The Impact of Involuntary Dislocation on Bulgarian Turkish Couples:

A Psychosocial Approach from a Psychoanalytic Perspective

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A thesis submitted for the degree of PhD in Psychoanalytic Studies

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Date of Submission

April, 2016

Abstract

The proposed study investigates the subjective experience and meaning of Involuntary Dislocation (ID) and its impact on couple relationships. This research is innovative in so far as (a) it investigates families and couples relationships and not individuals, (b) it examines the ID phenomena from a unique combination of perspectives that includes psychoanalytic as well as wider psychosocial dimensions, (c) it focuses not only on the negative effects of ID but also includes Retained Strengths (Resilience) as well as acquired new strengths (Adversity-Activated Development (AAD), (d) it examines an unusual and unique example and specimen of ID, i.e. the Bulgarian Turks who were moved from one type of home (Bulgaria, the land of their ancestors) to another type of home (Turkey, the land of their cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic origins). The theoretical framework of this research is informed by a unique combination of psychoanalytic theory and practice, psychosocial perspectives and Papadopoulos' Adversity Grid. Overall, the study explores (a) what actual negative effects did Involuntary Dislocation have on the research participants and their relationship as a couple, and what conditions contributed to the development of these effects, (b) what actual positive effects did Involuntary Dislocation have on the research participants and their couple relationship, and what conditions contributed to the development of these effects, and finally, (c) what positive strengths, behaviours, characteristics, relationships' qualities that existed before the onset of Involuntary Dislocation have been retained, despite the research participants' exposure to the adversity of ID. To explore these complex and intertwined effects, five couples were recruited from among the members of the Balkan Turks Association in Turkey. The research participants were chosen from among those who had been forced to leave

Bulgaria in 1989, after the pervasive assimilation campaign. These couples were

interviewed using a semi-structured questionnaire based on the researcher's expertise

in the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI). The interviews were analyzed using the

method of qualitative thematic analysis that uniquely combines the above-mentioned

three perspectives. The concluding discussion provides an in-depth analysis of the

specific patterns and mechanisms that couples employ to experience and process

adversity as a consequence of Involuntary Dislocation. Involuntary dislocation and

couple relationships constitute both a highly complex and multi-layered phenomenon.

Results indicated that the Retained Strengths of the couples helped to overcome some

of the negative effects derived from ID. These strengths included being hardworking,

maintaining a stance of patience, and holding onto community values such as

religious affiliation, solidarity, protection of those in need, honesty, and

cultivating positive social networks. However, emotional difficulties were only partly

compensated for by adversity activated developments such as improved self

confidence, pride, gaining freedom and peace, accessing better jobs, being exposed to

broader culture and feelings of hope. Overall, these helped the couples succeed in

being functional and balancing their expectations and aspirations for the future. By

perceiving the outside world as dangerous, they keep the couple relationship as a

shelter and avoid conflicts by not sharing negative feelings. This works unfortunately

against the development of internal space, limiting the capacity of the couple for

psychological containment.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Over the last five years, Turkey has again become a global focal point for migration. This increased attention is mainly related to the continuously increasing number of refugees from neighbouring countries. These numbers cover the people who have been displaced after the Syrian crisis and tragic developments in Iraq.

National and international government agencies, Non Governmental Organisations such as Amnesty International, UN Country Team and others like universities tried to find a balance, yet the situation and the budget involved for operations kept growing with the importance of the subject in the global news agenda.

Since the Syrian crisis began in 2011, Turkey – which is currently estimated to be hosting over two million Syrians - has provided assistance in temporary refugee camps. Turkey has also receieved a large number of asylum applications from Afghans, Iraqis and Iranians. This situation is of course is influenced by Turkish law which provides protection and assistance for asylum-seekers and refugees, without considering their country of origin.

The number of refugees and asylum seekers in Turkey in 2016 is expected to rise further still. This crisis unfortunately brings tragedies to those affected such as direct exposure to threats like hunger, housing and *identity*. While risks of hunger and housing are relatively easier to counter balance via support from a committed reflex of policy-making, problems of identity are much more complex.

Literature and clinical work highlight that attachment and security being "in place" is important for individuals. The contribution of immigration policies, social institutions, and dominant discourses to the socio-political construction with regard to integration and cohesion of the needs of individuals become crucially important.

This is not the first time that Turkey has been the focal point of east-west migration. Playing the role of the receiving state, Turkey has played a positive role in regard to Bulgarian dislocation since the early 1930s. Today's imminent crises make *the lessons learned* from the dislocation of the Bulgarian Turks, and their suffering from degradation of identity and belonging, more relevant than ever.

That is why the thesis deals primarily with the question of origin, homeland and feelings of belonging. The purpose is to contribute to theoretical improvements and the concept of dislocation focusing on homing desire and collective identity formation. Studying married couples as the smallest unit of society can illustrate *how* individual needs and actions interact with social processes and structure in the formation of the identity and belonging. In this process, a couple's memories, lived experiences, identities and histories are mobilized as *resources* in their struggles to create alternative spaces and homes. Home(land) and homing desire become the central focus.

In the narratives of Bulgarian Turks, who were involuntarily dislocated many years ago, no "homeland" was found to which they could either relate or identify with. Other than that, they establish a concept of belonging and identity around the group of people, who have shared the same experiences, mostly around their couple relationship. This means that their marriages and social groups have become a "home" for such people. This invites further exploration of their interpersonal dynamics.

Involuntary dislocation and couple relationship constitute both a highly complex and multi-layered phenomenon. Couple therapists need to understand *how* the conceptions of home, place, identity and belonging needs affect couples in specific contexts. It is especially valuable to know what to do to help them in conveying their feelings towards what is left behind, how to deal with the losses and new gains and *how* those are affected within their

couple relationship dynamics. Although this process is highly relevant for couple therapy, there is a lack of research contextualizing the effects of involuntary dislocation on couple dynamics. This study investigates the *subjective* meaning of Involuntary Dislocation (ID) and *how* it is dealt with within couple relationships. Whereas most research in this field focuses either on individuals and/or on negative effects, the study addresses a wider psychosocial range of effects from a psychoanalytic point of view. These include among others Retained Strengths (Resilience) as well as the Adversity-Activated Development (AAD), a central concept developed by Papadopoulos (2007) to reveal the positive effects of being exposed to adversity. Consequently it examines relationship dynamics within psychological and social functioning in a framework influenced by a combination of psychoanalysis, psychosocial perspectives and Papadopoulos' Adversity Grid.

One of the key features of this research is the unique ambiguity surrounding the concept of "home", and the definition of Involuntary Dislocation in the context of the Balkan Turks. On the one hand, their expulsion to Turkey from Bulgaria constitutes Involuntary Dislocation and an 'expulsion' from their homes. And yet, on the other, moving to Turkey also constituted a "return" home; to the original, historical, cultural and spiritual homeland, where they were free to express in fullness their own specific ethnic, linguistic and religious identity. These people, moreover, had experienced whilst in their 'home' (i.e. Bulgaria) repeated forms of Involuntary Dislocations, not only in a geographical sense (i.e. being moved from one part of the country to another) but also in many other cultural, historical, linguistic and spiritual contexts, i.e. they were prevented from being intrinsically connected with these aspects of their identity. In other words, these various forms of persecution represent another type of Involuntary Dislocation in so far as they were prevented from feeling 'at home' whilst in Bulgaria. Therefore, their expulsion from their country of birth

(Bulgaria) to their cultural 'home'land (Turkey) marked the end of this type of persecution whilst, at the same time, it amounted to being dislocated from their country of birth.

When families leave their country, support systems and culture, it is not always pre-determined if they will also lose their abilities to cope with emerging difficulties (Voulgaridou, Papadopoulos and Tomaras, 2006). Confirming their findings, this study addresses the interchange between adverse experiences originating outside the couple system and its effects on the couple from a relational psychoanalytical perspective.

Until today, research literature has only addressed the nature of involuntary dislocation (ID) as a pervasive risk for psychosocial disfunctioning. The assessment of psychiatric disorders and symptomatic functioning in ID individuals paved the way for consistent description of characteristic patterns of psychosocial distress. According to the findings the prevalence of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and levels of depression and anxiety symptoms are significantly correlated (Fazel, Wheeler, & Danesh, 2005; Lie, Lavik, & Laake, 2001).

Currently there are few studies available in literature on the effects of ID on couples. The published literature mostly focuses on the individual, without giving any reference to the interpersonal patterns or mechanisms that may occur between partners. Adverse experiences may affect a person through individual symptoms; however the effects of these experiences are *also* felt at the interpersonal level. Clinical experience and empirical research suggest that ID survivors frequently experience numerous interpersonal difficulties, such as sexual dysfunction, communication problems and problems with intimacy. However, there is lack of research on the possible outcomes of the adverse experiences on the couple relationship (Goff & Smith, 2007). Thus, this thesis reveals a theoretical model for the description of the

interpersonal patterns that may be characteristic of couples who were exposed to an adverse event.

Consequently, analyzing five couples who had been subject to ID, provides the focus on the question of *whether a* couple's damaged representations of self as caregiver and their inability to deactivate each other's attachment system have led to a rupture in the relationship. Their perception of the relationship as a container might have helped couples to process the negative effects of adverse experiences and resort to each other as a source of support in such a way that the relationship strengthens and gains a different meaning. *More specifically,* the research is focused on ascertaining the three types of impact, i.e. negative, positive and 'neutral', not only in terms of their actual content but also in terms of the *perceived* factors, variables and conditions that contributed to them.

About the Author

Being an emancipated Turkish woman and working as a qualified clinical psychotherapist and psychoanalytic couple psychotherapist in Turkey, I've had the chance to live both in Turkey and England over three years, experiencing the feeling of having two homes whilst working with diverse couples. As a result of my own clinical experiences and observations with both English and Turkish couples, I came to realize that they permanently regard their marriage as a psychological container (Colman, 2003), whether it is benevolent or toxic. Consequently, I wanted to gain an in-depth understanding of how couples deal with their need for belonging, when there is an actual involuntary dislocation in their history.

About the Study

To reach this objective, five couples were interviewed. All five interviews were conducted with two therapists, with me being escorted by a male therapist, asking revealing research questions. We believed that the presence of a couple therapists, like in

psychoanalytic couple therapy settings, helps the couple develop a stronger connection with their respective male and female interviewer: this was helpful and suitable for looking into their marriage dynamics.

As a result, the interviews helped views, feelings and facts to be conveyed from one couple to another. Consequently each interviewed participant could feel more confident and was at ease with sharing memories, which otherwise would have been difficult to access. All interviews were transcribed verbatim and were analyzed using the method of thematic analysis. Results were discussed linking the main aspects of the thesis:

The second part explores the concepts of migration and identity, place attachment and puts the work into context by discussing Bulgarian Turks' historical, sociological and political issues.

Part three provides a theoretical overview. The concept of attachment constitues another relevant area of focus as this research is nurtured by the "Attachment Theory" in general. Relationship satisfaction deals with how a person perceives close relationships within the impact of both early years on the one hand and experiences in adulthood on the other. As all the interviewed couples are over their middle ages and in long-term relationships, the theory of life cycle is introduced. It emphasizes the course of life within the individual and family life cycle. Fundamental concepts of psychoanalytical work with couples are highlighted to better understand their shared defenses and couple dynamics. Papadopoulos' Grid fully captures and systematizes various combinations of effects across different levels and perspectives.

Part four constitutes methodological considerations in general as well as psychoanalytic methodology with couples yielding to research design and its methods before introducing the analysis.

Building on theory and methodology, part five illustrates the findings of the analysis in the light of psychoanalytic couple theory, psychosocial theory (grid) and sociological and anthropological theory, with concentration on identity and belonging.

Finally, part six contains the discussion on the themes before it draws conclusions, the limitations of this study and our suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

BALKAN TURKS IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Introduction

Throughout history, the Balkans has been geographically important as an intersection point of many languages, religions, races and cultures in every period. And naturally, it has become a crossroads of peace and wars: a multicultural and multilingual region, where a bright and rich heritage has been found on one side but destructive events such as invasion, war, conquest and immigration on the other. Balkan region witnessed good examples of comfort and tolerance during peace times, but when military policies promoted primitive ideas evoking nationalist emotions, it turned into a desert. Due to its geo-political and geo-strategic location, the Balkans has witnessed a historical process with battles and wars: tribalism, reactionism and barbarism were terms that Europe had to face anew. The Balkans' demographic and financial balances changed greatly over time due to the overwhelming effects of war and immigration (Gunsen, 2013).

Turkish Cultural Influence in the Balkan Region

From a Turkish historical perspective, the Balkans has always been an important region, like Anatolia or Central Asia. The history of various Turkish tribes goes back to communities such as the Huns (4th century) Avar (mid-6th century), Tuna Bulgarian (7th century), Patzinak, Kipchak/Kuman and Uz (9th - 11th centuries). Lastly Ottoman Turks (14th century) settled in the Balkans and dominated the region politically and culturally.

Turkish communities such as the Huns, Avar, Bulgarian, Patzinak, Kipchak/Kuman, Uz etc., who arrived in the Balkans from the north before Ottoman Turks, were subject to cultural change (or indeed perished) under other Balkan communities after they lost their

political dominance. While the Bulgarians lost their language and culture: Huns, Avar, Patzinak and Kipchak/Kuman Turks remained under the influence of other communities and changed their language. These are the ancestors of today's communities like Pomaks, Torbesh, Gorali and so on (Günsen, 2013).

The Continuous Search for Identity and Belonging in the Balkans

Many nations and communities have been negatively affected by the destructive process of nationalist "superiority dreams", but none have fought in such fierce conditions as the Pomaks for the sake of protecting their identity. Pomaks, who were accepted sometimes as Islamized Bulgarian, Greek, Macedonian, Serbian etc. in their countries but also with a higher emphasis on their "Turkishness" without looking at how they perceived themselves, and were under severe pressure, cruelty and policies of assimilation, are unfortunately still troubled today. Like Pomaks the search for identity and belonging has been a huge challenge for many other communities who have time and again been the targets of involuntary dislocation as a consequence of major historical events (Günsen, 2013).

Historical Context in the Balkan Region

After the era of the Roman Empire, the most stable and peaceful era of the Balkan region was established during the reign of the Ottomans, ruling over the Balkans from mid-14th century until early 20th century. Palairet (1997) provides an in-depth understanding of Balkan economics during the Ottoman period and calls it evolution without development.

The Ottoman Empire's expansionist strategies during the 14th century paved the way for the conquest of the region, part of it today known as Bulgaria (İnalcık, 1993). As a result of the Ottoman Empire's policies in conquered lands, Turkish speaking Muslim populations from Anatolia were settled in these newly conquered territories. The Turkish population had greater financial resources than the Bulgarian population, owning about 70%

of agriculturally fertile land (Simsir, 1986). Over this long period of time, the Ottomans reconstructed the region and influenced it both economically and culturally.

As the Ottoman Empire weakened following the signing of the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, the Balkans turned into an arena of permanent political tension and military battle between nations and cultures. Balkan nations were constantly under internal and external pressure, and lived without peace and comfort during this process. After the retreat of the Ottoman Empire from the Balkans, an important populated Turkish minority remained in Bulgaria.

Figure 1. The Balkan Region in 1864 (Wikipedia)

With the founding of the Bulgarian state in 1878, ethnic discrimination against the remaining Turkish community began to increase (Parla, 2009). Many urban Muslim elites and administrators immigrated upon losing their titles (Bates, 1994) and status. The remaining Muslim population was relatively rural and poor (Bates, 1994). As a consequence of these migration waves they became a minority living within the Bulgarian borders (Simsir, 1986).

The Ottoman-Russian War and the Balkan Wars

Although the rights of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria had been guaranteed by

many treaties, there had been various assimilation policies aimed towards them. As a result,

the Turkish population in Bulgaria declined through six substantial migration waves. The

main factors leading to the migration waves were wars and ethnic discrimination against the

Turks. The Ottoman-Russian War in 1877-1878 and the following Balkan Wars of 1912

forced the Turkish population to retreat from lost territories of the Ottoman Empire. The

beginning of The Second Balkan War coincided with the division of the Joint conquest

(Serbia, Greece and Romania) in Macedonia (brittanica.com).

Figure 2. The Balkan Region in 1913 (Wikipedia)

After the Balkan Wars, southern Macedonia and the island of Crete were gained by

Greece. Albania became an independent state under the rule of a German prince (ibid). The

political consequences of the wars were considerable, as tension in the Balkans increased,

consequently prompting a rise in hostility and inviting further troubles. Bulgaria was

frustrated in Macedonia and called for Austria's support. Serbia regarded Austria with greater

hostility because previously Austria had forced Serbia to give up its Albanian conquests. As a

consequence of these tensions, the Balkan region became increasingly vulnerable to both

internal and external pressures.

World War I

Erickson (2001) details the history of the Ottoman Army in the First World War. The Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria fought on the same front for the Central Powers during World War I and subsequently signed demanding treaties due to their loss.

Figure 3. The Balkan Region in 1918 (Wikipedia)

The Neuilly Treaty, signed by the Bulgarian government in 1919, ensured the Turkish minority's rights. Nevertheless, the government was overthrown in 1923.

Turkey welcomes first mass immigrants 1923

In the aftermath of war, with the collapse of the old Empire and ensuing foundation of the Republic of Turkey, successful negotiations in Lausanne in 1923 resulted in mass population movements. 400.000 Muslims were forced to move from Greece to Turkey, while more than a million Greek Christians were forcibly relocated from Turkey to Greece. Religions, languages and ethnic traditions that had co-existed for so long had to be abandoned during separation because no alternatives to co-existence could be found. This population exchange from the perspective of the thousands of families concerned is an indispensable reference for researchers about subjective interpretations of involuntary

dislocation through history. Despite the use of religion as a criterion for a mass transfer, there have been a significant number of Muslims who were not content to be forced into relocating and vice versa. The divergence between the diplomatic and human side of exchange puts limits to its celebration as a solution to the problem of minority. This divergence reached its first extreme when fascist groups emerged in Bulgaria; one of the main factors behind the next big immigration wave in 1925 was the daunting attacks against the Turkish community by the fascist group "Rodna Zashtita" (Simsir, 1986). The 1925 migration was regulated by an agreement signed by Bulgaria and the new Turkish Republic, allowing voluntary resettlement (Parla, 2006).

Following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire nearly two million citizens were expelled from their homelands.

The Era of Fascism

Until the 1930s Bulgaria's general principle was non-interference in the religious and ethnic freedoms of the Turkish minority (Parla, 2009). When in 1934 the fascist government came into power, this let-alone policy was abandoned for interventionist measures. The new regime eliminated Turkish parliamentarians and removed Turkish mayors from office (Höpken, 1997). Local Turkish newspapers where closed down, the entry of Turkish books and newspapers to Bulgaria was forbidden and Turkish schools rapidly declined in number (Simsir, 1986). Under the fascist regime, the Turkish community lived as a closed under-developed community where illiteracy was common, reaching 81% among men and 91% among women in the 1930s (Höpken, 1997).

The Era of Communism

The policies of the Bulgarian state regarding the Turkish minority changed with

the communist regime that came to power in 1944. The new government implemented

various initiatives including a nationwide literacy campaign, and allowing the publication of

Turkish newspapers as well as radio broadcasts in Turkish (Bates, 1994). Educational

opportunities like access to at least eight years of schooling and career prospects offered by

the communist system improved the Turkish community's standard of living following the

repressive policies of the fascist regime.

Figure 4. The Balkan Region in 1945 (Wikipedia)

However some of the communist reforms were not received well by the Turkish

minority: The collectivization of land caused unease as it was mostly comprised of small

farmers, and the collectivization of the Turkish minority schools injected fears of assimilation

of the younger generation (Simsir, 1986). When the number of people who applied to

immigrate to Turkey reached about 250,000 people, the Bulgarian and Turkish governments

agreed on the terms of the 1950-1951 immigration wave which led to the migration of

156,000 Turkish people.

Cultural Autonomy versus Rebirth Campaign

The Turkish minority policy was greatly erratic under the communist regime (Bakalova, 2006). In the 1960s, Bulgarian Turks were granted "cultural autonomy" in the areas of education and media. The families that got separated in the 1950-1951 immigration wave were united in 1968 by the treaty between Bulgaria and Turkey. In 1984, the communist government launched the notorious "Rebirth Campaign" in the name of reviving the "Bulgarian-ness" of the Turkish minority.

Todor Zhivkov was the leader of the systematic effort to assimilate the Turkish minory. Motivated by a big drive for homogeneity, he launched The Rebirth Campaign. The campaign included repressive measures against Turkish culture and involved human rights abuses as later documented in the Amnesty International Report of 1986.

One of the main motivations for this systematic effort was to ultimately deny the existence of Turks in Bulgaria. To this end, Turkish names were forcibly changed to Slavic ones and the speaking of the Turkish language in public spaces was banned. The next step would be to force the Turkish population to immigrate. A paradox began to emerge between 1984-1989 for the Turks of Bulgaria. Being "Turkish", they felt disadvantaged in Bulgaria as the Bulgarian government persecuted them; however, once they had immigrated to their symbolic homeland of Turkey, after the mass migration in 1989, they were shunned by the local population on the basis of their being considered 'Bulgarian' (Parla, 2009).

The campaign was supported by racist expressions proclaiming that the Muslim minorities in Bulgaria was forced to convert to Islam by Ottoman rule and they had to be "reverted" to their Bulgarian identities (Eminov, 1990). In support of these arguments the Minister of Internal Affairs declared that "There are no Turks in Bulgaria" in 1985 (Parla, 2009).

One of the operations was forcibly changing Turkish names to Bulgarian ones. In the process, the names of approximately 850,000 people were changed to Bulgarian names (Bakalova, 2006). Some of the other repressive measures included bans on speaking Turkish, listening to Turkish music, wearing traditional clothing, practicing Turkish customs and traditions, celebrating Turkish holidays and burying the deceased in separate Turkish cemeteries (Simsir, 1986). The repressive and racist policy continued between 1984 and 1989 and it ended when the head of state Todor Zhivkov was removed from the office. Bulgarian Turks organized peaceful mass protests including hunger strikes and writing letters to legal offices. The protests attempted to draw attention to human rights violations related to repressive policies on name, language, and religion. The communist regime was systematically reinforcing the building of political and social tension, and instigating fear and animosity towards the Turkish community (Bakalova, 2006).

From 1989 until Today

In 1989, the Bulgarian Ministry of Internal Affairs started to distribute application forms for passports to the Turkish minority implying that they should leave (Bakalova, 2006).

Figure 5. The Balkan Region in 1992 (Wikipedia)

The mass immigration of 1989 began when Bulgaria and Turkey opened their

borders. Approximately 300,000 Bulgarian Turks immigrated to Turkey but approximately 100,000 went back to Bulgaria in the same year, leaving 200,000 people to permanently settle in Turkey (Simsir, 1986). The exodus of over 300.000 Bulgarian Turks caused by the "Rebirth Campaign" was condemned as "one of Europe's largest refugee flows since WWII and threatening to annihilate Turkish culture" by the Helsinki Watch Report (1989). According to Konukman (1990), a total of 345.960 Bulgarian Turks immigrated to Turkey between June 1989 and May 1990 but 133.272 immigrants returned to Bulgaria in the same year, leaving 212.688 people permanently settled in Turkey.

Most of the Bulgarian Turks that stayed in Turkey had a primary school education of at least five years and approximately 35.000 immigrants had a middle school or higher level of education. The ones that did not hold any diplomas were mostly from the younger population, corresponding to the shutdown of Turkish schools in Bulgaria (Simsir, 1986). 31.7% of the immigrants were labourers, 10.6% were public servants, 9.0% were self-employed and 24.2% were students, 17.8% were housewives and children (Konukman, 1990). Finding housing in a short amount of time was difficult. Some of the immigrants went to live with their relatives that were already living in Turkey. A portion of the immigrants used the rent subsidy provided by the government to find housing. The rest of the immigrants waited in camps for their new houses to be built and then moved to their permanent settlements. Nearly 50% of the immigrants were employed as workers in agriculture and industry while others were employed in associated services, or as technicians and teachers according to their level of education (Simsir, 1986). Turkey has granted citizenships to those who crossed the border before August 1989, but after this date movements across the border were strictly regulated by various visa policies. Kasli and Parla (2009) demonstrate how the changing visa policies were putting the Bulgarian Turkish immigrants in a position between

being legal and illegal and of "being subject to the law but no subject in the law". Also, Parla (2011) examines the undocumented Bulgarian Turk immigrant's legal vulnerabilities and their ever present fear of getting deported. Cakar Mengu's (2011) extensive study examining the image of Turkey from the immigrants' perspective has shown that they consider themselves to be a part of Turkish society culturally and historically, though in contrast 68% of the immigrants said that they felt different to Turkish society. They stated that they felt different in terms of their philosophy of life, and lifestyle. They also reported that they faced prejudice when they first came to Turkey. They expressed discontent about Turkish educational institutions and the health care system. Half of the participants reported that they could not benefit from educational opportunities because of their low level of income. They stated the quality of education was much higher in Bulgaria in spite of the fact that Turkish was not the language of instruction. 70% of the participants thought that health care constituted a major problem. They found the Turkish health care system disappointing in comparison to the health care services provided by the government in Bulgaria. The immigrants felt alienated from government institutions as a result of their low incomes and the bureaucratic problems they encountered. They reported that they resorted to other immigrants and usually tried to solve problems among themselves with the purpose of avoiding contact with officials. According to Cakar Mengu's (2011) observations they noticed strangers very easily in the quarters they resided in because they knew each other very well. They lived a secluded life with other immigrants. The majority of the immigrants complained that civil rights, government institutions, health care, education are not efficient in Turkey. Unemployment was the most encountered problem as 78% of the participants expressed this difficulty. Also, 78% of the Bulgarian Turk immigrants said that they would prefer to immigrate to another country, if there is a chance, while 22% of the immigrants

stated that they would prefer to live in Turkey.

Korkmaz (2013) investigated the possible problems the Bulgarian Turkish immigrants might be experiencing in the workplace. Most of them reported that they have experienced difficulties in the workplace because they were immigrants. It was discovered that the problems they were having in their workplaces and social lives were affecting them on both a personal and familial level. The study also found a gender difference in that female immigrants reported experiencing more problems than male immigrants.

Parla (2006) investigated the concept of belonging to a nation among the immigrants. The Bulgarian Turkish population was officially designated ethnic kin by the Turkish state in the 1989 migration wave and they were expected to integrate into Turkey. This study shows that although some immigrants experienced the 1989 immigration like a homecoming, a return to the "true homeland", some of the immigrants felt themselves to be in a state of exile from their homeland and returned to Bulgaria whenever they got a chance.

Parla (2009) shows that Bulgarian Turkish immigrants tend to have a sense of nostalgia about Bulgaria and the socialist regime. Immigrants' nostalgia conveys both their struggle in adapting to Turkish culture and their comparatively positive experiences under socialism in Bulgaria. The study shows that female immigrants tend to prefer the communist regime's attitude towards gender equality in Bulgaria and they tend to dislike the gender inequality and the construct of "honor" in Turkey.

Marriages within Turkish Culture

Turkish society is in a transition from being a traditional, authoritarian, patriarchal, rural and agrarian society to an increasingly modern, egalitarian, urbanized and industrial one. Many areas of social functioning such as its cultural values, norms and attitudes still reflect traditional, authoritarian and patriarchal properties, although it is undergoing rapid social

change (Fişek, 1982; Fişek, 1993). In the last decade Turkey's per capita income has more than doubled and the country has ranked among the top 20 economies in the world, hosting a G20 summit in Antalya in 2015.

The degree of urbanization in Turkey from 2004 to 2014, defined as the proportion of people living in urban areas, rose rapidly from 67 percent in 2004 to 72 percent of the total population in 2014 (www.statista.com).

Nevertheless, marriage is still viewed as a social and financial contract between two families in the more traditional sectors of society. That is why relationships between married couples are more of an economic partnership than companionship that is based on emotional support, fulfillment and communication (Fişek, 1982).

After intensively researching specific characteristics of partner choice patterns, it can be suggested that, in Turkey, marriage is still not solely an individual decision made by two partners; rather it is a social and financial affair between two families. That is, instead of couple-initiated marriages or marriages that are based on love, the family-initiated or arranged mode of marriage are more common.

According to Fisiloglu & Demir (2000) marriages are usually arranged marriages in many countries as well as in Turkey. Kagitcibasi & Ataca (2005) contended that honor is the dominant value that is predominantly maintained through men. Men are regarded as safeguards and women's sexual behavior is controlled by the men in the family. Traditionally these marriage patterns demonstrate no diversion from traditional family behaviours. Parental influence in couple choice is an ongoing issue; leaving hardly any opportunity for acculturation.

Even though arranged marriages are still not uncommon in Turkish culture, more and more young couples are choosing their own partners. Despite the barriers to intimate

relationship between males and females, it is observed that young individuals under the effect of urbanization, education and Western media have increasingly sought mixed socialization (Fişek, 1993).

Consequently, drawing a clear picture of relationship and marriage patterns in Turkish culture is difficult because differences in cultural heritage, family traditions and local settings might be significant in the North or East of Turkey compared to regions which have different characteristics, such as the coastal line in the West. Studies show that couples formed from the well-educated Turkish populations living in urban areas are exhibiting ever-smaller gaps in their level of educational attainment. There is a great deal of research that examines the studies on marriage and relationships in Turkey and published reports about relationship and marriage patterns. The research covers the period between 1993 and 2015. Reviewing it facilitates better understanding of some of the characteristics of, and relevant discussions surrounding, marital and intimate relationship functioning in Turkey. There remains an ongoing discussion about how to improve support for populations constituting a large part of the Turkish community, who are poorly educated, residing in semirural areas, struggling with severe economical difficulties and marital discord. Obviously, early (child) marriages, especially in the East shape an outcome of paying little attention to this discussion and consequently pathological marital relationship patterns paving the way for psychological disturbances. Moreover, Ozkan, Altindag, Oto & Sentunali (2006) contended that multiple-spouse marriages are still common especially in rural areas of the country. Surprisingly, there is a common belief among Turkish people that arranged marriages last longer. Nevertheless Guney et al. (2007) posits that there are many cases of severe psychological problems seen in women, and fewer in men, whose spouses were chosen by the father.

Sayil (1996) emphasizes the high percentage of people who attempt suicide in

protest. An investigation of Turkish family structures by DPT (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı) reports that families arrange 56% of all marriages in Turkey. It is also reported that these family initiated marriages are more prevalent in rural areas than in urban areas and among less educated individuals than more educated ones (Hortaçsu & Oral, 1994). Hortaçsu (1995) found that an increase in educational level, which is accepted as an index of modernity, is associated with conjugal love rather than a familial orientation to marriage. Moreover, a higher level of couple education is also found to be related to higher levels of couples' own contribution to marriage expenses, which leads to expectations of greater spousal equality and greater distancing from their families of origin. Hortaçsu's (1995) study identified various reasons for marriage. These include normative reasons, market value reasons, and relationship reasons. Normative reasons comprise items such as family compatibility, being at the appropriate age for marriage, or wishing to attain a place in the society; the market value factor as a marriage reason contains items such as good looks, profession, and the financial status of the spouse; while the relationship factor is composed of items such as love, spouse's personality, spousal compatibility, and the desire to continue life together. When the individuals were required to classify their marriages into one of the categories, consisting of love, logic, convention, love-respect and love-logic, 64% of couples classified their marriages as being based on love (Hortaçsu, 1995).

Research exploring ongoing marriages in Turkey shows that there is a strong correlation with the use of maintenance strategies and marital satisfaction (Stanford & Canary, 1991). These are openness, positivity, assurances, sharing social networks and sharing tasks. According to Torun (2005), the use of positivity is the strongest predictor of marital satisfaction for both parties, and openness is the least significant (Torun, 2005). Torun also found that Turkish couples' uses of maintenance strategies are similar to that of

American or other European couples. Nevertheless, marital dissatisfaction - and as a result domestic violence - remains an important social, economic and public health problem.

Statistics from the Turkish Statistics Institute (TurkStat) indicate that the rate of divorce among couples has soared over the last 10 years. Figures show that there were 123,325 divorces in Turkey in 2012, an increase of 2.7 percent on the previous year.

The divorce rate rose dramatically in marriages that had lasted 20 years or more, while the rate was highest among those who'd split up within the first year of marriage. The biggest reasons for divorce might involve crises between couples arising during the first three years of marriage, as couples are getting used to living together.

Those who get divorced at a later age might explain this with their children, who were probably the primary reason why the marriage had lasted so long. Once they had grown up and gotten jobs, the breakups began. When children leave home for university or marriage, couples can often realize that they have already split up with their partner emotionally and are merely parents instead of part of a couple.

Nevertheless the crude divorce rate is lower than European countries (DIE Reports, 2015). This may be due to traditional and religious beliefs, strong family ties or economic reasons. It should be noted that these statistics do not reflect divorces among non-civil marriages, which are common mostly in rural areas. According to statistical reports, men mostly divorce at a later age then women. The reports also show that the largest number of divorces occur during the first five years of marriage (DIE Reports, 2015). The difference between men and women when asking for a divorce might be explained by considering that for women in society, it is easier to settle down before the age of 30 or 35, but not so much thereafter. Men, though, still have time to have a family, even after that age. Men can divorce later in life and have less trouble remarrying compared to women. Also reasons like waiting

for the kids to grow up might be an explanation, in which "the couple might have already emotionally divorced long before." The most common reasons for both men and women divorcing are lack of communication, economic concerns and infidelity within the family.

Marriage patterns in Turkey determine women's social participation and economic opportunities and vice versa. According to the GAP Report (2012) Turkey ranked lowest in economic participation for women in comparison to countries in Europe and the Central Asia. Marriage patterns also determine women's political participation, as well as access to health and education.

Turkey today is experimenting with Political Islam with unforeseeable results. Is the expansion of religious freedoms going to compromise gender equality? Recently, the "woman question" has been a contested domain involving feminists, Islamists, the state and increasingly the media. In November 2014 the Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan declared that "men and women are not equal; it is against nature". To what extent is this statement indicative of a deeply-ingrained attitude within Turkish society about gender equality, or inequality?

Surely, marital quality affects society in general. The correlation between positive health and prosperity in a society and raising children in a happy family environment is uncontested. Much like when Putnam (2000) argues that kids today just aren't joiners, similarly social capital, civil society and social interaction cannot be maintained with insufficient social standing of women, who play a dominant role in raising and shaping the future of their children. The collapse of the female working class and the growth of an upper class that seems to be largely indifferent to the other's existence can be challenged by an active civil society with more women committed to an enlightened secularism and liberal democracy. Women are an important safety net for the healthy functioning of society. This

functioning needs a more vigorous maintenance of consciousness to uphold women's rights as human rights against the promotion of secondary roles for women.

Today's Turkey reveals many paradoxes when it comes to gender equality. There are many female academics, engineers, lawyers and doctors. In spite of this, there are no women at the top levels of the bureaucracy; there is only one female minister in the Turkish Cabinet. On the one hand, only ¼ of Turkish women work outside the house and many of them work in the lowest-paying jobs. Consequently, closer links with those states, institutions and people, where gender equality is successfully internalized, is a necessity for today's Turkey. The Turkish president's personal view may well reflect a dominant social norm in Turkey, but in today's Europe it is not a far-fetched idea to welcome Turkey adapting to European norms on gender equality within the country's hopes of EU accession. Most likely long-term, satisfactory marriages have significant positive effects both on the well-being of a couple and the society within which they live.

CHAPTER 3

THEORY

Attachment Theory

This chapter includes a general summary of "Attachment Theory". In the first part there is a brief overview of John Bowlby's theory since his concepts of 'secure base' and 'internal working models' provided ground for continuity of attachment patterns from infancy into childhood and adulthood (Main, Kaplan & Cassidy). There is also an overview of Mary Ainsworth's research investigating the link between maternal sensitivity and development of attachment patterns. This is followed by some psychoanalytic theories which constitude links between psychoanalytical thinking and attachment theory. Some theoretical concepts were inured to the benefit of establishing the empirical evidence for the importance of internal models of attachment on human behavior. Then the Adult Attachment Interview is defined followed by the role of mentalization in the process of attachment. Lastly the main aspects of these above-mentioned theories has been linked.

Attachment theory posits that mental representations of self and other stems from the relationships with early care-givers. Subsequent close relatioships are guided by these representations so interpersonal relationships are all influenced by these schemas (Levy, Blatt & Shaver, 1988).

It is established that trust is one of the most basic elements of a mutually satisfying relationship. That is to say, the main precursor of a good relationship is trust between partners. That is why it is important to understand how to build it and how a person can believe that the other person will be there in times of stress (Turan & Horrowits, 1997). To be able to answer these questions, John Bowlby's studies on the basis of attachment is the main

source to examine when defining a new psychological mechanism which refers to the early mother-infant relationship and the quality of their bond.

The definition of attachment has been made on the basis of the affectional bond that an individual establishes with the significant other and that bond remains certain across space and time (Ainsworth, 1970). Bowlby (1980) defined attachment as being composed of four classes of behavior: maintenance of proximity, separation anxiety, safe haven and secure base. Accoring to him, all of them are observable since the infant tries to maintain the desired proximity to the mother, appeals to her as a safe haven when faced with threat, becomes anxious in case of separation, and resorts to the mother as a secure base.

Greenberg and Mitchell (1983) put forward that Bowlby gradually shifted focus from the monadic model of the mind to the relational one. Although Bowlby shared the same interest with Freud and he dealt with evolutionary biology, there were some significant divergences between his and Freud's ideas. For example, Freud contended that the relationship between an infant and his caregiver develops on the basis of the repeated satisfaction of drives, whereas the relational model emphasizes the importance of the newborn's potential and need to create a bond with his caregivers. Commenting on that dissidence Mitchell (1988) asserted that the attachment is interactional by definition, and it is the concept of motivation that is fundamentally different from Freud's drive. His contention is that Bowlby's motive of attachment and the established patterns of interaction may be regarded as a reversal of means and ends that is captured in Fairbairn's slogan "Libido is not pleasure seeking but object seeking" (cited in Mitchell, 1988.) As Mitchell (1988) puts it "Who the other is, what the other does, and how the other regards what is going on become much more important" (p.24, italics are original) when compared with the interaction for contact as a means of gratifying wishes.

In regard to this issue, Bowlby (1969) relied on the work of etiologists accounted for the child-caregiver relationship's evolutionary function in which the individual is affected by the responsiveness of early caregivers. He recognized the biologically based evolutionary necessities of attachment.

Bowlby's most significant contribution was his steady focus on the infant's need for a secure early attachment to the primary caregiver. He substantially worked on the reactions of separation and saw all kinds of anxiety rooted in the basic anxiety that is due to the separation from the object of attachment. Bowlby had always stated that detachment - in other words the deactivation of need for attachment - stands at the root of all defenses (Mitchell & Black, 1995).

Mary Ainsworth and strange situation research. Although Bowlby is commonly described as the father of attachment theory, the theory is actually the child of two parents, the mother being Mary Ainsworth. She empirically tested and eventually elaborated upon Bowlby's seminal contributions (Bretherton, 1985). Ainsworth proposed a developmental model which hypothesizes that variation in maternal sensitivity is the direct developmental determinant of the infant attachment security. Based on this statement, she systematically studied infant-parent separations and the individual differences. Ainsworth focussed on how children react to the availability of the attachment figure and how they subsequently form their attachment behavior when faced with a threat. After a long-term study of the child-mother dyads she utilized a laboratory-based procedure which she termed strange situation. By using that technique she observed an infant's internal models and assessed the infant's types of attachments (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall, 1978). Strange situation is important to know since it is what the Adult Attachment Interview, the main tool of the present research, stems from. In this procedure, the infant and mother enter the room where

there is a stranger, and the mother talks to the stranger for a while. Then a brief separation occurs when the mother leaves the room, leaving the infant with the stranger. The mother returns a few minutes later. Infants classified as Secure explore the environment in the presence of the mother, are anxious in the presence of the stranger and avoid her. They tend to be distressed when the mother leaves but are easily soothed as soon as she returns and go back to exploration. Infants categorized as Anxious/Avoidant seem to be distant from the start and are made less anxious by separation. They do not seek proximity with the mother when she returns. Moreover they do not seem to prefer the mother over the stranger. Anxious/Ambivalent children do not explore the room even in the mother's presence, become intensely upset when she leaves and have great difficulty in settling down upon reunion, acting ambivalently; seemingly both wishing to be picked up by the mother and struggling to be set down. In recent years a new category has been established based on the observations of Main & Solomon (1990). This category is comprised of infants who exhibit seemingly undirected behavior giving the impression of disorganization and disorientation in the presence of the caregiver.

According to Ainsworth and colleagues, attitudes in Strange Situation represent quite stable characteristics, at least in the early years of life. However, when it comes to question of its stability across different cultures, an ongoing debate takes centre stage. The attachment control system is regarded as a result of evolutionary heredity. This paves the way for a debate as to whether the infants have secure-base behavior in a similar fashion regardless of the kind of the ecological settings, or whether this organization differs in other environments. Ainsworth's answer to that question was that: 'Both are true' (Ainsworth et al., 1978).

Relying on the mass data obtained from her studies, Ainsworth proposed that infants

become attached to their primary caregiver. This is not in proportion to the care they receive. However when there are multiple major separations involved there is a considereable threat to the child's mental health. According to her it is the presence of the caregiving figure rather than the caregiving behavior that is essential for attachment to develop (Ainsworth, 1969). Ainsworth refers to Lorenz's work on imprinting and she asserts that human attachment is analogous with imprinting. In the human condition it differs in that it needs more time to develop. She contends that attachment is not affected by maternal sensitivity, that is to say that there is an attachment pattern across all situations but actually what is affected by the quality of the care-giving is the security of the attachment.

The first reports of Strange Situation behavior mostly concerned with an ordinary baby's typical reactions to brief seperations from the mother and to the new environment. Subsequent home visits led her to realize the differences in a baby's responses to strange situation. She realized that the qualities of the many interactions that she had seen between the mother and the infant were behind her perceptions of those differences (Ainsworth & Bell, 1970).

There had been debate within the field about the effects of maternal sensitivity versus differences in temperament. According to Ainsworth, they are both effective. However, to her, individual differences that stem from mother-child interactions are more important and she believed that they play a bigger role in moulding the nature of the child's later relationships than temperamental qualities. Although she thought that differences in temperament may have a big impact on the nature of a baby's behaviors, she contended that these are not the major determinants of whether the child would be securely attached or not. At first, she asserted her belief that in the formation of attachment bonds, by far the greater role belongs to the mother in terms of her responses to a baby's particular kind of behavior

(Ainsworth & Bell, 1970). She agreed with Freud that the main factor of a baby's bond to his mother is that she is the one who feeds the baby, and the pleasure derived from that becomes the basis for forming an attachment bond, thus giving prominence to the figure as food provider. However, she criticized the underestimation of the idea that an infant might get attached by any other reason, and appreciates Bowlby's efforts to open minds to the premise that other mechanisms might be at work. She resorted to the observations from her own study that was conducted in Uganda and proposes them as firsthand evidence for what she had been taught: that the "prime mover" of attachment bonds should not only be restricted to the feeding function of the mother (Ainsworth, 1967).

Secure base. An infant may be presumed to be attached to the primary figure if it is observed as organizing its attachment behavior around that specific figure as to use her as a secure base for exploration and as a haven of safety in times of stress. The significance of the secure base phenomenon stems from the fact that it is the primary indicator of the presence of an attachment relationship from the infant's viewpoint (Ainsworth, 1973). Moreover, it has been found out that the effectiveness of the attachment as a source of security for the infant is reflected in the individual differences in parenting (Ainsworth, 1973). The patterns of behavior seen in Strange Situation are described by the classificatory system which has been led by these fundamental insights, that in turn have also been guided by research into attachment antecedents and consequences.

When Sroufe & Waters (1977) shifted the focus from proximity to "felt security" they explicitly emphasized the centrality of emotion to attachment. They contended that the most fundamental thing is the feeling of security rather than proximity since an infant could be physically close to the attachment figure without feeling secure. According to Sroufe & Fleeson (1986, 1988) the caregiver-infant relationship must be understood and organized as a

whole in which the stable element is not the characteristics of the interactions but the relationship itself. They contended that the changes in the interactive behavior of each individual constitute the social dynamics. So that the behavior of each interactant is structured to complement the behavior of social partners which in turn establishes a goal-directed system. This takes place within the constraints of the relationship in which the interactive behaviors function to maintain the organization of the relationship. Sroufe and Fleeson's model is a relationship perspective that regards the mother's sensitivity and the infant's security as the reflections of the two parties' interactional dynamics. They do not accept the belief that the maternal sensitivity or the characteristics of the mother or only the characteristic of the infant itself is the determinant of attachment security. They look from a systems perspective in which it is agreed that these two constructs -maternal sensitivity and the infant's temperament- could not be independent or that maternal sensitivity itself is not the sole element of the attachment security (Sroufe & Fleeson, 1986).

The significance of the secure base phenomenon as the primary indicator of presence of attachment relationships from the perspective of the infant is recognized by Ainsworth. In Ainsworth theory, the mother being the secure base from which infant explores the world remains the central core concept. However, she continued to explore the construction of different patterns of relationships in the course of the child's particular experiences in using the mother as this secure base.

Internal working models. Ainsworth and Bowlby (1991) placed the secure base phenomenon at the center of their explanation of the quality of child-mother attachment relationships.

They proposed that experiences with caregivers are internalized by the children and these early relationships become prototypes for later ones. These prototypes, termed "internal

working models", are based on expectations formed on the basis of the availability and sensitivity of the caregiver to the infant in times of distress (Bowlby, 1982). As mentioned in the beginning of the first part, Bowlby had recoiled from Klein's conception that internalized object relations and "phantasies" sprang from the inner world of the child rather than being formed via actual interactions with others.

Bowlby also dissented against the description of the dynamic representational world with static signifiers such as maps or images. Instead of relying on the theory of an "internal working model" he argued that a working model is registered internally by the knowledge about the interpersonal world created by repeated interactions with caregivers. Since the infant's behavior at the end of the first year is based on these expectations, and the working model influences both expectations and the behavior that flows from them, it shapes interactions as well as being shaped by them (Fonagy, 1999). There are two complementary components in the working model: the attachment figure and the self. The attachment figure component refers to the availability and responsiveness of the caregiver when needed, while the self component is related to whether the self is worthy of love and care (Bowlby, 1973).

Attachment research has demonstrated how "internal working models of attachment" are connected to a child's participation in coherent forms of parent-child interaction (Lyons & Ruth, 1999). Recently, psychoanalytic understanding of mental representations has been developed upon exploring the relational aspects to these representations and the course of their evolution.

Psychoanalytic concepts such as mental representations and internal working models in attachment theory have helped us to undersand the different aspects of the representational process. Cognitive developmental perspectives have been applied to attachment theory in order to increase the conception of the degrees of interpersonal functioning in each insecure

type. This has provided us with a wider application of attachment theory in the field of psychotherapy (Levy & Blatt, 1999).

Mary Main. Psychoanalysis is one of the main disciplines that aim to explore the human in depth. One of its primary tenets is the decisiveness of the early mother-infant relationship on later life. Despite the fact that this topic had been pointed out repeatedly by the pioneering figures in the field like Winnicott and Kohut, it has for a long time lacked clear operational definition. It was the foundation of the construct of attachment and then the following development of AAI that took it from the obscurity of being an abstract, indefinable and immeasurable phenomenon, paving the way instead for scientific observation and exploration into the topic. AAI has come to serve as the operational definition of the construct of attachment.

Fonagy (2001) asserts that "taking psychoanalytic theory as a whole, many important discoveries of attachment theory can be seen to have been observed on the couch as well as in the laboratory" (p.192). His contention is that bridging these two approaches has the benefit of enriching both. By this means, the use of attachment methodology for the exploration of psychoanalytic work and ideas may be possible. Attachment status, for example, has come to be used in the assessment of the outcomes of psychoanalytic treatment.

It is firmly established that mental representations have central importance in attachment theory. As Bowlby (1982 as cited in Turan, 2008) puts it, mental representations grow out of the history of reliable and effective secure base support which is eventually generalized. This paves the way for the expectation that the primary caregiver will always be there, and that they will be wise enough and powerful enough to meet the individual's needs (Turan, 2008). Bartholomew & Shaver (1998, as cited in Turan, 2008) assert that "theoretically, these representations influence a person's expectations, emotions, defenses,

and relational behavior in all close relationships" (p. 25). When the individual reaches adulthood, he or she seems to transfer his or her generalized expectations to new relationship partners. For this reason the literature on adult attachment mostly focuses on this type of internal working model and illustrates the influence of generalized images and expectations (Turan, 2008).

Mary Main's work was theoretically and empirically stimulating and facilitated the conception of the nature of internal working models of attachment. Through her research, attachment theory, attachment research and psychoanalysis were all brought closer together. Psychoanalytic understanding of the representational world has greatly enriched by attachment research. Mental representations that have been conceptualized in early psychoanalytic theories, especially the ones that are on representational images of first caregivers, were often proved to be statistically significant. The fact that that is internalized in relationships rather than the individuals has become established (Loewald, 1962).

Relational and working aspects of representations have been stressed by attachment theorists; the former being what is represented and the latter being the evolving nature of representations. Recent psychoanalytic investigations such as Blatt's & Levy's also emphasized the working model of attachment relationships. Main's research made it possible to study internal working models empirically and AAI made it possible for researchers to explore the inner world of attachment in adulthood.

Assessing adult attachment. Bowlby regards attachment as a system that remains active "from the cradle to the grave". That contention led to the application of attachment classifications to the study of adults. Bowlby originally focused on the behavior of infants and young children. In the following years, he came to believe that the attachment needs which are biologically driven manifest themselves significantly across the entire life span.

Thus, the importance of felt security is established and attachment came to be regarded as an ongoing human need rather than a childlike dependency that we outgrow. As previously noted attachment patterns have a strong propensity to persist across the life span. Research has also shown that attachment patterns transcend generations.

In the aftermath of Main's original investigation, a meta-analysis was conducted by van Ijzendorn (1995). He contended that the parent's Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) generally predicted the Strange Situation classification of their infants. Moreover, it was found that the secure infant becomes a secure adult who also raises secure children as a parent. Similarly, a single study by Benoit and Parker (as cited in Hesse, 1999) that was conducted to explore the fate of attachment classifications of grandmothers tended to correspond to even their daughter's children. This is called transgenerational attachment. So Bowlby's statement about attachment patterns could in fact be extended thus: "from the cradle to beyond the grave".

Attachment and Psychoanalysis

The implications of attachment theory were neglected by psychoanalytically oriented clinicians until the resent rapproachment in the field. Fonagy (2001) highlights: "There is bad blood between psychoanalysis and attachment theory. As with many family feuds, it is hard to identify where the problem began".

Psychoanalysis placed human relatedness in the center of its understanding of the human psyche in different ways. Freud, a leading figure, approached the concept of attachment from different angles. His theories indicate a developmental progression. Even though they are not independent from each other, they have slight differences in examining the human psyche. Therefore, to better understand Freud's approach to the attachment theory, examining his work is important.

Freud's contributions can be viewed in three phases (Sandler et al. 1997; Fonagy, 2010) During the first phase, using the affect-trauma model Freud emphasizes that a neurotic mind is affected by the actual events of external world. He, like Bowlby, started his way of understanding the human psychological world as the consequence of the significant early deprivation. However, Bowlby's epistemology differs from Freud's initial writings in that Bowlby highlights the representation of the early experiences (Fonagy, 2010).

Freud's later move to the topographical model rejects any kind of realism or environmentalism. In this model the emphasis is on instinctual drives, which are genetically determined, so that any connection with environmental variations and actual relationships are avoided (Ainsworth, 1969). Hence, the divergence between Freud's theory and attachment theory is greater in comparison with Freud's earlier or later ideas.

With the shift to the third phase, the relative significance of external variables plays a role in his understanding of the psyche. He posits that, even though anxiety is biologically driven, it is influenced by external variations, as well. (Freud, 1926) Apart from stressing the importance of the drive for an object, he also came to consider the ways in which these objects are internalized (as cited in Mitchell, 1988). During this phase, he sheds light on the concept of loss as one of the external situations. His work "Mourning and Melancholia" (1917) also represents a crucial point in the development of Freud's growing emphasis on internalized object relations. Here Freud describes the self-accusations of the psychotically depressed one. In this case, the loss of a loved one gives way not only to a normal mourning process, but vicious self-attacks.

In 1931, Freud came to realise the crucial importance of infant-mother attachment (S. Freud, 1931), and he underlined it again in 1938 when he portrayed the mother's significance as "unique, without parallel, established unalterably for a whole lifetime as the first and

strongest love-object and as the prototype of all later love relations". He introduced a new concept by reviewing his earlier statement.

"The phylogenetic foundation has so much the upper hand . . . over accidental experience, that it makes no difference whether a child has really sucked at the breast or has been brought up on the bottle and never enjoyed the tenderness of a mother's care. In both cases the child's development takes the same path; it may be that in the second case its later longing grows all the greater" (1938, pp. 188-189).

To sum up, Freud's theories have some concurrent and divergent points and they influenced Bowlby's attachment theories significantly. Fonagy (2010) summarized how the critical points of Freud's writings had played an important role in the development of Bowlby's work. In his later writings Bowlby took inspiration from Freud's becoming aware of the significance of attachment to the mother. He highlights Freud's observation (Freud, 1920) of the some-month old infants who felt distress when they were isolated from their caregivers. Anxiety is facilitated by the fear of loss of the mother and is accompanied with fear of ungratified instincts (Freud, 1926). Later on, Freud acknowledged that a child's emotional link with his mother is unique and special and precursor for later love relationships.

Freud also emphasized the importance of the attachment during the development of a therapeutic relationship. He (1913, cited in Cortina & Marrone, 2003) posits that:

> "It remains the first aim of the treatment to attach him to it (the transference) and to the person of the doctor. To ensure this, nothing needs to be done but give it time. If one exhibits a serious interest in him, carefully clears away the resistances that crop out at the beginning and avoids making certain mistakes, he will of himself form such an attachment and link the doctor up with one of the images of the people by whom he was accustomed to be treated with affection."

Freud (1912) defines transference as the individual "re-experiencing emotional relations which had their origin in his earliest object-attachments during the repressed period of early childhood".

According to Bowlby (1969), after human beings form a close bond with each other for survival, these bonds pave the way for the development and maintenance of the mental representations of self and other. The internal working model can be understood as a mediator of the attachment experiences since it helps people predict and understand the environment or enable a feeling of safeness in relation to others. This concept can be considered as an alternative to concepts such as introjection and internalization. Therefore Freud's understanding of transference as the prototype and template of early relationships is rooted in the "internal working model" in Bowlby's term.

Bowlby (1980) defined attachment as being composed of four classes of behavior. These are proximity maintenance, safe haven, separation distress and secure base. He described them as being observable since the infant tries to maintain the desired proximity with the mother, appeals to her as a safe haven when faced with threat, becomes distressed in case of separation and uses the mother as a secure base to explore the environment. Using these notions, Bowlby gradually hauled the focus from the monadic model of the mind to the relational one (Greenberg & Mitchell, 1983). He was impressed by evolutionary biology and Freud's writings although there were some main controversies with his ideas. For example, Freud's contention was that the repeated drive satisfactions pave the way for the development of the relationship of the infant with his caregiver whereas the relational model put weight on the newborn's potential and need to create an immediate relationship with his caregivers.

Pointing to that dissidence Mitchell (1988) asserted that attachment is interactional by definition, and it is a concept of motivation that is fundamentally different from Freud's

drive. His contention is that Bowlby's motive of attachment and the established patterns of interaction may be regarded as a reversal of means and ends that is captured in Fairbairn's slogan "Libido is not pleasure seeking but object seeking" (cited in Mitchell, 1988). As Mitchell (1988) puts it "Who the other is, what the other does, and how the other regards what is going on become much more important" (p.24, italics are original) when compared with the interaction for contact as a means of gratifying wishes.

Margaret Mahler. Mahler's is regarded as a pioneer of developmental ego psychology, and emphasized the importance of the human environment. For her the infant's psychic growth is possible within the symbiotic orbit. Mahler's main contribution is that she put forward the differentiation between actual birth and psychological birth of a human infant (Mahler 1963). According to her, a baby's emotional dependence on the mother gradually decreases as the psychological birth becomes possible on achieving this transformation and becoming more autonomous. She contents that the mother provides the crucial "mirroring frame of reference" (Mahler, 1968, p.19), for her baby's immature ego and this paves the way for the infant's regulation and protection of himself from the environment. When the mother is hostile, unpredictable or anxious, the normal developmental passage through (and healthy emergence from) symbiotic relatedness becomes disrupted. Even though functionally present, if the mother is emotionally detached, preoccupied with issues in her own life and thus having difficulty in connecting to her baby emotionally, eventual independent functioning of the infant becomes less likely.

Mahler reformulated Freud's conceptualization of the nature of the early phase of life, "primary narcissism", the stage characterized as essentially objectless. Mahler argued that the child breaks out of the "autistic shell" by entering into the "normal symbiosis". During the symbiotic phase the infant begins to make a distinction between the outer and

inner world, but the boundaries between the mother and baby are still fused. Normal progression occurs hand in hand with the child's psychological maturation, physical and cognitive development, and the contributions of crucial maternal function.

As a result of her studies in which she observed mother-infant dyads, infants show the first signs of individuation around four and five months of age. This is called the separation-individuation phase which Mahler identifies as being composed of identifiable sub-phases, characterized by an infant's differentiation process from the mother-infant unity, and demarcation of his body image from his mother's. The child experiences psychic disequilibrium between fifteen and twenty four months, which Mahler theorized was a rapprochement phase. In it, psychological maturation is congruent with physical development bringing the mobility and distressing awareness of the separation from the symbiotic union with the mother. A toddler who now becomes tentative needs his mother to be in sight so that through action and eye contact he can regulate this anxiety provoking experience of being apart.

In this process of separation and rapprochement, both separation and individuation are achieved providing the ability to integrate frustrating and pleasurable aspects of experiences with another person. As a consequence a stable sense of self develops so that the child begins to be able to tolerate fluctuating emotional states both within himself and with the other.

Mahler enables us to conceive how inner representations of the self and other occurs and interpersonal experiences become internalized.

Melanie Klein. One of Melanie Klein's (1946, 1952) main contributions was to utilize the existence of two positions in the psychic development of the individual. These are the paranoid-schizoid and depressive positions. Each position has its own characteristic

anxieties, defences and types of object relating. In the first, the paranoid-schizoid position is in operation since the beginning of life. Here the dominant anxiety is persecutory anxiety – a fear of annihilation caused by the death instinct. In this position splitting, projection and projective identification are the most dominant defenses. The intolerable anxiety is got rid of by partly projecting it onto the baby's primary object, the mother's breast. So that in this position the boundaries between subject and object are blurred. In doing this, the ego splits itself, as well as the object, into good and bad leading to the splitting of love and hate.

At the beginning of life, these two kept separate, but with the maturation of the infant it become possible to integrate the split versions of the mother. Now the baby becomes able to experience the mother as a whole object, which is both good and bad, and loved and hated at the same time. However, "when such part-objects are brought together as a whole they threaten to form a contaminated, damaged or dead whole object" (Hinshelwood 1991, p. 138). This gives rise to depressive anxiety – "the most anguished form of guilt due to ambivalent feelings towards an object" (ibid, p. 138) – and concern for the object. If the depressive anxiety is too great to bear, paranoid and manic defences are mobilised and there is a retreat from the depressive position. In the first, the object is split into good and bad again, whereas in the second, there is the omnipotent belief that the damaged good object is not important and that the person is self-sufficient and therefore does not need to depend on anyone. However, if depressive anxiety can be borne, the process of introjection takes over from projection and the breast is internalised. The introjection of the good object forms the nucleus of a stable sense of self and the internal world.

The developments of the depressive position can only take place with the successful negotiation of the Oedipus complex or, as Klein called it, the "Oedipus situation" (Klein 1928). The infant's developing cognitive and emotional capacities lead to his perceptual field

widening to include father and other objects in his world, in addition to mother. He is now faced with the relationship between his parents and the painful truth of not being the sole possessor of his mother; and of her having a relationship with the father, which excludes him.

Wilfred Bion. Bion (1959) extended the concept of projective identification to include a primitive means of communication. He suggested that if the mother is capable of being receptive to the infant's projective identification and allows the projected anxieties to reside in her long enough, they become detoxified through her understanding and the infant can reintroject a modified and tolerable version of the anxieties. His own capacity to contain fears and anxieties begins to develop because he takes in part of the mother's mind at the same time. Bion refers to this process as "container/ contained" and sees it as resulting in normal development. If however the mother, through her own anxiety or emotional fragility, is unable to tolerate her baby's state and therefore does not allow it access, the infant will defensively use projective identification ever more forcefully to rid itself of what Bion called "nameless dread". This results in problems managing the transition between the paranoid-schizoid and the depressive positions.

As another aspect, Bion described projective identification as the capacity to be receptive to the return of projected aspects of the self. Bion used the term containment. According to this model, infants project their unbearable feelings on their mother. Mothers should be able to receive these projected feelings rather than returning these unwanted feelings to the children. These feelings should be processed within the mothers' mind. Therefore, children may be available for the modified form of those. If the mother fails to make transitions bearable by the baby in the space perceived between his body and that of his object, the baby has too much to do and the gesture which, in reaching for the object, aims to recognize its reality is transformed into a defence against that reality. This enables us to

complete Bion's theory as follows: if the function of the object is to 'contain' the self (Bion, 1957), this container must not only transform the baby's anxiety so as to make it bearable to him but must also bring about situations for the baby in such a way that the anxiety aroused in him can also be coped with. An object that put the baby into situations of excessive catastrophic anxiety would not subsequently be able to allay the anxiety it has aroused. On the other hand, an object which did not allow the baby to experience the anxiety associated with separation (if such a situation could be created by an object) would not enable the baby to identify with its function, which is precisely that of allowing anxiety to be coped with.

Bion's theory has been helpful in elaborating two-person relationships beginning from the mother-infant dyad to later relationships. Bion also gives a clear account of the child's observing the other couple relationship, that of the mother and father, and internalizing this entity as the parental couple. For him, starting from the first link with the mother, the link between the mother and father becomes part of a function. His concepts of container-container and his accounts on alpha functions are also helpful in understanding the relationship dynamics from the earliest ones to adult romantic couple relationship. A more elaborate account of Bion's contributions to the explanation the dynamics of adult relationships can be found in "Psychoanalytic Concepts in Couple Relatioships" below.

Donald Winnicott. Greenberg & Mitchell's (1983) Relational Model proposes an alternative perspective to the Freudian drive theory. According to the relational model perspective relations with others, rather than drives, are considered as the basic substance of mental life. The drive and relational models are known to be comprehensive interpretive systems. They account for all dimensions of human experience. Winnicott is one of the most prominent authors who wrote in drive model language, redefining all terms, reinterpreting all

basic structural components as to constitute a vision that is relational in all major aspects (Mitchell, 1988).

During his education in medical school he had become aware of Freud's theories and some of the ideas of Sigmund Freud such as the importance of fantasy and instinctual gratification. However, Winnicott diverged from Freudian thinking by shifting the focus from the issues in the oedipal phace to the formation of the self; and creating a new version of object relations theory by shifting the focus from the oedipal phase to the formation of the self as a result of the relationship between the nursing couple; from too much stress on fantasy to the centrality of environmental provision (Mitchell, 1988).

Winnicott's educational background was pediatrics and he came to psychoanalysis as a careful observer of mother-child relationships. Since he was at an early formative stage supervised by Melanie Klein, she had a huge influence on him (ibid). Winnicott described the 'early emotional development of the infant, before the infant knows himself (and therefore others) as the whole person that he is (and that they are) ...' (p. 149).

According to Fonagy (2001) Winnicott is a prominent contributor to the provision of developmental description of the origins of the self in the infant-caregiver relationship, since he regarded the child as evolving from a mother-infant unity. By focusing on the process of integration, Winnicott implicated the quality of maternal care received by the infant that facilitated its normal development.

Winnicott (1986) contended that the pieces of interaction between the mother and child are central to the development of the internal world. According to him the mother backs up the development of a healthy sense of independence and helps the child to adapt to external realities by her failure to adapt to every need of the child. Winnicott's (1986, p.15) term 'the good enough mother' is firmly established in the literature as a contrast to the

'perfect' mother who satisfies all the needs of the infant immediately and thus prevents his development. Instead, the good-enough mother tries to provide what the infant needs, at the same time she spontaneously puts a time space between the demands and the satisfaction of them and she progressively increases it. Winnicott asserts that humans are not machines and 'imperfections that are the characteristics of human adaptation to need are essential qualities in the environment that facilitates' (Winnicott, 1985, p.17).

He contributed to psychoanalytic theory through his deep sense of the mother's effects on the infant's emotional world. Although he elaborated on what kind of world an infant needs, he did not propose a detailed set of instructions in terms of the mother (Steele & Steele, 2008). According to him this is something instinctual and eternal that should be given space to emerge naturally. Numerous times he states that mothers must be encouraged to do and to be what they themselves spontaneously and intuitively feel is right and naturally comforting for themselves and their babies. He insisted that mothering is by definition a matter of nature and 'what a mother needs to find is her way with the baby like modern mothers have found their way since the dawn of human history' (Winnicott, 1988b, p.105). What Winnicott elaborated upon is the mother's intent when she deals with the infant's need on several occasions.

The mother tries to capture the cause of the infant's distress to be able to relieve it properly. It is the mother's attempts that underlie her affection towards the infant and make it feel that it is cared for. And the infant itself is the mother's desire that makes her derive her own gratification exclusively from being a mother. So that, every occasion is a unique happening that occurs between the nursing couple who intrinsically try to establish a dyadic empathy and affection bonds.

The dialectic between intent and actuality is illustrated in Mitchell's (1988) book of Relational Concepts in Psychoanalysis, with a wonderful story about the composer Stravinsky.

> "He had written a new piece with a difficult violin passage. After it had been in rehearsal for several weeks, the solo violinist came to Stravinsky and said he was sorry, he had tried his best, the passage was too difficult; no violinist could play it. Stravinsky said, 'I understand that. What I am after is the sound of someone trying to play it'" (Powers, 1984, p.54; as cited in Mitchell, 1988).

Heinz Kohut. Kohut's thinking developed along similar lines with Winnicott. In line with his suggestions, Kohut also indicates the link between self development and mirroring or maternal sensitivity (Fonagy, 2001). In fact Kohut's idea of the self object and self object relations has been anticipated by many theorists (Bacal & Newman, 1990). For example, Fairbairn (as cited in Fonagy 2001) stressed the importance of companionship in establishing a relationship to derive necessary supports. Bowlby (1969) emphasized the attachment bond providing security and Winnicott (1960) mentioned the provision of a holding environment by the "good-enough-mother". The common ground of these prominent theorizers was the agreement on the development of the capacity for intimacy as a multi-layered process occurring within the context of baby-caregiver relationship. They all assumed the fertile groundwork for this capacity that unfolds when the infant is recognized as a person in his own subjectivity (Bacal & Newman, 1990).

The theoretical concepts of Kohut's theory of self-object transferences may be used to establish empirical evidence for the importance of internal models of attachment on human behavior. This may also explain the ways in which events in a child's life take on particular meaning and how these are internalized and generalized to other situations (Blatt, 1974). In Kohut's view, the maturation of the self is achieved through its relationship with self-objects, although he earlier defined self-regard as a structure within the mind that has continuity in

time (Kohut, 1971). So that through Kohut's (1971) use of the term, self-object was helpful in illuminating the human need for self-objects and self-object experience.

The points of contact of Kohut's self- psychology to the notion of attachment rest on the central motivation of the self towards the establishment and maintenance of self-cohesiveness (Shane, Shane & Gales, 1997; as cited in Fonagy, 2001) According to him a parent's empathic attunement to his or her child's developmental striving triggers the child's inborn potential to develop self-structure and a vital, cohesive self. The development of the self, therefore, begins as a self in relationship.

Like Bowlby, Kohut identifies the quality of attachment to primary caretakers as the enduring prime mover of all relationships. Both strived for the replacement of dual drives of classical analysis with a relational construct (Fonagy, 2001). Kohut was a significant contributor to keeping these two interpretive systems delicately balanced. He emphasized the role of environment, as it is experienced by the child, in its development, and disagreed with Freud due to his emphasis on drives as the sole source of motivation (Siegel, 1999).

Fonagy (2001) also contends that Kohut's view of narcissism is closely linked to attachment constructs since he asserts that the origins of self-love and self-esteem, which he terms as narcissism, follows its own path and caregiving persons serve as self-objects having special functions as evoking the experience of selfhood (ibid). He initially defines two separate lines in the relationship matrix, both containing a different need of the child. When these needs are addressed in early childhood, the child does not become a subject for pathological narcissism (Kohut, 1977).

According to his formulation, in self-object relationships parents do not only serve as objects of the child's needs and desires but also as providers of "certain narcissistic functions". One of the self-object functions, which is "mirroring" of the child's

spontaneously arising grandiosity, is closely related to Winnicott's notion of provision of moment of illusion by the parents (Mitchell, 1988).

In this developmental line the child expects his 'exhibitionistic grandiose needs' to be satisfied through mirroring (Kohut, 1971). The child wants to see appreciation in the eyes of the self-object, who is in most cases the mother. Empathic attention and mirroring provide the infant with the support he needs to recognize and experience himself as a total entity, as a self. In the other line of narcissistic development, the child needs an idealized parental image that will be better than anyone else in all domains (Kohut, 1971). The child wants to become part of the idealized figure's perfection and dissolve himself in a fusion with him/her (Strozier, 2004).

On the other hand as Winnicott (1969) suggested, there is no perfect parent. To animate the parent's imperfectness Mitchell (1988) refers to the wings of feathers and wax that was constructed by the mythological figure, Icarus. The story of Icarus illustrates the powerful relationship between the child and the parent's illusions. According to mythological story, Icarus and his son try to escape their island prison by passing through the ocean. The use of such wings required dialectic balance, in that there was a risk of weighting down of the wings from the dampness of the ocean if flying low; and on the other side flying too high would have been risky since the wings may melt in the sun. Mitchell (1988) contends that "we have all been born of imperfect parents, with favorite illusions about themselves and their progeny buoying their self-esteem, cherished along a continuum ending with addiction to illusion." (p. 199).

This dialectic balance requires the narcissistic glow of early experiences to be gradually consolidated into a more realistic sense of self. Under optimal developmental conditions the primary narcissistic state of the infant is pruned with the limitations he faces

and the child sets forth for healthy functioning. The mother inevitably disappoints the infant in her emotional responses, which then paves the way for him to internalize the image of the mother, so that it sustains the function the mother serves on a continuous basis. This brings up Kohut's term "transmuting internalization" through which a structure is built within the self (Kohut, 1971). The basis is the concept of internalization following loss.

Kohut's emphasis of optimal frustration as necessary for maturation of psychological structures as opposed to traumatic frustration also implies that some frustration must take place. Kohut regards this as inevitable, even with the best efforts of the caretakers (Siegel, 1999). This is mainly in line with Winnicott's term, "good enough mothering".

Mentalization. Mentalization is a process in which one thinks about what someone does, what happens between people in terms of psychological meaning and motivation (Fonagy et al., 1994). Mentalization draws strongly on the earlier psychoanalytic models that were stated above. That is, mentalization is an account of how early relationships with parents and adverse experiences may shape and distort emotional and thinking capacities as well as later interpersonal relationships.

Mentalization plays a key role in enhancing a person's ability to achieve emotional self-regulation and control. Mentalization can help the person to infer from other people's cues what particular current intentions, desires and beliefs about the situation may have caused the other's actions and emotions. Mentalization also means evaluating the likely causal consequences of expressing one's basic emotional reactions in a certain interpersonal context. So that, as the mentalization capacity of the one increases he can predict the social consequences of his own expression of emotional states and also what mental states and consequent behaviors are particularly likely to induce others.

Conclusion. Psychoanalysis is one of the main disciplines that aims to explore the human in depth. One of the primary tenets of it is the decisiveness of the early mother-infant relationship on later life. Despite the fact that this topic had been pointed out repeatedly by the pioneering figures in the field, it lacked a clear operational definition. It was the foundation of the construct of attachment and then the following development of AAI that removed it from the obscurity of being an abstract, indefinable and immeasurable phenomenon, and that paved the way for scientific observation and exploration into the topic. AAI has come to serve as the operational definition of the construct of attachment.

Fonagy (2001) asserts that "taking psychoanalytic theory as a whole, many important discoveries of attachment theory can be seen to have been observed on the couch as well as in the laboratory" (p.192). His contention is that bridging these two approaches has the benefit of enriching both. By this means, the use of attachment methodology for the exploration of psychoanalytic work and ideas may be possible. Attachment status, for example, has come to be used to assess the outcome of psychoanalytic treatment.

The theoretically and empirically stimulating work of Main paved the way for the rapprochement between attachment theory and psychoanalysis. The representational world could be explored psychoanalytically and that understanding enriched attachment research. Mental representations conceptualized in early psychoanalytic theories, mostly focusing on representational images of early caregivers, were often proved to be statistically significant. The fact that what is internalized is relationships rather than the individuals has become established (Loewald, 1962).

Place Attachment

Beginning from its very first conception, the attachment notion has been attracting a long lasting attention from the researchers in many fields. One can generally describe

attachment as bonding, forming meaningful connections with particular beings (Scannell & Gifford, 2014, p. 23). By Bowlby's and Ainsworth's pioneer work (cited in Scannell & Gifford, 2014), the attachment theory has been shaped regarding the interpersonal relationships over the past few decades, however it is not until relatively recent that the focus of attention shifted from interpersonal relationships to objects, groups and places. Nevertheless, researchers began to investigate and make definitions of place attachment more than 30 years ago (Stokols & Shumaker, 1981; & Taylor, Gottfredson, & Brower, 1985 cited in Lewicka, 2011), and since then the literature on place attachment has been growing enormously.

A most basic definition of place attachment would be "an affective bond that connects people to places" (Low & Altman, 1992 cited in Lewicka, 2014). The issue has been attracting for years people from numerous fields such as environmental psychology, sociology, human geography, community psychology, urban studies, ecology, tourism and economics (Lewicka, 2011). However, in spite of the extensive previous research on place attachment, the literature is mostly comprised of many empirical papers which are independent from each other, revealing various different constructs of place attachment, showing many related concepts, but also fails to organize a consistent, full-explanatory theory that is satisfying for all of the dedicated researchers. Considering this theoretical gap in the field, it is surprisingly successful that place attachment has already started to be applied to understand many different concepts and behaviors, and suggest solutions to related problems, such as relocation (Fried, 1963 cited in Scannell & Gifford, 2010), environmental behavior (Carrus et al., 2014) and brand management (Lindstedt, 2011).

The aim of this part is to review relevant literature describing and modeling the place attachment. Two current theories coming from different approaches will be presented

in order to facilitate the understanding of the further discussion on the role of place

attachment on involuntary displacement.
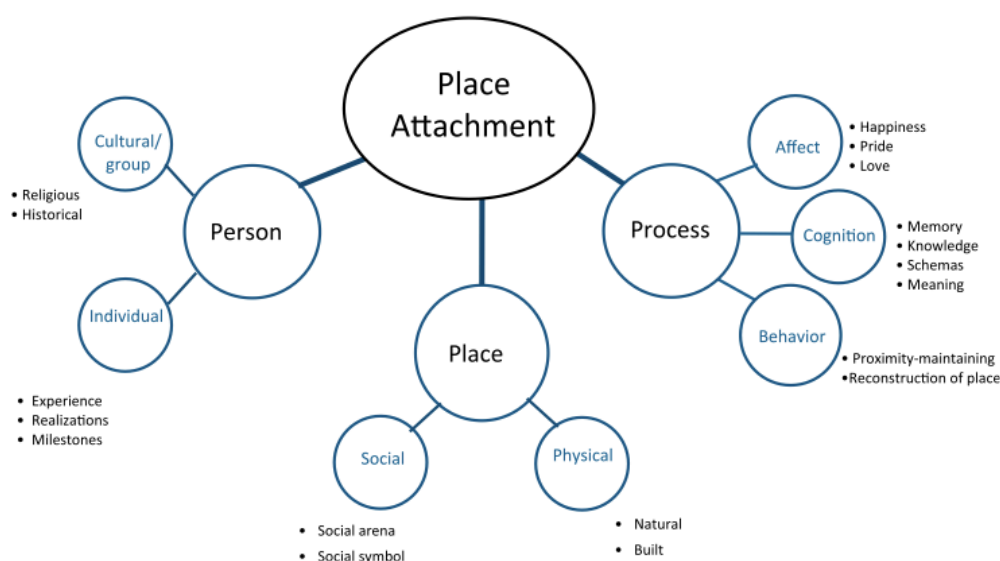
Figure 6. The tripartite model (Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

The tripartite model. At 2010, after an exhaustive review of the previous empirical

researches, Scannell and Gifford presented a three-dimensional model for place attachment.

The model (see Fig.1) is named as PPP framework, with three P's representing person,

psychological process and place dimensions of the model.

Person dimension. The person dimension of the place attachment refers to the actor

and to what extent his/her attachment becomes meaningful. Although the term mostly

implies individuality, place attachment may happen also at a group level. The keyword to

define this dimension is "meaning" (Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

At the individual level, the place attachment occurs for places that are meaningful for a person by being associated with personally important experiences and periods of personal growth (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Therefore, it is actually the individual memorable experience which makes the place meaningful enough for a person to get attached to, regardless of the experience's being happy or traumatic (Manzo, 2005). The most obvious example of individual level of this dimension would be one's attachment to his/her childhood home in which he/she grew up with his/her parents and/or other significant figures in his/her life, and experienced his/her firsts.

At the group level of place attachment, the individual experience is replaced with collective experiences such as historical heritage and community values, to create meaningful places. To express in broader sense, culture and religion may be cited as the strongest facilitators of group level place attachment (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Places which are meaningful for a specific culture, such as a historical site in which important cultural events took place, or for a religion, such as a sacred temple or site, may evoke strong feeling of attachment for the members of related groups (Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2004 cited in Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

Keeping in mind the distinction between individual and group level of place attachment according to person dimension, it should also noted that these two levels cannot be separately examined since it is the individual experience which shapes the collective experience, and reinforce the perception of culture and religion (Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

Process dimension. The process dimension is comprised of the affective, cognitive and behavioral interactions that people experience when bonding to a place, which have been long tested and revealed by researchers in the field. The tripartite theory classifies all previous findings into these three psychological processes (Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

The term "attachment" generally is associated with feelings, moreover with positive feelings. Therefore it is not surprising that most researches focuses on relation of emotions such as love, pride, happiness (Relph, 1985 cited in Manzo, 2005; Tuan, 1974; & Brown et al., 2003; cited in Scannell & Gifford, 2010) with place attachment. Also, negative feelings such as sadness and grief mostly appear in studies about immigration, and relocation. People are reported to feel grief and mourn upon losing a meaningful place due to disaster, war or immigration (Fried, 1963 cited in Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

However, Manzo (2005) suggested that it is not necessarily required positive feelings for place attachment to occur, or, negative feelings is involved in the attachment process only in case of losing the important place. Just as there are different kinds of interpersonal attachment with either positive or negative valence, the place attachment may also carry valences. Manzo (2005) revealed that the emotion stemming from the experience makes the place meaningful, which in turn initiates the process of attachment "for better or worse". Therefore the place attachment may be negative as well as positive, evoking a wide range of feeling from love to hatred.

The attachment process also includes cognitive elements such as memories, beliefs and knowledge (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). People are likely to develop cognitive schemas for their environments, as they tend to organize all information coming from perception in coherent cognitive sets (Sears, Freedman & Peplau, 1985 cited in Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Feldman's "settlement identity" (1990 cited in Scannell & Gifford, 2010) or Stokols and Shumaker's "generic place dependence" (1981 cited in Scannell & Gifford, 2010) may be cited to exemplify such schemas. Both concepts suggest that people tend to develop a priori preferences of types of places, and their attachment process is shaped based on those

preferences, e.g. rural areas vs. urban areas (Scannell & Gifford, 2010), cold climate vs. warm climate (Knez, 2005 cited in Devine-Wright, 2014).

Memory is also an important trigger in cognitive process leading to attachment. In a recent study on memory and place attachment, Lewicka (2014) revealed the effect of procedural and declarative memory on place attachment due to habits that people develop in a specific place, nostalgia which can come out of a life event, family and family history. Stronger procedural and declarative memory assume greater place attachment even in case of high mobility (Lewicka, 2014).

The major behavioral manifestation of place attachment is proximity-seeking (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Religious pilgrimage would be a typical example of such behavior; people show effort to visit significant places for them (Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2004 cited in Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Homesickness is another strong example of behavioral manifestation of place attachment. In a study with university students, Scopelliti and Tiberio (2010) revealed that students who fail to form multiple place attachment (home and university setting) are more likely to suffer from homesickness. Reconstruction is also a common behavior for people attached to their neighborhood or city. In 1974, habitants of Xenia, Ohio refused to change city plans during the rebuilding after a tornado destroyed all city. They rather rebuild the city with the exact setting as before the tornado than improve the city's infrastructural problems (Francaviglia, 1978 cited in Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

Another issue concerning the behavioral aspect of place attachment is mobility. Although common sense tends to consider mobility as hindering place attachment, previous research revealed otherwise. People with greater mobility can form multiple place attachments more easily (Christensen & Jensen, 2011 cited in Gustafson, 2014). Also, mobility eliminate the taken-for-grantedness of the place which in turn reinforce the

attachment by enhancing the appreciation of one's for their living setting (Case, 1996 cited in Scannell & Gifford, 2010; Seamon, 2014).

Place dimension. The features of the place in question constitute the third dimension of the tripartite model. For the sake of the dimension, the first thing to describe is naturally the place itself. Regarding the previous studies, place can be chosen in a wide range of scales for research, from a corner of a room to the world itself (Low & Altman, 1992; & Cuba & Hummon, 1993 cited in Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

The features concerning the place are examined in two separate dimensions, as social and physical place attachment (Riger & Lavrakas, 1981 cited in Scannell & Gifford, 2010). The discussion for social attachment comes from the findings of the majority of the previous research, stating that people develop place attachment due to the opportunity of bonding social relationships and forming group identity (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). It is suggested that "social ties, belongingness to the neighborhood, and familiarity with fellow residents and neighborhood children" predicts social attachment (Riger & Lavrakas, 1981 cited in Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Hunter (1974 cited in Scannell & Gifford, 2010) explains the process of social place attachment by people from similar socioeconomic and cultural background's coming together in a specific settlement, forming a homogenous community, therefore easily creating a social network which facilitate the place attachment.

Regarding the physical place attachment, it is suggested that physical setting of a place may offer some opportunities or resources which are important for a person's lifestyle (Stokols & Shumaker, 1981 cited in Scannell & Gifford, 2010), therefore it may affect the place attachment as well as the preference of residence location, e.g. rural area vs. urban area (Scannell & Gifford, 2010), climate (Knez, 2005 cited in Devine-Wright, 2014). Another related model to physical place attachment (Steadman, 2003 cited in Scannell & Gifford,

2010) suggests that people attribute meanings to physical characteristics to places, such as considering urban areas as a sign of modernity. Therefore in case the attribution form a connection between the place and the person, the attachment is realized.

Seamon's Phenomenological Model. As being a phenomenologist, David Seamon's place attachment model is fundamentally different from the tripartite model. Before proceeding with the model, it is better to describe the term "phenomenology" for the sake of the discussion.

Seamon (2014) describes phenomenology as "a philosophical approach that examines and describes phenomena – i.e., things and experiences as human beings experience those things or experiences". Phenomenological science, in contrast to conventional positivist approach, "is a critical and descriptive science" (ibid). The aim of the phenomenology is to understand the meanings, things and experiences without assuming any a priori concept, theory, or law since phenomenological approach considers such constructs as manipulative and sometimes misleading. Instead, it encourages describing the phenomenon in question by using qualitative methods and making an empathetic contact (Seamon, 1982). Therefore, any explanation (e.g. theories, laws, other constructs) regarding the phenomenon is irrelevant and not more than speculation from the point of view of phenomenology, the only valid information about the phenomenon is its description.

As expected from the phenomenological approach, phenomenological model describes the place attachment rather than constructing an explanatory framework. Another difference between tripartite model and phenomenological model is the definition of place. Phenomenologically, the place cannot be separated from the people living in it (Seamon, 2014). It is described as "a fusion of human and natural order and any significance spatial center of a person or group's lived experience" (Seamon & Sowers, 2009).

In the phenomenological model, the place attachment is examined with three different perspectives which complete each other in describing the phenomenon. Those are holistic perspective, dialectic perspective and generative perspective (Seamon, 2014).

Holistic. Holistic perspective focuses the wholeness of the place and people suggesting the place hold together the lifeworlds (Seamon, 2014). A lifeworld is "the tacit, taken-for-granted context, tenor, and pace of daily life to which normally people give no reflective attention" (Seamon & Sowers, 2009). Therefore, by holding together the lifeworlds, the place also includes people living in it, their meaningful experiences, emotions and behaviors, which both reinforce "the place", and facilitates place attachment through the synergy that lifeworlds create.

Another serving concept to this perspective is "body-subject" which is "inherent capacity of the body to direct the behaviors of person intelligently, and thus function as a special kind of subject which expresses itself in a preconscious way usually described by such words as automatic, habitual, involuntary and mechanical" (Seamon, 1979). Body-subjects, existing in the lifeworlds, join one another in the place both temporally and spatially, create some kind of choreography which Seamon (2014) calls "place ballet". The place-ballet is the main initiator of the place attachment by maintaining long-termed environmental interaction, ongoing interpersonal exchange and sense of identity. It helps to keep the routine intact; therefore it provides the necessary atmosphere for emotional bonding (Seamon, 2014).

Dialectic. There are two dimensions of dialectic perspective referring to opposites of a continuum. The first one is movement vs. rest, and, the second is inwardness vs. outwardness (Seamon, 2014).

Movement and rest is the two basic physical status involving experience, and during the daily life, one shifts from one to other pre-consciously through body-subject (Seamon, 1979; Seamon 2014). Human experiences about place is also reflects the same dynamic, usually the place which one is attached to, is taken for granted due to the sense of continuity stemming from the daily routines, and one may not notice or describe how he/she "feels" about the place (Seamon, 2014). A conscious "movement" which is a dramatic shift is required for revealing the place attachment, whether it is environmental, social, or cultural (Seamon, 2014). The examples are countless considering the previous research, such as migration (Moores, 2012 cited in Seamon, 2014), divorce (Anthony, 1997 cited in Seamon, 2014) or lifestyle differences in the neighborhood (Seamon, 2008; & Sowers, 2010 cited in Seamon, 2014).

The inwardness of a place signifies its privacy, its retirement level from the outside world, whereas outwardness is its connection level to the outside world (Seamon, 2014). The end of this continuum can easily be exemplified by two kind of house, the one in a neighborhood, which is tightly closed to the outside world, with the habitants that no one is acquainted, and, the other one which is a "show-house", which everyone knows everything about its living (Seamon, 2014). The inwardness/outwardness dimension of the dialectic perspective is important understand the place attachment because it may bring an explanation to the complexity of the relationship between the place definition and the affective bond which one has with the place. Put it simply, one can attached with a positive valence to his/her home while being averse to his/her neighborhood, moreover still has positive feelings for his/her city. The complex pattern may be caused by the different level of inwardness/outwardness of this places with different scales in relation to personal preferences (Seamon, 2014).

Generative. Generative perspective of thephenomenological model includes six general processes which explain the change in the level or in the valence of the attachment.

The first one is place interaction. It is the day-to-day routine of the place, which contains social encounters, specific events and situations, in another word, the place-ballet (Seamon, 2014). A change in this interaction may hinder or reinforce the level/valence of attachment (Seamon, 2014), for instance, the interactions in a neighborhood which receives migration may become less effective and satisfying because of the crowd and business. Therefore, the affective bond that people have with this neighborhood may alter in a negative direction.

The second is the place identity which refers to one's considering the place as an important part of his/her personal or communal identity and self-worth (Seamon, 2014). It is also reciprocal with place interaction, which means the more people involve, the easier they develop a strong identity. As in place interaction, place identity may also determine the place attachment.

Place release is the collection of little surprises that the specific environment offers. One may encounter an old friend, or attend an unplanned event while just passing by. The pleasure released by the unexpected occurring serves the sense of being good by the courtesy of the place (Jacobs, 1961 cited in Seamon, 2014). On the other hand, the surprise may be negative as well like getting robbed on the way home. Thus, the kind of the release affects the kind of the attachment.

Place realization includes both the physical characteristics and the synergy of the place. The place has earned a meaning; it becomes nearly concrete in the eye of the person by its specific ambiance combined by physical and sensational characteristics. It may be

undermined by disaster, war or simply an alteration in design, causing the change in place attachment (Seamon, 2014).

The last two processes of generative perspective are different from the first four in the sense of human activity. Place construction and place intensification are the active processes in terms of conscious human contribution. Place construction refers to the conscious human efforts to improve the place by developing new projects, designs and policies, whereas place intensification refers to maintain and strengthen these efforts (Seamon, 2014). These two process may become destructive in term of positive-valence-attachment when the improvement is poorly envisioned, and the real needs of the place is failed to satisfied (Seamon, 2014).

Involuntary displacement. Regardless of the modeling approach, it can easily be stated that place attachment is a complex, multifaceted product of the meaningful relationship between person and place, and the disruption of such a significant relationship creates many outcomes, most likely to be unwanted. It is crucial to examine and understand place attachment to determine and –if possible- to change these outcomes and their effects on people. Therefore it is also important to analyze the notion of "involuntary displacement" in terms of place attachment for the sake of the argument.

It is already presented that a place refers both to a specific location and the relationships with and within this location. By considering this notion of place, Seamon (2014) describes the displacement as "by definition a rupture of the geographic and the social". Involuntary displacement from "home" essentially causes a loss of a significant object of attachment and upsets people's sense of stability and security. From a tripartite perspective, people lose their meaningful place, and they are forced to look for meanings in another place. From a phenomenological perspective, they leave their comfortable routine

and are forced to establish another routine in different circumstances. As expected, such changes can easily cause traumatic experiences considering the difficulty of effectively adapting to a new environment, and the stress emerged from unwilling action. On the other hand, it is also likely to develop a new place attachment successfully, and even to hold multiple place attachments (old and new) at once. Before moving to the outcomes of displacement, first the process should be reviewed. Greene et al. (2011 cited in Seamon, 2014) outlined the four stages of the displacement process in their research with 20 families from 18 different countries. The first phase is the antecedent phase, in which the cause of displacement emerges. It may be a war, a disaster, an economic crisis, a political disturbance, or simply an economic or educational opportunity. In this phase, the specific cause also affects the length of time for preparation for displacement. Sudden causes such as disasters or wars require quick movements, while opportunistic causes leave much more room to be prepared both emotionally and cognitively.

The second phase is the uprooting phase, which includes relationship-breaking actions such as bidding farewell to family and friends, quitting one's job and other social responsibilities. The subsequent transition phase is the movement to the new environment and the process of facing differences for the first time; the new environment requires a new job, new social ties, maybe even a new language. It is a critical phase in terms of adaptation because the success is partly determined by the degree of the dramatic difference between the new environment and the old one.

The final phase is the resettlement phase in which the displaced people start to invest in the new environment and create new social and emotional ties. This phase can be accepted as the essential period determining success or failure in terms of adaptation. A person in this phase can either choose to be assimilated behaviorally and cognitively in the new

environment by internalizing the new culture, or, to continue to practice his/her own culture, and adapt it somehow to the new situation, especially in cases where the displacement involves a community as a whole. In contrast to common sense and the general hypothesizing tendency in the field, the research revealed that in both cases successful adaptation is possible; continued place attachment with the old environment does not necessarily mean that the adaptation is not realized; rather, people are capable of having multiple attachments at the same time (Christensen & Jensen, 2011 cited in Gustafson, 2014).

Marital Satisfaction

According to Rosen (2005), it was obvious that people fall in love yet they didn't usually marry for love. She contended that marriage functions as markets and governments in our day, coordinating production, setting up economic alliances, organizing division of labor, and orchestrating member's rights and obligations (Rosen, 2005).

Marital satisfaction often means happiness, adjustment, or quality of relationship and sometimes, marital stability (Blumel, 1992). The identification of predictors of relationship satisfaction is an important research question that has been investigated by numerous studies.

Numerous factors have been found to influence the quality of a relationship and the satisfaction that is derived from it. Among them there are personality traits (Bouchard, Lussier & Sabourin, 1999), communication patterns (Christensen & Shenk, 1991) and empathy (Davis & Oathout, 1987). It is also found that intimacy, communication, congruence and religious faith are the key elements of enduring marriages (Robinson & Blanton, 1993). In a study of 351 couples it was discovered that friendship, commitment, consensus, and humor are crucial for relationship satisfaction (Robinson & Blanton, 1993).

One of the factors that influence marital satisfaction has been the usage of maintenance strategies (Canary & Stafford, 1994). More recently the term 'relationship

maintenance behaviors' was used by Stafford and Canary (1991) who developed the model of 'Relationship Maintenance' and the corresponding scale. There are differences in the assumptions about the corresponding operationalizations among the communication research.

While some of them posit that the maintanence is an atttept to secure the status quo, some others identify (Shea Pearson, 1986) maintanence behaviors as a strategy to become more likeable in the eyes of the partner. (Bell et.al., 1987 cited in Stafford & Canary, 1992). Still others see communication strategies as ways of managing tensions (Baxter 1990, Baxter & Dindia, 1990, cited in Stafford & Canary, 1992). According to Stafford and Canary (2002) 'Maintenance strategies are activities to repair, sustain, and thereby continue relationships in the ways the spouses want them to be'.

According to their model there are five key maintenance strategies which are widely used and determined relationship satisfaction. Canary and Stafford examined nearly 800 couples who were married, engaged or dating to find out the manner in which they perceive relational maintanence strategies in different variations on the basis of relationship type and gender. According to them there were five maintanence strategies which are widely used among couples: openness, positivity, assurances, social networks and sharing tasks (ibid). Positivity refers to being optimistic, courteous, uncritical and cheerful with a partner and being upbeat during conversations. Openness includes discussing the relationship directly and disclosing their feelings and desires for the relationship to each other. Assurance refers to expressions of love, commitment and in other ways implying the relationship has a future. Use of social networks means spending time with and including mutual friends and families in activities. Sharing tasks includes performing one's own responsibilities as well as his or her share of the work (Stafford & Canary, 1992).

The authors also found that self reported maintenance strategies predict the relational characteristics just like the perception of a partner's maintenance strategies do (Canary & Stafford, 1992). There is an important factor, perception, which has more determinant power than real acts for marriage satisfaction. Literature shows that the perceived use of maintenance strategies acts as a stronger predictor of satisfaction than spouses' own reports (Dainton et. al.1994; Stafford et. al., 2000). Torun (2005) also contended that the perception of a spouses' use of maintenance strategies plays a more significant role in marital satisfaction than a spouses' own use. According to the findings, a partners' mental representations are as much a part of the relationship as actual behavior. That is why the perceived use of maintenance strategies affects relationship satisfaction more than self reported use (Torun, 2005). There are other findings that spouses' regarding each other as committed, loyal, positive and nice have a constructive effect on their satisfaction (e.g. Dainton et al. 1994; Stafford et al., 2000).

It was found that relationship characteristics moderately affected perceptions of the usage of maintenance behaviors. The relational characteristics are defined as control mutuality, commitment, liking and satisfaction. Positivity, assurances and sharing tasks were found to be consistent and strong predictors of these relational characteristics. (ibid). Control mutuality refers to the means by which partners reach an agreement on the power balance in couple relationship. (ibid). Liking is defined as a choice for association on the basis of affection and respect. Commitment refers to the desire to maintain fidelity involving the extent of experiencing dyadic cohesion and exclusivity (Rubin, 1973 cited in Stafford & Canary, 1992). The two researches by Stafford and Canary which examined the individual's self reported maintenance strategies and individual's perceptions of their partner's maintenance strategies found moderate to strong associations between maintenance strategies

and relational characteristics (ibid). In Stanfford and Canary's (1991) research it was found that the use of maintance strategies is strongly correlated with the partner's perceptions of those strategies. Sharing tasks was the only exception (ibid).

There are considerable gender differences in terms of the self reported usage and perceived usage of maintenance strategies (Canary & Stanford, 1992; Dainton & Stafford, 1993) According to Canary et al. (1992) women use these strategies more than men and are perceived to use them to a greater extent than their male counterparts. Other studies proposed that men are perceived as using some of these strategies more than women, but since females are more relationally sensitive they are more aware of their husband's efforts (Stanford & Canary, 1991). Torun (2005) contended that husbands and wives are not in congruence in their use of maintenance strategies. Moreover, except for the strategy of positivity, their perceptions of one another did not indicate any correlations either (Torun, 2005).

The overall model of Stafford and Canary consists of maintenance strategies, yet there are also antecedents that may predict them, which are: equity between spouses, relationship type and history and individual differences. In their further research they investigated the importance of equity in the usage of maintance strategies and the relevance of relational characteristics with equity and maintenance strategies (Stafford & Canary, 1992). The research showed equity plays an important role in the perception of couples as to what extent the other is using these strategies. Couples whose relationships are characterized by overbenefitness or underbenefitness use fewer maintenance strategies than couples who have more equitable relationships.

Overbenefitness refers to one partner having more rewards and lower costs in comparison to the other partner. Underbenefitness means one partner's perception of being disadvantaged when comparing his or her own costs and rewards with his or her partner. In

Stafford and Canary's (1992) study the individual's use of maintenance efforts in an overbenefited relationship was explored and it was found that the level of perception of equity was related to an individual's use of, and to how he or she perceives the partner's use of, maintenance strategies. Navaro (1996) proposes that there is a direct link between the amount of effort and care couples put into their marriages and the happiness they derive from it. According to western cultural belief successful marriages require work from both partners. That is, partners should both give their attention to the relationship and should engage in effective action to promote relationship satisfaction.

Marital and life satisfaction. Over the years, people experience systematic age related shifts in their ideas, beliefs, values and level of aspiration. (Baltes & Baltes, 1990) Therefore the meaning of satisfaction may not be stable across the years. Stage of life cycle is effective in determining satisfaction values. Developmental transitions can stem from biological maturation, psychological growth or changes in social roles and statuses. (Baltes & Baltes, 1990)

Turning 30 transitions and the midlife transition are perceived as critical periods. Around the 28th and 33rd birthdays the individual undergoes a moderate degree of self-questioning. Generally, this period includes joining the workforce, making career plans, marriage, transitioning to parenthood and so on. This period is full of energy, strength, speed, capability and potential (Levinson, 1978). During this transition, one has a sense of greater urgency since life becomes more serious and more restrictive. However, this period provides a chance to create a more satisfactory life within early adulthood, and to achieve one's dreams, aims and aspirations (Levinson, 1978).

According to Robert and Newton (1993) there are subtle but meaningful gender differences in the place of marital satisfaction among other aspects of life (cited in Durkin,

1995). In their longitudinal study it was found that woman generally do not place occupations in the primary component, rather they considered marriage to be primary. Their lives were organized around relationships with husbands and family and the subordination of personal needs. On the other hand, men organized their lives around individual career goals plus supportive families.

The mid-life transition, which corresponds to about 40 and 45 years of age, is another major transition in which crises include physical and social changes, and readjustment. According to Ericson (1997), in the course of psychosocial development when one reaches maturity and old age she or he begins to spend more time recalling and examining his or her life, and this may be both accepting and regretting past choices. The individual reviews and reassesses his life structure, history and prospects (Levinson, 1978). According to Jung (as cited in Shultz & Shultz, 2001) transcendence can occur in this period after one is individuated, which means bringing each aspect of the personality into harmony with all other aspects. Jung describes this transcendence as an innate tendency towards the oceanic feeling (feeling of unity and wholeness) in personality and this means an attempt towards uniting all the opposite aspects of the person.

Environmental factors, such as an unsatisfactory marriage or frustrating work, can inhibit the process of transcendence and prevent the full achievement of the self (Shultz &Shultz, 2001). There are some other factors that can trigger the crises such as awareness of physical decline, the realization of self mortality, a sense of aging, the death of parents and friends, and children growing up and leaving home (Levinson, 1978). According to Levinson (1978) after the age of 40, men realize that success in work doesn't bring them constant happiness and that disappointment leads them to become more invested in their families. In the first part of their life people invest a great deal of energy in order to prepare themselves

for old age. After middle age, most challenges have generally been met and preparation ends; but people still have a great deal of energy which needs to be rechanneled (ibid).

Levinson indicated that midlife also involves shifts in the individual's perception of self and family relations. They enjoy the process of living more than the attainment of a specific goal (Levinson, 1978). Considering family relations, parents in this period experience their own physical strength and attractiveness going into decline; however, those of their adolescent children increase. In this transition period, parents also experience the event called empty nest, which refers to the period following the departure of grown-up children. There are also findings demonstrating the contrary view that since parents are not responsible for child-rearing any more, they welcome the opportunities for closer relationships with their partner and other people, and the scope for personal fulfillment through network roles or a return to education (Durkin, 1995).

Relationship quality and relationship satisfaction

In literature, many researchers focused on the concept of 'relationship satisfaction'. The concept is emphasized by various schools, including systemic, cognitive and psychodynamic theories. Blumel (1992) refers to marital satisfaction as the 'happiness, adjustment and quality of the relationship and sometimes the marital stability'. As cited in Hassebrauck and Fehr (2002), Spanier and Lewis (1980) define marital quality as "the subjective evaluation of a married couple's relationship on a number of dimensions and evaluations". It is found that there are four central dimensions to relationship quality, which are intimacy, agreement, independence and sexuality (Hassebrauck, & Fehr, 2002). Various factors are presented to affect the level of relationship satisfaction such as personality traits (Bouchard, Lussier & Sabourin, 1999), communication patterns (Christensen & Shenk, 1991) and empathy (Davis & Oathout, 1987).

Canary and Stafford (1994) shed light on 'relationship satisfaction' through the lens of the strategic view and offer another concept affecting marital satisfaction, namely the maintenance strategies. Through factor analysis, they found five strategies in marriages that support the resilience of the relationship and affect the level of satisfaction, which are positivity, openness, assurances, social networks and sharing tasks. Positivity stands for cheerful and courteous interactions and communication between the partners. Openness is presented as the ability to discuss the relationship in a direct and open manner. Assurance includes showing love and commitment to the partner. The usage of social networks involves doing similar social activities and lastly, sharing tasks stands for an equal division of labor in the house.

All of these strategies are found to be highly associated with martial satisfaction (Stafford, & Canary, 1991). Compared to the actual utilization of these strategies, the perception of the usage of these strategies predict the marital quality and satisfaction (Canary, & Stafford, 1992). In their work, Stafford and Canary (1991) also found that some important relational characteristics such as control mutuality (i.e.: the power balance within the relationship), commitment (i.e.: fidelity, cohesion and exclusivity), liking (i.e.: expression of affection and respect) and satisfaction are associated with maintenance strategies.

It is also contended that equity perceived in the relationship regarding the costs spent and benefits gained from the relationship has significance in maintenance strategies. Stafford and Canary (1992) suggest that in western cultures both of the partners need to sense a balance and equity in the ratio between the outputs and inputs within the relationship. In other words, both parties should be attentive and devote effort to their relationship.

The difference between the genders with regards to relationship satisfaction and perception has also been widely studied. Stafford and Canary (1991) find that women give

much more importance to the use of maintenance strategies. However, they are also more attentive to the efforts of their male counterparts. Therefore, the effect of perception was much more significant for women when determining the maintenance strategies utilized by their partners. For men, satisfaction gained from a relationship is thought to be related to regular sexual interactions and an equal division of labor, whereas for women it is associated with interdependence and communication (Barns & Ward, 2005).

It is proposed that unconscious beliefs and shared phantasies constitute the basis for the display of a relationship (Gerson 2008, Morgan, 2010). Morgan (2010) suggests that it creates an impasse in the relationship when those beliefs are accepted as facts. From a more cognitive perspective Hamamcı (2005) examines the effect of irrational unconscious beliefs on relationship satisfaction. In her study of Turkish married couples Hamamcı (2005) finds that the dysfunctional dogmatic beliefs about how a relationship 'should' be are negatively associated with marital adjustment and satisfaction. It is revealed that dysfunctional beliefs about being very close in order to feel self-worth and loved are negatively correlated with marital adjustment.

Psychoanalytic Concepts in Couple Relationships

Couple attachment. The foundation of attachment quality in childhood is closely linked with adult interpersonal patterns of attachment. Bowlby (1980) indicated that "On the way in which an individual's attachment behavior becomes organized within his personality turns the pattern of affectional bonds he makes during his life" (p. 41). After observations of infant and caregiver behavior patterns, researchers shifted their focus on mental representations of adult attachment relationships. Researchers tried to find out about an individual's mental organizations and thoughts about childhood attachment experiences, and the influence of those experiences on the subsequent relationship dynamics and the quality of

later life relationships. Research showed that mental representations of attachnment related experiences has a significant effect on later life intimate relationships. That means, these findings have strong implications for the relationship between early life experiences with significant others and adult couple attachment and the capacity for intimacy in the individual's following years (Fisher & Crandell, 1997).

An individual's internal working model of relationship is formed with experiences from childhood attachment and this model reenacted in later relationshisp. The Secure individual can recount childhood memories vividly and in detail, value relationships with early attachment figures, and can bring together positive and negative aspects of their parents. They have knowledge about the influence of those experiences on their adult personality. A Dismissing person cannot give a vivid picture of specific childhood memories, idealizes or devalues the relationship with significant others in the early years and presents an idealized or negative picture of early parent-child relationship (Fisher & Crandell, 1997). Individuals, classified as preoccupied, remember specific memories but the content of these memories are negative. For them it is difficult to integrate negative and positive experiences into a coherent elaboration of the child-parent relationship. Their thoughts about parents are confused and they feel anger towards them. Finally, disorganized adults' thoughts are disoriented which are related to death, abuse and trauma. These categories of insecure adult attachment constitute three categories of couple relationship. Characteristic of these patterns are a lack of flexibility and reciprocity. Typically, while one partner is in one position the other occupies another. There is little awareness as to what the other is experiencing and how those experiences influence the self or the other (Fisher & Crandell, 1997).

The dismissing-dismissing couple attachment relationship involves the strong rejection of dependency needs. Individuals try to get rid of the unbearable feeling of dependency and

vulnerability. These people present themselves as independent adults and content to be left alone, however, inside they feel very vulnerable and that is why they have resorted to such a defensive posture. They view dependency as unbearable and perceive it as a threat. They refuse to be dependent on their partner. Here, dependency is forbidden between couple.

Preoccupied individuals childhood attachment needs are responded to in a role reversing way. The parent permits the child dependency because of her need. Here, the child takes care of the parent. A neglected child learn to dramatize their needs because sometimes their needs are met but sometimes they do not get support from their caregivers.

When two preoccupied individuals came together, the above-mentioned pattern is translated into the relationship. Both feel that the other cannot fulfill his or her need for comfort and consolation. A person whose state of mind with respect to attachment is preoocupied with the constant contact in the couple relationship, the thing that is sought; but at the same time there is a preconception that no satistfaction would be provided and therefore there is a resistance towards real emotional contact. This creates conflict in the relationship as each partner expects that the other will fill their needs of dependency with the belief that there will be no reciprocity. So, all response is perceived as inadequate. Both partners want to be in the dependent position. Dismissing/preoccupied couple attachment is a common pattern in couples and reflects a gender specific pattern. Preoccupied ones feel abandoned and express dissatisfaction while the dismissed partner avoids being depended upon and think that the only problem is the other's discontent. The dismissing one rejects the other's needs of dependency.

In a secure couple attachment, on the other hand, resides an ability to shift freely between the dependent and depended upon positions (Fisher & Crandell, 1997). There is an open expression of needs and contact. If at least one of the partners is secure, the relationship

can be balanced due to the secure partner's ability to be in the dependent and the depended

upon positions (Fisher & Crandell, 1997).

Hazan and Shaver's (1987) model demonstrates how individual attachment patterns

transfer to peers. The first transferred element is proximity seeking behavior. After proximity

seeking, a peer is in need of comfort seeking and support seeking. After that one partner can

use the other as a secure base. Therefore, proximity seeking is diminished over time. This

process is the same in the infant-mother relationship because the infant increases his/her

capacity to comprehend the attachment figure's behavior (Crowell & Waters, 1994). The

infants require physical holding of another human being to regulate their feelings

(McCluskey, 2007). A child's feeling of security consists of when the child obtains the

support of the caregiver. Also, the need for physical contact diminishes with the feeling of

security. From this perspective, caregiving is an important aspect of romantic relationships.

Caregiving allow them to regulate each other's emotional states. Couples need to respond

emphatically to one another. This capacity is acquired in early relationships. In childhood

individuals learn to be in touch with their feelings while understanding the feelings of others.

Individuals who do not experience this in childhood tend to behave more defensively. This

defense may cause distress in care seekers, and caregivers may feel incompetent. Moreover,

McCluskey (2007) indicated that without effective caregiving between couples, their capacity

for interest sharing with each other will be blocked and their expression of sexuality may be

infiltrated by defense (McCluskey, 2007).

Winnocott's (1974) description of the mother's mirroring role has a direct connection

with receiving emotion in adult love relationships, and development of mentalization in the

partner. Infants see themselves in their mother's face, because what she looks like is related to

what she sees in her infant's face (Clulow, 2007b). A mother needs to respond accurately to

the clues of the infant. Distinctions among feelings can be made when the mother's response is in tune with the infant's. Affect mirroring enables infants to develop self-regulation in response to the relationship with their mother. So, through the attachment and affect mirroring interactions, the infant can internalize his/her own experience and form a sense of self. The mirroring process between a child and caregiver is a building block of the couple relationship. Infants use attachment figures to regulate their own emotional states and learn to do this by experiencing a parent's emotional states. With repetition, such patterns become integrated in children and later in adult life (Clulow, 2007a).

According to Bowlby, attachment can be observed as four types of behavior displayed in relation to a significant caregiver. These are proximity seeking, showing distress at separation, resorting to the safe haven when facing threat, and exploring the environment when feeling secure with the existence of a secure base. Nowadays, the feeling of security is not only physical closeness but is also a result of the responsive behaviors of attachment figures (Clulow, 2007a). In couple relationships, partners are attachment figures for each other. The main dynamic of the secure attachment pattern is that each partner can bear the anxieties of being dependent on the other and does not feel anxious for being in the dependent position while being available for the other to be depended on and accept the depended upon position (Fisher & Crandell, 1997). All partners can move between these two positions. So, they can experience the positions of both infant and attachment figure. In a similar way, Sutherland (1979) indicated the importance "of feeling 'somebody' and being 'a somebody' to others" (p. 268). He thought that being "somebody's somebody" is an essential need. According to him, the significance of being a couple stems from feeling the same degree of self-confidence in the belief that they are the other's somebody (Ludlam, 2007).

The couple's attachment quality is affected by the partners' state of mind with respect to attachment (Fisher & Crandell, 1997). A secure state of mind composes in relation to childhood attachment relationships. So, a secure state of mind in the couple relationship refers to the capacity for reciprocity in the relationship. Insecure representational models of attachment demonstrate themselves through fixed positions and rigid patterns of relating (Fisher & Crandell, 1997). Morgan (2001) describes the dynamic process when two people develop "a couple state of mind, alongside but integrated with the awareness of being fundamentally separate and different from the other" (p. 18).

Although not easily achieved, once found, this state of mind enables couples to find a crucial "third position from which to view themselves [as a couple] in the relationship" (ibid, p. 23). It is hard to develop a couple state of mind, which means to maintain an awareness of being separate and different from each other. When the relationship is functioning well, the relationship itself becomes a symbolic third. Most famous psychoanalytic writers have commented on the form of the third object that can access to the loved object in a way that infant has not (Steele, 2010). The infant's growing awareness of the mother's separateness and other interests are the aspects of the Oedipal situation (Morgan, 2001).

According to Britton (1989) Oedipal triangular relationships provide the basis for the capacity of being able to be close with someone. Upon the recognition of the parental relationship, being able to tolerate anxieties is itself regarded as the basis for secure feelings. Britton indicated that some individuals have difficulty about Oedipal relations because they are afraid of being in chaos. It is important to develop a third position to know that one is excluded from a couple but still know that one is loved by the parents (Balfour, 2005). A psychological space can be reached when a person is capable of sustaining a relationship while being an individual and separate entity. The Oedipal complex originates in being

excluded from a couple and to be part of a couple and excluding the third (Fisher & Crandell, 1997).

Findings showed that an infant's attachment has an effect on the functioning of one's personality, and the quality of one's interpersonal relations in later years. Though this relationship is different from the mother-infant relationship which relies on one or each partner caring for the other (Ludlam, 2007). Thanks to Bowlby's contributions to attachment theory, Freud's thoughts about the importance of the early attachment relationship with a primary caregiver has been confirmed (Crowell & Waters, 1994). These attachments are seen as a prototype for later love relationships. Attachment theory helps us to understand how partners identify themselves and each other's feelings and thoughts. Also, the theory explains how they perceive their relationship as secure in a developmental manner. The feeling of security arises when partners connect with the other's experience of reality. Secure attachment provides the ability to mirror the feelings of the other, and that way each partner can link to and differentiate between feelings of themselves and the others that enable them to maintain their intimate relationship.

In the language of attachment, the ability to think about feelings of the self and others, thoughts that are connected with feelings, and the capacity to know one's own mind and others - which means the third position in the post-Klenien perspectives - serves as the secure base for an intimate relationship (Clulow, 2007b). The idea of triangular space is that one has freedom to move within it, without losing touch with the other (Clulow, 2007a). They have the capacity to nurture, develop and improve their relationship. The secure couple has an aptitude for separateness. They are aware of their dependency needs and develop their own self-awareness. Their relationships are a source for them because they perceive the relationship as a third which individuals constitute between them.

As couples enter into their marriages thinking they have found true love, wishful thinking maybe, they probably think they have the most important requirement of a long lasting couple relationship in check. After that, many of them probably presuppose the main challenges of a happy marital relationship are material challenges such as financial difficulties, having children, caring for them, living arrangements, time, and the re-organization of relationships with extended family and friends. These factors are surely important and can prove to be serious burdens on any marital relationship. However, it is not as simple and external as it looks. As Colman (1993) stated, the internal, unconscious parts of the personalities, past trauma, find their very place in a marriage as marriage provides a great nest for projection and projective identification. Therefore, any developmental needs that were not provided for, issues that were left unattended from past experiences and the quality and types of object relations one had and the past trauma will be the baggage that will be brought by the partners into a marriage (Pickering, 2011). As a result, instead of marriage being a container for both partners and giving the couple a safe, protective environment and separation from the outside world, it is possible that either one partner becomes the container while the other one is the one contained; or that neither of them finds containment that is mutually satisfying or they seek containment elsewhere. But in any case, the marriage can no longer provide for their needs (Colman, 2005).

The couple relationship. Marriage is defined as two autonomous individuals with separate and distinct backgrounds who come from different families of origin bound to form what aims to be a long-term, consistent relationship (Anderson & Sabatelli, 1999). Marriage and family usually furnish emotional security and support.

As two persons comes together in order to become unit in the marriage, they bring to the relationship unresolved conflicts and undigested traumatic material that they've hitherto

failed to deal with. The marriage as a symbol potentially enables them to have strong container. Couple relation is symbolically a psychological container that enables couple to be creative, playful or joyful within it. The marital bond provides each couple with a place that they are held and contained. If there is a good marital bond, they find a possibility to meet their needs (Aronson, 2000). Colman (1993) gives a detailed account of how a relationship becomes a container by describing that "the relation itself becomes the container: the creative outcome of the couple's union, to which both partners can relate. It is an image of something the couple is continually in the process of creating, sustaining, and maintaining, while at the same time feeling that they exist within it -is contained by it… The relationship is like a third party-symbolic child" (p.89).

If the partners act as a container for each other for their mutual needs, they are more likely to gain new qualities and develop (Bianchini & Dallanegra, 2011). In a functional relationship, it is expected that each spouse can take responsibility for the satisfaction of other and maintain mutual relation as a containment. On the other hand, in some couple relations, balances of the containment cannot exist. While only one partner seeks containment, the other acts as a container. When one partner always expects the other partner to behave as a container for his/her unprocessed or raw emotional material, it causes imbalances in relationship. There is unconscious agreement between them (Pickering, 2011). Later, this unbalanced relationship gives rise to a great conflict between the couple. While the contained one feels that he/she has not enough place in the relationship to live independently, the container partner falls outside of the marriage (Colman, 1993; Pickering, 2011). Moreover, if the both spouses feel a strong need to be contained, they are more likely to have problems.

Couple state of mind. The concept of the "couple state of mind" (Morgan, 2011) refers to the capacity of a therapist to take a third position (Britton, 1989 as cited in Morgan) in relation to

the couple. The third position necessitates being able to take the observer position by standing outside of the relationship while at the same time being subjectively involved with both individuals. The couple state of mind of the therapist is central in containment and it provides the most help as the therapist adopts a couple state of mind and communicates it to them.

The lack of capacity for a "couple state of mind" is regarded as the primary factor that brings the couple into treatment. For most couples coming to therapy, being in a relationship is difficult in its own right. They may find it difficult to experience themselves as a couple sharing a space. The therapist may help by holding both partners in mind, but the couple state of mind is not simply this. Essentially, it is holding the relationship in mind (Morgan, 2011). When working with any couple, it is crucially important not to collude with attending to only one of the partners even when he/she appears to be the main source of the problem. That means always keeping a space in mind for the other partner when communicating with one of them. The crux of the problem should not be attributed to one partner alone.

Marriage as a psychological container. Bion is the one who originally developed the model of container-containment (Colman, 2005; Pickering, 2011; Waska, 2008). This model is widely used in psychodynamic clinical settings, containment being one of the crucial functions of a psychotherapist working with individual patients. In fact, it was thought to be an important aspect of a healthy psychic function to internalize or interject containment to be able to self-serve. This however, can only be achieved if early container-containment experiences were developmentally appropriate and "good-enough" in a facilitating environment. If there was no container functioning in one's early life, one will have difficulty containing the self and will only find temporary salvation in a marriage to experience the containment he or she is lacking. Then if they are lucky, they can seek therapy in which the therapist can be the container for the relationship. In fact, as Doss, Simpson & Christensen

(2004) reported, there is an extensive list of reasons for seeking therapy, varying from problems with communication, to lack of emotional affection, trust issues, physical affection and many others. These are all genuinely problematic for a healthy marital relationship, but the roots may go back to problems in early life such as containment and holding, closely related yet functionally different but complementary developmental needs.

In his theory, Bion emphasizes the role of the mother in the development of an infant's thinking capacity. In the containment process, an infant projects the stressful, undigested bodily experience which is termed "beta elements" onto the mother and the mother transforms it into an "alpha element" by using her own capacity to think about making the element more digestible for the infant (Abse 2009; Colman, 1993; Emanuel, 2012). This process of realizing the infant's signals and converting the projected stressful beta elements to alpha elements is also termed being a container, since the mother psychologically holds and contains the infant to feel protected and safe (Abse 2009). With the rehearsal of this process of converting elements, infants establish their own capacity of thinking which leads the child to have the ability to symbolize their own experiences to digest (Erten, 2007). Since the child bases his reality through "deprivations" the containment process is important in the healthy development of the child due to assisting in facing loss and deprivation (Emanuel, 2012). If a child experiences a sufficient level of containment from his parents, especially from the mother, healthy development can occur. A child can feel part of the family due to being contained but also realize the self as a separate person from the mother by being not enmeshed, but cared for by parents. Therefore containment affects the adaptation to triangular relations.

Similarly to Freud and Klein, Bion focused on triangulation in his containment theories. According to Bion, failure to obtain sufficient containment from the primary

caregiver is perceived as a "destructive attack" of the mother on the infant's link with her. Not being well contained by mother leads to the constitution of "destructive-envious superego" that negatively affects interacting with others and conceptualizing other's point of views (Black & Mitchell, 1995; Britton, 2004). As a result, primal experiences of containment are crucial for infants to create their thinking capacity, and establish relationships through them.

As Colman (1993) nicely put it, marriage as a psychological container is a "developmental marriage" (p.91). Moreover, a marriage that serves as a psychological container will be able to provide boundaries both for the couple to escape from the outside world and to protect the outside world from their own regressions and difficulties. This is essential considering that when a married couple are provided with a place which has a clear frame and a boundary, defined by trust, sense of security, intimacy and acceptance, they can utter their weaknesses, fears and phantasies. In a marriage serving containment, the partnership of the two will allow for the growth of both, even if at times one does the containing and other one is the container, because this process will be mutually beneficial and both partners will be able to flourish, contribute to the relationship and alternate roles (Bianchini et al., 2011).

On the other hand, as mentioned earlier, individuals, who enter into marriages not being sufficiently contained in their early years, will seek the container in their marriages. Then the problem is such that marriage is no longer a "therapeutic institution," rather it is an "institution of therapy" (Colman, 2005, p. 88). In a marriage that is used for therapy, one partner will unconsciously try to use the other partner as the container, or as the therapist and the psychological containing of the marriage will no longer function. This marriage will be dedicated to the psychological containing of a partner. However, unlike in the mother-infant or therapist-patient relationships, the other partner left to contain the regression will soon be

burdened. In fact, both partners will feel the need to regress from time to time, and both the

relationship and the other partner should be able to provide the containing function (Bianchini

et al., 2011).

The beta elements in one's psyche that were not contained and transformed will leave

residuals in one's psyche. Pickering (2011) will call these "malignant dowries", left over

material from past traumas (p.49). These residuals will often burst into marital relationships

and even one partner successfully containing the other one in order for him or her to function,

providing for the other, this asymmetry created in the dynamic of the relationship will

eventually lead to it no longer being able to contain for the needy and perhaps the containing

one seeking a container of their own. Similarly, the one who used the other partner as a

container will face the reality of no longer being contained and will also seek outside

containers (Colman, 2005; Ogden, 2004).

The couple may find themselves tangled in a deadlock (Pickering, 2011). While both

partners are left with a marriage that no longer contains, the marital problems of lack of

intimacy and affection, difficulties with communication, problems with caring for the

children, infidelity and trust issues just to list a few, will emerge. In another scenario, when

partners feel no containing from each other they will even question the significance and the

value of themselves and both become sufferers. Ongoing disappointments and inadequate

containment in the relationship will leave them with a state of mind that will not allow them to

grow and will leave them with grief (Bianchini et al., 2011).

Marriage can be a therapeutic institution and something of a developmental task and

provider in adult years. The marriage can serve as a container and provide partners with a

frame for furthering their development and helps partners to "come to know more fully the

different parts of themselves, eventually getting these parts into a more satisfying conjunction" (Colman, 2005p. 87). Marriage as a container will be creative, will allow both partners to relate and provide opportunities for the partners to "create, sustain, maintain", and also allow for the individuals to exist in it as unique beings. The relationship will be their own yet separate from their own beings.

All of these theories create resources to understand romantic relationships. Marriage is described as a ground on which couples can express their inner feelings and motivations and found a common ground in a manner of containment. These expressions would allow partners to understand, analyze, and hence form completeness in their relationship. The space that both partners work to create allows them to have potential to enter their relationship, develop, and be pleased with the manner of their sharing environment. Marriage, in this respect, would play a fundamental role as a container for both individuals in a couple, and provide the couple with the necessary empathic thinking and interpretation when faced with difficulties. Research has shown that empathy has a crucial role in the satisfaction that partners get from their relationship (Cramer & Jowett, 2010). An empirical study indicated that the accuracy of empathy alone does not play role in the satisfaction and settling of conflict between partners in a romantic relationship. Moreover, perceived empathic effort is another key element. The researchers claim that perceived empathic effort by one of the partners in a couple has greater importance than the accuracy of empathy in a manner of a relationship's satisfaction (Cohen, Shulz, Weiss, & Waldinger, 2012). In substance; intertwining the emotional, internal states and instinctive drives is much more significant when making marriage a container for both partners. At this point it is necessary to mention the container/contained question in marriages.

Colman (1993) notes that many couples face difficulties when they try to solve their problems as they are in a therapeutic alliance in their marriage. This case ensues especially from the container/contained type of marriage. In a container/ contained type of marriage there appears to be an asymmetrical relationship between partner who is cast in the same mold as in a mother/infant relationship or therapist/patient relationship, in which one part is processing and analyzing raw information for the other one. The asymmetrical relationship between partners leads one of the partners in a couple to take responsibilities for difficulties and bring security by providing the other individual with containment. As a result there is a container and a contained part in the marriage, in which the container part would not enjoy being in a coupling, and thus be unsatisfied. If the marriage is not a container for both of the parts in a couple then there is a container part for the other person's relationship in which the container person would try to seek containment for himself/herself out of the marriage. It is a reality that everyone may seek a container when faced with anxieties or difficulties; and while marriage may be reformative, the crucial point is that an asymmetrical, stable way to deal with difficulties would damage togetherness in a marriage. Marriage as a container would allow the partners to consider difficulties together, take responsibility for both partners, and develop a manner of containment together. A marriage should provide both parts in a couple with the advantage of what marriage gives you as a container. One after another it may make a person in a couple feel that he/she will also be contained in their marriage by way of taking turns to contain.

Voughan (1979) claims that the individuals in a couple start to create a common ground which is special for their intimacy in contradistinction to their pre-relationship individual space. Their actions, definitions and sources are combined to build the identity of a couple which becomes the mutual self. He stresses that the terms "his" and "her" becomes

"our" in a relationship. Moreover, after all of this transition in experiences and identity it is difficult to separate and be alone for both individuals in a couple. The transition may let the partners succeed in creating containment in marriage. To sum up, in a marriage there is the container which allows internal conflicts and emotional difficulties to become externalized for individuals and make developments together.

The sensation of continuousness and confidence afforded by a commitment to encounter the hardship as well as joys of a long-term relationship may let it function as a psychological container, where the couple may re-encounter and re-consider areas of emotional and developmental interruption, combine the different parts of themselves and their psychological growth, or not (Pickering, 2011). Marriage is as a playground of emerging conflicts between intimacy and autonomy, and enacting shared unconscious beliefs, anxieties as well as defenses. In addition, it provides for psychological functioning that meets (or not) the individuals' need of being contained and containment. A couple's relationship can be conceptualized as a container and symbolic third for two partners (Pickering, 2011).

In marital therapy, the focus of treatment is the marriage containing that a couple develops for their intimacy and dependence, not their individual consideration. Therefore a marital therapy session works as a temporary setting of containment where the couple can reveal projections.

Doss, Simpson, and Christensen (2004) questioned why couples seek marital therapy. In their research they concluded that interpersonal issues, communication problems, and deficiency of emotional affection are generally reported as the reason why they think they need therapy. The results of their research showed that the husband and wife differed as to why they needed therapy. They see difficulties from different perspectives. In a way, these

results show that couples seeking marital therapy possibly fail to create containment in their relationship to develop. This case would occur when marriage does not play a role as containment; instead individuals in a couple are seeking containment or help to create containment for their relationship. In marital therapy, therapists take charge as analyzers who understand comprehensively and make couples feel confident enough to communicate. Marmarosh (2014) states that when the therapist develops the empathy which makes a couple feel safe, the couple is able to lower their defense, upon which inner feelings and considerations can manifest themselves.

Projective system. Since the course of a relationship is composed of the interactions of two people's inner lives, working with couples requires focusing on the relationship rather than each individual patient and their respective psychopathologies. Actually, the couple relationship in its own right can be regarded as a being constituted of mutual projective identification (Hewison, 2003). Over time both partners' conscious and unconscious superego functions are activated "resulting in the couple acquiring a superego system of its own addition to its constituent ones (Kernberg, 1995, p. 97).

Freudian and Kleinian thinking paved the way for the idea that a relationship is a 'third position' constituted by the mutual projective and identificatory processes (ibid). Jung's conceptualization of the relationship also regarded the relationship as a 'third position', to which parties of the couple resort. Thus examining the couple relationship provides an opportunity to explore the "third area" which Winnicott (as cited in Ruszcynsky, 2005) refers to as the cultural experience as a derivative of play. The other two are the inner psychic reality and the actual external world in which the person lives. The "third area" may be thought of as the relationship that stems from the couple's interaction with each other (ibid). Although the nature of the relationship changes over time and is touched by the events of the natural life

cycle, its core is the shared object relations and the externalization of the internal images of the partners.

As mentioned before, infants project their own unbearable parts onto their mother. The mother turns into a partner in the later stages of life. The expectation of the person in both stages is taking care of, no frustration and minimizing the pain. Therefore, 'I finally found you', 'I feel like I have already known you for years' are common sentences in the love relationship. They may feel like they've found their caring and loving mother again. Partners locate their unbearable characteristic in the other in a couple relationship. In one aspect, it is relieving because they no longer have to carry these features of themselves. On the other hand, it is a paradox because they are now in close daily contact with their unwanted part.

"Intrusive identification" is the term Meltzer used for Klein's original concept of projective identification. He defined it as "an omnipotent phantasy of intrusion inside the body and mind of another (external) person, producing a form of narcissistic identification and a corresponding alienation from one's true identity" (Meltzer 1986, p. 50). This results in a "delusion" or confusion of identity and leads to claustrophobic anxieties, as in unconscious phantasy the object projected into is experienced as a "claustrum", rather than a container. It is "characterised by an arrogant certainty", as it leads to an omnipotent sense of knowing the other from the inside, rather than from the outside, as a separate person and consequently "only through imagination" (Fisher 1999, p. 234).

If it is a developmental relationship, each partner takes back projections from the other into the self. Besides, their capacity to tolerate emotional pain develops. Therefore, they become able to face the realities of life armed with a broader emotional repertoire. These kinds of developmental relationships tend to mature with time. However, problems may arise if a partner's need to project the unbearable part of the self is a lot stronger than the urge to

develop a mature relationship (Rosenthall, 2007). Developmental relationships are hopeful scenes. Unfortunately, not all couples have this kind of relationship. Some partners in the couples may have a more undeveloped state from their earlier experiences. Therefore, the couple's projective identification may get out of control and they may experience projective gridlock.

Projective gridlock. Psychoanalytic theories have opened a new window to the world. With special thanks to Sigmund Freud, who is the founder of the theories, people have started to perceive that what is visible may not necessarily be the reality. According to them, it is deeper than what is apparent. Psychoanalytic psychotherapies provide a change to people's inner side. In the beginning, there were not as many types of psychotherapy as today. Psychoanalytic psychotherapies were just for the individual.

Couple and family psychotherapy became a fresh subject in psychology. Before that, it could not be thought that couples could be invited to the therapy together. Psychoanalytic couple therapy is still rejected by some psychoanalytic psychotherapists. They have suggested that psychoanalytic sessions have a frame and it is not possible to carry this frame to couple sessions. However, other psychotherapists disagree and psychoanalytic couple psychotherapy has found a place.

Couple dynamics have always been a puzzle for psychologists. They are always questioning how couples decide to come together: does their personal history or relationship with their family have any effect, how they continue to stay in a marriage, and many others. Psychoanalytic couple psychotherapy has many terms to give a meaning to these dynamics. Proleptic imagination, claustro-agoraphobic dilemma, projective gridlock, the idea of three and containment are all examples of such terms. They are mostly interrelated. This paper aims to focus on projective gridlock in particular.

Morgan defined projective gridlock as a mutually projective and identificatory processes which show themselves over relating (1995). It occurs when projective identification between the couple is so extreme that couples may become confused about who thinks or feels what. They may start to feel like there is only one person in their relationship rather than two. As can be understood from the definition, it is important to first mention what projective identification is in order to provide better comprehension of projective gridlock.

Choice of partner. It has been always a controversial issue at to how people select the partner onto whom they can project their unbearable feelings. At this point, unconscious choice of partner can be mentioned. A person may choose a partner based on unconscious recognition in the other of disowned aspects of self. After that, a wish to be closer with this other may occur. The unconscious purpose of this wish may be developmental or defensive (Morgan, 1995).

As a defensive purpose, think about a man who is active, charming and successful. This man may choose a depressive partner. This may appear to be an odd coupling and other people may question why this active man is in a relationship with this depressive woman. He should probably have a relationship with a woman who has characteristics similar to him. It is also strange that this depressive woman has a relationship with this active man. People may deem them incompatible.

In this case, the man probably chooses this woman unconsciously. He cannot bear the depressed feelings in himself, so his partner has depressed feelings for him. On the other side of the coin, the woman probably has a problem with touching her charming side. Therefore, she chooses the active man in order to carry these feelings for her.

In this example, partners pull back projections of their difficult parts in time if it is developmental relationship. The man would become charming but sometimes depressive in this case. Likewise, the woman would become depressive but also have some charming characteristics. They would balance both feelings and they become more mature individually as their relationship progresses.

On the other hand, partners continue to project their unwanted or idealized feelings onto each other if it is not a developmental relationship. They repeat these projection processes many times in the relationship and as a consequence of this circumstance it becomes their relationship pattern. In other words, they experience projective gridlock.

As an illustration from this case, the man would continue to project his depressive parts while the woman would continue to project her active parts. He would make her feel more depressed with the sustainability of this situation. Unconsciously he may want to show her how being so depressive feels. On the other hand, the woman would continue to project her active and idealized feelings onto the man. So, she may start to think that her partner is the most charming person the world has ever seen. As a consequence of this relationship pattern, projective gridlock is experienced.

The reason for this projective gridlock may be containment. As it was stated previously, containment is a term coined by Bion. The couple may mature together if they have the capacity to manage the unbearable feelings of each other in this case. If they are not able to process these feelings, they presumably had mothers who were not able to process difficult feelings and make them bearable for the partners of the couple in their early childhood.

The unconscious choice of partner is made when the projected aspects of the self is reciprocated by the other. In the intimate couple relationship there is a possibility for working

through internal conflicts and anxieties that had remained unresolved (Colman, 1993). One of the main goals of psychoanalytic therapy with couples is to help them with the withdrawal of projections and owning what is one's own (Bion, 1957).

Anxiety about being different. Projective gridlock can also be defined as occurring when extreme projective identification between a couple is such that they confuse who thinks or feels what. The reason why they feel that way is anxiety about being different. In point of fact, all couples in relationships have problems with closeness. They face a difficulty between being close and being separate or being the same and different. They want to be close emotionally, spend time together and have a satisfying sexual relationship. At the same time they want to be separate and maintain their own personality (Morgan, 1995).

Couples with projective gridlock have anxiety about being different from their partner. Separate psychic existence scares them. Therefore, they generally start to feel like there is only one person in the relationship after a while. As a result of this, they may confuse who thinks or feels what. For example, a woman may unintentionally recount her partner's dream as if she had it. Deciding who had this dream may seem as confusing. This phenomenon can lasts for years.

One of the partners in the relationship may feel that there is something wrong. In this case, couple can start to seek help from psychotherapists. One of the partners may realize they are locked together, while the other may not. The one who feels locked may have awareness that this kind of relationship restrains development. So, s/he wants to gain independence.

At this stage, the partner who wants independence may start it from the psychical distance. S/he may choose this way in order to feel psychological difference between them at

least, if not physical distance. This wish for distance can be a problem between the couple.

Therefore, they may seek psychological advice in order to get out of a jam.

Mutual projective identification is the main mechanism in the foundation of a couple

relationship and the unconscious choice of the partner is made when projected aspects of the

self are reciprocated by the other. In the intimate couple relationship there is a possibility for

the working through of internal conflicts and anxieties that had remained unresolved (Colman,

1993).

When mutual projective identifications are very strong as to constitute the main

dynamics in a couple's relating the couple is kept in a "gridlock" (Morgan, 1995). This is a

particular "pattern of interlocking retaliatory impulses in response to particularly intrusive

projections" (Fisher, 1999; p: 139). In a spectrum of a defensive or developmental (creative)

couple, the couple in a "gridlock" is definitely at the highly defensive end. In this situation,

the couple lives in a world in which there is no togetherness, communication and intimacy.

They are kept in intense fear of dependency and they are highly anxious of losing control.

When these intense feelings are overwhelmingly difficult to contain the couple resorts to a

projective gridlock (Morgan, 1995) as a flight. As a result mutual projective and identificatory

processes take precedence over relating. This is called the human dilemma between the

longing for intimacy and closeness, and individuality and autonomy. Both dependence and

independence may raise anxiety either for the loss of the loved one or the self (ibid).

Non-relatedness. A folie a deux as James Fisher refers to this type of relating: "a

particularly insidious shared defensive pattern in couples motivated by intolerance to both

separation and closeness" (Fisher 1999, p. 243). According to Fisher, these kinds of

relationships include interlocking intrusive and adhesive identifications functioning in a sado-

masochistic shared defense against separation and intimacy. In that case one or both partners

suffer from complimentary anxieties. Warding off separation anxieties, they use intrusive identification to feel in control of the other, but probably end up feeling claustrophobic and turns away to their own retreat to separate themselves again. Often, external activities and/or work serves a function for both of them in providing psychic space (ibid).

She contends that some individuals starve themselves of human contact and withhold any kind of communication with a wish to protect a part of themselves from sharing with the other; some others refuse to take in the words they need most to hear in order to prevent the intrusion of the other. Lawrence (ibid) asserts that there is a very pervasive sense in which the anorexic patient seems to kill off a lively part of herself, represented by a sexual couple. It is this unavailability of a part of the patient that needs help to grow and to mature which makes analysis so difficult.

Internal couple. For Fisher (1999), 'marriage', is a mental state in which the internal relationship to the object combines intimacy with the acknowledgement of separateness. The symbolic couplings in a family spread out from that of the prototype parental intercourse, to include baby and breast, sibling relationships that exclude parents, and the growth of children towards their own procreative partnerships. This suggests what Britton (1989) calls the 'missing link', the third term of the Oedipal triangle, essential to a perception of 'truth', or reality, and as such often deeply hated and resisted by the narcissistic self. In The Oedipus Complex Today, Britton (1989) writes about the profound sense of loss that this recognition produces, especially as it involves the recognition that the relationship which excludes him is different from his relationship to his parents, in that theirs is sexual and procreative. This sense of loss turns into a sense of persecution if the infant cannot bear and mourn it. But if the infant has established a good internal maternal object, he is able to recognise and bear the Oedipal situation despite the pain involved. This creates what Britton calls 'triangular space'

– "a space bounded by the three persons of the Oedipal relationship and all their potential relationships. A third position then comes into existence from which object relationships can be observed" (ibid, p. 87). With the achievement of the third position comes 'psychic space', whereby the person can feel separate enough from the object to be able to have his own point of view whilst entertaining another point of view and can bear to be excluded from, as well as included in, an intimate relationship. Feldman (1989) suggests that there may be further developmental difficulties if the infant is faced with "a parental couple that he finds impenetrable, unable properly to receive or respond to his projections. This may give rise to violent attempts to get through … or to a sense of a hopeless and a bizarre situation that cannot be faced" (ibid, p. 127).

Couples and traumatic experiences. Clulow (2001) talks about the benefits of "attachment theory informed couple psychotherapy" for couples who as a system have difficulty in reflecting, regulating and mentalizing, as it provides a safe interpersonal environment to enhance the partners' capacities of being emotionally connected and processing their experiences together. It has also been concluded that secure couples are able to shift more freely between dependence on each other (interdependence); and are available to provide help according to their partner's needs. So that secure individuals who happy to resort to their attachment figures in times of stress may experience their partners as a source of support and as an anchor, and the relationship as a container (ibid). It is very likely that an individual's relationship connection or attachment dynamics are altered due to adversity and a sense of disconnection may become a primary part of future interpersonal relationships (Herman, 1992). Current literature does not address whether there is any positive alteration of the attachment dynamics of a couple and if the marriage plays a role in these positive internal capacities." (Colman, 1993, p: 71).

The couple relationship might also function as a secure base (Bowlby, 1969) from which a couple can find a way for working through trauma and loss, and aspire towards growth (Bowlby, 1973; 1980). It has also been concluded that secure couples are able to shift more freely between dependence on each other (interdependence); and are available to provide help according to their partner's needs. So that the secure individuals who are at ease with resorting to their attachment figures in times of stress may experience their partners as a source of support and an anchor, and the relationship as a container (ibid).

It is very likely that an individual's relationship connection or attachment dynamics are altered due to adversity and a sense of disconnection may become a primary part of future interpersonal relationships (Herman, 1992). Being exposed to violent events might cause psychological as well as physical injuries to varying degrees of severity, but as a result of adverse events a sense of regeneration and revitalization might also emerge when previous values and life routines were erased. A new meaning to the lives of survivors might be introduced and people might view themselves and the world in a different way. This positive outcome of adverse experiences is conceptualized as Adversity Activated Development by Papadopoulos (2007). Responding to people from man-made painful experiences, it is important to bear in mind the totality of each individual's experiences and their relation to the wider network. The "Trauma Grid" was devised by Papadopoulos (2007) to address the "individual's interrelationships, past and present, good and bad, positive, negative and neutral; in short, all the consequences of their exposure to trauma." (page, 6). The trauma grid identify the various consequences of a traumatic experience and keeping clear of the compartmentalization and polarization (ibid).

Psychoanalytic couple work. The way of understanding couples has changed over the years with the help of attachment theory, neuroscience, and understanding trauma and

deprivation imposed limitations (Scharff & Scharff, 2007). To identify the dynamics of the couple, inconsistencies and breaks in the flow of their narrative should be attended to. While giving an account of their experiences or feelings their memories might be described either in words or images, or maybe recreated in transference or experience in the countertransference (ibid). So that in interpreting the couple's narrative the countertransference feelings of the interviewer must be taken into account.

In a couple system the inner psychic reality of the individuals is also constituted of the person's perception of the other. The external reality is represented by the otherness of the other with the realization that the other person is separate and different with his unique qualities, attitudes, perceptions and so on. When in a relationship, a person experiences himself in relation to the other. The couple relationship therefore, creates a space for the interplay between the intra-psychic and the interpersonal (Ruszczynsky, 2005). As a result, when a couple relationship is under consideration the focus should be the relationship that is created via the interaction between the partners. This interaction constitutes a pattern as the relationship progresses. This pattern is certainly not rigid and the nature of the relationship changes over time and touched by the events of natural life cycle. However, at its core are the shared object relations and the externalization of the internal images of the partners.

The container/containment relation between mother and child shapes the child's own psyche. Bion's model supplies a detailed account of how the therapist enhances containment in the patient. The mother's reverie is akin to the therapist's suspended attention. Through the therapist's interpretations that psychic elements and proto-emotions can be refined and processed, the patient may develop the capability to think and reflect his or her own experiences (Bianchini& Dallanegra, 2011; Colman,1993). The frame of therapy and the therapist's neutrality provide boundaries which create the container. Through the analytic

setting, the therapist's role of container enables the patient to project his/her inner conflicts, unresolved issues and unconscious phantasies onto the therapist (Ruszcyzynski, 1992).

Winnicott claimed that the mother-infant dyad is associated with the therapist-patient relationship (Aranson, 2000). The therapist's ability to hold "a couple state of mind" can seen as a holding environment where the therapist is involved with the patients and at the same time exist outside as an observer. The fundamental element in containment is for the therapist to "hold both partners in mind." While a therapist engages with one partner, he also keeps a space in his/her mind for other (Morgan, 2001).

Many couples who come to therapy present their problem as "I don't have problems, I am here due to understand my spouse's problem with me". This claim or attitude mostly appears in the initial session since they are far away from thinking about both their contributions to the relationship. Generally, couples see their problems or conflicts from their perspective or the other spouse's view, but do not examine the problem as something they create together. However, therapists see a couple's relationship or marriage as a patient to be dealt with. Having introduced the couple to a novel way of seeing relationships, the therapist stresses that the patient is the marriage (Morgan, 2001) by focusing on what the couple creates within them. That gives an opportunity for the couple to see another perspective that is far away from blaming each other. The relationship between the spouses is seen as a patient and this view determines the therapeutic attitude and approach while working with couples.

Bion's containment/container model and Winnicott's idea of "holding" present a great deal of knowledge on how the therapist can help the patient to enhance the containment function (Colman, 1993). Morgan (2001) states that one of the most fundamental tools for a therapist while working with couples is the "couple state of mind" (p.17). In psychodynamic

couple therapy, it is the core of the analytic work. This approach also affects and ascertains the framework of therapy such as the therapeutic process, shape of transference and countertransference interpretations (Sander, 2004). A couple therapist considers what kind of relationship they create as a couple and what kind of unconscious phantasies or beliefs they have together.

Psychoanalytic couple therapy provides a secure area as a container where couples re-enact their unresolved conflicts about internal object relations in the transference. This occurs not only between the couple and therapist but also within couple. During therapy, transference and countertransference dynamics enable them to bring their internal couple relationship into action. Since the relationship is regarded as a patient, the therapist focuses on the relation between the two, rather than the internal psychic world of the individuals. The therapeutic setting or framework in psychoanalytic couple therapy has played an important role. Its role is not only to enhance the containment, but also provides it with one of therapy's functioning (Colman, 1993 & Sander, 2004 & Lanman 2003).

The therapist plays an important role in providing a temporary container which the couple then get used to depending on whether they feel in need of re-orientation occurring in the marriage. It is important for therapists to have the skills needed to assist with carrying in his or her mind not only individual, but also the relationship of the couple (Lanman, 2003). As for a therapist working with two personalities in the therapy room, it can seem difficult to sustain an equal position. However, the therapist must sustain the equality (Bianchini & Dallanegra, 2011).

Through containing the couple state of mind, the therapist always reveals the existence of the relationship and helps couples to maintain a third position that can be internalized. The

third position or place has a significant role in providing a couple with the ability to develop a creative relationship. On the other hand, it is rather difficult for some spouses to achieve and thus they show resistance. The analytic frame provides the therapist with a place that can see and think about how they create a relationship and what kind of beliefs or phantasies they have (Morgan, 2001; Colman, 1993).

While some spouses make an effort to take therapist attention to his sight, or therapist fells sympathy towards one, however, according to a pressure coming from spouse or his or her feelings, therapist sustains a neutral position in the therapeutic process that enables couples to project their conflicts onto the therapist. Even though the therapist focuses on exploration and interpretation for understanding the relationship, he/she has freedom to focus on an individual too, if the therapist has a couple state of mind. For instance, if one of the spouses brings up a matter, the therapist researches and wonders about its meaning in the relationship and also tries to understand its unconscious function within the couple. Therefore, it is possible to comprehend the other's feelings while seeking or exploring the first one's mind. Not only the debated subject is considered in the room (Morgan, 2001).

The therapist's couple state of mind is one of the core elements of the psychoanalytic setting. Most couples coming to therapy do not have a sense that their relationship is an entity. For that reason, they query problems from their own point of view, possibly at times from the other's point of view, but are usually not able to view the relationship and see what they are creating together. When the therapist acts as a container and holds a couple state of mind, the couple relationship becomes a focal point and therapy serves as a useful framework for the partners (Morgan, 2001& Colman 1993 & Lanman, 2003). As the therapist is successful by holding the state of the couple's relationship in his/her mind, this makes it possible to be internalized by the couple and the third position provided by the therapist becomes an

appearance of the couple relationship. This competence in occupying a third position is fundamental for the "creative couple" (Morgan, 2001) relationship. However, for some, being a creative couple is rather difficult so they show resistance to accomplishing it.

The first dual relation is defined as being between mother and infant. Thus, the quality of first experiences in the early years has significance for the origination of personhood. When two persons come together in a couple relationship, they bring their subjectivity to it. The couple's relationship can be seen as a playground for mutual projections of unresolved conflicts, unconscious beliefs, anxieties or defenses (Lanman, 2003). They unconsciously seek for a partner who can provide for his/her unmet needs or ambitions. Couples search for a receptive containing mind in the other that is able to attune proto-emotional states that cannot find a place or importance in their own mind and therefore, lead to suffering. When this expectancy of containment constantly encounters disappointment due to proto-emotions that are too intensive, and the deficiency of the container, therapy provides couples with a receptive containing mind. (Pickering, 2011). They make relationships worse due to the emergence of many conflicts. Since they are far away from conceiving their own problems, they focus on either their partner's problems or not accepting the relationship problems that they've created together. When two partners come together, they both create a space as a third mind. They put up resistance to understanding the relationship from a third position. However, that relationship should be regarded as a separate space or subjectivity. Through this view, it is possible for a couple to focus on problems that they create together. Through the therapy, a couple learns to attune to the other's need, to accept a partial and mutual dependence and eventually enhance their capacity to be a couple (Bianchini & Dallanegra, 2011).

Psychodynamic couples' therapy creates for spouses an analytic setting. It is beneficial and effective due to its holding and containing functions provided by the therapist (Kissen, 2003). By means of a facilitating environment, a couple may obtain important competencies such as the ability for commitment, self-soothing, tolerance of defects and the capacity for playfulness (Kissen, 2013) like a baby with his/her mother as a holding environment.

Life Cycle.

Marital. As humans grow up and develop their enduring characteristics they form close relationships (Blieszner, 1994). Close relationships are defined by Wood (1994) as 'the ones that endure over time and in which participants depend on one another for various things from support to material assistance'. Although there are many types of close relationship, parallel to the purposes of this thesis, our focus is on heterosexual marital relationships and how marital relationship and satisfaction changes over time.

Families offer continuity as a result of emotional attachments, rights and obligations. That is why the institution of marriage has endured for centuries. Although sociological changes like urbanization, greater mobilization, individualization and increased secularization of women have contributed to the weakening of marriage and the growing rate of divorce, marriage still holds its symbolic significance even in Western societies (Skolnick & Skolnick, 2001). Kiernan's study (2004), conducted in France and Germany, found that young adults reported thinking that they would eventually get married. According to surveys in the United States, young Americans today give as much importance to marriage as they ever did. It can be said that marriage today is seen as a path toward self-fulfillment and a voluntary relationship that individuals can make and break at will rather than being regarded as a social obligation (Popenoe, 1990). In our day, more married couples face the challenge of balancing their needs for individuality, autonomy and self-fulfillment along with traditional values such

as commitment and loyalty. Kakar (1982; as cited in Lemma, 1996) suggest that culture will play an important role in determining the perception and the level of concern in each of these states. Traditional values and the necessity of being committed to societal norms may not be a concern of western cultures. However, in collectivistic cultures such as those of Asia and Africa, being autonomous and striving for self-fulfillment would be seen as out of the norm experiences and selfishness.

Family. Family development theory (Strong, 1994) provides a theoretical background for this investigation since it underlies the fact that families have a dynamic nature. It is stated that both the members of the families and the roles they play change over time (Strong, 1994). In a family life there are transitions that require a family to change and determine priorities in order to meet new challenges of the new cycle of the family life span. During times of transition in a major life cycle, it is possible for family crises to arise. Some critical transitions, such as marriages, pregnancies, school beginnings, children's becoming adults and leaving home and retirement can be counted the as the most salient life difficulties. (Walsh, 1982).

Family development theory focuses on the changes in the family in its developmental span. The theory identifies stages according to the events that are primary and/or orienting and that characterize a period of the family history. According to the model, the family life cycle is composed of the formation of the family, having babies, being a family with young children, then with adolescents, children leaving home and the family approaching to later life (Strong, 1994).

In the beginning a family has only two members without children. The couple is at the center and the challenge for them is to construct a mutually satisfying relationship. The

emotional challenge mainly centers around adjusting their needs and wants to the requirements of the relationship, i.e. commitment to the relationship beyond one's immediate needs. The couple's relational challenge is the shifting of allegiances from their respective parents to the current family unit as well as trying to maintain the earlier ties. Research has shown that couples experience their greatest satisfaction during this age (Glenn, 1991). In the expansion phase the first child is born. There is no doubt that the arrival of children brings the necessities of new financial arrangements and requires new organizational tasks. Being a parent requires new adjustments that sometimes obligate an immense giving of self. When subjugating one's own needs to the needs of a dependent, such self-sacrifice can be felt as a big burden. In this stage, the needs of the individual's as well as the couple are subjugated to the requirements of parenting (Gerson, 2002).

When children reach adolescence, they need to be more independent in order to explore the outside world. This phase of childhood can be very disruptive to family life since the adolescent would prefer to be with peers and may be reluctant to attend family functions. They will be busy with high school schedules and future plans (Gerson, 2002). So the family needs to find a balance between the needs of the adolescent's independence and inculcating responsible behavior. Overall, these factors provide conflicting and ambivalent feelings during this period of family life. Parents at this time in the life cycle are both beginning to face the prospect of becoming older and increasing responsibility for their own aging parents.

When children leave home the couple is faced with a new challenge. Now they need to utilize new resources and to focus their energies on other issues (Gerson, 2002). Research shows that during this stage marital satisfaction begins to rise for most couples (Strong, 2005). Some couples who had hitherto been neglectful of their relationship deem this a new opportunity to rediscover each other; while others whose main focus had been their children

may find married life without children to be meaningless. In each case the couple need to shift their main focus.

When a family reaches later life, the working members of the aging family retire and the couple usually returns to childless days, but this time being much older. The practical challenges this time are to deal with the uncertainties of old age and with the loss of a sense of importance, they may find themselves irrelevant (as cited in Shultz & Shultz).

Individual. Family development theory asserts that individual development and family development interact with each other, that is, identity cannot be separated from relationship. The individual's life span needs to be understood to explain the changes in the relationship since the developmental stages of family life are closely linked with that of the individuals who construct the family. The growth of human beings depends on the way they perform different developmental tasks. Erik Erikson describes the human life cycle as containing developmental stages at which individuals have important developmental tasks to accomplish and each stage intimately involves the family (Erikson, 1997). As the individual enters young adulthood, these stages generally involve marriage or other intimate relationships.

The tendencies of people to preserve their integrity as well as to develop enables them to be active organizers of their lives. Humanistic psychology, which investigates ways for human beings to develop, actualize their potentialities, be more competent, more aware and more happy has a particular importance among the organismic approaches (Heylighen, 1992).

Abraham Maslow, who is the pioneer of humanistic psychology, proposed a theory of human motivation and also psychological health that is based on the satisfaction of the hierarchy of needs, posited that the increasing gratification of psychological, safety, belonging, love and esteem needs (in the given order) corresponds to a series of increasing

degrees of psychological health in order to be more healthy, self actualizing, or fully human (Maslow, 1970).

According to Heylighen (1992), self-actualized people's prominent characteristic is automomy, as basic need gratification is possible by having an autonomous system. This premise is in line with Maslow's assertions and observations about self-actualization. He emphasized self-decision, self-discipline, and more importantly being responsible as a deciding agent rather than being submissive to the determination of others. In conclusion, self-actualizers depend on their own potential for well-being and development. So that growth is the main motivation for them.

The above mentioned characteristics of self-actualizing people can be expanded to couples who have achieved marital satisfaction. As explained in previous pages, a creative couple can be described as being able to find a balance between autonomy and responsibilities. The couple who've achieved emotional separation from their families of origin and being active determinants of their own lives actively seeking to maintain their marriages. As the family members are in their developmental life span, the individual life cycle coincides with that of the family life cycle.

Erikson (1997) states that all individuals have the ability to overcome each conflict and consciously direct their own growth. In relational sense, his theory postulates that generativity is about the need for being close to others. Research confirms Erikson's postulation that people in the maturity and the old age stages of psychological development spend time recalling and examining their life, accepting or regretting past choices (Taft & Nehrke, 1990).

Dislocation

Identity. Immigration, its processes and its influences on people and their psychological conditions are complex issues that need to be clarified in their entirety. Adapting to a new country can be a hard process for most immigrants. This process as a whole involves so many changes; conflicts, difficulties and problems can be experienced. Psychological effects are among the most significant issues that an immigrant may experience, to varying degrees and dimensions.

First of all, the immigrant can be identified as an individual who has left his/her land voluntarily for the purpose of relocating to another country in search of an improved life (Kristal-Andersson, 2000). Based on this definition, the reasons can be economic, personal or related to unavoidable circumstances such as natural disasters and the like. The immigrant can experience different types of situations in the new country. As a result of these experiences, conflicts and confusion may develop. To understand an individual's attitude to the new country, past homeland experiences, the reasons for and circumstances behind the immigration and the different aspects of the framework needed to be understood (Kristal-Andersson, 2000).

Binnie Kristal-Andersson (2000) explained the psychology of immigrant with focus on the most important aspects, i.e., dislocation, the states of being, the adaptation process, relevant background conditions, the reason for the individual's relocation and the conditions that arise from the transition.

First, gaining a better and deeper understanding of the immigration situation is significant because it identifies how this situation can affect, or lead to symptoms and difficulties. Moreover, as Kristal-Andersson (2000) has discussed, outer process of change affect the inner world and it can be identified by describing the immigrant situation. In

accordance with this, inner changes can be identified by the outer processes' influence – both conscious and unconscious - in the psychic life and the ways they impact the relocated people's lives.

Individuals can experience outer changes like different environments, cultures, languages, and socio-economic conditions in their new country. At this point, the reasons for the individual's arrival in the new country and its impact on the individual's inner world, how individuals meet and deal with these conditions. In addition to this, the outer world involves components such as culture and religion. The inner world can be explained with the individual's thoughts, dream life and fantasies. The inner world is shaped by childhood experiences, cultural and societal values, moral issues, religious beliefs, thoughts and language (Kristal-Andersson, 2000).

An individual may feel like a stranger, lonely. There may be feelings of loss, longing, guilt and shame. The struggle for adaptation may cause language degradation, value degradation and, inferiority. The person may also see himself as rootless; he may experience bitterness, suspicion, prejudice and the scapegoat syndrome. Moreover, related to these explanations, the immigrant can be viewed as a stranger when he or she arrives in the new country. A sense of loneliness in the new country can also be felt and such feeling can affect the individual and the immigrant can become isolated because of it. As is expected, the immigrant can miss something or someone from the homeland. As a result of it, missing can be considered a painful experience and it affects the immigrant's difficulties and lead up with this aspect of state of being, which is missing. On arrival in the new country, the immigrant can long for someone or something from the homeland. In addition to this, the immigrant can experience guilt because of the his feelings relating to past homeland experiences (Scarry, 1985).

The immigrant can also experience feelings of shame, because of homeland experiences as a result of which the immigrants cannot forgive themselves. In the new country, the immigrant also may mourn what he or she has left and this situation can continue for a long time. Immigrants can experience sorrow in various ways which are influenced by their background and causes for coming the new country. Also as Kristal-Andersson (2000) highlights those immigrants can be discombobulated because of someone or something from the homeland.

Moreover, Kristal-Andersson (2000) highlights that the immigrant can experience feelings of inferiority that are related to making a start in the new country and the process of entering a new society. Firstly, feelings of inferiority arise from being in a new country and then turn into a part of the immigrant and as a result of it impacts the immigrant's identity and his or her adaptation to the new country in this process (Kristal-Anderrson, 2000). For example, in the new country simple tasks like shopping, dressing or accessing health care can be a problem for the immigrant because he or she can find it difficult to manage changes. With time, the immigrant starts to adapt the new country and he or she does not experience feelings of inferiority (Kristal-Anderrson, 2000).

To talk about the experience of rootlessness, it can be explained with the feeling of not belonging and not feeling secure. When it comes to rootlessness, it can be identified with having "no ground or base". It is mentioned that this feeling may lead to serious mental anguish including depression. Kristal-Anderrson (2000) also states that there is a relation between deep rootlessness and a near-psychotic state of mind. Erikson (1950) emphasizes that childhood or other life experiences can be assumed as the cause of feeling bitterness. Moreover, the immigrant, who is identified as bitter, can feel betrayed, angry, dissatisfied and these types of feelings are also associated with deep disappointment and sadness.

Psychotherapy may help the individual to express these unbearable feelings. The person who is involuntarily relocated may have feelings of bitterness because of the immigrant situation, ambivalence towards life in the new country and previous experiences in the homeland (Kristal-Anderrson, 2000).

Moreover, suspicious feelings as a result of different conflicts can develop in the new country during the process of adaptation that may endure for many years. It is mentioned that the immigrant also experiences the feeling of prejudice in different way. These are arriving to a new place where there is prejudice against others and become prejudiced in the new country (Kristal-Anderrson, 2000). Also the immigrant may be faced with another individual's prejudiced attitudes or behaviors against the immigrant.

Additionally in the new country immigrants can experience feelings of being a scapegoat. This may cause the individual a lack of self-confidence, lowered self-esteem and helplessness. As a result of those, scapegoating arises. This can be explained by the immigrant's sensitivity to the negative attitudes of others. Moreover, immigrants can be made to feel like a scapegoat when he or she comes to the new country.

Trankell (1971) described adaptation as a process between the individual and his or her surroundings and also mutual shifting and modification of situations and behaviors that characterizes adaptation. In accordance with this description, the adaptation cycle, which is the second aspect, can describe the process of the immigration situation and also this process' difficulties. In other words, it can be explained how long the individual has been in the new country and has adapted to it. The adaptation cycle can be utilised as a way of analyzing how well the immigrant has integrated into the new country and its impacts on it. There are three stages of the adaptation phase: arrival, confrontation and flashback.
Upon arrival, a relocated person begins to contrast and compare between the lost homeland

and the unfamiliar new country. Then he begins to make comparisons and contrasts between the homeland and what is the new in the new country. In the flashback phase, contrasts and comparisons are made between what is missed in the homeland and which remains different in the new (Kristal-Anderrson, 2000).

Childhood experiences are the third aspect and it emphasizes the importance of early experiences on understanding immigrant behaviors. As the psychodynamic viewpoint highlights, childhood experiences are important because they are reestablished and repeated and one is affected by them throughout life; hence in the immigrant situation it is important to consider childhood experiences. Related to this Mezey (1960) emphasizes that the immigrant deals with his or her new life in the new country with experiences which were procured in early childhood in the homeland. It is clear that to better understand the immigrant situation, an immigrant's childhood experiences need to be comprehended better and deeper for the purpose of understanding current emotional difficulties and how they can be handled.

The relevant background considerations include age on arrival in the new country, gender, environment, climate, country of origin, socioeconomic and educational factors in both the home and new country.

The psychology of immigration and these aspects are related to past and present life experiences that need to be studied. Each aspect should be examined in order to see the full picture of current symptoms and problems. Moreover, it is emphasized that these can cause or affect or complicate different types of difficulties, problems, life crises, life changes, conflicts managed and endured in the new country. As a result of these, an individual's adaptation to the new country can be influenced. These aspects are significant in order to better comprehend how they caused, influenced or complicated the problems. It is crucial to highlight that these aspects are related to psychological effects, such as feelings of inferiority

or feelings of bitterness.

In the literature, researches about the psychological effects of immigration among different age groups have been addressed. As this process affects the whole family and children, the effects of immigration are studied among them as well. Immigration has been seen as a challenge and potential threat to a person's well-being because it comprises stressful processes such as discrimination and hostile attitudes in society, differences in languages and so on (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001).

While living between two worlds and not having a sense of belonging, questioning oneself, the values of life and life style is a difficult psychological process. This questioning of course may result in a positive development and change, and with integration of the two worlds. However, if the two worlds of an immigrant cannot be integrated or combined then conflicts and incongruities can occur as a result of this situation (Kristal-Andersson, 1980). According to APA (2013), psychological distress can be identified within the first years of immigration; this can be explained with higher demoralization scores of immigrants than native ones. The immigration process can be identified by a loss of separation from country of origin, family members, changes in social class, exposure to a new physical environment and need to navigate unfamiliar cultural contexts. Taken together, the enhancement of a variety of psychological problems can occur as a result (APA, 2013).

Moreover, psychological acculturation, which can be identified as the dynamic process that immigrants experience when they adapt to the culture of the new country (Berry, 1980), is an important issue. Acculturation involves attitudes, values, cultural identity, food and music preferences, ethnic pride, media use, and language changes in immigrant's lives as a process. As a result of it, the acculturation process can cause acculturative stress which is explained by stressful life events that are related to psychological difficulties (APA, 2013).

Moreover, as immigration and acculturation are related, research indicates that the causes of immigration can have an effect on acculturative stress (Jamil, Nassar-McMillan & Lambert, 2010).

In addition to this, attachment theory can be associated with the experience of separation and loss (Hernandez, 2009). In other words, as an immigrant's psychology can be affected by separation and loss, the selection of coping strategies related to acculturation is influenced by attachment styles. Hernandez (2009) explains that securely attached immigrants can be associated with healthier psychological outcomes.

Psychological distress in immigrants has been a significant issue that has been studied in order to gain a better and deeper understanding about them. In accordance with this significance, factors such as unemployment, family, economic problems, the cultural distance between the country of origin and the country of immigration have an impact on increased psychological distress levels. For instance, in order to demonstrate the psychological effects of immigration and the immigrant situation, culture is one of the most important components. This importance can be explained with an individual's mental difficulties being diagnosed with the effect of the individuals' culture on these. For instance, culture dissonance can affect immigrants' psychology in a bad way and is related to mental disorders, as well (Bhugra, 2004).

Few studies have evaluated the psychological effects of immigration on adolescents. Research which was conducted with adolescents in 13 countries has shown that they adapted better and with fewer psychosocial problems (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006).

Literature lacks a clear and comprehensive explanation of the psychological difficulties of immigrants. Although Kristal-Anderrson (2000) put forward the picture that most immigrants and their children find themselves in deep and acute crises before they got

psychological support, much more research in this area is needed. It is important to explore

the psychological difficulties of relocated people in order to help them to get support from the

relevant institutions.

Impacts on mental health. When analyzing the psychological effects of immigration, its

influences on mental health provide a significant component in order to analyze and

understand the effects within a clinical perspective. In scientific literature, some researchers

are suggesting links between immigration and mental disorders, whereas others do not see a

direct link.

The discussions about the influences between the psychological effects and

experiences of immigration are being understood better with a growing body of research,

which includes the psychoanalytical perspective as well: Volkan (1981) emphasizes

pathological mourning as an immigrant psychology characteristic feature thus providing one

of the significant and initial contributions to this issue.

Firstly, the immigrant's inner world can be influenced by experiences of inner difficulties,

problems, conflicts, confusions, neurotic and psychotic feelings, neurosis, psychosis and life

crises (Kristal-Andersson, 1976).

According to the APA report (2013), mental health problems such as anxiety,

depression, substance abuse, post-traumatic stress disorder and suicidal ideation have been

noticed among immigrants to the United States. Immigrants are related to their social

contexts, which means that they are part of an internalized world that is structured in

accordance with their psychological experience of themselves and others, including the world

to which they have come (Ainslie, 2011).

However, Dalgard (2006) suggests that immigration cannot be identified as a threat

to mental health. He argues that the important things in order to categorize it as a threat are more related to the social and cultural contexts.

Taken together, these explanations and studies show that the psychological effects of immigration have not been understood deeply and as a result of this, most immigrants find themselves in a psychological crisis. Hernandez (2009) emphasizes that in order to comprehend the psychological disturbances related to immigration, better psychological treatment must be provided to immigrants.

In conclusion, it is clear that greater attention needs to be paid towards better understanding the psychological effects of immigration.

Impacts on couple relationship. Although the number of people who dislocate is constantly growing, the significance of the inner worlds of immigrants and their children had not been understood for a long time. There has been growing awereness in recent years and the importance of understanding the psychological difficulties of immigrants has been generally acknowledged.

There has been intensive research conducted on the difficulties that immigrants as individuals have been facing, but far less on how immigration affects couples. The effect of immigration on couples also provides an interesting field for research since immigration can have an influence on couples' relationships in both negative and positive ways.

Migration is a "family matter" that requires great involvement from the marital couple and has a crucial impact on their relationship (Hyman, & Mason, 2008). It is a fact that immigration to a new country is stressful for couples. Additionally since stressful events are associated with decreased marital quality and increased relationship instability, the migration process may pose a risk for relationship stability (Karney, & Bradbury, 1995). In a research

study Karney and Bradbury (1995) found that stress is associated with decreased marital quality and with increased marital instability.

Investigating immigration involves examining changes in climate and lifestyle, which can create a sense of isolation and loneliness due to disengagement from their network of social relations (Lavee, & Krivosh, 2012). Moreover, the distance between couples can grow due to interpersonal conflicts emerging from differences in their willingness to immigrate (Lavee, & Krivosh, 2012). Therefore, it appears that immigration threatens family cohesion and function, as well as the quality of family relations. Lavee, & Krivosh, (2012) found that based on the differences between the partners' adaptation, conflicts and relationship difficulties can arise.

Having to live in two different cultures is both a necessary as well as a demanding task that a dislocated person needs to accomplish. So both parties in a couple have to face difficulties that they haven't experienced in their life before. Even though being a couple is supporting in its own right, the couple needs to struggle with feelings of ambiguity, uncertainty, and loneliness (Gennari, Tamanza, & Accordini, 2015).

In addition to these differences between couples, changes in social status and income level have an impact on the relationship quality among couples since they also involve stress (Hyman, & Mason, 2008). According to Hyman & Mason (2008) changes in gender roles also play a crucial role in terms of increasing marital conflict. Changing gender roles can lead to a change in the husband's role as a breadwinner. In other words, owing to the fact that the husband feels his role as a breadwinner is threatened there might be occurrences of intimate partner violence (Hyman, & Mason, 2008). Moreover, another study states that one of the common challenges is in adjustments in gender roles, and much research reveals that men and women have different experiences when moving from more traditional to post-modern social

systems (Shirpak, Maticka-Tyndale, & Chinichian, 2010). It is argued that men might lose their power, whereas women might gain power, which can lead to a conflict between the couple. The potential loss of social status can be associated with financial problems and stress which can lead to conflict, intimate partner violence, and psychological health problems (Guruge, Shirpak, Hyman, Zanchetta, Gastaldo, & Sidani, 2010).

Based upon the stresses of adaptation, loss of cultural referents, underemployment of male immigrants, and the threats that are posed to identity, self esteem, and psychological well being; high rates of depression, anxiety, and family conflict can occur (Shirpak, Maticka-Tyndale, & Chinichian, 2010).

In another study it is stated that the post migration period has an impact on couples both in positive and negative way. For instance changes in gender roles might be associated with increased stress, marital conflicts and the risk of abuse (Guruge, Shirpak, Hyman, Zanchetta, Gastaldo, & Sidani, 2010). The situation where couples rely more and more to each other leads to equal division of work which can strengthen the couple's relationship (ibid). However, if a dispute occurs due to equal sharing, this might lead to conflict and abuse. Moreover, owing to the fact that more time will be spent as a couple due to the absence of extended family members during the migration process, couples might enhance their skills of self-disclosure, and build trust and closeness (Shirpak, Maticka-Tyndale, & Chinichian, 2010). Thus, it can be concluded that these changes are positive for women, but negative for men.

Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Some research has revealed that refugees may develop PTSD due to traumatic events, with effects including depression, anxiety, psychosocial dysfunction and unexplained somatic symptoms (Lacroix, & Sabbah, 2011). Moreover, refugees feel under stress because they left behind some of their family members.

Therefore, according to Lacroix & Sabbah (2011) worries about family members left behind is the most commonly reported post migration stressor, which can lead to psychological health problems, as well as deficient adaptation skills. In a study of refugee couples Spasojevic, Heffer, & Snyder, (2000) suggested that PTSD symptoms were the best predictor of marital functioning.

Moreover stress in a couples' communication such as stress in problem solving communication and affective communication is found to be associated with PTSD (Weine, Vojvoda, Hartman, & Hyman, 1997). Refugee couples face traumatic experiences in addition to their stress based on culture shock, and adaptation, which lead to mental health problems (Spasojevic, Heffer, & Snyder, 2000).

In order to protect the immigrant couples' adjustment to immigration, long-term marital satisfaction has a crucial impact (Cheung, 2008). According to Cheung's (2008) research, important factors in the marital processes can be listed as adaptation to the gender role relationships, the increase in the intimacy and mutual reliance levels in the relationship, organization of new strategies to manage conflict and being able tolerate differences. All of these factors play a significant role in the couples' relationships. Immigrant couples can be at risk of developing mental health problems due to stressful life events.

All in all, migration has a crucial impact on the lives of couples as well as individuals because of the new language, culture, and changes in both social status and income level. Many immigrants face stress as a result of these changes, and any of them can lead to psychological health issues such as PTSD. However, besides the negative impacts of immigration on couples' dyadic relationships, there are also simultaneously positive effects on the well being of the relationship.

Firstly, when couples move away from their homeland most of their family stays

behind and this can lead to individuals experiencing stress. However, when leaving behind the rest of their families, couples deal with their loneliness by supporting each other. This situation leads to an increase in mutual dependence, which is a positive adversity activated impact on the couple's relationship. Moreover, due to the need for sharing household work and child rearing, couples rely on each other. Their trust and intimacy in the relationship can increase. Nevertheless, if the husband is not happy with this shared work, it can cause conflicts among the family.

Moreover, financial difficulties can lead to stress based on loss of social status. As mentioned before, work opportunities for women might be much greater then the opportunities for men, which cause women to participate in work life outside of the house. This can lead to conflict between couples or intimate partner violence. In addition, while a change in gender roles such as more joint decision making and a more financially secure family can appear to be a positive outcome, some husbands can perceive it as a threat to their title of breadwinner, which can lead to conflict and abuse.

Communication skills among couples are crucial in order to deal with such problems. Moreover, couple therapies are significant in helping to increase marital satisfaction, and to decrease stressful life events that can lead to psychological health problems, which are correlated with marital satisfaction. Therefore, it is important to investigate the possible situations that couples might face in the period of post-migration in order to help them in a beneficial way.

Dislocation and families. People are increasingly mobile and constantly in motion. All over the world, a considerable amount of migration takes place. The decision for the immigration might be determined by several reasons such as poverty, dangerous and destructive living

conditions, political pressures, a search for individual or political freedom, and the desire for better opportunities for increasing one's quality of life.

Migration would be one of the most disorienting individual experiences, as immigrants should recalibrate their living styles, expectations, language, family practices and parenting styles in accordance with the new culture that they enter into (Lansford, Deater-Deckard & Bornstein, 2007). Indeed, they need to negotiate with the new culture of the arrival land. As a consequence, migration is a multi-faced concept which might be analyzed from several points of view: A number of studies have analyzed its historical, cultural, sociological, political, and economic implications. Since migration implies separation and reposition, which bring about the concepts of loss of loved objects and adaptation to the new situation, it becomes, also, a very rich concept in terms of its psychosocial content.

Families are the smallest units which mediate between society and the individual members of the family (Sherry& Ornstein, 2014). Recent academic explorations have shifted the understanding of the family concept saying that families are identified by the individuals within them, whether nuclear or extended, and they serve as "emotional and supportive networks". This idea focuses on the functioning of the family members and how they provide support for each other (Midgley and Hughes, 1997).

Hence, family dynamics and functioning are challenged heavily by the migratory process in terms of adapting the codes of the new culture in to their original cultural familial system, as well as protecting the family members' psychic borders against the unfamiliar setting and cultural system.

Studies showed that intra-familial and inter-familial factors such as social ties and family support facilitate psychosocial adjustment to new cultural demands and provide a way to lower levels of psychological distress (Umberson et al. 2007). Yet, familial cohesion with

the company of perceptions of family conflict and family burden is related to high level of psychological distress among Latin immigrants (ibid).

Some studies demonstrate that the adaptation process after immigration to the new country has a significant effect on family dynamics including parental attitudes and child rearing practices. For instance, some studies show that immigrant parents feel inadequate in terms of their parental roles. In a study, Mistry, Benner, Tan & Kim, (2009) examined how parental perceptions of economic stress in the host country were associated with lower academic achievement among their Chinese-American adolescent children. In another study Creese (1999) indicates that children may elicit little attention from their immigrant parents, who mostly struggle with seeking a regular job and suffer under economic hardships; causing a situation that mostly impacts children's developmental tasks adversely.

Researches on families' acculturation process and the transmission of the values of the old culture show that the first generations of families are more likely to hold on to their own cultural values, even though they themselves are engaged in a process of acculturation at the same time (Sherry & Ornstein, 2014). This situation leads to the different styles of acculturation between parents and adolescents (Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2007). In accordance with this, Merz et al. (2009) investigated value differences between first and second generation immigrants who moved from four non-western countries to the Netherlands. It is reported that first-generation immigrants put more emphasis on collectivistic ideologies and family cohesiveness than second-generation immigrants.

Migration is a complex psychosocial phenomenon; it deploys a multifaceted process of destabilization and re-stabilization with highly challenging outcomes. While immigrant families try to negotiate with the new societal demands, their psychic functioning is influenced considerably. The influence may range along a continuum from normal to the

highly pathological (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1984).

It can be argued that human development has been enabled by several successive migrations. Firstly, humans migrate from their mother's womb to the outer world and later on, they migrate from life to death. Besides, echoes of psychodynamics of the childhood "separation-individuation" (Mahler, et al 1975) can be discerned in the migratory process, since the motherland is left. Also, the psychological pressure that identity goes through during adjustment to the new culture may recall the second-individuation process of adolescence (Blos, 1967). Because of the similarities between the human developmental processes and immigrant experiences, Akhtar (1995) suggests the concept of "third individuation" for the immigrant's specific psychological state.

In this sense, it is important to examine families' psychic experiences with a closer look at the vicissitudes of an immigrant's identity change.

Outcomes of dislocation. In order to get a deeper comprehension of the effects of migration on individuals and families, it is necessary to point out the multitude of factors that determine the psychological outcome of immigration (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989; Hertz, 1993; Volkan, 1993). Akhtar (1995) puts emphasis on nine important factors in determining these outcomes. The first can be whether the migration is temporary or permanent. The duration for which that immigrant family plans to live in the arrival country determines the type, intensity and duration of psychological outcomes. Second, whether the immigration is based on personal choice or not affects the subsequent adaptation. In this respect, even though adults might decide to immigrate out of personal choice, children mostly have to be passive conformists to their parent's decisions. That is why they can be considered exiles (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989). Additionally, the duration of preparation before leaving a place is also very critical for better subsequent consequences for the immigrant families. Third, the opportunity

of revisiting the country of origin has appreciable effects on the outcome of the migratory

process, which actually indicate the important difference between an exile and an immigrant.

Fourth, the age at which immigration occurs has an important influence on the intensity of an

immigrant's experiences. For instance, phase-specific unconscious fantasies at the time of

immigration can shape one's discernment of his experiences. In relation to this factor, it

becomes apparent that migration has differential effects on adolescents, young adults, the

middle-aged, and the elderly. The fifth factor is related to what reasons underlie the intention

of leaving one's country. Whether this immigration is a consequence of external reasons such

as political, ethnical or economical hardships, or of internal reasons would change the effects

of this migratory process. Sixth, people's intra-psychic capacity of separations prior to the

migration would change the psychological effects of the actual separations during

immigrations. Seventh, the type and intensity of the emotions that immigrants elicit from the

people and culture of the host country will change immigrants' psychological well-being.

Eighth, the degree of cultural difference between the country or origin and a host country is

important. Finally, the extent to which one's original role, for instance profession, can be

resumed after immigration also affects assimilation since it ensures some kind of continuity in

one's life.

> *Initial phase of dislocation.* This stage's departing points start with the newcomer's

first experiences in the new place. It is the time of exploring cultural differences and

similarities. In this process, the immigrant tries to compare preconceived notions about the

new culture with the reality. If the discrepancy is too great, disillusionment readily emerges

(Herz, 1993). Discrepancies between representations of the abandoned culture and

experiences of new objects in the new culture leave the immigrant with mixed feelings such

as anxiety, yearning, sadness, hostility. Holding all these feelings along with the mourning of the lost loved objects threatens healthy ego continuity.

Grinberg (1989) asserts that the core of the reactions against the migratory process is basically the feeling of helplessness. Ticho (1971) conceptualized this stage as "culture shock". Culture shock originates from the sudden change from an "average expectable environment" to a foreign and unpredictable one. He claims that culture shock is a harsh encounter and anxiety-provoking situation which puts a lot of pressure on one's personality functioning. Therefore, the stability of one's identity is considerably challenged. This culture shock also brings about a mourning process derived from the huge loss of love objects in the departed culture. The combination of the pressure of a new cultural encounter and the indispensible mourning will give way to possible identity confusions (ibid).

Grinberg (1989) suggests that shortly after the initial period of the immigration, paranoid, confusional and depressive anxieties of the family members are likely to show up. Even though these feelings are prominent in each stage of the migratory process, the intensity, duration and evolution might differ. Paranoid anxieties are likely to occur because of the true panic stemming from overwhelming realistic demands to meet such as finding a job, loneliness, finding a place, adopting the new language etc. Confusional anxieties are likely to develop since there are two differentiated feelings and interests toward the abandoned culture and the arrival culture. Depressive anxieties are likely to occur since there is a massive loss of loved objects that have been left at home, with a coterminous feeling of fear about not recovering these. On this point Marlin (1994) emphasizes that migration brings about regression given that traumatic losses overwhelm the ego and unresolved conflicts connected to earlier losses are reactivated.

Litjmaer's (2001) observations suggest that in the first place immigrants experience the feeling of alienation and displacement besides emptiness due to the loss of objects. These feelings turn in to a depressive state with intense guilt.

Another psychic experience that individuals and families go through after migration is nostalgia (Pourtova, 2013; Volkan, 1999). According to Akhtar's (1999) formulation nostalgic ideations can buffer the negative effects of feelings of intense frustration and aggression derived from the immigration process. It might protect the ego from dissolution. Volkan (1999) suggests that when nostalgia is not experienced, especially in forced migrations, then individuals are likely to go in to a depressed state in company with feelings of envy, resentment and guilt. These feelings can prevent the process of mourning which might later on preclude healthy adaptation into a new place.

Second phase of dislocation. The initial contact with the new country brings about different sorts of anxieties. In the subsequent phase, immigrants are likely to deal with psycho-structural changes and the emergence of a confused identity (Lijtmaer, 2001 Akhtar, 1995).

The migratory process triggers a symbolic repetition of the loss of first love objects and the separation-individuation process and this process can be seen as a significant step on the journey to the reconstruction of the self.

It is observed that, as opposed to the pressure coming from the substantial anxieties and depressive state, the splitting mechanism becomes predominant among immigrants and shapes their feelings about the two different lands and their self representations of these cultures (Lijtmaer, 2001 Akhtar, 1995). While all the objects and experiences in the old place are considered as good objects, the objects and newly encountered culture are experienced bad objects. This splitting process resembles the one seen in the rapprochement period

accompanied with the regression episodes. Also, an immigrant's splitting mechanism can be evaluated like the Oedipal processes; as two different lands which may unconsciously symbolize early caregivers. While one country (usually the home of birth origin - HBO) might be regarded as the representation the mother figure, the other country (home of cultural origin - HCO) might symbolize the father. Oedipal issues might pave the way for relevant enactments on the immigrant's side (Falk, 1974).

Gradually, it is expected that a synthesis of two self-representations set in. This unified self-representation gives immigrant a healthy ambivalence towards both countries which predicts an adaptation and organized identity (Espin, 1987; Grinberg & Grinberg, 1987).

The disorganized ego of the immigrant might seek some physical contact, spatial proximity and psychological intimacy for making itself organized (Litjmaer, 2001). The immigrant usually experiences aspects of infancy, finds himself "too far" from his country of origin and feels threatened by this distance even though he/she might like it for some time. Akhtar (1995) described the idea of "refueling," when the immigrant goes back for a visit or attempts to recreate a familiar environment by listening to music of the original culture or eating its native foods. In that point Winnicott's 'transitional space phenomenon' (Winnicot, 1953) can be seen. These familiar tastes, tunes, smells, provide containment and comfort to the immigrant just as a blanket, during the mother's absence, serves as a 'transitional objects' (ibid).

From a different point of view, to encounter a new environment can be considered as going into a "strange situation" (Ainsworth, 1979). Therefore, an individual's attachment style might play an important role in determining his reaction to this new environment. Hence, containing anxieties during the initial encounter and exploring the new land would be easier for immigrants with secure attachments, while immigrants with anxious attachments

would experience separation anxieties more strongly, which might inhibit the process of exploring and adapting to the new culture. Immigrants with avoidant attachments are likely to isolate themselves within the familiar frame due to the intense fear of engulfment by the new environment. It can be thought that immigrants with disorganized attachments would find this new environment disturbing and they would be prone to have psychotic periods (ibid).

The family, as the smallest unit in the society, plays a mediating role between society and individuals within the family, especially when an unexpected change happens. When a family faces migration various psychosocial processes come in to the scene on different levels. While, on the higher lever, family dynamics are shaped in the service of attunement to the changed social demands, on the deeper lever, the egos of the family undergo drastic vicissitudes in the service of containing the psychological burden derived from efforts to survive in the new society. It is essential to underscore the process of integration of the family with the environment. This is dependent upon the capacities for bearing the difficulties of change and loss, tolerance for being alone and being patient. That is to say, it depends upon the subjects' mental integrity (Grinberg &Grinberg, 1989).

Trauma Grid

The grid is useful to researchers as well as the therapist who assesses and treats individuals, couples and families, so as not to label them as traumatized without considering the other possible responses (Papadopoulos, 2004). In order to expand the perception of the ID couples it is essential to view them not as being wholly and exclusively resilient or wholly and exclusively traumatized (ibid, p. 309). The Trauma Grid also helps us to assess the effects of the community and culture in positive and negative ways and to conceive the community and cultural contexts as forming part of the individual's or couple's meaning systems, not only as abstract terms (ibid).

Papadopoulos (2011) highlights the importance of considering ID people not as solely trauma sufferers but in various dimensions such as the individual's unique responses to the situation. Papadopoulos (2004) introduces the "Trauma Grid" to illustrate the different dimensions of responses to adversity in a wider network of interrelationships including families, communities and society/culture. This provides a clear view of the totality of each individual's experiences within several defining contexts.

The Grid provides a framework for the various types of responses to any adverse experience including ID (Papadopoulos, 2004). The Grid avoids viewing the individual as just being in a pathologic situation. Instead, the individual is examined in his or her network of interrelationships in relation to the wider responses to ID, e.g. how the person is considered in a much wider perspective including the negative, neutral and positive responses to adversity. So the individual is not seen as either traumatized or resilient in a generalized view, but also within a state of possible acquisition of new positive qualities. These new positive qualities, acquired after having been exposed to an adverse experience, are called Adversity Activated Developments (ibid).

The originality of this study comes from its focus on the couple. While the "Trauma Grid" (Papadopoulos, 2007, p: 309) will be adapted as a device in exploring the positive, negative and neutral effects of the dislocation across the wider network of interrelationships at different levels, the couple relationship will be the main focus of the study. This new dimension will be added to the Papadopoulos's Grid as shown below.

Rationale of the Study

The study is dedicated to exploring the unique reactions to adverse experiences in relational systems. One of the main foci is to investigate the positive outcomes of the negative experiences which are thought to have been processed in the couple's relationship dynamics.

Papadopoulos's (2007) concept of the Adversity Activated Development, referring to the positive developments as a direct result of having been exposed to adversity, will be investigated. These positive outcomes may be the appreciation of a new life that might be experienced as more meaningful (Papadopoulos, 2007). So that it is crucially important for a therapist or a researcher dealing with the negative experiences of people to consider AAD, even of the despicable acts, to be able to grasp the whole dimensions of the subjective meaning of the experiences (ibid). In order not to use the term "refugee trauma", with the presumption that all people who have been exposed to adversity are traumatized, it is important to conceive that each person "perceives, digests and responds to external situations in a highly unique and individual way" (ibid, p. 304).

Considering the complexity of the concepts and all the layers around them, a holistic and circular perspective would be more suitable. Qualitative research deals better with the complexity of systems theory (Steier, 1985) since they both emphasize social context, multiple perspectives, complexity, individual differences, circular causality, recursion and holism.

Given the exploratory nature of the research question and the study's purpose of holistically understanding the effects of involuntary dislocation the researchers chose a qualitative research method. There is a dearth of qualitative studies conducted on involuntary dislocation and couple dynamics. Considering the gap in the literature, we decided to focus this study on how ID affected the dynamic couple relationship.

This part explores the effects of ID within thematic qualitative analysis. The strategy of Inductive Research as a bottom up approach lets ideas and patterns rise from the data. First the couples are observed, then patterns are developed. Broadly tentative hypotheses investigating links between immigration, adult attachment and marital quality are developed

and shaped by new iterations. Finally thesis theory is integrated focusing on the relationship between the ID affected couples in a synthesis. Among their experience of and in their Mother & Fatherland as well as the effects in both positive and negative ways, it is interesting to highlight how dynamically they react and adapt to, and conceive, their core relationship.

These effects shaped their social cohesion within their community and created cultural contexts forming the significant part of their subjective meaning systems. How is the adversity of ID experienced, processed and transmitted in the context of interpersonal interactions within couples and families, examining their relationship dynamics?

The interviews investigate the psychological aspects of the couple relationship by asking pre-identified questions on ID related topics to these five couples. The questions were selected in a way to best reveal facts, feelings, experiences and effects as well as expectations regarding their couple dynamics in their Home of Birth Origin (HBO) and Home of Cultural Origin (HCO).

More specifically, the analysis focuses on ascertaining the three types of impact, i.e. negative, positive and 'neutral', not only in terms of their actual content but also in terms of the perceived factors, variables and conditions that contributed to them. As a psychoanalytic relational therapist, the researcher focuses on studying people in relationships rather than in isolation. Therefore, by interviewing couples together, there is a hope to understand their shared experience and subjective meaning of possibly traumatic experiences in the couple relationship.

Although there is a body of literature on the impact of potentially traumatic events on the individual subsystem, focus on the larger system effects has been limited. A more empirical description of the mechanisms of adversity in couples is needed because the specific systemic effects of adverse experiences on interpersonal or relationship functioning in couples

have not yet taken place. In order to provide effective and efficient therapy for the ID couples,

understanding the manifestation of dislocation in interpersonal interactions is essential. This

will probably help clinicians to intervene successfully with these client systems, especially in

identifying how the couple relationship may become as a container within which immigrants

may find a source of support against the negative effects of past adverse experiences. In the

current study it is hypothesized that there are many factors that affect the relational

functioning of a couple where the couple had been displaced. The results are expected to

promote the understanding of a variety of interpersonal mechanisms that are related to the

effects of the exposure to an adverse event on the couple system.

There is a rather limited research literature on the influence of adverse life events for

adult attachment-relevant representations (Sagi-Schwartz, 2003). Exploring the refugee

partners' attachment relationship is expected to promote the understanding of the close

interplay between adversity outside the family context and its modification within attachment

processes. Since AAI integrates questions on past or recent losses and other traumatic

experiences, applying AAI questions to dislocated people seems highly relevant.

The psychoanalytic theories that are able to guide our own observations help us to

grasp the relationship between the external, objective and social spaces, and the internal

events that fundamentally shape the response to adversity but they also have some limitations.

In this study our intention was to expand and extend the existing theories in order to provide a

more appropriate framework to understand these phenomena.

The use of quantitative methods "requires the use of standardized measures so that

the varying perspectives and experiences of people can be fit into predetermined response

categories" (Patton, 2002, p. 14). For the attempt to investigate the experiences of the

Bulgarian Turks this study calls for a qualitative method.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

In the light of the theory that is introduced and discussed in Chapter Three, this research investigates the subjective experience and meaning of Involuntary Dislocation (ID) and the impact it has on relationships of the couples.

The innovative elements of this research are the following:

(a) it investigates the relationships of families and couples but not of individuals,

(b) it examines the ID phenomena from a unique combination of perspectives that includes psychoanalytic as well as wider psychosocial dimensions,

(c) it does not only focus on the negative effects of ID but also includes Retained Strengths (Resilience) as well as acquired new strengths (Adversity-Activated Development (AAD),

(d) it examines an unusual and unique example and specimen of ID, i.e. the Bulgarian Turks who moved from one type of home (Bulgaria, the land of their ancestors) to another type of home (Turkey, the land of their cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic origins).

As the researcher, I am particularly interested in working with couples from diverse cultural backgrounds. As a psychoanalytic couple therapist, it grabs my attention that the couples who share adverse experiences in their past histories seem to have a different kind of relation. When the couples move from one place to another, it is also interesting to see in their therapy process that they attribute different meanings to their home and the place that they live in. As I worked and stayed at different cultural environments, I empathize with people who had been dislocated. As a result of my own clinical experiences and observations with both English and Turkish couples, I contend that in general partners are usually

struggled with the needs of belonging and positioning themselves in their relationship and in a wider social environment as a couple. In this paper as the researchers, we want to gain an in-depth understanding of how couples deal with their need for belonging, when there is an actual involuntary dislocation in their history.

The focus of theoretical and clinical interest of the couple psychotherapist is the nature of the couple relationship that is mutually created by the partners. This dynamic is shaped by both the cultural and the social environment, and the unconscious forces that brought them together. The psychoanalytic couple therapist is mostly curious about the shared unconscious fantasies, shared defenses and mutual projective identifications that the couples use in the course of their relationship. These are the main factors of the nature of the couples' relationship. The unconscious dynamics also include the partners' need for belonging and identity. In the psychoanalytic couple therapy literature, the marriage is defined as psychological container for both partners (Colman 2005). In this context, the researcher attempts to provide a further understanding of the unconscious dynamics of the couple relationship with regard to the couple's perception of the actual home and the home country. Dislocated couples with a double cultural belonging is investigated in this research, the main focus is the attachment between the couple and the place.

In the literature, generally, to explore the effects of potentially traumatic experiences is mostly done by investigating individual participant's responses. In the present study, we aim to put individual's perception of adverse experiences into the context of relationships. In our opinion, how a person feels, perceives and gets over any kind of experience shapes and is shaped by his or her relationships. That is why this study aims to investigate the impact of involuntary dislocation by focusing on the relationship of the couples since a couple can be regarded as the smallest unit of the society.

Conducting the interviews with couples has some opportunities as opposed to one-to-one interviews. First of all, the relationship provides a kind of containment when they talk about the difficulties of their lives. In our unique example, since the partners of the interviewed couples all share the similar experiences, they support each other psychologically. Secondly, we can gain a clearer and detailed view of their experiences as they complete one another. They are also helpful in verbalization of their experiences, they constitute a kind of memory trace. Thirdly, it is easier to view the relationship as we have a chance to observe the dynamics between the couple.

Interviews were conducted by two therapists, by me and by my escort, a male therapist, asking research questions to uncover the stories of the participants. We believe that the presence of a therapist couple, like in psychoanalytic couple therapy settings, helps the participant couples develop a stronger connection with their respective male and female interviewer: this is helpful and suitable for looking into their marriage dynamics.

As a result, the interviews helped us to convey the views, feelings and facts from one couple to another. Consequently each interviewed participant felt more confident and at ease with sharing memories, which otherwise would have been difficult to access.

Naturally, conducting the interviews only with couples has its own difficulties, too. The participants might not feel at ease in talking about the negative issues in the relationships when the other partner is present. Another handicap is that as there is less time for each person, it might be difficult to go into a deeper analysis of themselves which otherwise would have been easier.

There are also some fieldwork issues which are sometimes difficult to manage. As the researcher (or at the same time "the interviewer") came from a similar ethnic and religious background, there might have been an emotional closeness with the participant couples. This

was in a way helpful in understanding their situation. Although, it also might have caused a

degree of subjectivity when approaching their issues. The other interviewer was also coming

from a family who was expelled from Bulgaria. So both interviewers were empathic in many

ways as they were all coming from similar ethnic and religious backgrounds and were

familiar with the experience of migration and being a minority within a minority. This might

have been helpful in thinking about and asking questions, establishing a close contact with the

participants, helping them to open up easily. However the nature of this research is somehow

based on the subjective experiences of the participants which mean that it is not immune

against a degree of   subjective analysis and biases from the researcher side.

Participants

Ten participants (five heterosexual married couples) were recruited from the Balkan

Turks Association in Turkey for the current study. They were all active members of the

association. Their ages ranged between 40 and 80. Participants from this age range were

specifically selected because these age groups are viewed as critical points in measuring ID

effects and in monitoring their changing marital quality dynamics. All participants had 1 to 3

adult children. They all moved to Turkey from Bulgaria in the 1989 immigration.

Instruments

Adult Attachment Interview. The Adult Attachment Interview (AAI; George,

Kaplan, & Main, 1985) is a semi-structured interview. There are 18 questions and they aim to

characterize individuals' current state of mind with respect to past parent-child experiences.

Participants are asked to describe their early relationships with their parents or primary

attachment figures, elaborated on recalled memories of separation, perceived childhood

rejection and loss (Hesse, 1999). They are also asked to elaborate on why they think their

parents or primary attachment figures behaved in the way they did and how their actions may have influenced them.

After coding, the AAI reveals adult attachment classifications (secure, dismissing and preoccupied) parallel to Strange Situation classifications for infants (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978). Individuals may also be classified as "unresolved" (disorganized/disoriented) in addition to the best-fitting adult attachment style. Individuals who are classified as having unresolved attachment report having unreconciled attachment traumas of loss and/or abuse. Unresolved/disorganized category assignment is a particular and distinct state of mind. It can be identifiable by monitoring or reasoning or discourse or reports of extreme behavioral reactions when answering the questions.

The AAI was found to be a reliable measure both across time and across interviewers (Bakersman-Kranenburg & van Ijzendoorn, 1993; Benoit & Parker, 1994). In the present study some of the items of the AAI have been used and analyzed by the researcher who has been trained in the classification-based coding system of Mary Main and declared reliable by her laboratory and achieved .80 reliability with a training set of 32 cases on both three-way (secure, dismissing, preoccupied) and four-way (secure, dismissing, preoccupied, unresolved) AAI classifications (Main, Hesse, & Goldwyn, 2008).

Current semi-structured interview. The researcher designed a 19 question semi-structured interview to explore ID issues relevant to research questions (see Appendix). The AAI was used as an example in terms of designing question structures and interview conducting technique. Also, a number of questions were taken from the AAI. The interview initially starts with a discussion centred on life in general, before narrowing down on details. The questions explored the negative and positive effects of ID and how it affected their relationship as a couple. An open-ended, semi-structured qualitative interview is adopted in

order to explore the long-term interpersonal impact of involuntary dislocation on the couple relationship.

Procedure

The inteviewees were given the chance to decide where they want the interview to be conducted, either at their home or, if it is not convenient, another place where their privacy could be ensured. This approach was chosen because conducting interviews in settings comfortable and known to the participants create a more secure interpersonal setting (Keyton, 2006). All interviewees reported that they wanted the interviews to take place at their own homes.

Upon arrival, the interviewing couple introduced themselves and provided name badges for the participants. They briefly explained to the participants that they were there to talk to them about ID and their couple relationship. Before the interview, participants read and signed an informed consent form explaining the purpose of the research, as well as legal and ethical principles. They were also informed that they may withdraw from the interview/research at any time before publication. In a situation in which the interview process is upsetting for a participant, he or she was provided with appropriate support.

Interviewees briefly introduced themselves and individually filled out the provided demographics questionnaire. Then the semi-structured interview was conducted in Turkish. Probing questions were also asked to allow for more specific detailed explanations about the topic (Patton, 2002). The interviews were all type recorded to enable transcription and analysis. Each interview took approximately two hours.

Data Analysis

In order to address gaps in current literature about the effects of ID on couples, this research focuses on identification of themes within the participants' understanding. The data was analyzed using thematic analysis (TA) based on the guidelines proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006). TA was chosen as the appropriate method for analyzing the data because it searches for themes within a data item rather then across the entire data set, resulting in more detailed and nuanced themes. A bottom-up approach was used in order to make the analysis more data driven than theory driven thus allowing unexpected themes to be identified.

TA is a method used for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). First, the researcher should familiarize themselves with the data by reading, re-reading and taking notes about their initial thoughts. Then, the researcher should generate initial codes and sort different codes into potential themes. Finally, the researcher should refine the candidate themes in a systemic fashion by making thematic maps and checking the themes are in logical relation with one another.

In the present study the interviews were transcribed by the author and revised separately with another colleague. Another colleague's help was sought to enhance the reliability of the analysis. Two colleagues worked separately when coding the data extracts. When the initial coding was finished, the two colleagues compared their work and only used the common themes in both their codings. Then the codes were organized into potential themes and compared with each other to generate a thematic map. Then by refining and reorganizing the initial themes, the finalized themes were defined and named.

Ethical Considerations

In order to maintain ethical codes of standards, the approval of the institutional review board of Essex University to conduct this study was obtained and the national

regulations on ethics and research in Turkey were followed. The participants were given the transcribed material so they were able to see how their story would be presented in the final report. Each participant was asked to give further formal consent after agreeing to the information in the final report. All names were changed and no personally identifiable information was included.

Data management is an important part of the research process to ensure the confidence of the participants and accuracy of the data. The researcher took precautions to ensure the safety of the data and the confidentiality of the participants. All materials were kept in a locked file cabinet, until they were fully transcribed. Once the interviews were transcribed, the tapes were destroyed and all research data was kept on a password-protected computer. Only the researcher was permitted to review the interview materials.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

Coding

In the present research, conducting ID related thematic analysis of qualitative material provided a guide of the analytic process, with the aid of five interviews. As a consequence the qualitative analysis, the following coding focused on discern patterns around key themes as follows:

- Age and duration of marriages

- Exposure to Adversity Before, During and After ID

- Negative Effects of ID

- Retained Strengths

- Positive Effects of ID (AAD)

- Sense of Belonging and Place Attachment

- Choice of Partner

- Marriage as a Psychological Container

- Couple's Mentalization

These themes constitute the big picture about the couple dynamics and the subjective meaning of ID. Obviously the significance and influence for/on the overall findings are complexly intertwined. However, we expect to distinguish first between significant patterns that are valid and homogenous for all couples as a result of ID on one side, and those of heterogeneous patterns on the other (For the the detailed analysis of five couples please see appendix)

Thematic networks around the couple relationship are presented as web-like illustrations that summarize the main themes, cluster of emotions, phantasies,

conflicts and thoughts. Having analyzed all couples, the following thematic map has

discovered the connection between adulthood and infancy as well as past and present.

Thematic Map

Overview

|		
The Past Effects of Bulgaria/Turkey		
		ID on Couple Relationship
The Future Expectations and Aspirations		
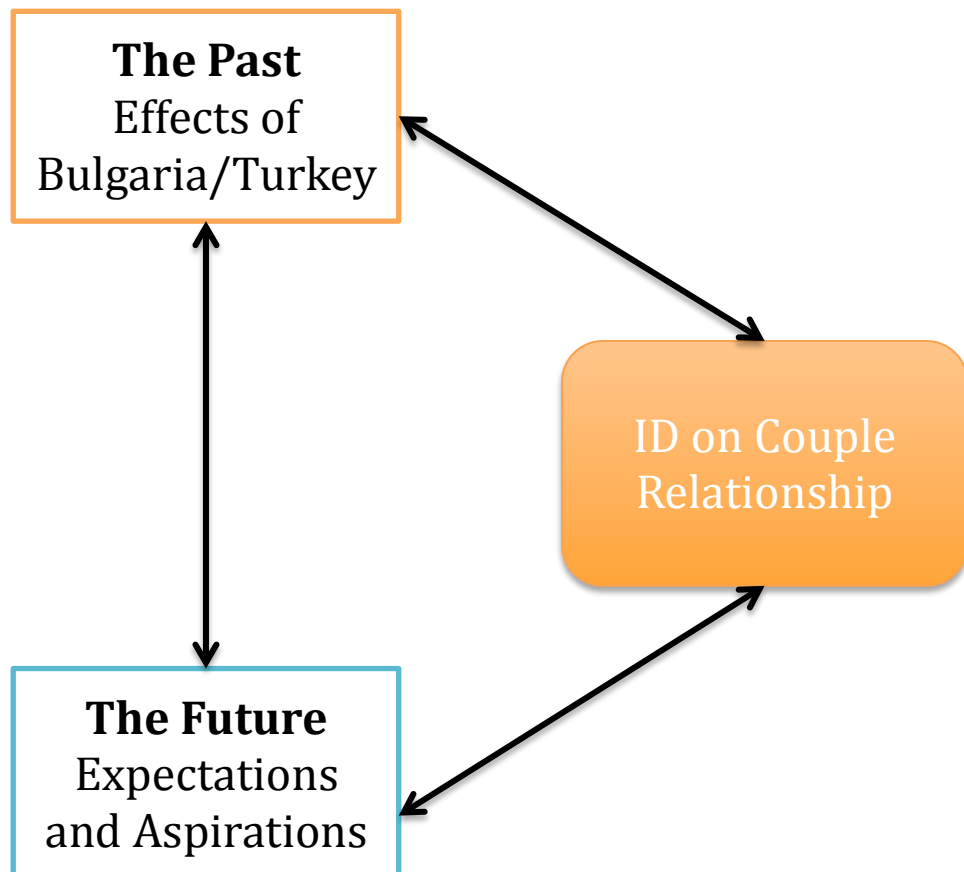
What type of a relationship they formed over time and finally established as adults is provided within a detailed thematic maps that further extends the overview above:

Effects of Involuntary Dislocation on the Balkan Turk couple relationship is formed by influences of their couple choice, which is mostly shaped by Turkish

identity, feelings of sameness, trustworthiness enforced by early marriages within a life in Bulgaria, which suffered heavily from cultural and religious bans, threads, aggression and force.
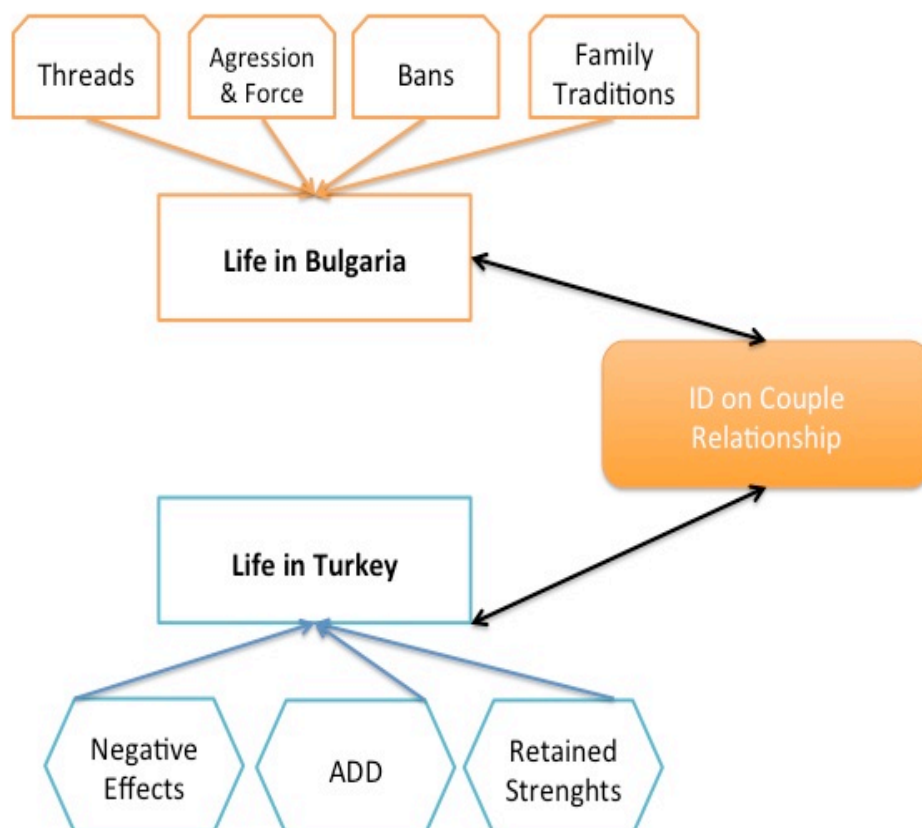
Keeping family traditions and postponing life resulted in idealization of Turkey, even though social isolation before ID did not come to an end facing a new one after ID unparalleled to the idealization. The life in Bulgaria before the expulsion, the seemingly never ending era of poverty and difficulties through the period of dislocation and finally the life in Turkey are major factors influencing, shaping and determining the sense of belonging over the course of their marriage relationship.
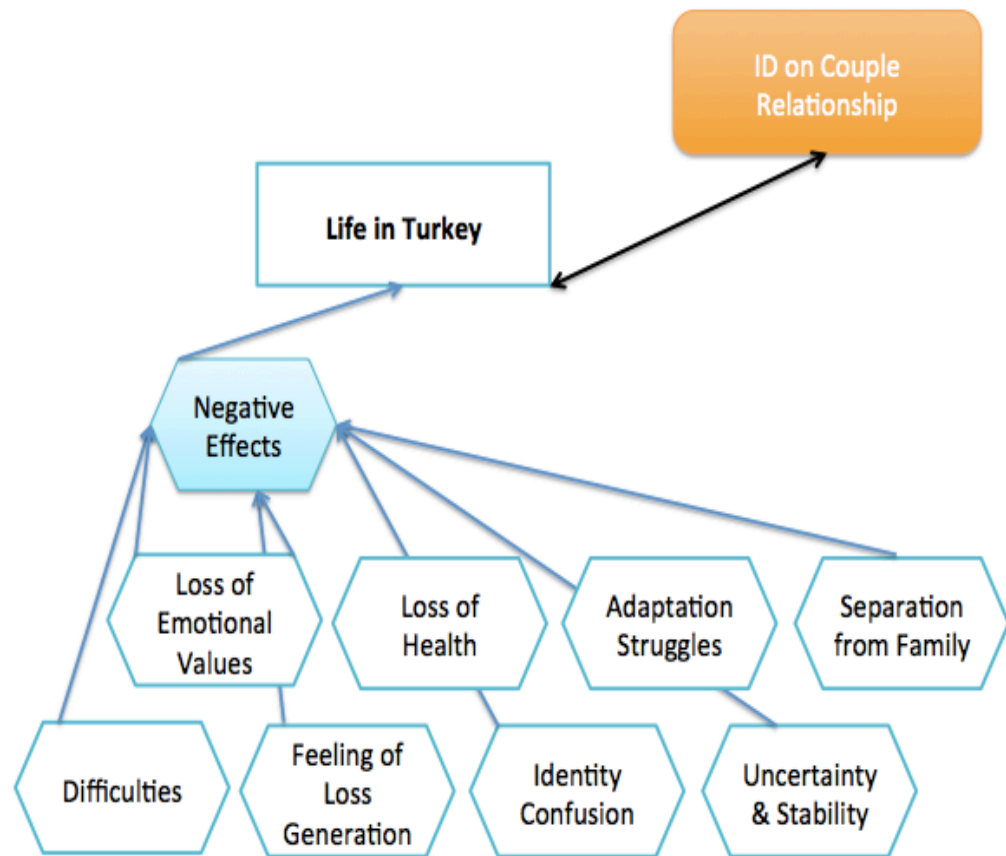
In the course of this process, the couple relationship is subject to accommodate ID's negative effects on one side but to welcome adversity activated developments on the other. To those negative effects count loss of health, emotional values, adaptation struggles, feeling as a lost generation and experiencing major difficulties in general. The couples fear "having left something important away" represent a fear of loosing their sense of self. They weather the turbulences through the qualities of a big community feeling in their infantile lives.

```
                                              ID on Couple
                                              Relationship

        Life in Turkey

                    ADD

  Expanding        Valueing        Gaining
  Big Family       Good            Freedom         Nurturing
  Values           Education       and Peace       Social Links

 Pride and       Appreciating                    Stability
 Self-           Life and New    Valueing        Good Living
 Confidance      Cultures        Good Jobs       Conditions
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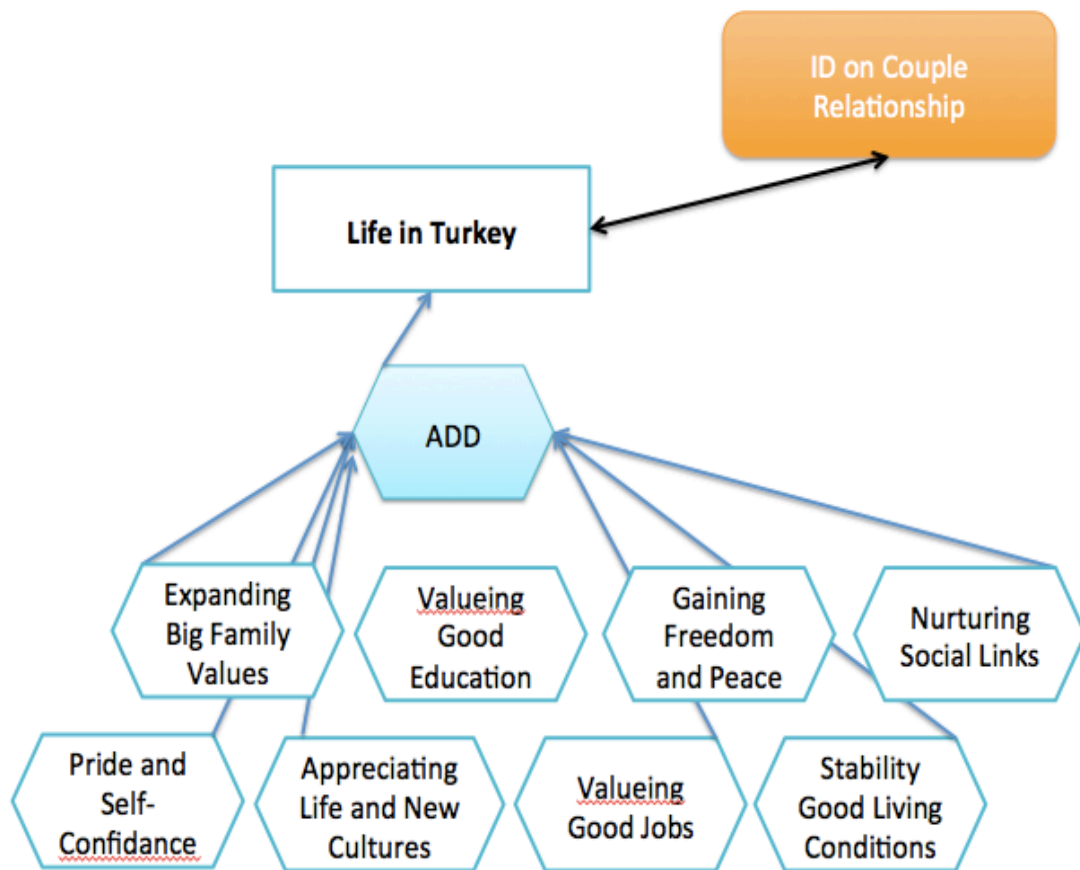
The resulting emotional intensity might be partly compensated by the power
generated through the adversity activated developments such as improved self
confidence, pride, gaining freedom and peace, accessing better jobs and being
exposed to broader culture and enforced feeling of hope.   This helps to illuminate the
retained strengths that trigger the couple to overcome some of this negativity. These
strengths are comprised of being a hard worker, patient and maintaining big
community values such as solidarity, protection of those in need, honesty, and feeding
a positive social network. Keeping family traditions such as big community values
work against the development of internal space, moreover limiting the capacity of the
couple for psychological containment.
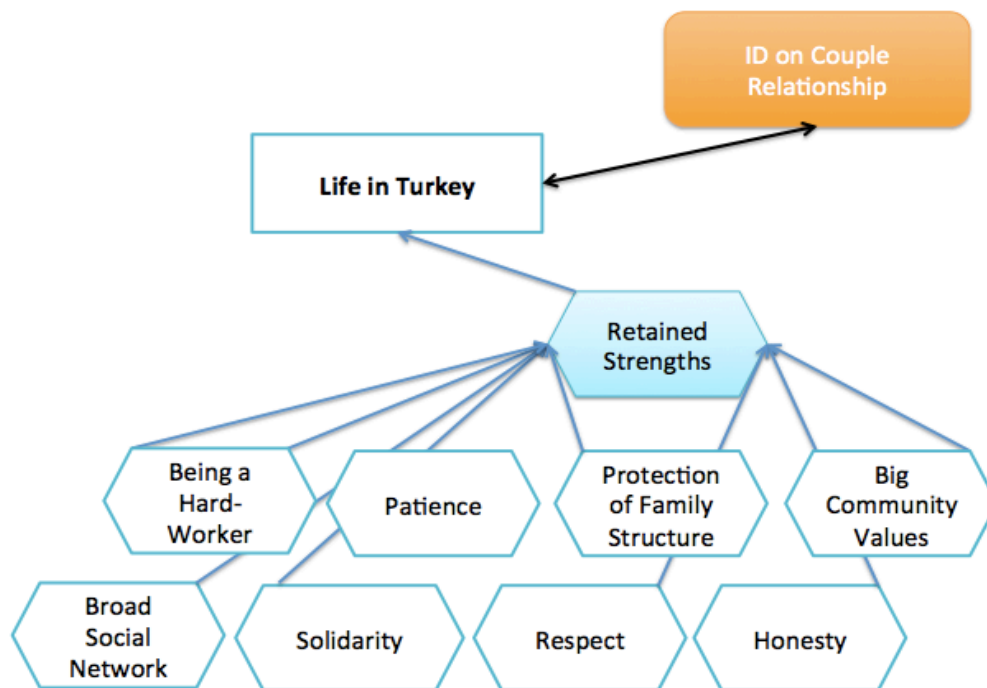
Dynamically, the growth of these effects on the relationship forms outcomes in the longer term that strengthen the couple's functional success hand in hand with their feeling of unity, love, respect and their togetherness. How the couple deals with its past affects clearly how they approach their future. For example the valuing of their children's well-being, future financial expectation shaped by their efficiency in spending, sacrifices made to obtain their financial independence or their skills not to build high expectations are all relevant subjects as a transformation of their relationship as a consequence of ID. Similarly, ID also has a significant effect on keeping the traditional male and female roles in the family, in which negative sharing is avoided and socialization and containment are only vivid outside of the couple relationship, in each individual's own social group. This results in not enjoying the status of being a creative couple, where the sharing of the innermost being with another is unhindered. Identification with these internal couples could thus only mean a sense of identity confused by the delusion of intimacy. It seems as if these couples are dominated by the traumas of ID that require a functional agreement as the primary aspect of the relationship. Any conflict, sense of loss, disagreement or uncertainty is completely absent from their thinking. The stable relationship suffers from unconscious mutual denial of sacrifices. Please see below the Table 1 as the summary of these findings.

Table 1

Summary of Findings

	Couple 1	Couple 2	Couple 3	Couple 4	Couple 5
Age and duration of		Early 50s/ Married for 25		Mid 50s/ Married for 36 years	Mid 70s/ Married for 53 years

marriages		years			
Exposure to Adversity Before, During and After ID	While living in Bulgaria, involuntary displacement of the husband to the north of Bulgaria. Exposure to threats like humiliation and torture. Involuntary change of original names to Bulgarian names.	Involuntary displacement to inland Bulgaria. Exposure to threats like murder and torture. Involuntary change of original names to Bulgarian names. Loss of cousin's baby because of murder.	They were forced to speak Bulgarian language because of threats like fines and other penalties like job suspension.They also were forced not to practice their original religion. They were forced to change their names too. Then they were banned from speaking Turkish and finally forced to leave their homes. Their life was disrupted unexpectedly when they had to leave their home. They had to leave back every possession when being displaced. After they have been displaced, they experienced many difficulties. They hadn't got enough money nor housing and this distressed them. They had to leave their home many times.	Becoming and feeling as a minority after the Bulgarian migration to their village of origin. Conflict between the two cultures. Language barrier caused disfamiliarization from society.Loss of a friend because of suicide. Confusion because of exposure to inconsistent bi-cultural teachings. Being arrested. In Turkey bad hospital experience. Very hard and difficult times, doing overtime to survive financially during early phases of adoptation.	They were not free to practice their religion and had to work hard to own a house in Bulgaria which they had to leave because of ID. The visa procedures were chaotic so half of their family could not get a visa and could not go to Turkey.During their dislocation they could not take any personal belongings. Newly arrived in Turkey, they did not have a solution for their accomodation neither for work. They had to wait with fear in Turkey not knowing when they would be reunited.
Negative Effects of ID	Feeling of being unfamiliarized within the society. Ambiguity caused stressful feelings by the idea of an eventual migration. Fear because of family separation. Loss of self-confidence due to the exposure to violence perpetrated by the Bulgarian regime. Feeling of sadness to leave their happy memories	Permanent struggle for identity. Feeling of revenge as one of his relatives' baby was killed. Feeling of perplexity and discomfort in a new social system after ID. Rejection to adaptation when feeling uncomfortable. Feeling of loss. No fulfillment or	Feeling fear driven by uncertainty moreover the stress of struggle for security and stabilization. The feeling of loss becomes a big blocking factor. Their hair turning white in a week is a stunning physical effect of trauma. Immigration resulted in their losing not only	Feelings of being mismatched within the society. Stress because of ambiguity caused by the idea of an eventual migration. Suffering from fear even after the migration to Turkey. Loss of self-confidence due to the exposure to violance done by the Bulgarian regime. Feeling of hopelessness due to shortage in financal	Traumatic feelings when being forced to migrate separately and being apart from some of the family members staying in Bulgaria. Fear until eventual reunification after a year. Leaving all their belongings and having no direct solution for their accomodation.

	and hopelessness due to shortage in financal and residual comfort. Anxiety because of being a foreigner.	sense of belonging. Permanent struggle for identity. Feeling of revenge as one of his relatives' baby is killed. Feeling of perplexity and discomfort in a new social system after ID. Rejection to adaptation when feeling uncomfortable. Feeling of loss. Not fulfillment of sense of belonging.	objects which they acquired in time but also their inherent parts. When getting through from the old to a new system, they were significantly confronted; negative discrimination (in Bulgaria), social isolation (in Turkey), loss of employment, loss of status in society, financial losses and its impact.	and residual comfort. Anxiety because of being a foreigner. Loss of trust in people in general.	Feeling of stress during times of unemployement. Loss of material belongings caused loss in the inner life. Life in a big city is tiring and crime was a new negative topic as they did not know it existed before. The feeling of being unfamiliar with this life is irritating and alienated. Not feeling free to express their ideas or feelings.
Retained Strengths	Living in cooperation and dignity with an extended family/community than their nuclear family. Being faithful and modest. Protecting weaker members as well as showing respect to elderly.Being respectful and sensitive. Being social. Saving for the future.	Enforced feeling of unity. Togetherness, standing together, being integrated. If displacement did not happen, financial and social distress would probably result in insurmountable forces weakening their togetherness.			
Positive Effects of ID (AAD)	Feeling secure in Turkey. Being an important part of a greater social community which welcomes them into society. Stability resulting from financial opportunities and comfort. Happiness and appreciation because of a freer life. Experiencing a future that favors the education of their child. Prioritisation of	ID meant escape from an unsafe place. Feeling safe and secure in Turkey. Building for the future. Financial stability, learning the importance to save money. Valuing and enabling good education for the children. Socialization and providing help to those immigrants in need.	ID solved the ambiguity about their future. The central point is the enforced feeling of unity. If displacement did not happen, financial and social distress would probably result in insurmountable forces weakening their togetherness. Financial security, social integration, family expansion,	Feeling secure due to the living in a free and democratic society. Stability resulting from financial opportunities and comfort. Joy via access to higher culture such as great Turkish writers whose books were banned in Bulgaria. Experiencing politeness and gestures as new meaningful ways for communication. Enlightenment and	Returning to homeland from an unsafe place and feeling safe and secure. Facing extreme difficulties before ID accelerated their adaptation. Overcoming them together strengthened the couple cohesion. İncreased confidence due to their successful adaptation after ID when comparing with

	education and intellectual development.	Meeting new and different environments, developing social competence and culture.	place attachment and feeling of togetherness are highlighted.	increased awareness through an art & culture foundation. Feeling of security and fear-free social life opened the doors for cultural, social and financial development.	other families, which either could not migrate or was dissolved after ID. Avoiding unnecessary expenditures and saving for the future. Prioritization of education and the well being of their children. Being open to receive help. Keeping traditions of family visits especially during important days. Proving help to those in need is a priority. Meeting new and different people and culture.
Sense of Belonging and Place Attachment	Because of involuntary displacement, first to North of Bulgaria and then eventually to Turkey, not feeling settled; feeling more and more foreign and then a slow adaptation process in Turkey. Cultural and social familiarization is partly avoided by socializing primarily within the circles of Bulgarian immigrant community in Turkey. Their feeling of belonging is strengthened by their children's successful adaptation and good education.	While the couple gradually overcame economic problems, their quest for belonging never got more than half fulfilled. Their feeling of place attachment and sense of belonging remained never fully satisfied.	When first arriving to Turkey, feeling fearful about the environment was making life difficult. Generalization of biased a priori ideas. Imagination of unreal external threats. All contributed negatively to their sense of belonging and feeling familiar within the society. As time passed by they did not experience anything like that, negative in Turkey and began to feel more and more settled but they nostalgically did not forget the beautiful house with the garden they had built and had to leaeve behind while	Not feeling settled in Bulgaria because of the idea of a possible dislocation to Turkey. First feeling foreign and then unfulfilled adaptation process because of lack of cultural and social familiarization. Local people giving advices and other immigrants helped their feeling of belonging.	Since feeling as immigrants for whole of their lives, very important to own a house that gives the feeling of "belonging". Strengthening their feeling of belonging being part of an extended community, an association of the Bulgarian immigrants.

			getting away from Bulgaria. For them in Turkey, the main motive was to own a house as the feeling of belonging could only be nurtured like that. Because of the affect of this and previous involuntary displacement the couple felt the necessity to make most out of Turkey's opportunity as their new home where they could feel themselves attached finally.		

Discussion

Part I.

The main focus of this part is the interpretation of the above mentioned findings in light of the theories that are discussed in the previous chapters. Dislocated couples' "place attachment will be discussed by using the Tripartite Model of Scannell & Gifford (2010). According to this model, "place attachment is a three-dimensional concept with person, psychological process and place dimensions" (Scannell and Gilford, 2010, p: 2). By applying the Tripartite Model to our findings, we aim to facilitate further discussion on the role of place attachment, sense of belonging and involuntary displacement.

The person dimension of place attachment is defined as the bonding between individuals and environments that they find meaningful (Low & Altman, 1992). According to Manzo (2005) "*it is not simply the places themselves, that are significant but rather what can be called "experience in place" that creates meaning" (p. 74)*. In order for a person to bond to a particular place, an emotional connection must be involved. This emotional investment to a place has been defined as the fundamental human need (Relph, 1976), that brings a general sense of well-being (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). It also involves personal connections to a place, which is supported by specific memories.

In the interviews, it is evident that the couples attribute strong meaning to where they lived before coming to Turkey. They all seemed to have been closely attached to Bulgaria as all of the participants were born and raised there. This strong attachment seems to have been influencing their state of mind and it can easily be seen in their discourse by the detailed descriptions about the land.

They talked about their life in Bulgaria by communicating a sense of harmony and it was clear that they were missing the old days. All couples reported that they spent their holidays in Bulgaria and all of them currently have a land where they regularly visit and cultivate. They took pictures of their balconies full of plants that were brought from Bulgaria.

These were the ordinary plants which could easily been found in Turkey such as tomatoes, eggplants and green peppers. But the couples told us the ones that they brought from Bulgaria were "much more delicious and nutritious". This means they attribute a powerful meaning to their old land.

Their attachment to Bulgaria obviously, is not limited with the positive feelings. They also had many unfavorable experiences that were still vivid in their memories. A couple described a fearful memory that could never be forgotten, "Of course, we still fear it and we will not forget it until we die".

The second couple said, "We had a life in Bulgaria; we had built a house with a garden and we were enjoying the flowers, we got used to the plants that grew on that soil." That is, in spite of the unfavorable experiences, people do not reject the influence of the territory which they spent all their earlier years. Place attachment as cognition facilitates closeness to a place and it covers the giving meaning and bonding to the place. So that the cognitive elements of place attachment, memories, beliefs and meaning, that are associated with the central setting, become important for the individual. The meaning of place created through memory and attachment is built on the representations of the past which is grounded by the environment (Scannel & Gifford, 2010). Knowledge and perception of the significant object or the self is organized into an array of cognitions and schemas in relation to the place. So a person's self conception involves these cognitions and schemas. A strong connection to a meaningful place may also be formed with a desire to maintain closeness to that particular place as it evokes strong emotions (Giuliani, 2003). Familiarity has been seen as the cognitive element of place attachment as attachment requires knowledge and organization of the details of the setting (ibid).

The couples' strong sense of longing is obvious in their entire discorse. All of the five couples we interviewed, talked about many different kinds of flowers and animals, along with the beautiful forests, rivers and houses in Bulgaria. They stated that their lives has been flourished since they came to Turkey. But they also talked about their old land with an overwhelming feeling of nostalgia and they all stated that they maintained their connection by keeping their land in Bulgaria.

For instance the 4th couple said, "*The neighbors' houses were in different colors, they had different kinds of flowers in their balconies; our house, the graves of the loved ones, we left behind. We looked at everything for the last time. There were woods in the storeroom, tomatoes in the farm, the chickens and everything left behind.*"

The land, of course, is important in their personal history but it also has a value in constructing an identity as a certain group, and feeling of belonging. Place attachment is also described as a "*community process in which groups becomes attached to areas wherein they may practice and thus preserve their cultures*"(ibid, p. 2). The **process dimension** of place attachment is about how individuals and groups relate to a place that are meaningful to them and the characteristics of the psychological interaction that took place in this environment (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). The land of their birth of origin, Bulgaria has a shared symbolic meaning among Bulgarian Turkish couples. Members become attached to it on the basis of shared historical experiences, values and symbols (ibid). They are purposefully careful and attentive to the social networks they create and the relationships they form, especially when they pursue a different kind of community membership among the immigrant Balkan Turks.

Motherland-Fatherland. The term *place attachment* refers to a person's bonding to a place (Lewicka, 2014). In our unique example of Bulgarian Turkish population however, the

couples are attached to two places: motherland and fatherland in our view. By reason of having two homes, their home of birth origin, which we call their "motherland" –Bulgaria, and their home of cultural and ethnic origin, we refer as "fatherland"- Turkey. In this regard, there are multiple attachments (Bowlby, 1969) toward places.

The unique point in our research consists of the fact that the immigrants' new land is in a sense their homeland. Their destination is a place where they can practice their own religion and be accepted as equal citizens with the right to live and work independently, practice their customs, speak their language, etc.

The interviewed couples appreciated their solidarity as a social group. On one hand, this enforced the feeling of unity as a couple and on the other hand, the adversities they experienced together reinforced them to become attached to a new land.

We can talk about two attachments here: first one being the motherland, Bulgaria, where they shared historical experiences, values and symbols, and the second one, being fatherland Turkey, where they were fantasizing about actually practicing their religion and culture easily.

Turkey had been their ideal place through many years but it remained as a land that would provide opportunities for a better life. However they did not provide any detailed image or dream about their fatherland, Turkey; even after they spent many years here. It remained as a place that one day they would be able to create their future.

A couple said, *"Our only subject of conversation was about the border of Turkey. Everybody never said anything but knew very well, that one day, whenever Turkey will open its borders, no one will hesitate to leave at first instance without looking back."*

Even though they described their life in Bulgaria with the feelings of longing, they had many unpleasant experiences in Bulgaria. For this reason, coming to Turkey have always

been an ideal in their lives. Bulgaria, in other words "mother", was not a kind mother who contained them and provided them an unconditional love and tenderness. Conversely, they experienced many adverse experiences in their motherland such as cultural and religious bans, threats, aggression and force. For example, in their motherland they were forced to change their birth names, to alter their traditional values.

In short, the motherland provided a kind of "toxic" nutrition that did not help them to thrive, on the contrary, prevented their growth. Living in a pressured environment lessened their trust to their motherland and they fantasized living in Turkey as an idealized land. They never thought about the future life in Turkey nor visualized it; they just postponed their lives as if Turkey would provide them what they needed and the kind of environment that would facilitate their lives.

In this regard, their sense of the motherland was split and carried much ambivalence. When they felt the urge to leave their motherland behind with a sense of "having left something important" behind represented their fear of losing their own self.

Research on displacement provides evidence that attachment to a place ground in emotion (Fried, 1963). Grief can occur following the loss of an important place. Examining place attachment as an emotional bond helps us to grasp the intensity of negative emotions such as distress and grief expressed by our research participants (ibid). According to our interviews, the negative feelings were carried by the adversities they faced during their time in Bulgaria because of the huge oppression that was exposed by the Bulgarian government. On the other hand, they had a strong attachment to their motherland since all of their earlier years were spent there where many individually memorable experiences and periods of personal growth (Scannell & Gifford, 2010) took place. This made their motherland meaningful

enough for them to get attached regardless of the happy or traumatic experiences (Manzo, 2005).

For example, second couple said, "We are *comfortable in Istanbul but our heart is still in Bulgaria, It is like an unfinished thing. Half of our mind is still there. Our generation is lost because of the lack of 'sense of belonging', something is always missing*." That is, attachment bond does not necessarily involve positive feelings. A persons's attachment to a place may cover different kinds of feelings ranging from love to fear, hatred, sadness and longing (Fullilove, 1996) and ambivalances as it is in our example. The couples all carried much ambivalence towards the motherland. Their feelings towards the fatherland were also conflicted. On one hand, they stated that the fatherland provided them improved self-confidence, pride, freedom, peace, access to better jobs, and it exposed them to a broader culture and enforced their feelings of hope; but on the other hand, feelings of persecution made it more difficult to adapt to their *fatherland* since they regarded it as an unknown territory. For example, the third couple told us that when they first arrived in Turkey, they were very fearful of their surroundings, their environment, and they were suspicious of people and feeling anxious still.

In short, the ambivalent feelings are directed towards both lands; to the internal representation both of their motherland and the fatherland. The couple interviews appear to narrate experiences where they tell a removal or an exclusion from both the *fatherland* in which they primarily live and socialize, and their *motherland* which they formally identified with. This makes it difficult for them to describe where they belong.

Being "*Twice a Stranger*". Even though the couples had developed multiple attachments, and they felt attached to both lands, because of the adverse experiences and being in an endless

adaptation process, they felt insecure both in their motherland and fatherland. This means that the investigated unique group of research participants have two 'homes' (one of birth and the other of cultural identity) and also experienced 'Involuntary Dislocation' on two occasions, in two different contexts. In his seminal book, "Twice a stranger" (Clark, 2009), Bruce Clark describes the phenomena associated with Turks and Greeks who were compulsorily exchanged after the First World War and the Turkish War of Independence, when Turks living in Greece were sent to Turkey and Greeks living in Turkey were sent to Greece. His characterization 'twice a stranger' refers to the experience people had both before and after the compulsory exchange of populations. In a sense they are the perfect example of how Bruce Clark (2006) characterises Greeks and Turks who moved during the exchange of populations in 1923 between Greece and Turkey. He calls these people "Twice a Stranger". Turks in Greece (like the research participants, Turks in Bulgaria) felt like strangers in that land, and then when they were expelled to Turkey, again they felt as strangers in Turkey. Our couples told us that they never felt they quite fitted anywhere. They never feel quite at home in the new land and they never felt quite at home even when they were living in Bulgaria or even when they go back and visit their old land (*motherland*).

For example the husband of the second couple said, "After December 1985, everything changed, I lost my interests. A person, even a whole generation experiencing immigration suffers from a feeling of a huge loss. If someone asks me 'Where are you from?' I feel perplexed and do not know how to answer. I am from Bulgaria, I live in Istanbul but I am like a stranger."

Place Attachment and Sense of Belonging. Place dimension of place attachment has two levels: social and physical. Social attachment or in other words, "bondedness" (Riger and

Lavrakas, 1981) refers to belongingness and social ties; physical attachment or rootedness is related with the duration of accommodation, landholding and plans to stay. In our example, all couples expressed the importance of having their own house in Turkey. They put this at the first place among their needs. For them in Turkey, the main motive was to own a house because the feeling of belonging could only be nurtured by that.

The second couple uttered, "All of these problems about becoming a house owner challenged us but we overcame these together. To own a house, to have our place to hang our hat on was very significant for us. "Home'' was very important for us. For instance, we did not think about buying a car. We needed the feeling that we belong here. Our house meant our land."

For them, to own a house is to have their roots.

The fourth couple expressed it like this, "We had always wanted to live in our own house. This had always been the main motivation in our lives after we came to Turkey. We wanted to 'keep our roots in its soil'. It was something about the land. We wanted to have a house with a garden to connect with its soil. We needed to feel the soil under our feet outside the house."

All couples vocalised the need for settling at a place. For instance a memory of a couple was as follows:

The wife said, "We took our car, loaded it with whatever it took, and immigrated to Turkey."

"This was the most difficult experience a man can face all his life. Can you imagine, I had to leave the village I grew up, and then I left all the memories and everything in one night. The neighbors' houses all were in different colors, they had different kinds of flowers in their balconies; our house, the graves of the loved ones, we left behind. We looked at

everything for the last time. There were woods in the storeroom, tomatoes in the farm, the chickens and everything left behind." added the husband, tears in his eyes.

In a sense they were separated from their motherland and this was the most difficult experience in their life, they left everything behind. However, there was a sense of continuity since they moved as a family. They did not feel having been split because their children were with them. The wife said, "It was not difficult at all to break off. My children were with me and I have not left any part of me there."

All of them want to continue their lives without having to be displaced again, not anymore. The third couple put this as such: The husband said, "When you change your home so many times, it is not clear where you belong." The wife said, "I hope this will be the last stop." Then she smiled.

All of them felt the strong need for being settled and taking roots and they carried the feeling of being a stranger and being minority with them. In order to handle this difficulty, they turned to their groups and families where they felt they belonged and they pursued the goal of maintaining their bonds to their group by describing themselves through this identity and adding meaning to their life through this uniformity. In this regard, being a couple was a baseline for them. Actually, their homeland was their family, so the couple became the nucleus.

Part II.

In this part, we discuss our findings under the headings of the research questions. The first and second research questions aim to explore the actual negative effects of ID on the research participants and their relationship as a couple, and the main factors, variables, conditions that contribute to the development and maintenance of these negative effects.

The participant couples faced many adversities during their time in Bulgaria. It was forbidden to use their own names, speak their native language or practice their religion. Huge oppression was exercised by the Bulgarian Government. Their Turkish names were changed to Bulgarian ones. Speaking Turkish was forbidden and incurred stiff punishment. Circumcision, an important Islamic act, was forbidden and doctors who performed it were severely punished, their licenses were taken away. Some people were exiled without knowing why they were being exiled and without knowing when it was going to end. The families could not see each other for years.

Couples reported that the effects of having been exposed to these adversities have been irreversible. One couple described themselves as the "lost generation", while another couple said, "Of course we still fear it and we will not forget it until we die."

Pain was sometimes unbearable. A husband stated that he actually wanted to die in order to get rid of the pain. "I was ready to die at that time. Sometimes I found myself thinking of killing myself to avoid the pain. I had nightmares, in order to find peace within, I thought dying was the only solution. "

Despite being functional couples in all observations, we witness a lack of capacity to share internal worlds as well as to regulate psychological conflicts. Not surprisingly, ID results in insurmountable fear and anxieties for all the partners. In all of our observations, each couple relationship is constructed in such a way as to offer protection against shared anxieties. These defense mechanisms are set to avoid other problems that can be too overwhelming and threatening to the stability of the marital relationship.

The outside threat is too big and the couple needs to protect their unity by enforcing the feeling of security inside the couple relationship. The wife of the first couple said, "There was an outside threat: the Bulgarian Government. From time to time, we were exposed to

violent treatment and humiliation and we had to stay together all the time and support each other and avoid arguments and conflicts."

Although another theme includes the partners' feeling of being contained in their relationship and feeling strong because of their unity, it is seen that the effects of these negative experiences cannot be worked through between them, as they are cautious about examining due to the fear of harming the feeling of security in the family.

The husband in the first couple was sent to exile without knowing the reason and spent 2 years and 15 days in a distant place from his family in Northern Bulgaria. Prior to this, his uncle was sent to exile based on fabricated lies. Twenty days before he was sent, the family was secretly told that the father was going to be sent to exile and they were given two choices: either he would go there on his own or with police supervision. The husband described it as such, "I chose to go alone. This was the most devastating event in our family's life."

When we asked them to describe the effects of this event on their relationship as a couple, they mostly talked about financial and social difficulties. No answers were given when they were asked how they experienced loneliness, or how she felt when her husband was away. How did he respond to being away from his wife? They answered the questions only by telling us the global effects in the family.

For example, the third couple emphasized that there was fear driven by uncertainty but moreover the struggle for security and stabilization became a central concern. They reported that they could not sleep for months, started to have stomach aches, could not play with their children and their hair turned white in just one week.

The research reveals that certain rigid patterns of defensive interaction seem to have emerged, as if they are agreed unconsciously within each couple. The central theme that keeps appearing is the enforced feeling of unity. Their unity has to be solid, like a rock. No

external threat is big enough to damage it. This fact supports the couples within their togetherness psychologically through difficult times. This is in line with the tendency that has been observed that couples interpret differences and separateness as threats to their relations. In their relationship negative feedback is not welcomed. As ID creates adverse experiences, these must be experienced as extreme threat posing, big external conflicts; consequently, all of the couples reacted by establishing and nurturing their relationship without conflicts as a defense. The couples could not develop abilities to take the third position, a place from which each partner could observe him/herself as well as the other while being in the relationship (Morgan, 2005). Arguing, diversion of interests, individualization and/or self-interest are interpreted as risks which need to be eliminated. These provide the boundaries of their "satisfactory marital container".

The third couple mentioned that there has been no contradiction between them, ever.

"What happens when you disagree?", asked the interviewer.

The wife said, "We never disagree, really. I don't ever remember us disagreeing, never".

The fourth couple also put forward the same dynamics.

The interviewer said, "What happens when you do not have the same idea?"

The husband answered, "One of us turns to one side, the other one turns to the opposite side (His wife smiles). We stop talking a little. She goes to kitchen, and then it is solved."

No seeds of creative development are allowed to germinate between any of the five couples because of the fear of what might develop outside of these agreed boundaries. These couples do not think about their unmanageable feelings about the ID. They are not creating an even symbolic psychological container, where both partners can relate, to deal with the

negative effects of ID. Often they feel the impact of their own emotions and are overwhelmed by them. This limits their capacity to think about their relationship outside of it, to build a more creative intercourse (Britton, 1989). Consequently the negative effects of ID as well as other personal negative experiences do not seem to be accommodated in the marital container. They do not seem to allow themselves to experience, digest and overcome the negative effects of ID. This is manifested by avoiding any arguments, being away from each other when they have conflicted feelings towards each other, not feeling at ease with disclosing and listening to the negative feelings.

What emerged very clearly from the interviews is that the participants, who were involuntarily dislocated, live between two worlds, Bulgaria and Turkey. It is seen that there is a difficult psychological process of questioning oneself and one's life, lifestyle and values. This questioning seems to have resulted in a positive development and change, i.e. integration between their two worlds. Of course, the couples demonstrate signs of having suffered difficult displacement processes, which can be identified as follows: separation from Home of birth place (*motherland*), separation from family members, changes in social class, exposure to a new physical environment and need to navigate unfamiliar cultural contexts. Taken together, the enhancement of a variety of psychological problems is the result (APA, 2013).

All of the cases have the same reasoning for couple choice. All of the participants suffered regression in terms of their romantic relationship. The partners in each couple have a poor sense of personal identity and they aren't sufficiently themselves not to risk a romantically intimate relationship. For all the couples the reality of their past experiences because of ID has put immense pressure on their marriage relationship to reveal the past properly. They have spent all of their lives for this purpose without lessening the defensive quality of their collusive interaction, but they might not be able to face ID once again, "the

wasted years where they could have done things differently." The ID significantly decreases their willingness to compare the nature and the quality of their interactions in the past and in the present.

Socializing primarily within the circles of 'the Bulgarian Turks' community might have blocked their unhindered realization in terms of their wider economical, cultural and social integration. This limitation seems to be a common factor for all the couples. Not surprisingly, they are aware of this limitation and even unconsciously try to channel their children out of this closed circle, so as not to miss any opportunities. Sadly, this understanding creates a new internal struggle and conflict within their individuality because it means more wounds, e.g. alienation, loss, loneliness, sadness and fear. The feeling of being foreign triggers their sense of not belonging on one side but is counterbalanced with the hope of enabling a better future for oncoming generations.

They described themselves as the ones who were forced to handle many difficulties and could not feel a sense of belonging. In their *motherland*, they felt that one day they would leave the country, and by virtue of necessity postponed their lives with that idea in mind. Their role as pioneers created permanent sufferings, which they unfortunately could accommodate only outside their couple relationship, such as in their public community consisting of only men. The adverse effects of ID leaves insurmountable barriers. Most of the couples feel as the "lost generation", unable to live a normal life because of having suffered many adverse events; such as not being able to practice their religious rituals, not being able to use their own names, not having the feeling of security, consistency and belonging and not having a normal life but being marginalized.

The third and forth aims of the study are to examine the actual new positive effects of ID (Adversity Activated Development) on the research participants and their relationship as a

couple before their exposure to the adversity of ID, and the main factors, variables and conditions that contributed to the new positive developments they experienced as a result of being involuntarily dislocated.

It is found that the feeling of solidarity as a social group also enforces the couples' feeling of unity through tough times. Positive feelings towards their original culture and family traditions enable them to value and retain their cultural identity and nurture positive relations with the wider society in Turkey. These positive feelings can be defined in two categories as the overall positive feelings and specific feelings toward the land of Bulgaria. All of the couples emphasized that the values they gained in *motherland* –such as being honest, valuing family life and hard work- have enabled them to successfully adapt to a new life.

One of the most common points is their appreciation of the situation they faced in Turkey. They said that if the displacement hadn't happened, the financial and social distress would probably have resulted in insurmountable forces weakening their togetherness.

In terms of their specific feelings, it can be said that they retain their place attachment which also enforces them to become attached to a new land. This fact supports the couples within their togetherness psychologically through difficult times. For example, the second couple expressed the importance of socialization and providing help to those immigrants in need. This is a clear AAD as they realize the importance of collaboration as a result of their shared difficulties. The husband said, "There is safety in togetherness, I mean that we will be better off if we unite and stand together and that is proven right by us…Making people happy or helping them is very important for us. As our difficulties are shared; when there is a problem we clamp together."

They also emphasize their development through meeting new and different environments, developing social competence and culture.

In all couples we have seen the development of an awareness that both countries had good and bad characteristics that now they are more prepared for the adversities of life which they use constructively in their new life in Turkey.

The fourth couple for example, uttered that they felt secure due to the living in a free and democratic society: they enjoyed stability and comfort via financial opportunities in Turkey, felt joy from access to higher culture such as great Turkish writers whose books were banned in Bulgaria, and experienced politeness and gestures as new meaningful ways for communication.

Their successful integration paves the way for the functional couple relationship, in which both individuals are present, where they want to maintain their heritage identity to the extent they choose to enjoy and at the same time become part of the larger social system in Turkey. Turkey provided them the favorable conditions of freedom to live and work independently, practice their religion and organize their own community which focuses on helping other immigrants. Now they appreciate their life in Turkey. For example the first couple said, "We are much more sensitive now and we both think we appreciate that we have more than others."

They also feel happy at establishing good social links, and for being able to speak their own language.

"We are very well respected and loved by all of our neighbors here because they know the value of relationships. We feel grateful for living in a country where we can speak our own language and use our own names."

The couples reported that their relationship has been always good in many senses but actually it got better in many respects after they had been displaced. A couple said that they became more polite towards each other.

The interviewer asked, "Did you acquire anything new positive? Is there anything that you can say that you did not do before you came to Turkey, but you began to do after you came here?"

The husband answered, "We were rude in Bulgaria, and perhaps you might think that we are still rude. But here we became more polite. People in Turkey talk much more politely."

The wife added, "We started to use words such as 'good night', 'honey', 'darling' "

The exposure to adversity strengthens their feeling of unity, togetherness and their couple connection. As they manage to cope successfully with the external shocks imposed on them by ID and are able to recreate a home contributing to the enhancement of future generations, their feelings of growth and development are satisfied. Each member of every couple feels certain that they are safe in their partner's love. The third couple emphasized as follows, 'We have always felt close to each other. But after having overcome lots of difficulties together, our relationship is much more valuable, there is nothing else we could replace it with. Now we feel as if we have just been married'.

The feeling of surviving the biggest tragedies in life protects the couple during their hardship and unconsciously forms a tremendous force, feeding their togetherness, which is like healthy nutrition that never goes bad.

They feel proud of being able to extend the greater family spirit to their couple relationship. The first couple said, "We feel happy about what we have achieved and are proud of ourselves for taking the risk of leaving all of our material gains behind, seeking values such as freedom and peace. We learned how to live in a smaller family and at the same

time to create a bigger family spirit in our own relationship."

In all of our observations, the couples maintained a significantly long-term marital relationship. This is remarkable and it should not be taken lightly. Usually, ID has significant negative effects on family structures and relationships ((Sherry & Ornstein, 2014) and yet, this research found that no negative effect destroyed the unity of the couples. For example, the first couple uttered, "We shared a lot and underwent all of the difficulties which brought us closer to each other."

As observed, it is not straightforward to draw a swift conclusion about the affects of the ID on the observed couples as being either totally negative or totally positive. However, we observed more positive effects than negatives. Naturally, this is not only due to the fact that they could retain their strengths; moreover, as a result of the experiences they have had AAD activated.

The fifth research question is about actual existing positive strengths, behaviours, characteristics, relationships, qualities of the participants and if they can identify whether they existed before the onset of ID and continued to exist.

The main finding is that despite ID, all of the couples became functionally successful. Retained strengths are not significantly challenged by Turkey's specific cultural and economic offerings. Retained strength refers to maintain their family traditions and virtues such as being hardworking, punctuality, living with dignity, sharing material values transparently and keeping promises; all of which enable stability, material success and comfort over time and after ID. They bring some of the important values of living in a big community and extended family to their nuclear family life in Turkey. These are the hierarchical and authoritarian family structures based on solidarity and protection of the weaker members as well as showing respect to older ones. They also are very money

conscious, always work hard and save money. Honesty is the essential value in all aspects of their life.

This also contributes to their appreciation of Turkey, while being more sensitive to help others in need via their active and benevolent contribution to their communities.

The cohesiveness of the community is so strong that everybody feels responsible for nurturing the new generations. Everybody has the right to engage the children of the community to do their best.

The research aim of the sixth question is how couples process and experience their identity in relation to having two homes, their sense of belonging to different lands.

This question is addressed in Part I in detail (under the heading of Sense of Belonging and Place Attachment). Here we give a brief summary of what we have discussed before.

In exploring, the narratives of the couples, regarding their arrival and dispersal within Turkey, illuminate how they have come to understand their lives before, during and after ID. Moreover, this research shows how this experience affects these couples in many different ways.

When people live and work in another culture for an extended period of time, it is inevitable that they change. Other than the relationship dynamics, the participant couples were affected by these in their country of origin where they lived with people of different nationalities and religions, as well as in Turkey where they did not feel familiar with many cultural issues. This process of adaptation might be regarded both as assimilation and acculturation in different ways. Assimilation refers to gradually losing the markers that had distinguished them as a separate culture, such as language, tradition and food. If some important qualities of language can be maintained for the displaced people to be able to feel

themselves as a different culture, then they may be regarded as having undergone acculturation but not assimilation.

The stories couples told about their experience before, during and after ID generated during the course of this research have highlighted some of the problems and dilemmas faced in making sense of their day-to-day experiences. These dilemmas appeared to be linked to a certain degree of psychological tension experienced by the couples, fuelled by their acts of displacement, ethnicity and the immigration status they held in Turkey. Nevertheless, their identification with their home of birth origin (*motherland*-Bulgaria) and home of cultural origin (*fatherland*- Turkey) were adaptive in many senses, and in shaping their social identification as members of Bulgarian immigrants. They called themselves "Bulgarian Turks", and established an association with that name which was and is very active in assembling all Bulgarian Turks to share their unique experiences and interests, face together their new challenges, support each other, interact in ways that could strengthen their special and unique double identity, and to spend time together. Actually all of them spent their leisure time in the building of the association and they regarded it as a "second home". In addition, they all reported in the interviews that even though they had many friends from both Turkish and other backgrounds, they felt closer to the ones who had come from Bulgaria.

There are many ambivalent feelings towards the loss of their *motherland* and their adaptation to the *fatherland*. On the one hand, they feel that their family unity is sufficient for them to feel the sense of belonging. As the first couple's spouse said, "It was not difficult at all to break off. My children were with me and I have not left there any part of me there."

However, on the other hand, they also keep their ties to their *motherland*. Four of the couples stated that they still own land in Bulgaria where they like to spend their holidays. For

example the first couple said, "You cannot find us in Turkey during the summer time because we will be in Bulgaria."

They both said that they took care of their garden, which had nice watermelons "the best in the world"!

One of the key features of this research is the unique ambiguity surrounding the term "home", and the definition of ID in the context of the Balkan Turks. On one hand, their expulsion from Bulgaria to Turkey constitutes ID and an 'expulsion' from their homes; yet, on the other, moving to Turkey also constitutes a "return" home, to the original, historical, cultural and spiritual homeland where they are free to express their own specific ethnic, linguistic and religious identity in full. These people, moreover, while they were in their 'home of birth origin-*motherland*' (i.e. Bulgaria) had experienced repeated forms of ID, not only in a geographical sense (i.e. being moved from one part of the country to another) but also in many other cultural, historical, linguistic and spiritual contexts, e.g. they were prevented from connecting with these aspects of their identity.

In other words, basically, these various forms of persecution represent another type of Involuntary Dislocation, insofar as the research participants were prevented from feeling 'at home' while in Bulgaria. Therefore, their expulsion from their country of birth (Bulgaria) to their cultural 'home of cultural origin-*fatherland*' (Turkey) marks the end of this type of persecution (and form of ID) while, at the same time, they are displaced from their country of birth, i.e. they embark on another type of ID.

Conclusion

The study of exploring concepts of migration, identity and place attachment and contextualizing the discussion about historical, sociological and political issues of Bulgarian Turks, highlights Papadopoulos's Adversity Grid as a heuristic framework to fully capture and

systematize the various combinations of ID effects across different perspectives in couple relationships. Fundamental concepts of psychoanalytical perspectives with couples help us to understand their shared defense mechanisms and couple dynamics.

The concept of attachment and specifically that of 'Place Attachment' provide a more in depth explanation as an anchor for carrying the transition to a functionally successful couple dynamics transforming more burdens and more adversity into more discipline, hard work, effectiveness, and result orientation. The study specifically ascertain three types of impact, i.e. negative, positive and 'neutral', not only in terms of their actual content but also in terms of the perceived factors, variables and conditions that contribute to them.

When observing all couples we can identify the nature of all the above-mentioned dynamics, however it is not evident to which extent this directly results from the ID. Other possible explanations can be discussed within the socio-cultural disturbances before ID, traditional family roles as well as the patriarchal family structure and patterns of internal parental couples.

As separateness and difference require the ability to manage exclusion and inclusion, but in the Turkish community traditionally exclusion is always interpreted as a threat to functional couple, all observed couple's marital connection result in limitation of the development of creative relationship.

Other factors may be found in historical family traditions within the Turkish community which do not provide an equal gender role for women, not encouraging them to be equally active in family decision-making. Women in all of our observations, are insufficiently educated and never seem to have faced self-related, intrinsically motivated questions of "being swallowed up", "taken over", "leading to a loss of self" (Morgan, 2005). They all welcome repeated experiences as relief because it is familiar and in their control without any surprises.

The primary focus of this study is the place attachment and feelings of belonging on dislocated couples. The purpose is to contribute to theoretical improvements and the concept of dislocation and its effects on couple relationship. This study attempts to shed light on needs and actions of married couples in social processes. Findings explain the structure in the formation of the identity and belonging. In this process, memories, lived experiences, identities and histories of a couple are mobilized as *resources* in their struggles to create alternative spaces and homes.

In the narratives of Bulgarian Turks, who were involuntarily dislocated many years ago, no "homeland" was found which they could neither related to nor were identified with. They are observed to have much ambivalence towards both to their motherland and fatherland. The place attachment cannot be fully formed as they all have multiple attachments. Other than that, they establish a concept of belonging and identity around the group of people, who shared the same experiences, mostly around their couple relationship. This means that their marriages and social groups have become a "home" for such people. This invites further exploration of their interpersonal dynamics.

Considering these findings, this study has a potential value for the therapeutic practice. In order to use these findings in developing further our understanding of dislocated couples' experiences and the implications for couple's therapy practice, the following points might be useful:

Dislocated couples repress the negative feelings and avoid conflicts as to preserve their couple relationship intact while the outside world seems dangerous to them. Although marriage is regarded as a psychological container, this does not mean that only positive feelings should be brought into this container. In opposite, to contain means, being at ease with all kind of feelings so that partners can feel that they can present their authentic parts to

each other. When working with migrant couples it should be remembered that they have difficulty in interacting each other and communicating negative feelings. The conflicts that might be related with couple dynamics are also projected outside preventing the problems from being sorted out inside the couple relationship. So that the negatives are all externalized.

Despite being functional couples in all observations, we witness a lack of capacity to share internal worlds as well as to regulate psychological conflict. Not surprisingly, ID results in insurmountable fear and anxieties for all the partners. In all of our observations, each couple relationship is constructed in such a way as to offer protection against shared anxieties. These defense mechanisms are set to avoid other problems that can be too overwhelming and threatening to the stability of the marital relationship. This is because the outside threat is too big and the couple needs to protect their unity by enforcing the feeling of security inside the couple relationship. The therapists should be aware of the fact that the need for safety and security consolidate couple's attachment relationship as they feel the need to perceive each other as strong persons.

On the other hand, partners' feeling of being contained in their relationship and feeling strong because of their unity, the effects of these negative experiences cannot be worked through between them, as they are cautious about examining due to the fear of harming the feeling of security in the family. So that therapeutic setting should provide a containing environment for all these negative feelings to be expressed and worked through.

It is also observed that the participant couples define themselves according to the groups which they feel they belong to. The effects of involuntary dislocation on couples can be observed in many aspects of their relationship. It influences their couple choice, which is mostly shaped by Turkish identity, feelings of sameness, removing any sense of individuality. This might be a reason for not having a creative couple relationship as seen in many couples

resorting to therapy. Couple therapists working with dislocated people should be aware of the need for sameness, staying away from recognizing individual differences as a defense mechanism against the outside threats.

Last but not least, it is worth emphasizing that working with migrant couples deserves to be attentive to their strengths as well as vulnerabilities. Their capacities to pursue their relationships should not be overlooked as they are not only the victims who had been badly treated but they are also the people who might had been actualized their adversity activated development.

Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

"There is a crack in everything; that's how the light gets in"

Leonard Cohen

The present study suffers, inevitably, from certain limitations. The main limitations of this study are the following:

Number of families interviewed: A larger number of research participants could have possibly revealed more relevant dimensions of this investigation. More specifically, it could have shown larger variations among the Bulgarian Turks, possibly revealing subgroups among them, e.g. those who were using predominantly religious or political factors in adapting to their involuntary dislocation to Turkey.

Range of investigation: the semi-structured interviews addressed the key research questions. However, with longer interviews, the range of dimensions addressed would have been wider. Such expanded interviews could have addressed deeper personal and interpersonal dynamics, deeper family histories, more subtle forms of psychological factors affecting the couple's relationships, deeper inter-family or inter-generational relationships, identification of more gender factors involved in all the above, identification of wider socio-

political factors win all the above, etc.

Range of types of research participants: a larger number of subgroups of research participants could have revealed more relevant dimensions of this investigation. For example, recruitment could be expanded to include other Bulgarian Turks who are not members of the Balkan Turks Association. In addition, subgroups of research participants could have included those who came from predominantly urban or rural areas in Bulgaria, those who received more support from relatives on arrival in Turkey, subgroups based on educational background, political affiliation, etc.

Accordingly, suggestions for further research should include all the above. In addition, future research could explore intra-family variables, e.g. how various external events or family experiences affect differently different family sub-groups, e.g. how children are affected by their parents experiences of involuntary dislocation, how they experience their parents' sacrifices to provide for them, how their relationship is affected by such sacrifices, etc.

Finally, regardless of its limitations, this present study has considerable merits. We would like to conclude with the voices that matter most, what one of our research subjects said characteristically: " *We feel happy about what we have achieved and proud of ourselves by taking the risk of leaving all our material gains behind targeting to get values such as freedom and peace. We learned how to live in a smaller family and to create the bigger family's sprit in our own relationship.*"

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Interview Questions

1.Çocukluk döneminizi konusalım arzu ederseniz.Hatırladığınız kadarıyla ailenizin durumunun nasıl olduğunu anlatarak başlayabilir misiniz? Nerede yaşıyordunuz, hiç taşındınız mı çocukken, aileniz geçinmek için ne yapardı mesela ?

Could you start by explaining your early family situation; where you lived and so on? Where you were born, whether you moved around much; what your family did at various times for a living, etc. ?

2.Ailenizle sizin ilişkiniz nasıldı, paylaşabilir misiniz ? Hatırlayabildiğiniz en erken dönem nasıldı ?

Would you like you to describe your relationship with your parents as a young child…if you could start from as far back as you can remember?

3- Nasıl evlenmeye karar verdiniz?Sizi birbirinize çeken neydi?

How did you decided to get married? What attracted you both to each other?

4- Hatırlayabildiğiniz kadar eskileri de düşünerek bana eşinizinle ilişkinizi tanımlayabilir misiniz?

Could you describe your couple relationship starting from as far back as you remember?

Could you explain why you have chosen them?

5- Sizce yaşamda zorlandığınız anlarda eşinizden yardım ister misiniz?

How frequently you apply to your partner for support in case of life difficulties?

6. Lütfen Bulgaristan'dan Turkiye'ye zorunlu göç etmenizin olumsuz etkilerini sıralayabilir misiniz? (örn, maddi kayıplar, sosyal statü kayıpları, toplumsal kayıplar, olumsuz psikolojik etkiler vs.)

Please try to list the negative effects of your forced expulsion from Bulgaria. (In the conversation it is important to try to classify their negative effects in various categories, e.g. material losses, social status losses, community losses, negative psychological impact, etc.).

7. Sizce Bulgaristan'dan zorunlu göç etmenizin aileniz için en büyük kaybı, trajedisi, şansızlığı ne oldu? Bu ailenizi nasıl etkiledi? Ailenizde, olumlu ya da olumsuz olarak, en çok etkilenen kişi kim? Bu durum aileniz içinde nasıl ele alındı?

Among your list, what was the biggest loss/tragedy/misfortune that your family suffered as a result of the forced expulsion from Bulgaria? How did that affect the family? Who, from your family, was affected most – in what positive and negative ways? In what ways has that been talked about in your family?

8. Bulgaristan'dan zorunlu göç etmeniz sizce size ve ailenizi (positif veya negatif ya da genel anlamda ne bakımlardan etkiledi ?

In what ways (positive and negative, in general) have you and your family been affected by the fact that you were forcibly expelled from Bulgaria?

9. Bulgaristan'dan gönderilmenizin aileniz için kazanç, şans, nimet olarak gördüğünüz yanları neler? Bu ailenizi nasıl etkiledi?Kim bundan daha fazla etkilendi?Bu kişinin deneyimi, davranışları ailenizin geri kalanlarını nasıl etkiledi?

What was the biggest gain/fortune/blessing/strengthening that happened to your family as a result of being expelled from Bulgaria? How has this affected the family? Who was affected most – in what positive and negative ways? How did that person's experience/behavior affect the rest of the family?

10. Sizce Bulgaristan'dan zorunlu göç etmek kötü bir deneyim olmasına ragmen sizin ve ailenizin değerler, özellikler, davranış kalıpları, tutumlar, yetenekler, fonksiyonlar bakımından neleri korumuş olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz. Yani zaten sizde ve ailenizde göçten once de varolan ve zorunlu göçün bütün bu olumsuzluğuna ragmen korunabilen olumlu özellikler nelerdir?

What 'positives' (values, characteristics, styles of behaving, attitudes, skills, ways of functioning, etc) were you and your family able to retain, despite the adverse nature of the forced expulsion from Bilgaria? i.e. those 'positives' that existed in you and in your family (community) before the expulsion and your family was able to retain them despite their exposure to all adversity, related to the forced expulsion?

11.Sizce bu olumlulukları koruyabilmenize yardım eden durumlar, kişiler, koşullar, davranışlar, inanç sistemleri, ilişkiler vs. nelerdir?

What (set of circumstances, persons, actions, conditions, behaviours, belief systems, relationships, etc) do you think contributed most to you and your family being able to retain those 'positives'

12.Bütün yukarıdakilere bakınca siz çocuklarınızı pozitif ve negatif olarak nasıl etkilediniz?

Given all the above, how do you think you affected your own children (positively and negatively)?

13. Yaşadığınız onca çileden sonra hayatta kalabilmişken sizce bütün bunların sonucu olarak sizin ve ailenizin yeni olumluluklar yani değerler,nitelikler, davranış biçimleri, tutumlar, beceriler gibi yeni kazanmış olduğunuz hangi YENİ olumluluklar olduğunu söyleyebilirsiniz?

What NEW 'positives' (values, characteristics, styles of behaving, attitudes, skills, ways of functioning, etc) were you and your family able to develop (acquire) as a result of all the ordeal that you have experienced and were able to survive? i.e. new 'positives' that did not exist in you and in your family (community) before the expulsion?

14. Sizce hangi koşullar, kişiler, eylemler, durumlar, davranışlar, değer sistemleri, ilişkiler vb. sizin ve ailenizin bu yeni olumlulukları geliştirmesinde katkıda bulunmuş olabilir?

What (set of circumstances, persons, actions, conditions, behaviours, belief systems, relationships, etc) do you think contributed most to you and your family to develop these new positives?

15- Bu süreçte yaşadığınız zorluklarda çift olmanın nasıl bir etkisi oldu?

In what way do you think being a couple had an impact on the overall difficulties of this process?

16- Bir çift olarak fikir birliğinde olmadığınızda ne olur?

What happens when they disagree?

17- Şimdiye dek en çok anlaşmazlığa düştüğünüz durum neydi?

What was the most disagreement that they ever had?

18- Siz Bulgaristandayken anlaşmazlıklarınız olduğunda ne yapardınız?Tepkilerinizde bir değişiklik oldu mu?

 What had happened when you disagree in Bulgaria? Had there been any change in your reactions to each other?

19. Bütün olarak baktığınızda eğer Bulgaristan'dan göç etmeseydiniz siz ve aileniz hangi yönlerden farklı olurdu?

Overall, how do you feel your family would have been different, had they not been not been expelled from Bulgaria?

APPENDIX II

Interviews

Couple 1

This couple is middle aged. The wife is short and a dark woman with a headscarf. She is very smiley and sympathetic. Their only son is married with a Turkish lady. He is working for government's Office and simultaneously studying Turkish Literature at Open University.

Life in Bulgaria

They lived in a flat above stair of the barn in order to benefit from the heat and to look after the animals. He was one of the four siblings. Aunts, uncles and grandparents lived in the same house. There was division of labor, they looked after the children, cooked and ate the meals together. Sundays were treated as special and special kind of food was prepared.

The whole community protected under the umbrella of ethnic minority was regarded as parental figures to anyone in need.

They spoke of his memories with a sense of belonging. The cohesiveness of the community was so strong that everybody felt responsible for growing the new generations. Everybody had right to treat the children of the community to their best.

The wife implied that she had good parents.

The wife: "I had a wealthy family. My father was the headman of our village. My siblings were both highly educated. I had a happy childhood. My father and mother were so in love with each other and died in the same day and buried together. They had been very attached to each other throughout their lives and had done everything together."

Family Tradition

Like her husband, she was also looked after by her older siblings and by other members of the household. When she grew older and continued this tradition taking care of the younger children in the extended family.

Situation in Bulgaria before the Expulsion in 1989

They were living in their village in Bulgaria. All the inhabitants were in solidarity, they worked a lot, enjoyed working, and they did not experience any kind of conflict in their community, except speaking Turkish language publicly or publicly playing Turkish music etc. The family was running a restaurant. All members, excluding the old people and children, were working in the restaurant.

Threads

Wife: "There was an outside threat: Bulgarian Government. From time to time, we were exposed to violent treatments and humiliation. "

Their idea of living one day in Turkey was ideal.

Husband: "Our only subject of conversation was about the border of Turkey. Everybody knew silently, that one day, whenever Turkey will open its borders, no one would hesitate to leave at first instance without looking back."

Bans

It was forbidden to use their own names, speak their native language and practice their religion. There was a huge oppression exercised by the Bulgarian Government. Their Turkish names were changed with Bulgarian ones. Speaking in Turkish was forbidden and was subjected to big punishment. Circumcision, an important Islamic act was forbidden and doctors who involved in this were severely punished, their licenses were taken away.

Exile

The husband was sent to exile without knowing why and spent 2 years and 15 days in a distant place from his family in Northern Bulgaria.

Husband: "I was sent because all my family was very well educated and the government did not want us to prospect."

Prior to him, his uncle was sent to exile because of false rumors:

Husband: "Allegedly he was going to poison a public water repository at a Bulgarian garrison."

Ironically, his uncle's position was guarding at a water repository in the village where he sent to exile. He was sent to exile in 1986 when his child was 5 years old. 20 days before he was sent, the family was secretly told that the father was going to be sent to exile and they were given two choices: either he would go there on his own or with the police supervision.

Husband: "I chose to go alone. This was the most devastating event in our family's life."

Interviewer: "Can you describe the effects of this event in your couple relationship?"

Wife: "It was very difficult."

Mostly they talked about the financial and social difficulties. No answers were made when they were asked how they experienced loneliness and how she felt when her husband was away. How did he respond to being away from his wife? These questions were only reciprocated by telling us the global effects in the family.

Social Isolation

Because he was away being in a terrible situation the family was suddenly isolated by the community. Community people wanted to stay away from them with the fear of having to face a similar situation as a potential consequence of their solidarity.

They had experienced inland Bulgaria first the consequences of involuntary dislocation however regarding to Turkey, it meant a big family separation.

The family could only visit the husband 3 times in those 2 years. Every end of the visits were always dramatic. His child was grasping to the legs of his father in temper tantrums. This was very moving when they told us about that event. At the end of the exile, the husband was on his way to return to his village, when Bulgarian Government offered him some money to stay there and bring his family to him to start a new life.

Husband: "I did not accept that offer and turned back to the village. 1 year later, we were forced to leave Bulgaria."

Negative Effects of Forced Expulsion From Bulgaria

In 1989 when the Foreign Affairs of Minister of Turkey gave permission to open the boarders to the Turks living in Bulgaria, the family had to leave the country at that night.

Moving away by leaving all behind; the belongings, habits of life.

Wife: "We took our car, loaded it with whatever it took, and immigrated to Turkey."

Husband: "This is the most difficult experience a man can face all his life. Can you imagine, I have to leave the village I grew up, had all the memories and everything in one night. The neighbors houses all were in different colors, had different kinds of flower in their balconies, our house, the graves of the loved ones, we left behind. We looked at everything for the last time. There were woods in the storeroom, tomatoes were in the farm, the chickens and everything were left behind." (with tearful eyes)

Even though they say the opposite, they kept missing Bulgaria.

Wife: "It was not difficult at all to break off. "My children were with me and I have not left there any part of me."

Then she began to talk about the regular visits they do in every summer.

Wife: "You cannot find us in Turkey during the summer time as we will be in Bulgaria."

They both said that they take care of their garden, which has nice watermelons, the best in the world.

Difficulties at School

Wife: "Our son had a great difficulty at school after we immigrated. He was bullied by children and was called -The Bulgarian-. As he got used to write with Cyrillic alphabet, Latin alphabet was difficult to learn."

Retained Strengths

They have brought some of the important values of living in a big community and the extended family to their nuclear family life in Turkey. These are the hierarchical and authoritarian family structure based on solidarity and protection of the weaker members as well as showing respect to older ones.

They also were very money conscious, always worked hard and saved their money. Honesty is the essential value in all aspects of their life.

Interviewer: "What is the biggest strength that you have that holds you together?"

Husband: "Our Religion..."

He talked about the uniting power of religion. Then they talked about the benefits of living in extended families. It was difficult for them when they were "alone" in Turkey but never lost the connection with the extended family. They never renounced the creeds of the big family structure and the essentiality of cooperation. What they earn had always been treated as the shared value. Their son visits them every day eats dinner with them. They prepared special dinner for their daughter-in -law, who does not eat meat and does not have time to cook for herself because of working for long hours.

Positives - Adversity Activated Development

They said they are happy having come to Turkey.

Wife: "Our child would not have gotten good education there, he would not have found a job."

Good living conditions

After coming to Turkey both were recruited. The husband was a professional cook. The wife was working as a cleaner at a well-known restaurant. One of their relatives, who immigrated to Turkey in 1923, had opposed her working at a place where they serve alcohol. He found her a job at a nursery instead. There she worked for years and was currently retired. They all were happy about their living conditions. They had always worked a lot and saved money.

Valuing Education

Husband: "The main thing that made us successful in our new life was the realization of importance of the education."

After coming to Turkey they spend all their resources to provide good education to their children. They observed previous immigrants who came to Turkey in 1923 and 1956 and concluded that these people were not good educated, they were not even able to put their own signature. They realized the essentiality of knowledge and have been given priority to all educative and intellectual development. For them, this is why the people who came to Turkey in 1989 have been more successful. They believe that dignity stems from education (The bookshelves were full of books mostly on history, philosophy and art) to be able to make sense of the previous experiences.

Appreciating Life

Husband: "We are much more sensitive now and we both think we appreciate what we have more than others."

Establishing good social links and happiness to speak their own language

Wife: "We are very well respected and loved by all neighbors in here because they know the value of human relationships. We feel grateful of living in a country where we can speak their own language and use our own names."

Gaining Freedom and Peace

Expanding the big family sprit to their couple relationship

Husband: "We feel happy about what we have achieved and proud of ourselves by taking the risk of leaving all our material gains behind targeting to get values such as freedom and peace. We learned how to live in a smaller family and to create the bigger family's sprit in our own relationship."

Pride and Self-confidence

Wife: "We shared a lot and undergone all the difficulties which made us come closer to each other."

They talked about the daily events to each other and discussed things together. There was cohesion in the couple. They accepted each other as they describe each other without giving any reference to the things that needs to change. They give each other space and listened to each other. When somebody was talking the other supported with head movements, showing pictures etc. In the absence of the extended family each created their own social network while at the same time sustaining the connection in the family.

They also did not cut connection with the once in Bulgaria. They spent summers in Bulgaria, and plant their land. Although only the husband seemed to be in touch with the loss

of the land of their childhood, they both were attached to their memories in the land they were born. This added more richness to their internal worlds and to their relationship.

Couple Choice

The decision of them getting married was made by the older relatives on the basis of being in the same community. They first met at their own wedding.

Couple's Communication and Socialization

Traditional Male and Female Roles

At the beginning of the interview the husband was very eager to tell about the historical events but when he was asked to wait until his wife would arrive, he looked surprised:

Husband "Ok, but she does not have much to tell."

When requested to join the conversation she replied:

Wife:"I would not understand anything."

However, in the course of the following three hours she did not show any sign of boredom, fatigue or any kind of uneasiness. She was very active and energetic.

Containment Outside of the Couple relationship

They are both retired. Each of them has their own social chamber. The husband goes to café shops where he met friends from Bulgaria. He is a very well known and respected member of the Balkan Turks Association. His wife is respected and loved by her neighbors and she is busy with her granddaughter. Their son makes regular visits evenings popping up for dinner with them and other times to take them to his wife who works long hours.

Protecting Big Family Model

More than feeling like a couple and carrying each other in their minds, they are always in a state of longing for the "return to the big family". They keep intrinsically values of big family life carrying consequently their responsibilities.

In general, it was difficult to get a response from them when we asked about their couple relationship. The basis of their relationship was respect to each other and solidarity. They lived in extended families and jointly shared all responsibilities of the children, household, farm and the restaurant when they were in Bulgaria. They had a great difficulty when they were forced to move to Turkey and begin to live with the immediate family. However, both said that values and habits of the bigger family were always been carried in them.

They seek containment in their respective social environment rather than within their couple relationship. They fail to share their negative emotions.

They have a strong feeling of unity, togetherness and security. Both can trust each other despite the educational gap between the couple. All functional daily life responsibilities are clearly distributed and successfully managed by each partner; but their inner life is not verbally or emotionally shared necessarily. They seek containment in different social networks. Limited sharing is possible for only positive feelings. They avoid the exchange of negative feelings.

Because of involuntary dislocation first to North of Bulgaria and then eventually to Turkey, they are not feeling settled; they were feeling more and more foreign followed by a slow adaptation process in Turkey.

Sacrifices: Not living now for the well being of future generations

Cultural and social familiarization is partly avoided by socializing primarily within the circles of Bulgarian immigrant community in Turkey. Their feeling of belonging is strengthened by their children's successful adaptation and good education.

Sharing a lot and undergoing through all the difficulties made them come closer to each other. Their confidence to each other's support facing external realities is fully internalized.

Husband: "No one can understand us better than we do for it is not imaginable what we went through. We surmounted so many difficulties that we have a feeling now that nothing can stop us."

Wife: "He did what he could and so did I; we are proud of this."

However, feelings of loss, frustration and disappointment are not accommodated, e.g. no affect regulation. Negative feelings are overwhelming them both cognitively and emotionally.

Interviewer: "What happens when one of you feels sad?"

Wife: "I would feel sad if I saw him sad. I would try to comfort him by cooking. I avoid talking about stressful things and do not argue with him."

Husband: "I would say: "Do not worry. All will be fine as long as we have good health and our children are fine. Go and wash your face and you will feel better."

The Grid – Couple 1

Negative	Retained strengths (Resilience)	AAD
Feeling of not being	Living in cooperation and	Feeling secure in Turkey.

familiar within the society.	dignity with an extended family/community than their nuclear family.	Being an important part of a greater social community.
Ambiguity caused stress feeling by the idea of an eventual migration.	Being faithful and modest.	Stability resulting from financial opportunities and comfort.
Fear because of family separation.	Protecting weaker members as well as showing respect to elderly.	Happiness and appreciation because of a freer life.
Loss of self-confidence due to the exposure to violence done by the Bulgarian regime.	Being respectful and sensitive. Being social. Saving for the future.	Experiencing a future that favors the education of their child.
Feeling of sadness to leave their happy memories and hopelessness due to shortage in financial and residual comfort.		Prioritization of all educative and intellectual development.
Anxiety because of being a foreigner.		

Couple 2

The couple is in their early 50s. They have been married for 25 years now. Have two grown up children.

Life in Turkey

Man works as a sales manager at an international company that produces sport cloths. Woman works as a sales representative at a boutique.

Life in Bulgaria

They were both born and raised in a big family in Bulgaria's most conservative place, isolated with their religious identity.

Facing Aggression and Force

They were forced to move to inland Bulgaria because of threats like murder and torture.

Husband: "I remember that when I was little, the mosque was attacked with dogs. My uncle was forced to walk 5 km on his "patellas" and was tortured."

They were forced to change their original names to use Bulgarian names.

Interviewer: "What was your name?"

Husband: "I prefer not to tell my previous name. That was a huge trauma for us. I do not even want to think about that. I wish this did not happen. There were lots of traumas that I need to forget. They killed my cousin's 18 month old baby. After this, thinking about these times or thinking about our previous names makes us feel even worse."

Bulgaria and Dislocation

"Türkiyecilik" is the ideal. Their plans were disrupted twice unexpectedly. First they had been expecting to come to Turkey for many years and they postponed every plan according to this ideal which they called as 'Türkiyecilik", but finally gave in and built a house, which again they had to leave back when being dislocated.

After they have been dislocated they experienced many difficulties. They hadn't got enough money and this distressed them. They had to change their house many times. Once they had to share a house with three families. It was difficult to find a job. Even after some financial stabilization their hardship continued when they decided to become a house owner.

Negative Effects of Dislocation

Identity Confusion

The feeling of loss and struggle for identity became a central gravity.

Husband: "After 1985 December, everything changed, I lost my interests. A person even a whole generation experiencing immigration suffers from a feeling of a big loss. If someone asks me 'Where are you from?'' I feel perplexed and do not know what to answer. I am from Bulgaria, I live in İstanbul but I am like a stranger."

Husband: "I don't feel as ''İstanbullu'', I feel as east European, as Balkan."

For instance, when my daughter was little, someone asked her where she was from and she answered ''I am from İstanbul''. I was so surprised. My friends warned me that she was true. Unlike me, she grew up here."

Lost Generation-Something is missing

Interviewer: "Why do you think that? Is it related to Turkey's features or would it have been the same, if you had immigrate to a different place?"

Husband: "This is because of Turkey. In Turkey, there are so many contrasts and there is a big cultural difference between its east and west. Besides, I grew up in the most

conservative place in Bulgaria but here is much more conservative, for me. I am comfortable in İstanbul but my heart is still in Bulgaria, It is like an unfinished thing. Half of our mind is still there. Our generation is lost because of the lack of 'sense of belonging', something is always missing. You cannot forget about your experiences so you cannot completely feel the sense of belonging. For instance, I have found Rumeli TV and all the time I try to watch it. It is because I feel myself much better. It makes me go away those places."

The feeling of revenge becomes a big blocking factor

Husband: "As I mentioned, they killed my cousin's little baby. After such situation you cannot defeat the feeling of revenge. You feel not like a human; like a half of it. If I had stayed in Bulgaria, I would have gone into politics. As a result this need for revenge, my all decisions would be in this way."

Difficulties in Adaptation Process

Like people can be shocked while getting through from a socialist order to a capitalist system, they were puzzled to know a new system, in a new country. Even though traditions were similar they refused to adapt when they felt uncomfortable.

Positive effects of Dislocation- AAD

Togetherness Strengthened

If dislocation did not happen, financial and social distress would probably result in insurmountable forces weakening their togetherness.

Husband: "There is safety in togetherness, I mean that we will be better off if we unite and stand together and that proved to be right for us."

Wife: "Because of the immigration, many things became common and enforced the common goals, and the feeling of togetherness. Specifically, our bank accounts, everything is

mutual. I can clearly say that we became integrated and everything became mutual for us. If I stayed there, my economic situation would have been worse."

Feeling of Unity

The central point is the enforced feeling of unity. Their unity is like a solid castle. No external threat is big enough to damage it. This fact supports the couple within their togetherness psychologically through difficult times.

Economic Distress Resolution

Interviewer: "If you were not dislocated, would you, your family or your couple relationship be different?"

Husband: "There would have been much more challenges. For instance, some of our acquaintances was obligated to return because they did not adapt. Also when they returned back, they had a lot of problems and some families felt apart. Also economic distress affected families in general in a bad way and they felt apart. We did not experience these, such as disagreements on living place or other disturbances on our unity as some other close friends did."

The reinforcement of their feeling of unity opens the doors for their financial long term success.

Feeling of Belonging

While the couple gradually overcame economic problems, their quest for belonging never got more than half fulfilled. Their feeling of place attachment and sense of belonging remained never fully satisfied.

Being a house owner means to have a "home"

Husband: "All of these problems about becoming a house owner challenged us but we overcame these together. To become a house owner, to have our place to hang our hat was

very significant for us. "Home'' was very important for us. For instance, having a car did not come into our heads. We needed the feeling that we belong to here. Our house meant our land."

Couple Relationship and Dislocation

Managing Bad Feelings

When dealing with individual stress vis-à-vis external world, be it the work environment or some social problems, each partner limits their willingness to expose their frustration within limits to protect the other. This results in blocking negative interference. They cannot enjoy entirely open dialogs for the benefit to the enforcement of the couple at the cost of the individual development.

Interviewer: "When you have a discussion or when you feel bad; would you get support from each other?"

Husband: "When she feels depressed, I say to my wife to go somewhere or walk around."

Interviewer: "If you feel worry about yourself, will you share it with each other?"

Wife: "Generally, we tell it. I do not want to disturb him because of his problems in working environment but in some cases I tell him."

Husband: "For instance, when I am angry with someone, I call her and tell about it. People need to talk about their inner things because solidarity is needed."

Protecting the Couple Relationship

The couple sees the world from the angle of their unity. For example they have one shared bank account, a transparent and clear contribution to their family objectives. Their roles in their couple are well defined and they don't have any issues about loyalty. As every partner sees the other in identity of himself the extrapolation of the negative self is avoided.

Especially when some kind of extrapolation might endanger their unity the protection of the couple prevails over evacuation of unwanted parts of the self.

Overcoming Tragedy

The feeling of surmounting the biggest tragedies in life protects the couple during their hardship and forms unconsciously a tremendous force, feeding togetherness this is like a healthy nutrition that never goes bad.

Choice of Partner on the basis of "Sameness"

Husband: "She had the fit that I'd been searching. Actually, we did not have so many criterions. One of the most important things for me was finding a Turkish partner. We tried to meet Turkish girls living in student places. Then our names changed and this challenged us."

Wife: "He coincided with my criterions, too. It was not only about his appearance, we had a good communication all the time. However, sometimes we argue because of the little and insignificant things. We resembled each other a lot, we both are firm."

Interviewer: "So let's turn back to my question. What was the thing that attracts you to your wife?"

Husband: "My first criterion was - She needs to be Turkish - also my Bulgarian neighbor stated that she was so beautiful, well-dressed, neat and organized. For instance, she was punctual whereas I was late all the time."

Couple's idea of Sameness

Husband: "If our interests, goals were different, our couple relationship would be much harder. It hasn't got a formula. Things need to be coinciding with each other."

No Divergence

Husband: "All the time we supported each other. We think mutual; we did not experience so much divergence. At that time, we were novice. In addition, we grew up in

different places. She went to cafés, restaurants; she had time and place to do something. For instance, she is the youngest child in her family whereas I am the oldest one. In my free time my father wanted me to do a lot of things. As a result of this our priorities were different.”

Wife: “I do things on my own. Nobody assigns them me, I do it by myself.”

Everything is Shared

Wife:“Specifically, our bank accounts, everything is mutual. We do not have different banking accounts. In such issues, togetherness is important; if it is not, then it would be hard. I can clearly say that we became integrated and everything is mutual for us. Also, we have a mutual circle of friends who are also immigrants from Bulgaria. We see them sometimes with the whole family. This is good for us. He hasn’t any separated environment, we go these meetings together. We have also friends here. They are our mutual friends. We are a family and when we first come to Turkey, we were just two. Now this commitment is continuing. More specifically, my close friends are his friends, as well. I couldn’t think about us in separated environments.”

Husband: “Absolutely! We helped each other all the time. Our characters are similar. As our goals were similar, these challenges unified us. The positive side is, as we came here and did it well; we have a chance to help people who had been stayed there.”

Wife: “All the time, we feel that we are from the same place.”

Sharing Interests

Interviewer: “Is there a difference between your first years of marriage and now?”

Wife: “Of course, in the earlier stages it was different.”

Husband: “At that period there were different challenges. Now we are older; when people are young, they cannot know what is really important in life. Now I can tell myself that many things, which were important for me at that period, are not significant anymore. Also

couple's interests should be similar. For instance, we love to drive and to travel. Especially, we love visiting the Balkan region. Every year, we do this because we feel more that we belong to these places. It makes us feel good."

Social Life

They remember the times when they needed help, so they are sensitive to provide help for others when suitable.

Valuing the Big Family

Wife: "A big family was also in our mind. During weekends we went to my wife's sisters, we have a good relationship with them. They love me. Being together with our relatives makes us much connected and it supported us to cope with challenges."

Husband: "Making people happy or helping them are very important for us. As our relatives were mutual; we clamped together when there was a problem. Our problems are mutual, there isn't any specific issue. If there is a problem, it becomes our family's problem."

Wife: "For me, being a family means this. There is no such thing that '' that is your own problem, it is not my concern''. If we are a family, our problems are mutual; like the other things."

Couple's Conflict Resolution

Interviewer: "So what happens when you argue?"

Wife: "I get angry too quickly but it passes quickly, too."

Avoiding Conflicts

Even the difficulties resisted for seven years they had become much more careful about not reflecting the stress to each other.

Interviewer: "It seems like your husband came from a patriarchal family. When he says you something, what is your reaction?"

Wife: "I respond to him by raising my voice immediately. I want him to stop arguing because I know that we can say unnecessary things to each other in a fight and that can grow like a fire."

Wife: "My anger does not disappear quickly that's why it is more harmful for me. He is more at ease than me. Later on, I can be convinced but when these conflicts occur frequently, it effects me in a bad way. So I always try to avoid being in a negative mood when we are together."

Couple's Expectations

Husband:"Also I do not have high expectations and I do not have a fixation like 'this needs to be like this'. For me, providing an ideal thing is not possible. Also, you need to know your own value. Sometimes you need to struggle with it."

Overcoming difficulties together made them stronger.

Wife: "If we had stayed in Bulgaria, life would have been much harder but we have been successful in here, too. We have been connected to each other doing the things mutually."

The Grid- Couple 2

Negative	Retained Strengths (Resilience)	AAD
Permanent struggle for identity. Feeling of revenge as one of his relatives' baby	Enforced feeling of unity. Togetherness, standing together, being	ID meant escape from an unsafe place. Feeling safe and secure in Turkey.

is killed.	integrated.	Building for the future.
Feeling of perplexity and discomfort in a new social system after ID.	If dislocation did not happen, financial and social distress would probably result in insurmountable forces weakening their togetherness.	Financial stability, learning the importance to save money.
Rejection to adaptation when feeling uncomfortable.		Valuing and enabling good education for the children.
Feeling of loss.		Socialization and providing help to those immigrants in need.
Not fulfillment of sense of belonging.		Meeting new and different environments, developing social competence and culture.

Couple 3

The couple is intheir 60's. They have two children.

Life in Bulgaria

They lived in a Bulgarian village and did agriculture for their living expenses. They grew tobacco. They had a strong father leading the family. Their two children went to village schools. The education was compulsory until the 8th class. The parents were to be punished

by the municipality, if they would not send them to the school. In other words, everybody's roles are established within society and within the family, the children had to obey their parents.

Family Traditions

It was a male dominant family with an authoritarian father figure. Their roles were all definite and nobody questioned them. For them the most important thing was to survive, to provide things for the family life and to save for the future.

Exposure to Adversity Before, during and After ID

Forced Language

They were forced to speak Bulgarian language because of threats like fines and other penalties like job suspension.

Husband: "Over there, everything about our culture was banned. Even speaking Turkish was forbidden. My parents did not know how to speak Bulgarian. Once we were caught by a civil police officer while talking in Turkish and taken to the police station. We were fined."

Ban on religious practices and names

They were forced not to practice their original religion. They were forced to change their names too. Then they were banned speaking Turkish and finally forced to leave their homes.

Husband: "People felt suffocated a lot. A lot of people died. Migration was not on the agenda before these compelling demonstrations. We could not practice the rituals over there easily, over there, everything about our culture was banned."

Their life was disrupted unexpectedly when they had to leave their home. They had to leave

back every possession when being dislocated. After they have been dislocated, they experienced many difficulties. They hadn't got enough money nor housing and this distressed them. They had to leave their home many times.

Difficulties

Husband: "We went through so many difficulties together. We lost our house, belongings, we had to leave all our assets back and start a very long journey together. We stick to each other during the crises. It was 1989 when the police came and told us to go away. We brought only our car. We could take nothing within us. A police said to us 'Go away as far as you can go. When they order 'Leave it', you must leave everything'. When we reached to border crossing, they gave our passport to us. We got them and Turkey was written on them. We became so happy, because we could come next to our citizens and our own land. However we did not know where in Turkey and we kept driving. We came to Turkish border, Kapıkule, nobody said anythig until we arrived to Kapıkule. I did not know if it was our fortune or bad luck… We entered Turkey from Kapıkule. We stayed at Kapıkule during two days. We did not know anywhere and nobody we could go to. The police told 'Go to Istanbul, if you get drowned, get drowned in a big sea'. When we arrived to Istanbul we were sent to Kabataş Boys' High School. We stayed there until schools opened. June. Then we started to work in a hospital."

Wife: "Fortunately, we were given a housing which had a room. That housing seemed an apartment to us. Our children went to school and we worked at the hospital.We had a structured life in Bulgaria; We had built a house with a garden. We stayed in it for 4 years. Then we left it and built new life after loosing emotional and pysical values. We had a home, were forced to leave it and made a new house from zero point.We began from zero point."

The Effect of Dislocation

Negative

Among the couple there was fear driven by uncertainty but moreover the struggle for security and stabilization became a central power.

Wife: "My husband could not sleep for two months , he was worried day and night; I started havıng stomach pains and was unable to play with my children.When we were there, we heard 'Ladies are kidnapped and they cannot work in Turkey. As its result, I was surprised and afraid from not to being able to work."

The feeling of loss becomes a big blocking factor. Their hair was getting white in a week seems a stunning physical effect of trauma. Immigration resulted in their losing not only objects which they acquired in time but also their inherent parts.

Husband: "In Bulgaria we had to use Bulgarian name. It affected us badly. We had a structured life in Bulgaria; We had built a house with a garden. We stayed in it for 4 years. Then we left it and built new life after loosing emotional and pysical values. We had a home, were forced to leave it and made a new house from zero point.We began from zero point.Those things has injured too much. We lost physical and emotional values."

Wife: While we were coming here, we did not have any white hair. In only one week, our hair got white in Kabataş. We did not understand whether it happened because of immigration or something else. It was weird to us but we saw that human hair can get white in a night.

When getting through from the old to a new system, they were significantly confronted; negative discrimination (in Bulgaria), social isolation (in Turkey), loss of employment, loss of status in society, financial losses and its impact.

Turkey and Sense of Belonging

When they first arrived to Turkey, they were very fearful about the environment. In the interview, they talked about ladies being kidnapped. They also had the idea that children could not freely play in their garden in Turkey, a belief that they generalized because of a particular bad news they read in some newspaper about a child, kindnapped in a city far east of Turkey. They also mentioned that they had feared to open their curtains at home as if an external threat outside was waiting for them.

Wife: "Fortunately, I never experienced such scary moments in Turkey, but previosly I was afraid of being in a place which is foreing and hostile even though I wanted to feel that it was my country."

As time passed by they did not experience anything like that, negative in Turkey and began to feel more and more settled but they nostaligically did not forget the beautiful house with the garden they had built and had to leaeve behind while getting away from Bulgaria. For them in Turkey, the main motive was to own a house as the feeling of belonging could only be nurtured like that.

Husband: "We were lucky when we were offered a house by the hospital. To become a house owner, to have our own place was very important for us, our home to raise our children. … When we first came, we had a goal which was to start to work. We wanted to work and earn money. Somebody said that we should have lived in a rental house, but we were not familiar to this. We always wanted to live in our own house. We tried to buy our own house. This had always been the main motivation in our lives after we came to Turkey. We wanted to 'keep our roots within its soil'. It is something about the land. We wanted to have a house with a garden to connect with its soil. We need to feel the soil when we step back from the house."

Because of the affect of this and previous involuntary dislocation the couple felt the necessity to make most out of Turkey's opportunity as their new home where they could feel themselves attached finally.

Husband: "When you change your home so many times, it is not clear where you belong to."

Wife: "I hope this will be the last stop." (smiles)

Interviewer: "Who was the most affected person in your family from changing in structured live?"

Husband: "It affected both of us."

Positive

The central point is the enforced feeling of unity.

Husband: "We tried to protect the family; yes, we had respect in our families and we retained that value; love, respect, existentialism. We always loved the life. We have endless love and respect in our family. Our daughters in law are like as well. They are like my own children. We have always felt close to each other. But after having overcome lots of difficulties together our relationship is much more valuable, there is nothing else we could displace it with. Now we feel as if we have just been married. There was a neighbor saying that he never saw a couple like us."

Wife: "People see and tell us say that we are a perfect couple. We never had a fight or violance; we also hear same interpretation from our neighbours and elder ones. Fortunately we have spent 44 years well, I hope that there will be more 44 years. The secret is being able to calm. If I raise my voice, she climbs down or vice versa. We always meet in the middle like this. Our relationship kept us strong and young. Our bodies grew old but our souls are still

young. We always had faith in God, we always cared for each other and my husband always looked after us and we felt safe."

If dislocation did not happen, financial and social distress would probably result in insurmountable forces weakening their togetherness.

Interviewer: "If you were not dislocated, would you, your family or your couple relationship be different?"

Husband: "We left what happened and decided to look at future. If we carried what we left back inside of us, we could not survive anymore. We said 'ok, we will begin again.We looked at future. We have had many more problems. We had friends who separated because they did not adapt to the new country. We would also experience economic hardship and never have a good education for our children and provide them what we could in Turkey."

Interviewer: "Why do you think that? Is it related to Turkey's features or if you had immigrate to a different place, would it have been the same?"

Husband: "This is because of Turkey; we were fortunate. Our children could study freely and bought their own house and car. If we stayed there, they would not have these values."

Adversity Activated Development (AAD)

The couple lists the financial security, social integration, family expansion, place attachment and feeling of togetherness.

Interviewer: "What new 'positives' (values, characteristics, styles of behaving, attitudes, skills, ways of functioning, etc.) were you and your family able to develop (acquire) as a result of all the ordeal that you have experienced and were able to survive? i.e. new 'positives' that did not exist in you and in your family (community) before the expulsion?"

In Bulgaria they were always confronted with the possibility of a possible dislocation. This caused stress as they could not feel stable.

Husband: "We are comfortable now under our flag in Turkey. We are happy with that. We do not have any idea about going somewhere, but when we were in Bulgaria we had to live with this thought throughout all the time. The idea of coming to Turkey always remained in our minds. We could not think or focus on anything else."

Interviewer: "Do you think did you develop any positives in this process?"

Husband: "We don't have any more negative thoughts. We feel secure here."

Wife: "The god gives us the health and we could work. Thanks God. We are content with it."

Interviewer: "How did you gain this comfort?"

Husband: "By working hard."

Interviewer: "Is there anything else?"

Wife: The god gives us health and comfort

Interviewer: "In what way do you think being a couple had an impact on the overall difficulties of this process?"

Wife: "One hand has nothing two hands can clap." (a Turkish expression)

Interviewer: "What do you think about it?" (to the husband)

Husband: "I agree with her. We coalesced, worked and won. We leaned to each other, and we gained from each other when there was nothing else."

Husband: (Citing themselves as 3rd singular person) "You are too cheerful during first week or month. Then problems start to come. You want to do something, you have to send your children to school. Shortly, there will be many thing you have to think. You will always be thinking about the duties in life."

Interviewer: "How did you overcome these difficulties?"

Husband: "We left what happened and decided to look at the future. If we carried what we left back inside of us, we could not survive anymore. We said 'ok, we will begin again'. We had each other, we are the same in terms of our goals and motivations."

Wife: "We looked at the future. That made us stronger. I think we would not have familiarizedwith this kind of happiness if we did not experience this. After having passed all the processs together I think we got stronger. I cannot think a life without my husband. We overcame these difficulties all together. And he is the one who makes always feel secure when I am beside."

Wife: "Our children could study freely and bought their own house and car. If we stayed there, they would not have these."

Interviewer: "You said that you children have grown in comfortable circumstances. Am I right?"

Wife: "They did not have many concerns. We helped them married, they went to military and we bought house for them."

Husband: "We tried to protect the family. We tried to retain unity. We managed to do that. Now we feel successful in that sense. We had the experience together and we overcame it together. This brings us a sense of success. We feel that we can overcome anything together."

Couple Relationship

Unity

Their unity is very strong. No disagreement or outside threat is big enough to unbalance their togetherness. They report that their strong feelings for each other support the couple psychologically through difficult times.

Emotional Difficulties

In their marriage there is no clear container, which allows emotional difficulties to externalize and make a development together. This externalization is specifically blocked by the couple because they do not consider their marriage as an enabler to accommodate their emotional needs.

The expression of negative feelings are feared as a thread for each partner's existantial needs to be met in the constant and reliable relationship.As financial security becomes the pivotal focus for their ambitions, the couple cannot enjoy satisfaction in the freedom of emotional dialog.

Husband: "We do everything together. We do everything cooperatively. We always help each other."

Wife: "If it was not like that, the relationship would not go on. We are always next to each other in good days or bad days, welfare or poverty. Our relationship has no bad days. Because we are always next to each other. Together we are strong. We have learned this from our shared experiences. Life thought us that. When there was nothing around, no land, no property, no friends, no home there was us. We have always had each other and we stick this as a source of motivation for going on. This is the most valuable thing for us now. I wish this relationship for everybody."

Interviewer: "How did you manage these difficulties?"

Husband: "In all this process, our relationship is the thing that we have trusted most."

Interviewer: "In what way do you think being a couple had an impact on the overall difficulties of this process?"

Wife: "It takes two hands to clap."

Interviewer: "What do you think about it?" (by looking at the husband)

Husband: "I agree with her. We coalesced, worked and won."

Wife: "In all this process, our relationship is the thing that we have trusted most."

Husband: "Our connection to each other is the most prominent one."

Wife: "We share welfare and poverty. Both of us have worked and become retired. We had put our salary into the same box. Who needs money get some money."

Husband: "We use the money for our necessities. We never divide the money. If it was not like that, the relationship would not go on. We are always next to each other in good days or bad days, welfare or poverty. Our relationship has no bad days. Because we are always next to each other. Together we are strong. We have learned this from our shared experiences. Life thought us that. When there was nothing around, no land, no property, no friends, no home there was us. We have always had each other and we stick this as a source of motivation for going on. This is the most valuable thing for us now. I swear that if I had a chance to select my husband, I would choose him again. We have been married for 44 years. That's all, nothing else matters." (laughs)

Husband: "People see and tell us say that we are a perfect couple. We also hear same interpretation from our neighbours and elder ones. Fortunately we have spent 44 years well, I hope that there will be more 44 years."

Wife: "I do not want as long as 44 years. It is too much."

Husband: "It would be nice dear?" (she laughed, then he smiled too)

Interviewer: "I am curios about what the secret of your good relationship was."

Wife: "I do not know what I can say. Maybe love maybe respect, maybe both of them?"

Husband: "I think it is respect."

Wife: "Neither I nor he hit each other."

Husband: "Actually both of them."

Wife: "We never had fight and violence.As the first day. 44 days passed, but it is not as long as 44 days for me. Really. I hve two daughters-in-law, their love is different and my grandchilden's love is different. All of them are at their own home, we stay lonely. Perhaps we give love to each other." (she smiles)

Interviewer: "At that time, could you guess that your marriage would happen like this?"

Wife: "You had not know what will happen, you could have said 'Fortune'. We have already married anyway."

Interviewer: "You look like you are surprised about your current happy mood…"

Wife: "Thanks God."

Interviewer: "What happens when you disagree?"

Wife: "We never disagree, really. I don't remember anything."

Husband: "We generally talk and negotiate."

Wife: "If someone says to do something other one agrees."

Interviewer: "What is the secret of this harmony?"

Wife: "Cross my heart we never argue. I do not remember any nervous moment between us. I do not know the secret."

Husband: "The secret is being able to calm. If I raise my voice, she climbs down or vice versa. We always meet in the middle like this."

Interviewer: "What was the biggest disagreement that you ever had?"

Husband: "There is nothing that we could not disagree."

Wife: "It is real. We always meet halfway."

Interviewer: "You don't know either but there is something between you."

Husband: "You should not lose your temper all of a sudden."

Interviewer: "How was your relationship when you were Bulgaria?"

Wife: "We have always felt close to each other. But after having overcome lots of difficulties together our relationship is much more valuable, there is nothing else we could displace it with. Now we feel as if we have just been married. There was a neighbor saying that he never saw a couple like us." (both laughed).

Husband: "Our relationship kept us strong and young. Our bodies grew old but our souls are still young."

Feeding Togetherness

The feeling of surmounting the biggest tragedies in life protects the couple during their hardship and forms unconsciously a tremendous force, feeding their togetherness is like a healthy nutrition that never goes bad.

Choice of Partner

The main reason for their choice of partner is that they found each other very similar, very alike and familiar.

Interviewer: "How did you decide to marry?"

Wife: (She smiles flirtingly.)

Interviewer: "What got closer to each other?"

Wife: "How we decided to marry… My husband's sister is married with someone from my village. She saw me and suggest me as a candidate of wife."

Husband: "I saw her, then she saw me. No, first my sister liked. Then we saw and liked each other, that's all."

Interviewer: "What attracted you in the other one?"

Wife: "I guess it was fortune."

Interviewer: "How long have you met before you got married?"

Wife: "It was not too long. I can not remember exact date, but it was 14 th or 17th January. we met in January, then we married in 6th May. We had not delayed, actually everything had happened quickly…"

Interviewer: "But something had got closer to each other and you had believed it."

Wife: "Perhaps."

Interviewer: "How have you evaluated your relationship since you first met?"

Wife: "I swear that if I had a chance to select my husband, I would choose him again. We have been married for 44 years. That's all, something I will say is not necessary." (laughs)

Husband: "We had a very intense feeling. She felt very familiar to me. She was one of us. As if she is a relative or so. She looks like my mother as well. So in my marriage I feel it was a continuation of my own family life. IF you marry to a person from a diffent culture than you may feel as a stranger or your life may become very distant from whay you used to have and this is not a good thing. You cannot be secure."

Harmony and Sharing

The couple emphasises the importance of being a unity, being in affirmation of the other's opinion, having line of thinking and never arguing on matters.

Interviewer: "What do you think about this issue?" (looking at the man)

Husband: "I do not think differently. I cannot sacrifice her (the woman laughs, the man smiles). I cannot conradict with her."

Interviewer: "You really seem that you carry same intensity of your feelings in earlier time of your relationship. Whatever it was among you… What happens when you disagree?"

Wife: "We never disagree, really. I don't remember anything"

Husband: "We generally talk and negotiate."

Wife: "If someone says to do something other one agrees."

Interviewer: "What is the secret of this harmony?"

Wife: "Cross my heart we never argue. I do not remember any nervous moment between us. I do not know the secret."

Husband: "The secret is being able to calm. If I raise my voice, she climbs down or vice versa. We always meet in the middle like this."

Interviewer: "What was the biggest disagreement that you ever had?"

Wife: "There is nothing that we could not disagree. It is real. We always meet halfway."

Interviewer: "You don't know either but there is something between you."

Wife: "For instance some couples keep their money out from his/her partner. We have undergone so many difficulties together. We lost our house, belongings, we had a very long journey together. We stick to each other during the crises. Now daily life problems do not make any sense to me. Everything seem very light. The most important thing is we and our children are healthy. We have our home. Nothing else matters. We do not argue because we know that when we are together we are strong. So we come to the middle, when dealing with life and children. We had always been supporting each other. Other couples who disagreed about dislocating or not who did not know how to stand together, felt apart."

Social Network

No relevant data appeared here with this couple. Their main focus was on the family interactions.

Retained Strengths

As the husband knows that this wife enjoys when he remembers their special days, he pays permanent attention not to miss them.

Interviewer: "You have such rituals?"

Wife: "He never ever forgets."

Husband: "At least I buy some flowers for her at special dates. If I cannot buy, I pick up flowers for her." (The wife laughs again)

Interviewer: "Did this situation happen in Bulgaria as well?"

Both: "Yes, yes."

Interviewer: "This is a value that you were able to keep, then."

Wife: "Yes."

Interviewer: "You protect your relationship."

Wife: "Those problems during the migration could not ruin our relationship."

Disagreement

In their communication there is no evidence of seeing the other person as a separate individual with his or her own thoughts, values and beliefs.

Interviewer: "What happens when you disagree?"

Wife: "We never disagree, really. I don't remember anything."

Husband: "We generally talk and negotiate."

Wife: "If someone says to do something other one agrees."

Interviewer: "What is the secret of this harmony?"

Wife: "Cross my heart, we never argue. I do not remember any nervous moment between us. I do not know the secret."

Husband: "The secret is being able to calm. If I raise my voice, she climbs down or vice versa. We always meet in the middle like this."

Interviewer: "What was the biggest disagreement that you ever had?"

Wife: "There is nothing that we could not disagree. It is real. We always meet halfway."

The Grid- Couple 3

Negative	Retained strengths (Resilience)	AAD
Not sleeping for two months.

Worrying day and night.

Feeling fear driven by uncertainty.

Stress of struggle for security and stabilization.

Feeling of loss becomes a blocking factor.

Hair getting white in a week is a stunning physical effect of | Always keeping faith in God and practicing religion.

Always caring for the other in the family.

Always remembering special days. | ID solved the ambiguity about the future.

The central point is the enforced feeling of unity.

If dislocation did not happen, financial and social distress would probably result in insurmountable forces weakening the togetherness.

Financial security, social integration, |

trauma. Losing not only objects acquired in time but also their inherent parts. Significant confrontation when getting through from the old to a new system. Negative discrimination (in Bulgaria), social isolation (in Turkey), loss of employment, loss of status in society, financial losses and its impact.		family expansion, place attachment and feeling of togetherness are improving pride and self-confidence. They care for people who need help.

Couple 4

Life in Bulgaria

They were living in a village called Yazla doing agriculture and animal breeding in Bulgaria. It was half Bulgarian and half Turkish populated but was a conservative place. After starting to go to the school, they were slightly starting to learn the Bulgarian language. But everything, eventually, turned into a conflict between Turkish and Bulgarian. Turkish and

Bulgarian boys used to fight all the time. After socialism, there used to be a national motto saying there is no difference between Turkish and Bulgarian citizens. This policy started to soften the tense atmosphere a little. There used to be a lot of Bulgarian people migrating from other villages. There were encouraged to live in Turkish villages.

Exposure to Adversity Before, during and After ID

Threat and Fear

In 1985 they were arrested when in Bulgaria all Turkish people were collected. They did similar things in 1985 as to frighten the Russians in 1978's event. They said 'Do whatever I order', and if you did not do, they took you and even eventually killed you.

Their Values were not welcomed in Bulgaria

Husband: "Virtues at home and in school were different from each other. Our grandparents nurtured us, because our parents worked. At home it was said 'The God is only and one', but in school we learnt 'There is no God'. We have grown up in big conflicts."

Interviewer: "How did your family experience this conflict?"

Husband: "We experience it in our internal world."

Identity is not accepted

They were forced to change their original names to use Bulgarian names instead.

The Effect of Immigration

Negative

Fear and insecurity

After the involuntary dislocation they experienced many unexpected difficulties. They were scared, without enough money and no place to stay.

Interviewer: "But do you still have fearful feelings?"

Husband: "Of course the fear is still our inside and it does not disappear until we die."

In the conversation they tried to classify their negative effects in various categories, e.g. material losses, social status losses, community losses, negative psychological impact, etc.

Dizziness

Wife: "My boy was very young and got sick when we were there. (referring to Turkey) We took him to the hospital and I got so bad in the hospital since nobody give me a priority and my son was crying a lot, and I was crying with him. Then I panicked and felt thatwe should go out of there immediately. I did not know where but I wanted to go out. Afterwards my boy got sick badly. This problem occurred twice since it was rainy and cold when we were migrating. We spent 10 days on the way. That time, I suffered from dizziness."

Sense of Belonging

Using "there" for implying Turkey may indicate that she could not feel any place attachment to this new country. Also, her using the word "dizziness" implies somatic association for explaining negative feelings.

Leaving everything behind and having to rebuilt their lives

Interviewer: "Anything else socially or economically?"

Wife: "We left everything, all our belongings back. We started over from scratch."

Not their fault but their fate

Husband: "We had nothing. I started working and give all my salary to pay the rent. Then she started working. Even my parents were working from home. After that, we started buying some things. But we never complained to each other. It was our fate."

No connection

Wife: "He was going to his job. Sometimes he was doing overtime and the only place where we were meeting was next morning on the street, while I was going to my job and he was returning from his."

Interviewer: "How much did it take like this?"

Wife: "Almost two years."

Health

Wife: "At there, if you are in a difficult position in the hospital, you get a priority. Here, we never see that kind of thing."

Interviewer: "Health conditions were worse here?"

Both: "Yes, yes."

Wife: "Conditions at that time was even worse than now. I cried a lot, I had dizziness a lot."

Finding Turkey strange and scary

Interviewer: "What exactly did frighten you?"

Wife: "This place was strange for us."

Interviewer: "Can you tell us more about the travelling process?"

Wife: "We were coming with our personal car with my mother and father- in- law and my husband and the baby and some belongings that as much as we could take with."

Husband: "They could recognize the migrating cars and stopped those cars all the time."

Interviewer: "Why?"

Husband: We don't know, either. They kept most of the immigrants. We had dizziness at that time as well.

Interviewer: Both of you name your feelings as dizziness in expressing your experiences about migration process. Can you give another try to describe this frame please?

Being Ready to Die

Husband: "You were ready to die at that time. Sometimes I found myself thinking about throwing to avoid any pain. I had nightmares being dead in order to relax."

Interviewer: "Was this feeling is shared among you?"

Husband: "Everyone feel it inside but we all know that we are sharing the same feelings without talking."

Turkish culture does not value honesty

Husband: "Not telling a lie, honesty. However, he grew in the Turkish culture a little bit. After nineteen years we came to Turkey, we went back to Bulgaria. Our son got his driving license in previous days, so he drove the car. When red light is seen, he must stop the car, but ours did not stop. "Don't do that, son! Look, other people warn you. You became so Turkish, anyway you are Turkish," I said. We cannot educate him."

Postponing their lives waiting for immigration

Interviewer. "You had mentioned that you rarely saw each other in first two years. How were you affected?"

Husband: "We were patient. We had been told that being immigrant was called "göçmencilik"."

Being Immigrant: A Shirt made of Fire

Wife: Like we were on fire.

Husband: Being an immigrant is like a shirt within fire. It was not easy.

Positive - AAD

Enforced feeling of hope

The central point for their relationship is the enforced feeling of hope for a better life their son and his future. For them being settled down is very important.

Feeling of Stability

Interviewer: "Do you think your family got affected positively from this migration?"

Husband: "Of course, there was a great ambiguity in there. We lost many opportunities because of this possible migration."

Sense of Belonging

Wife: "I was at least happy since my son will grow up and study here.

Interviewer: Why is this important?"

Wife: "Because, it is our land. We did not maintain staying in our land."

Husband: "I think we never move anywhere any more."

Asking this question can be the consequence of the need of being a part of larger group. Focusing only their negative experiences of being immigrants might have made them feel lonely and insecure. After they learned that we, as interviewers, are also somehow immigrant in Istanbul, they showed the signs of comfort and content.

Interviewer: "If you would go back to that time again, could you consider returning back?"

Husband: "No, no."

Interviewer: "Despite all the difficulties, being here is important for you?"

Husband: "Everyone understands your language, you can understand them."

Feeling Secure

In other words, our son is more comfortable and free. Yes, the word is free! Perhaps we have fears inside, the fear inherited from there.

Wife: "For instance, people are never afraid of police here. We were so afraid of police there."

Husband: "If you do not obey the rules there and go to the police office, you definitely go out with a lot of injures. Its regime was so rigid, they were using force on us."

Interviewer: "You have come from the regime based on fear to a freer place. What did you feel about it?"

Husband: "We could not understand comfort here."

Wife: "We began at zero point, so we could not understand. We can understand now." (smiling)

Interviewer: "How did immigration process affect your son?"

Wife: "He has become dual citizen."

Husband: "He feels more related to here. We are shy. We could not explain our concern in Bulgarian Government offices. The officers understood us, but they replied: "Come once you learn to speak Bulgarian". That's why now in Turkey we cannot explain ourselves in Turkish government offices, too. Our son is not like us, so he manages the official situation."

Being More Polite in Turkey

Interviewer: "Did you acquire anything for the family? Is there anything that you can say that you did not do, but after you came here you did?"

Husband: "We were rude in Bulgaria, perhaps you feel that we are still rude. People in Turkey talk more politely."

Wife: "In more warm such as 'good night', 'honey', 'darling'."

Interviewer: "How was it in Bulgaria?"

Husband: "More directly."

Interviewer: "What do you think about who and what helped to develop these new features?"

Husband: "One of them is the TV."

Wife: "Also, we have worked for more intellectual people."

Husband: "Work offices are too important. I first worked in a manufacturing shop, then in an office in Levent (a wealthy neighborhood). My boss was the head of a culture & art foundation. He gave me many books, I always enjoyed to read them."

If dislocation did not happen, financial and social and cultural distress would probably result in undesired consequences weakening their family. The reinforcement of their feeling of security and fear-free social life open the doors for their quest for cultural, social and financial development. Their place attachment never got further than half fulfilled.

Choice of Partner

Interviewer: "How did you decide to get married?" (They looked at each other with an embarrassed smile.)

Husband: "We met with the recommendation of our families."

Interviewer: "Who recommended?"

Wife: "My mother in law recommended me to him. And they both had seen and liked me."

It is very hard for them to talk about emotional topics. They resist to talk around the emotional content and they insist to stay in the facts. They had difficulties in putting this kind of experiences in to words. In comparison to woman, the man seems a little bit more comfortable in talking about these topics. However, whenever the man gets specific about the

emotional relationship, the woman seems panicking and directs the conversation into a more factual space.

Husband: "Her parents did not give permission to us to marry. So she escaped from the family home to be able to be with me."

Interviewer: "How did you decide escaping?"

Wife: "We just did."

Interviewer: "You must really have loved each other so that you did not want to wait separately and wished to be together."

Wife: (uncomfortably)"Did we love?" (looking at her husband). "I guess we would not live together for years if we did not love each other."

Interviewer: "What attracted you to each other?"

Husband: "I thought that she is a very sincere person. Honest and trustworthy."

Wife: "He was strong and I thought that I could count on him."

Interviewer: "Could you describe your couple relationship starting from as far back as you remember? Could you explain why you have chosen them?"

Husband: "What I think now is similar what I used to think."

Interviewer: "What are they?"

Husband: "We have respect and love." (his tone of voice decreases). "We have trust." (his tone of voice gets confident)

Telling everything to each other

Wife: "We never hide anything from each other."

Interviewer: "Do you tell about how your day passes to each other?

Husband: (smiling) "The first thing when we met at home."

Wife: "I always call him in the afternoon and before I get out from the job."

Interviewer: "Then, you share a lot in your relationship."

Wife: "We never hide anything."

Husband: "Never."

Staying away when there is negativity

Interviewer: "So you talk about events, what about your feelings?"

Husband: "If I get angry or disappointed I tell her, I talked about what happened and she listens to me. "

Interviewer: "What happens when you do not have same idea?"

Husband: "One of us turns to a side, the other one turns to opposite side (His wife smiles). We stop talking a little. She goes to kitchen, then it is solved."

Wife: "Then we make peace."

Interviewer: "How does it happen? Do you forget disagreement?"

Husband: "We do not forget but..."

Wife: "We get soft."

Husband: "She usually says: 'Let's make peace'."

Interviewer: "Was it like that when you lived in Bulgaria?"

Wife: "Always. But when we were in Bulgaria, we did not know the importance of communicating to each other that much. When we argued and crossed each other, we remained distant for longer time. But after we left there, we do not remain distant to each other for a long time any more. We know that we have each other."

No conflicts

Interviewer: What was the most conflict you ever experienced?

Husband: There is nothing like the biggest conflict. I insist on something, then she accepts.

Interviewer: For example, what was the issue which led to stay offended during longest time?

Husband: We do not stay offended during long time.

Wife: I cannot do that (smiling)

Husband: She cries etc.

Interviewer: If you could control and would not cry, would you stay offended?

Wife: He also could not do.

Husband: (smiling) I do not tell my secret.

Interviewer: Did your feeling of being offended increase or decrease when you migrated?

Wife: We did not have any time for feeling offended.

The Grid – Couple 4

Negative	Retained strengths (Resilience)	AAD
Feeling of mismatch within the society. Stress because of ambiguity caused by	Not telling lies. Being respectful and trustful. Being on time.	Feeling secure due to the living in a free and democratic society. Stability and comfort

the idea of an eventual migration. Suffering from fear even after the migration to Turkey. Loss of self-confidence due to the exposure to violence done by the Bulgarian regime. Feeling of hopelessness due to shortage in financial and residual comfort. Anxiety being a foreigner. Loss of trust to people in general.	Keeping promises. Being modest.	via financial opportunities. Joy via access to higher culture such as great Turkish writers whose books were banned in Bulgaria. Experiencing politeness and gestures as new meaningful ways for communication. Enlightment and increased awareness through an art & culture foundation. Feeling of security and fear-free social life opened the doors for cultural, social and financial development.

Couple 5

This couple lived in mixed, Bulgarian and Turkish populated village and was doing agriculture and animal breeding. They had a nice house and had a satisfactory childhood. Today they are in their late 7os and have been married for 53 years. They have two daughters and a son.

Life in Bulgaria

Husband: "There was a neighborhood which is a bit far away, separate from the center of the village. We lived there, which has 90-100 houses within. We remembered everything about there. There was a lake. We, as boys, spend time there. Also girls were spending a lot of time there. The village was surrounded by forests. We were herding animals, doing agriculture. School was located in the center of the village and we were walking that way every winter and summer. We had sandals."

Poverty

Wife: (laughing) "Sandals with holes."

Husband: "You don't feel it. We were children at that time. Childhood means playing, of course. We were playing games all the time. Children used to invent their own toys. Yet, we had a satisfying childhood. Also we were riding horses through the village."

Nice House in Bulgaria

Husband: "There used to be a basement at the entrance and in the second floor there were 2 rooms to live and a new house was being constructed over it. Later we moved to the center of the village. It was a beautiful house. (implying the house they had to leave)"

Wife: "That house was very good with two floors. It was also very close to the hospital."

Husband: "There were wooden houses in Deliorman that time. Now you cannot see that kind of houses. They were very durable. First floor was served for animals, people used to live in the second floor."

Family

Interviewer: "How was your relationship with your family?"

Wife: "Good. We were 4 children. We were living in poverty but we had a good relationship. Then, when "the cooperative" was founded, they got our fields, we started working for them."

Family Traditions

Wife: "He has a lot of things to tell as he was allowed to study. My dad didn't allow me to study. He was a religious man.I studieduntil the 7. grade. I used to go to the school in winters, when springs come, we had to work in the fields."

Early Marriage

Interviewer: "What are your earliest memories about your childhood?"

Wife: "I am not sure if I lived my childhood properly. I got engaged when I was 15 and got married in my 17. My childhood passed in the fields, and at school. My dad didn't want me to marry him. (her husband) but my older sister luckily agreed to this marriage and my father gave the permission. He wanted me to wear a wedding dress, since in our village women had used to wear baggy trousers. We married lateron. We have been together for 53 years."

The wife starts has a negative attitude because of not having had a proper chance to have a work but she feels satisfied, positive finding meaning that they have been together for very long time.

Exposure to Adversity Before, during and After ID

Husband: "Before we came here, all the procedures were chaotic. There was no order. But as we came late, we were in need of getting visa. Half of us got visa while others couldn't."

Wife: "My mother in-law and my older daughter could not get a visa. My husband stayed there to fix these complications. I got the children and set off."

Interviewer: "So, you came separately."

Both: "Yes."

Negative Effects

Dislocation process was difficult for them. They had to leave many personal belongings behind and took nothing with them. After the involuntary dislocation they experienced many difficulties.

Missing Bulgaria

Interviewer: "You always had something to be done in Bulgaria."

Both: "Always. Always."

Wife: "Our house was constructed. We had such a lovely garden… "

She stared away and it seemed like she got upset to talk this loss.

Feeling Lonely as a Couple

Wife: "We did not hesitate even for a second. We had everything, but we came. My older sister found blanket, pillow. Nobody, my son, daughter-in-law, didn't complain at all. We paid rent for a flat for three years and then we bought this house. We lived almost with 12 people. Now we remained the two of us."

Husband: "After having left the bigger family behind us and our children left home, we feel lonely, because now we are only two people in the house."

Getting Bored as a Couple

Wife: "We are getting bored. It was better when grandchildren were living with us. I raised my two grand children alone by myself since their parents were working. They were calling their grandfather Dady."

Supportive Family

Husband: "During migration period, we, all family, supported each other. I had to stay in the consulate for 20 days and we called each other very often to check if everything was alright."

Separation

Husband: "We came separately but we reunited in one year. Sometimes we got worried, what would happen, if she and her husband, older daughter, did not want to come. We were writing letters saying that we pay just a little rent here in order to increase their motivation."

Wife: "In fact, we didn't even have food enough."

Accommodation and Loss of Property

Husband: "We could not bring any property. We had accommodation problems. I didn't know if I could find a job. This is the most important one."

Interviewer: "Well, apart from the work and accommodation problems, how did you get affected from this process? How was your psychology?"

Wife: "We did not get influenced. My daughter worked and studied at the same time."

Difficulty in Adaptation

Husband: "For example, we were so surprised by the grid on the windows."

Wife: "In our village, there was no stealing."

Husband: "There used to be no stealing at that time, but due to new doctrine of the liberals, it might have changed."

Husband: "The living style in a big city makes people tired."

Interviewer: "Leaving all your properties and coming to a so called "obscurity" after a difficult journey must be so difficult. It is hard to imagine what you went through."

Sense of Belonging

In the conversation they tried to classify their negative effects in various categories, e.g. material losses, social status losses, community losses, negative psychological impact, etc. Since they identified themselves with what they have, before migration, most of their anxiety depends on not having. They feel themselves as immigrants whole their life, it is very important for them to have a shelter that makes them have feeling of "belonging".The idea of owning a place to live was the most important topic.

Wife: "If you have a place to live, others things happen easily. In order to buy this house, my son, my daughter, my daughter in-law, and my husband collected money for three years. When there is unity, everything happens easily. Difficulties make people come closer as soldiers during a war support each other a lot."

Being united and supporting each other serves as a protective factor to get over the traumatic experiences of the migration.

Alienage

Husband: "Yes, the feeling of alienage."

Wife: "But we got used to it."

Interviewer: "Among your list, what was the biggest loss/tragedy/misfortune that your family suffered as a result of the forced expulsion from Bulgaria?"

Husband: "Not bringing any property. We had to leave our house behind."

Interviewer: "You had mostly material loss. But I see that, all these properties and house means much more than its material quality."

Wife: "Thanks God, we regained everything back again."

Suppressing Feelings of Loss of Immaterial Values

Husband: "We forgot about those things."

Interviewer: "How did all these material losses affect your family?"

Wife: "It never influenced us."

Husband: "Money loses its meaning during difficult times."

Crossing the Bridge & Settling down

Interviewer: "What is the most important thing for you other than money?"

Husband: "To settle down and be in peace."

Wife: "Crossing the bridge."

Interviewer: "To leave what made you upset behind? May be enabling your safety?"

Both: "Of course!"

Wife: "But we did not experience anything what Syrian refugees have been experiencing nowadays."

The couple got bothered from this kind of negative memories. They felt irritated as they did not want to face all the psychological material that is repressed.

Perceiving All as "Normal"

Husband: "We consider all these difficulties as normal."

Wife: "Since we had my sister here."

Adaptation and Internal Struggles

Husband: "We were aware of the difficulties of the immigration process. We prepared our selves. Some people cannot prepare themselves enough and return back quickly. They

were the ones who are very motivated to come here. Some of them came here again, some of them stayed there. But people who stayed there were very regretful."

Wife: "We made our children study, which required money. Therefore, we were not living in wealth. People in wealth could not adapt here."

Not Having a Professional Title

Wife: "I feel a little bit offended because of not being able to be retired. My daughter-in-law said: "We made a summer house for you, you can staythere.""

Interviewer: "Does land register belong to you?"

Wife: "No, housework is on me. When I have been to Avcılar, I saw the ad 'seeking a cook in the cafeteria', but there wasn't any time to go."

Husband: "I mean not being able to work is negative."

Wife: "I could have worked when I was young. I could not work, nothing happened, but never mind. I have had grandchildren and old mother-in-law at home. There have not been central heating system, we used wood."

Husband: "One of the grandchildren was two and half years old. Actually, one of us had to be sacrificed."

Wife: "It happened to me. I had only two days off in Bulgaria before we came to Turkey. Then we came here. I have had 32 years in Bulgaria, I have been retired from there, my retirement salary is 200 liras. Think about 200 liras. People who stay at Bulgaria got same salary."

Negative effects are presented 'minor effects'. The wife added little to the positive effects. When she was asked whether not working has positive or negative effects, she could

not tell directly any negative effects. At that time, her husband stressed out it was negative. Then she could cite negative sides such as a lot of responsibilities.

Touching negative feelings, even feeling negative is perceived as a conceit. They act claiming that they do not have any right to feel negative. Talking about positive effects and making them feel more acceptable to use is an artificial affect, which is seen as a healing effect on them.

Interviewer: "Other than any difficult experiences you have already described, have you had any other experiences, which you would regard as potentially traumatic?"

Husband: "You mean heavy stuff with trauma."

Wife: "Nothing happened to me. What about you?"

Husband: "Our journey. Obligation to go back and forth."

Feeling of Loss, Being Sad

Wife: "Either your home or your garden were not same as you had left. I had a rose garden. When we went in 1995, we saw that the roses had been cut. They did not have any damage actually."

Interviewer: "It seems that your all effort had gone…"

Wife: "We had quince and lime tree, but they also had been cut."

Husband: "When people see these, people will be sad."

Wife: "But people do not want to be sad. I have had a garden in the summerhouse now. I am interested in spending time with flowers."

Separation from Family

Interviewer: "I understand that the journey is the most traumatic memory for you. I wonder if staying apart from each other have had any effect?"

Wife: "Of course it had an effect on us such as retaining our objects and being sent back during our journey. At that time, the winter was strong; we call it as frosty, but you use different word for this. In addition, our son was thin, our bride was pregnant and our little daughter was with us. This condition affected us very much "we will not pass" I said, but we surmounted it. I was down at the country border because I would not see my sister's daughters grow. We got sad for people who stayed at Bulgaria. Some of immigrants were sent back."

Retained Strengths

Interviewer: "What 'positives' (values, characteristics, styles of behaving, attitudes, skills, ways of functioning, etc.) were you and your family able to retain, despite the adverse nature of the forced expulsion from Bulgaria? i.e. those 'positives' that existed in you and in your family (community) before the expulsion and your family was able to retain them despite their exposure to all adversity, related to the forced expulsion? "

Being a Hard-Worker

Husband: "Being a hard-worker is a preserved value in all immigrants from Bulgaria."

Preserving Traditional Rituals

Husband: "Wedding ceremony might change a little bit, but everybody always goes to everybody's wedding. Contrast, "henna night" and "bayram" visits do not change. Everybody is coming to us for kissing our hands in "bayram"."

Freedom for practicing their religion

Interviewer: "Which preserved values do you have in the family? Values, attitudes, beliefs..."

Husband: "Our beliefs are same, but when we were in Bulgaria, we could not have the freedom to either pray or fast. Enlightened people in Bulgaria such as civil service could not go to the mosque."

Wife: "When we were there, he could not go comfortably but I could have fasted without any problems. My husband fasts every year since we came to Turkey."

The couple has lived in close unity and bound up in each other, so that their familial values could be preserved. They have focused on internal dynamics against external world.

Efficient Spending

Husband: "Even in our good times, we've learned to be more efficient in spending. We haven't spent money as much as our grandchildren spend now."

Wife: "All of them have a phone now. "

Husband: "People are regularly getting used to work. Also, cooperation is important. I went to school, then to a course in the evenings.."

Wife: "You went by foot, in order not to spend money for the transportation."

Patience

Wife: "Being patient. You should be patient; we should be patient, only so something will be accumulated in the future."

Supportive Social Network

Husband: "Our association has contributed to our adaptation. Young people invited me: "Come and direct us as head of association". All immigrants come there. This helps save values and preserve the cooperation."

Wife: "We organize a picnic which is repeated every year."

Interviewer: "Is it traditional?"

Husband: "Yes since 1996."

Positive - AAD

Well being of the Family & Future of the Children

Interviewer: "What (set of circumstances, persons, actions, conditions, behaviors) do you think contributed most to these family gains?"

Wife: "My sister has been to Turkey is one of them."

Husband: "For example, our youngest daughter has become a nurse."

Wife: "You are right, she was the first person started to work at Turkey. Her salary was 150 Liras. Also, Dr. X is an important person."

Husband: "Yes, we should mention his help. He has found a job for our son, too."

Wife: "He found a job for our oldest daughter, too. She has worked as office cleaner at doctor's office, and then started to work as accountant in a factory."

Husband: "Dr. X had come from far eastern part of Turkey, but he has a social environment in Istanbul. He said: "You have come far away from 500 km; I have come far away from 1500 km. I will help you" He helped us indeed."

Husband: "A peasant in Istanbul helped us. At least, they gave guide to us. The first advantage was people,who had come to Turkey before us. The second one from 89 immigrants was all of them having one or two jobs."

Wife: "For instance, my sister has paid our house rent."

Husband: "Then, the peasants have prepared a home immediately and we settled there."

Wife: "We came to today through this way."

Husband: "Then, native population in Istanbul helped us too much. For example, a child of our friend wanted to drink a coke, the people have bought for him."

Help from different people has impressed them intensely. The doctor who helped the family is also an immigrant. The couples' two of three children are currently living abroad.

Most important thing is being together for this couple. Journey and going to Turkey apart is the most traumatic point for them. Their responsibilities of saving the children and coming to security may not have only increased their anxiety but also contributed to their strength. The outcome of their experience is intensely felt inside.

Meeting New People, Different Cultures

Husband: "For example, we meet more people from different culture, we learned to their culture. When we were at Bulgarian village, people were similar to each other."

Wife: "We met with different people."

Interviewer: "What (set of circumstances, persons, actions, conditions, behaviors, belief systems, relationships, etc.) do you think contributed most to you and your family to develop these new positives?"

Reciprocity and Helping Others

Interviewer: "What do you think helped you most to overcome the difficulties of ID?"

Wife: "Reciprocity in helping."

Husband: "To go to the regular meetings of the association and reciprocity in close relationship with other people."

Love and Being a Role Model

Wife: "Of course. My grandkids loved me very much, both of them have followed me."

Valuing Education & Children's Appreciation

Wife: "We sent all of them to school. Even our bride went on studying during two years in Turkey. We had three children, the bride, our son and little daughter, who studied. Do you imagine how expensive it was for children to study?"

Interviewer: "What would they say if they were here?"

Husband: "They always appreciate what we went through. I sometimes try to give advice to our grandchildren; my daughter said to me "You did what we need. It is our turn. They are our children. Do not worry"."

Their relationship highlights their unity, enabling financial security and enforcing the feeling of hope for a better life for their son and his future. For them having a house and being settled down is very important.

Husband: "We have so much rage to Bulgarian government, but if immigration had not been, we would not have returned to Turkey."

Wife: "Of course, it's a good thing."

Husband: "In spite of all difficulties, we would not have returned. We are ok now. Before 1989, people had to get visa and have relatives in Turkey."

Husband: "As a consequence of immigration, we reunited with our homeland."

Missing Homeland

Husband: " We missed Turkey too much. I think, yearning to homeland is a unifying factor among immigrants in Turkey and Bulgaria."

Interviewer: "So, how has it affected your family to return to your homeland?"

Wife: "It influenced positively. We had no complaints, so we were all good."

To return to the homeland from a place in which they did not feel safe was important for them. All family members have sacrificed a lot and they have appreciated the value of returning to homeland.

Valuing No Competition and No Fight Culture

Interviewer: "Overall, how do you feel your family would have been different, had they not been expelled from Bulgaria?"

Husband: "I don't know what would be different. I was the most eager one to come to Turkey. I don't know whether I would be alive now."

Wife: "Brothers are at fight for land there. If we were there, we would behave like that."

Interviewer: "How would it be?"

Wife: "We would compete for money. The atmosphere would definitely affect us, too. There is no kindness in Bulgaria, everybody is mad for money."

Couple Relationship

Choice of Partner& Arranged and Early Marriage

Interviewer: "How did you decide to get married? What attracted you both to each other?"

Wife: "His uncle recommended me to him. Neither of us knew that we are going to meet. I was 15 but I had many proposals and I refused them all. However I could not say no to him."

Interviewer: "Why?"

Wife: "I don't know, I think I like him. I was 15 year- old child that time."

Husband: "I saw her in the neighborhood."

Wife: "We live in the same district, we know each other."

Living in the same neighborhood was important.

Interviewer: "What attracted you to each other?"

Husband: "We lived in the same neighborhood. It is important."

Hard-working Couple

Interviewer: "Could you describe your couple relationship starting from as far back as you remember?

Husband: "We were going to work very early in the morning, and were coming back in the late evening; after having a little conversation we would sleep. Our relationship was adapting to difficult working conditions."

Owning a House as a Goal

Wife: "We did not use to go to holidays. The most significant aim of our family was to own a house. We collected money for the house. Then we made children study and later get married. We had to immigrate here, just after we finished all the necessities."

Behind this statement there is a lot of anger and sadness, yet, since to make them out may bring disintegration, these feelings are repressed.

Marriage as a Psychological Containment

One of the most striking qualities this couple has is that, when one of them tells any negative event or take an negative attitude to any situation, the other one tends to shift this attitude to a more positive stand. This quality makes them a strong couple. They feel secure in their relationship. It is easier for them to share the happy things but on the other side they seem not to know how to contain the other when the other is sad or anxious. They prefer to be away from those situations because they might feel unsecure and even threatened by the

other's negative feelings. In that sense their marriage seems to be a container but not as the one that they can resort to when feeling down.

Interviewer: "In what way do you think being a couple had an impact on the overall difficulties of this process?"

Wife: "Positively. It was easier. If we were on our own and alone, we could not have been so strong."

Interviewer: "What do you think about how the immigration influences your relationship?"

Husband: "I do not know. We have always been together. On the other hand, being a couple has helped us economically. Also, we have shared our problems with each other."

They view their relationship as a functional one.

Solving Conflicts by Comfort

Interviewer: "What happens when you disagree?"

Wife: "We sometimes disagree, but at the end we meet in the middle."

Interviewer: "How does that happen?"

Wife: "By talking to each other."

No Time for Arguments

Husband: "We didn't fight at all when we were there. There was no space for fighting. Some people conflict a lot may be because they have a lot of time for that."

(They both looked each other and laughed)

Wife: "We don't argue here, either. We are old now, why shall we argue? Over there, there was no time for that."

Turning to Each Other for Support

Interviewer: "How frequently you turn to your partner asking support in case of life difficulties?"

Husband: "Of course. Otherwise, how can we handle all these difficulties?"

Wife: "In our summer house, we share every house work there."

Interviewer: "What was the biggest disagreement you ever had?"

Husband: "About where we should stay for example. She wants to stay in the summerhouse, but I want to be here."

Wife: "I want to stay at there until November, but he gets bored. He likes to go to the association. Moreover he is always with his computer at home or at summerhouse."

They are not arguing over their emotions. Their disagreement covers rather topics for their "functional" life.

Mentalization

While the husband sits in a couch with two persons, The wife sits on a chair that is close to the door. It was interesting to note that the wife prefers to sit on a chair even though her husband's next side is available. Apparently she cannot consider herself having the same position with her husband as observed in later conversations as well. She tends to identify herself with her husband.

It is observed that the couple frequently uses eye contact and smile with each other. They share the atmosphere of the memory. Even though, the wife frequently emphasized that she does not have a lot to tell comparing to her husband, and her contributions would be less valuable, however when a space is created for her, she is very willing to put her ideas.

The couple does not seem to recognize that the other person has a separate mind. It is difficult for them to understand, communicate and discuss the idea of the other. They find the solution to avoid arguing by staying alone or by simply giving in.

The Grid – Couple 5

Negative	Retained Strengths (Resilience)	AAD
Traumatic feelings when being forced to migrate separately and being apart from some of the family members staying in Bulgaria. Fear until eventual reunification after a year. Leaving all their belongings and having no direct solution for their accommodation. Life in a big city is tiring and crime was a new negative topic they did not know	Always loving and respecting each other. Being united and supporting each other serves as a protective factor to get over the traumatic experiences of the migration. Being modest and not having high expectations. Being a hard-worker. Being patient. Protecting family	Returning to homeland from an unsafe place and feeling safe and secure. Saving for the future. Prioritization of education and the well being of their children. Being open to receive help. Keeping traditions of family visits especially during important days.

itexisted before. The feeling of being unfamiliar with this life is irritating. Notfeeling free to express their ideas or feelings.	traditions. Reciprocity.	Proving help to those in need is a priority. Meeting new and different people and culture.