

## Foreign in Two Homelands

What happens when migrants are rejected by the host society that first invited them? How do they return to a homeland that considers them outsiders? *Foreign in Two Homelands* explores the transnational history of Turkish migrants, Germany's largest ethnic minority, who arrived as "guest workers" (*Gastarbeiter*) between 1961 and 1973. By the 1980s, amid rising racism, neo-Nazis and ordinary Germans blamed Turks for unemployment, criticized their Muslim faith, and argued they could never integrate. In 1983, policymakers enacted a controversial law: paying Turks to leave. Thus commenced one of modern Europe's largest and fastest waves of remigration: within one year, 15 percent of the migrants – 250,000 men, women, and children – returned to Turkey. Their homeland, however, ostracized them as culturally estranged "Germanized Turks" (*Almanci*). Through archival research and oral history interviews in both countries and languages, Michelle Lynn Kahn highlights migrants' personal stories and reveals how many felt foreign in two homelands. This title is also available as Open Access on Cambridge Core.

Michelle Lynn Kahn is Associate Professor of Modern European History at the University of Richmond. Her research examines post-1945 Germany and Europe in a global and transnational frame, focusing on migration, racism, far-right extremism, gender, and sexuality. She was awarded the 2019 Fritz Stern Dissertation Prize of the German Historical Institute and the 2022 Chester Penn Higby Prize of the American Historical Association.

## Publications of the German Historical Institute

*Edited by*

Simone Lässig

with the assistance of Kelly McCullough

The German Historical Institute (GHI) is a center for advanced study and research whose purpose is to facilitate dialogue and collaboration among historians across national and disciplinary boundaries. The GHI conducts, promotes, and supports research in three core fields: German/European and Jewish history, the history of the Americas and transatlantic history, and global and transregional history. The GHI works closely with partner institutions and organizations to provide scholars from around the world with opportunities to extend their professional networks and build relationships across borders.

*A full list of titles in the series can be found at:*  
[www.cambridge.org/pghi](http://www.cambridge.org/pghi)

# Foreign in Two Homelands

*Racism, Return Migration, and Turkish-German  
History*

MICHELLE LYNN KAHN

*University of Richmond*



*and*



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,  
New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment,  
a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of  
education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781009486712](http://www.cambridge.org/9781009486712)

DOI: [10.1017/9781009486682](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009486682)

© Michelle Lynn Kahn 2024

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of  
relevant collective licensing agreements, with the exception of the Creative Commons  
version the link for which is provided below, no reproduction of any part may take  
place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

An online version of this work is published at [doi.org/10.1017/9781009486682](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009486682)  
under a Creative Commons Open Access license CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 which  
permits re-use, distribution and reproduction in any medium for non-commercial  
purposes providing appropriate credit to the original work is given. You may not  
distribute derivative works without permission. To view a copy of this license,  
visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0>

When citing this work, please include a reference to the DOI [10.1017/9781009486682](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009486682)

First published 2024

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

NAMES: Kahn, Michelle Lynn, author.

TITLE: Foreign in two homelands : racism, return migration, and  
Turkish-German history / Michelle Lynn Kahn, University of Richmond.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge  
University Press, 2024. | Series: Publications of the German Historical  
Institute | Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2023057629 (print) | LCCN 2023057630 (ebook) |  
ISBN 9781009486712 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009486682 (ebook)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Turks – Germany (West) – Social conditions. | Foreign  
workers – Germany (West) – Social conditions. | Racism – Germany (West) |  
Turks – Migrations. | Germany (West) – Ethnic relations. | Germany  
(West) – Race relations. | Germany (West) – Emigration and immigration |  
Turkey – Emigration and immigration – History – 20th century.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC DD78.T87 K346 2024 (print) | LCC DD78.T87 (ebook) |  
DDC 305.894/350430904-dc23/eng/20240327

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023057629>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023057630>

ISBN 978-1-009-48671-2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence  
or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this  
publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will  
remain, accurate or appropriate.