their identity, moreover dualized their existence. A new physical reality (European reality), unlike Eastern-Caucasian, invaded them and has had a great influence on the second and third generations. Permanent migration made them nomads and the sense of a "dwelling as one's fortress" devaluated. The landscape of home became a temporary "campsite" [Carter 1992], devoid of any roots or promises of permanent stay. Such interpretation of home with the Georgian migrants makes it evident that a meaningful and indispensable dwelling did not exist for them.

There are several words in the Turkish language that refer to home, but the most prevalent ones are "ev" and "yurt", which have domestic connotations and refer to a house in which a family resides. The equivalents of homeland are "memleket", "vatan", "yurt", "anavatan", "anayurt", and "ülke". The most frequently used expression is "vatan", which has roots in Arabic and means "the place of residence and home" [Türkçe Sözlük 2007]. Similar to "vatan", "yurt" is used to refer to the place of birth and dwelling. Other widely used expressions are "memleket" and "ülke", which refer to the place of birth, ancestral home, and the motherland [Atalay 1999 and Püsküllüoğlu 2007]. But we should add that "ülke" has strong territorial references and is closer to "vatan", whereas "memleket" has emotional connotation and implies attachment to one's home town [Doğan 1995]. Turkish Georgians, when talking about their forefathers, use the word "memleket", which implies their ethnic belonging to "Gürcistan" (Georgia).

In the German language, home translates as "das Haus", "das Heim", "das zuhause", "die Heimat", and "die Wohnstätte", but most commonly "das Heim" and "die Heimat". Unfortunately, Turkish Georgians (the second and third generations) living in Bergneustadt (Germany) have lost the perception of both "memleket" and "Heimat", leaving these words now to be used only as lexicological definitions. For them, neither Turkey nor Germany is their homeland. Twofold migration has made both home and homeland an illusion. Home is not seen "as a sanctuary and nucleus of identity" [Morley 2000: 51] any more. It has only practical functions: be comfortable, equipped, and just for living. All

ethnic Georgians living in Bergneustadt have houses in Hayriye or in Inegol, which were (re)built or repaired with money earned in Germany. Despite the fact that most of them are not going to live in these houses, they spend money for their reconstruction. In this case, a house is not only a dwelling, but also an association with the past. They repair houses in villages that they do not even intend to live in, but do so for the sake of a hope and stimulus to return there someday. This is not a guaranteed return, but something of a pledge to return.

The above-mentioned condition was the reason for dual existence, when a person is physically in one nation but psychically in another, as if he/she loses his own roots and lives between two worlds: a lost past and an unacceptable present. He/she becomes a nowhere creature. Parallels can be drawn with the plurality of life-worlds as discussed by Peter L. Berger, Brigitte Berger and Hansfried Kellner in *The Homeless Mind* (1974). Meena Alexander, in her work "The Shock of Arrival: Reflections on Postcolonial Experience", quite aptly says that the questions we ask are "not necessarily new: Where am I? Who am I? And hardest of all, when am I?" [Alexander 1996: 142].

A dual existence appears when the ethnic mentality, formed throughout centuries, clashes with "new traditions". Dual existence is estrangement from one's ethnic origin and the new reality. It is difficult to define who you really are and where your home is. You can neither move forward nor backward. But this condition could be the reason for self-determination.

Reshmi Dutt-Ballerstadt, in her work "The Postcolonial Citizen the Intellectual Migrant", says, "as a naturalized citizen of the United States, the question of return has a double emphasis now. Every time I go back to India I say "I am going home." Days before leaving India to return to Oregon, I say "my holidays have ended. I am returning home again" [Dutt-Ballerstadt 2010: 131]. Turkish Georgians living in Bergneustadt, face the same difficulties. When they go to Hayriye (mostly in summer) they say "we are going home", but days before leaving Turkey, they say, "we are going back home". The concept of "home" is still empty and vague for them. They cannot determine its location and continue to live at an illusionary "home", situated at the crossroads of two different traditions and cultures.

Since the 1960s, three generations of Turkish Georgians have lived in Bergneustadt. The first generation had to learn the new language and culture, as well as cope with the torture of being separated from their homeland. They often encountered resentment and hostility from the host population, as unwelcome guests in a "new land". The Germans, considered to be lovers of national culture, expressed resentment, irritation, dissatisfaction, and anti-Turkish sentiments resulting from the migrants' long term stay, citizenship, birth

rate, and the growth in number of restaurants and mosques (Grand mosque is being built in Cologne). Here we should add that according to Turkish Georgians, there was neither religious nor ethnic conflict in Bergneustadt. But some women mentioned that they encountered religious and ethnic discrimination. (Some of them were denied permission to work because of wearing shawl.)

Ayşe Yıldız, a 34 year-old woman, shares (speaking in Turkish)*: "I was born in Bergneustadt, studied here. But I am Muslim and according to Koran I wear a shawl. It was very difficult to find a job, because every time was the same. The owners used to tell me not to cover my head. I have some friends who faced the same problems. In our world woman is ascribed the role to construct and represent home, and to protect it against outside influence through the practice of cultural, national and religious values."*

The Germans gave the following nicknames to their unwelcome guests, and later the citizens: "Kanake" (the same as in English "Nigger", often used in songs), "Kanaken camp", "sons of Gastarbeita", "Kanaks with brain", "Asiatic warriors", "Islamic force", etc. These terms express the attitudes towards Turks, which gradually led to estrangement.

The opposite concept of "Heimat" is "Fremd", "Ausländisch", and "Entfremdung". "Heimat" is associated with security and belonging whereas "Fremd" evokes a feeling of alienation and isolation [Morley … 1995], and is synonymous with hardship and a loss of a sense of belonging.

When a member of one ethnic group settles down on a new land and becomes its citizen, he/she is engaged in making this country his rightful homeland. Self-affirmation is a part of this process. When German Americans in the United States tried to make a "new land" their rightful homeland, the motto was: "wir sind keine Fremden in diesem Lande" (we are not strangers in this country) [Meyer 1890]. We can use the same motto for Turks residing in Germany. Besides, they are German citizens protected by a constitution, but the question is whether they consider themselves to be a part of this country or not. As mentioned above, the Turks are still "unwanted" citizens who exceeded the limit of their stay long before. Feeling isolation and separation, they experience alienation.

We raise the question of when exactly the feeling of isolation and alienation appears. Eva Hoffman, a Polish emigrant to Canada and the author of several books, thinks that a movement from one country to another is not solely a geographical movement, but also a cultural one characterized by confrontations with new values. "I think every immigrant becomes a kind of amateur anthropologist, you do notice things about culture or the world that you come into, that people who grew up in it, who are very embedded in it, simply

do not notice. I think we all know it from going to a foreign place. At first you notice the surface things, the surface differences. And gradually you start noticing the deeper differences. And gradually you start with understanding the inner life of the culture, the life of those both large and very intimate values" [Stroinska 2003: 104].

These very cultural and religious differences and values became the main reason for alienation. Despite the fact that the second or third generation of Turks was born in Germany and go to schools with Germans, their lives are different from the lives of their German peers. They are perceived as strangers, because they do not fit into the (fictive) ideal type of the standard German in terms of social and physiological characteristics [Mecheril 1997]. Namely all non-ethnic Germans are perceived as foreigners. This difference is shown even in schools. According to Turkish Georgians, their children are always considered second class people, however well they play football. The stress of otherness as a social stigma made many of them criminals, which can be considered a manifestation of self-protection, an instinct of self-preservation. Many Turkish Georgians in Bergneustadt were drug users and sellers, but the "Kafkas Club" community saved their lives.

The change in immigrants' status from ordinary countrymen to "Ausländers" deepened the perception of emptiness and alienation. They became second-class people who were not able to live in well-off districts. Despite the fact that they gained capital, they could not increase their social status.

The Turks and Turkish Georgians distance themselves from Germans due to the differences in culture, traditions and religion. While Germans portray immigrants as backwards, the Muslim minority associates the host culture with corruption and moral degradation. The Muslim family mode of life is based on religious dogmas; in this case, European and Eastern values and cultures clash. Islam, like Christianity, forbids sexual freedom that characterizes European and Western society. So in this "corrupted environment", Islamic families try to maintain religious traditions and protect their children against outside influence. But the children, who find themselves in a difficult situation, sometimes protest. An adult who has German friends wants to be like them, even in having a sexual partner. That is why parents who are "old fashioned" and socialized in a different socio-cultural context do everything not to "lose" their children.

The paradox is that alienation has positive effects. This stigma made Turks more religious, as Islam became a shelter. Some of them began wearing shawls. Unlike parents, they understood the meaning and importance of it. So "traditional Islam" was replaced with "real Islam". Estrangement and isolation in-

creased the importance of the family and ascribed new meaning and function to it, releasing them from emptiness. They united against an "enemy" and focused on main values, which set them apart from others.

Not only family members, but also villagers were unified by the "stress on otherness". It is important for them to have people around who are from the same country or village (ethnic Georgians), and who share the same traditions and culture. They meet together at home or within their community, where there are familiar smells and tastes of a domestic atmosphere. They talk about politics and past, watch Turkish channels (sometimes Georgian channels), listen to Turkish music, play Gandagana and Kolsama on the accordion, and tell stories and anecdotes about Hoca Nasred in with a cup of tea and narghile. This process of collective imagination is a kind of illusion that satisfies the need of "home". Individual or collective reconstruction of the past is based on ethnic identification and memories, which are stored in their minds and continue to affect their everyday perceptions and interpretations of reality. They are like archaeologists, trying to move further back into the past to form the whole image by way of mere fragments of memories and a "ritual of remembering". It is "from the past that we are able to perceive, create and give life to our ritual. It is from this that we derive strength, that we can recognize our existence as human beings" [Rivera 1979: 21]. These processes of collective imagination and home-making give them the strength to survive in an insensitive world.

The state of foreignness and the stress on otherness are painful not only in Germany but in Turkey too. The Turks in Germany have a negative attitude toward the researchers from Turkey and refused to be interviewed because researchers use the term "Türkiyeli" (the one from Turkey) but Turks who live in Germany are called in Turkey "Almanyalı" (one from Germany), "Almancı"(Germanized), "diluted Turks" or "Deutschländer" with a mostly negative connotations. Alienation and distance between "Germanized Turks" and Turks living in Turkey are based on financial and mental disparity.

In the end, the reality of nomadism is becoming more and more poignant. It could be the reason behind identity crises and loss of self. "Home" becomes a past tense, replaced by a temporary "campsite". Turkish Georgians in Germany are losing their foundation and are becoming "nowhere creatures" with illusory perceptions of home. The first generation still consciously remembers the past and the meaning of home; they spend their winters in Germany and then return to Turkey, which they have chosen as their place of death. The second and the third generations are fighting for life to move forward; parents (first generation) who are still alive help them to remember the past, traditions, and language.

Twofold Muhajirs at the crossroads of three cultures, with neither a real nor permanent home, are strangers in a foreign and "native" land, torn apart by two sets of memories and two opposing ways of the present and the past. They struggle to make a new beginning by fitting in with the new "motherland" (Germany), and at the same time to maintain their own ethnic culture, space and identity, upholding their self-imposed endogamy. But the following question crops up: how long will it last?

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