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Nostalgia and Stories of Early Arrival Amongst the Turkish Diaspora in Broadmeadows

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Abstract

This article discusses how Turkish people in the suburb of Broadmeadows in Melbourne, Australia, construct nostalgia for their earlier days as migrants. Furthermore, it highlights the didactic and ethical role this nostalgia plays within the Turkish community. Turkish migrants began to manifest nostalgia for the earlier days in Australia after the dream of returning to the homeland began to wane. This nostalgia presents an image of the ideal Turk to the younger generations in Australia and therefore helps to preserve the Turkish identity. This nostalgia also enables Turks to distance themselves from negative images of the contemporary homeland, allowing them to present themselves as authentic Turks; it also helps Turkish Australians to cope with their economic marginality in Australia. Nostalgia for the early days in Australia therefore has many purposes for Turkish Australians today.

Keywords

Nostalgia, Migration, Diaspora, Turkishness, Identity

Introduction

The word 'nostalgia' was created by eighteenth century Swiss doctor Johannas Hofer from the Greek words *νόστος (nóstos)*, meaning to return home, and *ἄλγος (álgos),* meaning longing or sorrow (Chushak, 2013). The term was originally used to pathologize homesickness, but it became popular for describing the experience of rupture involving an 'unsettling of the known lifeworld by travel and/or migration' (Chushak 2013, p. 5). According to Svetlana Boym (2001, p. xvii), the concept of nostalgia is cross-disciplinary, "it frustrates psychologists, sociologists, literary theorists and philosophers." According to Nadiya Chushak (2013), nostalgia continues to have a negative cultural reputation because of its medical origins, where it was perceived as a harmful, even deadly, disease. It is commonly thought that nostalgia involves a distorted or inaccurate image of the past and is associated with, or thought to support, conservative politics. Sara Horowitz (2010), however, proposes that nostalgia can have positive impacts on individuals by

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enabling them to engage critically with the past. Nostalgia is selective; it, arguably, creates self-awareness with regard to one's relationship to the past. Nostalgia is connected to conservative politics in its supposed desire to return to the past or to maintain the status quo. This is often considered a hindrance to progress. Chushack (2013) argues, however, that nostalgia can be productive in the present because it is often realized that a return to the past is not possible. The concept of nostalgia is related to both temporal and spatial rupture. It can involve a lament for a lost time, such as the period of one's youth, and it can involve migration away from the homeland (Chushak, 2013). Past time cannot be revisited but a past space can be.

Nostalgia is crucial to the construction and preservation of Turkishness. In this article, I argue that the Turks in Broadmeadows[1] have nostalgia for both the homeland and the early time of arrival. I focus especially on the latter phenomenon, which developed as the dream of returning permanently to Türkiye began to wane. This nostalgia is used by the Turkish Broadmeadows community in a positive manner to construct a specifically Turkish morality and ethics. This form of nostalgia is not yet discussed by either scholars of diasporas generally, or of the Turkish-Australian diaspora, in particular. Although idealized images of the homeland continue to play an important role, I propose that nostalgia for idealized images of early life in Australia is more prominent for Turkish-Australians in Broadmeadows.

In terms of diasporas, scholars of anthropology are often concerned with nostalgia expressed for the homeland. I discovered temporal and spatial nostalgia among the Turkish community in Broadmeadows who express longing for both the homeland and the time of early arrival in Australia. Nostalgia for the homeland involves temporal and spatial ruptures in the lament for the time lived in, and the space of, the homeland. Nostalgia for the time of early arrival, however, is only temporal. Many Turks currently living in Broadmeadows believe that Turkish morality and ethics are no longer maintained compared to the time of early arrival when the dream of returning to the homeland was ubiquitous. This dream impacted self-perceptions of Turkishness as well as the way Turks related to one another and to broader Australian culture. As the dream began to disappear, people's attitudes, perceptions, and goals towards the homeland and Australia changed, leading many Turkish-Australians to miss the time of early arrival when they believed they would be able to return to Turkey and preserve their culture and identity.

The dream of return hindered the Turkish community from engaging with other socio-cultural groups. Turks who manifested an attachment to life in Australia were often regarded as infidels. With the dream's loss, however, Turks began to make compromises

[1] Broadmeadows is a working-class suburb in Melbourne, Australia, where there is a lot of dependency on social welfare.

regarding their traditions, practices, and customs in order to participate more thoroughly in Australian life. This raised a serious dilemma: how to retain Turkishness while living a full life in Australia? Nostalgia for the early days of arrival became a way to resolve this dilemma. It provided a vision for maintaining Turkish identity while benefitting from the Australian economy and being influenced by mainstream Anglo-Celtic culture and its institutions. Even though they did not live through these times, later generations express similar nostalgia because their parents' migration experiences are used didactically to inculcate the idea of a 'true hard-working Turk'. This image has been handed down to the second and third generations as the figure of an authentic Turk, one that is even held in contrast to people in Turkey who are often said to have lost their authenticity. First-generation Turks also express nostalgia for the earlier days in Australia to distance themselves from Turkey and cope with economic marginalization in the host country.

Scholars of the Turkish diaspora in Australia have written about nostalgia for the homeland (Elley, 1984; Karanfil, 2009; Şenay, 2010). This nostalgia often manifests or is created when Turkish people gather and share food (Elley, 1984). Banu Şenay (2009) asserts that nostalgia can also be expressed and maintained through return visits to Turkey. This nostalgia not only relates to the homeland as it is now, but also to older times. Nostalgia is used to define Turkish identity through romanticized images of the homeland. Turkish-Australians who do not share this image tend to be more attached to Australia, though this is not to suggest a complete loss of loyalty to the homeland. Younger Turkish-Australians are generally more connected to Australia, yet they still express nostalgia through return visits to Turkey and the consumption of Turkish food. Nostalgia is also expressed by older generations through playing and listening to Turkish music.

Nostalgia for the food of early arrival is expressed, specifically through the diaspora's perception of fast food. In addition to the imagination of the homeland, there is also an imagination of the food from the time of early arrival. This expands David Sutton's (2001) idea that the diaspora has nostalgic memories triggered by the sights and smells of food from the homeland. In addition to a nostalgia for food of the homeland, the diaspora also expresses a nostalgia for the food consumed during the time of early arrival. Unlike Sutton's identification of the diaspora's nostalgia being a memory of a time when their lives were less fragmented, the Turkish-Australian nostalgia for the time of early arrival is a longing for a time when the diaspora perceived itself to be more communitarian. In addition to consuming traditional food, the diaspora also consumed fast foods such as KFC and Mc Donalds, foods that accordingly categorized them as working-class.

Another factor that complicates the relationship between nostalgia for the homeland and nostalgia for the early arrival is demonstrated by Gökçen Karanfil's (2009) approach. Karanfil argues that Turkish satellite television can be detrimental to a linear form of nostalgia towards the homeland. Despite the sense of cultural intimacy and refuge it

provides, satellite channels also destroy romantic and nostalgic notions of the old Turkish culture and nation. This is particularly relevant with respect to the memories and ideals of first-generation Turkish-Australians regarding pre-migratory experiences. As Turkish television becomes more diverse and transnational, people within the diaspora have more opportunities to diversify their ethnic nationalist and other identity discourses, allowing them to renegotiate their sense of the homeland and their position within the host society (Karanfil, 2009).

To demonstrate how nostalgia for the time of early arrival began to surpass nostalgia for the homeland, first, I will discuss why Turks migrated to Australia, and how this objective impacted their various attitudes and perceptions towards life in Australia, including mainstream Anglo-Celtic Australian culture and its institutions. The attachment of Turkish migrants to Australia also varied, despite coming to Australia with the intention of returning to Turkey in a couple of years' time. I will also discuss why Turks chose to live close to one another and how this impacted the preserving of the Turkish language and culture. Later, I will discuss how this impacted on their relationships with Anglo-Australians. As the dream of returning to Turkey waned the attitudes of many Turks towards the Turkish community and towards Australia began to change. The nostalgia for Turkish customs, values, and practices shared by many Turks, was repeatedly expressed to me in my interviews and conversations. They particularly felt nostalgia for strong relationships between families, as well as for traditional forms of courtesy towards the older generations. Therefore, nostalgia for the time of early arrival is used in a didactic way to inculcate Turkishness, Turkish values and morality. It is apparent through the didactic use of nostalgia for the hard work by the older generation that the expression of Turkishness has undergone a generational shift. Finally, early Turkish migrants have a nostalgia for the days where they felt that they did not experience economic anxiety. Their access to an abundance of goods and services, as well as employment opportunities, resulted in a carefree economic prosperity. Overall, expression for the nostalgia for the time of early arrival suggests that there is a different form or forms of Turkishness in Australia from the Turkishness of the homeland.

Methodology

This paper is converted from the first chapter of my PhD thesis. I completed my PhD research between 2013 and 2017 among the Australian-Turkish community, of which I am a member, in the suburb of Broadmeadows, Melbourne, as well as the surrounding suburbs. This research involved semi-structured interviews and participant observation, involving gossip, attendance at secular and religious events, and eavesdropping. In my fieldwork I have interviewed approximately 20 Australian-Turks from the first and second generations, of both genders, and between the ages of 18 and 60. Most of the people I interviewed identified themselves as ethnically Turkish and as Sunni Muslims. A couple

of my interviewees identified themselves as ethnically Kurdish and as Sunni Muslims. Most of my interviewees believed that being ethnically Turkish or a citizen of Turkey is connected to being Sunni Muslim. Moreover, most of my interviewees, and the people I interacted with in my fieldwork, were working class people from Broadmeadows or the surrounding suburbs. The interviews were recorded, transcribed, analyzed and categorized according to the themes that arose within the interviews. My participants' familiarity with Australian culture varied. Additionally, in my research I completed participant observation, where I attended religious and secular events. Specifically, I regularly visited the Broadmeadows Mosque. When I was initiating my fieldwork, I visited families in their homes, talked to people in the streets, visited community spaces and participated in conversations and gossip. Often, I also eavesdropped on conversations.

As a blind anthropologist I do not use visual means to collect data. This is why I rely on active listening and eavesdropping. This practice of eavesdropping has become a way of life for me and is how I make sense of my surroundings and the world, unintentionally allowing me access to information participants may not want others to hear. As I have been blind since birth, this has become an inevitable habit for me. Of course, this also runs the risk of being an unethical practice in academic research. I have rigorously sought my informants' consent for any data used in this research, even if this was done after those conversations had occurred. All data has been anonymized, through the use of pseudonyms and sometimes by using more than one pseudonym for a single person. Before carrying out my research, I received ethics approval from the University of Melbourne ethics committee (Ethics ID 1442722.1).

Attitudes during the Early Time of Arrival

When Turks first arrived in Australia, they came with the intention to return after accumulating wealth. This expectation governed the early attitudes and perceptions of migrants. Turks only began to involve themselves more directly with other Australian socio-cultural groups after the dream of returning to Turkey waned in later decades. Nostalgia for the time of early arrival emerged with this change in the Turkish community.

Officially, people from Turkey began migrating to Australia in 1968, following an agreement between the two countries to send workers (Şenay, 2010). The state of Turkey did not make it clear that Australia wanted permanent migrants, however. Instead, it used the term 'guest worker', as was applied to Turks who migrated to European states, such as Germany (Şenay, 2010). Turks who migrated to Australia, therefore, expected to return after a few years. In the late 1970s, the Turkish state acknowledged that these migrants were permanent settlers, but still encouraged them to resist assimilation and maintain their commitment to Turkey (Şenay, 2010). Many migrants held onto the dream of returning. A number of Turks sent money back to their relatives, hoping to eventually re-migrate and start a better life with a higher social status with the capital accumulated in Australia.

My next-door neighbor, Zühtü, is an example of a Turk with this dream. He returned to Turkey permanently a few years ago after divorcing his wife Hacer. Before he left, Zühtü explained he had originally come to Australia in the 1970s to save money for a jeep, which would enable him to work as a traveling salesman in Turkey. Turks were so strongly motivated to return that most neglected their children's education. Hamza Bilek told me, "Many people sent their girls to factories to work so the families could make a lot of money and return to Turkey as soon as possible." Cüneyt, the owner of the grocery store in Dallas Mall[2], said this had happened to his wife, Hatice:

> My wife came to Australia when she was three years old. She did not receive her education here. This is because of her father … When the children were in a crucial age to be in a school, my wife's family used to go to Shepparton to pick fruit and vegetables.

When the young Hatice asked her father, "what about school?", her father said, "do not worry about school, the important thing for us is to return to Turkey as soon as possible." This may be one of the reasons that, according to Christine Inglis and Lenore Manderson (1991) and Christabel Young (1985; 1988), Turkish women from the first and second generations endured economic marginalization, particularly in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Ahmet Latifoglu (2001) points out that female students are now encouraged to take prestigious courses, such as medicine and law. Some of the Turks I spoke to in Broadmeadows informed me that they mistrust Australia's university culture, believing it detrimental to the Turkish way of life and religion. These Turks often come from rural areas in Turkey and are influenced by the rural cultural discourses in Turkey. This leads them to mistrust Western education as they believe it will encourage girls to transgress traditional gender roles and stereotypes. Such gender roles and stereotypes are also perceived as connected to Turkishness. There were others I spoke to, however, who encouraged their daughters to obtain tertiary education. The community is divided here. Some families encourage their children to remain uninfluenced by university culture, even as they send them there. Other parents do not mind as much. Latifoglu (2001) attributes the increase in university attendance to the maturation of Turkish settlement in Australia as well as the evolution of gender roles and stereotypes. He also writes, however, that some parents still have lower expectations for their daughters' education compared to their sons (Latifoglu, 2001). I have experienced this attitude among some Turkish-Australians in Broadmeadows. At the time of doing my fieldwork some of the parents I spoke with were pushing their boys to do better in school and to get into university, while at the same time not pressuring their girls to do well in school.

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[2] Dallas Mall is in Dallas, a northern Melbourne suburb next to Broadmeadows.

Conservative Turks who were apathetic towards educating their daughters also tended to be very critical of Turks who took up Australian citizenship. During early migration, it was considered loathsome to manifest an attachment to the Australian state or culture. People who bought houses or became citizens of Australia were perceived as *gavurlar* (infidels). This is because there was a common belief that becoming an Australian citizen would lead to assimilation into Anglo-Celtic culture, and therefore the loss of Turkishness, which was regarded by conservative Turks as essentially interwoven with the religion of Sunni Islam. This idea that Turkish nationalism is intertwined with Sunni Islam is called the Turk-Islam synthesis. After the coup on September 12, 1980[3], the Turk-Islam synthesis was made into official state ideology by the ruling junta, although the sentiment had been present from the foundation of the Republic (Kaplan, 2002). The idea was that one could not be a Turk without being a Sunni Muslim (Shankland, 1999; Vorhoff, 1998). This sentiment was particularly dominant in rural areas and many migrants to Australia came from the rural areas of Turkey and thus shared in this belief. If someone manifested an attachment to Australia, they were considered less committed to Turkey and at risk of losing their religion.

Before 1981, Turkey would not give permission for dual citizenship. Some migrants became Australian citizens anyway and hid the fact from other Turks and the Turkish state (Şenay, 2010). Hamza Bilek, for instance, secretly became an Australian citizen in 1972. The Australian government gave him more than $600, five kilos of chocolate, and two saplings as a citizenship gift. He did not tell anyone about this to avoid criticism. Once dual citizenship became acceptable among the Turkish community, however, Hamza repeatedly told his story, particularly the details of what the Australian state had given him, which I believe made him feel welcome. For Hamza, this was also an expression of nostalgia for the time of early arrival. The message in these gifts was that Australia was a prosperous land willing to share its wealth with Turkish migrants. Perhaps Hamza was also suggesting that Australia was more generous and more prepared to share its wealth with newcomers in those times. Hamza came to Australia in 1969 and bought his house in Coburg in 1971[4]. It was rare for a Turk to buy a house so quickly. Many Turks asked Hamza if he had become a *gavur* when he bought his property. He later demolished the timber structure and built his current house of brick on the same land. He is proud that he never sold his first house, unlike other Turks did when they moved to Broadmeadows, saying that it is now worth more than one-and-a-half million

[3] The coup of September 12, 1980, was initiated by the Turkish military on the basis that the civilian government was failing to maintain the integrity of the nation. Prior to the coup, anarchy existed throughout the country. There were severe tensions between political groups, including violence in the streets and terrorist attacks. When the junta took over, it brutally suppressed all political movements and dissidents. The military junta lasted until 1983 when democracy was restored.

[4] Coburg is a northern suburb in Melbourne.

dollars. Hamza's depiction of his story suggests that he sees himself as the model Turkish migrant.

Despite the desire to return to Turkey, I argue that many people obtained Australian citizenship to feel more secure in their host country while they endeavored to fulfill their economic objectives. Turks also became Australian citizens to maintain return opportunities should they go back to Turkey and find themselves unhappy with the economic or socio-political conditions there. This is not to say that the desire to return to Turkey permanently was not strong. It was, in fact, until the 1990s, at which point nostalgia for the homeland was replaced by nostalgia for earlier life in Australia. Turkish-Australians realized they were used to the economic comforts and way of life in Australia. Younger generations, moreover, did not want to reside in Turkey. Many families returned to Turkey for two or three years but came back to Australia due to social, economic, and cultural dissatisfaction.

Forming a Community

Turkish migrants chose to live close to one another largely because of their inability to speak English. As Kutlay Yagmur (1997) suggests, Turks preserved their language by forming their own communities and social networks. In these areas, Turkish is more likely to be the language spoken at home. The higher proportion of Turks in Victoria. relative to other states, allows them to be less dependent on mainstream Australians and less reliant on their English language skills. This, in turn, makes them more dependent on their own community. Joy Elley (1985) suggests that another reason for living close to one another was the preservation of religion and culture. The Turkish Mosque, for example, was built in Broadmeadows in 1985 and many Turks wanted to live close to it. Socio-economic circumstances impacted upon the Turkish diaspora's choice of suburbs. Many tended to live in industrial suburbs close to their workplaces and migrant hostels (Windle 2004). Turks chose Broadmeadows, for example, because it was close to the Ford factory, which employed many migrants in the 1970s and 1980s. In Australia, the Turkish community resides in the inner suburbs where the needs of this community for specific Turkish goods and services are catered for by local shops and providers (Elley, 1984, 1985; Inglis, 2011).

During a conversation with Giray and another man, the desire of early Turkish migrants to form a community was emphasized. Both men claimed that Turkish people made irrational decisions to achieve this goal. Giray said, "houses were very cheap. The average house was around $15,000. Many Turks, unfortunately, did not make wise investments. They sold their houses from Coburg and Brunswick and moved to Broadmeadows".[5] The other man said, "when I was selling my house in Coburg, the agency

[5] Brunswick is an inner-northern suburb in Melbourne.

warned me not to do so, telling me that one day the prices of the houses in that area will increase. I did not listen to him." Giray believes the Australian government conspires to keep Turks in a lower socio-economic stratum. He said Broadmeadows is a 'dumping area' for migrant groups who cannot adapt to the mainstream Australian way of life and the government moved the Turks there by allowing Turkish associations to build a mosque in the area.

At the time, many Turks chose to live in a community near the mosque rather than focus on individual property investments. This suggests that people made some sacrifices to their individual economic investments to preserve culture and religion and safeguard their identity in Australia. I also propose that such communities formed through their strong nostalgia for the homeland during the early years of arrival. The dream of return and the nostalgia it produced did help Turkish migrants cope with the distance from their homeland. It could also be argued that it contributed to economic marginalization. The nostalgic desire to maintain connections to an imagined Turkish community and the homeland led to 'irrational' economic decisions in Australia and the sense of being pushed to the periphery of society.

The Loss of the Dream of Returning to Turkey and Expressing Nostalgia

Nostalgia for the early days is a response to a particular dilemma faced by Turkish migrants. They appreciate the spoils and economic benefits that Australia has given them. They also believe that Australia provides the possibility of a good future for their children. They tend to believe, however, that it is impossible to preserve their values and ethics to the desired degree while living in Australia. They believe that its culture of individualism, liberalism, and materialism changes their identity in ways that they perceive to be inconsistent with their Turkishness. The dilemma faced by the Turkish diaspora in Australia is their desire to accumulate material wealth and live a good life while maintaining traditional values and ethics. The early days in Australia are romanticized as a time when Turkish migrants lived a less compromised form of Turkishness, a time of solidarity and strong communitarian values, a time of material prosperity and new economic opportunities. By romanticizing the time of early arrival as a time of solidarity and communitarian values they obscure the political tensions between the left and the right in Turkey in the 70s and 80s, which were brought to Australia, and did cause divisions within the diaspora (Şenay, 2010). For instance, left wing and right-wing supporters had their own coffee shops and football clubs within the community. The football club *Çağrı Spor*, which is now called Hume City Soccer Club, is associated with the Turkish right-wing movements and is funded by the Broadmeadows Mosque. The left wing associated football club, on the other hand, is called *Birlik Spor*.

So, the romanticization of early times addresses the contemporary dilemma of

desiring both economic gains and preserving Turkish customs, traditions, and values. It offers a representation of how this is possible, which provides psychological comfort to the individual and a secure formula for preserving the community. They should live like the early migrants to Australia. Once the majority of Turks realized they would not return to Turkey, their efforts were redirected towards strengthening and solidifying a community in diaspora. This would later be expressed as nostalgia for the early days in Australia. Today, many Turks still live together in the same suburb, although some have acquired wealth and moved into more prosperous areas. Aydın, the imam of the Broadmeadows mosque, expressed concern for this in a *sohbet*[6]. He was critical of these Turks, saying they informed him these areas were full of luxury, tennis courts, and gyms, and they wanted to be close to the sea and enjoy the breeze that comes from it. Aydın said these reasons were unimportant, stating that, "one's children should grow up in a community where people have dedicated themselves to Islam." He referred to an old Turkish saying, "*ev alma komşu al"* (don't buy a house. Buy a neighbor). Many Turkish people believe neighborly and community relations are less strong and supportive than they were in the 'good old days' of early arrival. The sense of having lost communitarian ideals contributes to the nostalgia for those days.

People talk about communal activities and support for one another in the early days. Cevdet explained that, "three to five families stayed in one home together. They looked after one another's children. They supported one another. If it was possible, they tried to spend the weekends together. They went to picnics together." He said that some ten to 20 families would gather for these picnics:

> It was so beautiful in those days, everyone used to go to their picnic and treat one another decently. When you look at it today, it is no longer the case. Everyone is digging one another's well [meaning that everyone is betraying one another behind each other's backs]. Money and mafia. Money and mafia.

I have heard rumors that organized crime amongst the Turks in Broadmeadows has become a problem, particularly with younger generations selling drugs.

From my experience, and what has been said to me, families would get together and go to picnics, where they would have barbecues or bring food from home to share. Sometimes they would also bring Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC). Many people informed me that the taste of KFC was better in those days. My mother said that even McDonalds tasted better, was healthier, and of a higher quality. She attributes its lower quality these

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[6] Sohbet' literally means 'chitchat' or 'conversation'. It is also a word used for a sermon given in a mosque or any other religious gathering.

days to the fact that they now employ teenagers rather than adults. Nostalgia for the early days in Australia is so strong that people believe even fast food tasted better. In the 1970s, consuming fast food was a novel experience for Turkish migrants because there were no McDonalds or KFC outlets in Turkey at that time. Tasting these foods may have symbolized the achievement of a higher social status, that of joining a western nation, despite the irony that these foods now cater for lower socio-economic classes. Nostalgia for fast food relates to the migrant dream of a more prosperous life.

From my own childhood memories, women would prepare meat, salad, or Lebanese bread to bring to these family picnics and we used to go to the beach, particularly in Torquay.[7] At the picnic, men and women formed different groups. Men often played tiles and cards, women would wet their feet in the sea, and children would swim or surf. According to many Turks, these picnics do not happen as often as they did in the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s.

Altan said that "Turks are not respectful to one another and are no longer as close to one another … They are a bit more distant." He believes this is a result of the education people receive in Australia and that each family now has its own house with at least one person who can speak English. He also attributes these changes to economic self-sufficiency and the increase in purchasing power. I propose that, as the dream of returning to Turkey waned, the community became more oriented towards Australia. Turks began to invest less in community preservation and mutual support and more in personal gain and the interests of their children. They turned towards acquiring wealth and spending money in Australia and investing in the education of their children. They also oriented themselves towards other cultures in Australia and began to familiarize themselves with the mainstream ethos. Consequently, many became less dependent on the Turkish community, which compromised the sense of intimacy. The dream of returning to Turkey had been crucial to the solidarity and insularity of the community in the early days of arrival. After it waned, Turks feared the loss of their identity and culture. So, nostalgia for the days that were perceived to involve sincere communitarian relationships developed as a way to protect Turkishness.

The Nostalgia for Turkish Practices, Customs, and Values

The relationships within and between families are diversifying based on the degree to which Turkish customs, traditions, and practices are upheld, and the extent of influence from other socio-cultures in Australia. In the time of early arrival, families and individuals were obliged to behave according to the traditional ways that Turkish people tried to

[7] Torquay is a beach town to the east of the Great Ocean Road and southwest of Melbourne.

uphold in Australia. These mores generally related to earlier rural and patriarchal family structures, communitarian relationships, and traditional relations between parents and children, as well as the elderly and the young. People have the perception that there is a supposed 'Turkish way' of behaving. Through nostalgia for the earlier days, these traditions are represented as stable within the Turkish community. There is a tradition from Central Anatolia, for instance, that when a son gets married, people go to the bride's house playing a drum and a *zurna*.[8] Turks from other regions in Turkey have also adopted this tradition in Australia.

Attitudes towards traditions altered once Turks realized migration to Australia was permanent. They began to re-orient their actions towards goals and objectives in Australia. This led to nostalgia since many believed changing attitudes compromised Turkishness, leading to the fear of assimilation. Nostalgia is used as a formula to prevent assimilation into 'Australian culture' while seeking to benefit from its resources. An important custom, still practiced by many Turks, is that of families visiting one another. This strengthens Turkishness by reinforcing the interconnectedness between families, traditional respect between generations, and Turkish communitarianism.

Fatoş, a second-generation Turkish woman who is strongly attached to her cultural values, practices, and customs, stated that she enjoys visiting other Turkish people. She wants to pass on this tradition to her daughter and thinks it is preferable to Anglo-Saxon relationships. She recounted a conversation with an Australian friend in which she said, "Oh look, with Turkish people, we visit each other." Her friend asked, "what do you mean?" and "why?" Fatoş said, "no reason. We just go and visit each other! Because we miss each other. Like, my friends will just ring me up and say, 'hey, I'm coming over.' They'll come over, the whole family." Her Australian friend said, "Oh no, we don't do that. There has to be a reason for them to come over." Fatoş claimed that Australians only visit each other for birthdays, Christmas, and Easter. She said, "I don't like that. With our culture and tradition, family … It's very important to visit your parents often, visit your elderly, go around visiting your family friends. That's very important." The values that Fatoş wants to pass on to her daughter are, "things like respecting the elders, always going round to visit them because they're old, helping, giving charity, and, especially, when she talks to older people, to respect them, even if she doesn't agree with their opinion." Fatoş also said:

> We've learnt that when an adult, you know, a visitor, comes into the room, you stand up and you let them have the first seat, because they're your

[8] A zurna is a wind instrument common in Central Asia, North Africa, and Western Asia. In Anatolia and Assyria, it is usually accompanied by a drum. It is played at weddings, circumcision celebrations, and other occasions, such as sending a son to military service. In Turkey, it is more popular in the countryside.

> visitors. Whereas my daughter will just sit there, and I sort of have to just tell her, "Get up!" You know?

I propose that her daughter's refusal, or resistance, to standing up, could be influenced by Australian attitudes against formalities and hierarchies.

Necdet, the manager of the Turkish video shop in Dallas, shares similar desires for preserving traditional family relations. He also argues that Turks are becoming more distant towards each other:

> Now, here amongst Turks, friendly and neighborly relations, when compared to the old days, there are no longer dependencies left. I do not know the reason, but there is a coldness between humans and individuals … However, in some environments, and in families, there are still good, friendly relationships. They do visit one another, but in some parts of the community this has become cold … This may be because of life circumstances becoming difficult. Let me give you an example from myself. In the old days, when my children were small, this is 15 years ago, I used to have four or five families visiting me every weekend and we also used to visit many families as well. Now, I have four children and three of them are married. During weekends, my children come and go to my house and, because of this, I cannot make time for other people … In the old days, where I used to see a family friend once a fortnight, I now see them once a month. Same goes for this person as well. The families are becoming larger. When your children get married and form their own nests and have children, you do not have time for this. I believe this is the cause of it.

Necdet suggests that he does not have much time for the community now that his family is larger. In many communities and cultures families do not visit one another as much as they used to. This can be attributed to individuals being more focused on the nuclear family than the extended family, as well as having to do with individualism and developments in communicative technologies, which impact how people socialize. Additionally, more and more people are now meeting outside in cafés and restaurants, rather than visiting one another in their houses. However, there are specific factors why this has changed among Turks in Broadmeadows, as the Anglo-Celtic culture, and the Australian way of life, is having a degree of influence on Turkish-Australian families. They are becoming more concerned with their own nuclear arrangements, with the expectations and obligations placed on close relatives, as opposed to extended families and the broader Turkish community. The loss of Turkish communitarian intimacy leads to nostalgia for the time of early arrival, when most Turkish families in Melbourne knew one another, interacted with one another, and were also dependent upon one another.

Comparing and Contrasting Australia and Turkey and the Didactic Use of Nostalgia

Turkish-Australians from the first-generation try to inculcate Turkish ethics and morality in their children through discourses of Turkishness. Before Turks started making regular visits to Turkey, and before the introduction of satellite television and the internet, the first-generation inculcated Turkishness through the image of a traditional Turkey. As younger generations learned of the cultural diversities in Turkey, they began to challenge nostalgic representations of the homeland used to control their behavior. Parents, instead, began to use their earlier lives in Australia to educate their children, claiming they were able to preserve traditional values. This communicates the message that it is also possible for newer generations in Australia to preserve the 'real Turkish identity' without altering or diversifying it like in Turkey. Therefore, nostalgia for the time of early arrival is related to the education of Turkishness.

First-generation Turks came to Australia from Turkey with a very particular idea of how to be Turkish. However, second and third generations have more direct access to Turkey through regular visits and communicative technologies. They realize that Turkey is changing and no longer uniformly follows the traditions depicted by their parents. As Fatoş said:

> Turkey is a modern country now. The villages, the country towns, are still very religious and very, very strict on culture, but the more … urbanized, the more city life, is more relaxed like here – where the kids are living away from home, they're going to uni, they're living in with flatmates, you know, roommates, and a lot of teenagers are having sex before marriage.

She also said:

> The way that Turkish women dress now is very similar to Australian women. The younger generation, they've got piercings, tattoos, same like here – they are going out for drinks, clubbing, so their social behavior is very similar.

Hamo also claims that Turkey is changing:

> People want to have rights like in Australia and Western countries. They want these rights immediately … In Turkey, now women are working and earning money. They are demanding that their husbands do the same. People are also no longer kind and helpful to one another, except for traditional areas in Turkey. In the villages of my city, people are still hospitable and traditional. This is dying out in big cities, such as Istanbul.

After saying this, Hamo lowered his voice and said, "when you give rights and freedom to people, immediately women and girls can end up being sluts." I propose that people within the Turkish community who share similar views to Fatoş and Hamo in and around Broadmeadows fear that modernity and liberalism will undermine so-called traditional Turkish gender roles and stereotypes, where men are responsible for providing for the family and for preserving its honour (Delaney, 1991, 1994; Kaplan, 2003; Magnarella, 1974; Sirman, 1990; Tucker, 2003). However, there are some Turks in the community who do not share these perceptions and many also choose to leave Broadmeadows to be free from the pressures of such gender roles and stereotypes.

The belief in these rigid discourses tends to involve the regulation of the sexuality and sexual freedom of women. Zuleka Zevallos (2004), for example, points out that Turkish women in Australia are expected to be virgins at marriage, but men are not. In a host country, regulating the sexuality of women becomes more crucial due to the fear of miscegenation. The Turkish family structure is patriarchal, and descent is believed to pass through the male line, both in the religion of Islam and the Turkish race. Thus, as Abdurrahman Asaroğlu (2006) points out, marriages between Muslim women and non-Muslim men are considered invalid, and this belief is shared by many Turks in Broadmeadows, who believe that the religion of Islam is interwoven with Turkishness. Intermarriages between Turkish-Australians and people of other races or religions are rare. When they do occur, they mostly involve Turkish-Australian males (Khoo, et al 2002). The taboo against Turkish-Australian males marrying outside the community is not as strong as it is for women because descent and Turkishness is believed to pass through the male line. A child born from a Turkish father is, therefore, considered of Turkish descent.

Contrary to Fatoş and Hamo, Cüneyt claimed the conduct of children in Australia can still be controlled by presenting certain behavior as non-Turkish. The Turkish community in and around Broadmeadows is small and it is easy to compare and contrast it with other groups. Cüneyt informed me that people in Turkey cannot do this because they are all Turkish and nominally Muslims:

> When we are raising our children here, when something happens, we can say to our children, "Do not do this. This is *gavur işi* ('infidel's way')". We would say to our children, "What the *yabancı* (barbarian/foreigner/stranger) does is not appropriate for a Muslim". While we were raising our children here, we made sure that they received religious teaching. This is because we did not want them to resemble the *yabancı*; for instance, to prevent them from wearing earrings and to prevent them from getting tattoos. We also did this to make sure that they did not leave the Turkish culture. Now, when I went to Turkey, I have seen that the youth have

> taken these things very far. The mother and the father cannot object to this because the children will say, "Ahmet and Mehmet do it too". Therefore, there are more problems over there. Whereas, we say, "This does not match us, this cannot be". We say we are Muslims.

Haldun, a retired barber, also argues that Turkey is no longer as moral as it used to be. If he returned, he would experience nostalgia in his own country for the time when it was moral. He would also find it harder to raise his children as proper Turks. He said, "Turkey has changed a lot. If I were to go to Turkey, it would be like going back to *gurbet* (homesickness) again." In other words, he would experience nostalgia for an earlier Turkey and for Australia, which would be unbearable to him. He then said, "if we were to raise our children in Turkey, many of them may end up being worse than those Turkish children in Australia." Here, ironically, Haldun suggests that, by prospering materially in Australia, he has a better chance of protecting his children from the negative effects of Westernization.

Turkish-Australians such as Haldun and Cüneyt suggest it is easier to raise Turks in Australia because they can *other* non-Turks to construct a narrative of the 'pure Turk'. This narrative often involves nostalgia for the time of early arrival. The *othering* of Turks in both these instances confirms Fredrik Barth's (1969) theory that ethnicity is constructed through boundary-making. Cüneyt is also against Turkish-Australians marrying people from Turkey because he thinks Turks in Australia are purer and people from Turkey will be unable to adapt to a new country. Many Turkish-Australians see themselves as more authentically Turkish than Turks in Turkey because they believe they have been more successful in preserving the moral and ethical attributes appropriate to a Turk.

The Didactic Use of Nostalgia for Hard Work

Many first-generation Turks believe younger generations are losing their Turkishness because they are becoming idle and lazy like mainstream Australians. For these Turks, an ethics of hard work is intertwined with the identity of the Turkish diaspora. Early Turkish migrants brought this ethics from the rural areas of Turkey. They had to work hard upon arrival to create the wealth needed to return to Turkey or to create a new home in Australia. Many younger generations rely on their parent's wealth or social welfare to support them. Older generations interpret this lack of self-sufficiency or dependency as laziness or weakness. Another reason for the nostalgia of early arrival is that first-generation Turks believe the ethics of hard work is being lost or compromised. This nostalgia is used to promote an ethics of hard work that will reinvigorate Turkishness amongst the youth.

Bilal, a second-generation Turk who has spent a lot of time in Turkey, and who works at his brother's fish and chip shop, agrees that contemporary Turkish youth are lazy

compared to older generations. He said, "all they do is watch Turkish television to alleviate their boredom." Zübeyde, like Bilal, is a second-generation Turkish-Australian. She works at the Turkish video shop in the Dallas Mall and as a manager for Coles. In conversation, she said, "there are many Turkish youth out there who are lazy. They do not work as hard as our mothers and fathers did when they arrived." She then said, "*Şimdi kiler siklerini sallayıp geziyorlar"* (now they are walking around and shaking their dicks). This is an old Turkish idiom used for idle men or those without occupation.

Fatoş also believes that newer generations are lazy compared to older Turkish generations:

> They are a lot more picky and choosy. They don't want to do a lot of jobs. And, if they don't get the job that they want, they'd rather stay on welfare than just do any job for the sake of having a job. But, other than that, I think, you know, it's a big mix … I think some of them are lazy so they depend on it [social welfare].

My mother expresses similar sentiments. She stated that she had to work hard after completing primary school in Australia. She was not allowed to attend high school. She had to do a lot of overtime, waking up around 6am and working until 8 or 9pm. When I was around seven or eight years old, I remember days when my grandmother would put me to bed before my mother came home. My mother particularly dislikes 'picky' people who do not want to do manual labour or undesirable jobs. She would often say, "*Şimdi kilerin canı çok kıymetli"* (the lives of people today are very precious) in referring to those who cannot be bothered enduring hardship, avoid difficulty, and do not put in effort.

The views of first-generation Turks are akin to neoliberalism, where every individual is responsible for his or her own economic success and maintenance. An individual should not burden their family or society but, instead, internalize an ethics of hard work. On the other hand, Turkish culture is communitarian, and the ethics of hard work is about sacrificing for the family, the nation and, in this case, the diaspora. Such an ethics may have been constructed by the dream of returning to Turkey as well as the Turkish identity brought to Australia from rural areas. For many members of the second-generation, their attitude towards work and life differs since they are not oriented towards return and their parents have already accumulated wealth. Some members of earlier generations perceive this as idleness and feel nostalgia for the days in Australia when Turks expressed an ethics of hard work. Life in Australia is generally believed to make people lazy, which compromises the Turkish ideal of hard work. They believe it is still possible for younger generations to work hard. This concern is communicated by expressing nostalgia for the earlier days.

The Nostalgia for Early Economic Opportunities in Australia

The first Turkish migrants to Australia experienced an economic situation that provided numerous job opportunities for manual laborers. Turks made a lot of money in the 1970s, mostly by working in factories and heavy industry. It was also a time with a lower cost of living and easier access to social welfare, which was sufficient to live on during this period. This is another reason why there is nostalgia for the early time in Australia.

Some first-generation Turks claim that Australia is no longer economically beneficial for Turkish migrants. Giray once said, "in the earlier days when we came to Australia, life was very easy. For instance, a packet of cigarettes was 15 cents, and a bottle of whisky was $2.50." He said, "those days are now over." At a later time, I asked Veli, who I met at the Broadmeadows mosque, about the claim that whisky was $2.50. He said, "yes, this is true. In the early 70s, life was very cheap in Australia and life was more prosperous. This is because the population was small and there were a lot more factories than there are now."

Çağtay told me he misses those times, despite the difficulties he had when he first arrived in Australia, including a lack of English and not knowing how to get around. One day in the 1970s, he and his wife came across a grocery store for the first time and were impressed by the availability of fresh fruit. The bananas were yellow, and the apples were shining. Çağtay said, "we no longer have fresh fruit in Australia as we did in the old days." He said the best ones are exported to foreign countries. When he saw the price tags, he did not know if it meant dollars or cents. He was shocked to be charged only 20 cents for a couple of kilograms of apples and bananas. He said, "I was really surprised he gave most of my money back to me. In those days life was very cheap in Australia."

Fatih owns a kebab shop. He said he is only working to pay his bills because the economy is not as prosperous as it was in the 1980s and 1990s. According to him, people can hardly afford food now. He said that these days many people ask for a free Coca Cola when they buy a large number of kebabs and this would never have happened five or six years ago. He then claimed that every three months he pays $4,000 in GST plus other taxes and rent to the property owner. Fatih's story shows that there is also nostalgia for the 1980s and 1990s, and not just the time of early arrival. Perhaps the general struggle that Turks encounter in Broadmeadows is expressed through different forms of nostalgia for an earlier time.

Necdet, the video shop owner, claims there used to be more job opportunities in the earlier days:

> Thirty years ago, there used to be not much of a problem because those people who arrived from Turkey could easily find jobs. Now, there is no

> job. The person who has arrived here does not have any trade or a degree and, therefore, has to work in heavy industries.

When my mother's family first arrived, my grandmother could fill a shopping trolley for $15 or $20. My mother told me there were numerous jobs. If you did not want to work in a particular factory, you could quit that job and find another on the same day. My mother said, "life is very expensive now and the factories are shutting down."

Nostalgia for the early time of arrival also indicates that Turks miss the economic situation of the past, including easier access to laboring jobs and lower cost of living. The Broadmeadows Turkish community is working class and the image of the ideal Turkish migrant is related to nostalgia for the early time of arrival when Turks worked in factories and heavy industries. Another reason for this nostalgia is that the community does not have the necessary skills to participate in the contemporary work force, which has moved away from manufacturing towards the service sector. It is not clear who is responsible for this lack of skills, whether it is the people themselves or the Australian state. That contemporary Turkish-Australians perceive their marginality in comparison to the earlier time of migration suggests they understand the changing economic circumstances in Australia. Nostalgia for the good old days also suggests that to varying degrees, people are attempting to distance themselves from Turkey and internalize Australia as their new homeland. Many Turks believe that, despite being marginalized, their economic lives are still better in Australia than they would be in Turkey.

Conclusion

Turks in Broadmeadows are nostalgic for the time of early arrival when Turkishness was perceived as uncompromised. This nostalgia helps the community preserve its Turkishness while living in Australia. When members of the Turkish community realized, they would not return to their homeland, they began expressing nostalgia for their earlier lives in Australia. The dream of returning to Turkey meant that many in the community lacked the enthusiasm to engage with other socio-cultural groups in Australia. They wanted to return to Turkey as soon as possible once they had accumulated enough capital to start a new life. Once this dream waned, people began to orient themselves towards life in Australia, which created a dilemma between integrating and maintaining Turkishness. Here, the expression of nostalgia provided them with a coping mechanism.

Nostalgia for the early days of arrival is also used as a moral means for disciplining youth and providing them with a work ethic. As younger generations came to realize that Turkey is, in many ways, similar to Western countries, they began to challenge their parent's depictions of the homeland. Parents, therefore, used the time of early arrival as an example of how to be a proper Turk. This nostalgia for the early days also enables the first-generation to distance themselves from Turkey and express a lament for more prosperous times,

which helps them cope with contemporary economic marginalization. This is not to say that Turks have distanced themselves from Turkey and Turkish culture completely.

Disclosure statement

As a member of the community he has researched, the author acknowledges an implicit conflict of interest, however, this is not a conflict that has adversely impacted this research. The author has never received any financial gain from members of his community, nor is he a member of any social clubs or religious groups within the community.

Ethics Approval

This paper included human participants. Consent was gathered by using a consent form and by explaining in person what the consent form included.

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