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THE THEMES IN THE NARRATIVES TRANSMITTED TO THE THIRD GENERATION BOSNIAC IMMIGRANTS OF SANDZAK REGION

Sema Sozer Dabanlioglu
116627004

Asst. Prof. Zeynep Çatay

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Sancak Bölgesi Boşnak Göçmenlerinin Üçüncü Nesle Aktardıkları Anlatılardaki Temalar

Sema Sozer Dabanlioglu
116627004

Dissertation Supervisor : Ass. Prof. Zeynep Catay .....

Jury Member : Ass. Prof. Yudum Akyil .....

Jury Member : Prof. Dr. Gokhan Oral .....

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to examine the themes in the narratives transmitted to the third generation Bosniac immigrants of Sandzak region and reflect on the functions and meanings of these themes from a psychoanalytic perspective. It was hypothesized that the traces of the traumatic experiences of the immigration process (before-during-after) would still be present in the psychic worlds of the third generation. In-depth interviews were conducted with 6 third generation members of Bosniac families living in Istanbul, aged between 19 and 25. The paternal and maternal grandparents of the participants were among the immigrants who migrated to Turkey from Sandzak region of Yugoslavia in 1950s and 60s due to ethnic and religious discrimination, socioeconomic pressure, and threats to their survival as well as their children. The results of the Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis revealed 6 superordinate themes: a) material transmitted to the third generation, b) adaptation and coping strategies to survive, c) making sense of migration, d) feeling fragmented, e) the "language" of "home", and f) mechanisms of transmission, along with 18 sub-ordinate themes. In addition to the results which were compatible with the assumptions of the study and related literature, annihilation anxiety and disintegration anxiety in the responses of the participants appeared noteworthy as well. It is recommended that further research investigating the cumulative impact of the previous traumatic experiences which occurred within the last 150 years in the Balkans besides the immigration process is conducted in order to assess their significance in the psyche of the next generations and clinical implications of transmission are considered in the therapeutic process with these patients.

Key words: Intergenerational transmission of trauma, exile, forced migration, Bosniac immigrants, narrative.

Özet

Bu çalışmada, Boşnak göçmen ailelerin üçüncü nesillerine aktardığı anlatılardaki temaların incelenmesi ve bu temaların işlevleri ile anlamlarının psikanalitik bakış açısına göre derinlemesine anlaşılmaya çalışılması hedeflenmiştir. Atalarının göç sürecine dair (göç öncesi-sırası ve sonrası) yaşadığı travmatik deneyimlere dair izlerin üçüncü neslin ruhsal dünyasında hala görülebileceği varsayılmıştır. İstanbul'da yaşamakta olan Boşnak ailelerin üçüncü nesil genç üyelerinden, 19 ile 25 yaş arası 6 kişiyle derinlemesine görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Katılımcıların büyükanne ve büyükbabaları, 1950 ve 60'lı yıllarda, etnik ve dini ayrımcılık, sosyal ve ekonomik baskılar ve hem kendi hem de çocuklarının yaşamlarına karşı görülen tehditler nedeniyle Yugoslavya'nın Sancak bölgesinden Türkiye'ye göç etmek zorunda kalmış kişilerdendir. Elde edilen niteliksel verinin Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analizi sonucunda, 6 ana tema ve bunlara bağlı 18 alt tema ortaya çıkmıştır: a) üçüncü nesle neler iletildi? b) hayatta kalmak için adaptasyon ve baş etme stratejileri, c) göçü anlamlandırma, d) parçalanmış hissetme, e) "ev"in "dil"i ve f) aktarım mekanizmaları. Araştırmanın varsayımları ve ilgili literatürle uyumlu sonuçların yanı sıra; yok olma kaygısı ve parçalanma kaygısı da ön plana çıkmıştır. İleride yapılacak araştırmalarda, sonraki nesillerin ruhsallığındaki etkinin öneminin anlaşılması açısından, göç sürecine ek olarak geçtiğimiz 150 yılda Balkanlarda yaşanan savaş ve çatışmalara dair travmaların kümülatif etkilerinin de araştırılması ve bu hastaların terapötik süreçlerinde aktarımın olası klinik görüntülerinin de göz önünde bulundurulması önerilmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Travmanın nesillerarası aktarımı, sürgün, zorunlu göç, Boşnak göçmenler, anlatı.

INTRODUCTION

Intergenerational transmission of trauma is a well-known phenomenon that has been studied for decades by many scholars (Friedman, 1949; Lifton, 1968; Niederland, 1968; Kestenberg, 1980; 1982; Schützenberger, 1998; Fonagy, 1999; Volkan, 1993; 2001a; 2015; Lev-Wiesel, 2007; de Mijolla, 2009; Meshulam, 2009; Schwab, 2009). Results of the studies with clinical subjects who were the children and/or the grandchildren of Holocaust survivors revealed that transmission of trauma was common among many other trauma survivors. Massive psychological traumas (Volkan, 2001a) that include wars and conflicts between large groups of people especially seemed to induce long-lasting effects in the psyche of the victims in such a way that the unfinished psychological tasks such as mourning the unmourned losses, reversing the shame, helplessness and humiliation have been transmitted in order to be worked through by the following generations.

A common result of wars and conflicts is that people are displaced by force or that it becomes inevitable for them to leave their homeland in order to survive. Exile, a specific form of migration, is considered to be a massive psychological trauma that complicates the psychological processes people have to go through after the disastrous events and mostly exile itself is traumatic in nature (Pollock, 1989; Volkan, 1993; 2001a; Akhtar, 2010a; 2010b; 2014). Therefore, the transmission of traumatic images and representations to the following generations is highly probable in the exiled populations.

For centuries, Anatolia has been a destination or a transition region for many who have migrated or have been exiled and currently inhabits the largest number of immigrants in the world. The period starting with the Balkan Wars in 1912 and continuing with the World War I, has been a very painful and a devastating one with more than 400.000 people who survived the exile reaching Turkey (Tayfur, 2012). The cumulative traumas these survivors had experienced can be considered as a massive psychological trauma and we may expect to see its traces in their grandchildren today. Even from one particular origin of place, the Balkans in our

case, there are various types of immigrations by different groups of people, from different parts of the region, and at different periods of time. However, the transmission of trauma is a subject that has been rarely studied for these specific populations. The focus of the current study is on a homogeneous group of people, the grandchildren of Bosniacs, who migrated from Sandzak region of Serbia (Yugoslavia then) to Turkey in 1950s and 60s.

The aim of this study is to reflect on the experiences of grandchildren of the families that had to migrate to Turkey from Yugoslavia after the conflicts, pressure, discrimination and threat of extinction by an enemy group. In-depth interviews with the grandchildren were conducted in order to investigate the impact of their ancestors' traumatic experiences on the psyche of the participants, in relation to the exile experience as a whole (before, during, and after).

Based on reflecting on the themes and the representations in the narratives told by the ancestors about migration and their role in the transmission of trauma, we hope to contribute to the literature of transmission of trauma, to draw attention to the immigrant populations in Anatolia and their traumatic experiences with lasting effects even on the current young generations, and to help these people in clinical practice to work through the unfinished psychological tasks of their ancestors. Another aim of this study is to demonstrate, once more, that crimes against humanity are not only responsible for the pain of the directly traumatized victims but also for following yet-to-be-born generations.

SECTION ONE

MIGRATION AND EXILE

Akhtar (2010a) proposes a distinction between exile (forced migration, displacement) and (voluntary) migration that might be helpful to understand massive psychological effects of forced displacement of a large group of people by an enemy group within the spectrum of different migration experiences. He underlines five major differences; first, in exile people are forced to leave their countries, in migration people mostly move voluntarily. Second, in exile there is usually a limited time before leaving or people are uprooted without any time to get prepared, in migration there is at least some time to get prepared. Third, usually people who are displaced by force as a result of a war or conflict in their homeland experience more traumatic events and losses than immigrants. Forth, people who are exiled lose their chance of refueling because their "tether of belonging" gets broken (Akhtar, 1992), while immigrants can visit their homeland. Lastly, the way these two groups are welcomed by the host country varies as well. Immigrants mostly come with less sociopolitical and psychological burden than the ones who are exiled, which results in a more welcoming, at least less discriminating attitude from the host population (Akhtar, 2010a). There is an exception to this differentiation for a particular group: children. As Grinbergs (1989, p.125 cited in Akhtar, 2010a, p.8) put it, parents may migrate voluntarily or they may be coerced but children are always exiled; because they are neither the ones who make the decision to migrate nor they can decide to go back to their homeland as often as they would like to. Thus, it is much more complicated and very difficult to call children "migrants".

As of now, within the scope of this dissertation, migration, forced migration (leaving homeland because of a threat to survival) and exile will be used interchangeably, all having the meaning of "exile" defined above by Akhtar (2010). Our sample is able to visit their home country whenever they would like to, however, given the circumstances that forced their ancestors to migrate are the

results of many years of war, and conflict starting from the Balkan Wars and collapse of the Ottoman Empire and continuing with the large group conflicts between Serbians and Bosniacs till today, the migration experience of the ancestors of our sample will be considered as exile and the results of the research will be discussed accordingly.

1.1. PSYCHOLOGICAL DYNAMICS OF MIGRATION

Migrating from one country to another is a very complex psychosocial process that may cause permanent changes in one's identity (Akhtar, 1995). As a result of migration, an "average expectable environment" (Hartmann, 1950) leaves its place to an unfamiliar and unexpected environment, which leads to a "culture shock" (Garza-Guerrero, 1974). The change in the environment includes the change of the experience of non-human environment as well as people and relationships (Akhtar, 2010b). These changes may include the change in the landscape, animals around, vegetables, and physical objects in the surrounding space. That kind of major change in the environment may create an impact on the "reality constancy" (Frosch, 1964) and jeopardizes the basic need for feelings of safety, which would eventually lead to traumatization. The psychic organization faces an important difficulty to deal with the anxiety of unexpected situation and uncertainty of migration. This threatens the balance and continuity of the psychic world of the individual (Akhtar, 2010a) and causes the destruction of environmental stability, which is supposed to help maintaining a stable identity.

The subject of this paper, "exile" is a specific form of migration that happens usually during war times or large group conflicts and cause people to suffer from atrocities that may create wounds in their psyches beyond repair. This experience will have psychological consequences for every individual; yet the intensity, form or content of such a cultural confrontation would depend on many factors. In this section, these factors will be examined to underline the complexity of "the phenomenon of migration" (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1984, p. 13).

1.1.1. Pre-Migration Factors

According to Grinbergs (1984), the decision to migrate depends on many factors including one's psychological characteristics, personal history, and the current circumstances that one lives in. Migration phenomenon itself causes various types of anxieties; "***separation anxiety***, ***superego anxieties*** *over loyalties and values,* ***persecutory anxieties*** *when confronted with the new and the unknown,* ***depressive anxieties*** *which give rise to mourning for objects left behind and for the lost parts of the self, and* ***confusional anxieties*** *because of the failure to discriminate between the old and the new"* (p. 13). The experience and the consequences of migration will depend on the individual's psychic capacity to use defense mechanisms in order to cope with these anxieties and the reactions of the individual will constitute parts of the "*psychopathology of migration*" (p. 14). It is important to note that although leaving home may create different types of negative and positive reactions, it will always be a painful process for the individual (Tanık Sivri, 2013).

Leaving a place where one has lived for a long time and moving to a totally strange and different place may have destabilizing effects upon one's mind (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1984). The traumatization of the migration process depends partly on some of the pre-migration factors such as the causes and the conditions of migration, the degree of choice in leaving, the age at which the leaving occurs which is related to the existing psychological capacity of the individual to cope with the losses and other difficulties (Akhtar, 2010a).

One of the very important features of exile or forced migration that differentiates it from voluntary migrations (e.g. leaving for college, work opportunities) is the cause and conditions of migration. Exile is the result of a sociopolitical conflict between two large groups that manifest itself with discrimination, repression, and violence in different realms of life. At some point, it becomes unbearable to continue living in the homeland and mostly impossible to survive for the ones living and the following generations. The result of migration would change tremendously between someone who is assigned as an attaché to a foreign country

and someone who had to take all her family and move to a country with the uncertainties waiting for them. The result would also depend on the degree of choice and willingness these two individuals could have.

Age is another important determinant of the experience of migration process. If the psychic structure of the parents get destroyed, the children and the babies would get more affected from migration. Especially during the non-verbal period of development, anything that jeopardizes the "holding" (Bion, 1962) or "containing" (Winnicott, 1945) capacity of the mother may cause unsymbolized emotions and experiences to occur in the newly developing internal world of the baby (Akhtar, 2010a). The age of the child during migration may lead to more complicated reactions in the whole family. For instance, if the child's life is in danger and the family could only survive by migrating; then the years following the threat of killing may be perceived as borrowed years (Kestenberg, 1980). It is also possible that the family would see the child as omnipotent and able to survive under all these life-threatening circumstances, and this may become a family-myth. Then the child would feel unconsciously or partly consciously obliged to accomplish important missions to claim that myth. A child who has not passed through his/her adolescence may internalize the identity of the new place. However, if the parents' attitudes or the way the local people behave hampers the internalization process, it may become difficult and complicated for the children (Volkan, 2007b). During adolescence, impulse regulation, identity crisis, the developmental losses of this period (separation from the primary objects, loss of childhood and so on) already constitute an important amount of demand on the psyche of the individual. While the adolescent tries to separate from the parents, losing the culture, home, and familiar environment behind would at least double the mourning work and create a significant burden on the psyche (Akhtar, 2010). The personality structure of the adult individual is very important to determine how the person would react to the traumatic experience of migration. Previous coping capacities for separation-individuation (Mahler, Pine, & Bergman, 1999 [1975]) and mourning capabilities developed for previous losses would play a major role. Adult migrants may enrich their psychic world by synthesizing his/her

own identity and cultural feelings and loyalties with the identity of the new country and its cultural characteristics. They may have the potential to embrace them both and this would flourish their internal world (Volkan, 2007a). Many researches in the literature, especially on biculturalism, indicate the possible advantages immigrants might gain from having two countries and cultures (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Nguyen, & Benet-Martinez, 2012). People who have to migrate at an old age may experience frustration with the cultural adaptation of the younger generation (Ahmad, 1997). Old people usually would not want to move in any case, and leaving things that have created a safe and secure environment for them so far, would cause pain and sorrow. Just like children, they would have to migrate only to be able to stay together with their family, yet unlike children their internal world is not flexible or open to new possibilities that would help their adaptation.

1.1.2. During and Post-Migration Factors

Emotional refueling (Mahler, Pine, & Bergman, 1999 [1975]) is a term used for the baby's need to turn to the mother occasionally and get emotional support when he/she starts to explore the outer world and separate from the mother for this exploration. Akhtar (2010) adapts this term for the immigrants in two ways. First one is *extramural refueling* (p. 6) that is the contact between the relatives who did not migrate and stayed home by phone or directly visiting home; and the second one is *intramural fueling* (p.7) that is getting support within the same group of people who migrated and stayed together or kept in touch in the new country. These two sources of refueling are considered to be very important for the immigrants' internal world in a way that they support the immigrants' internal connections with the homeland.

Although exile is possible within the boundaries of the home country, it usually ends up in a different country, which means crossing the national borders. Hence, the legislation becomes an inevitable part of the emigration process and a determinant in the way the immigrants would have to live afterwards. Also, the

way they are welcomed by the host country is a strong determinant in the immigrant's identity. The recognition of the new identity of the immigrants by "*significant others*" (suitable targets for externalization such as legal and official authorities, representatives of the state during beurocratic processes, so on.) (Volkan, 1985) as a continuation of their previous identity is essential for their adaptation to the new place. If emigration could occur with the necessary documents and/or legal permissions from the host country, then the psychological consequences of migration would be better (Akhtar, 2010a). When they have to migrate illegally, they would have to choose covert and dangerous ways that would add upon the already existing traumatic experiences. It means that they would have to try hard to get legal recognition and status in the host country to avail themselves of the basic rights to inhabit, get educated, work, reach the health system etc. This would increase the uncertainty, thus the worry, and the anxiety. If they do not get the rights of a regular citizen, they would feel intense worthlessness and shame. They become prone to be abused and have to continue living with various real or imagined threats to their lives. Until they are legally recognized, they would have to join unregistered employment, get overworked and underpaid. Damaged self-esteem, fantasies about the past, uneasiness, and anger are very common reactions to these situations (Akhtar, 2010a). The complicated, challenging and everlasting bureaucratic processes create barriers in the psychic worlds of the immigrants which prevent them from starting to mourn their losses.

On the other hand, the people of the host country may experience different types of paranoid anxieties against the immigrant population. The newcomers could be perceived as a rival that they would have to share their "limited" resources and compete, or as idealised objects that would solve the existing problems in the host country (Akhtar, 2010a). Eventually, either the people of the host country or the immigrant population would feel prejudice against and fear of the stranger, while on the other side first excessive courtesy and then dissappointment and rejection would prevail. The legal recognition of and giving a legal status to the immigrants would diminish the uncertainty for both parties and help to fight against the

prejudice and discrimination by creating a legal framework of reference for everyone.

The combat between the needs of the present, and frustration and grieving of the past imposes great difficulties to the operation of defense mechanisms in the psyches of the exiled. This may generate creative sublimations as well as splitting of the ego causing the migrant to live in a double reality (Kestenberg, 1980). When the ego-continuity is shattered by the conditions in which the emigration occurs, the resulting "mental pain" (Freud, 1941 [1926]) would be the focus of the psychic world of the immigrant. Feelings of not belonging to the new place, separation from the motherland, psychological duty to mourn the losses while continuing to lose things after the migration, regret and even guilt would create great distress in their internal world. They just would not feel "at home" (Akhtar, 2010a) and at ease anymore.

These major factors and their possible psychological consequences are only some of the difficulties that the migrants could face and struggle, and represent very little of how much pain and suffering they would have to go through. As suggested above, the degree of how much the exile or forced migration would affect the internal worlds of immigrants would depend on many variables and they become intertwined with the existing psychological structures and processes of each individual. Despite all these distinctive features of forced migration or exile compared to voluntary emigration, there are some commonalities among the psychic processes: each individual has to go through mourning the loss of the loved ones as well as leaving parts of his/her life and self behind.

SECTION TWO

INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF TRAUMA

2.1. MASSIVE PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAUMA

2.1.1. Exile as a Massive Psychological Trauma

Traumatic events experienced during the course of exile are considered as shared massive traumas that are usually related to large group identity and emotions about ethnicity (Volkan, 2007c). Forced migration creates also a cultural trauma by leaving an indelible mark in the group's psyche engraved in their memory, shaking the foundations of the future of their identity (Alexander, 2004).

Many traumatic experiences like disasters may also be considered as shared traumas but exile or forced migration differs from them in some respects and classified as massive psychological trauma.

Massive psychological trauma, the effect of which is massive as its nature, could create a similar impact on everyone who experiences it (Lifton, 1968; Jucovy, 1998; Volkan, Ast, & Greer, 2002). Rappaport (1968) suggests that the corrective power of the ego is limited and human psyche is susceptible to ruptures beyond repair. Even if the consequences would vary in time and manifestation, the effects of massive psychological trauma may not disappear totally.

When a certain enemy group causes intentional pain, humiliation, suffering, shame, and helplessness over a certain group of people, this leads to the activation of certain psychological processes on the victimized group (Volkan, Ast, & Greer, 2002). As a result of massive trauma, shared psychological processes are triggered; within group bonding intensifies in each group that highlights the importance of the differences between the two groups (Volkan, Ast, & Greer, 2002). In times of war or conflict, large group identity becomes more important than the individual identity (Freud, 2015 [1921]). Contrary to natural disasters, after large group conflicts victims usually do not turn to fate but they seek revenge

and feel rage. These emotions come with humiliation, shame, helplessness and pain in these tragedies, therefore psychological processes are almost blocked and victims cannot even initiate psychic elaboration to overcome the tragedy.

During genocide, torture, terrorist attacks, racial, national, religious, and ethnic conflicts people are treated as less than human, they are humiliated, left helpless, usually displaced from their homes and experience great material and emotional losses. Thus, massive psychological trauma is defined as a traumatic experience creating massive effects that exceed individual's psychic capacity to cope (Volkan, Ast, & Greer, 2002).

Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (American Psychiatric Association, 2013) is one of the several ways tin which people can react to massive trauma (Thomson, 2000). In this case, traumatic experiences cannot be integrated into the normal memory and come up to the surface intrusively and unintentionally as flashbacks or nightmares. People showing PTSD symptoms also become hypersensitive to internal and external stimuli that remind or trigger the traumatic experience.

Another form of reaction to massive trauma could be the change in the social processes and developing new ways of shared behaviors or rituals. For example, after an avalanche of coal slurry in the Welsch village of Aberfan, there had been an increase in the birthrate mainly of women who had not lost a child in the disaster (Williams & Parks, 1975). The researchers called this process "biosocial regeneration".

The third form of possible reactions to massive trauma could be transmission of the unfinished psychological tasks to following generations, to the children and even the grandchildren of the directly traumatized generation (Volkan, Ast, & Greer, 2002). Transmission of these tasks may include reversing helplessness, shame, and humiliation; and mourning several losses including the loss of the loved ones, country, language, culture, honor, reputation, and so on. The transmitted content to the descendants is not uniform. Even the Holocaust survivors had different experiences; some were used in labor camps, whereas others were in extermination camps. The ages of the survivors, prior family

structures, object relations history, previous traumatic experiences are among the factors that would affect the adaptation of survivors to the massive trauma (Akhtar, 2010a). However, at the same time it is important to keep in mind that "massive, severe, and cumulative trauma may be the most significant determinant in the appearance of late symptoms, despite pre-Holocaust predispositions" (Jucovy, 1998, p. 32, cited in Volkan, Ast, & Greer, 2002). This can also be considered as relevant for other massive traumas including the exile from Balkans to Turkey.

What would be transmitted to their offspring would change among the survivors as well as the way their offspring will deal with the transmitted material. Some of them may respond adaptively while others may develop psychopathology. This would vary mostly depending on factors such as family background, developmental conflicts, feelings of guilt, and shame (Volkan, Ast, & Greer, 2002). What Volkan and his colleagues suggest as common among the survivors of shared massive trauma is that some images of the trauma would be transmitted across generations; meshing with their core identities (Erikson, 1956), and self-representations of the members of following generations. For these families, the shared trauma becomes a historical legacy.

In order to understand how and why transmission occurs, it is important to understand the impact of the massive psychological trauma on the psychic world of the survivors.

A survivor of a massive trauma is someone who is psychologically injured directly by torture, fight, rape, humiliation, displacement from home, and significant losses (material or emotional). Other members of the group who are not directly traumatized still get affected, though less direct, psychologically, socially, economically, and politically. They also experience attacks on the pride of the ethnic or national group. These types of indirect traumatization are considered to be unique to traumatic experiences induced by an enemy group, not an aspect of natural disasters (Volkan, Ast, & Greer, 2002). Man-made traumas occurring as a result of large group conflicts differ from the ones that occur from natural or accidental disasters in terms of some aspects. One of them is that when

there is a conflict between large groups, anger between the groups is intensified, rituals are exaggerated and bonding between the within group members strengthens which leads to the externalization of the "other" group. The large group identity becomes more important than the individual identity (Volkan, 2001b). When a large group victimizes another group, the feelings of losing many things and accompanying pain and sorrow are shattered with humiliation, shame, and helplessness. A psychic disruption like this may block the development of certain psychological processes that the victims need to go through such as mourning (Freud, 2014 [1917]) to be able to assimilate the difficulties caused by the tragedy.

From a psychological perspective mourning is generally accepted as a process, which people have to go through after a loss. When the subject is exiled, loss and mourning gain much more importance to understand not only the directly victimized people but also their children. Humans have to mourn their losses; only this way it is possible to accept that something is lost or changed in the external reality. When mourning is not completed or even prevented from beginning, people get stuck in a grey area between accepting the tragedy and adjusting to life after tragedy. Volkan and his colleagues (2002) use the metaphor of people hiding in the basement after a tornado until a safe and fair weather returns. This is similar to the reactions to massive trauma in that survivors who are deliberately traumatized by another group of people would tend to "remain in the basement" without being able to mourn their losses.

In the following section, loss and mourning processes from a psychoanalytic perspective will be discussed in order to understand exile and its psychological consequences for the following generations.

2.1.2. The Task of Mourning and Complications with Trauma

"Loss" comes from Old English *los* "ruin, destruction" which has roots in Proto-Germanic *lausa*, "dissolution"; "mourning" comes from old English *murnan* "to mourn, bemoan, long after," and "be anxious about, be careful" from Proto-

Germanic *murnan* "to remember sorrowfully" (Online Etymology Dictionary). The word “memory” shares the same root with “mourning”.

The primary psychoanalytic source to understand loss and mourning is “Mourning and Melancholia” written by Freud in 1915 (2014 [1917]). Mourning is defined as “*the reaction to the loss of a loved person, or to the loss of some abstraction which has taken place of one, such as one’s country, liberty, an ideal, and so on.*” (Freud, 2014 [1917], p. 18-19). When a person loses someone or something, reality testing shows that the loved object does not exist in the real world anymore and libido has to withdraw its investment from the lost object (decathexis). However these two processes do not occur at the same time. It takes time and energy for libido to detach from the object, so the existence of the lost object in the psyche continues even after it does not exist in the real world. For a normal mourning process, the reality should win this battle. This process leads to deep and painful sorrow, a decrease in interest in the outer world, inhibition of activities, feeling like losing the ability to love, and devaluation of the self.

Freud keeps his economic view about mourning in his following writings (1941 [1926]) where he mentions that since the libidinal energy attached to the object cannot be discharged when the object is gone in the real world, the energy continues to press. The solution is to remove the libidinal energy from the lost object and invest on the new available object(s) so that discharge can be realized. An addition to this comes in *The Ego and the Id* (Freud, 1923) that identification with the lost object is another aspect of mourning. Abraham (1925) takes this idea further and proposes that when someone loses a loved person, he/she introjects the lost object temporarily to be able to stay in relation with it.

In 1960’s, stages of mourning process were defined by psychoanalytic theorists (Bowlby, 1961; Pollock, 1961; Volkan, 1972). According to these theorists, mourning has normal, general, and common characteristics, which causes problems in flexible application of the model and understanding personal and unique reactions (Hagman, 2001).

From contemporary psychoanalytical point of view, mourning process is considered as a sum of all mental activities in order to bury the mental

representation (consisting of mental images) of the lost object psychologically (Volkan, 2011). The person divides the mental representations of the lost object into hundreds of mental images and has to work with each of them separately (Volkan, 2007a; 2007c). As long as we live, the mental representations of the significant objects in our lives would never disappear, even if they do not exist in the real world anymore. However, it is necessary to make every image "futureless" by withdrawing libidinal attachment from it, "bury" them one by one, so that they can "die" psychologically as well. Doing that enables the person to integrate some parts of these images into one's self. In psychoanalysis, this process is called "identification with the features or functions of the lost object" (Furman, 1974 cited in Kestenberg, 1980). For instance, a migrant may create a symbolic representation of his/her lost country in a poem or painting which could indicate the internal process of mourning and internalization of at least some images of his/her lost country (Volkan, 2007a).

If the identification process with the lost object is "healthy", then the mourning process can be accepted as "normal". The person may even gain from this process after spending a great deal of time and energy by mourning and working with the images of the lost one. However, identifications may be "unhealthy" as well. If the relationship of the person with the lost object had been ambivalent or the loss is related to a trauma, the individual may not be able to create a selective and enriching identification; instead he/she may absorb the representation of the lost object "in toto" (Volkan, 2007b) into his/her self-representation. As a result of this, the ambivalence of the relationship becomes a part of his/her self-representation. According to Freud (2014 [1917]), if an individual is lenient towards obsessional neurosis, ambivalent conflict in mourning may cause pathological responses and one may think that it is his/her fault that the object is lost now and this makes it harder to mourn the lost object. Such obsessional neurotic depression occurring as a result of a loss may be fatal for the mourner. The conflict between love and hate continues in his/her inner world. When the hate towards the mental representation of the lost object overcomes love, the

mourner may even try to commit suicide to "kill" the absorbed mental representation (psychologically) (Volkan, 2007b).

Although we have some idea about the mechanisms of the mourning process; it is not possible to mention a typical "normal" mourning reaction for everyone, because the circumstances that losses occur are highly variable and how much one is prepared for these losses and how he/she will react is unique for every individual.

When we try to understand the experiences of the survivors of exile, it seems very difficult and mostly impossible for the immigrants to mourn their losses (Volkan, 2007a). The pain of the losses of migration process combined with the anxiety stemming from changing external (and internal) reality evokes a mourning process and the result of this process depends on many factors (Akhtar, 2010a). Considering that one of the most common factors that intervene with mourning is trauma, the complications in mourning become particularly relevant for people who are victimized by humiliation and rage of the perpetrator. In a "normal" mourning process, mourners are narcissistically wounded by the loss; this experience leads to "normal" anger. Massively traumatized people tend to avoid from experiencing anger; because this feeling becomes contaminated in the unconscious by killing and destruction, and identification with the rage of the perpetrator (Volkan, 2007a). Since they avoid feelings of anger, they cannot start mourning properly.

When a loss is accompanied with helplessness, loss of agency, shame, humiliation and rage, other psychological tasks get involved in the mourning process. Turning the helplessness into agency, the rage into initiative, reversing the shame and humiliation are only some of these tasks (Volkan, 2011). Moreover, every traumatic experience brings other losses with it. During times of war or conflict, people might lose their families and other loved ones, lose important parts of their identities, reputation, country, language, and culture besides sense of trust in a safe and secure world and the feeling of control over their own environment and future. Each and every one of these losses adds upon the unfinished or not yet started mourning process. Even if the individual has lived a good enough life and

has been able to mourn his/her losses successfully, losing so many essential parts of one's identity, environment and belief system would be very difficult and complicated to mourn, especially when they are accompanied with horrible traumatic experiences.

Grinbergs (1984) showed that the guilt over the lost parts of the self (previous identity, homeland, loved ones etc.) can complicate the newcomers' mourning process. If one feels "persecutory or paranoid" guilt, the individual is more lenient towards pathological mourning. If the individual can admit the losses to oneself, he/she may feel deep sorrow but this will help him/her to protect the restorative power.

According to Pollock (1989), forced migration causes not only nostalgia, mourning and longing but also abnormal mourning reactions such as rage, depression, feeling abandoned by "homeland" and abandoning the loved ones and familiar things (cited in Tanık Sivri, 2013). When the mourning process cannot be completed or even get started, individual may deny the loss, try to restore the object aggressively by manic and omnipotent ways (Klein, 1940) or continue living as a perennial mourner (Volkan, 1972; Volkan, Ast, & Greer, 2002; cited in Tanık Sivri, 2013).

These complications may have different consequences. The mourner may fall into depression or mourning may become chronic in which case the person becomes entrapped in a process of reviewing and dealing with the mental representations of the lost object for decades or even longer (Volkan, 2011). The individual may not identify with the lost object's mental images or may not even absorb the representation "in toto" (Volkan, 2007b). He/she may neither complete a normal mourning process nor fall into depression (melancholia); rather, keeps the unabsorbed or unidentified representation of the lost object as a "foreign object" inside and stays in touch with it. Some individuals may express it more creatively with arts or literature; but even these people would feel distressed, because inside, they would still be investing their psychic energies on the lost object and may lack the energy to enjoy the daily life. Another possible consequence of these

complications is transmitting the task of mourning to the next generation as an unfinished psychological duty.

2.2. INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION

2.2.1. History of Transmission of Trauma

In order to understand the development of the term of intergenerational transmission of trauma, it would be valuable to briefly look at the psychoanalytic perspective of trauma itself.

Trauma has a vital role in the foundation of psychoanalysis as we can see in Freud's attempts to define psychical trauma in his early writings to Breuer: 'We arrive at a definition of psychical trauma: any impression which the nervous system has difficulty in disposing of by means of associative thinking or of motor reaction becomes a psychical trauma.'" (1892, p. 154, cited in Reisner, 2003).

In the following years, the direction of the theory took on a different turn which indicated that the ego could be seen as a structure organized in response to traumatic experiences (Reisner, 2003). As Reisner (2003) mentioned in his paper on trauma, Freud started to see the difference between normality and pathology not as a function of the existence of actual childhood sexual abuse but as a combination of individual differences in vulnerability to external and internal stimuli, the development and aspects of the internal life, its meaning system and its fantasies. This change has expanded the range of the traumatic experiences from childhood sexual abuse to much wider stimuli including both inner and outer experiences that can be considered as traumatic.

The psychoanalytic approach to trauma had changed based on the following psychoanalysts' interpretations of Freud's altered position and focused on the internal psychic mechanisms at the expense of neglecting external reality (Boulanger, 2002). This long "silence" in psychoanalysis was ended by the impact of the Third Reich (Volkan, 2015). From then on, studies conducted in order to

understand the impact of the external overwhelming experiences on the psychic dynamics started to expand.

In Totem and Taboo, Freud (2012 [1913]) writes about primitive tribes of which the male members, the sons of the leader (father) came together and murdered their father because they were excluded from the group, threatened to be discarded, and unable to have sexual relationships with the women of the tribe who belonged only to the father. After their revengeful murder, they regretted what they had done and felt guilty. Freud suggests that the transmission of the feeling of guilt through generations stems from the murder of the father by his sons in the primitive tribes. When we mention the transmission of massive psychological trauma, it seems that one of the first researches in this area was conducted by Friedman (1949) with people staying in detention centers in Cyprus, seeking entry to Palestine after liberation from the concentration camps. In 1960's, there had been an important amount of psychoanalytic studies of the internal worlds of Jewish survivors after Holocaust in the literature. Niederland (1968) coined the term "survivor syndrome" that encompasses the clinical picture seen in survivors of Nazi persecution such as chronic reactive depression, severe personality changes, psychotic or psychosis-like expressions, psychosomatic conditions, anxiety, guilt complex and hypochondrial symptoms. He suggested that these symptoms existed in all of the Holocaust survivors. During the following decade, psychoanalytic workshops were organized to examine the effects of the Holocaust on the children of survivors, which corresponded to the beginnings of the work on intergenerational transmission of trauma (Sonnenberg, 1974). "Depositing" (Volkan, 1987), "ancestor syndrome" (Schützenberger, 1998), and "telescoping of generations" (Faimberg, 2005) are some of the terms emerged in the psychoanalytic literature explaining the phenomenon of the intergenerational transmission of trauma. Decades after the Holocaust, today psychoanalytic theory recognizes not only the transmission of the massive psychic trauma but also creative adaptations of the second and third generations survivors that reveals itself in different realms of arts and literature.

Currently there are many researches that have found the traces of intergenerational transmission of trauma in the second and third generation of survivors of different massive traumas; including Holocaust, forced displacement, immigration, combat veterans, torture victims, nuclear disasters etc. (Adelman, 1995; Ben-Ezra, Palgi, Soffer, & Shrira, 2012; Braga, Mello, & Fiks, 2012; Daud, Skoglund, & Rydelius, 2005; Davidson, & Mellor, 2001; Dekel, & Goldblatt, 2008; Lev-Wiesel, 2007; Rowland-Klein, & Dunlop, 1998; Solkoff, 1992; Volkan, Ast, & Greer, 2002; Volkan, 2015). Haunting of the past trauma, importance of remembering, mission of transmitting the material to the next generation are among the common themes emerged frequently in many studies as a result of qualitative analysis of in-depth interviews with the grandchildren of trauma survivors. Transmission of resilience and coping mechanisms, especially connectedness and social support among the group members are also found prevalent in the transmitted material of many cases (Braga, Mello, & Fiks, 2012; Bar-On, Eland, Kleber, et al., 1998; Shrira, Palgi, & Ben-Ezra, 2011; Sippel, Pietrzak, Charney, Mayes, & Southwick, 2015).

2.2.2. Perspectives on Mechanisms of Transmission

The explanation of how transmission occurs goes back to the early psychoanalytical work of Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham (1942) on transmission of unconscious affective messages from mothers to their children. According to Sullivan, babies are known to be very sensitive to other people's, especially the mother/caregiver's feelings (cited in Mitchell & Black, 1995). Their feeling states are affected to a great extent by the emotions of others around them. Sullivan used the term "empathic linkage" in order to explain the transferable nature of the mood from the caregivers to the babies.

While the psychoanalytic theory has been emphasizing the permeability of the psychic membrane between the child and the caregiver from the very beginning, contemporary psychoanalytic research helps to clarify the dynamics of the process of transmission.

Abraham (1987) mentions phantoms which pass from the unconscious of the mother to the child. According to him, the phantom is not related to unsuccessful mourning or melancholia; it is rather defined as a "buried tomb" (p.288) in the psyche, an objectification of untold secrets, a formation that has been taken over from the previous generations, and it exists like a stranger in one's mind. What comes back to haunt is not the lost ones, but tomb of others. The transmission mentioned here occurs as burying an unspeakable truth *within the loved one*; a gap is created in the child's psyche in order to conceal an unspeakable fact/part of another person's life. The phantom uses the words to accomplish this, hampers the perception of the words and implicitly invokes their unconscious parts. This is how the child senses them in the parent. These words imply not a source of speech but a gap, or an unspeakable truth. The gap is transmitted to the child by preventing the specific introjections that the child needs at that moment. Libido can be invested in this kind of words and may reveal itself in different types of hobbies or leisure activities. Abraham gives an example of a young man spending his weekends "breaking rocks" and catching butterflies, which then he would kill in a bottle filled with cyanide. Then the secret had been revealed that the patient's grandmother had denounced patient's mother's loved one causing him to be sent to work in labor camps to "break rocks" who was then murdered in a gas chamber. Abraham (1987, p. 292) calls these words "*phantomogenic*" words, which may become distortions and be acted out or manifested in different mental activities such as phobias, obsessions, or phantasmagorias. They abolish the relationship systems that the libido tries to build, in an Oedipal fashion; they may even be used as a guard against the Oedipus complex. These words are the means and nourishment that the phantoms use and need to return from the unconscious. They often reign over the entire family's history; so we may expect to see them in the family narratives to carry the transmission material to the following generations. Abraham (1987) proposes that the "phantom effect" weakens as it is transmitted to the next generations and would vanish eventually. This may not be the case if the phantom is shared and somehow established in social practices; yet again it is important to see this effort to relieve the unconscious from the

phantom, in other words an attempt at exorcism. Thus the phantom in an individual's mind does not belong to himself/herself; it appears as a result of the previous generations' frozen mourning processes or denial of their losses (Tanik Sivri, 2013).

Fonagy (1999) proposes the mediating effect of a "vulnerability to dissociative states" (p. 92) in the transmission of specific traumatic ideas. This vulnerability in the infant is created by trauma-related frightened or frightening caregiving. In these cases, the attachment style is accepted as disorganized which manifests itself as a dissociative core self, or lack of self-organization. Since the child becomes vulnerable, this leads to the transmission of trauma-related ideation through internalizations from the attachment-figure.

One of the very important findings that contemporary psychoanalysts added to the early findings about transmission is that while the images and representations of the outer object world are shaped by the child's instinctual drives (Freud, 1923; Klein, 1946); what the child have internalized from the outer world into their representational psyche is not uncontaminated (Volkan, 2001b). On the contrary, the clinical works of Volkan and his colleagues (2002) show that the parents/caregivers' unconscious fantasies, perceptions, and expectations about the child and the external world can be transmitted to the children besides their feeling states like anxiety and depression.

Akhtar (2010a) states that the narratives peculiar to the family, conflictual expectations of the members of the family, traumas of the family are passed onto their children through transmission and play a vital role in the child's identity formation. Especially the capacity of the parents' to mourn has a very important impact on the newborn's development of the self.

The offspring of the massive trauma survivors identify with the way their parents adapt to their personal traumas. However, identification alone is not enough to understand the underlying mechanism of transmission, because affect, worry, anxiety or fantasies are not the only ones that are transmitted to the children (Volkan, 2015). Besides, during the process of identification, the things coming from outside get modified to a certain degree in child's self-representation. The

child here seems as an "active partner" of the interaction (Volkan, Ast, & Greer, 2002, p. 33). In contrast, during transmission, parents "force" and "deposit" (Volkan, 1987) their associated affects, aspects of themselves or their internalized object-images into the developing self-representation of the child. According to Volkan and his colleagues (2002), during the process of depositing representations, the parent is the active partner of the interaction, not the child. With the unconscious belief that these images would be "safe" within the child's internal world, it is deposited there until the child resolves the conflict or finishes the unfinished task of his/her parents. If the following generation fails to complete their mission, it is also possible that they would pass these tasks and images onto the next generation. There are many studies showing the signs of unresolved conflicts of the trauma or unfinished mourning processes in the second and third generations of the traumatized ancestors (Sigal, Silver, Rakoff, & Ellin, 1973; Kellerman, 2001; Wiseman, Barber, Raz, Yam, Carol, & Livne-Snir, 2002; Lev-Wiesel, 2007; Schwab, 2009).

As Volkan (1987) suggests with the term of "deposited" representation, parents force, mostly unconsciously but sometimes consciously, parts of themselves or parts of their internalized object-images, into the child's self-representation. The representations that are deposited are not truly the parents' representations but their traumatized images. He adds that this is even possible when the child does not achieve a psychic separation from the caregiver. By doing that, the parent loads the child's developing identity with certain tasks to perform. In this process, the child has a passive role, while the parent is the active agent. The child only serves as a reservoir for the deposited tasks, representations and related affects. It is believed that what Kestenberg (1982) called "transgenerational transportation" of trauma is the depositing mechanism of Holocaust survivors who were not able to mourn their loved ones who were murdered or destroyed by the Nazis. Volkan (2007a) coins the term "psychological gene" to define the "deposited image" affecting the child's psychic development, identity formation and self-representation which leaves the child with duties to perform on behalf of his/her parents or grandparents.

A French psychoanalyst, Alain de Mijolla (2009), carries the issue further and suggests that when a person communicates with another; one becomes a potential carrier of a trace from the other person. This communication, consciously or unconsciously, works in a very complicated way; particularly if there is a strong emotional bond between these individuals. Covert discourse, assumed secrets would be hidden within the structure of a historical narrative. This triggers a psychic investment and this investment is encoded in the preconscious in order to resist repression. A similar mechanism is considered for the mother and child interaction. The mother or the caregiver leaves the unfinished tasks or images and representations to the preconscious of the baby so that it would be available to the consciousness and worked through by the child.

Today, there have also been studies supporting the genetic tranmssion of trauma reactions like PTSD and PTSD-like symptoms through generations (Bowers, & Yehuda, 2016; Debeic, & Sullivan, 2014; Kellerman, 2013; Yehuda, Blair, Labinsky, & Bierer, 2007), yet the results will not be reviewed here since the cumulative knowledge of genetic transmission would be beyond the scope of the current study.

SECTION THREE

METHOD

3.1. The Primary Investigator (PI)

The primary investigator, at the same time the author of this dissertation, is a female student at the Istanbul Bilgi University clinical psychology graduate program, adult track, with an experience in trauma for four years, especially massive psychological traumas, its social consequences and transmission to the following generations, with a special interest in forced migration and its psychological consequences. The PI started working on this issue for a doctorate degree in Forensic Sciences and then decided to enroll in the clinical program in order to help the victims and their offspring in the clinical area.

The aim of this study is to develop a better understanding in the reader regarding the importance of the psychological effects of migration and massive population movements as well as providing some insight about how deep the wounds inflicted by forced displacement could be to the extent that we can still recognize its traces on the psyche of the immigrant's grandchildren.

3.2. Participants

The participation criteria of the study was to be a member of the third generation (grandchild) of at least one grandparent who migrated due to the political, social, economic and cultural results of the period starting with the Balkan Wars. Six grandchildren from six families were interviewed for the study. Paternal and maternal grandparents of the six participants (except one participant's maternal grandparents) were all immigrants who had migrated from Novi Pazar, Sandzak region of Serbia during 1950s and 60s. The maternal grandparents of one participant had migrated from Bosnia. All of the grandparents were Bosniacs. All of the fathers were born in the place of origin, yet came to Turkey in between the

ages of 8 months and two and a half years. Three of the participants' mothers were born in Turkey, three did not know where the mother was born but considering the years of migration, they were probably born in Turkey or came to Turkey at a very young age like the fathers.

The mean of the ages of the participants is 21, ranging from 19-25. They were all university students and three of them had been working in part-time jobs besides the university. The participants were mentioned with letters assigned randomly for the confidentiality. (Table 1.)

The grandparents of the participants had been living in Novi Pazar, Sandzak, in Serbia. Novi Pazar is a place that had been founded in 1461 during the sovereignty of Ottoman Empire, then after the defeat of the Empire in 1913 Balkan Wars, Sandzak became a part of Serbia, and a part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1918. During the World War II, Serbia had been occupied by the Nazis and people of Novi Pazar had to fight against Chetnik troops. Tito's Partisans took over Novi Pazar in 1944 and the country was tried to get unified under the Socialist Federal Republic of Serbia. Lastly, in 1990s, by the disintegration of Yugoslavia, Novi Pazar has become a city of Serbia.

Table 1. Information of participants

Participant	**Sex**	**Age**	**Year of migration**	
			Maternal Family	**Paternal Family**
Miss N	F	19	58	67-68
Miss S	F	20	50s	68
Miss T	F	19	50s	60s
Mr D	M	25	60s	66
Mr G	M	22	50s	65
Mr K	M	21	60s	68

3.3. Procedure

The PI reached the participants by using snowball method. Upon the approval of the Ethics Committee in the Istanbul Bilgi University, the Bosnia-Sandzak Social Solidarity and Culture Society in Istanbul was contacted. The organization was founded by the Bosniac immigrants and their families. The research study was announced and the families were invited to participate. The contact information of the third generation members who volunteered for the study was provided by the Society.

Eight interviews were conducted with six participants. The questions (Annex 2) could not be completed during the first interviews of the two participants, therefore second interviews were made in order to complete the interview. Two interviews of the participants were realized in a room in the Society's office building, whereas the other interviews were conducted in the private office of the PI.

Participation was voluntary and each participant had to sign a consent form (Annex 1). Interviews lasted between 45 to 60 minutes. All interviews were audiotaped and then transcribed. All identifying information was removed in order to maintain confidentiality.

3.4. Data Analysis

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA: Smith & Osborn, 2003) was used in order to assess the unique experiences of the adult grandchildren of Bosniac immigrants. In accordance with the IPA methodology, PI transcribed each record right after the interview. The transcriptions of the interviews and field notes were read and re-read at the beginning of coding paying attention to reflections that were taken by the primary researcher after each interview. The PI coded the initial associations and the MAXQDA Software program was utilized to code each interview and form the themes.

3.5. Trustworthiness

Various techniques were applied in order to increase the trustworthines of the study. During the data collection both the audiotapes recorded and the field notes had been taken in order to gather information with detail. Triangulated investigators (Smith & Osborn, 2003) were involved in every step of the data analysis process. The initial associations were shared with the investigators, draft codes and themes were formed together, and reformed many times until the last versions appeared with consensus. Lastly, the ultimate themes were shared with the pariticpants via e-mail, to assess whether there was anything that did not reflect their experience (member check) (Larkin, Watts, & Clifton, 2006). The results were not invalidated by the participants.

SECTION FOUR

RESULTS

Six super-ordinate themes were identified during data analysis: a) Material transmitted to the third generation, b) adaptation and coping strategies to survive, c) making sense of migration, d) feeling fragmented, e) the “language” of “home”, and f) mechanisms of transmission.

In this section, you may find the descriptions for the super-ordinate and related sub-ordinate themes, how they emerged from the data and some examples of excerpts that would help to explain the themes better.

4.1. MATERIAL TRANSMITTED TO THE THIRD GENERATION

The simplest but main assumption of this study was that images of traumatic experiences, unfinished tasks of mourning, reversing the shame, humiliation and helplessness into reputation, achievement and agency from the previous generations who have migrated from The Sandzak region of Yugoslavia to Turkey would be transmitted to their offspring, and that this transmission process would continue for generations with varying contents, forms and intensities. The commonalities observed among the participants of what is inherited to them from their grandparents who told them their migration stories were consistent with this assumption. Commonalities were feelings for the past, duties transmitted to the descent and yet to come children, efforts to understand the pain and sorrow, and facing what cannot be changed.

4.1.1. Inability to truly relate to ancestors' suffering

The grandchildren of the Bosniac migrants stated feeling that they cannot truly understand the suffering of their ancestors, because they have never experienced such a thing before. Moreover, they were born in a much more comfortable and

easy world in which they can get anything they want. This also brings to mind the issue whether the participants truley have difficulties understanding or they have a hard time believing their ancestors' narratives about the atrocities that they have suffered.

> **“**When I tell them, they say ‘ooo, really? is it real?” etc., but it is real. I also couldn't believe it, I was little back then, but it used to feel like a story when they told me, but it is real, this happened, since we didn’t experience it, how much can we feel? We can’t feel it...” (Miss S)

The excerpts also show the difficulty to digest the transmitted content and how distant the past experiences feel like from their current reality.

> “When I think about it, I haven’t experienced anything, I was actually born to a content life, I was born here, raised here, but that day for example my father, when my father was a one year old child, he was brought here then and he stayed in someone else’s house, he came from city to city, and, I mean, while he was growing up, of course the house was built immediately, after a certain year or something, but it feels very different when he tells me about it. Because he came here from his own country at a very young age, I mean we were born in a free and easy life, I just, sometimes, cannot accept it.” (Miss T)

Participants try to imagine how it would have been like to be in their ancestors' shoes back then, and to make sense of the emotional and mental processes they would have gone through , as well as the decisions their ancestors made during all these years.

> **“**Year 1965, you just pulled through World War II, you are a farmer, have a very big family, there is starvation, and when you study, I am telling it as they said, skipping the agitation part, you see, you try to make rubber

shoes for yourself, you don't have a coat, don't have a proper notebook, you are going to school on foot, going to city from the village on foot, etc. These are the living conditions; you figure things out in these living circumstances, would you think about ideology? I think about ideology right now, because I mean my family life is normal, private life is normal, my school is about to finish, I have a job, I earn some money, more or less, yes I do have time to think about ideology, I also have the luxury to do that, but would I think of ideology back then, maybe I would get Islamized, I would react that way to the oppression, I don't know." (Mr G)

4.1.2. Idealizing the ancestors

Another theme that emerged was the idealization of the ancestors, an obvious appreciation of the grandparents, especially the grandfather or another elder male in the family who was usually mentioned as the one who saved and established the family in the new place.

"I am proud of my people, all of them, especially my grandfather. I mean, it is a different situation that he can still take a tough stance against all these difficulties, it needs to be appreciated. So we appreciate him the same way." (Mr D)

"My grandfather starts to work in X (company), he qualifies for the pension from X. And at home, there are still engraved plates saying 'We thank dear … (name of the grandfather)'etc. You stay in X, you qualify as the foreman, meanwhile you learn Turkish. You do all these things when you don't even know the language and this is not like you knew how to do it in Yugoslavia, and used it when you came here, no, he was a farmer in Yugoslavia, he learns ceramics (line of work of X) when he comes here. He learns this, he earns money, he builds the house." (Mr G)

The participants addressed different characteristics to attribute nobility, strength and heroism to their ancestors such as knowledge, courage, wealth and so on. While Miss S emphasized the royal lineage and wealth of her ancestors, Mr D mentioned heroism in the family history.

> "My mother talks about it, when they came here, which year, year of 52 I guess, they tell us 'we came', they even say that 'our lineage was a royal lineage' etc." (Miss S)

> "When they came here and started a business, my grandfather was very rich like a zillionaire, he was a carriage driver, he used to carry goods from place to place, buying things, I mean they mention a lot about like, your grandfather used to carry money by dozens. They had lived a very easy and comfortable life." (Miss S)

> "My people did not see the war but a lot of relatives, acquaintances had seen it, and there were losses in the war.
> *Interviewer*: Anyone from your relatives?
> Yes, my grandmother's brother. In fact, one of them was a veteran, passed away a few months ago. He is a war hero, but I cannot remember his name. Right now, I couldn't recall his name." (Mr D)

Mr K recalled a memory -transmitted to him- from the times of World War II while feeling proud of his mother's uncle's speaking many languages.

> "My mother has an uncle, he passed away but he knew 6-7 languages, learned from these things, I mean, he learned German from the soldiers, when he was little, very little, soldiers used to come, they liked him."
> (Mr K)

4.1.3. Duty to transmit to the following generations

The third generation of Bosniac migrants stated that they would transmit the culture, language, and narratives of their past to their (unborn) children. They seemed to see this as their "duty" and what to be transmitted as an important part in the development of their children's identity.

> "If they never told me, I would have never questioned this I guess. For example, if they had not told me when I was little, mm did we come from there? how did we come?... That's why I am thinking to consider this as a duty to tell someone coming after me so that he/she would know his/her past, what happened… Someone who does not know his/her past, cannot know the future, cannot know how to move forward." (Miss S)

> "I will definitely take my child there (Sandzak), and teach him/her. I come here (the Society) to learn Bosniac, with the proper grammar rules. I think, I will definitely teach my child, why wouldn't he/she know? In the end, it is the language of my ancestors." (Miss T)

Symbolic objects of their past to be kept, the language to be learned, their country of origin to visit, stories to be told are some of the things that participants mentioned they would like to transmit to their children.

> "I certainly do not think that this photograph will be lost, I mean after my grandfather my father will have it, then I will have it, then my children, and so on, it will continue like this." (Mr D)

> "I would try to, you know, the traditions and customs, I would talk, take him/her there more often, I haven't been there much, I would take him/her, make him/her to…, there, that place, take and learn something from there bit by bit, learn the language, this is the main stuff I think." (Mr K)

"It is very different to hear it from the first person, her telling… I would lie down on my paternal grandmother's lap, she used to tell me things all the time… She used to tell us especially, tell us mostly, so that we could transmit it to the ones coming next." (Miss S)

4.1.4. Irredeemable losses and pain

The losses and the pain caused by the tragedies, which led to the migration, are perceived as something that can neither be changed nor repaired. It is possible to get used to it, but it is not possible to forget or repair, so what's gone is gone. For the participants, there seems to be no room for reparation.

"I don't think there is anything which would take away the pain, because you feel shattered. I mean, it was either they should have never come, or after they had, I don't really think that there is anything that could ease the pain ….. migration is very difficult, I don't think there is something that can alleviate this…." (Miss N)

When the participants were asked if there could be anything today that may help to repair the pain or compensate the losses of the past atrocities about migration, they mostly stated that the things that had happened cannot be undone, so the pain would prevail.

"I don't think there could be something today; because, the damage is done. Moreover since all of them are old school, no matter what you say they will go their own way, so it won't help. What's done is done, that's what we have now." (Miss T)

"The pain will never end in Yugoslavia. This is something that cannot even be imagined. It is heartbreaking, distre--- very painful, but will not end." (Mr G)

> "I think people can get used to things gradually, but they cannot forget anything. All these wars… I don't thing that can happen, it can't happen. Besides, there are many different people, Albanians, Serbians, something happened all the time, I think the war is very difficult, you know, nothing can be forgotten totally, we just get used to it, people get used to it, there is nothing else anyone can do." (Mr K)

4.2. ADAPTATION AND COPING STRATEGIES TO SURVIVE

Migration is a long and complex process having different phases, it does not end when the people leave their home, or cross the border to another country. The traumatic experiences continue most of the time, even after the migrants "seem to be settled" to the new place.

This super-ordinate theme emerged out of the excerpts showing their ways of coping with the process of migration and newly developed strategies to adapt to the new circumstances. The major themes appeared out of the responses to the question of "Do you think they were able to manage coping with the difficulties of the whole migration process? If so, how?". Themes are as follows: working hard both as an occupation and as being busy and producing something without the concern of earning money, and staying and living together all the way from home and during the construction of a new life here.

4.2.1. Working hard

From the beginning of their settlement in Turkey, the family members particularly the grandfather and then the children (second generation), now the third generation members have been working really hard. They either got jobs in companies in Turkey, or started trading between their place of origin and Turkey, or migrated again to a European country to work and send money for the living expenses of their families in Turkey. The second generation continued working, usually leaving the school early, getting a job at an early age to contribute to the

family budget. Three of our six participants are actively working in a job and earning money, although they are studying at the university at the same time. It was even stated by one of the participants very clearly that, she does not actually need to work, but she just feels like it, as if she has to.

> "For example, I think of myself, do I have to? do I really need this? Everybody needs money but I don't need this job. My friends are relaxed, they go around, have fun, enjoy themselves outside all the time etc. Ok., I also go outside, I have fun too, but I still think, why do I work? I do want to work; they imposed this on me when I was little. My aunt had started to work when she finished school; my other aunt did the same, my father as well, he had stopped going to school, my grandmother forced him to work, the second day my father went back to school, finished school and then started working. All these things that I have seen since my childhood affected me so much, my older brother also studies and works at the same time. We have to do something even if we don't need to, we can't stand idle I can tell you." (Miss S)

Participants are hard working not only in terms of their occupation and making money, but also engaging in doing something, anything that would keep them busy and active.

> "My grandfather is such a person that he has never spent even ten minutes of his life standing idle. Every time he finds himself something to do, always produces something, he is always in an effort for novelty, does things, tries to improve himself." (Miss S)

> "My grandfather told me that, my father's father, that we live together in the same house… He used to work in Y. factory, he is also retired from there. When he first went there, he was not allowed to have a cigarette break, they said "you don't speak Turkish, you go to the other place" etc.

> They were making fun of him. Out of spite, my grandfather started to learn Turkish, and in the end he spoke Turkish very well. He still reads the papers of things, of his pills, reads newspaper all day long, he is still trying to improve himself, now he is 84 years old, and continues reading without stopping." (Mr D)

Some of the excerpts which mentioned working hard directly showed its importance in coping with the difficulties of migration and adaptation.

> "They did manage, but how did they manage it? For example my grandfather, I don't know what he had been doing there, my grandfather's father, "dedu", that's what we call grand grandfathers (she laughed), he for instance, opened up a tailor shop, worked as a tailor for years. That way, working like that, that's how I guess." (Miss N)

> "Gradually, after a certain amount of time had passed, I don't think they had trouble so much, but maybe some trouble with working. I mean, having a job, getting accepted, but after that I don't think, I mean, many people who are Bosniac, men usually worked in construction in Germany, they came here after working there for some time, they tried to do different types of work here." (Mr K)

As it was mentioned above, one of the participants told the story of how his grandfather achieved working successfully in an important firm in Turkey, and learned a job from scratch although he didn't even know the language .

> "You start working at X. (company), that cannot be a career choice for us right now, but at that time you know it was important to be able to stay for a long time in a company, to be experienced there when you got accepted. For instance, my grandfather starts to work in X., he qualifies for the pension from X. And at home, there are still engraved plates saying 'We

thank dear … (name of the grandfather)'etc. You stay in X., you qualify as the foreman, meanwhile you learn Turkish. You do all these things when you don't even know the language and this is not something, you knew how to do it in Yugoslavia, and used it when you came here, no, he was a farmer in Yugoslavia, he learns ceramics (line of work of X) when he comes here. He learns this, he earns money, he builds the house." (Mr G)

4.2.2. Holding onto one another, holding onto life

The Bosinac ancestors of the participants came and stayed together in the same neighborhood in Turkey. They usually stayed in very small places with a large number of people, (9, 11 or 15 in a small room), then they chose the area to settle together or moved to already built up community places by their acquaintances who had come earlier.
Sticking together appeared as a significant reaction from the very beginning of the migration journey.

" 'we used to get on the train… the train got broken… the snow, the mud… we were waiting, getting down for two days, feeling cold, got sick, we were covered by each other, and had some sleep. We were cooking, if we had anything with us…' There was nothing around for them to cook, in that cold weather, they ate the stale bread they made earlier. Then when they came here, they waited in the border since they were not allowed to pass directly, but later, later, learning by doing and doing again, they did hold onto life with what they could accumulate, but you know, it was a very hard process…" (Miss S)

"There they stayed with a lot of people. In fact, my father told that this was usually what had happened back then, he said 'after we came, while we were growing up, still there were people coming, our relatives used to come for example, until they build a house, a year or a year and a half,

> they used to stay with us. All the people coming that way used to stay at each other's place in the beginning, then they bought some land, built a house and moved there. After that, the new comers used to go and stay with them. It was all like that." (Miss T)

Participants stated that their ancestors constructed their own houses, until then they had lived in relatives' or friends' houses; sometimes even with a Bosniac family that they had never met before. They built the houses close to each other in such a way that at the end, the neighborhood had become a place only inhabited by the Bosniac immigrant families, like a small imitation of their original familiar, Bosniac speaking homeland.

> "The neighborhood we live in, until yesterday, I mean, until recently, was a Bosniac quarter, you could have lived there easily without knowing any Turkish; because, I mean, the teacher in the school was Bosniac, two out of ten teachers were Bosniac, most of the students in our high school were Bosniac for a while. The staff of the supermarket was Bosniac, which was only a branch of a national chain store. Even in that store, you could spend your day without knowing Turkish, we are really affected by that, we grew with these stories." (Mr G)

> "Living close to each other like this, living together with Bosniac people is I think different. When you live like this, maybe you become, like, if you were to live somewhere else… for example, people speak Bosniac in the streets etc." (Mr K)

Family togetherness and close ties between the group members were also presented as an important part of the Bosniac identity and culture.

> "The family relations of Bosniacs, the ties with the relatives are very close. Even now, where we live, we live in a family building having four floors;

my uncle, other uncle, my grandfather, grandmother, and I, my father and mother on the fourth floor etc. Everyone is very close to each other. For instance, my maternal grandmother lives two streets away from us. Marriages are always like, Bosniacs go to Bosniacs, a Bosniac would not marry some other, they would not give the girls to someone other than Bosniacs, etc." (Mr D)

"All these neighborhoods we live in. …. this district, the one next to it, they are usually settled together. For example, the apartment next to ours is my father's uncle's apartment, the apartment across ours is my father's aunt's apartment, the ones on the other side mostly belong to our relatives, or the people they had known from back there. I mean, all these districts are constructed like this, one family came here, and the other came right after them. Siblings tried to stick together, if one comes then the other does." (Miss T)

The participants mentioned strong emotional bonds between the members of their group. The closeness is not only in physical and real world, but also in emotional and mental world of this group. The participants stated that these bonds connect them to the Bosniac people living in the same neighborhood in here and any other Bosniac living in any part of the world; especially the ones who had stayed at home, in Sandzak area. Participants reported experiences when the two Bosniacs see each other, even though they had never met before, they immediately get very close, and experience hard feelings while separating from each other.

"This year I went there for the first time, I said please let's not go back, I can live here, I mean when you are there, that warmth, well, these people are really your people, well, you just realize it, when on the way back here for instance, I went there for the first time, we had relatives there, we cried when we were coming back, they cried we cried, they saw us for the first

time, we saw them for the first time, I thought I wish they had never come here, I said for the first time that I wish we lived there." (Miss N)

"We are connected to each other with very close ties, that's what I like very much. I mean, for example, someone of someone of my someone, when sees me in some place, takes me with him/her, for example a very distant relative in Serbia takes me home, harbors me, of course Turkish people do the same thing, but he/she does not let you go, he/she knows that he/she is one of your own, from your blood, behaves you like you are really close even though he/she is distant, tries to give something to you all the time. ….. I mean we are aware of that we need to live by sticking together." (Miss S)

4.3. MAKING SENSE OF MIGRATION

This super-ordinate theme contains the major commonalities among the six participants' ways of making sense of the migration process. It was noteworthy to realize that the third generation participants were asking many questions in order to understand what really happened; why did they migrate, how did it happen, how did their ancestors feel back then, what were they thinking when leaving, how come they decided to leave, what could be the circumstances that forced them to leave their homes, did they flee or not, was there any other choice, etc. These were just some of the common questions to which they were trying to find the answers so that they can comprehend and make a sense of the migration experience of their grandparents. They seemed preoccupied with dealing with the lack of information and the intensity of the emotions transmitted to them both by stories and experiences.

4.3.1. What does it mean to come from a migrant family?

Although the first reactions to coming from a migrant family were usually pleasure, pride, and feeling grateful for having the opportunity for a better education and career, further elaboration brought other issues into the light.

> "I actually like being a migrant, that my ancestors have migrated, because it is good for our education and job opportunities, I mean, for the following generations. When I talk to my cousins there, I tell them I study engineering, engineering is a reputable occupation here, but there, for example, there are no job opportunities, there is no work for an engineer there, since there is no factory." (Miss T)

> "For me, I am proud, I mean definitely; because what they have done is not a easy thing, for sure. My grandfathers coming here with four children, brothers, wife, without knowing the language, moving from one place to another in here also… Our current home has four floors, but back then there was one room, eight children in it, they lived like that, then one more floor, one more, and then one more, they had four floors in the end. They suffered a lot. But definitely, I am proud of my father, my grandfather, my uncles, all of them." (Mr D)

> "The hardships they experienced are being transmitted to the next generations I think, the children, I mean, you can realize what happened for example, when you see, hear the difficulties, you realize it too, and that is not a bad thing for us I think, it is a good thing all the time." (Mr K)

One of the advantages mentioned was about being bilingual and the cultural diversity that comes with it.

> "Being a migrant is a very beautiful thing, beautiful in a sense that I think it is great cultural wealth, about language, about tradition and customs, about dance, music… Think, if we accept English as given, you know, even forget about English, I have two languages from birth." (Mr G)

> "The positive side for me of them being migrated is that I learned Turkish and our family relations are really good. These are the positive things I guess. Because otherwise there is no chance that I would learn this language, no way." (Mr D)

Close family ties were also seemed directly related with coming from a migrant family for the participants.

> "It is very good for me, I would like to be a migrant if I were born again, because, their life style is, how can I tell you, we are very connected to each other. ….. We are extremely intimate within, I mean, we are very attached to each other, I mean, I really like it very much. If you argue with or get angry with a relative, you don't show it to anyone at the moment, you live it inside yourself, you don't try to create any problem for this to that individual." (Miss S)

The duality of the language, country, and culture was perceived as a richness by some of the participants, however, it also seemed to be experienced as belonging to two places which may also mean belonging nowhere at the same time.

> "For example, it feels like (she coughed) I have two countries (drank water). …… When we go there we get into a mood like I wish we could stay here longer, because what we have is like, a bit, to own the two countries." (Miss T)

The response below was a good illustration of the ambivalence and confusion about feeling like having two countries and having no country at all.

> "I mean, ok, I was born in Turkey, I have grown up in Turkey, but when someone asks me where I am from, I mean of course I am Turkish but I say I am Bosniac for example. Actually, we have a situation that, like we don't know where we belong. For example, when we go there, this is Turk, they call us; when we are here, they are Bosniacs, they say; I mean we are neither Turkish nor Bosniac. To them we are Turkish, to the ones here we are Bosniacs, you know, it feels like we don't really have a proper home or something. But at the same time, we do have two countries. For example, if something bad happens here, in this country, I know that I have another one to go to. I know that I have relatives there, it is also my country as long as I get citizenship. This is really both a good thing, I mean, I don't know anything bad about it." (Miss N)

4.3.2. Feeling the pain of the ancestors

This sub-theme emerged out of participants' feeelings of recognition and appreciation of the suffering and anguish of their Bosniac ancestors who have migrated. It seemed very important for the descendents to put themselves into their ancestors' shoes so that they can make a sense of what happened. Elaborating about the circumstances leading to migration, in as much detail as possible to the extent of almost visualizing the reasons that pushed their ancestors out of their homelands seems to evoke feelings of pain and sorrow attached to all these horrible experiences told by the ancestors.

> "Every night, they used to take five or six people, depending on the population of the village, they took one man from each house, but they were careful to leave at least one man in the family, even if he was young, so that if they were afraid that they would take them all to…, someone

would be there to…, you know, for them to have a sense of security. In this way, from different households, there were fire wardens. One day, all the time, he was a big man they say, I mean really big, one day, coincidentally, I mean, he died by getting shot from behind, then they grew up alone. ….. After that she (grandmother) had missed her father a lot since he died when she was very little. After her father's death, she said she would get married to a very strong man so that he would protect and watch her, in the meanwhile she got married at a young age, what, 18 or something." (Miss S)

"Bulgarians killed my maternal grandfather's father. After he got killed, the grandfather, that's why they, because of this a little bit, they decided to come to Turkey, because of the unrest there." (Miss T)

"They always told us stories, that the mosques were closed, Muslims were not allowed to practice their religion, etc. However, this was relevant for all of the people there, but they resented this very much, reacted very emotionally. When you listen, you understand that, they talk as if Tito did not allow only the Muslims to pray. Though, the churches were also closed to prevent them from gathering. I think they perceived it very subjectively and took it personally, and doing so, they tended to focus on religious matters so that the Christians coming from there would accept them, and this attracted them to Turkey." (Mr G)

Participants seemed to be trying to feel like their ancestors, think like them, and checking to see if they would or could have done the same or not.

"It must be very difficult… Because his brother, one of his brothers was still there, he passed away but his brother is still alive, we visited him last year. One of the brothers was here. I think emotionally it was very difficult. For example, I don't think I can go to another country now and

> leave my family here, I mean, this, despite the opportunities, even for a job, even if I would be with my family there in the future, I can't take the risk of leaving here without my sister, my mother, I mean, I don't know, I can't think of living without them, they came here leaving everything behind, it is very difficult. I don't know if I could have done it for instance, it means that the situation was so serious that they had to. I don't think they come here happily, it was due to a reason beyond their control, because they had to survive, because there were children, they had kids after all, I mean for them, I think they continued because they had to continue, it wasn't easy. (her voice became very hard to hear during these last sentences)" (Miss N)

At times, participants mentioned symbolic objects or visions they recalled which were loaded with intense feelings that were even hard to put into words.

> "We saw something, when our family came here, they were Yugoslavian citizens but they all did something, each and every one of them has papers, it is written, we requested it from Ankara when we were getting passports, we requested it, it was written that, for example a picture of my grandfather, and my father is very little like that sitting (he showed the position on the picture of his father sitting on his grandfather's lap), it was written, "stateless" ("vatansız" in Turkish) on it for instance, they left the country, the date, everything is written on it. …..
> They ceased to be a citizen of Yugoslavia in order to come here, then they gave it [the paper] to Turkey, then they had Turkish citizenship. …..
> The photograph is old like this, my father is little, different, my grandfather is like…, these kind of things are written on it, I could not understand everything, but "stateless" was written, I recalled it now, I mean, it is hard. My father was little, not aware of anything, going just like that…" (Mr K)

The hardships did not end when the ancestors arrived to Turkey. Participants' appreciation of the suffering also includes the difficulties their ancestors had in the host country.

> "They went, the train, everybody is coming… Some of them have no one, they get off, they don't know the language, they don't know a thing. My dedu (she laughed), my grandfather, my mother's father, no, my mother's grandfather, one of his friends promised him, said 'I will take you when you arrive'. He got off in the terminal, there was no one around, he just stood there with his wife and children. He doesn't know anything, later, he came across to an acquaintance that had come before him, he said 'oo, are you here?', he said "yes but there is no one", he told me "ok come with me I will take you", and something like that. I mean if he was not there for instance, the one who promised did not come, he could not know what to do there, not a chance. They told me this, they got emotional again, actually they got so emotional that they could not talk more." (Miss N)

> "When they first arrived. ….. I talked to my grandmother. They had suffered serious hardships, for example, they don't know the language, there was no place to work, even if there was, it is very hard since they don't know the language. I mean, it was very difficult for them to get through this period." (Mr D)

4.3.3. Why did they come? Did they flee or not?

For the participants, the reasons for migration seemed to have a special significance in the process of making sense of migration. However they differed in the way they perceived the reasons for leaving and proposed different arguments about it.

Survival appeared to be an important reasoning for migration; to be able to stay alive, and save their children's lives. The two World Wars was still relevant to the

migration of the participants that mostly occurred in 1960s. The atrocities that their ancestors had witnessed, the losses they had suffered became an important determinant in their decision to leave the country, particularly when they had newborn babies.

> "My grandfather used to tell it all the time, 'I dug my own grave three times'". (Miss N)

> "I asked my father for example, that we migrated, ….. he said 'I would probably be dead if I had stayed there', ….. , 'during these events, in wars, none of us would have stayed alive, and you also would not exist then', that impressed me, I always think that I am glad that we have come here, in terms of comfort of course." (Miss S)

> "In 1929, during the world war, my grandfather's elder brother is 15 years older than him. He sees the years of war when he was that young, that's why he always wanted to come to Turkey. Another reason for wanting to come to Turkey is because it is a Muslim country and a closer country to our Serbian, Bosniac sides. They want to come here. At the same time, my grandmother also wants to come here but my grandfather did not want to for a while because my grandfather works as a driver there, has a good job, that's why he does not want to come. Then my father was born in 1965, and at the beginning of 1966 they decided to come to Turkey, they decided to come when they have a child. At this time, exactly at this period it is not because of war but because they were influenced by the things that had happened previously during the times of war." (Miss T)

Understanding if their ancestors fled or not was also important in explaining the whole migration story. Some of the participants described the migration process as fleeing from the socio-political pressure, discrimination and many other difficulties.

> "My mother's story is more like fleeing from the Partisans there…" (Miss S)

> "Whenever she (her aunt) talks about it, she says that we fled but we fled for ourselves, we saved our families, we came here for a better life." (Miss S)

Some participants perceived fleeing as something to be accused of and did not accept it.

> "When we ask my grandfather, they usually tell us, our relatives there, "you fled", some think like that. ….. But the period of time when they arrived here is not the time of war, when they came I mean. They got more affected by the previous times, the Second World War, you know, because there many losses, and also the children were born, and partly as the labor migration actually, job opportunities, they came because of the conditions of the country." (Miss T)

One of the participants differentiated fleeing from war from leaving because of pressure.

> "Since we did not flee or something from the war, I mean, more like came because of pressure, I guess it was after that, the war period was all over, we came during the easier time." (Miss N)

Some of the participants' mentioning about the migration almost as a voluntary journey as a result of a job related decision or just because it was technically related to better conditions provided brings to mind the denial of the losses and the pain of the unrest they had there for decades. Distancing oneself and the story from the emotional burden of the past were seen in the excerpts of the two male participants.

> "Interviewer: Do you know why they migrated?
> Why?.. Because the living conditions were not suitable, and, you know, we talk about 66-67. At that time, you cannot compare Serbia and Turkey, you can't compare it today also but, back then it was way worse in Serbia. That's why. Because Turkey was in a better condition, and we had relatives that had come before us, they came here also on the basis of this.
> Interviewer: Do you mean for economical reasons?
> Yes, economical reasons. I mean, in general they were the same, most of them." (Mr D)

> "Before that (migration), my grandfather's, no my father's grandfather, it has nothing to do with the things, you know, with Turkey. It is just that, when it was open (an option to come to Turkey), they just heard that the citizenship would be given, and then they came here by train, that's it." (Mr K)

One of the participants was still struggling finding out the "true" reasons for coming. He even tried to make a research project in order to understand the migration process and collect narratives about it, including his own family story.

> "My research was also about this, because I wanted to know , did people come here because they were thinking that they were Turkish, it was a possibility for me, was it the love for Turkey, or because of the reasons that were completely stemming from there (Serbia), it is still up in the air. Anyway, it is not a completed research, since, I, we lost some of the people that I needed to talk to, unfortunately, I was too late to do it." (Mr G)

> "Even this is a very important piece of information for me, did they come here under the control and within the knowledge of Belgrade or did they flee?" (Mr G)

4.3.4. What if we didn't come?

This question, despite having different answers, was an essential component of making sense of migration. It can be considered as the other side of the coin when evaluated together with the previous sub-theme of 'why did they come?'. The participants seemed to try to understand the possibility of not having migrated. What would happen then? Since they have relatives and family members that had stayed there and continued living until now, this question and its answers become important for their internal reconciliation with their ancestors and their migration history.

> "For example, sometimes I say that I wish we didn't come. This summer, we went to Novi Pazar, to Serbia. For instance, we went there, it was so beautiful there. ….. They saw us for the first time, we saw them for the first time, I thought about them never coming here, I wish we had lived there, I said this for the first time at that moment. I say it again, I would live there, I would go. I mean, it feels good, really good to be with them, I say I wish I were with them, there." (Miss N)

> "When she is telling she tells it in such a way that she lives that moment, she is very proud that she came here, because she came here by overcoming the difficulties there, but inside her, there is still, you know, should I have stayed there a little more etc. but she is happy now, we cannot say otherwise." (Miss S)

The question of what if we didn't come was maybe related to the guilt of leaving others behind and continuing to live in a better place as much as the regret of drifting apart from the homeland and their own kind.

> "In a way, it makes me feel good, yes, but on the other hand, inside you, there is a feeling of coming here by leaving them, it makes me feel bad. ….. There is a good side to everything, …., in terms of our education, …..,

leaving there both our close relatives and our loved ones, that thing, is a bad aspect for me." (Miss T)

Although female participants seemed more in the process of being in peace with the decision their ancestors had made by recognizing the emotions as can be seen above, male participants showed a firmer stance about staying, sometimes at the expense of not being born.

"They could have had a pretty normal life there, if they had not migrated here. Of course the situation there should have been better in that case.
Interviewer: If they didn't come?
Yes, I mean, if they wouldn't have to, they could have had a good life there I think.
Interviewer: In which case, they wouldn't have to come you think?
Now, I think, there are the ones migrated here, there are the ones that did not. I have seen the ones who haven't migrated when I went there three years ago, they don't care about the world, sickness, traffic, earning money etc. Each one of them has a place, with a garden, they have cows, chickens, their own gardens, I mean it is okay if they earn money or not, they don't have a care in the world……
Interviewer: You think it would have been better if they had stayed?
I mean, for them, we would not exist in that case though. (he laughed)
Interviewer: Really? Why not?
Because they met here, our parents, my mother and father. It is complicated.
Interviewer: Still, you wish that they had stayed.
I mean, yes." (Mr D)

"Maybe I would have stayed there, moreover let me say, if I go back to Yugoslavia now, I wouldn't live in Novi Pazar, in Sandzak, I would live in Belgrade, ….., I would live in Zagreb, Sarajevo, …., in Sophia, …., in

every capital of Yugoslavia other than Montenegro. …. Do I make myself clear? It is more than the question of, the answer of the question that where would I go is probably to Turkey, but what I am obsessed about is, would I have left? I think I wouldn't have." (Mr G)

"Actually would I do the same thing, I don't know, I think I wouldn't. If I were in their shoes now, I mean, it is sad, and you don't know what will happen when you get there, you go with your family, how you are going to live, will you be able to live, it is closed, like a closed box." (Mr K)

4.4. FEELING FRAGMENTED

The word "Balkanized" has its roots in the verb "Balkanize" which means, "divide (a region or body) into smaller mutually hostile states or groups." (Oxford Dictionaries, 2018). The word's origin comes from the events in 1920s, the political division of the Balkan countries. The Balkan countries have been through different periods of disintegration beginning from the 1912s Balkan Wars, and collapse of the Ottoman Empire; and "*the hyper-violent disintegration of the former Yugoslavia"* (Bennett, 1997) as a result of two decades of war and conflict. Their neighbors, and friends so far had become their enemies, they could not trust the ones they had trusted before, their lives, their children's lives were threatened by the ones they had lived together, shared their lives for decades and even centuries.

A narrative told to one of our participants might help us understand how all these things happened and how much threatened, afraid, and broken they might have felt.

"I remember that I heard it when I was very little, my grandmother used to tell it… ….. She told us, "we," she said, "we were going home, sitting around, always, there was always a knife hidden under the chair or something, but that knife could never come out of there, all of the knives

in the house, all the knives that should have been in the kitchen were put in different places, why, if someone comes and asks, 'Are there any weapons in your house? Are there any knives?', that could be anything, 'any sharp objects?, gold, money, etc.? if there is any, give it to us!', they used to come and take whatever they liked, they take this, they take that, and then go off. They drag you on the floor…" I mean I really wonder, if I knew then what I know now, I would like to ask her if they had done anything to you, I mean, did they rape you or did they do anything to your mother, sister, I mean there were many siblings… I regret that I didn't ask, I would want to know what else they had done to them. Of course I was very little and it was beyond my comprehension, she said "my father used to leave at 9 o'clock, sometimes he came at 5, sometimes he came covered in blood, sometimes he came happy, if something did not happen at that moment, we had always waited on pins and needles." she said. Once I think something happened, someone died, and in his funeral, they used to put a knife on the body, at that time there was no morgue or something, she says "we put a knife on him, at that moment the Partisans came", this was a time that the genocide had not happened yet, I am talking about a very early time, she says "they took it", "what are you doing here?", "well somebody died, to prevent his stomach to protrude", that knife, "it was put because of superstitions of that time" she says, "he took the knife,", she had two little siblings, he cut the arms of the children a little, he drop some blood on the dead body, they were showing off so to say, I mean, the knife is not to put there but to do this, to stain the white, something like that. ….. People used to carry a little knife with them called 'baliya' I guess, …. he used to say "kill your child, kill him/her before we do, so that they would not see, if they see it, it would be worse", they were wondering about what they would like to do to them. They lived side by side with Serbians, there were Muslims too, …., she says "we had friends", "you talk to them, you were afraid to go their home, but they were never afraid to come to yours, they used to come all the time, they always eat and get full up. We never

> harmed them, my mother always used to give them food, and do other things etc. but we could not go to them under any circumstances, it was forbidden." That she used to tell us all the time." (Miss S)

The disintegration in the identities of the participants, feeling fragmented in terms of belongingness (identity), language, and culture seen in the actual living styles of the family members was found to be a very important theme for the internal world of the third generation participants of Bosniac migrants. Some people chose (!) to leave while some chose to stay. Some of them migrated to Turkey, some to the other countries like Germany, England, Sweden etc. Not suprisingly, this physical and psychical fragmentation appeared highly related and consistent with the destiny of the Balkan countries which had bloody periods of disintegration for almost a century. Thus, the name of this super-theme that emerged out of the feelings of the participants and conditions of the family members mentioned below was chosen as "Balkanized" in order to underline the fact that geographical disintegration has also a psychological counterpart for the inhabitants of these lands, and it is a very longstanding one that we can even see its traces in the grandchildren of directly traumatized people.

Within this super-theme there appeared two sub-themes; one about the confusion and duality in the identity of the third generation and the other is closely but reversely related to the doubleness of the identity that is the disintegration in both physical and the mental lives of the families. While we can see the former as a possible attempt to integrate what has been disintegrated, the latter could be a continuum of the disintegration in the lives and the psyches of the third generation.

4.4.1. Who are we? Where do we belong?

A duality and confusion about the belongingness of the participants with regard to the two countries, about their attempts to position themselves in terms of their

emotional bonding with the two sides was among the prominent themes during the interviews.

> "Although we were born and raised here, we belong there at some point…… Actually there is a situation that we do not know where we belong. " (Miss N)

> "When they ask me 'are you Turkish, are you Bosniac?', I feel weird, I am Turkish actually, but my past is Bosniac I mean, I can't say I am Bosniac." (Miss S)

When a participant was asked to think of something that would symbolize the migration process as a whole, she recalled "a river" that she saw when she went to Sandzak, Serbia. When she was thinking about that river and what it meant to her in this respect, she mentioned about her feelings of belongingness to both countries and perhaps nowhere at the same time.

> "Interviewer: What comes to your mind when you think about that river?
> …. (she was silent for a few minutes and seemed lost in her thoughts) ah.., that, for that moment, I mean, I was like, as I said I think I am stuck in the middle; I neither belong totally there nor belong here. I feel the same for Turkey as I feel for there. I mean half and half, I don't have a full thing for either of them I guess. I mean, that river… It is the only thing that comes… I mean nothing extreme… It comes for a moment and then goes." (Miss N)

Miss N chose an interesting idiom to express how she felt about her belongingness to the two countries. She said "ortada kalmış" in Turkish (translated as "stuck in the middle) which can be used for two meanings; one is referring to getting stuck in between two situations, persons or places, more like being indecisive; but the other refers to being left without a house or a home

which could be an important indication of how they feel about belonging to two countries. In other words, besides belonging to two countries at the same time, it could also mean belonging nowhere, like being homeless.

> "They call us "Bosniac Turks", it really is like that. When we go there I miss here automatically, when I am here ….. when we see our relatives, we miss there automatically….. I mean, it is not like belonging to one place, you know, everybody has this, for instance they say "I am from Sivas", "I am from Trabzon", a certain city in Turkey, what I have is like, I am Bosniac but I was born and raised here… When I go there for example they call us Turks, our relatives, they say 'they came from Turkey', but they really love Turkey (she stressed on the sentence), I mean, they may even love Turkey more than the people do here, there is a great admiration. For example, when I go there, there is an international football game, I support Turkey, but I am Bosniac (she laughs), it is really a weird feeling." (Miss T)

> "I am 22 years old, I have always been a Bosniac here, all of my Turkish friends have perceived me as a Bosniac I have played a role in this of course, because there is a side of me that is patriotic and I do not like it but I have to accept that it exists, and I've always brought it forefront, I have always put my identity forefront, I don't know why I did this, maybe I felt like I have to do this, but I did. And I have always been a Bosniac, in Serbia they call me "Turchin", Turkish, because I come from Turkey. First of all, I feel like I belong nowhere, I go there they call me Turkish, I come here they call me Bosniac, it is such a thing that, completely in between, maybe I should stay somewhere in Bulgaria, then I would go neither there nor here. Because actually I feel I belong there, I feel that place belongs to me, I said that I can't consider this city (Istanbul) as my own, but I guess they don't consider me as their own, the people here don't consider me as their own, and I stay in between." (Mr G)

"I think something attracts me there, I like it there, because I am already familiar with the language, they talk all the time, I liked there I mean, I do like there actually I know, I am from there. I mean, I feel myself like that, of course I am in Turkey now, Turkish, I am Turkish, but you know."
(Mr K)

4.4.2. Disintegration

It was noteworthy that sense of disintegration came out at different levels during the interviews; from the physical, geographical disintegration to the disintegration of the internal worlds of the participants.
Geographically, the family members, usually the siblings had been torn apart; while some of them had migrated, some did not, or they had migrated to different parts of the world. For instance, Miss S and Mr K emphasized disintegration of siblings:

"Firstly, actually, in 1958 my father's aunt comes here with her husband, moves here. Then other siblings, partly because their sister left, they afterwards, later, decide to come, but like this, three uncles, I mean three men including my grandfather and a woman come here, the other four sisters stay there, they have always lived there." (Miss S)

"Not everybody came here. Men have come for example, while women could not. On my father's side, my grandfather has four sisters, and one brother who is my grandfather. Only my grandfather came, because the others were married, they did not want to. But they are still there, only one aunt is alive on that side, I mean, my father's aunt….. They were scared a little bit, some did not want to, some wanted to just because they were Muslims." (Mr K)

Disintegration seemed not only relevant for the nuclear family members, but also for the relatives as well.

> "Most of our people are fallen apart around the world, there are the ones living in Bosnia, in Serbia, we have relatives living in Germany, and we have also relatives living in England. We have been scattered a lot. Just like that…" (Mr D)

Emotional disintegration was embedded within the geographical disintegration. While they were experiencing apart from their lands, they were also feeling apart from themselves, and as can be seen above, they actually have fallen apart from their own family members, sisters, brothers and other relatives.

> "There is nothing that can ease this pain, because you remain feeling torn into pieces." (Miss N)

> "I am sad actually, yes, I am sad because, how can I say, the family also gets disintegrated… for example I have my grandmother there, I have uncles there too, I have aunts, etc." (Mr G)

> "Our family members, you know, since Yugoslavia was disintegrated, stayed in Serbia, that for example, Serbians persecuted Bosnians, for they were Muslims, but now if we want to have citizenship, our own citizenship, we become Serbians….. We don't have a region, I mean Bosn---, they tell us for example, I say I am Bosnian, 'ah, Bosnia Herzegovina?', no, S--, I mean Novi Pazar, Serbia, they say 'ah, are you Serbian?', no you are not Serbian, but you see, they were disintegrated, for us it is Yugoslavia. They even disintegrated this! You don't have a flag, you don't know the language properly, it something that does not exist, it has been vanishing gradually…" (Miss N)

4.5. THE “LANGUAGE” OF “HOME”

The language and home appeared as major symbols during the interviews in many respects.

Language was found to be both a reminder and a carrier of the previous identity, and culture; it created a strong connection between the first and the third generation; by itself it was something that has been “kept alive” inside home, it created such a communication channel between the family members that the messages only “they” could understand passed through and perceived as a heritage that should be cared and transmitted to the following generations.

Home was another major theme that came to light with important implications for the third generation and their families. Having two “home”lands, having no “home” at all, staying in the same “home” in large numbers at first until building their own “home” in here which were constructed very close on purpose and attached to each other, the longings for, memories and fantasies about the “house” in which the father was born, or wishes to buy a “house” are only some of the commonalities that the participants had around the theme of “home”.

The “language” of “home” was meant to underline the strong connection between the two. In most of the excerpts, it can clearly be seen that when one is mentioned, either home or the language, the other is also there in some context. Forthermore, their native language is the language spoken in their home by their ancestors. The language is strongly related with the homeland as well. So the images of language and home seemed to go hand in hand, intertwined in a very complex way that they may even be serving the same, or at least very similar function in the process of transmission. That is why language and home were brought together as a theme named ‘the language of home’ hoping to reflect their nature in the psyche of the participants.

4.5.1. Native language

The language was mentioned explicitly as a carrier of the culture and identity and hence something that should be protected; and something that would be transmitted to the next generations.
Mr G clearly stated the importance of the language in terms of "telling" the children that they had come from somewhere else, and that there were stories to be told.

> "When I was at the 6th grade, I clearly remember that they were trying to enroll me to the Bosnian course. I had not known what it meant to be a Bosniac, what is ethnicity, I hadn't known the stories, the war, nothing, when they asked me I used to say 'I am Turkish', I didn't go to the course, I didn't want to, ….. but now I can understand why they wanted to send me, they wanted me to start from somewhere, give me the identity from somewhere. ….. This is why the language is so important. Because if I know the language the rest will come, if I know the language a lot of things will come. I don't know, maybe if we know the language better, if we investigate more, maybe one day we will be happier, I believe in that, I want to believe." (Mr G)

Learning the language seemed also closely associated with learning the culture and keeping the internal connection with the past and the group identity alive.

> "Even in our generation, this culture has started to vanish. In the simplest terms, it is really bad not knowing the language of your own country, I mean totally, the important thing is the flag and the language. ….. You don't have a flag, you don't know your language properly, it is something like it does not exist, it is vanishing gradually. For example, the course of Bosnian language started here (the Society), I hope it will continue and the ones who want to learn and keep it alive can do that. " (Miss N)

The language was presented as something that should be kept alive not only for the current generation but also for the next generation.

> "We have actually not been assimilated. But probably, our children's children in the future, I mean very, we will take them there I guess. I say, well, I would definitely take my child there, I would teach. I come here (the Society) to learn Bosnian, learn the grammar also. I say, well, I will definitely teach my child, why wouldn't he/she know? In the end, it is the language of my ancestors." (Miss T)

> "I would try to, you know, the traditions and customs, I would talk, take him/her (his child) there more often, I haven't been there much, I would take him/her, make him/her to…, there, that place, take him/her there and learn something from there bit by bit, learn the language, this is the main stuff I think." (Mr K)

As a response to the question of what would be symbolizing the whole migration process, considering the circumstances which led to it, the journey, and all the difficulties and suffering, one of the participants chose the native language as the symbol. Using language in a way that she mentioned seemed highly related to the fact that the native language in a "foreign" place was used to keep and hide things within the group, thus enhancing the group identity and bonding; moreover this showed the power of language in transmitting the verbal material, secrets, hidden messages, and affects etc. and in attracting the children to learn and use the language in order to figure out and be a part of the family's "secret" matters that was kept among adult members.

> "It may be our frequent use of native language. Because, for example, if there is something that we don't want anyone to know, and we want to tell it to each other at that moment but there are strangers around, we speak in Bosnian immediately, I mean so it is not known. But it is not to offend

anyone or something, I mean, even a small word at that moment, we realize that it connects us to each other. ….. From the youngest to the oldest, you know at least one word, I mean, even if he/she does not speak at all, he/she definitely understands. She would understand while listening her mother and aunt, in order to understand the conversation between her mother and aunt, like what are they talking hidden from me?, she would understand to figure that out. That's why the language is very important for us, I think this is what symbolizes everything, it just came to my mind now." (Miss S)

Language -and maybe what it all symbolizes with it- was found to be something that the first generation, especially the paternal grandmother transmits to the third generation directly. For some of the participants their grandmothers' speaking in Bosnian at home was the first indicator that the children started to realize their "foreignness". The language also seemed to be an important starting point in verbal transmission of the belongingness and identity of being Bosnian.

"My elder sister understands better, because before my (paternal) grandmother passed away, they used to talk at home all the time. Since she was very little, because my grandmother did not know Turkish, she only knew Bosnian, she (sister) had to understand and talk more than I did, it wasn't the same with me." (Miss N)

"They come to another country, they don't know the language, they came here and then learned the language. My (paternal) grandmother for example used to say (laughing), "grandmother speak Turkish" I used to say when I was, you know, little, because I was raised with Turkish as the native language, she used to say 'no', 'you speak Bosnian, I won't.'" (Miss T)

"My (paternal) grandmother knows Turkish but my (maternal) grandmother does not speak Turkish much, she understands Turkish but doesn't speak much, she only speaks Bosnian." (Mr K)

Bosnian language appeared to be *the language of home* in most of the participants' family. This was explicitly stated by Miss S and Mr G:

"We speak Bosnian at home all the time. I know Bosnian, because I was raised by my (paternal) grandmother and grandfather." (Miss S)

"Bosnian is the language spoken at home all the time. Bosnian tv channels are being watched all the time. ….. I mean, since we were born in this culture, you move to that side unintentionally, it happens naturally. For instance, the summer before my third year in primary school, they told me to learn Bosnian. They told me to learn, do whatever you have to do, but learn.
Interviewer: Who told you that?
My grandfather, my father, (paternal) grandmother, aunts, the whole family. In our Society also, they always tell us to learn, to learn Bosnian. Nobody tells you to be a Bosnian, you are a Bosnian, it is not that. But they say 'learn that language'." (Mr G)

"I speak partly in Serbian, since I learned it from the family, my (paternal) grandmother and grandfather did not know any Turkish, I had to learn it, it is also good for me of course. ….. For example, when a guest comes to our home now, and rings the doorbell, they ask who that is in Bosnian, 'ko eto?', I say for example, 'ya sem D.', that way I answer. My grandmother is still not good at Turkish, and since all our neighbors, relatives, all of us live close to each other, Bosnian is still being spoken." (Mr D)

> "My (paternal) grandmother did not really speak Turkish, she used to speak in Bosnian all the time, the first time, I think, why she was speaking like that, I mean when we were little, we couldn't understand truly, we were born in Turkey, raised here, but generally her, my cousin for example used to say "my grandmother speaks perfect English" (she was laughing), we used to think that it was English, I mean, we could understand as well, we understand my grandmother, all the things they say. We started with that, at that time I started to question, I mean, like, why is there a second language spoken, well, at that time we started to learn gradually that we came to this country. It is partly because they claimed and protected that language, because they spoke in Bosnian, that's why it aroused our curiosity." (Miss T)

One of the participants mentioned that every Bosnian living in Turkey know at least a word in Bosnian even though they do not know the language fully. Among the words known by almost everyone, "mayko" meaning "mother" appeared as the most important word. It was said to represent the loyalty to the mother, reminding the loyalty to the "motherland" through the "mother tongue".

> "For example there is the word '*mayki'*, it means darling, that everybody knows. Everybody tells this to the loved one. "*Mayko*" means mother. *Mayko* is the most important word I believe. Everybody says *mayko* somewhere, *mayko* means mother, but well, in a very absurd situation, you say like "oh *Mayko*", you show that you are surprised or like, you speak in Turkish, but you add *mayko* at the end, well, father is also "*babu*", but *mayko* represents the loyalty to the mother I think." (Miss S)

One participant mentioned Serbian as the native language, not Bosnian. When PI made a remark about that and asked that if there was any difference, he explained the two languages as two different ways of speaking the same language of the two groups of people living in the same country.

> "Let me tell you, for instance now we live in Turkey, there is the Ankara accent, the Istanbul accent, the Adana accent, the Antalya accent. Serbian and Bosnian are also like this, Croatian is also the same, only the accent changes". (Mr D)

4.5.2. "Kaeru": Going Back Home

"Japanese has a single verb, *kaeru*, that means return home, and only to your native home…. The Japanese also use *kaeru* when they talk about returning to their ancestral villages even if they have never lived there." (Seiden, 2009, p. 193).

Home emerged as a very important image and a symbol for both the external reality and the internal world of the participants. Especially during their visits to the homeland, the house that the father was born or a house that can be bought appeared important in terms of their memories and fantasies about "there". On the other hand, the home that they had built here by themselves (thier grandparents) also came out as a prominent theme for their settlement both physically and emotionally. And it is important to note that there were no questions in the interview regarding "home or house".

> "For example I wish, we have a house there. I wish we go there every year, let's say in summers, and stay for a month, that could have been really beautiful. I would have felt like I belong there more. Now I say, I am on both sides, for instance, if I could have been there even for a month, even for fifteen days, I would have felt like I belong there, I would learn the language. ….. We could have totally belonged there, we would know the language very well… You know there are summer houses and winter houses, being here would be like, being here is compulsory, we would come to work, then we would go back there, I mean, ove there it would be like vacation for us, here we work, ok it is over, then we go back there to live, it could have been beautiful." (Miss N)

> "When I went there, I saw the house where my father was born, it was ruined, but even though there had been a different thing in its place, I know its location, I saw it. It was beautiful. ….. what was left, the building was demolished, only two or three walls were there, think about it, it is small, I mean, maybe as big as this room, there are two, two corners are in sight, it is covered with greens all over… I said how could you live there? did you really live there? I went there alone, we have of course many relatives there but, I mean how, how many people could fit into that, "oh, we used to fit in there at that time", ….. it feels really weird to me how people were able to live there at that time, how they could bare…" (Miss S)

> "I went to Novi Pazar by bus, it took 17 hours, stayed there three days or something, saw the place where my father was born. ….. I toook a video there, and showed it to my grandfather, he started crying when he saw the place he was born, he was very moved." (Mr D)

> "We feel like, all of our relatives are there, as if we have a separate life, one here, one there…." (Miss T)

Miss T showed the picture of the house that her father was born in Sandzak from her phone. She said that her father took the picture of this house, and framed it as a big photograph and hanged it on the wall of the entrance of their house here where everyone can see while getting into their apartment.
While showing the picture:

> "This is now of course… One of my father's cousins did the thing to this house, this is how it was before restoration, he even bought the house now, I went to that house, I sat there, I ate food in there. ….. They do something, I liked it very much, every *bayram* (religious festival), ….. , all of our relatives (on his father's side, she called them by their surname like

all of the Z's) gather there during *bayram*. Because it is the place where all of them come from. ….. They all come together there, they lay tables, have fun there all together." (Miss T)

Mr B also showed the picture of the house where his father was born.

"This is the house that they had lived there. There is another house right behind this, it is a typical villa. The man bought this place. We want to buy the house from him, he doesn't sell us. ….. He only strengthened the foundation of the house, he did not touch anything on top, he didn't touch inside of the house for instance, he does not come into the house, he does not live there, but he protects the house. ….. The part down here is like a cliff (he showed an inclined green area in front of the house in the photograph). They always say that, our grand grandfather used to take his chair right here (on the grass) drank his coffee, smoked his cigarette and enjoyed himself, and I will do the same one they, they will see. Even though I don't smoke, I will do it." (Mr G)

Building their own houses in the new country is another common act about "home" which they mentioned. They have built new homes here, with their new lives inside….

"The siblings stayed close to each other, side by side, that's how they were able to cope as siblings, coming here as a family. Our homes, they usually built them together, they are next to each other. I mean, because they were always together as brothers and sisters, as siblings." (Miss T)

"Then they built the houses, gradually they did things here…" (Mr K)

"My grandfather coming here with four children, brothers, wife, without knowing the language, moving from one place to another in here also…

Our current home has four floors, but back then there was one room, eight children in it, they lived like that, then one more floor, one more, and then one more, they had four floors in the end. They suffered a lot. But definitely, I am proud of my father, my grandfather, my uncles, all of them." (Mr D)

"You don't know the language, you come here with no Turkish, you work… He got married here, established a family, built a house, for instance they stayed in a relative's place when they first came here, then he built his own house." (Mr G)

The participants usually mentioned going back home. When they visited the homeland, they felt like they could live there, and maybe they wished to be there all along.

"When we were returning here in the airport, I was going to cry, I said 'let's stay, let's not leave, please let something happen and and we don't leave'". (Miss T)

"I am saying it again, I would live there, I would go. I mean, it feels very, very good to be with them, I say I wish I were there." (Miss N)

"We have buses going from A. (district they live in Istanbul) to Serbia." (Mr D)

"Maybe I would have stayed there, moreover let me say, if I go back to Yugoslavia now, I wouldn't live in Novi Pazar, in Sandzak, I would live in Belgrade, ….., I would live in Zagreb, Sarajevo, …., in Sophia, …., in every capital of Yugoslavia other than Montenegro. …. Do I make myself clear? It is more than the question of, the answer to the question of where I

would go is probably to Turkey, but what I am obsessed is, would I have left? I think I wouldn't." (Mr G)

4.6. MECHANISMS OF TRANSMISSION

It is possible to mention many different ways and possible mechanisms of transmission from the material shared in the interviews. Four major transmission mechanisms emerged out of these possibilities as prominent and common among the participants. Although their explanations and evaluation will be provided in discussion, below you will find the material related with the themes emerged in this section.

4.6.1. Through symbolic events, remembrance, objects, pictures, songs

One of the interview questions was about recalling anything that might symbolize the whole migration process, the pain and suffering that their ancestors told, the migration journey, and all the other things they can think of. The answers consisted of many things that they came up with as symbols for the migration. And all these symbols, including objects, stories about remembrance, songs in Bosniac, certain events etc. were thought to be carriers of the transmitted material for the families and considered as a means of intergenerational transmission of trauma.

Miss N reported that she envisaged a memory as she was thinking of a symbol for the migration.

> "Something comes to my mind as an image, that thing I said, since it impressed me the most. When my grandfather's father had come with children, when that person who had promised him did not come… It is like, in a train station, in a terminal, I imagine that he was petrified there with the luggages, with children, all alone, this has a huge impact on me. This is what comes to my mind the most. Because you come to a foreign

country, somebody promises you, you don't know the language, you don't have a home, you don't have a homeland, you stay with your children, one is in your arms, two in your hands, all are little, it is very tragic. It is really like what happens in the movies, exactly like that, this is what comes to my mind the most, that image." (Miss N)

"What symbolizes all of the things happened for me is Srebrenitsa massacre for example, ….., all the things that have accumulated so far explodes there, whole world sees it, this is what symbolizes it for me." (Miss S)

"There was the Srebrenitsa genocide between Serbians and Bosnians, it has something like a requiem. Whenever I hear it, immediately these migration stories, the difficulties they had there comes to my mind. Also in the Society here, every Srebrenitsa, in July, there is an occasion as a remembrance, the commemoration occurs. ….. That requiem, the genocide has a requiem. Well, it says in this song, I mean requiem not the song, since it is in Bosnian, "Bosnia is my mother, Srebrenitsa is my sister, I will never be alone". ….. We wear these t-shirts (she brought a t-shirt as a gift and a souvenir which are prepared in every anniversary of Srebrenitsa and it writes "never forget" on it), there usually is a poster, we march together, or there is a monument place in M. (a district in Istanbul), we gather there." (Miss T)

"There is a picture at home, of the (paternal) grandmother and grandfather of my father, it definitely is that picture, his face, I mean, is like an exact copy of my grandfather.
Interviewer: Can you describe it a little bit?
Of course I can… Mustache, wrinkled-face, white skin, bald but there is little hair around here (showed the sides of his head), black suit. Grand grandmother, scarf, and her face is more strident, just like my (paternal)

grandmother is. Our elders are mostly, I mean they are not good-humoured, more like, of course they smile, in fact when they smile they smile beautifully but their normal look, if you see them on the street, they look tough, I mean.
Interviewer: Why do you think?
I think it is because of the war. Our people did not see the war but, a lot of relatives, acquaintances lived it, there are people who died in the war." (Mr D)

"We saw something, when our family came here, they were Yugoslavian citizens but they all did something, each and every one of them has papers, it is written, we requested it from Ankara when we were getting passports, we requested it, it was written that, for example a picture of my grandfather, and my father is very little like that sitting (he showed the position on the picture of his father sitting on his grandfather's lap), it was written , "stateless" ("vatansız" in Turkish) on it for instance, they left the country, the date, everything is written on it. …..
They ceased to be a citizen of Yugoslavia in order to come here, then they gave it [the paper] to Turkey, then they had Turkish citizenship. …..
The photograph is old like this, my father is little, different, my grandfather is like…, these kind of things are written on it, I could not understand everything, but "stateless" was written, I recalled it now, I mean, it is hard. My father was little, not aware of anything, going just like that…" (Mr K)

"There is a box that I could not get an access to, my grandfather has a box, it is the Pandora's box for me. A bunch of receipts may come out of the box, but I could not open that box yet, one day I will open that box, maybe after that there will be an object for me. ….. I don't know what is inside that box, I saw it, I asked for it three times, he didn't give it to me, I searched for it three other times by myself, I couldn't find it, but I will find

it. ….. I don't know if it is related to Bosnia, I can say I want it to be, I have that desire. Because it feels like, if I find that box, and some things come out of it maybe I will be able to figure some things out. For example, think like that, I open that box, photographs and documents about Bosnia come out of it ….. Think about it, what if the documents about there come out? I mean, with the state, a document that he took from the state. It could be any document, merely a birth certificate or a permission from the state. At least it will be, these are very simple things, in reality they will get me nowhere, but I think, for example now if I write a petition to the state and request something and a response would reach me, I would have a request, a purpose. When I capture such a document of my grandfather, at least I would know that, that reply reached him, my grandfather must have requested something, my grandfather did something, I mean, very simply, I would come and ask my grandfather, 'grandfather, why did you ask for this?' or a permission document, that the state gave him, for example, they migrated here, maybe the state gave him a permission document for migration, or to come here, to travel, maybe it was for vacation, and he took a permission document. ….. Even this information is very important for me, did they come here under the control and within the knowledge of Belgrade or did they flee and come?". (Mr G)

4.6.2. Through language

Native language, seen also above in the related sub-theme, can be considered to serve many different purposes within family, and its role in the tranmission of trauma was evaluated as a separate theme within the transmission mechanisms to underline its importance in relation to the subject of this study. Therefore, some of the excerpts that can be found below would be common among the two themes, but this time evaluated in terms the use of language as a transmission mechanism.
Language appeared to have an important function in the transmission of the migration process, the ancestors' previous identity, and culture. Thus we may

expect that language is used as a channel to transmit the traumatic material as well.

One of the participants reported that when children start to learn their ancestors' language, it starts with the curiousity about the secrets, hidden issues between the adults in the family. It is possible that the important issues in the family, the things that they didn't want "strangers" to know were told in Bosnian. Thus, it makes sense that the language becomes both the container and the channel of these hidden messages. The communication can be both verbal and nonverbal and only hearing the language, independent of its content, might give various messages simultanously, as can be seen in the excerpts below.

> "It may be our frequent use of our native language. Because, for example, if there is something that we don't want anyone to know, and we want to tell it to each other at that moment but there are strangers around, we speak in Bosnian immediately, I mean so it is not known. But it is not to offend anyone or something, I mean, even a small word at that moment, we realize that it connects us to each other. ….. From the youngest to the oldest, you know at least one word, I mean, even if he/she does not speak at all, he/she definitely understands. She would understand while listening her mother and aunt, in order to understand the conversation between her mother and aunt, like what are they talking hidden from me?, she would understand to figure that out. That's why the language is very important for us, I think this is what symbolizes everything, it just came to my mind now." (Miss S)

For most of our participants the language itself is something that was directly transmitted with all its emotional burden, from the first generation to the third generation.

> "My elder sister understands better, because before my (paternal) grandmother passed away, they used to talk at home all the time. Since she

was very little, because my grandmother did not know Turkish, she only knew Bosnian, she (sister) had to understand and talk more than I did, it wasn't the same with me." (Miss N)

"They come to another country, they don't know the language, they came here and then learned the language. My (paternal) grandmother for example used to say (laughing), "grandmother speak in Turkish" I used to say when I was, you know, little, because I was raised with Turkish as the native language, she used to say 'no', 'you speak in Bosnian, I won't.'" (Miss T)

"We speak Bosnian at home all the time. I know Bosnian, because I was raised by my (paternal) grandmother and grandfather." (Miss S)

"My (paternal) grandmother knows Turkish but my (maternal) grandmother does not speak Turkish much, she understands Turkish but doesn't speak much, she only speaks in Bosnian." (Mr K)

"I speak partly in Serbian, since I learned it from the family, my (paternal) grandmother and grandfather did not know any Turkish, I had to learn it, it is also good for me of course. ….. For example, when a guest comes to our home now, and rings the doorbell, they ask who that is in Bosnian, 'ko eto?', I say for example, 'ya sem D.', that way I answer. My grandmother is still not good at Turkish, and since all our neighbors, relatives, all of us live close to each other, Bosnian is still being used." (Mr D)

The language itself seemed to have become the tool to express that they came from another place, meaning that they had migrated from another country and once belonged somewhere else.

> "My (paternal) grandmother did not really speak Turkish, she used to speak in Bosnian all the time, the first time, I think, why she was speaking like that, I mean when we were little, we couldn't understand truly, we were born in Turkey, raised here, but generally her, my cousin for example used to say "my grandmother speaks perfect English" (she was laughing), we used to think that it was English, I mean, we could understand as well, we understand my grandmother, all the things they say. We started with that, at that time I started to question, I mean, like, why is there a second language spoken, well, at that time we started to learn gradually that we came to that country. It is partly because they claimed and protected that language, because they spoke in Bosnian, that's why it aroused our curiosity." (Miss T)

For the participants, it seemed that it was expected of them to learn their ancestors' native language, almost compulsory. The participants felt that someday it would be necessary, not knowing when or why; as if there is a day in future that would come and they will need their ancestors' native language for some reason.

> "They say 'learn Bosnian', they say 'look, it would be necessary', nobody says something like, 'you can use it in Serbia', just say 'look, you will use it, it would be necessary in the future', they say it might be useful at work, say this and that, but somehow through the language, they try to push us to accept this identity." (Mr G)

4.6.3. Reliving the experience through affect and/or narratives

When the elders of the family told a narrative, or mentioned a memory about the migration process they told it in such a way that they almost live that experience at that moment, their affect becomes live as if the event is hapenning just there, or the way they are affected by the experiences seemed to have passed onto the

participants as children while they were listening or witnessing the narratives or experiences.

> "There was an activity of the Society, this year during the end of October, or December, in that Sirkeci Terminal, I don't know if you remember. The train came, and people got off, etc. At that time, all our people went there, to relive that ambiance. It was the only time that they got very emotional, how they came here etc. was mentioned at that time, but other than that it is not mentioned at all." (Miss N)

> "She tells it in such a way as if she is still living in that moment, she is I mean, really proud that she came here, because she has overcome many difficulties there and came here, ….., but her behaviors, attitudes made me feel weird, like when she was telling I mean she actually lived it, what she experienced had a great impact, she feels the impact, but she does not regret that she had experienced them, she is aware that what she had lived turned into an experience for her." (Miss S)

> "I could only figure out my grandfather in Grand Bazaar, it happened truly by luck. He asked me once to take him to the other side of the city, to show him around. I said okay, he didn't want to go by ferry, he wanted to go by Marmaray (metro that connects the two continents in Istanbul), I said okay. We got off in Sirkeci station (terminal), we went out of the door, out to the train terminal, he looked around, he said, I don't know this place anymore. I said, granfather, this is the old train terminal, he turned around and said 'come with me', I said okay. We entered the Sirkeci terminal, the train station, we went through a few doors, the last door we went through was openning to the Bosphorus, the sea directly. He said 'do you know what this is?', I said 'what?', he said, 'to Istanbul', 'when I first came to Istanbul in 1965 alone, I first saw Istanbul through this door.' He stood there, he took pictures there, there is a road train (black old train),

there is a locomotive, he has his photo taken there, saying that I traveled with this. There he was filled with tears, he told me something there, then we sat in Grand Bazaar, he started to tell everything." (Mr G)

One of the participants was playing basketball and had traveled to Balkan countries many times for the games. Before he left for his visit to Serbia, his (paternal) grandmother, who was also the one who raised him, told him a story.

> "I know that it is an old story, my grandmother told me….. She told me that nobody trusts the Serbians, even Serbians do not trust Serbians. For example while sleeping in the same bed, man is Bosnian, woman is Serbian. The Serbian wife, while they were sleeping on the same bed, puts a knife under her pillow, while they were sleeping, the Serbian wife kills her husband by stabbing him. She told me a story like that, I remember it. She says noone can trust them, your girlfriend, your acquiantance, even if it is your wife, you cannot trust Serbians. I had a Serbian friend called Nicolas, he used to come to our house, we served him Bosnian food etc. She welcomed him but she told me to be very careful when I go to Belgrade, don't stay at his place, you stay on our own, she warned me." (Mr D)

4.6.4. Through silence

Although the main focus of this study was to understand the verbally transmitted material, especially the narratives; silence appeared as important in the transmission of the suffering and pain of the traumatic experiences, the things that are too harsh to be verbalized, to be symbolized. Therefore, the nonverbal part of the verbal communication was included in the transmission mechanisms super-theme.

“Some answers were contradicting, and I mean, I couldn’t make some of them agree to talk. I have seen, there were people that fought in the World War II, with Tito’s Partisans, taken as prisoners, sent to Spain, brought back, etc. They did not talk.” (Mr G)
“I asked my (paternal) grandmother, she did not say much… She doesn’t tell many things, I don’t know if she doesn’t want to tell. She tells some, says this and that, then it is done, that’s it.” (Mr K)

“When we came back from there, I asked all the time, especially at those times, because there is a longing or something, ‘why did we come?’ I ask, I mean the reasons throughly, well, because they say only migration usually, we don’t go into detail, that’s why it happens very slowly, gradually, by asking and asking again, at those times… (Miss T)

“The migration stories are not something that are spoken at home much, ….., these are the hearsays we hear time to time.” (Mr D)

CONCLUSION

"We may safely assume that no generation is able to conceal any of its more important mental processes from its successor."

(Freud, Totem and Taboo, 1913, p.159)

The main purpose of this study is to investigate traces of trauma in the third generation of Bosniac ancestors who have migrated to Turkey and compare the results with the previous findings in relevant literature. The research sample consisted of six third generation members, age 19 to 25 years old, whose families had to migrate from Yugoslavia to Turkey during the years of 1950s and 60s. The participants reported that their ancestors had to migrate because they felt threatened, discriminated, humiliated, and oppressed, that is to say, traumatized by an enemy group. The Balkans is a geographical area where wars and conflicts have prevailed for centuries. Hence, although this study focused mainly on the trauma of migration within the scope of current research, it is important to keep in mind that these people might have been carrying the traumatic heritage of many centuries, at least decades of disintegration of two empires, long years of Balkan Wars, as well as the two world wars. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with the participants and the data was analyzed by using the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Out of the data, six super-ordinate themes emerged: a) material transmitted to the third generation, b) adaptation and coping strategies to survive, c) making sense of migration, d) feeling fragmented, e) the "language" of "home", and f) the mechanisms of transmission. The super-ordinate themes were consisted of eighteen sub-ordinate themes: a1) inability to truly relate to the ancestors' suffering, a2) idealizing the ancestors, a3) duty to transmit to the following generations, a4) irredemable losses and pain; b1) working hard, b2) holding onto one another, holding onto life; c1) what does it mean to come from a migrant

family?, c2) feeling the pain of ancestors, c3) why did "they" come? did they flee or not?, c4) what if "we" didn't come?; d1) who are we? where do we belong?, d2) disintegration; e1) native language, e2) "kaeru": Going back home; e1) through symbolic events, remembrance, objects, pictures, and songs, e2) through language, e3) reliving the experience through affect and/or narratives, e4) through silence.

The results of the study provided consistent information with the previous literature on the psychology of migration and exile. The main commonalities among the themes emerged from the data provided by the third generation were: highly probable complications in the mourning process (Freud, 2014 [1917]) of the immigrants regarding the losses which occurred during the whole migration process (Volkan, 1993), the anxiety of annihilation of the ego (Klein, 1935; Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989), fears of persecution by a hostile external threat and/or real infliction of suffering, depressive anxiety in relation to the threat of and/or real harm done to the internal and external loved objects (Klein, 1935; 1940; 1948), feelings of guilt stemming from staying alive and leaving behind the loved ones in suffering (Niederland, 1968), and the defense mechanisms developed against all the turmoil, on the basis of complicated mourning.

The questions of the participants about the belongingness to the two countries and confusion about identity (*who are we? where do we belong?*), questioning their grandparents' decision to migrate (*why did "they" come? did they flee or not?*; *what if "we" didn't come?*), while *idealizing the ancestors* at the same time, efforts to understand the conditions that had forced them to leave their homeland (*feeling the pain of ancestors*; *inability to truly relate to the ancestors' suffering*), fantasies and wishes about the *home* there and even *going back home*, *holding onto each other*, the continuing importance of group identity, fear of *disintegration* and *native language* in terms of protection of the previous identity were interpreted as possible traces of the continuing work of mourning processes in the third generation. Hence, complication in mourning process of the ancestors appeared to be a strong possiblity to explain the transmition of the material to the

third generation participants. Within the scope of current study, it will be assumed that complications in mourning the losses of migration as a possible underlying mechanism or reason of the transmission of traumatic material; and the findings will be discussed accordingly.

Since the losses and mourning processes appeared as central among the findings as predicted; it would be meaningful to restate the words of Freud: "*Mourning is regularly the reaction to the loss of a loved person, or to the loss of some abstraction which has taken the place of one, such as one's country, liberty, an ideal, and so on. In some people the same influences produce melancholia instead of mourning and we consequently suspect them of a pathological disposition.*" (Freud, 2014 [1917], pp. 18-19). The grandparents of the participants had lost or experienced the threat of losing many things including the loved ones, home/house/homeland, country, ideology, language, parts of the self, feelings of security, the familiar geography and the non-human environment (Akhtar, 2010b), reputation, social status, agency of one's own life and future, and so on. These losses had occurred with many traumatic experiences, humiliation, pressure, discrimination, hatred of the persecutor, threats and fear of the life of one's own and their offspring. Under these circumstances, the Bosniacs had to leave their homeland and proceeded to a life of uncertainty, which was far from ending their suffering in the short term.

Besides all these, based on the results of this study, there is another factor which comes to the forefront, as might have complicated the mourning processes of the ancestors who had to migrate: *feeling "fragmented"*, a superordinate theme which emerged in this study, referring to the disintegration of both the external and the internal world of the ancestors, seemed to have profound effects. Interestingly, in English, the term "Balkanize" means to break up (as a region or group) into smaller and often hostile units (Merriam-Webster). Along those lines "Balkanization" is a term used to describe the division or fragmentation of a state or region into smaller, of the ethnically similar places. The civil war between the neighbors, "brothers and sisters" of the same land must have added upon the

already destructive nature of the conflicts. We may refer to Freud (2014 [1930]) in order to understand the nature of this conflict better:

> "The clue may be supplied by one of the ideal demands, as we have called them, of civilized society. It runs: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' It is known throughout the world and is undoubtedly older than Christianity, which puts it forward as its proudest claim. Yet it is certainly not very old; even in historical times it was still strange to mankind. ….. Why should we do it? What good will it do us? But, above all, how shall we achieve it? How can it be possible? ….. The element of truth behind all this, which people are so ready to disavow, is that men are not gentle creatures who want to be loved, and who at the most can defend themselves if they are attacked; they are, on the contrary, creatures among whose instinctual endowments is to be reckoned a powerful share of aggressiveness. As a result, their neighbour is for them not only a potential helper or sexual object, but also someone who tempts them to satisfy their aggressiveness on him, to exploit his capacity for work without compensation, to use him sexually without his consent, to seize his possessions, to humiliate him, to cause him pain, to torture and to kill him. *Homo homini lupus*." (pp. 66-69)

During Balkanization, neighbors literally became enemies, people had been threatened, humiliated, discriminated, and even killed by their neighbors. In this study, it was reported that Balkanization created such horror that it even became impossible to trust one's own wife while sleeping in the same bed. The perceived threat was so close and unpredictable. In these circumstances, noone could be trusted. I would like to suggest that this brought an additional horror and sorrow to the ones who were victimized as a result of internal wars compared to the wars happenning between two different countries and totally different groups of people. What happened in the Balkans took place between (despite all their differences) the people (family) of the same land (home) who even spoke the same language (native language). Fonagy (1999) explains the massive effect of the events such as

an internal war or the Holocaust as being similar to child abuse which is particularly more destructive when it comes from a family member or a loved one.

> "Mindless persecution destroys our deepest-rooted and most cherished expectations about human behaviour, that it is regulated by a mutual recognition of mental states. The genocide occurred within countries, rather than through external attack, the victims were tortured and degraded by fellow members of a community, people like the victims. Just as child abuse is particularly damaging when perpetrated by a family member, so we may expect persecution to be annihilating when it is carried out by people whom we might otherwise trust to reaffirm our intentionality. Yet when those people ignore our cries, pay no heed to our evident suffering, we know that this can be achieved only by abolishing a picture of us as psychological beings." (p.109)

As seen in the current research, most of the material transmitted to the third generation and reactions of all three generations to the migration could both indicate the unfinished, complicated, prolonged and transmitted mourning; and also defences against disintegration and fear of annihilation. According to Grinbergs (1984) "*Migration would fall into the category of the so-called "cumulative" and "tension" traumas, with reactions not always spectacular, but with profound and lasting effects*." (p.16) and "*the specific quality of reaction to the traumatic experience of migration is the feeling of helplessness. This feeling is based on the experience of object loss which may bring as a consequence the threat of disintegration and dissolution of the ego*." (p.17). This might also be the reason why mourning might have taken so long for our participants. Because if the new identity of the new place could be accepted and integrated, then they would have to accept the losses and continue living with what they have now, but it seemed still difficult for the participants to integrate the two identities (*who are we? where do we belong?*) Although there is not an actual threat to their survival, in the host country at least, they still seemed to feel as if there is a threat and live accordingly. The theme of survival appeared in the responses about their need to

stay close and stick together (*holding onto one another, holding onto life*) as if there is still a threat outside and they can only be protected through holding onto each other. Another theme that can be thought as an indication of the perception of threat is their holding onto the previous identity (group identity here) and possible resistence of integration with the current identity in the new country. Survival is a common theme that the children of immigrants carry for generations, as Kestenberg put it "*regardless of the manner in which the parent-child relationships developed, they all seemed molded by the overpowering threat to the survival of a whole people. Under the shadow of genocide, each and every one was faced with the question: Shall we survive in our children and childrens' children and thus give an unequivocal answer to the attempt to extinguish us?*" (Kestenberg, 1980, p. 776).

It is possible that the threat was so massive that the grandchildren are still living as if the threat pursues. In a sense, it actually pursues for them. Since they still preserve their former identity and the bonds with the homeland are still intact, the threats against the lives of their relatives and members of the same group there affect the Bosnians living here. This doubleness in their internal and external life (*who are we? where do we belong?*; *native language*; *"kaeru":Going back home*) could make the work of mourning much more complicated. Thus, one may consider that the reactions reported by ancestors that they needed to hold onto one another, stick together, "covered themselves with each other" in order to hold onto life (*holding onto one another, holding onto life*), are relevant for the third generation as well. *Holding onto one another* might have been very useful while trying to survive under the conditions of the past, however for our participants today, it might also mean sticking to the previous group identity and being unable to integrate it with the current identity. This result also supports the suggestion of Volkan (2001a) that after the massive psychological trauma, the bonding between the group members gets stronger and group identity becomes more important than the individual identity. Perception of the group identity of our participants with the members here and there, and all the other Bosnians around the world, could be

interpreted as an attempt to heal the narcissistic wounds created in the grandparents with the threat of extinction by the enemy group and a means to realize the wish of identifying with the good breast and the omnipotent mother (Chasseguet-Smirgel, 2005 [1975]). From the perspective of group psychology, the ego-ideal (Freud, 1998 [1914]) that is projected to the group identity, being Bosniac in the case of our participants, could function as a compensation for the lost omnipotence as a result of the repression, humiliation, and helplessness created for the long years of war and conflict, or simply against Balkanization. The importance of the group identity could be interpreted in terms of manic defenses developed in the face of the threat of persecution and annihilation as well (Klein, 1935). Some aspects of the Bosnian identity such as *idealization of the ancestors* and *working hard* could also be evaluated together with the projection of the ego-ideal to the all Bosniacs around the world. According to Klein (1935; 1940) omnipotence, idealization and denial are closely related to each other as well as to ambivalence and constitute fundamental parts of the manic defences. In the face of extreme frightfulness of internal or external persecutors, the innate fear of annihilation is triggered (Klein, 1948). Idealization of the "good objects" (Klein, 1935), *idealizing the ancestors*, provides an essential mechanism to the child when he/she is not able to cope with the threat and fears of persecution. Therefore, it is possible that the immigrant families of the participants were unable to mourn their losses due to various reasons. For example, *working hard* may serve different functions: on the one hand, it may indicate resorting to manic defenses (Klein, 1935; 1940; 1948). It might help to feel self-sufficient, being able to meet one's own needs. When participants mentioned their ancestors' *working hard* to prove that they were not a threat to anyone in the host country and they could feed themselves on their own, as if they don't need anyone, this is reminiscent of the omnipotent defense that denies the need for others, developed against the helplessness, humiliation and fear of life that they had experienced. However, it is also important to indicate the power of and creativity in *working hard* in terms of the adaptive advantages and power. The ancestors' achievement of building a new life here, by building their own houses, by getting a job in the

new country that they did not even know the language were all elements of working really hard, and at the same time an important idealization of the founding fathers of the family (*idealizing the ancestors*). Three of the six participants stated that they work in part-time jobs while they also study at the university. They talked about themselves, their parents, and grandparents as if they needed to work, needed to do something all the time, that they could not stand a moment without doing something, again bringing to mind the possiblity of them using manic defence mechanisms. These defenses and their operation in the three generations were interpreted as reactions against traumatic losses (Klein, 1940).

Another source of anxiety for the ancestors was leaving the previous group identity which may also mean that if they leave it, they would get extinguished similar to what their perpetrator wanted to achieve before. These paranoid anxieties are explained as an important result of intensive and true panic in immigrants since they have to face severe difficulties like loneliness, leaving their homeland and native language, founding a life in a totally strange place, finding a job and a new home etc. (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1984). Therefore, they continue living nested, because the external world still poses a threat to them.

Srebrenica genocide in July, 1995 occurred while the families of the participants had already migrated to Turkey and had been living in a safer environment. Although their place of origin was in Serbia and Novi Pazar was not part of the massacre, the people who were murdered were Bosniacs, and they were slaughtered because of their ethnic and religious identity. Volkan and his colleagues (2002) mention the indirect traumatization of the people that belong to the same group identity, although they are not directly exposed to the traumatic experiences which were caused by an enemy group intentionally to the other members of the group. Given this unique effect of massive trauma, we may think that Bosniacs living in Turkey could also have been traumatized or retraumatized by the killings in Bosnia. The massacre might have triggered the past traumas in

these people, this might also be a reason for the complications in their ongoing mourning processes.

As Freud pointed out (2014 [1917]), reality testing is essential for the work of mourning. As long as the existence of the threat to survival continues in the internal world even though it does not in the external world anymore, the mourning process could not be completed. The complications get even worse since the threat for the Bosniacs prevails in the homeland. They cannot feel comfort and at ease here even though they are not physically in danger. Besides, the guilt (Niederland, 1968) of being in Turkey and not in Serbia, being in a safer place as opposed to their relatives who are in danger, and the fact that the ones in Turkey do not share the destiny of the ones who are in Serbia although they belong to the same group that has been threatened deserves consideration as well.

The participants' reporting of the tendency of Bosniac people who migrated to Turkey to *hold onto one another* and their connections with Bosnians who had stayed in the homeland can be understood in terms of *intramural refueling* and *extramural refueling* (Akhtar, 2010a), respectively. It is probable that refueling makes it possible to protect the connection with their homeland in their internal world. However, when lost objects are still longed for, it may turn into a melancholic pathology which would prevent the initiation of a new life in a new place, because the libidinal energy would still be attached to the lost objects and could not be released to be invested in the new external world. In other words, adaptation to reality could be invaded by the simultaneous living in the past and the present (Kestenberg, 1982).

When the participants mentioned the irreparable losses and the pain, as bygones are bygones, it was considered whether this could be the work of reality testing, yet the data was not clear enough to reach that conclusion. The theme of *irredeemible losses and pain* could be used with different meanings by the participants such as nothing now could ever be as it was back then, or nothing can change what happened, or it is such a loss that we will always feel something is missing, or we accept the losses, this cannot be changed but we can continue our

lives with what we have today, and so on. They might all use this phrase with different meanings or each one of them may use it differently from time to time. Therefore, this theme was interpreted as an ongoing mourning work that varies for each participant. However in any case, based on the responses of the participants, it is possible to suggest that mourning is something that has been commended, transmitted, or deposited (Volkan, 1987) to the third generation, supporting this hypothesis is a shared message from our participants who repoted that 'we lost such things that it ruined everything and we wish that it had never happened'.

One of the possible meanings of *home* and *native language* themes for the participants could be the denial of or an attempt to repair the losses. As if their home is still there, their native language is not lost, as if they were not *disintegrated*. If they can preserve the language, they may resist against the dissolution. The language is something that they could carry with them, something that is still alive. Knowing Bosnian language might function as the proof that they actually were and are Bosniacs, that they had actually lived there, they had a culture, and this could be such a strong symbolization that if they lose the language, they would lose everything. One of the participants said:

> "This is why the language is so important. Because if I know the language the rest will come, if I know the language a lot of things will come. I don't know, maybe if we know the language better, if we investigate more, maybe one day we will be happier, I believe in that, I want to believe." (AB)

It was almost a romance that was described, like the old and good days would come and it is somehow strongly related to the native language.

This might help us understand how *language* and *home* were so attached to each other both in the narratives they told, and their fantasies about the "homeland". These two concepts seemed intertwined in terms of both their symbolic meanings and the functions in the transmission of trauma for our participants.

The traces of the things that leave a mark on one generation are embedded in the language to be transmitted to the next generation (Tzavaras & Tzavaras, 2009) and its role may vary depending on what it represents for particular cases (Meshulam, 2009). For example, the Jewish people until Israel was founded had no country but their language. While they were living in "foreign" countries, their language was used at home and transmitted to the next generations, similar to the situation in Bosniac families mentioned by our participants. The language for the participants symbolized being closed, different, separate, and carrying secrets; while enabling the feelings of belongingness and understanding (Meshulam, 2009). These may also be relevant for our participants' use of Bosnian language. As the excerpts above showed, *language* was something to be learned in order to satisfy the curiosity of children; since the children thought that the *native language* of the ancestors carried secrets between the adults of the family. It also served as a point whereby the children started to realize that they had come from somewhere else, that is the language represented the origin of the family by underlining their difference from the rest of the people around. This brings us to the issue of the transmission of the identity through language. Tzavaras & Tzavaras (2009) propose at least two different functions of the language; one is the *maternal language* which is the language of the feeding mother and her substitutes, and the other is the *matrix language* that gives the child his/her identity by the mother's naming the nonverbal reponses of the baby through the language (p.118). The former is the language that soothes the baby in the face of a danger created by helplessness; while the latter has an important role in identity formation by recognizing the uniqueness of each baby through naming and marking him/her within the chain of lineage. The use of Bosnian language in the transmission of identity could be one of the most useful tools that the families used, because the *native language* is considered as the most appropriate tool for hiding and transmitting permanent marks across generations, even though people are silent, words are censored, and noone mentions about them (Tzavaras & Tzavaras, 2009). The mother tongue is an emotional language, it is the language that the feelings go through (Tesone, 2014). It is also something of which

importance is perceived only in the absence of it. The *language* is something that has been taken for granted as naturally as who the mother is to the baby, or the *house* in which one was born, or the *motherland* in which one lives. Only when the ancestors migrated and lost them, they could understand how strongly the libido had been attached to what they have lost. Therefore, thinking about the importance of Bosnian language for our participants, beyond all its possible meanings, symbolizations, and roles mentioned here and more, seemed closely related to their lost identity, culture, motherland and their attempts to keep the connections with the lost parts of themselves alive in their internal world, as if they had never lost it.

"*Writing was in its origin the voice of an absent person; and the dwelling-house was a substitute for the mother's womb, the first lodging, for which in all likelihood man still longs, and in which he was safe and felt at ease.*" (Freud, 2014 [1930], p. 50).

The language is a lot more than mere communication or a collection of words or sentences; it emerges out of "imaginary pictures" (Hagglund, 1995, p. 67). For example, the words of "home" or "house" are just simple as they are; but house or home in a particular person's memory or experience becomes a metaphor, "a word-picture" for that individual (p. 67). Therefore when the stories or the memories of a *home* "there" where the father was born or "here" which had been built by the elders of the family, these houses become something more than what they actually are through the use of language, the narratives told about them, and the words and the sound used inside of the houses.

According to Akhtar (2010b, p. ix) "*the story of immigration is the story of human ambition as well as human restlessness, of human escape as well as human freedom, and of the human need to stay close to a 'home-base' for safety and solace and the human desire to venture away from it for excitement and discovery*.". *Home* or house is found to be meaningful for the immigrants as much as it is to any human being. However, it gains much more significance for people who had to leave their homes behind involuntarily and try to find or build another

one. In the case of migration, "*one's break with home is involuntary and psychologically violent*" (Akhtar, 2010b, p. 7). Leaving home brings separation from many things that have been attached to it, not only physically but also psychologically.

Joannidis (2013) proposes different ways to understand the meaning of returning home. The concept of home might have a range of meanings from "a particular house one lives in, a house one was born, a certain geographical area that one knows that the ancestors had lived before, to the feelings of belongingness, identity, or it could define a certain time of one's life experienced before or wish to experience in the fantasies" (p.30). Wish to *go back home* in that sense, could mean a wish to go back to a certain time in the past and represent a desire to and idealization of those times (Joannidis, 2013). While the participants were talking about their *homes*, they usually mentioned two homes; one was the home "there", the house that the father was born, or the house that they wished to own "there" one day and use as a base even though they spend most of the year in Turkey; while the second home was the one that their ancestors built "here" after migration in the same neighborhood with other Bosniacs, relatives, and acquaintances. This doubleness of their tangible homes was also salient in their identities. The questions of where they belong, who they really are, Bosnians, Turks, or Bosnian Turks (*who are we? where do we belong?*) showed that they mostly felt like they have two countries, two homelands. Considering many researches on having two countries and two cultures, which is also called biculturalism (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee & Morris, 2002; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Nguyen, & Benet-Martinez, 2012), it can be suggested that the integration of the two identities can be enriching for the individuals, however we need to remember that the grandparents of our participants had to give up their previous identities involuntarily. Before they migrated to Turkey, they had to cease their Yugoslavia citizenship, and become "stateless" for a period of time until they came to and acquired citizenship from Turkey. Such a forced detachment from the previous identity, even though in legal terms, must have had

a psychological counterpart in their internal world. Moreover, they were used to be perceived as "the others" in their previous homeland; and they started to be perceived as "the others" in their new homeland as well. Therefore, we may suspect that the doubleness in the nature of the "*home*" and "identity" could be an indication that they were not able to mourn the traumatic losses of their home and achieve a real integration of the two identities. Although it is only a possibility that the grandchildren are still feeling disintegrated in terms of the identity; two *languages* and two *home* could be the result of this *disintegration*, as much as they could be a cultural enrichment for both the immigrants themselves or their grandchildren and the people of the host country. In any case, it is important to underline this duality in terms of its difficulties to adapt and integrate.

Klein (1963) talks about the inner sense of loneliness which is independent of the objective external situation one lives in, no matter how crowded or alone one physically is, and she suggests that it is "*the result of a ubiquitous yearning for an unattainable perfect internal state*" (p. 300). It is the longing for "*the most complete experience of being understood and is essentially linked with the pre-verbal stage*" (p. 301) between the mother and the child. Joannidis (2013) connects the understanding of Klein of the pre-verbal and almost somatic shared experience and concludes that "*home*" could be something that replaces the archaic maternal body (soma). As Klein (1963) proposes, this internal feeling of loneliness stems from the depressive feelings after an iirreversibleble loss and *irreparable pain*. Therefore, as Joannidis (2013) put it, "nostalgia", meaning the psychic pain of returning home, constitutes the core issues about *going back home*, which is actually a work of mourning. And we can only imagine how painful and lonely the ancestors must have felt. In that sense, we could only hope to understand the importance of the *home* that they had lived there once upon a time, and the *home* they built here with their own hands in the new country. *The "language" of "home"* becomes more meaningful in the sense that they both carry, hide, protect, and maybe work through the nostalgia (Volkan, 1999), the

longing for the past, the hopes for the future, the untold secrets of the family, and the pain of mourning inside the new walls they built.

Feeling of loneliness is also related to the inability to integrate in the psychic world of the individual (Klein, 1963). Although Klein mentions integration of the internal good and bad objects of the infant; we may apply this to the group of our participants' ancestors who had been traumatized by the external destructive forces and might have regressed to the early stages of development.

> "One of the factors which stimulates integration is that the splitting processes by which the early ego attempts to counteract insecurity are never more than temporarily effective and the ego is driven to attempt to come to terms with the destructive impulses. This drive contributes towards the need for integration. For integration, if it could be achieved, would have the effect of mitigating hate by love and in this way rendering destructive impulses less powerful. The ego would then feel safer not only about its own survival but also about the preservation of its good object. This is one of the reasons why lack of integration is extremely painful." (p. 301)

While the threat of annihilation continues both externally and internally, integration would be very difficult to accept. There would be an increase in the paranoid feelings and suspicion, which will result in the sense of loneliness.

Lastly, I would like to mention a very important concept of Ferenczi which is "identification with the aggressor" (Ferenczi, 1988 [1933]), that might help to undersand the attitude of the host country in the welcoming the immigrants and its underestimated yet very powerful and inevitable impact on the traumatization of the already traumatized, exiled in our context, populations.

In his paper "Confusion of tongues between adults and the child: The language of tenderness and of passion", Ferenczi (1988) mentions "traumatic aloneness" or "emotional abandonment" as the core of the trauma, because it inevitably leads to dissociation and identification with the aggressor. According to him, and to many

other theorists who work with child abuse victims, if the child is emotionally abandoned by the "other parent" in a moment that he/she is in a desperate need for help, this creates an unbearable pain for the child and causes permanent damages (Herman, 1992; Reisner, 2003; Frankel, 2004; Slavin & Pollock, 2013). Ferenczi believed that the child could bear almost anything as long as he/she has someone who shares one's fear and pain. When the other parent turns back to the reality of trauma, denies it, stays silent, insists on not seeing, not knowing, not speaking, then the child is left alone and helpless which is even more traumatic and destructive than what the persecutor himself did (Herman, 1992). Identification with the aggressor is not only a trap for "the other parent", but also for the "analyst" during the therapeutic relationship (Frankel, 2004). What Ferenczi called as "parental hypocrisy" manifests itself in clinical settings as "*professional hypocrisy*" which was described by him: "*A great part of the repressed criticism felt by our patients is directed towards what might be called professional hypocrisy.*" (p. 198). The mask of goodness, and insincerity felt by the patients, according to him, repeats the traumatic family situation for the victims.

Keeping in mind that these observations and propositions have been made on the basis of clinical cases and at individual level, we may try to apply it to the group level to be able to explain and understand the psychology of Bosniac people, at least our participants, better and to underline the importance of the role of the host country.

For Bosniacs, Turkish Republic can be considered as "the other parent", since the Bosniacs became Muslim under the rule of Ottoman Empire, and had been a part of the Empire for almost four hundred years. The Sandzak region, which is the origin of our participants' ancestors, was itself founded and named by the Ottomans. Moreover, Bosniacs were murdered by the Serbians as a revenge of a defeat by Ottoman Empire in Kosovo War, 1389 (Volkan, 2002; 2006a). Therefore, their emotional connection is not limited to a connection they would have with any country that they could have migrated, but much more, because it is like a connection with a previous and now a current parent.

As mentioned above, the legal recognition of the immigrants is very important and it directly affects the continuity of their identities both externally and internally (Volkan, 1993; Volkan, 2007a; Akhtar, 2010a). Since the Turkish Republic is a member of the United Nations, it recognized the Srebrenica Genocide through the UN's sentence (Spijkers, 2009). However, in 2016, there was a legislative proposal made to the Turkish Parliament requesting the recognition of the Serbians' slaughter of Bosnians on the day of July 11th, 1995, in the city of Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina as genocide and announcing that day as the 'Memorial Day for Srebrenica Genocide' (Turkish Grand National Assembly, 2016). This proposal is still being delayed in the Commision for approval which reminds the parental hypocricy that Ferenczi mentioned. Turkish Republic, as the host country for thousands of Bosniac immigrants including our participants' families, seemed to fail in truly understanding and sharing the pain of Bosniacs. Even though the Bosniacs were accepted to live here and they were given citizenship without any conditions, it seems possible, at least from the perspective of our participants, that Bosniacs have felt left alone with their struggles for adaptation to a totally new country and their fight for national and international recognition of the pain and suffering inflicted upon them. That's why how the immigrants are welcomed is very important. Therefore the way the host country welcomes the immigrants d is very important. Bosniacs were accepted here with courtesy, yet at the same time they were ignored in different ways. They were discriminated as "the others" there, and then they also became "the others" here. They were welcomed as Muslim sisters and brothers, but they were also called "the bastards of Tito" (Mr G) in Turkey.

Another important point in relation to that may require to remember Ferenczi's (1988 [1933]) and Frankel's (2004) warnings about the countertransference and identification with the aggressor; "*Analysts' identification with patients as aggressors can manifest in many ways: compulsive compassion; empathy that does not feel deeply rooted; warmth or involvement that feels superficial; complying with patients' demands against one's own better judgement; ..... not*

knowing what you feel or not thinking clearly in a patient's presence; feeling obligated to be extra 'good'; or else tiredness, boredom, or resentment as a resistance to identifying and 'losing' one's self. The irony of these strained attempts to comply and be with patients is that patients may detect the underlying falseness, tension, and resentment and feel further emotionally abandoned." (Frankel, 2004, p. 80). It is highly probable that similar attitutes occurred in some groups of people in Turkey who welcomed Bosnians, or in bureaucratic processes. These attitudes are actually far from being empathic, containing, holding and sincere and could be manifestations of an unconvincing hypocrisy stemming from the underlying identification with the aggressor, a way to ignore the reality of the trauma. We believe that the consequence of these attitudes is "traumatic aloneness" or "emotional abandonment" and as Ferenczi and many others mentioned it causes dramatic and long-lasting damages than the trauma itself did. In the end, the immigrants try to *hold onto each other*, stick together to prevent and resist *disintegration*, use defence mechanisms such as splitting, idealization, denial, or omnipotence; which ends up in the transmission of the task to resolve the unresolved conflicts and mourn the unmourned losses to the following generations.

In sum, along with the consistent results with literature, I believe I have come across some unanticipated results as well. Although it might be out of the scope of the current study, I suggest that the residue or deposited (Volkan, 1987) material from the cumulative and repetitive struggle of survival in Balkans starting from the mid 19th century could still be visible in this generation. The annihilation anxiety or disintegration (Klein, 1935) might be something that started at a much earlier time and is transmitted to this generation and manifested itself in the efforts of survival, complicated mourning reactions, *making sense of migration*, and protection of their identity. Thus, further research which includes other migrated populations, compares different Bosniac populations in Turkey, widening the range of the traumatic experiences to include earlier historical events (at least the consecutive wars in the last century) is needed in order to elaborate

this subject. Also, while mentioning the historical wars that occurred in Anatolia and in the old lands of the Ottoman Empire (e.g. Balkan Wars), it is suggested that the term "internal/civil war" is used since it seems different than the wars occurred between two different countries in terms of the psychological consequences. And lastly, the term Balkanization, used in international relations, seemed to provide an important proof of that. By considering its disastrous impact on the psyches of the people of whom the lands were "disintegrated", it is suggested that when "Balkanization" is used in the context of international relations, the internal fragmentation experienced by those who have been subjected to the traumatizing war and migration experiences is also considered as a natural consequence of it.

These considerations could also be useful for their clinical implications in the therapeutic process with the grandchildren of massive trauma survivors. Besides the warnings of Ferenczi and Frankel mentioned above, the importance of constructing narratives about the traumatic experiences of their ancestors could be noteworthy as well. At the end of the interviews, most of the participants stated that this was the first time that they talked about their families' migration stories that way, they had not even thought about it in as much detail as the interview before and they would go home, ask more questions about the gaps in the narratives which they just realized while talking about it. This might give us an idea about the importance of the verbalizing of traumatic experiences, creating and retelling the narratives, and its effects in terms of symbolizing the unsymbolized material which would be very meaningful in terms of the therapeutic work with such patients. Another suggestion for the clinical work in Turkey -which is a country inhabiting many immigrant populations and has centuries-old war and exile experiences- would be underlining the importance of patients' narratives of the families' migration process that could be very important in terms of understanding and working through the unfinished psychological tasks transmitted to them by their ancestors.

As limitations of study; although the number of the participants and the homogeneity of the sample, and the use of qualitative research method provided an opportunity to understand a specific group of people more deeply, they also pose a limitation in terms of the generalizability of the findings to other groups of Bosniac immigrants or other immigrant groups in Turkey. The scope of this study consisted mainly of the transmission of trauma related to the immigration process which is another limitation of the study, because, as suggested above, the Bosniacs in Balkan region have experienced other severe traumas of wars and conflicts that might have intertwined with the transmission of migration trauma to the next generations. Lastly, current study only focused on the Bosniac families in a particular area of Istanbul; different narratives and experiences could be found in different Bosniac populations living both in Istanbul and other cities of Turkey.

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Annex 1: Informed Consent Form

Gönüllü Onam Formu

Sayın Katılımcı;

1912 sonrası Balkan Göçmenlerinin göçe dair deneyimlerinin aile içinde nasıl aktarıldığını araştırmayı hedefleyen bu çalışmaya katılımınız rica edilmektedir. Bu çalışma Sema Sözer Dabanlıoğlu'nun İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Klinik Psikoloji yüksek lisans programında Yard. Doç. Dr. Zeynep Çatay danışmanlığında hazırlayacağı bitirme tezini oluşturmaktadır.

Çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ederseniz, sizinle bir hafta arayla yaklaşık birer saat süren iki görüşme yapılacak ve iki nesil öncesinde göç etmiş olan aile üyelerinizden aktarılan göç deneyimine dair hikaye, öykü, anı, masal, ninni gibi anlatıları paylaşmanız istenecektir. Çalışmaya katılarak göç gibi önemli olayların bireyler, aileler ve kuşaklar üstündeki etkilerinin daha iyi anlaşılmasına ve bu deneyimle ilgili daha etkin klinik ve sosyal desteklerin sağlanmasına katkı veriyor olacaksınız.

Bu çalışma kapsamında yapılan görüşmeler daha sonra yazıya aktarılmak üzere ses kayıt cihazıyla kaydedilecektir. Yazıya aktarıldıktan sonra bu kayıtlar silinecektir. Toplam 6 kişiyle yapılan görüşmelerde alınan bilgiler kimlik bilgileriyle eşleştirilmeden, sadece bilimsel yayın amacıyla kullanılacaktır.

Çalışmada anlatacağınız öykü, hikaye, anı vb. nedeniyle üzüntü ve kızgınlık gibi duygular deneyimleyebilirsiniz; fakat bunların görüşme sonrasında uzun süre devam etmesi veya yaşamınızda bir olumsuzluğa neden olacak şiddette olması beklenmemektedir. Rahatsız edici duygular görüşmeden sonra devam ettiği takdirde, ihtiyacınız doğrultusunda profesyonel destek alabileceğiniz kişi ve kurumlara yönlendirme yapılacaktır. Görüşmeye katılım tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır. İstediğiniz noktada görüşmeyi sonlandırabilirsiniz.

Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Yrd. Doç. Dr. Zeynep Çatay Çalışkan (zeyep.catay@bilgi.edu.tr) veya Psk. Sema Sözer Dabanlıoğlu (sozer.sema@gmail.com) ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Bu bilgilendirilmiş onam belgesini okudum ve anladım. İstediğim zaman bu araştırmadan çekilebileceğimi biliyorum. Bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ediyor ve bu onay belgesini kendi hür irademle imzalıyorum.

Katılımcı Adı Soyadı:		*Tarih ve İmza:*
Adres ve Telefon:		

Araştırmacı Adı Soyadı:		*Tarih ve İmza:*
Adres ve Telefon:		

Annex 2: Interview Questions

1. Görüşmeye başlarken, öncelikle sizi biraz tanımak istiyoruz. Yaşınız, mesleğiniz gibi sizi tanımamıza yardım edebilecek bazı bilgilerden bahsedebilir misiniz?

2. Sizinle daha önce paylaştığımız gibi, göç ve bunun sonuçlarıyla ilgili çalışıyoruz. Sizin aileniz de iki nesil öncesinde Balkanlardan Türkiye'ye göç etmiş. Bu göçle ilgili konuşarak başlayabiliriz. Her türlü ayrıntıdan istediğiniz kadar söz edebilirsiniz. Çalışmanın herhangi bir yerinde, herhangi bir gerekçeyle çalışmaya devam edemeyecek kadar rahatsız hissederseniz durabiliriz.

3. Bu oldukça etkileyici bir hikaye. Siz bu hikayeyi kimlerden dinlediniz ve en az sizin kadar ayrıntılı bir şekilde bilen başkaları var mı ailede? Onlar kimler?

4. Bu göç ve yerleşme serüveni sizde ne tür duygular uyandırıyor?

5. Sizce aileniz geçmişte ve halen bu sarsıcı deneyimle başa çıkabilmek için ne tür yöntemler bulmuş olabilir? Ve bunlar ne kadar başarılı olmuşlardır?

6. Size göre tüm bu serüveni en iyi anlatan ve deneyimleten hikaye ya da bir sembol, söz, masal var mıdır ve varsa ne olabilir?

7. Tüm bunların sonucunda, olup bitenleri onarıcı etkisi olabilecek, bu hikayeyi tamamlayabileceğini düşündüğünüz bir şey olsaydı, bu ne olurdu?

ETİK KURUL DEĞERLENDİRME SONUCU/RESULT OF EVALUATION BY THE ETHICS COMMITTEE

(Bu bölüm İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurul tarafından doldurulacaktır /This section to be completed by the Committee on Ethics in research on Humans)

Başvuru Sahibi / Applicant: Sema Sozer Dabanlıoğlu

Proje Başlığı / Project Title: The themes in the narratives transmitted to the third generation of immigrant ancestors that had been exiled from Balkans to Turkey

Proje No. / Project Number: 2018-20024-32

1.	Herhangi bir değişikliğe gerek yoktur / There is no need for revision	XX
2.	Ret/ Application Rejected Reddin gerekçesi / Reason for Rejection	

Değerlendirme Tarihi / Date of Evaluation: 20 Mart 2018

Kurul Başkanı / Committee Chair

Doç. Dr. Itır Erhart

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Aslı Tunç

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Hale Bolak

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Turgut Tarhanlı

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Koray Akay

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Ali Demirci

Üye / Committee Member

Doç Dr. Ayhan Özgür Toy