FROM VAGABOND TO TOURIST:
Second-Generation Turkish-German Deportees' Narratives of Self-Healing and Well-being

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Abstract
The paper explores the social integration, well-being and self-healing strategies and outcomes of a sample of second-generation Turkish-Germans who were deported to Turkey due to conviction for youth crimes. Based on the life-story narratives of 14 male participants living and working in the Mediterranean resort of Antalya, I analysed the way in which this tourist city offers spaces for self-discovery and socioeconomic integration, based on profitable work in the tourist economy. Although deportation was a traumatic event, it facilitated possibilities for life transformation – from 'vagabond' to 'tourist'.

Keywords
Second generation • Turkish youth • criminality • deportation • self-healing • well-being

Introduction

When I was researching second-generation Turkish-Germans who had settled in the tourist area of Antalya in southern Turkey, I came across a number of research participants who had been deported to Turkey due to their criminal acts in Germany. This subgroup – for this paper, 14 informants – had decent tourism-related jobs in Antalya; some had grown their own business, and all had good relations with the local community and with the German tourists who were their main clientele.

Yet, the early lives of these second-generation deportees had been deeply troubled. Their life-story narratives included experiences of discrimination and personal crisis in Germany, anger, despair, problems with their immigrant parents, hopelessness for the future and trying to find solutions to these problems through drugs, violence, theft and joining youth gangs. These actions were justified, in their eyes, because they had been

'rejected' by the German school system and labour market and did not want to follow their parents into factory work and manual labour.

Deportation was the turning point in their lives. It consisted of a 'double trauma': the sudden wrench of deportation itself and finding themselves in a 'new' country, Turkey, with which they had had limited prior contact and where they initially faced difficulties, in view of their stigmatisation as 'ex-criminals' and 'Turks from Germany'. However, when they settled in the 'tourist paradise' of Antalya, they managed to achieve a 'better life'. Using their languages (Turkish, German and English), they found themselves to be 'useful' to employers in the tourist economy. They worked hard, developed new skills, learned about the environment around them and created, in effect, a 'better version of themselves' or, put differently, 'positive psychosocial well-being'.[1]

In the growing literature on second-generation 'return' migration to ancestral homelands (e.g. Christou & King 2014; Jain 2013; Potter 2005; Teerling 2014), deportation has been overlooked. Commonly defined as the forced removal from a country of people who are seen as having no legal right to be there or who have broken the law, deportation in reality is a problematic concept and often a violent government practice (de Genova & Peutz 2010; Khosravi 2018). Meanwhile, the abundant literature on deportation contains only scattered reference to the specific challenges of the second generation's integration and well-being in the home country of their parents; for exceptions, see Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo (2013) on Mexicans and Hasselberg (2018) on Cape Verdeans. My paper is the first to focus on deported Turkish-German youth and their post-deportation lives.

I deployed human well-being framework of Wright (2012) as a heuristic tool to explore deportees' experiences and the way in which the tourism space of Antalya offers them unique opportunities for fulfilling the functional, psychosocial and relational needs that support well-being and life satisfaction. Within a semi-structured interview schedule, participants could reflect on their past and present lives to shed light upon how they dealt with issues of identity crisis and well-being in relation to the experiences of deportation and social integration. Combining multiple insights from their narratives, four key questions were addressed in this paper. First, what were the specific circumstances that led them to engage in criminal acts during their youth in Germany? Second, once deported to Turkey, what were their experiences in terms of economic, social and cultural adaptation? Third, why did they decide to settle in Antalya? Fourth, in what ways does working in a touristic environment benefit their overall well-being?

As the findings will show, Antalya has been an ideal place for the deportees to recover both their material lives and their sense of self-worth, which, in turn, promoted a sense of autonomy in deciding 'who they are' beyond the identities assigned to them such as *Almancı* ('German-like Turk', used by Turkish locals in Turkey), *Ausländer* ('foreigner' used by the German society), criminal, etc. In Antalya, they were valued because there has been a high demand for workers who can speak foreign languages, show enthusiasm in their work and 'understand' German tourists' requirements for a good holiday experience. Meantime, employers generally turned a blind eye to personal backgrounds, which allowed the participants to 're-invent' themselves and discover their hidden qualities.

Turkish youth crimes in Germany: origins and consequences

The predilection for youth of Turkish origin to get involved with crime in Germany can be traced to the immigration of their parents as 'guest workers' in the 1960s and 1970s. This reflects the refusal of the German authorities to grant the migrant workers, and their offspring, full citizenship rights and the strong ethno-religious labelling of the Turkish immigrant population in Germany (Faas 2010). In 2017, there were around 3.2 million Turkish-origin people residing in Germany, of whom 1.5 million retained Turkish citizenship, including many of the second generation (Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis) 2018). Over the long term, the Turkish migrant population's limited social, economic and political security had a negative impact on the integration of both the first and second generations (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003). Most of the second generation inherited their parents' experience of stigmatisation and exclusion, as well as structural non-integration in German institutions, especially the school system and labour market. In fact, the Turkish second generation has the lowest educational and social mobility levels of all the main immigrant groups in Germany (Crul, Schneider & Lelie 2012).

In the 1980s and 1990s, Turkish youth found alternative ways of coping with these integration challenges through the birth of Turkish-German hip-hop and the creole street language of *Kanak Sprak*, which all reflected their identity struggles and the ways in which they positioned themselves within the increasingly multi-ethnic German society (Kaya 2007; Zaimoğlu 1995). While some turned to religion, becoming pious Muslims, increasing numbers of Turkish second-generation young men engaged in gang violence and criminal acts as a form of rebellion against the majority society and as a reaction to racist attacks on the Turkish community (Tertilt 1997). Drug abuse and drug-related crimes such as robbery and vandalism were also on the rise.

Research of Dünkel (2006) on youth crime in Germany revealed that Turks, along with people originating from (former) Yugoslavia, posted the highest crime rates. Another study showed that young Turks committed the highest rate of violent offending compared to all other immigrant groups, even when variables such as educational level, socioeconomic status and unemployment were controlled for (Wilmers *et al.* 2002). Enzmann & Wetzels (2003) pointed to the culture of 'honour' prevalent among male-dominated Turkish immigrant families, which probably results in an intergenerational transmission of violence. According to Garland (1996: 461), German criminologists' stereotyped conceptualisation of Turkish and other immigrant-origin youth groups as 'foreigners' indicates a criminology of the 'alien other', which represents criminals as 'dangerous members of distinct racial and social groups' who bear little resemblance to 'us'. This translates into likely deportation once conviction and imprisonment are secured. Deportation is offered as an incentive to halve jail terms, but only to Turkish nationals who do not hold German citizenship.[2]

Linking deportation and well-being

Although there is considerable debate over the concept of (human) well-being, I primarily draw on the approach of Wright (2012: 4-5) to well-being, which includes both objective and subjective dimensions and encapsulates the interplay between three well-being domains:

- the *functional* domain, concerned with standards of living, such as income, employment and housing, and people's subjective assessments of them;
- the *psychosocial* 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 anxiety, self-esteem and satisfaction and
- the *relational* domain, concerned with both intimate and broader social relationships.

As the various studies in the edited collection of Vathi & King (2017) have shown, recent research on return migration has used the well-being lens to shed light on post-return experiences. Following Wright (2012), I adopt a holistic approach whereby human well-being is understood beyond an economic framework, to include 'quality of life', social networks and the emotional aspects of return migrants' readjustment processes in the country of origin. With first-generation return, the dimension of psychosocial well-being has been especially emphasised in studies of forced return, including deportation of 'failed' asylum-seekers and criminals, whereas voluntary return migration is represented as safe by the government, since migrants are, it is thought, returning to 'where they truly belong' (e.g. DeBono 2017; Stefansson 2004). When it comes to the 'return' of the second generation, this is generally seen as a voluntary, 'counter-diasporic' relocation to the parental homeland, even if many studies on this migratory type report widespread dissatisfaction and disillusionment with the 'homeland' environment (e.g. Christou & King 2014; King & Kılınç 2014; Wessendorf 2007).

As already noted, far less studied is the phenomenon of forced second-generation 'return', where the deportees were either born in the host country where their parents were immigrants or taken there as young children. Given the circumstances that usually 'produce' this type of 'return' migration – a troubled family background, criminal activities, imprisonment – plus the lack of prior contact with the parental homeland, it might be expected that this kind of repatriation would be psychologically daunting, even disastrous, for the deportees. My research in Antalya disproves this supposition, thereby highlighting the crucial importance of *place*.

Another way of framing the importance of place and locality in the lives and well-being outcomes of deportees is via the concept of 'translocal geographies' (Brickell & Datta 2011) – an assemblage of connected sites that become significant in the lives of (im)mobile people, including forced mobility (deportation to Turkey) and forced immobility (no re-entry to Germany). Through their ability to re-make their lives in Antalya, they manage to exhibit what Anthias (2008) calls 'translocational positionality', which 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 constructed at both individual and collective levels.

With regard to identity and well-being, I use a double metaphor drawn from Bauman (2005); the deportees move from being 'vagabonds' in the German industrial towns where they grew up and became youth gang members to the status of 'tourists' and successful members of society in Antalya. According to Bauman (2005: 2), the condition of 'liquid modernity' can be only enjoyed by the global elites (i.e. the rich and the 'secure', those with a 'rightful' place/citizenship – he calls them 'tourists'). The counter-metaphor 'vagabonds' denotes those who experience social, political and economic marginalisation, for whom the liquid modern world is instead a prison wherein they either live or fight against the fate forced upon them.

Bauman's dual metaphor is also useful to understand the agency–structure relationship – who has access to certain spaces, who has autonomy to change their lives for the better and to what extent an individual can go beyond the given structures through re-negotiating his or her identities across his or her new 'translocal social fields'. As my analysis will demonstrate, the deportees were able to reclaim agency to develop new identities and lifestyles more freely in Antalya compared to their lives in Germany, where their identities and social roles were strictly assigned by the state, society, family and the diaspora community.

Nevertheless, for the informants, changing their 'vagabond' status to that of 'tourist' requires a certain level of self-reflexivity, difficult to achieve given their history of deprivation, criminality and working-class origins. Yet, they have shown remarkable adaptation skills induced by their 'transcultural capital' (Meinhof & Triandafyllidou 2006) of language and communication skills and familiarity with multiple cultural repertoires. This supports the argument of Bauman (2005), among others (e.g. Urry 2000), that a class-based analysis is too limiting in the individualised, hybridised yet also globalised societies of late modernity, since misalignment can often emerge between social-class origins, economic capital, lifestyle and self-identity.

Methodology

The 14 participants whose narratives are the empirical core of this paper are a subsample of a larger survey of 74 second-generation Turkish-German 'returnees' who were interviewed in and around Antalya in 2014 and 2015. The research did not deliberately 'target' deportees; they simply emerged as a subgroup within the overall survey. My main research instrument was the semi-structured open-ended interview, recorded with informants' consent. The life-history approach was used to sequence the interview, covering their parents' migration history; their own upbringing in Germany, including education and work experiences; the circumstances of their 'return' to Turkey and finally their lives in Antalya.

Initially, this interview guide was used to learn about different stages in the interviewees' lives; however, when the topic of deportation unexpectedly arose, a conversational approach followed where I gently probed with supplementary questions relating to their deportation

stories. These questions enacted reflections on their criminal past, the difficulties they experienced when sent to Turkey and the strategies they used to deal with their traumas (i.e. deportation and having to survive in a country that was largely 'new' to them).

All informants were men, coming from a guest worker family background, brought up in various German industrial towns and aged in their 30s and 40s at the time of interview.[3] While their current ages challenge the upper-age threshold for 'youth', the key point is that they were reflecting, during much of the interview, on their lives when they were involved in criminal activities and youth gangs, and subsequently got deported, which usually occurred in their 20s. As the narratives will reveal, 'returning' to Turkey while they were still young was useful to start over and develop skills to secure their economic independence and build social networks.

The deportee participants were all working in tourism-related employment, including a few who had established their own business. None of their families are from Antalya; hence they had no prior ties to this part of Turkey. Furthermore, except for three participants who have siblings elsewhere in Turkey, none of their parents or siblings live in Turkey; they are still residing in Germany (or deceased). The 14 participants have Turkish citizenship, which was why they could be sent to Turkey, and they had a 10-year ban on re-entering Germany from the date of their deportation.

Given that I was dealing with informants with a criminal past, I had to be scrupulously careful not to convey any information about the participants to others, such as their bosses, colleagues or other interviewees. I adopted an 'empathic' approach to interviewing, encouraging the participants to speak in their own words and emphasising a 'methodology of friendship' (Kong, Mahoney & Plummer 2002), including not hiding my own feelings about the issues under discussion, including violence, drug-dealing and robbery (Holstein & Gubrium 2000). I believe my honest reactions made my interlocutors trust me more and reflect on their past experiences. I further asked questions that invited them to reflect on their psychological state at the time, such as family relations, the school environment, and their feelings about themselves and the future – questions that lead naturally into the well-being framework. Following standard ethical practice, participants' names are pseudonyms, and details of their workplaces are kept vague.

The interviews were in Turkish or German, depending on the interviewees' choice. The translated and transcribed texts were analysed through a theory-informed narrative and thematic analysis (see Braun & Clarke 2006; Riessman 2003) that corresponded in part to the well-being typology of Wright (2012) noted earlier. Throughout the analysis, illustrative quotes were compiled, which were in line with the emerging themes and key concepts of well-being, self-healing, pre- and post-deportation lifestyles and feelings.

Paths to deportation: youth experiences in Germany

It was important to start with informants' reflections on their adolescence years in Germany in order to appreciate the transformation in their life quality and well-being that took place

once they settled in Antalya. The participants spent their teenage years in German industrial towns during the 1980s and 1990s. Although the period of 'guest worker' recruitment ended in 1973, migrants continued to flow into Germany, through family reunion and as political refugees from Turkey, followed by migrants from East Germany after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and by refugee flows from the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Participants remembered those years as marked by rising tensions and intolerance; as they entered adolescence and secondary school, they became conscious of a new reality, with the German society becoming more polarised between Germans and the various immigrant groups.

In the following, Davut (aged 38 years when interviewed in Antalya in 2015) describes the changes in the city he was born and raised in, but then deported from when he was 30 years old. Now he works as a salesperson in a clothes shop in Antalya.

> In the late 1980s, so many people came from the Eastern bloc, and then things moved to a whole new level in the 1990s when the Albanians and Yugoslavians arrived. After dark, you wouldn't want to walk alone in some parts of town, because you'd come across all sorts of problematic types, including Neo-Nazis … The German police started acting more aggressively and paranoid as well. I'm a tall guy with dark hair and skin, a physical appearance that immediately gets the attention of the police … They'd just shout at me, 'You, come here!' – I was the type that all police would stop and search … They'd see me and think 'he must be a criminal'.

Davut's narrative helps in understanding the everyday lives of guest workers' children in relation to the racialised power dynamics in their 'host' societies, enacted and constantly re-legitimised through an interplay of agency and structure (Bourdieu 1989). Coming from rural-origin guest worker families and physically looking 'different', the informants described how they reproduced their dispositions and subjectivities based on perceived discrimination and Othering. The intersectionality of race/ethnicity and gender – Davut mentions being a 'dark man' – reflects a fixed 'vagabond' status in the society wherein they could not legitimately contest their place in the societal structure. Their 'transcultural capital', caught between the Turkish and German cultures, was not a resource but defined their problematic status.

Instead, the participants' strategy was to have a protective wall and coping mechanism to deal with these situations and the broader social changes happening around them. They tended to adopt a 'tough' attitude and to perform a 'ghetto' identity, explaining that their involvement in youth gangs was a way to claim power over the dominant Others – Germans and other immigrant groups. Participants noted that, as they grew older, they experienced a growing gap between themselves and their parents, whom they saw as 'robots', working constantly and incapable of shedding their rural, working-class, patriarchal habitus, despite long decades in Germany. However, through school, young Turkish-Germans were experiencing the 'German' youth life, joining in sports and other associative activities, and being completely fluent in German. Continuing with Davut's narrative, we see how he, like other participants, found it increasingly difficult to identify with his parents' way of life and rules, and embarked on a self-destructive cycle of bad habits and petty criminality:

In Turkish culture, there is too much of a 'things are done this way' mentality; the boundaries are too rigid ... A Turkish father is tough, he has many rules, many expectations for his children, but in the end the children end up doing terrible things ... because the father is not around ... If something's a taboo it becomes a temptation, and we were raised with many taboos. Then you see that these things are not taboo for your German friends. They leave home at the age of 18, they eat pork, they bring their boyfriends/girlfriends home. We, the Turkish kids, are always feeling horrible for everything we do, because it did not fit into the 'right box' ... what would other people say? Etc ... In the end, I didn't know who I really was. I couldn't relate to my family, I felt bad when I tried to be like the Germans ... It made me aggressive ... and once you combine this psychological state of mind with drugs, alcohol, a hedonistic lifestyle, you invite all sorts of trouble into your life. I was in jail several times and in the end I was kicked out of the country.

The quotes from Davut's interview illustrate how well-being exists in relation to different localised positionalities within hierarchies of age, generation, gender and stage in the life cycle (Wright 2012: 85). As Davut points out, the first and second generation's needs in life were divergent; what is more, their German teachers and friends could not understand and help them either; hence, the second generation felt 'stuck' and 'left alone' while growing up.

The research informants who embraced the Turkish 'ghetto' or neighbourhood youth culture related how once they started drugs, got involved in minor crimes such as stealing and selling phones and then wanted more. Some committed more serious crimes such as stealing cars and robbing shops, even banks. They started this criminal lifestyle while they were still teenagers, so they quit school early, seeing no future for themselves since they would never be accepted into higher education and well-paid jobs. The alternative was more attractive: finding shortcuts to a prosperous life, but with the inevitable risk that they would be caught at some point and sent to prison.

Thus, the participants evaluated their poorly made decisions in the light of blaming their own families, the school system, the police and the wider society, which marginalised them. Another typical case was Kamil (aged 45 years), who was deported to Turkey at age 28 and has been living and working in the tourist sector in Antalya for the past 17 years, mostly as a waiter.

Turks like hard-core drugs, like heroin ... I was one of them, confused and unhappy ... When your parents don't take good care of you, and when you're pushed away by society, you fall into the void ... In Germany, drugs were easily available: it's an individualistic society, nobody intervenes into others' lives, so there is no control mechanism ... In such a loose environment, Turks become misfits because we are accustomed to authority, so in the absence of control we tend to overdo things. I ended up in jail because of drug-related crimes ... And Germany didn't give me a chance, they deported me to Turkey. I had good friends in Germany, and I see it as my home even today. We get deported because we're not German citizens, but Germany doesn't understand that we're the product of Germany, not of Turkey.

The final point that Kamil makes is very important – he is the 'product of Germany', where he lived a 'vagabond life' due to the social circumstances he found himself in; yet, Turkey is where he ends up.

Other participants recounted stories of getting involved in youth gangs, defined by Aldridge, Medina-Ariz & Ralphs (2012: 40) as 'durable, street-based groups of three or more mostly young people, including the key involvement in illegal activity as part of group identity'. According to the participants' accounts, the gangs were informal groups with unstable memberships. They joined them to cope with loneliness and marginalisation, and to boost their confidence through shared gang allegiance and mutual support. Not all of them were mono-ethnic, especially the larger groups engaged in more ambitious crimes, as related in the following interview excerpt from Arif (aged 45 years, deported when 20 years):

> We were young and stupid, and had no hope ... We wanted money, a better life ... We wanted to feel we were something. When you share these feelings with others, when you start living together, you start organising bigger crime projects. When I was on my own I was just stealing phones. Then, when I stated hanging out with the guys, we stole cars, robbed a bank ... But there was a brotherhood dimension beyond the stealing ... Once a group of Neo-Nazis were attacking me, and the Polish guys from the group came to save me. In a group like that you feel stronger, like 'us against the world!'

These narratives show a direct link between identity and well-being in this context. Defining the 'group identity' of these youth gangs is not easy, but 'gang researchers' propose that the gang constitutes the 'ego ideal' (Vigil 1988: 432) wherein part of the individual's conception of self derives from his or her membership of a social group to which he or she attach and derive emotional value and significance and wherein concerns about the self can become submerged under group priorities (Aldridge, Medina-Ariz & Ralphs 2012: 44). For my informants, the precise self-concept and group identity were somewhat ambiguous, and did not come wholly from being 'second-generation Turks' as such but from being part of an 'immigrant population', a 'vagabond' group facing inequalities and discrimination. From a psychological point of view, gangs facilitate peer friendships, a sense of solidarity, pride, enhancement of self-esteem, excitement and, through at least some illegal activities, resource acquisition (Goldstein 2002). In the absence of an effective sense of family and ethnic-community solidarity, youth gangs offer the potential for both material and psychosocial well-being, albeit temporary and perhaps tempered by deeper-seated existential doubts.

In my research, the presence of youth gangs is indicative of a low-income neighbourhood where parents work long hours and shifts leading to reduced parental supervision, often combined with an abusive or at least neglectful relationship. The case of Önder (aged 35 years) is a dramatic illustration of the last point. Deported to Turkey at age 24, Önder had a long criminal record including vandalism, drug dealing, robbery and violence. Now he owns a hairdressing salon popular among German tourists and expats in Antalya.

> I was beaten by my father and stepmother. My stepmother would even starve me ... My father had no idea, he was always at work. At the age of 10, I was already known at school as a notorious kid – I'd fight other kids and steal their food, phones and even clothes, because from home I was given nothing: no love, no care, no food. At the age of 15 everybody in our town knew me ... I got into the drug business when I was 17-18, working with a gang. We were making so much money. I had a big reputation, even the police feared me. But, I tell you, I never did anything to the weak or helpless. I only stole from assholes, assholes like myself. In my own way, this was my distribution of justice.

Taken at face value, Önder's story is one of the more extreme examples of family deprivation and his range of criminal activities the most extensive. Of course, as with all the narratives that recount the past, we should neither ignore the possibility for exaggeration nor the macho posturing in his account ('even the police feared me'). However, as we shall see presently, the contrast with his new life in Antalya could hardly be greater. Önder's story indicates that individuals' conceptualisations of well-being are contextual, based on the different social networks within which they are entwined locally, nationally and transnationally. Understanding people's 'translocational positionality' plays an important role, as the context and the structures within a place may have positive or negative effects on well-being and life satisfaction.

Post-deportation experiences in Turkey: achieving a 'better life'

The previous section illustrated that the informants' psychosocial well-being had been affected negatively due to their identity struggles and the classifications they were put in such as 'migrant', 'foreigner', 'low-class', 'criminal', 'failure', etc. In this section, I analyse the respondents' narratives based on their thematic references to functional/objective and psychosocial/perceptual experiences in Antalya to document how they have been able to achieve a 'better life' and a 'better version of themselves'. My focus is on their transition from being 'vagabonds' to 'tourists' – the transformation that led them to be self-reflexive and active agents who decide *who* they are, *where* they are and what they *do.*

This transition was not an immediate and linear process. Participants narrated that deportation evoked a 'double trauma': on the one hand, they were forced to leave their families and the countries where they were born and raised, and on the other hand, they had to adapt to the new environment of Turkey, which they knew only from occasional childhood holidays (King & Kılınç 2014). Moreover, in Turkey, they experienced a double marginalisation – not only coming from Germany and hence labelled *Almancı* but also because of their criminal past and stigma of deportation. It is worth noting that none of the participants received any professional psychological support when they arrived in Turkey. However, the narrative accounts reveal that their 'return' to Turkey when still relatively

young helped them start over and develop skills to secure economic independence and build social networks.

Most participants did not move straight to Antalya but first went to the towns and villages where they had relatives. They found these places too limiting, both in terms of social conservatism and lack of economic opportunities; nor were they always welcomed there. Others tried to establish themselves in Istanbul. However, this metropolis was found to be too challenging: life was too chaotic and expensive, with temptations to resume a criminal lifestyle. The informant quoted in the following, Korkut (aged 43 years), was deported at the age of 23 due to his conviction for stabbing a right-wing extremist German who was attacking his brother. After staying with relatives in Istanbul, he moved to Antalya where, at the time of interview in 2014, he was working as a salesperson promoting beauty treatments to tourists.

> I tried Istanbul for six months … I was living with relatives and working in a shop. But I had to spend four hours commuting each day and it was exhausting. In Istanbul life is hectic and to survive you have to work a lot and you can never find the time to have a life … In Antalya, you can live close to your work, and your work is easy-going … you work with tourists in a holiday place so the mood is more relaxed. You don't need to fake a smile while working because you already feel good. The sun's shining, you are right by the sea, the streets are buzzing with tourists … I can focus on myself here, the environment is positive and I have more free time.

As the participants reflected on their early days in Antalya, they dedicated themselves to hard work in tourism-related jobs, which helped them stay away from their previous bad behaviour and, moreover, allowed them to develop new skills. These included learning new languages, such as Dutch and Russian; 'soft skills' of good communication and friendly manners; and specialist professional skills geared to subsectors of the tourist market such as water sports, food preparation, jewellery, leather goods and hairdressing.

In all cases, Antalya was the turning point in their lives. If deportation was a shock, it was also a wake-up call. Only by settling in Antalya were they able to fulfil their functional well-being needs of getting a job, acquiring professional training and earning an income sufficient to afford good-standard accommodation in the town. After some years, many could save and invest in their own business – shops, restaurants, tea-houses, real-estate agencies, etc. Working in a field they enjoyed in monetary terms, but it was also crucial for them to satisfy their psychosocial needs after deportation.

The interviewees had no social networks upon arrival in Antalya, and their families were in Germany. Some participants received visits from their parents, but in general, they had loosened their family ties to start a new chapter of their life in Antalya, where they quickly constructed new social networks and a strong sense of belonging. Working in the tourist industry and its dedicated spaces provided them with an immediate setting where they could construct social relatedness with other tourist workers and business owners, especially in the historic 'old town' where tourists, shops and services are concentrated in a high density. In the tourist enclave economy, they could meet many other 'returnees'

and 'deportees', and this created a social environment where they could support each other to keep on the right track. Moreover, part of their job involves constant socialisation with tourists to make them customers. Hence, the participants not only spoke German throughout much of their working day but also built more altruistic social relations with tourists and resident expats. They related how these friendships with Germans helped them to 'normalise' their previous negative and 'reactive' attitudes towards the German society. This was beautifully put by Önder, whose tough and self-destructive early life was presented in the previous section:

> Sometimes I look at my customers [in the hair salon] – middle-aged, middle-class Germans ... and I imagine this scenario where we would be in Germany, sitting facing each other on the bus, staring at each other and probably hating each other instantly. Me in my 'gangsta' clothes, tense posture and crazy eyes ... They would freak out! [laughing]. And down here, they come to my shop, we have tea, we hug each other, I call them '*Schatzi*' [darling] ... I mean, I talk about hair all day with women! They have no idea that I was a notorious criminal in my German hometown [laughs].

An important part of participants' working lives in the tourist economy, in terms of their psychosocial well-being, is about developing self-esteem and reconciling with their past. In Germany, despite the fleeting material wealth and excitement of being in a criminal gang, they did not have true autonomy over their lives: they were either living with their parents or sharing flats/rooms with friends and gang members. They had few or no qualifications, on top of which their combined immigrant and criminal background made it very difficult to get a 'proper' job. Even when earning money through criminal means, they did not have full ownership of it, as it was shared and argued over among gang members.

By contrast, in the tourist sector in Antalya, earning money through legal means was relatively straightforward, which gave participants autonomy and a sense of self-reliance. They could also find the space in Antalya to think about who they are and what they want to be. The history of the next case, Nedim's (age 47 years), is a good example of this self-reflexivity. Nedim was deported to Turkey in his 20s after three years of jail time in Germany. Towards the end of the quote in the following, he describes how he moved into setting up his own business – in property and refreshment outlets.

> I escaped from home at the age of 13 ... I wanted to become independent, and I couldn't handle my family's conservative ways. I started truanting from school and stealing with my friends, and then we became a gang ... some days, I had 50,000 marks [approximately 25,000 euros] in my pocket. I thought I was free, making my own decisions, but when you have so much money as a teenager, your money actually owns you, you stop caring about everyone and everything ... Now, I realise that it was not freedom – I understood that when I came to Antalya. When I came here, I started as a salesperson in a jewellery shop, and I learnt all about sales and jewellery. But I wanted to have my own business. When I started earning 'clean' money, and when I realised that customers like me, I

discovered that I could be a good businessman, and I put all my energy into disciplining myself and developing business ideas.

The participants' feelings of self-worth and competence were crucially important for their psychosocial well-being in Antalya. They had important personal assets – languages, good social and communication skills, plus a certain 'street-wise' character and initiative inherited from their 'edgy' lives in Germany – which could be packaged and redeployed under the general heading of 'transcultural capital' (Meinhof & Triandafyllidou 2006). Antalya also offered them the time and space to develop new interests and hobbies – reading, following the news, jogging, sailing, growing plants, etc. – many of which reflected a concern for the environment. Some of the respondents explicitly stated that they wanted to 'give back' to the society by helping those who, like them, had led troubled lives. Those who had businesses, like Nedim, tried to hire young newly deported Turks or would help youngsters with drug-abuse problems by giving them part-time jobs and food. The felt need to help others was perhaps the ultimate stage in their transition to a new and stable psychosocial well-being state. Nedim continues:

> I feel like I saved my soul here. Antalya marked the beginning of my new life, a meaningful life. I feel good here. I have my own business, people respect me and appreciate working with me. None of these things could have happened to me in Germany ... In Antalya, nobody judges you by your background ... I know I wouldn't be welcomed in my parents' villages, or even in Istanbul: there are too many social codes. Who are you? Where are you from? What did you do in the past? In Antalya, it has been easier for me to forget my past; it isn't slapped in my face every day.

The final point in regard to psychosocial well-being is the participants' process of refashioning their identity after deportation. Detached from the identity conflicts experienced in Germany – between their Turkish families and the wider German society, as well as their stigmatised ascribed identities as 'immigrant youth' and as 'criminals' – in Antalya, they have been able to reshape their own personal interpretations of their identities and belongingness. What they construct is both individual and multi-layered. Many participants feel more Turkish in Turkey, yet still consider Germany as 'home' in some respects. However, it is in the cosmopolitan tourist spaces that they can best express their evolving identity repertoires as multiple, hybrid, yet also personal to themselves. On this issue, the final quote of this paper is from Aziz (age 46 years):

> I feel like I am the Bosporus bridge, between Europe and Asia. Beyond that, I feel I am a global citizen. Yet, after all, I still feel that both Germany and Turkey are my homes. I like Antalya because I can experience both German and Turkish life here, and it is less judgemental than other parts of Turkey. Look at me, I have many tattoos and piercings, I wear alternative clothes ... Overall, the current political situation in Turkey bothers me, but in Antalya, I forget that I am in Turkey. Especially working in the Old Town, I feel safe and protected by the ancient city wall around us; it is like a village in here,

everybody knows each other ... OK, I have a criminal record, but here, I am a king; all the German customers love me, my boss relies on me... I don't have to feel bad about being me.

Conclusion

I appreciate that the story unfolded in this paper is rather unique: it goes against the 'conventional wisdom' whereby forced return, for instance of convicted criminals or failed asylum-seekers, especially when the individuals concerned have little or no prior connection to their supposed 'home' countries, is deeply problematic in terms of well-being outcomes (e.g. DeBono 2017; Hasselberg 2018; Miller 2008). For my participants, deportation was both deeply traumatic and transpired a turning point in their lives, a chance for them, in Baumanian terms, to make the transition from vagabond to tourist, from a socially marginalised 'immigrant criminal' (in the eyes of German society) to a respected worker or business manager. Alongside the life-changing events of imprisonment and deportation was the deployment of transcultural capital (Meinhof & Triandafyllidou 2006) – languages, communication skills and knowledge of both Turkish and German 'culture' and the needs of tourists – which enabled participants to access employment, which gave them, at the very least, an acceptable income.

Key to this youth-adult transformation was the 'place' of Antalya, which offered not only abundant opportunities for material success in the tourist economy but also the culturally open and cosmopolitan spaces of a more liberal and alternative lifestyle in an attractive environmental and scenic setting, very different from the German industrial towns where they grew up. In this way, living and working in Antalya, which many participants likened to a kind of 'paradise' (Kılınç & King 2017), enabled them to achieve a self-healing process leading to heightened psychosocial well-being, based on quality of life, work/life balance, friendship, freedom and agency. This supports other aspects of analysis of well-being by Wright (2012) in the context of return migration, namely, the characteristics and structures within a 'place' of migration, such as climate, scenery, leisure facilities and community atmosphere, and the possibility to feel 'at home' in this tourist space.

Notes

1. This was also the meta-narrative of the rest of the second-generation 'returnees' in Antalya whom I interviewed, but the transformation in the lives of the deportees was the more remarkable because of their history of crime. For the broader picture of second-generation 'return' to Antalya, see Kılınç & King (2017). Note that 'return' and 'returnee' are in inverted commas since, as second-generation Turks born in Germany or taken there as very small children, they are not true return migrants relocating to a previously 'known' place.

2. The German Nationality Act (2000) shifted the rules for German citizenship from *ius sanguinis* to *ius soli* for those children born to immigrant parents who had resided legally in the country for the previous eight years.
3. In my Antalya fieldwork, I came across no young women who had been deported. Within Turkish (migrant) families, daughters are subject to a stricter control mechanism than sons and are expected to follow family directions for their education, marriage, career and mobility.

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