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**A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF TRANSNATIONALISM:  
THE CASE OF TURKISH MIGRANTS LIVING IN BERLIN**

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**A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF TRANSNATIONALISM:  
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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

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## **ABSTRACT**

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF TRANSNATIONALISM:

THE CASE OF TURKISH MIGRANTS

LIVING IN BERLIN

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This thesis tries to explore the effects of socio-economic status, gender and generation of Turkish migrants living in Berlin on their participation into transnational social fields established between Berlin and Turkey. In addition to this, evaluating transnational approaches used in international migration studies critically and acquiring a critical transnational perspective in the context of global capitalism are also in the interest areas of this study.

This study is based on a qualitative field research conducted with 30 Turkish migrants in Berlin in 2006. This study maintains that, as well as global restructuring of global capitalism, new technological advances and nation state policies, migrants' socio-economic status, gender and generation differences are vital elements to understand the way and content of transnational social fields in daily life of migrants. This study concludes that, apart from being liberatory, nation- state- based inequalities are reproduced in transnational social fields in macro and micro levels as dependent on migrants' socio economic status, gender and generation differences.

Key words: Transnational Migration, Transnational Social Field, Critical Transnationalism, Socio-Economic Status, Gender, Generation, Power Relations.

## ÖZ

### ULUSÖTESİCİLİĞİN ELEŞTİREL BİR ANALİZİ: BERLİNDE YAŞAYAN TÜRK GÖÇMENLER ÖRNEĞİ

Çelik, Çetin

Yüksek Lisans, Sosyoloji Bölümü

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Bu tez, Berlin’de yaşayan Türk göçmenlerin sosyal-ekonomik, kuşak ve cinsiyet farklılıklarının Türkiye ve Berlin arasında kurulmuş olan ulusötesi sosyal alanlara katılımındaki etkilerini keşfetmeye çalışmaktadır. Buna ek olarak, uluslar arası göç çalışmalarında sıklıkla kullanılan bir takım ulusötesi yaklaşımı eleştirel bir biçimde değerlendirmek ve küresel kapitalizm bağlamında eleştirel bir ulus ötesi perspektif elde etmek yine bu çalışmanın ilgi alanı içersindedir.

Bu çalışma 2006 yılında Berlin’de 30 Türk göçmenle gerçekleştirilen bir alan araştırması üzerine temellenmektedir. Çalışma, Küresel kapitalizmin yeniden yapılanması, yeni teknolojik ilerlemeler ve ulus-devlet politikalarının yanı sıra, göçmenlerin sosyal-ekonomik statüleri, cinsiyet ve kuşak farklılıklarının, onların gündelik hayatında oluşan ulusötesi sosyal alanların biçimi ve içeriğinin kavramasında hayati öneme haiz olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Bu çalışma, özgürleştirici olmak bir yana, ulus-devlet temelli eşitsizliklerin makro ve mikro düzeylerdeki ulusötesi sosyal alanlarda, göçmenlerin sosyal-ekonomik, cinsiyet ve kuşak farklılıklarına bağlı olarak, yeniden üretildiği sonucunu çıkarmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ulusötesi Göç, Ulusötesi Sosyal Alan, Eleştirel Ulusötesicilik, Sosyal-Ekonomik Statü, Cinsiyet, Kuşak, Güç İlişkileri.

To My Mother, Father and Sister

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Certainly, I dedicate this thesis to my mother, Saliha elik, my father, Katip elik, and my sister, Sibel elik, who provide me with a warm family atmosphere, endless support and love. I am the person I am today because of them. It is very hard for me to describe my gratefulness to them.

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## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This study shall try to make a critical evaluation of transnational theories in international migration studies by focusing on the transnational social fields established by Turkish migrants in Berlin. Among the other disciplines, in the international migration literature, especially since 1980's, we have witnessed the dense usage of a concept to explain border crossing activities of migrants. Yet, it seems that, despite the flourishing of transnational studies in the last two decades or more, the exact theoretical reference points of the concept still are not clear. Therefore, the circumstances which are necessary for the emergence of a transnational social field between two localities, or the dynamics which are effective in the formation of different transnational social fields need to be investigated.

Although the concept of transnationalism has been articulated in a systematic way for the first time by anthropologists in order to indicate the symptoms of the probable rupture of identity from geography in international migration studies, it seems that political scientists appropriated it more than anthropologists or sociologists do. Today, the concept is generally used in political science or international relations in order to understand phenomena like citizenship or new legal base of political law between or over nation-states or supranational formations. In addition to this, it can also be said that the concept and its theoretical derivations are not warmly welcomed by sociologists. There maybe various reasons for this. However, one of the fundamental reasons might likely be concept getting stranger to everyday interaction of people in hands of some political scientists. Especially the political science approaches, which situate themselves far from social sciences and appropriate a scientific view, have permeated deeply into transnational studies in such a way that it

is impossible not to observe the domination of the citizenship and race categories as the study-objects even in sociological studies of transnationalism.<sup>1</sup>

One of the fundamental shortcomings, this domination paves the way for in terms of sociological studies, is the *homogenization* of immigrants in the eyes of researcher by missing their differences in micro areas. Here the point, I think, to be made, is to put the categories of socio-economic status, gender and generation which are as significant as nationality, law and race, into practice when studying transnationalism.

So, this is to say, this study can be read as an effort made to fill up the concept of transnationalism with sociological soul and construct a corporate agenda with political science approach under the roof of the concept of transnationalism. Of course, one can ask that instead of preferring another concept in a migration research, why do I deal with making the concept of transnationalism functional for my study? I have twofold answers for this apropos question; at first, transnational processes are coming into existence today as *real* phenomena. That means that they are more than a conceptual fiction. At second, the processes themselves, if considered with historical and structural dynamics, affect the *mundane life* of immigrants in various ways that must be analyzed by sociology.

The research question of this study appeared in my mind as I was dwelling in Neukölln in Berlin when I was an exchange student at Humboldt University in 2006; how do the way and content of transnational social fields established by Turkish migrants living in Berlin change in accordance to the socio-economic status, gender and generation differences? In addition to my early readings about transnational migration, I can surely say that this research question stems, to a large extent, from

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<sup>1</sup> Here with the political science tradition, I mean mostly the Anglo-Saxon tradition which gives preference to a scientific analysis of social situations by looking at official law or state mechanisms more than social analysis of subjects. It seems that, in Germany, the political science is considered with respect to social science perspectives more than Anglo-Saxon tradition.

my observations I made in some regions of Berlin, such as Neukölln, Kreuzberg, Wedding, Schöneberg, where population of Turkish immigrants is dense. Setting of an academic journey with such a question would bring along some other questions as well. First of all, to place my research on a sufficient theoretical ground, focusing on the transnational studies generally seemed to me as inevitable. Only in doing so, I could become able to get a proper and consistent transnational theoretical perspective in the light of which I shall concern my self with my research question. Once you become a part of such a discussion, it is very easy finding yourself as involved in the general problems surrounding the transnational studies, such as to what extent are transnational processes free from domination areas of nation-state? To move on from that, are transnational processes deterritorial formations? If not, what are the role of the localities in the formation of them and how? My objective is to find partly satisfactory answers for all these questions by strongly concentrating on the transnational social fields and their changing content according to socio-economic status, gender and generation differences of Turkish migrants who constructed them. It must be kept in mind that this study does not assert that it represents all state of affairs stemming from these three aspects of Turkish immigrants fully. It, however, tries to shed light on common characteristics of them deriving from being a Turkish migrant in Berlin, as much as it can.

I am interested in the concrete transnational activities, their reasons and results in this study. My basic aim here is to understand how, why, and with what motivations they are becoming participants of transnational social fields by looking at their travel frequency to Turkey and hometown association membership, remittances, fellow townspeople relations and so on. The reasons for usage of these categories to understand transnational linkages of immigrants lies behind not only the fact that they are prolongations, or results, of historical chain migration but also the fact that they are widely accepted and used in transnational migration studies.

Although I will use the findings I got from in-dept interviews, like the blossoming of Turkish identity among young generation migrants as a resistance tool, or the effects

of satellites dishes on Turkish migrants' Turkey perception, or the changing of "meaning of home", this implies by no manner of means that I am examining the type of immigrant consciousness, mode of cultural production<sup>2</sup> in transnational process, that would indeed be the subject of another study.

This study is based on qualitative research conducted with 30 Turkish migrants living in Berlin and coming from various socio-economic statuses, generations and different genders. The field research took up six months from April to September in 2006. I used semi-structured schedule for in-dept interviews. This method was chosen because it has been assumed that although the major roles belong to the institutions, global firms and nation-states in the formation of transnational social fields, the experiences of individuals are really important to understand contingent character of these fields. The heterogeneous composition of Turkish migrants and the multicultural integration policy of Berlin municipality were the fundamental reasons of choosing of Berlin for the field.

This study shall begin with some general definitions of the concept and objections directed towards it. In the light of this general overview, I shall invite the reader to look better at the historical conditions in which the concept emerged. On the ground which shall be provided through this historical analysis of the conditions, I will evaluate and compare the concepts of transnationalism and diaspora, which have successor predecessor relationship with each other, in terms of their functionality for the analysis of contemporary migration phenomena.

The truth of the matter is that the concept of transnationalism and its application into international migration studies brought along many objections and discussions. In that, the emergence of the concept and its theoretical articulations are still being discussed vividly. Therefore, in the third chapter, my aim shall be fixing fundamental components of a theoretical transnational approach from which I shall benefit in

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<sup>2</sup> For the six different areas of transnational studies , look at, quoted from Vertoveç, Itzigsohn, J. "Immigration and Boundaries of Citizenship: The Institutions of Immigrants Political Transnationalism" in International Migration Review Vol.34, No.4, 2000, p.1128

following chapters of this study as my *methodology*. To do this, I will concern myself first with making evident the lines separating the concept of transnational from other concepts like multinational, international and global which are sometimes used wrongly to indicate transnational processes. After such an external clarification, I shall focus on the internal diversity of the concept and the phenomena the concept refers. With the help of these external and internal analyses, my aim will be considering the birth of conceptual tools from transnational theoretical perspective, such as transnational migration, transmigrant. It seems that the network analysis is in vogue in many transnational studies. As far as I am concerned, it is thought that open-ended network analysis fits better than other methods into the nature of transnational linkages extending by crossing the national boundaries. Indeed, the complex dispersion of family, kinship and business' relations into more than one place in a flowing way is likely to be the fact. Yet, since network analysis does not allow me to focus on limited relations taking place in one area, I will not use the network analysis; rather, the concept of *transnational social field* shall be my main point to construct my methodology. By benefiting from the writings of Nina Glick Schiller which are on the relationship of transnational processes and new imperialism, and transmitting Pierre Bourdieu's "*social field*" conceptualization, which stresses the role of the struggles for power, into transnational processes, I plan to acquire a *critical transnational approach* which grasps transnational social field as the field of power relations from global to local. In the light of the advices of authors who focused on transnational processes, I plan to situate the *Critical transnationalism* on three-legged perspectives; *historical perspective*, *spatial perspective*, and *restructuring of global capitalism*. To sum up, in the last section of this chapter, I shall try to draw the lines of a theoretical framework which is an analysis of power relations.

In the fourth chapter, as in line with historical perspective of *critical transnationalism*, I shall try to converge to history of Turkish labor migration to Europe in general and to Germany in particular to form a historical background on which I will study. Because of this aim, I shall look at the motivations and reasons of

labor migration from Turkey to Europe and Germany respectively. After giving a general overview about Europe, I shall dwell on specific circumstances of Germany from recruitment agreements on. My goal, here, is to get the composition and dispersion of Turkish migrant population on the one hand, and understand the dynamics rendering these temporary migrants into *permanent residents* in Germany on the other. In the last section of this chapter, my objective shall be investigating the reflections of global transformations onto the context of Germany in terms of Turkish migrants.

The chapter five will be the one in last section of which, I will try to operationalize the other two perspectives of *Critical Transnationalism*; spatial perspectives and restructuring of global capitalism. I shall begin by concentrating totally on the transnational social fields existing between Germany and Turkey. The socio-political and economic linkages connecting Germany with Turkey shall be taken up. Then, by focusing on Berlin context, I plan to sketch a rough historical and contemporary picture of the city including, for example, happenings after collapsing of Berlin Wall. I will also try to give the differences between regions of the city in terms of density of Turkish migrant population. In the light of this, I shall examine how socio-economic status, gender and generation play roles in the formation and content of transnational social fields established by Turkish migrants in Berlin. By presenting the findings that I collected from the field, I plan to illuminate the different motives and interests stemming from socio-economic status, gender and generation categories- motives and interests which are highly effective in construction of transnational social fields. To better understand local reasons connecting these motives and interest with global transformation, I shall benefit from spatial perspective and the restructuring of global capitalism perspective. With the assistance of a transnational framework, I shall seek to shed light on in what ways and to what extent the web of relationships of Turkish migrants in these transnational social fields reconfigure or reaffirm existing power relations.

In the chapter six, I shall try to bring together my two general critiques concerning transnational studies. With both the findings from my field research and ideas of some thinkers writing on transnational processes, I plan to focus on two misleading assumptions on which many transnational studies have been based. I shall seek to indicate the possible variety of transnational social fields by trying to highlight first the *heterogeneity* of immigrants, secondly the early assumption accentuating transnationalism as *liberatory*. With such questions, I also plan to scrutinize *deterritorialization* of identities and belongings in transnational social fields by discussing the connection of locality with transnational process. Afterwards, I will try to emphasize naïve sides of such assumptions.

In the conclusion chapter, my main objective will be making a general evaluation of this study to reach an outline of all chapters. On this ground, I shall try to give some answers to both my research question and other parallel questions clearly. At the end, I shall also mention the probable shortcomings of this study to make a humble contribution to forthcoming transnational studies.

## CHAPTER II

### TRANSNATIONALISM AS A NEW CONCEPT

The emergence of a transnational perspective has changed the study of immigration. A large number of studies have shown that migrants retain lasting ties with their countries of origin. The identities and social practices of migrants transcend national borders.<sup>3</sup> Particularly in last two or three decades, we have been facing with a new concept which is used in many areas extending from anthropology, economy to sociology and politics: Transnationalism. Although the concept indebts its birth to the studies realized in different areas such as international relations and business economy, it acquired its popularity, especially, in international migration studies. What is wanted to be done with the concept is, in effect, to present a new framework to understand new and changing characteristics of migration patterns. The changing frameworks produced through the concept are used in various areas differently. Transnational cultural studies, for example, have focusing on the growth of global communications, media, consumerism, and public cultures transcending national boundaries, whereas transnational migration studies have been calling attention to the actual social interactions that migrants construct and maintain across borders.<sup>4</sup>

The emergence of new ways of belonging to two nations simultaneously<sup>5</sup>, or of being here and there at the same time, for some, requires necessarily new frameworks giving precedence to explanations of transnational characteristics of the phenomena. On the other hand, it is also often claimed that despite deep changes that have occurred in the last century, transnationalism has always been in different shapes

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<sup>3</sup> José Itzigsohn, "Living Transnational Lives" in *Diaspora*, Vol.10, No.2, 2001, p.281

<sup>4</sup> Nina Glick Schiller "The situation of Transnational Studies" in *Identities*, Vol.4, No.2, 1997, p.155

<sup>5</sup> Riva Kastoryano, "Transnational Participation and Citizenship: Immigrants in the European Union", 1997, URL: <http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/riva.pdf>

throughout the history.<sup>6</sup> The description and interpretation of the process differ from one field to another field. In political science literature, for example, transnationalism is, with a basic definition, seen as crossing national borders and thus leading complex interdependence between nation- states.<sup>7</sup> Although the activity of crossings border of states is as old as states themselves, the *interdependency* that is a result of transnational processes today is thought as unique characteristic which distinguishes it from previous forms, and thus, makes it privileged. Yet, in international migration studies, it was the studies of Basch and Schiller on Haitian migration which felt the need for the concept of transnationalism for the first time:

*Neither the categories of social science that they had brought to the study, nor the categories that had meaning for the Haitian migrants, were adequate to articulate the nature of daily life for a large section of the Haitian immigrant population throughout the United States<sup>8</sup>*

For them, the tools that the social sciences provide us can not explain the events that they came across along their field research; they also fall, behind the daily life. In that sense, the movements of migrants in their border-crossing activities started to produce new social categories which are transnational.

When taking a quick, superficial glance at transnational migration literature, it could easily be seen that two mainstream approaches are evident. In these related but different interpretations of the concept, first is represented by US -based anthropologists, sociologist and historians. Transnationalism is, here, grasped as combination of civic-political memberships, economic involvements, social networks

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<sup>6</sup> ESF Forward Look Report 2 “Migration and Transcultural Identities” October 2004, p.7  
URL: <http://www.esf.org/publication/184/ICICE.pdf>,

<sup>7</sup> Indranel Sircar “Globalizations: Traditions, Transformation, Transnationalism” URL:  
<http://www.hsd.hr/revija/pdf/3-4-2001/02-Sircar.pdf>

<sup>8</sup> Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Post Colonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-State*, (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1995): p. 6

and cultural identities that link people and institutions in two or more nation-states. Key actors of this process are international migrants who are assumed to create new transnational spaces and thereby de-territorialize and extent the nation-state, rather than undermine it.<sup>9</sup> In this framework, while creating new fields for action in between nation-states, actors of the transnational process, such as people, institutions, are still dependent upon them.

In second approach which is widespread among political scientists of Europe, transnationalism is seen as supra-statal memberships, identities and loyalties, in other words, as a condition beyond the usual state-bound national identities. One can think for example of European Union memberships or religious solidarities. Contrary to first approach, here such transnational processes are thought to undermine the power of state to control and regulate activities its borders.<sup>10</sup>

As apart from the views about trasnationalism birthing from these approaches and extending from being celebratory to dystopian, we should first take the note of objections carefully-objections that set forth that the phenomena that named as transnational are not new and, therefore, the concept itself is not necessary. Such examination shall also lead us to a light illuminating the context in which the first nucleus of transnationalism embedded.

## **2.1 The Objections to the Concept of Transnationalism**

Today, it is known that the limits of transnational analysis display very extensive area. Having extended from communities, capital flows, trade, citizenship, corporations, inter-governmental agencies, non-governmental organizations, politics, services, social movements, social networks, families, migration, circuits, identities, public space, public cultures, the transnational perspective(s) requires research and

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<sup>9</sup> ESF Forward Look Report 2, op.cit. , p.7

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. .p.8

theorization in different levels of abstraction.<sup>11</sup> Despite the assumptions related to the concept and dense use of it in many areas, and the new definitions in connection with the transformation of old social forms in transnational space, it can easily be said that there has been a disagreement on what it exactly means and many doubts about the newness of the concept of transnationalism still exist in minds of innumerable thinkers. Therefore, the abstruseness of the concept and its deprivation of specific and clear references, on which scholars from different areas might come to an agreement, constitute the grounds of most powerful critiques. The absence of a consensus among scholars pertaining to the certain references of the concept imperils it becoming empty vessel<sup>12</sup> In addition to, and connected with, the conceptual vagueness, the fundamental problem seems to be in connection with the appropriate level of analysis and the connection between scales.<sup>13</sup>

Other than these articulated above, we can also talk about two general critiques. As first, the point towards which the objections are generally inclined is that although some processes have accelerated in terms of time and space in migration process there is no new migratory patterns that require new theoretical interest.<sup>14</sup> In that sense, after emphasizing how the Midwestern migrants' situation in California 1920s created state-based organizations and the same way the existence of Guatemalan and Mexican associations in Los Angeles 1960s, Fitzgerald and Waldinger claim that the components of transnationalism are not new phenomena. They say;

*many of the most influential studies of immigrant transnationalism actually examine the trans-state connections between particular places here and there-localistic ties reappearing in similar form just about*

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<sup>11</sup> Steven Vertoveç , “Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism” in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol.22, No.2, 1999, p.448

<sup>12</sup> Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith “The Locations of Transnationalism” in *Transnationalism from Below* ed. by Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith (Transaction Publisher, 1998): p.4

<sup>13</sup> Steven Vertoveç, 1999, op.cit. , p.456

<sup>14</sup> An example of this discussion, look at David Fitzgerald, “Scenarios of Transformation: The Changing Consequences of Old and New Migration” in *Diaspora* Vol.13, No.1, 2004, p.106

*everywhere that long –distance migration occur...such affiliations and organizations based on distant hometowns result from the interactions between natives and strangers and not necessarily the encounter between nationals and foreigners.*<sup>15</sup>

In the light of this discussion, they add that discovering the connections between villages or communities here and there are hardly defined as transnational, as the same relationship reoccurs within any domestic and international migration.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, adherents of this critique add that the findings from the primarily case study-based research on transnational migration are often exaggerated or skewed. Some says also that effect of transnationalism is, if there, exaggerated and such kind of practices will diminish over time among migrants and be of little significance for their children.<sup>17</sup> As related, Grillo says that anyone reading the recent literature on transnational migration against a background knowledge of work on international migration in different parts of the world over the last 35 years would be thought to be odd if they did not experience a sense of déjà vu.<sup>18</sup> Or it is an open question to what extent the concept is different from the concepts of “circular” or “circulatory” which were used in labor migration before.<sup>19</sup> It must also be noted that when the different fields studying on migration are classified, such as anthropology, sociology and history, it is a phenomenon that the majority of the discussions made on whether transnational processes are old or new are in discipline of history.<sup>20</sup> The reason for

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<sup>15</sup> Roger Waldinger and David Fitzgerald “Transnationalism in Question” in *American Journal of Sociology* Vol.109, No.5, 2004, p.1182

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. , p.1182

<sup>17</sup> Peggy Levitt, Josh DeWind and Steven Vertoveç “International Perspectives on Transnational Migration: An Introduction” in *International Migration Review* Vol.37, No.3 ,2003, p. 565

<sup>18</sup> R.D. Grillo, “Transnational (see also post national)”?” Paper Presented to the Social Anthropology Graduate/Faculty Seminar, University of Sussex.,1 October 1998, p.16

<sup>19</sup> Van der Veer, P. “The Diasporic Imagination”, pp. 1-17 of Van der Veer, P. (ed.) *Nation and migration. The politics of space in the South Asian Diaspora.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.

<sup>20</sup> Eva Morawska, “Disciplinary Agendas and Analytic Strategies of Research on Immigrant Transnationalism: Challenges of Interdisciplinary Knowledge” *International Migration Review* Vol.37, No.3, 2003, p.625

this might be concerned with the place of historical point of view in transnational approaches. It has been often asserted that what transnational theories do is the de-historicized fixation on the contemporary period.<sup>21</sup> Waldinger and Fitzgerald add that;

*Claiming discontinuity, the students of immigrant transnationalism have effectively dehistoricized the present. They have also produced the familiar antinomies of social science most notably that of closed past and open present. Which is why the students of globalization, immigrant transnationalism, and transnational relations all end up with the same "discovery" –that it happened before and in surprisingly similar ways.*<sup>22</sup>

Second group of critics about the concept of transnationalism are directly concerned with the content of the concept. Gledhill, for instance, wants to know if the earlier approaches to study of migration prevent us from seeing previous existence of transnational processes or not.<sup>23</sup> The ground on which such critiques are based is nourishing largely from the conceptual tension existing between the concept of diaspora and transnationalism. In international migration literature the concept of diaspora has occupied a significant space and has always been used as an effective tool to understand social, economic, cultural and political components of diasporic communities. However it is also the fact that the concept was on a large scale replaced in migration literature by the concept of transnationalism. Yet, for some, the term of transnationalism does not perform well the functions formerly carried out by the concept of diaspora in migration research, because it does not, for example, emphasize sufficiently the importance of the local structures in which migrant communities live.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Roger Waldinger and David Fitzgerald, op. cit. , p.1179

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. , p.1188

<sup>23</sup> Gledhill, J. ,“The Challenge of Globalization: Reconstruction of Identities, Transnational Forms of Life and Social Sciences” in *Journal of European Area Studies* Vol.7, No.1, 1999, p. 9-37.

<sup>24</sup> Östen Wahlbeck, “*Kurdish Diasporas, A Comparative Study of Kurdish Refugee Communities*” (MACMILLAN PRESS, 1999): p.184

It becomes clear that critiques and the objections that articulated above deserve to be examined carefully. However, to reply all these critiques one by one, we should turn back to the conditions in which transnational phenomena have blossomed. Put it differently, instead of continuing discussion by following conceptual way, I shall try to explain a historical background of the emergence of the concept of transnationalism. This historical background shall, first, provide us with many answers concerning the critiques that have been oriented toward newness of the transnational phenomena. Afterwards, through the historical conditions which are going to be explained, scrutinizing the means of why the concept of diaspora has been superseded by transnational perspectives shall be my second concern. Thus, I hope that such an investigation will provide us with opportunities not only to reach the reconciled content of the concept and a theoretical program of the conception but also to determine, more or less, limits of its application field from which I will benefit in the section of Turkish migrants living in Berlin.

## **2.2 Historicizing What Changed**

Although migration is a phenomenon that is as old as history of mankind, why did it start to produce new social categories now? To what extent can the dynamics shaping transnational perspectives be considered as separate from new capitalist accumulation processes? These are the questions whose answers must be searched in especially recent historical transformation of capitalist global system. Let's dwell on that matter by dividing it into four different, however connected, titles. Here, by the first title "New Technological Advances" I mean the innovations taken place in technology and the use of these vehicles by migrants in constructing unique bridges between their home and host countries. Secondly the title "Global Restructuring of Capital" is related to the accumulation which is being made with application of new technological advances into production system. After this application, the global character of accumulation process was widened in an unprecedented way. As third,

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“The Rise of Racism in Developed Regions of the World” signifies absence of social and cultural durability and the feeling of insecurity which were outcomes of global economic accumulation process. As last, the title of “Changing of Nation Building Process” shows how all the three processes transform the conditions on which nation-states are based. Additionally in this part, I shall also try to underline the ways in which nation-states reproduces themselves in new bases. Now let’s explain all these titles in detail one by one.

### **2.2.1 New Technological Advances**

In the literature of transnationalism, one of the disagreements is, as I mentioned above, concerned with newness of the phenomena which are showed as the conditions in which the transnational ties emerged. The appearance of new technological advances, for many, is thought as new side of contemporary societies. (Portes and others) No doubt that the developments that took place especially in software systems, computers and transportation had an influence on all socio-political, economic characteristic of contemporary societies. However, the question whether this effect is new or not is an open dispute. There is evidence that in various ways and to different degrees dispersed populations preserved their contact with the places from where they migrated.<sup>25</sup> Thus, in real sense, establishing or continuing contacts with home country is not a phenomenon which is special to today’s technological advancement. The existence of the connections migrants had with their home country in early times was also prevalent. Many immigrants from Europe who settled in U.S in nineteen century, for example, maintained family ties, by sending both letters and money.<sup>26</sup> All these simple letters knitted together transoceanic migration networks with remarkable effectiveness.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, remittances that are sent by migrants to their home countries, and that are considered as one of the motor dynamic of the contemporary transnational process, were also important

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<sup>25</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Stanzon Blanc “From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration” in *Anthropological Quarterly* Vol.68, No.1, 1995a, p.51

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* ,p.51

<sup>27</sup> Roger Waldinger and David Fitzgerald, *op.cit.* , p.1188

characteristics of the ties migrants had before. Guarnizo, for example, says, at the turn of the twenty century, European migration to US also created large overseas market like textile, clothing.<sup>28</sup> In addition to this, the contributions of the technological inventions, such as telegraph and steamship in the appearance of such markets on historical scene are indisputable.

In spite of all these historical facts, it is pointed out that the main difference that separates contemporary technological advances from old forms are new peculiarities created by recent technological innovations. In other words, as they are used to connect small or large units, the density and frequency of the communication are much more effective than ever before. For example, in emphasizing the significance of the networks concerning the emergence of transnational ties, Vertoveç attracts attentions to the roles of technological phenomena;

*...today these systems of ties, interactions, exchange and mobility function intensively and real time while being spread throughout the world. New technologies, especially involving telecommunications, serve to connect such networks with increasing speed and efficiency.*<sup>29</sup>

As differs from old times' transnationalism, here we are facing the real time dispersion of the messages and also its effects. In his interpretation related to the role of technology in emergence of transnational process, Portes says as follows:

*[Although]... a plenty of instances of transnationalism can be found in the history of immigration, the phenomenon has been given a big push by the advent of new technologies in transportation and telecommunications which greatly facilitated rapid communication across national borders and long distances. No matter how strong the motivations of earlier immigrants to sustain ties- economic political and cultural- with their countries of origin, the means at their disposal to accomplish this goal were quite meager in comparison to those available to today's sojourners. This explains a good part, if not all, of the density and*

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<sup>28</sup> Luis Eduardo Guarnizo, "The Economics of Transnational living" in *International Migration Review* Vol.37, No.3, 2003, p.673

<sup>29</sup> Steven Vertoveç, 1999, op.cit. , p.447

*complexity achieved by contemporary immigrant transnationalism and indeed is largely responsible for its discovery as a phenomenon worth scholarly attention.*<sup>30</sup>

As it becomes clear from above, new technological advances are generally taken up as the most important factor for transnational phenomena. The application of these innovations into migrant activities resulted in long distance social, economic, political ties which were not possibly established by migrants in the past;

*Transnational enterprises did not proliferate among earlier immigrants because the technological conditions of the time did not make the communications across national borders rapid and easy. It was not possible for would-be transnational entrepreneurs to travel to Poland or Italy over the weekend and be back in their jobs in New York by Monday. Nor would it have been possible for leaders of an immigrant civic committee to keep in daily contact with the mayor of a Russian or Austrian town in order to learn how a public works project, financed with the immigrant money, was progressing. Communications were slow and, thus, many of the transnational enterprises described in today's literature could not have developed. The ready availability of the air transport, long distance telephone, fax-simile communication, and electronic mail provides the technological basis for the emergence of the transnationalism on a mass scale.*<sup>31</sup>

Although the importance of these unprecedented effects of all recent technological advances, we should not overlook the significance of the milieu with which they have dialectical relationship. To explain, new technological innovations are, no doubt, being used to produce a kind of time-space relation in order to spread market economy in global level. Transnational process requires a series of time - and space-compressing, technological innovations and their *commercial* diffusion.<sup>32</sup> Thus, the

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<sup>30</sup> Alejandro Portes, "Conclusions: Theoretical Convergences and Empirical Evidence in the Study of Immigrant Transnationalism" in *International Migration Review* Vol.37, No.3, 2003, p.875

<sup>31</sup> Alejandro Portes, Luis Eduardo Guarnizo, and Patricia Landolt, "The study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promise of An Emergent Research Field" in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.2, No.22, 1999, p.223

<sup>32</sup> Alejandro Portes, " Conclusion: Towards a New World –the Origins and Effects of Transnational Migration " in *Ethnic and Racial studies* Vol.22, No.2, 1999, p.464

transformation of space-time relationship is, by nature, including another motivation or power which is global capitalism, let alone being the spontaneous result of technological advances themselves.

Thus, we are facing restructuring of the capitalist world order, as a context in which technology is continuously commercialized. Yet, that subject deserves a different title.

### **2.2.2 Global Restructuring of Capital**

As I tried to make it clear before, since new technological opportunities have been used in the service of capitalist objectives, the new transnational processes did not emerge spontaneously just owing to technological advances. The motivation lying behind the emergence of transnational processes is directly related to the current global restructuring of capitalism. Schiller and Wimmer point out the early assumptions about transnationalism;

*The first wave of transnational studies produced a set of problematic assumptions. First, scholars tended to see communications technology- computers telephones, televisions, communication satellites, and other electronic innovations- as the motor of change. Suddenly, we could all visually experience the same war, the same concert, or the same commercial and share the information age. The power of new technology, combined with the postmodern insistence on the stability of the past and fluidity of the present, led to a rather crude technological determinism strangely contrasting with the otherwise constructivist impetus of much of this literature. This impeded discussion of the broader social and economic forces past and present, which had shaped the transnational ties that linked the globe together. In addition, the impact of past technologies which facilitated previous leaps in global integration- including the steamship, the telegraph, telephone, and radio were dismissed or forgotten<sup>33</sup>*

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<sup>33</sup> Nina Glick Schiller and Andreas Wimmer, "Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology in *International Migration Review*, Vol.37, No.3, 2003, p.596

In that critique, which is inclined towards early celebrations of transnational processes, the fundamental point seems to be the absence of historical perspective in transnational studies. Historically, capitalism is entering into a new phase in global level. This phase must be read as a main dynamic lying behind the coming into being of transnationalism.<sup>34</sup> Schiller, Basch and Blanch add in another article;

*Capitalism from its beginning has been a system of production dependent on global interconnections between the people of the world. Today we are facing a reconstitution of the structure of accumulation so that not only are profits accumulated globally, but all parts of the world have been incorporated into a single system of production, investment and communication, and distribution.*<sup>35</sup>

To look better at the ways in which current restructuring of global capitalism has led to transnationalization of migration, understanding of the application of the current technological advances into the capitalist production stands for an important point. To terminate 1970s economic crisis that stemmed, largely, from structural problems, the technological advances were utilized in industrialization processes. Technological innovations in automation, synthetic chemistry, and electronic engineering produced enormous accumulation of capital improvement in communication and transportation.<sup>36</sup> This application was so effective that it has changed the mentality of the production deeply. At the first hand, the diminishing of the transportation expenses of goods produced in different regions of the world reduced the need for the physical labor *in* developed countries with time. This was really a vital point in terms of migrants who were invited to the host country. Their physical labor in developed countries is not desired anymore and, thus, the need for them became meaningless, because new term, which opened with application of technological advances into capitalist production, was also the cause of de-

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<sup>34</sup> Since the relationship between globalism and transnationalism is a subject of another chapter in this study, it is not being detailed here.

<sup>35</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Stanzon Blanc, 1995a, *op.cit.* , p.50

<sup>36</sup> Masao Miyoshi, "A Borderless World? From Colonialism to Transnationalism and the Decline of the Nation -State" in *Critical Inquiry* Vol.19, No.4, 1993, p.734

industrialization of developed regions of the world. Investments started to be directed to outside of the developed regions where investors can find trained or trainable cheap labor forces, tax inducements, political stability and adequate infrastructure and relaxed environmental protection rules; also the absence of civil rights consciousness, underdeveloped unionism and feminism is crucial.<sup>37</sup>

*Capital is being channeled into key sectors and regions while the infrastructure of transportation, education, health services are stripped away from those countries, and sections of countries and cities, defined as superfluous to the newly defined circuits of wealth and power. Attacks on the infrastructure take the form of structural adjustment programs in debtor countries and calls for reduced taxes and public spending in capital exporting countries such as the U.S.*<sup>38</sup>

The diminishing prices for transportation and communication not only caused shifting of factories from develop regions to undeveloped countries because of the low productive power, but also created new capitalist mentality whose fundamental characteristic is *flexibility*. The fast and effective communication between producer and purchaser or customer altered the structure of capitalist production and marketing thoroughly. In this new time-space relation that has commercialized thanks to the current technological innovations, contrast to the Fordism, the production system is made according to the instant demands of purchaser. Naturally, this post-fordist production structure brought about the *flexible*, insecure working conditions. This restructuring, under post -fordism, includes policies of economic privatization, decentralization of state power, and structural adjustment that regulate but also justify peoples' exclusion from resources while shaping their expectations.<sup>39</sup>

All these factors are major in the sense of diminishing of manufactories and of rising service sector in developed countries. The destabilization of the global market

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid. , p.740

<sup>38</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Stanzon Blanc, op.cit. 1995a, p.50

<sup>39</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Stanzon Blanc, “ Transnationalism, Nation-States, and Culture”, in *Current Anthropology*, Vol.36, No.4, 1995b, p.686

naturally affected the situation of the migrants' position in developed countries. The diminishing of the demand for manual labor in developed countries due to the de-industrialization process firstly paved the way for abolishment of the full time, secure jobs. All these rights were replaced with insecure part time, low-paying jobs. Secondly, service sector jobs are generally consisting of the similar insecure working conditions on the one hand; they also necessitate some qualifications from migrants who came to work in manual sectors on the other. The only way for the migrants who are lacking of minimum qualifications for service sector was/is creating their own way to survive. In many contexts, this means the intensification of networks between migrant communities more than ever before and to be active in small scale entrepreneurial areas. For example, to Portes, these bad conditions encouraging immigrants to seek an alternative autonomous path are the fundamental reasons of immigrant transnationalism.<sup>40</sup>

Although the economic restructuring of global capitalist world order and passing onto a new term concerning the changing mentality of economic accumulation are the main factors and the motor power of the emergence of the immigrants' social political and economic transnationalism, surely it is not the last. In that context, I should mention another reason of the immigrant transnationalism- another reason which is also the direct outcome of capitalist restructuring.

### **2.2.3 Racism in Developed Regions of the World**

The new restructuring processes both destabilized exiting economic orders and created new inequalities between and within nation-states in global level.

*Capitalism is being deployed spatially and regionally in Asia, Europe and Latin America and Africa in ways that modify the relationship between these regions and the world system these developments has*

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<sup>40</sup> Alejandro Portes ,“Global Villagers: The rise of Transnational Communities” in *American Prospect*, 1996, p.1

*direct effect on local class formation and distribution of power within and between states.*<sup>41</sup>

Differing from the part of “Global Restructuring of Capital” in which I try to narrate the effects of the process in terms of the migrants who were invited to developed countries for manual labor, restructuring process has also brought about the new migration patterns dominating international area from 1980s, 1990s and on. In accordance with quotation, the new term signs new inequalities between and within nation-states. Especially, with the intensification of neo-liberal social and economic policies as result of restructuring process, the destabilization of global economy greatly contributed to the deterioration of local economic conditions, and ensuing shrinkage of opportunities. Guarnizo and Diaz explain in the context of one of the third world countries, Colombia, how finally migration became “thing to do” in detailed way:

*By mid 1995, however, sign of an unexpected economic breakdown began to intrude. Two main factors help to explain this sudden downturn... [It] was associated with after effects of Neo-Liberal reforms in the country, which included the total opening of the economy to international markets and capital, the privatization of state-owned firms, cuts in public expenditures, and the elimination of social subsidies and programmes. In the face of this new economic approach, large multinational corporations that occupied critical positions in the local and regional economy changed their business strategy. Many of them closed their plants altogether and relocated either abroad or in other regions of the country; others streamlined production, eliminating lines that were no longer competitive given the outpouring of cheaper imported goods.*<sup>42</sup>

The massive growth of indebtedness and economic retrenchment inevitably came after this neo-liberal infiltration of capital into third world countries. Those kinds of macro economic formations reflected onto mundane life of people as widespread deterioration in life standards. Experienced such conditions in their homeland,

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid. , p.686

<sup>42</sup> Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Luz Marina Diaz, “Transnational Migration: a View from Colombia” in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.22, No.2, 1999, p.400

professionals, skilled workers, unskilled workers, merchants and agricultural producers all have fled to global cities or to countries such as U.S. that still play central roles in capital accumulation.<sup>43</sup> However, the effects of restructuring process have been, quite normally, felt in developed countries as well. The new socio-economic policies have put pressure on welfare state structures in developed countries. As has been mentioned above, the de-industrialization process that materialized owing to restructuring of global capitalism diminished the need for manual workers in developed countries sharply. The heading of capital toward undeveloped regions of the world where the costs of productive power are cheap in comparison with that of developed countries, limited economic possibilities. The dissolving of new opportunities in economic sense brought along economic insecurity. The difficulties of finding full time jobs in such a *flexible* economy, the rise of unemployment not only among migrants but also natural citizens gave rise to *social insecurity*. The pressure that new neo liberal process put on the social state started many discussions which are extending from the restriction of social allowances to sending immigrants back.<sup>44</sup> The reflections of these global processes on local social and political fields showed themselves in racist way many times;

*[Once] in these countries, immigrants confront a deepening economic crises that often limits the economic possibilities and security many are able to obtain. Moreover, those sectors of the current immigrant population who find themselves radicalized as “Hispanic” “Asian” or “Black” find that even if they obtain a secure position, they face daily discrimination in the pursuit of their life activities.*<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Stanzon Blanc, 1995a, op.cit. , p.50

<sup>44</sup> For detailed account of the threats of neo liberalism to nation states and the reaction of them to this, look at Catherine Bowill and MArgeret Leppard, “Population Policies and Education: Exploring the Contradictions of Neo-liberal Globalization”, in *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, Vol.4, No.3, 2006,

<sup>45</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Stanzon Blanc, 1995a, op. cit. , p.50

## 2.2.4 Changing of Nation Building Process

Another chain of argumentations coming into being around the concept of transnationalism, stems generally from the role of nation-state in global level. The global restructuring of capital has not only caused the emergence of new political forms in terms of nation-state<sup>46</sup> but also affected their substance and import, and concomitant constructions of identity.<sup>47</sup> It is maintained that the process of globalization affects nation-states in two different ways; first, the process of vigorous penetration of global capital and culture into the domination area of<sup>48</sup> nation- states through international firms, associations and global media from *above* gets weaker them in global scene on the one hand.<sup>49</sup> Regarding that, the adjective of transnationalism, especially, in social science started to be used to draw attention to the restructuring of capital globally and the diminishing significance of national boundaries in the production and distribution of objects, ideas and people.<sup>50</sup> However, secondly, that suppression and diffusion of supra -national powers on nation-states give rise to scattered and dispersed movements in the level of locality on the other hand. The reactions becoming apparent as informal economy, ethnic nationalism, and grassroots activism are coming from *below*.<sup>51</sup> As related to both, the permeability of borders especially signaled by migration is thought by some as demise of nation-state's ability to form and discipline its subjects.<sup>52</sup> However, if mutations the nation-states has undergone in new global context are taken into consideration, it is clear enough that the idea of demise of nation-state is early and

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<sup>46</sup> Look at Trubek, D M., Mosher, J & Rothstein, J. S. "Transnationalism in the Regulation of Labor Relations: International Regimes and Transnational Advocacy Networks" in Law and Social Inquiry, 2000

<sup>47</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Stanzon Blanc, 1995b, op.cit. , p.684

<sup>48</sup> ESF Forward Look Report 2, op. cit. , p.9

<sup>49</sup> Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, op. cit. , p.1

<sup>50</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Stanzon Blanc, 1995a, op. cit. , p.49

<sup>51</sup> Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, op. cit. , p.1

<sup>52</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Stanzon Blanc, 1995a, op. cit. , p.50

haste evaluation. Even a slipshod glance would show that all capitalistic tasks are performed by nation-state such as creating capitalist subjects, governing populations who will work and accept the world of vastly increased inequalities of wealth and power, and that financial interest and transnational conglomerates continue to rely on the legitimacy and legal, fiscal, and policing structures of nation-state.<sup>53</sup>

On the other hand, as been said, it doesn't mean that nation-states haven't changed. In response to attacks of new restructuring processes of capitalism, it developed new abilities to survive. One of such strategies, for example in terms immigrant sending nations, is to perceive their expatriates as a source of investment, entrepreneurial initiatives and markets for home country companies and the vehicles of political representation abroad. In that sense many governments of sending nation- states have rushed to grant their citizens abroad dual nationality, while encouraging them to naturalize and participate politically in the receiving nation.<sup>54</sup> Luis Eduardo Guarnizo, and Luz marina Diaz observe one of the most vivid example of this in changing strategies of Colombian state. They explain through new strategies how Colombian state tries to reposition itself in new global political economy, particularly vis-à-vis United States.

*Migrants are now perceived not only as an important source of hard currency and technological innovation (in the form of foreign trained personnel), but also potential advocates of "national" interest before the US government. To strengthen migrants' ability to play a dual role as dollar generators and international advocates, the Colombian state has introduced a series of reforms and programmes, such as dual nationality in 1991; global electronic network of Colombian Scientist in 1993; and the Programme Colombian Para Todos in 1996.*<sup>55</sup>

All these efforts of immigrant sending nation-states to consolidate their own situation in new global economy make the assumptions on which the ideology of nation-state

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid. , p.50

<sup>54</sup> Alejandro Portes, 1999, op.cit. , p.467

<sup>55</sup> Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Luz Marina Diaz, op.cit. , p.398

is based, disputatious. In another words, if we think citizenship as belonging to a particular territorialized state, the situation of the immigrants abroad with dual citizenship signifies new dimensions of contemporary structure of nation-states. In their study on Haitian transnationalism, Nina Glick Schiller and Georges E. Fouron emphasize the new elements of transnational identity. The extension of citizenship rights to out-migrant consisting of legal citizens and/or legal or illegal residents of other countries, and referring to Haitian immigrants in the United States as “the tenth department” (Haiti being divided into nine geographical units known as departments) are considered new forms of transnational nation-state.<sup>56</sup>

This new form of nationalism points out de-territorialized nation-state. This means a new era in which states that can claim dispersed populations to construct themselves as de-territorialized nation states.<sup>57</sup> Although migrants are demanded to swear alliance only to the receiving state, dominant forces in labor sending states imagine their states to exist wherever their immigrants have been incorporated.<sup>58</sup>

In terms of receiving countries, we are facing with a different dilemma from which nation-state ideology suffers as well. The nation-state which was established to care for its own citizens also has to care for a migrant who is, in fact, a member of another nation-state. Although the ideology of the nation-state defines migrant as an alien or outsider, s/he is a long-term inhabitant in, and integrated part of, nation-state in which s/he lives as a worker, insured by national systems, tax-payer and also consumer.<sup>59</sup> In short, it can be said that current forms of capital accumulation,

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<sup>56</sup> Tamar Diana Wilson, “The Deterritorialization of the Nation-State, Immigrants and the Citizenship Dynamics” in *Latin American Perspectives* Vol.24, No.2, 1997, p.118 (Book Review)

<sup>57</sup> Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Stanzon Blanc, 1995, op.cit.

<sup>58</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1995a, op.cit. , p.51

<sup>59</sup> Rinus Penninx, “International Migration in Western Europe Since 1973: Developments, Mechanisms and Controls” in *International Migration Review* V.20, N.4, 1986, p.971

concomitant alterations in the formation of all classes and strata interpenetrate the political and economic processes of nation-states throughout the world.<sup>60</sup>

### **2.3 The Concept of Diaspora or Transnationalism in International Migration Studies?**

As has been mentioned above, one of the two general critiques which have been directed toward transnational literature is pertaining to the tension between the concept of diaspora and the transnationalism. With border-crossing activities becoming widespread and the changing of migratory patterns generally as outcomes of the global restructuring process, the concept of diaspora became insufficient for explaining these new immigration categories. Therefore, many thinkers tried to recover the concept by changing its content to understand new phenomena materializing in international migration. One of these efforts made to develop the meaning of the concept of diaspora belongs to the Michele Reis. In his article, he tries to modify the concept for migration studies. By using historical perspective, he talks of three different meanings that the concept has include historically;<sup>61</sup> (1) Classical Period in which the concept of diaspora is used to make reference to ancient Greeks (2) Modern period in which it signifies some groups or people emerged owing to slavery or colonization terms,(3) Late- Modern (After World War II to onwards) in which the concept of diaspora is not used anymore just to show the bad reasons of migration; rather it means some dynamics lying behind migration process such as tourism or economy. The last meaning of the diaspora stands for a rupture in historical development of the concept. Namely, the concept of diaspora, which has been used related especially to forced migration of the Jewish community, should not only be thought with the negative terms anymore.

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<sup>60</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Stanzon, op.cit. 1995a, p.52

<sup>61</sup> Michele Reis, "Theorizing Diaspora: Perspectives on "Classical" and "Contemporary" Diaspora", in *International Migration*, Vol.42, No.2, 2004

However this thesis puts a distance between itself and the ideas proposing the use the concept of the diaspora for understanding new migratory patterns. The main reason for this is that when the same conceptual tool is used, it is not clear whether a migration group, single individuals or a diaspora is meant. Thus, the more the meaning of the concept is forced, the more it becomes useless.<sup>62</sup> In that context, three fundamental comparisons between the reference points of the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism might show us the reasons of why the first one is not enough anymore in discovering new dynamics of international migration, whereas second one is more suitable for understanding contemporary formations.

First, the frameworks derived from the concept itself allow us to analyze simultaneous connections of the migrants between host and home country. Contrast to the concept of diaspora which was/is used in migration studies, the concept of transnationalism does not divide migration process into two parts, such as before migration and after migration that are broken from each other rigidly. Furthermore, it makes possible to conceptualize new transnational spaces formed by the migrants between home and host country. In that sense, the migration studies, which have, up to now, focused on people' movements, insert the circulation of symbols, signs and ideas into its field of analysis from now on.

Second the concept, as has been mentioned before shortly, broadens the dimensions of migration patterns by relating it to global capitalist restructuring process. With the rise of global capitalist restructuring process, the structural changes have first taken place in organization of international firms. Then, circulation of labor accompanying

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<sup>62</sup> The corpus and discussions pertaining to the validity of the concept of diaspora is very broad and partly outside of this thesis. However to understand the passing from the concept of diaspora to the concept of transnationalism in international migration studies as a theoretical framework, please look at Reis, M, ( 2004) *Theorizing Diaspora: Perspectives on "Classical" and "Contemporary" Diaspora* in *International Migration* Vol.42 No.2; Cohen R. (1997) *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (London: Routledge). In addition to this, a detailed analysis of the efforts made to recover the meaning of the concept of diaspora against the concept of transnationalism look at Besim Can Zırh, "Transnationalism: A New Theoretical Frame and New Analytical Tool in International Migration Studies" (Unpublished Master Thesis: 2005)

to that process has replaced the old meanings of nation –states and the national borders. To explain the phenomena emerged in this new context, there is a need for a new concept which is also operational outside of nation- state based sociology.<sup>63</sup> By widening the research area from nation-state based to transnational process, the concept gives us an opportunity to understand the micro, mundane (or not) phenomena which are direct reflections of macro global capitalist restructuring process.

Third, the concept of transnationalism, contrast to the concept of diaspora, provides us with the opportunity to examine migratory phenomena which don't contain characteristics of community formation. In other words, all border crossing activities don't result in emerging of communities in host country.<sup>64</sup> Although making sense of transnational practices and placing them into a proper perspective still requires much conceptual, methodological and empirical work<sup>65</sup> and the concept is sometimes far from signaling a common, reconciled meaning since it is often used various contexts by making reference to disparate, and time to time, conflicting theoretical accounts. Equally it is certain that it is more functional than the concept of diaspora in international migration studies. The new dimensions of the migration patterns, for example, created by technological developments such as internet and satellite makes possible the existence of new life areas outside of diasporic groups in host society. In other words, the new fashions of migrant existence spring up today in host societies today which are not necessarily direct outcomes of *forced or religious* migration.

Yet, these three are not the only reasons of the need for the concept of transnationalism or the conceptions which are produced from it. For Guarnizo and Smith, although the events and effects named as transnationalism are not new, for reasons which include globalization, process of decolonization, technological

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<sup>63</sup> Components of such sociology shall be shortly detailed later on.

<sup>64</sup> Steven Vertoveç, 1999, op. cit.

<sup>65</sup> Peggy Levitt, Josh DeWind and Steven Vertoveç, op.cit. , p.565

development, transnationalism has reached particular intensity at a global level at the end of the twentieth century; ‘intermittent spatial mobility, dense social ties, and intense exchanges fostered by transmigrants across national borders have indeed reached unprecedented levels.’<sup>66</sup>

*Time-space compressions enabled by new technologies of information and fast and cheap travel have certainly wrought important changes in lives of contemporary migrants, but they may not be enough to account for contemporary forms of transnationalism. Post-industrial economic strategies, the flexible system of accumulation and the effects of the new organization of capital in the world constitute, according to many scholars, the bedrock of various forms of transnationalism.*<sup>67</sup>

Thus, it must be accepted that despite the conceptual renovations, the concept of diaspora does not include key points in itself to grasp the intersecting and conflicting points of complex contemporary phenomena that are transforming migration into complex networks and activities. In that sense, it seems far away from revealing both new forms of migration in global level and new migrant consciousness in their mundane life.

In this chapter, I have tried to give both rough definitions of the concept of transnationalism and summary of the objections which are inclined towards it by some thinkers. In replying to these objections, I had twofold aim; describing the historical contexts in which the need for the concept of transnationalism came to the scene, and explaining main components of this context *historically*. Then, with the help of such an approach, I have emphasized the importance of new technological innovations and their application into production systems globally, new global restructuring and all influences of these phases to the functions of the nation-states sequentially. Afterwards, I sought to make it clear that in international migration literature, although the concepts of “transnationalism” and “transmigration” are used

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<sup>66</sup>Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, op.cit. , p.4

<sup>67</sup> Ralph Grillo, Bruno Riccio, Ruba Salih, “ Two Modes Of Transnationalism” URL: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/development/documents/booklet.pdf> p.7

in US and Europe generally to contextualize and define the social, economic and politic experience of the migrants,<sup>68</sup> each of them has own general understanding; in according to US based approach, transnationalism strengthens nations-states, whereas it weakens them in the Europe approach. I have highlighted newness of transnationalism by explaining the fact that while the processes that cross the borders of states are as old as states themselves, *the current restructuring of capitalism* is knitting the world together in ways that reconfigure the contemporary organization of power and identities.<sup>69</sup> Thus, the movements of contemporary migrants have differences from old forms of migration because of new dimensions of capitalism. As the restructuring process cleaves the old ways of economy and politics, it causes emerging of social, economic and cultural recent forms of being and belonging for migrants. Contrast to old migration in which migrants settled in the countries of reception,<sup>70</sup> in this “new age of migration”<sup>71</sup> migrants maintain strong connections with the sending country. In that sense, the conceptions used before to understand migratory patterns, such as assimilation, acculturation, seem to be insufficient. In this very context, the concept of diaspora, as a concept which takes its roots from this old literature of migration, falls far from clarifying new categories of migration naturally. Through a comparison between the points to which the concept of diaspora and transnationalism make reference, I intended to denote that at which points and in what ways successor is superior to predecessor.

Yet, the main lines of the transnational theory are still not clear. In subsequent chapter, I shall develop some aspects of conceptual and theoretical transnationalism to partly eliminate this unclearness. By focusing on the lines separating it from

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid. , p.4

<sup>69</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, 1997, op. cit. , p.155

<sup>70</sup> R.D. Grillo “Transnational Migration and Multiculturalism in Europe”, (Working Paper, 2001): p.7  
URL : <http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/WPTC-01-08%20Grillo.pdf>

<sup>71</sup> Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, “The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World. (McMillan, 1998)

similar concepts, I will clarify the conceptual tools from which I will benefit in following chapters.

## CHAPTER III

### TRANSNATIONALISM AS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Despite the frequent use of the transnationalism as a framework in international migration studies, talking about one single theory which is applicable to all migration phenomena seems impossible. The confusion concerned with the exact meaning of the concept of transnationalism is originating generally from smoke screen walking around the concept. Since the lines of it are not being specified enough, the concept has been used in dissimilar ways, each of which makes reference to different points. Definitional problems about the concept seem to be have hindered the development of the field.<sup>72</sup> Since the definitional borderlines of the concept are not clear, it is possible to come across the ways in which the concept is used instead of some other concepts, such as “internationalism”, “globalism”, “de-nationalism”, “supra-nationalism” and “multi-nationalism”.

To get a smoother version of the concept and avoid conceptual confusion that might emerge in the coming parts of this thesis, where the concept is used intensively, thickening the lines between the concept of transnationalism and some other concepts articulated above seems indispensable. Therefore, I shall first concern myself with the points separating the concept from others like globalism, internationalism, de-nationalism. Second, by pursuing these dissimilarities, I shall think about the limits of transnational activities. By this, I mean, the specification of what transnational activities are. Third, such an examination, after mediated by conceptual clarity, shall take me to both a clear definition of the concept and of its field of analysis. The most common discussion in the literature seems to be done on the complex relation of the concept with the globalization.

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<sup>72</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, 1997, *op. cit.* , p.155

### **3.1 What Transnationalism is not...**

As it becomes clear from discussion above, the most common ground on which many reach an agreement in connection with the definition of the concept of transnationalism is its tightly knitted relation with the globalization process. The close interconnections with the phenomena of globalization provide an origin for the conceptual definition of transnationalism on the one hand; they give rise to the blurring of the definition on the other. In many analyses on transnationalism, one can easily see this conceptual confusion. Then, to reach a more crystal form of the transnationalism, let's continue by thickening the lines between the dissimilarities of these concepts.

#### **3.1.1. On Global, International, Multinational and Supra-national**

To differentiate transnational activities from international, multinational and supranational, the way that Portes follow is to look carefully at the actors creating these relations. In that sense, international relations are the relations that are conducted by nation-states whereas multinational activities are the result of the acts of formal institutions whose purpose and interests transcend a single nation-state. Therefore, the transnational activities seem like the activities which are initiated and sustained by non-institutional actors across national borders.<sup>73</sup> In contrast Portes' typology, Bauböck puts the "national" at the base of political analysis. So, for Bauböck, international relations are the extended relations between independent states and organizations in which these states are represented by their governments. United Nations is showed here as representative example of such relations. On the other hand, Canada, Spain, Belgium or United Kingdom are signified as examples of multinationalism because of their internal relations between their historic

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<sup>73</sup> Rainer Bauböck, "Towards a Political Theory of Migrant Transnationalism" in *International Migration Studies* Vol.37, No.3, 2003, p.704

communities who enjoy substantial political autonomy. As for the supranational relations, it requires pooling sovereignty of nation-states to form a larger federal polity. After these important specifications, Bauböck shows the European Union as the only example of these kinds of relations. At last, political institutions and practices that transcend the borders of independent states are transnational if they involve simultaneous overlapping affiliations of persons to geographically separate polities: To sum up;

Table 1: Relations and Phenomena Involving Distinct Polities

	Relations between polities	Political phenomena
International	External relations between independent states	International Law and international organizations
Multinational	Several polities within an independent state	Autonomy for national minorities
Supranational	Several independent states within a larger polity	Political integration in the European Union
Transnational	Overlapping polities between independent states	External and dual citizenship for migrants

Source: Rainer Bauböck, “Towards a Political Theory of Migrant Transnationalism” in *International Migration Studies* Vol.37, No.3, 2003, p.704

To specify better the lines between these fields and their relations with globalization, we can also look at another approach. In her article, for example, Nina Glick Schiller, by quoting from Daniel Mato’s article, tries to do away with definitional problems between globalization, internationalism and transnationalism. She says that Mato defines globalization as “a long standing historical tendency toward increasing [world wide] connection”. On the other hand International relations as relations maintained between governments (or their agencies) that invoke the nation-states they are supposed to represent in the mutually supportive so-called international

system. In contrast, transnational relations take place between two or more social subjects from two or more state-nations when at least one of these subjects is not an agent of a government or inter-governmental organization.<sup>74</sup>

When we look at the definitions closely made by Mato, it is clear that the differentiation existing between international relations and transnational relations is directly in connection with the agents or subjects like Portes' account. The field of transnationalism is encompassing all complex and multi dimensional relations between social subjects creating interactions by participating to the actions from different nation-states, whereas international relations deal with the systemic interactions of nation-states. If we follow Mato's definition, then, that necessarily brings us on to seeing the globalization as a context in which international and transnational relations are taking place, since the globalization makes possible the intensive interconnections of states (international processes) on the one hand, and social agents (transnational processes) on the other hand by promoting world wide connections continuously.

In her another article which is on Haitian transnational social fields, Schiller and Georges E. Fouron make the relationship of transnationalism and globalism clearer:

*The emerging study of transnational migration is part of the trend to study transnational processes and globalization. Because these terms are being used widely but imprecisely, it is important to specify how we are using them. For us, the term globalization is best employed for the contemporary rapid and deregulated flows of capital that are restructuring patterns of investment, production, labor deployment and consumption. In the course of these economic restructuring ideas, technology, and goods and services of all sorts are moving rapidly throughout the world. Such flows can be termed 'global' in their scope and impact. In contrast, certain movements of people, ideas and objects are best defined as transnational rather than global. Contemporary transnational processes reflect globalization but are more limited in scope. Transnational political, economic, social, and cultural processes*

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<sup>74</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, 1997, op. cit. , p.156

*(1) extend beyond the borders of a particular state but are shaped by the policies and institutional practices of a particular and limited set of states; and (2) include actors that are not states.*<sup>75</sup>

We should emphasize right now that according to these definitions in connection with globalism and transnationalism, transnational field of analysis, as apart from that of internationalism which is systemic examination of interactions of nation-states, acquires a sociological characteristic. Through transnational analysis, not only the transnational identities but also the social construction of local and national identities can be grasped.<sup>76</sup> In one of her articles, she tries to sketch the area of “transnational studies” by separating them from “global studies”. For her, these are two different levels of analysis;

*In Global studies the concern is with the phenomena that affect the planet. Capitalism is now, for example, a global system that has become the context and medium of human relationships. The term globalization, accordingly, refers to periods of relatively increased unequal integration of the world through capitalist production, distribution, marketing and consumption.*<sup>77</sup>

The globalization emerges here as a context defined entirely with capitalist processes and in which all other kinds of relations between states, organizations, states and organizations, single humans and states, human and human are taking place. Therefore globalization is the level of analysis that must be taken into account in dealing with interaction of each component with other. In return to the Global studies, transnational studies...

*...highlight the process and connections across specific state borders. State actors and institutions are understood to be important participants in shaping but not limiting the social, cultural, economic, and political linkages of people. Transnational studies allow us to theorize about the*

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<sup>75</sup> Nina Glick Schiller and Georges E. Fournon, “Terrains of Blood and Nation “Haitian Transnational Social Fields” in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol.22, No.2, 1999, p.343-344

<sup>76</sup> Quoted from Daniel Mato in Nina Glick Schiller, 1997, op.cit. , p.156

<sup>77</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, 1997, op.cit. , p.156

*changing role nature of state by keeping state process und structures within our frame of analysis and yet not confining our field of study within the borders of any one state.*<sup>78</sup>

In making the definition of the transnational studies, the emphasis that Schiller makes is on the intersecting point of changing role of the state. It can thus be said that although transnationalism is conceptualized in Schiller's account as the way of including Portes' actor-oriented and Bauböck's nation-oriented, it is more than that. Rather than making the emphasis on the actors behind action, she slides it on the way of interaction in global context. If transnationalism is a product of the present conditions of global capitalism and the type of relations between labor and capital that it generates,<sup>79</sup> then, the basic task of sociology is to go beyond the "methodological nationalism"<sup>80</sup>. Contrary to methodological nationalism, only transnational level of analysis might shed light on new kind of exploitations.<sup>81</sup> Similarly, for example, after defining globalization as social, economic, cultural and demographic processes that take place within nations but also transcend them, and as "the intensification of the world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa", M. Kearney attracts attention to the "displacement" and says that globalization means a decay of displacement only from center to periphery.<sup>82</sup> Today, to get maximum profit, global capitalism creates a new kind of time-space compression. That is, deterritorialization and reterritorialization of goods and symbols cause new forms of identities and belongings many of which are

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid. , p.156

<sup>79</sup> José Itzigsohn, Carlos Dore Cabral, Esther Hernández Medina and Obed Vázquez "Mapping Dominican Transnationalism: Narrow and Broad Transnational Practices" in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol.22, No.2, 1999, p.318

<sup>80</sup> For the ways through which new sociology is defined and developed look at this article, Nina Glick Schiller and Andreas Wimmer, "Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology in *International Migration Review*, Vol.37, No.3, 2003

<sup>81</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, "Transnational Social Fields and Imperialism" in *Anthropological Theory*, Vol.5, No.4, 2005, p.439-461

<sup>82</sup> M. Kearney, "The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism" in *Annual review of Anthropology* Vol.24, 1995, p.547-565

independent from specific locality in concrete sense. The example of Haitian long distance transnationalism is one of such models.<sup>83</sup> Since the direction of the displacements is not clear today, all classifications which were established on the assumption that periphery is determined by center must be renovated. This ability of globalization to make chaotic embedded, disembedded and reembedded operations<sup>84</sup> must be taken into account in thinking on boundaries of transnational studies. In that sense, a transnational framework must go beyond the “methodological nationalism” that Schiller indicates.

After thickening the lines separating transnational from international, supra national and multinational, and specifying its relation especially with globalism, I shall now focus on the internal differences of the transnationalism.

### **3.1.2 The Types and Characteristics of Transnationalism**

Although the existence of growing interest in Transnational studies, as has been mentioned above, the confusion about what the concept exactly means still dominates the literature pertaining to content of the concept. In previous section, the efforts oriented towards the clarification of the tangible sides of the transnational activities show automatically that abstract generalization of the field and activities do not give researchers useful tools for grasping across the area. Therefore, following questions must be replied to specify the lines of the field to which transnational studies might be applied. Can we name all border-crossing activities as transnational activity? If we can, to what extent might it be useful theoretical framework to examine migration phenomena in detail? In searching for the answers of such questions, Steven Vertoveç shows some areas to be the field of transnational studies, such as transnational business networks, social movements and cyber communities.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Nina Glick Schiller and Georges E. Fouron, 1999, op.cit.

<sup>84</sup> Anthony Giddens, *Modernliğin Sonuçları* (Ayrıntı Yayınları: 1998): p.28-40

<sup>85</sup> Steven Vertoveç, “Transnational Social Formations: Towards Conceptual Cross-fertilization” Paper presented at Workshop on “Transnational Migration: Comparative perspectives” June 30 –July 1 2001, Princeton University. p.4,

Yet, he does not confine the field just to them. By giving examples of what others examine under the title of transnational studies, he adds, for instance, ethnic diasporas, world wide terrorist networks, religious organizations, globalized occupational groups such as domestic workers, seafarers, sex workers.<sup>86</sup> However, by following Vertoveç, if we take a glance at what Hannerz says about the transnational social formations, the dimensions of the field is getting automatically becoming huge. Hanner says as follow;

*...tourism, charter flight hajj and other modern pilgrimages, invisible colleagues in science, exchange students, au pair girls, foreign pen pals as part of growing up, transcontinental families, international aid bureaucracies, summer beach parties of backpacking interrail-pass-holders from all over, and among voluntary associations everything from Amnesty International to the European Association of Social Anthropologists. It is these dispersed institutions and communities, groupings of people regularly coming together and moving apart, short term relationships or patterns of fleeting encounter, which offer the contexts in which globalization occurs as the personal experiences of a great many people in networks where extremely varied meanings flow. These networks are indeed denser in some parts of the world than in others, but they are hardly now a feature only of western industrial society.*<sup>87</sup>

In very that point, we are facing with a danger rendering potential performance of the concept into ineffective. Putting the field of study like that as a way including all border-crossing activities gives rise to emerging of useless concept in terms of social science. However much, it is not possible to talk about a single theory of transnationalism on which thinkers from different areas agree, but still the general effects of the transnational migration that are felt today might, for Vertoveç, be summed up under three titles; *economic, socio-cultural, and political*. Economic aspect is very extensive. The most significant form of this is to be found in the massive flow of remittances that migrants send to the families and the communities

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URL: <http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/Vertovec2.pdf>

<sup>86</sup>Ibid. , p.4

<sup>87</sup> U.Hannerz,“the Global Ecumene As a Network of Networks” in *Conceptualizing Society*, ed. A.Kuper, (London .Routlage, 1992), p.34-56

in the sending countries.<sup>88</sup> As social and cultural impacts, they maintain intense linkages and exchanges between sending and receiving context, including marriage alliances, religious activity media and commodity consumption. For example, Turkish television programs are received among Turks across Europe through satellite and cable systems, while Muslim religious leaders circulate between Morocco and Pakistan and their respective communities in Europe. As for the political aspect of the transnational phenomena, they are especially related to the questions of dual citizenship and homeland politics.<sup>89</sup> The arguments on citizenship make, of course, the validity of some concepts disputatious, such as nation-state, national border, belonging to a nation-state. Likewise, the same typologies in a different way are considered by Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt. As differ from Vertoveç's approach, here the typologies are nearly depicted as opposite to each other. Namely, political activities of party officials, government functioners, or community leaders whose main goals are achievement of political power and influence in sending or receiving countries are, for example, considered as *versus* economic initiates of transnational entrepreneurs who mobilize their contacts across borders in search for suppliers, capital and markets. As connected to this "versus" relation, writers form a second typology of transnationalism; powerful institutions and actors such as multi-national corporations and states on the one hand, and those that are result of grassroots initiatives by immigrants and their home country counterparts on the other. For them, these activities are dubbing transnationalism "from above" and "from below"<sup>90</sup>

By the same token, similar aspects of transnationalism are also conceptualized by Itzighsohn, Cabral, Medina and Vazquez in their article on Dominican transnationalism. In addition to adding one more aspect to transnational categories

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<sup>88</sup> Steven Vertoveç, "Transnational Challenges to the New Multiculturalism", *Paper presented to the ASA Conference*, 30 March- 2 April 2001a, p.11  
URL: <http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/WPTC-2K-06%20Vertovec.pdf>

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.* , p.11

<sup>90</sup> Alejandro Portes, Luis E. Guarnizo and Patricia Landolt , *op.cit.* p. 221

like *civic –societal*, the different aspect of that article is to try to divide all aspects into two categories in themselves. In so doing, their aim is to make the field more concrete than before for empirical studies. By classifying the transnational activities in *narrow* and *broad* categories according to the principles of institutionalization, participation and movement, they seek to draw the tangible lines of transnational phenomena. To explain, narrow transnationality refers to those people involved in economic, political, social, or cultural practices that involve a regular movement within the geographic transnational field, a high level of institutionalization, or constant personal involvement, whereas broad transnationality refers to a series of material and symbolic practices in which people engage in only sporadic physical movement between the two countries, a low level of institutionalization or just occasional personal involvement.<sup>91</sup> Alternatively, a similar conceptualization to measure up the transnational involvement of migrants is formed by making reference to the concepts of *comprehensive* and *selective* transnationalism. Here, the central point is the prevalence of the transnational field with which migrant involved. The individuals whose transnational practices involve many arenas of social life are representing comprehensive transnationalist. On the other hand those who take part only in a few area of social life are the examples of selective transnationalist.<sup>92</sup> All in all, the fundamental point in these efforts is to determine better what transnational area is and who the actors of transnational fields are.

### **3.1.3 Conceptual Clarity: Transnational Migration, Transnational Social Field, Transmigrant**

Evaluation of new migration patterns and the fields entail new conceptualizations in transnational perspective. As multi-stranded social relations of migrants are coalesced with, and extended by, the existing networks between home and host country, the new type of old social forms spring up in a transnational process. For

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<sup>91</sup> José Itzigsohn, Carlos Dore Cabral, Esther Henandez Medina and Obed Vazquez, op.cit. , p.323

<sup>92</sup> Peggy Levitt, Josh DeWind and Steven Vertoveç, op.cit. , p.570

example, remaining the strong connections with the home country through the cheaper and efficient modes of communication<sup>93</sup> paves the way for new kind of immigrant types, components of which, for Alejandro Portes, are as follow:

*...dense networks across political borders created by immigrants in their quest for economic advancement and social recognition. Through these networks, an increasing numbers of people are able to live dual lives. Participants are often bilingual, move easily between different cultures, frequently maintain homes in two countries, and pursue economic, political and cultural interests that require their presence in both.*<sup>94</sup>

Differing from old theoretical frameworks which are generally based on the arguments pertaining to the incorporation or acculturation processes in host societies, new types of migrant and the places in which the migrants establish, various kinds of relations between home and host countries are being examined through new lenses. Shortly, the emergence of these conceptual tools was the result of a need for understanding of what goes on in real world.

*Our earlier conceptions of immigrants no longer suffice ... now; a new kind of migrating population is emerging, composed of those whose networks, activities and patterns of life encompass both their host and home societies. Their lives cut across national boundaries and bring two societies into a single social field ... a new conceptualization is needed in order to come to terms with the experience and consciousness of this new migrant population. We call this new conceptualization "transnationalism", and describe the new type of migrants as transmigrants.*<sup>95</sup>

The slides taken place from old immigration theories to the transnational perspectives were necessary to catch up with the changes taken place not only in

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<sup>93</sup> Steven Vertoveç, 2001a, op.cit. .p.10

<sup>94</sup> Alejandro Portes, "Immigration Theory of a New Century: Some Problems and the Opportunities", in *International Migration Review*, Vol.31, No.4 , 1997, p.812

<sup>95</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Stanzon Blanc, "Towards a definition of 'Transnationalism': Introductory Remarks and Research Questions", In Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Stanzon Blanc (Ed.) *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration* (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1992): p. ix-xiv

social, political and economic surroundings of migrants but also in the mind of them. Thus, this situation necessitates or signifies new type of migrant perforce.

*Transmigrants are immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across national borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to the more than one nation-state (Glick Schiller, et al.1992a; Bach et al. 1994). They are not sojourners because they settle and become incorporated in the economy and political institutions, localities and patterns of daily life of the country in which they reside. However, at the very same time, they are engaged elsewhere in the sense that they maintain connections, build institutions, conduct transactions, and influence local and national events in the countries from which they emigrated.<sup>96</sup>*

In comparison with the migrant who settled in the host society and established life in the boundaries of either home or host society, transmigrants act in a social field whose existence crosses national boundaries. In other words, incorporation or acculturation is not the only options standing before the transmigrants. Instead by building social, economic and political relations between nations, they problematize the matters of citizenship, and thus identity and belonging. The field in which this new type of migrant acts, forms another conceptual tool. Regarding the content of this conceptual tool, Itzigsohn, Cabral, Medina and Vazquez says as follows;

*Until recently, studies of immigrant communities were focused mainly on the process of incorporation and acculturation of immigrants, and limited to the ethnic communities they created in the host societies. The concept of transnational social fields arises to describe immigrant communities that do not delink themselves from their home country; instead they keep and nourish their linkages to their place of origin. This is not an unheard phenomenon, nor a new one, but progress in communication and transportation technologies have allowed for an increasing intensity and immediacy to those linkages. The emergence of transnational social fields challenge to the accepted boundaries in the study of political participation, social mobility and identity formation as these processes takes place across national boundaries rather than within them.<sup>97</sup>*

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<sup>96</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1995a, op. cit. , p.48

<sup>97</sup> José Itzigsohn, Carlos Dore Cabral, Esther Henandez Medina and Obed Vazquez, op.cit. , p.317

Therefore, the existence of the transnational field is one of the results of technological innovations and relevant happenings that I explained under the title of “what changed” in this study. It must be promptly said that, the idea of transnational social field is not like a liberatory rupture from territory as some, whose eyes are dazzled with vapid form of postmodernism, put forward.<sup>98</sup> On the contrary, the resources of the concept, although different forms of it are used in international migration literature, are largely stemming from Bourdieu’s<sup>99</sup> ideas which grasp social field as a space in which social relations are being structured by power.<sup>100</sup>

*Each field is relatively autonomous but structurally homologous with others. Its structure, at any given moment, is determined by the relations between the positions agents occupy in the field. A field is a dynamic concept in that a change in agents’ positions necessarily entails a change in the field structure.*<sup>101</sup>

For Bourdieu, society is the space of different fields- space whose principle is none other than the structure of the distribution of forms of power.<sup>102</sup> He says that

*The field of power is the space of the relations of force between different kinds of capital, more precisely, between the agents who possess a sufficient amount of one of the different kinds of capital to be in a position to dominate the corresponding field...*<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>98</sup>Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge): 1994

<sup>99</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Sociology in Question* (London; Sage): 1993

<sup>100</sup> Pegy Levitt and Nina Glick Schiller, “Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society” in *International Migration Review* Vol.38, No.3, 2004, p.1008

<sup>101</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *The field of Cultural Production* (Colombia University Pres: 1999)

<sup>102</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason* (Stanford University Press: Stanford, California: 1998) p.32

<sup>103</sup> Ibid. , p.34

Therefore, not to give sufficient importance to the role of the state and the fights of individuals for social positions, transnational or not, would mean forgetting the importance of power relations.

The relationship between the concepts of transmigrant and the transnational social field, and the potential advantages of the concept of transnational social field in terms of migration studies are clarified by Schiller and Fouron in an effective way in their article in which they search for the linkages of Haitian transnational social fields in US;

*Transnational migrations are a pattern of migration in which persons, although they move across national borders, settle and establish ongoing social relations in a new state, maintain ongoing social connections within the polity from which they originated. In transnational migration, persons literally live their lives across international borders such persons are best identified as “transmigrants”, that is, persons who migrate and yet maintain or establish familial, economic, religious, political or social relations in the state from which they moved, even as they also forge such relationships in the new state or states in which they settle. They live within a “transnational social field” that includes the state from which they originated and the one in which they settled. A social field can be defined as an unbounded terrain of interlocking egocentric networks. It is a more encompassing term than that of network which is best applied to chains of social relationship specific to each person. The concept “transnational social field” allows us a conceptual a methodological entry point into the investigation of broader social, economic and political process through which migration populations are embedded in more than one society and to which they react. Because it focuses our attention on human interaction and situation of personal social relationship, the concept of social field facilitates an analysis of the process by which immigrants continue to be part of the fabric of daily life in their home state including its political process.<sup>104</sup>*

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<sup>104</sup> Nina Glick Schiller and Georges E. Fouron, 1999, op. cit. , p.344

### 3.2 Transnationalism as Power Relations

All these effects of “new age migration” patterns on global level seem to be the reasons lying behind the need for a new conceptual tools and a theory in international migration studies. In the light of these discussions, the broad definition of transnationalism might be made like that;

*[transnationalism]” as the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders...An essential element is the multiplicity of involvements that transmigrant sustain in both and the host societies. We are still groping for a language to describe these social locations.<sup>105</sup>*

With the help of the definition above, Basch, Schiller, Szanton specify the concept and their opinions about it in details in such a way: (1) Transnational migration is inextricably linked to the changing conditions of global capitalism and must be analyzed within the context of global relations between capital and labour. (2) Transnationalism is a process by which migrants, through their daily activities and social, economic, and political relations, create social fields that cross national boundaries.(3) Bounded social science concepts that conflate physical location, culture, and identity can limit the ability of researchers first to perceive and then to analyze the phenomenon of transnationalism (4) By living their lives across borders, transmigrants find themselves confronted with and engaged in the nation-building processes of two or more nation-states. Their identities and practices are configured by hegemonic categories, such as race and ethnicity that are deeply embedded in the nation building processes of these nation-states.<sup>106</sup> In addition to Schiller and Basch’s fixings, in other efforts, confronting with other meanings being mentioned with the

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<sup>105</sup> Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1992, op.cit. , p.6

<sup>106</sup> Quoted from Basch at. al. in Ralp Grillo, Bruno Riccio, Ruba Salih, op. cit. , p.5

concept is also possible, such as “third space”, “displacement”, “de-territorialization” and “re-territorialization”<sup>107</sup>, “double consciousness”<sup>108</sup>, “hybridity”.<sup>109</sup>

However, this thesis prefers to grasp transnational theory as a vehicle to reveal power relations existing in transnational social fields. It, therefore, prefers to situate itself away from the approaches which are ready to celebrate transnational categories as newly *liberatory* patterns. What such approaches forget in conceptualizing transnationalism as theory is basically that we live in global capitalist system.<sup>110</sup> Thus, it means all potential capitalistic contradictions, such as class-oriented, gender-based exist in transnational fields as well. What is more, such naïve expectations are not being corrected by empirical data collected in the field. Many empirical data show that symbols of race, ethnicity, and rude form of nationalism are circulated and reproduced in these fields again and again.<sup>111</sup> Thus, what should always be kept in mind is that transnational social field is the field of power relations, just as other fields of social life are. As conclusion, what must be understood by transnational perspective in the scope of this thesis is an approach to examine every kind of relations of domination being continuously reproduced by the struggles between transmigrants, institutions and states.

### 3.3 Towards a Critical Transnationalism

I shall conclude this chapter by considering the theme of *critical transnationalism* to develop my methodology which was partly formed in previous sections of this chapter. In the very that point, one can ask that what *critical transnationalism* means

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<sup>107</sup> Homi Bhabha, op.cit.

<sup>108</sup> Paul Gilroy, *Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso. 1993)

<sup>109</sup> James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997)

<sup>110</sup> I will focus on this subject in following chapters.

<sup>111</sup> For empirical data look at Nina Glick Schiller and Georges E. Fouron, “Terrains of Blood and Nation “Haitian Transnational Social Fields” in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol.22, No.2, 1999

in international migration studies. By *critical transnationalism*, I mean, a kind of transnational approach which conceptualizes transnationalism as the ways in which power relations are being structured transnationally in global and local levels mutually by the institutional or individual agents of the process due to their struggle for profit, social prestigious and examines them historically by bearing in mind basically that we are living in the era of global capitalism.<sup>112</sup>

As it becomes clear from this definition<sup>113</sup>, one of the fundamental points of critical transnationalism is the *historical perspective*. It is important because changing roles of nation-states in globalization process can only be grasped with the help of historical readings. As World system theorist say globalization is not new phenomenon.<sup>114</sup>

*Yet, it is being reconfigured today; early forms of colonization and empire had also produced patterns of migration, and hierarchies of cultural differences were constructed in 19<sup>th</sup> century in constant tension with transnational process. The development of a global economy has, however, been sustained by the existence of separate nation-states whose ability to control has rested upon the bounded hierarchies of sameness*

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<sup>112</sup> The term of critical transnationalism is not a new concept. It is used by Len Ang and Jon Stratton to emphasize the role of nation-states in global capitalism and the diversity of different formation of nation-states. By focusing on the example of Australia and Asia perspectives, they conclude that, in contrast to European modernizing and colonizing project's East and West binary opposition, there are different modernities. Yet, each of them must be understood by considering their proper interaction with dynamics and forces of global capitalism. It is the frame of critical transnationalism which enables us to think on these complex relationships. (Len Ang and Jon Stratton, "Asianing Australia: Notes toward a critical transnationalism in cultural studies" in *Cultural Studies*, Vol.10, No.1, 1996. Look at the same volume for the critique of this approach, Kuan-Hsing Chen, "Not yet the postcolonial era: "The (supper) nation-state and transnationalism of cultural studies: response to Ang and Stratton". However, the term of critical transnationalism I use here is stemming, to a large extent, from the writings of Nina Glick Schiller, Sarah J Mahler and Peggy Levitt, Josh de Wind and Steven Vertoveç, in a critical Marxist perspective. Hence, I am using this term to signify the importance of developing a transnational approach which keeps itself alive by the continual critics of existing power relations.

<sup>113</sup> Although this definition belongs to me, the components of it were taken from the paper which were prepared on the results of the conference held on transnationalism: Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Stanzon Blanc, "Transnationalism, Nation-States, and Culture", in *Current Anthropology*, Vol.36, No.4, 1995, and Peggy Levitt, Josh DeWind and Steven Vertoveç "International perspectives on Transnational Migration: An Introduction" in *International Migration Review* Vol.37, No.3, 2003

<sup>114</sup> Look especially at Immanuel Wallerstein, *World Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Duke University Press: 2004) and other books on World System Theory.

*and differences but that operated transnationally. Contemporary discussions of reconfiguration of nation-states in relationship to transnational process must be grounded global readings of history.*<sup>115</sup>

In addition to this, only global readings of history can show us how historical inequalities are being reproduced in transnational social fields.

The second fundamental base of the critical transnationalism is the *spatial perspective*. Just as the historical perspective, this is also important to understand the context in which transnationalism is realizing. As I have tried to show in the section of “what changed” in this study, current restructuring of capitalism is reconfiguring the relationships of the states, regions and individuals.

*Capitalism is being deployed spatially and regionally in Asia, Europe, Latin America, and Africa in ways that modify the relationships between these regions and the world system. These developments have a direct effect of on class formation and the distribution of power within and between states. They affect symbolic contestations and the content and potency of national and regional narratives.*<sup>116</sup>

As I indicated, it is also possible to come across some approaches in transnational studies which overemphasize local-free structure of transnational phenomena. However, putting the concrete developments in global level with their spatial effects seems to be one of the most important ways to develop a critical view with which such early descriptions pertaining to the transnationalism can be deeply criticized.

The third base of the critical transnationalism is the *contemporary restructuring of global capitalism*. As I sought to show since the beginning, the circumstances in which the transnationalism emerged did not come into being spontaneously. The restructuring of global capitalism change and alter the existing conditions from global to local and the other way around.

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<sup>115</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Stanzon Blanc, 1995b, op.cit. , p.686

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., p.686

*The social, economic and political formations taken place in transnational social fields must be analyzed in terms of current regimes of power that aim to regulate economies and discipline people. The restructuring of global capitalism under post-fordism includes policies of economic privatization, decentralization of state power, and structural adjustment that regulate and but also justify people's exclusion from resources while shaping their expectations. However, the interconnections between policies and with representations of cultural sameness and differences are often kept distinct in people's mind.*<sup>117</sup>

Here, one of the fundamental tasks of critical transnationalism is to set up links connecting these two sides to each other in theory. The *historical perspective*, *spatial perspective* and the *contemporary structuring of global capitalism* are the backbones of *critical transnationalism* which enable us to show whether existing power relations is reconfigured or reaffirmed in transnational milieus. Hence, in the analysis of transnational social fields, the *critical transnational approach* consisted of the synthesis of these three points is capable of providing us with necessary analytical bridges from global to local and vice versa.

In this chapter, I have made the lines thicker distinguishing transnationalism from other formations or process. Then, I concerned myself with types and internal muddiness of the concept. By doing so, I aimed at crystallization of the transnational perspective which I want to use in this study. The conceptual clarification was also necessary to acquire my conceptual tools with which I see transnational social fields as fields of power relations. Finally, on the ground which grasps transnational social field as field power relations, I tried to place the critical transnationalism as theoretical approach of this study.

In following chapter, as in line with the *critical transnational approach*, I shall converge myself first to the conditions of Turkish labor migration to Europe and Germany historically. By pursuing the itinerary of this migration story locally and globally, I will secondly encompass it with the emergence of contemporary transnational conditions in Germany. After giving the results of my field research, I

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid., p.686

will try to shed light on the network of power relations in transnational social fields established by Turkish migrants by using *spatial perspective* and *restructuring global capitalism*.

## CHAPTER IV

### MIGRATION TO EUROPE, GERMANY AND TRANSNATIONALIZATION OF GERMAN CONTEXT

In the debates associated with the analysis of transnational phenomena in international migration studies, it seems that the use of historical perspective is not very much in the vogue. In general, the absence of historical view brings about the sanctification of contemporary assumptions concerning existing conditions. Even worse, it can also cause the celebration of contemporary situation impetuously.<sup>118</sup> In that sense, to avoid falling into such a trap, in this chapter, I will present the historical background of Turkish labor migration to Europe and Germany sequentially. Here, understanding the conditions and expectations in Turkey, Europe and Germany at the time of migration is vital in order to develop an historical approach from which I shall benefit to examine transnationalization of German context in contemporary times. Hence, associated with the notion of transnationalization of German context, what I shall do is to rethink the effects of globalism in the context of Germany in different ways historically.

#### 4.1 Motivations for Migration in Turkey

To understand the motives of the labor migration from Turkey to Europe, we can use two different perspectives; in terms of individuals and in terms of Turkey migration policy. In many field researches which have been done up to now, it became evident that economic reasons like saving money and securing their family's future seems to

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<sup>118</sup> For an example of historical perspective in transnational studies, among others, look at Roger Rose, "Questions of Identity: Personhood and Collectivity in Transnational Migration to the United States" in *Critique of Anthropology* Vol.15, No.351,1995

be the major components for becoming migrant worker.<sup>119</sup> For that reason, most of the workers planned to work in Europe for only few years; they expected to return home afterward. In that, the dominant motive that shaped their interest in migration was the expected economic return from employment in Western Europe based on higher wages offered by European firms.<sup>120</sup> What is more, the remittances that Turkish migrants who already employed in Western Europe influenced the others decision to immigrate. Additionally, in summers, Turkish migrants coming to Turkey for summer vacation with expensive gifts and enough money to buy land or home also played one of the main roles in increasing of labor migration from Turkey to West Europe. Specifically, what should not be forgotten to tell the importance of the networks established by migrants themselves and others through which information and experiences pertaining to immigration are spreading among Turkish people. On the other hand, economic reasons were not the only motive for migration. According to the findings, migrants had also some basic social intentions, like improving their quality of life, changing the rural environment in which they live, and living in urban areas. Yet, what is particularly significant is their goal that is related to social status; most of them, not necessarily in the host society but in home society, or more properly, in their local community, wanted to acquire higher social status and prestige. That brings us on to seeing that the individual preferences of many Turks to migrate to Europe can be viewed as a human strategy for upward social and economic mobility.<sup>121</sup>

In addition to such individual motives of the labor migration, structure and the policy of Turkey at that time was, in effect, the main dynamic producing the suitable conditions for migration. Sabri Sayari, by quoting from Zolberg, defines Turkey's

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<sup>119</sup> Sabri Sayari, "Migration Policies of Sending Countries: Perspectives on the Turkish Experience", in *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol.485, 1986, p.90

<sup>120</sup> Ibid. , p.87-97

<sup>121</sup> Nermin Abadan-Unat, "East-West vs. South-North Migration: Effects Upon the Recruitment Areas of the 1960s" in *International Migration Review*, Vol.26, No.2, 1992, and, Sabri Sayari, "Migration Policies of Sending Countries: Perspectives on Turkish Experience " , in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol. 485, 1986, p87-97

migration policy as “permissive indifference” which means the absence of specific legislation to control and shape migration phenomenon.<sup>122</sup> Although the absence of specific regulations was the reality, nevertheless, Turkey’s promotion of labor migration was formed around some considerations. Actually, in terms of Turkey, it was concerned with development and modernization of the country in the long run. From the beginning, the migration was grasped by the governments as a dynamic to accelerate country’s “top-down” model of modernization.<sup>123</sup> In that sense,

*...first policy concern was to use migration as a means for alleviating the pressure on the domestic labor market. By exporting people suffering from unemployment seemed as attractive policy objective to Turkey. Second policy concern became explicit as time passed. Turkey realized the importance of the remittances of Turks employed in Europe. They were seen by governments as a strong way to cure foreign-exchange crisis of Turkish economy. Thirdly, the migrants working in the industrialized settings of western economy would acquire new skills as a result of their experiences abroad. As four, turkey policymakers believed that migration would have a favorable impact on the migrants local community through investments. Through that way, transfer of technology and machinery would materialize. Finally, directing migration towards Europe was better than to big cities in Turkey. That is to say, outward migration from Turkey was looked upon favorably by some policymakers as a means of slowing down the rush to cities in Turkey from rural areas.<sup>124</sup>*

In the end, with such individual and structural expectations, which trigger to each other many times, Turkey started to sign some treaties with European countries for sending workers.

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<sup>122</sup> Sabri Sayari, , op. cit. , p. 91

<sup>123</sup> Philip Martin, Elizabeth Midgley, Michale Teitelbaum, “Migration and Development : Focus on Turkey, in *International Migration Review*, Vol.35 No.2, 2001, p.604

<sup>124</sup> Sabri Sayari, op.cit. , p. 91-92

## 4.2 Turkish Migrants in Europe

The first labor migration process from Turkey to Europe was the part of international labor migration flow materialized from Mediterranean countries to Western Europe in 1960s. People from Mediterranean countries, such as Italy, Yugoslavia and Turkey, where there were limited job opportunities, immigrated to developed countries due to economic reasons. External migration during these times became a matter of governmental policy, frequently regulated by international bilateral agreements.<sup>125</sup> Thus, “in 1960s the government promote the export of surplus labor, in the hope that sending workers abroad from less developed parts of the country would bring the remittances and returned workers with skills acquired abroad needed for modernization”.<sup>126</sup> In that sense, this migration process can not be explained as “free choice of the migrant”. The changing direction of Turkish migration from Europe to Arab countries later on also shows of how dynamics of Turkish international labor migration were determined by regulations set by developed nation-states.<sup>127</sup>

Turkish migration to Western Europe has no colonial roots.<sup>128</sup> After post-war period, with the economic boom taken place in Europe, countries such as Holland, Belgium, Austria and (Federal) Germany started to exercise full employment policies extended vocational training, which resulted in a more facile upward mobility and in a large number of employment vacancies in the socially undesirable, tiresome and dirty jobs.<sup>129</sup> Although, at the beginning, relatively small numbers of people were involved with the migration in Turkey, the growth of Turkish labor migration occurred to

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<sup>125</sup> Nermin Abadan -Unat, “Implications of Migration on Emancipation and Pseudo-Emancipation of Turkish Women”, in *International Migration Review* Vol.11, No.1, 1977, p.31

<sup>126</sup> Philip Martin, Elizabeth Midgley, Michale Teitelbaum, op. cit. , p.596

<sup>127</sup> Rinus Penninx, “Critical Review of Theory and Practice: The Case of Turkey” in *International Migration Review* Vol.16, No.4, 1982, p.785

<sup>128</sup> Betigül Ercan Argun, *Turkey in Germany: The Transnational Sphere of Deutschkei*, (Routledge New York & London 2003) p.xii

<sup>129</sup> Nermin Abadan-Unat, 1977, op.cit., p. 31

western countries between 1963 and 1966. In these four years, through the intercession of the Turkish Employment Service a total around 180, 000 workers left the country for West Germany, Belgium, Holland and Austria. However, the figure of the workers must have been higher than this, because Turkish Employment Service was not the only way, to immigrate; many went to these countries and got the right to legalize their situations there easily. In these first years of the Turkish labor migration to Europe, the composition of migrants, in contrast to that of next migrants, generally consisted of skilled workers.<sup>130</sup>

The real flow of Turkish migrants to Europe came out in the period between 1968 and 1973 through the intermediary of Turkish Employment Service, approximately 525.000 Turkish workers were sent to Western Europe, 80 percent of them migrating to West Germany.<sup>131</sup>

Here, there are some changes concerning the composition of the migrants. First, the proportion of women workers from Turkey in total increased. Although other West European countries recruited especially men, during that time, almost a quarter of all the workers who were legally recruited for Germany consisted of women. Second, West Germany especially was interested in qualified Turkish workers, whereas the Netherlands only recruited unskilled workers. At the end of this period containing massive migration of labor to Western Europe, the stocks of Turkish workers had greatly increased. By the middle of the 1974, Germany employed 600, 000 Turkish workers, Holland employed about 30.000 Turkish workers, and Austria and Switzerland, Belgium and France also employed thousands of Turkish workers, the total number of legally employed Turkish workers amounting to over 700.000 in 1974.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid. , p. 31

<sup>131</sup> Rinus Penninx, 1982 op.cit. ,p.786

<sup>132</sup> Ibid. ,p.787

However the labor migration, in pursuing years, continued in different forms as well. One of such forms was the family reunification. Especially, Germany is the country in which it firstly became evident that labor migration leads to migration of members of the family. A similar development took place in Holland later on. In 1964 the proportion of married Turkish men workers in total was 56 percent and only less than a third had their families in Germany. In 1972, the percentages in the case of married men were 86 percent and of whom 46 percent lived in Germany. These comparison shows that increased family reunification led to one million residents of Turkish nationality only living in West Germany in 1974 about 600.000 of whom were workers.<sup>133</sup> During the first four months of the 1975 almost 75 percent of the passengers on chartered flights for migrant workers were 0-16 age group.<sup>134</sup> As these figures indicate, family reunification process has deeply changed the structure of the Turkish migrant workers abroad.

In 1973, because of the oil crisis, European countries proclaimed a halt to the recruitment of migrant workers. The period of limited growth and stagnation emerged due to oil crisis affected almost all European countries except for Switzerland, Norway and Luxembourg. Despite the major differences, the general tendency at that time was restrictionism in immigration policies of immigration countries.<sup>135</sup> Although, afterwards, Turkish labor migration went on to the countries, such as Austria, Switzerland and France, the bulk of it was very limited. In that, this was the end of Turkish labor migration from Turkey to Western Europe. After that, the flow of Turkish labor migration headed towards some Arab countries like Libya and Saudi Arabia where greatest demand was constituted.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid. , p.787

<sup>134</sup> Nermin Abadan Unat, Educational Problems of Turkish Migrants Children, in *International Review of Education* Vol.21, No.3, 1975, p.312

<sup>135</sup> Rinus Penninx, “International Migration in Western Europe Since 1973: Developments, Mechanisms and Controls” in *International Migration Review*, Vol.20, No.4, 1986, p. 951, 952

<sup>136</sup>Rinus Penninx, 1982, op.cit. , p.789

However still, the recruitment halt that European countries proclaimed in 1973 just after oil crises meant the end of labor migration; it did not stop the migration flow wholly. As I mentioned, family reunification that had already started before the recruitment halt continued from 1974 to 1980 and caused the emergence of new characterizations of Turkish migration in Europe such as increasing migration of non-actives, decrease of return migration and increasing of population because of increasing birth rate.<sup>137</sup> <sup>138</sup> In 1990, the Turkish migrant population in Europe was about 3 038 215.<sup>139</sup>

In the countries of European Union, there are approximately 3.800.000 Turkish migrants today, 1.300.000 of whom became the citizen of the countries in which they live.<sup>140</sup> Among others, the relationship between Turkey and Germany concerning migrant workers has unique characteristics in many ways.

#### **4.3 Turkish Migrants in Germany**

As has been said, the flow of workers from Turkey to Western Europe started in early 1960s. This migration process was initiated by the West German government and West German employers.<sup>141</sup> As in many European countries, in Germany the Economic Miracle, after Second World War, produced incredible demand for labor. Before developing official Gastarbaiter/guest worker policy, firstly “some eight million German refugees forced to move from the territories of the 1937 German Reich and Eastern Europe into the Federal Republic formed ‘surplus labor’ to fill the need. These were supplemented by approximately three million Germans fleeing the German Democratic Republic during 1950s. The erection of Berlin Wall in 1961

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., p.789

<sup>138</sup> Another dynamic in increasing of Turkish migration into Europe is asylums and it will be taken up in following part.

<sup>139</sup> This shows those who are Turkish citizen. Parliamentary Assembly “Council of Europe”, “ The situation of Turkish migrant workers in Europe”  
URL: <http://assembly.coe.int/Documents/WorkingDocs/Doc04/EDOC10358.htm>

<sup>140</sup> Reportage with Faruk Şen in Turkish Time, URL: [http://www.turkishtime.org/30/20\\_3\\_tr.asp](http://www.turkishtime.org/30/20_3_tr.asp)

<sup>141</sup> Sabri Sayari op.cit., p.87-97

resulted in stopping of this important flow of workers and economic needs compelled the government to recruit additional labor.”<sup>142</sup> Everyone involved this process, from domestic workers to political parties, realized that economic interests were motivating recruiting workers and it was generally agreed that permanent immigration was not a goal. Subsequently, what is now known as Guest Worker System was constructed by executive, largely without public debate.<sup>143</sup> The labor migration policy of Germany was the “rotation model” (“rotationsprinzip”) which means the complete regulation of foreign labor accordingly the needs of the market.<sup>144</sup> Hence, foreign labor was thought only as an economic workforce who you can send back when it is not in demand anymore, the social factors were not considered.<sup>145</sup>

To meet the work force need, Germany signed a series of recruitment treaties with Mediterranean countries and four hundred recruitment offices established within sending nations to locate laborers.<sup>146</sup> Germany and Turkey signed two treaties in 1961 and 1964 in such a context.

Although the recruitment started in 1961, the growth of the Turkish population in Germany took place in five year period between 1968 and 1973. “Labor migration reached its height, 1973, the year when the recruitment ended. Owing to the additional migration of family members, the Turks had in 1971 become the largest migrant worker nationality in Germany, when their number first surpassed Yugoslavs and Italians. In fifteen year, from 1967 to 1982, Turkish population in Germany grew

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<sup>142</sup> Wesley D. Chapin, “The Turkish Diaspora in Germany” in *Diaspora* Vol.5, No.2, 1996

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Mehmet Okyayuz, *Federal Almanya'nın Yabancılar Politikası* (Doruk yayınları;1999): p.32

<sup>145</sup> Ibid. , p.32

<sup>146</sup> Quoted from Schmidt and Zimmerman, in Wesley D. Chapin, op. cit.

to over one and a half million.”<sup>147</sup> It must be added that the rise of the Turkish population in Germany stemmed also from asylum seekers. From 1979 to 1994, significant percent from Turkey<sup>148</sup> entered Germany as asylum seekers. Until 2001, 370.000 Turkish citizens have applied for asylum in Germany, first, in connection with the 1980 military coup in Turkey, and, in particular since the late 1980s, in connection with the Kurdish conflict in southeast Turkey.<sup>149</sup>

Table 2. Turkish Asylum Applications, 1979–94

1979	18,044	1983	1,548	1987	11,426	1991	23,877
1980	57,913	1984	4,180	1988	14,873	1992	28,327
1981	6,302	1985	7,528	1989	20,020	1993	19,104
1982	3,688	1986	8,693	1990	22,082	1994	19,000

Source: Wesley D. Chapin, op. cit., p. 2

By this time, in Germany, discussions about the integration of Turkish migrants had already started. The two main themes around which the discussions were formed were that less hope for integration because of cultural differences and that Germany was, de facto, becoming an immigration country. In 1983, as one of the result of these discussions, the Kohl Government passed the so-called Voluntary Repatriation Encouragement Act which offered migrants financial incentives, 10.500 Marks per adult and 1.500 Marks per child, to return home.<sup>150</sup> Despite its limited effect, by mid-1984, 250.000 migrants, most of whom were Turks, turned back to their home countries. However, the rise of Turkish migrants’ population continued later on. From the proclamation of the recruitment halt in 1973 to 1994 the number Turkish migrants in Germany reached to slightly over 2 million. A migration story, which

<sup>147</sup> Ali Gitmez, Czarina Wilpert, “A Micro Society and an Ethnic Community? Social Organization and Ethnicity amongst Turkish Migrants in Berlin, in eds. John Rex, Daniele Joly, Czarina Wilpert “Immigrants Associations in Europe”,1987, p.89

<sup>148</sup> There is no any certain information to speak about how many of the applicants Turkish or Kurdish was.

<sup>149</sup> Eva Östergaard-Nielsen, *Transnational Politics: Turks and Kurds in Germany* (Routledge: 2003)

<sup>150</sup> Faruk Şen, The Turkish Diaspora in Germany URL: [http://www.qantara.de/webcom/show\\_article.php/ c-478/ nr-171/i.html?PHPSESSID=5](http://www.qantara.de/webcom/show_article.php/ c-478/ nr-171/i.html?PHPSESSID=5)

started first with the visit of few young Turks to West Germany as practical workers to learn trades at the end of the 1950s,<sup>151</sup> has acquired unpredictable characteristics; among the European countries, Germany is the one in which largest Turkish migrant population, 2.6 or 2.7 million live today.<sup>152</sup>

Essentially, the rise of the number of Turkish migrants in Germany in such a way that, and the way German governments have approached Turkish migrants are phenomena whose reasons should be searched for in the history of this migration process. According to Wesley D. Chapin, the effect of these dynamics must be taken into account, if the conditions in which permanent migration emerged want to be understood: At first, not only Germany but also all of the European countries which recruited migrant workers temporarily did not consider the probability of turning it into permanent likely. One of the most important reasons for this was their experiences pertaining to the immigration from Europe to United States in early nineteenth and early twenty century. Approximately 25 percent of those who migrated to United States from Europe in the 1870s returned home. Of those from the 1890s, 45 percent returned home. Some 66 percent of all migrants to Brazil came back to home. Between 1907 and the outbreak of the first world war, 20 percent of German, 33 percent of Portuguese and poles, nearly 42 percent of south Italians, and about 48 percent of English and north Italians returned home.<sup>153</sup> Having such experiences concerning migration, Germany, like other European countries, could not develop a proper migration policy. In addition to this, another factor impeding Turkish return rates lies in the treaties signed between Germany and Turkey. In these treaties one year work permits were initially given to them. In 1965, the Foreign Act made the entrance and tenure of all foreigners dependent on the interest of the Federal Republic. EU workers, in contrast, could make direct arrangements with a

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<sup>151</sup> Rinus Penninx, 1982, *op.cit.* , p.785

<sup>152</sup> Faruk Şen, *op.cit.*

<sup>153</sup> Quoted from Moch in Wesley D. Chapin, *op. cit.*

German labor exchange office and were not subject to restrictions or other conditions when obtaining employment. The result of the differentiation was that more EU workers rotated in and out of Germany, while many Turkish workers feared that home for too long would jeopardize their work and residence permits. Not surprisingly, between 1961 and 1976, nine of every ten Italians returned home, while only three of every ten Turks returned. As third, there is correlation between the time a guest worker spends in Germany and his or her intention of remaining. This time drove many to make decision to live in Germany. As fourth, instead of developing a migration policy, what successive governments have done was to proclaim that Germany is not country of immigration. In doing so, in effect, they assumed that guest workers short run orientations and market forces would regulate the number of foreigners. Yet, it did not work. Chapin shows the “boomerang effect” as the fifth reason; it was expected that economic downturns emerged by virtue of 1973 oil crisis and the recruitment halt would reduce the number guest workers in the country. This slowed entering of more guest workers to Germany. Yet, conversely, it created strong incentives for guest workers already in the country to remain there. Few workers wished to return to their homelands to search for jobs where job opportunities were scarcer due to oil crisis. What is more, despite the scarcity of job opportunities, if a Turkish migrant did go out of Germany, the chance for him or her to get back to Germany would be so limited because of the Foreign Act that I mentioned above. As an outcome of these circumstances, instead shrinking after the oil crisis, the Turkish population actually grew.<sup>154</sup> We can also talk about some other reasons as well. As Faruk Şen, who is the director of the Center for Turkish Studies at the University of Duisburg-Essen, says, the reluctance of employers concerning rotation model of the migrant workers was one of the reasons. They don’t want to change skilled migrant workers with unskilled ones and with this approach encouraged them to stay.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Wesley D. Chapin, *op. cit.*

<sup>155</sup> Faruk Şen, *op. cit.*

In addition to such reasons, the role of the family reunification in turning temporary migrant into permanent settlers in the context of Germany must be emphasized. With the first flow of migration, many Turkish migrants realized that they would not achieve their savings goal within time planned and they decided to stay for longer periods.<sup>156</sup> Later on, the changing of the Children Allowance program in a way of paying for children on the condition that they live only in boundaries of the country created a motivation to bring children and spouse remaining family members to Germany. Thus, the family reunification process that transformed the situation of the migration into another phase started in such a way that, 53 percent immigrated in the course of family reunification and 17 percent of the adult Turkish population was born in Germany today, there are almost as many Turkish women as men in Germany.<sup>157</sup> All those bring us on to a point where we face neither a kind of migrant who is migrant in old sense nor the citizen of the host country.

#### **4.4 The Conditions in Germany: Transnationalization of German Context**

As has been explained in the first chapter, transnational processes must be understood by taking its relation with globalization into consideration. In that, the symptoms of globalization and the ways in which its effects have been felt in Germany are analytic pathways in understanding appearing of transnational connections of Turkish migrants.

To remind, the most important element among others that I have put as dynamics paving the way for emergence of transnationalism in a specific context is the “global restructuring of capitalism”. Germany is the country, like many, whose economic, social and political life has been deeply influenced because of the global restructuring of capitalism. The idea of creating a single market economy in macro

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<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

level has been fuelled with the enforcement of new technological advances into production systems. Technological innovations in automation, synthetic chemistry, and electronic engineering produced enormous accumulation of capital and the investment this accumulation into technological areas created new advantages for communication and cheap transportation. The process was the same for Germany; the economic stagnation causing the proclamation of recruitment halt was tried to be solved by putting technological advances into industrialization processes. This process has caused, first, the diminishing of physical labor in industry and, second, the rise of the service sector sharply. What these two were indications of the “de-industrialization” in Germany. Thanks to the new time-space relationship created by the real time dispersion of the messages in the world, and the cheap transportation systems, the capital investments started to be made outside of Germany, generally in the third world countries where the lowest cost of production, cheap labor and low taxations exist. With intensive penetration of foreign capital into economy and political process of third world countries, the deterioration of life standards has cropped up. Altogether made developed countries and global cities where capital accumulation is still vivid more attractive than before in the eyes of those living in peripheral countries. Therefore, like other developed countries, Germany also became one of few favorite places for skilled, un-skilled, professional migrants. However, the structuring of global capitalism made its presence in Germany negatively as well. With the direction of investments into peripheral countries, full-employment policies started to loose blood in Germany. Especially, the “reunification of the East and West Germany” (*Wiedervereinigung*) brought with many economic problems. Although it was thought to be the commencement of new “economic miracle” (*Wirtschaftswunder*), on the contrary, half of the female labor force and one third of the male labor force lost their jobs.<sup>158</sup> The diminishing of need for, particularly, unskilled labor because of neo-liberal privatization operations and the pressure of the reunification constituted the conditions in which “structural unemployment” emerged as a phenomenon. As it might be guessed, the first place

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<sup>158</sup> Lutz Niethammer, “The Structure and the Restructuring of German Working Classes After 1945 and 1990” in *Oral History Review* Vol.21, No.2, 1993, p.10

where the effects of such arrangements are being discussed vividly became the welfare state and its services. Policymakers are often confronted with short-run problems on local housing markets and fear of fraudulent use of social security system and public goods.<sup>159</sup> On the other hand, in such a context, the conception of citizenship and voting rights started also to be problematic, since, particularly, Germany is a country in which nationality is normally obtained upon being born from two parents of German nationality. This practice, *ius sanguinis*, can be traced to the early-nineteen century, when Prussian nationalism evoked a change from *ius solis*, citizenship determined by birthplace.<sup>160</sup> Apart from the various effects this have had on the preceding conceptualization of national citizenship allegiance,<sup>161</sup> one of the interesting phenomena that it caused in internal politics, basically, was the coming to the scene of a working class whose members are deprived of voting rights.<sup>162</sup>

All in all, the discussions about the social welfare help like housing, child care and jobs were/have been considered with the necessity for shrinking the welfare allocations. Subsequently, influences of all these events have reflected on social and political life as the rise of nationalism, or even, racism in Germany. Those who lost their jobs due to reunification process together with younger people, for example, became the center of male gang culture that is provoking the establishments in Germany's eastern and western states with the Nazi symbols and Ku Klux Klan style terrorism against immigrant minorities.<sup>163</sup> The larger population does not take part, but increasingly sympathizes with these kinds of actions.<sup>164</sup> However, this racist

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<sup>159</sup> Klaus F Zimmerman, "Tackling the European Migration Problem" in *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol.9, No.2, 1995, p.48

<sup>160</sup> Wesley D. Chapin, op. cit.

<sup>161</sup> By this, I mean, the wounding of the assumption that one has allegiance to only one nation-state by the dual citizenship.

<sup>162</sup> For a attractive discussion concerning the transformations of German working class, look at Lutz Niethammer, "The Structure and the Restructuring of German Working Classes After 1945 and 1990" in *Oral History Review* Vol.21, No.2, 1993

<sup>163</sup> Such attacks on immigrants are sometimes serious. Only in the time of my stay, 6 months, in Berlin several racist attacks took place, like beating a deputy who has Turkish descent.

process is not one-way; it causes the use of similar prejudices by immigrant groups against Germans at the same time. As connected with this, it has often been suggested by many that such approaches always radicalize immigrants even if they are successful in economic terms because economic achievement does not bring together with social integration.

My principal aim in this chapter has been to put the historical perspective into practice in examining the conditions of labor migration from Turkey to Europe and Germany. I began with the structural reasons motivating the migration and the expectations of governments from this migration at that time in Turkey. Thus, I highlighted that international migration taken place from Turkey to Europe and Germany can not be explained by personal choice; on the contrary its reasons were highly structural. Therefore, I implicitly maintained that the economic inequalities between regions were the motor cause lying behind labor migration from Turkey to Europe and Germany. Lastly, the reflections of globalism onto German context were in my interest area. I emphasized such reflections in order to draw attention to the sharpened internal inequalities effecting not only migrants but also all members of lower class in Germany. Here, what I wanted to do is to show that power relations internally, externally and locally, globally are the main features of transnational process.

In pursuing chapter, in the light of such a historical transnational perspective, by focusing on socio-economic status, gender and generation, I shall try to illuminate the power relations which are emerging in transnational social fields being established by Turkish migrants living in Berlin.

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<sup>164</sup> Lutz Niethammer, *op.cit.* ,p.17

## **CHAPTER V**

### **TRANSNATIONALISM AMONG TURKISH MIGRANTS LIVING IN BERLIN**

The formation of transnational social fields between two or more countries is neither spontaneous nor planned process. In that, transnational phenomena between Germany and Turkey are not the envisaged project beforehand. However, the role of Germany and Turkey as nation-states comes as the first among the reasons for emerging of such fields. In that sense, I shall start with appearing of transnational social fields in which economic goods and socio-political discourse are being circulated between Germany and Turkey. I shall then dwell particularly on Turkish migrants living in Berlin in terms of socio-economic status, gender and generation. I aim at getting a sense of how differently they participate and what they get by participating in the transnational social fields established between Berlin and their locality in Turkey. In last section of this chapter, I shall make an analysis of this data by using a transnational perspective which emphasizes the role of power relations in these fields.

#### **5.1 The Construction of Transnational Social Fields between Turkey and Germany**

Betigül Ercan Argun indicates, in following days of the capturing of Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of PKK, a Kurdish ethno-nationalist organization which is active generally in Turkey, in 16 February in 1999, world has witnessed many protests taken place in different parts of Europe generally, of Germany particularly at the same time. Protesters organized sit-in demonstrations, expressed their frustration to media, and engaged in clash with the police. Berlin's police could not prevent three

Kurdish protesters from getting shot and killed by the Israeli consular guards.<sup>165</sup> Two countries, German and Turkish governments, felt uncomfortable about the events. Germany did not want to be a scene of the conflicts whose roots in another nation-state. In terms of Turkey, the dimensions of the events were more striking just because they stood for the uncovering of an internal problem in a transnational sphere.

What became clear in the wake of these events is that although they are strictly political-oriented, we are observing a new socio-political and economic phase of the Turkish migration process in the German context, since the return migration, contrary to predictions, did not come true. More than this, Turkish migrants, who became permanent residents, established socio-political and economic bridges with Turkey, thus, return migration from Europe to Turkey is now being replaced with the *de facto* or *de jure* permanent settlement and transmigration the back and forth movement between sending and receiving countries takes place on a more or less continuous basis.<sup>166</sup> The way the contemporary Turkish migrants interact with Turkey can not be explained anymore by making reference to the old immigration conceptions grasping immigrants' fate as either assimilation or integration. Even a short observation that you can make while walking on the streets of many German cities show you that there is a new kind of interaction between these migrants and Turkey which includes social, economic and political ties.

The increasing size of Turkish migrant's entrepreneurial actives has an important place in German economy today.<sup>167</sup> The developing of such market in Germany is increasingly seen as opportunity in Turkey as well. The goods imported from Turkey

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<sup>165</sup> Betigül Ercan Argun, op. cit.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid. , p.58

<sup>167</sup> For the volume and development of this market look at Antoine Pécoud, "Weltoffenheit schafft jobs' Turkish Entrepreneurship and Multiculturalism in Berlin"  
URL: <http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/WPTC-01-19%20Pecoud.pdf>

are sold through this market. On the other hand, the intensification of continual contacts between Turkey and Germany causes the emergence of new firms for transportation and communication. Today, there are many firms which invite famous Turkish singers to Germany and organize concerts. In addition to this, many Turkish associations in Germany have members who live in Turkey. Especially, getting cheaper of flight tickets made it easy to be in contact with Turkey. Therefore, establishing a life which is lived in two places, Germany and Turkey, is not inconceivable anymore.

The establishing of such life strategies between Germany and Turkey naturally creates some fields which go beyond the boundaries of two nation-states and crossing them. In such transnational social fields established between Turkey and Germany, migrant subjects act to get a share economically, socially or/and politically. Berlin, no doubt, is one of the German cities where such transnational social fields were/are being established day by day.

## **5.2 The Context of Berlin**

Let alone the occupation of Döner and Kebab saloons, a short tour would be enough in the Bolu Market which is in the crossing point of Kopf street and Herman Street in Neukölln to make it clear that you don't have to go to Turkey to buy specific Turkish goods like Şalgam or a jar of pickle that stand for traditional Turkish taste. In short, some parts of Berlin, like Kreuzberg, Neukölln, Wedding and Schöneberg are replete with such places where Turkish symbols, and goods from Turkey, are circulating densely.

Even a normal day while walking on the streets of some parts of Berlin, meeting a poster of coming concert of a Turkish singer is not coincidence but ordinary. In such parts of Berlin, it is easier to see how the multicultural integration policy of Berlin opens new channels for a transnational market which has ethnic characteristics.

Berlin was among West German cities to which massive international migration directed. In 1965, there were less than 3000 Turks in Berlin, not so much later, at the end of pursuing four years, the number of Turkish migrants reached 24.000. Turkish migrants, from the beginning, have been largest fraction of the foreign workers and their numbers grew to over 79.000 in 1973.<sup>168</sup> In comparison to other industrialized German cities, Berlin attracts attention as the city where needs was high demand for women workers during labor migration. In 1973, 40 percent of the Turkish nationals employed in this city were women, if we look at results of the field researches made in Berlin before, especially those which were made by A. Kudat in 1974 and 1975.

Today,<sup>169</sup> Berlin is the largest city of Germany in terms of population. Its population in total is 3.34 millions, 13.9 percent of which is constituted by non-Germans.<sup>170</sup> Turkish migrants are the highest population among foreigners in Berlin; 116,665. In Berlin, between the districts, the density of the non-Germans is quite different. It is 3, 4 percent in some districts whereas in others, like Friedrichshain and Kreuzberg, it might goes over 20 percent.<sup>171</sup> Thus, Berlin is important place in sense of the existing links with Turkey. To understand the dynamics and structure of the transnational social fields in which social, economic and political conflicts are being materialized; Berlin is just one of the right places to focus. I will now try to give a detailed elaboration of transnational process which connects Berlin to many localities of Turkey.

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<sup>168</sup> Ali Gitmez, Czarina Wilpert, op. Cit. , p.90

<sup>169</sup> Statistics belongs to 2006

<sup>170</sup> Here, the division is made according to having German passport or not.

<sup>171</sup> Zuwanderer in Berlin nach Staatsangehörigkeit (2006)  
URL: [http://www.berlin.de/lb/intmig/statistik/demografie/einwohner\\_staatsangehoerigkeit.html](http://www.berlin.de/lb/intmig/statistik/demografie/einwohner_staatsangehoerigkeit.html)

### **5.3 Towards a Wider Understanding of the Transnational Processes in the Context of Berlin**

The following three sections present results from the fieldwork in Berlin realized by myself from April to September in 2006. As I indicated in the introduction part, qualitative research was conducted with 30 Turkish migrants living in Berlin. All of my interviewees were alone during the interviews. With those who were not alone during interview, I made the interview second time. I used semi-structured schedule for in-depth interviews. In choosing Berlin for the field research, although personal obligations played partly a role, the main reason was the heterogeneous composition of Turkish migrants such as refugees, workers, students. Thus, forming a sample from such a heterogeneous composition seemed to me more valuable than any place in Germany. Another factor which is at least as important as this heterogeneous composition was the multicultural politics of Berlin municipality. The almost official acceptance of Multiculturalism as integration policy concerning immigrants seems to facilitate the construction of transnational social fields more than any city in Germany. In the field research, I paid attention to collecting my data from various socio-economic status, generations and different genders among Turkish migrants living in Berlin in line with my research goals as much as I could. In classifying my interviewees in terms of socio-economic status, I tried to take the note of subjective perceptions and objective conditions. This is to say, I paid attention to their socio-economic perception about themselves, yet more than this, their jobs and whether they take unemployment help from government. Since my personal network was weak, I have chosen my interviewees randomly through snowball technique. I also found some of them by visiting spontaneously cafés or associations where Turkish migrants come together.

These following sections focus on the daily life of Turkish migrants in Berlin. Obviously, the aim is to explore and discuss to what extent they are part of transnational processes established between Turkey and Germany, and thereby to get some clues about the transnational lifestyles of them. The research was designed to

focus on three dimensions; gender, socio-economic status and generation. In doing so, I aimed at understanding how these dynamics are effective in the formation of different transnational life-frames.<sup>172</sup>

### 5.3.1 Transnationalism in terms of Socio-Economic Status

In labor migration to Europe in general and Germany in particular, the proportion of skilled workers is almost 35 percent in total labor migration.<sup>173</sup> Thus, one of three was skilled workers and artisans who had been employed in major Turkish cities such as Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. In later phases of the migration process, there was a notable change<sup>174</sup> in the social composition of the Turks who joined migratory waves.<sup>175</sup> With the increase of asylum seekers, in following phases of the migration, the composition of Turkish migrants in Europe diversified.

The same thing can be said for Turkish migrants in Berlin as well. As for today, it seems that grouping their class structure in one or two categories is not possible. As connected with, for example, the background of, and motives for, the migration, the class composition changes. In the field research, what became clear is the reflection of the socio economic status' compositions on the sort of transnational linkages established with Turkey. The types of the transnational social, political and economic connections are highly influenced by socio-cultural and economic capitals of migrants.

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<sup>172</sup> The contributions of the writings of Sarah J. Mahler to the formation of my curiosity about the roles of socio-economic status, gender and generation in transnational social fields are undeniable. In addition to this, I have also benefited to a large extent from her in preparing my field research. For one of her article which is like a guideline for transnational studies, look at Sarah J. Mahler, "Theoretical and Empirical Contributions toward a Research Agenda for Transnationalism. In Michael Peter Smith and Luis Eduardo Guranizo (Ed.) *Transnationalism from Below*.

<sup>173</sup> Mehmet Okyayuz, op. cit. ,

<sup>174</sup> Ayşe Kudat, "Structural Change in the Migrant Turkish Family" In R.E Krane (Ed.) *Manpower Mobility Across Cultural Boundaries*, 1975, p.80

<sup>175</sup> Sabri Sayari, op. cit. , p.88-89

In examining whether Turkish migrants from different socio-economic status participate in similar or different transnational activities, the position of those who are involved in transnational entrepreneurial activities marks a meaningful point. By transnational entrepreneurs, I mean here, by following Portes, Guarnizo, and Haller, self-employed immigrants whose business activities require frequent travel abroad and who depend for the success of their firms on their contacts and associates in another country, primarily their country of origin.<sup>176</sup> In Berlin, the entrepreneurial activities of Turkish migrants seem to be one of the most important transnational social fields between Turkey and Germany. In that, it can be said that Turkish migrants who are involved in entrepreneurial activities participate in a transnational economic activities denser than other Turkish migrants do.

*We are two partners in this café. Since both of us are from Aegean region of Turkey, our café takes its name from there. Generally I am responsible for Turkey side. I go to Turkey at least once a month. All of our products are coming from Turkey. You can find every kind of dry fruit here what you find in a supermarket in Turkey. And ours are the best. I am personally organizing their import from Turkey to here. With many firms from Turkey, we work together.<sup>177</sup>*

Just like the Turkish migrants who have professional jobs, entrepreneur Turkish migrants travel often as well. However, entrepreneur Turkish migrants travel direction usually shows Turkey, whereas that of Turkish migrants who have university diploma and professional job indicates various place and countries. No doubt that this economic relation which is to be established with Turkey brings along transnational social connections as well. In comparison to those who from other

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<sup>176</sup> Alejandro Portes, Luiz Eduardo Guarnizo & William J Haller, “ Transnational Entrepreneurs: An Alternative Form of Immigrant Economic Adaptation” in *American Sociological Review* V.67, N.2,2002, p.287

<sup>177</sup> Name: Mehmet, Age: 35–44, Education: University, First Arrival to Germany: 1996, Citizenship: Turkish, Job: Self-employed; cafe, (all names are pseudonyms). I interviewed 30 Turkish migrants in total, the data showing their transnational involvements can be seen in the Appendix section of this study.

socio-economic status, hometown association membership of entrepreneur Turkish immigrants, for example, seems to be higher. I can even say that membership to hometown associations is almost a rule for my interviewees who are involved in entrepreneurial activities transnationally.

*I am coming here because I see my friends. Every man from Gürün, Sivas knows each other in Neukölln. We make many things for our own community living here and also our town in Sivas. Two years ago, we have solved the water problem of our town by collecting money here.<sup>178</sup>*

As regarding to these associations in Berlin, for example, it seems that membership is common among Turkish migrants from various strata except for those who are in the in terms of socio-economic status having good education and professional jobs.

*I don't like to go to such places. They are coming together and keeping Turkey alive in Germany. Such associations are blocking integration.<sup>179</sup>*

Generally those who had university education in Turkey or Germany and can speak German before their immigration to Berlin, seems that they easily adopt themselves into the life in Berlin. They usually have friends from different countries. It is also possible to meet some working in such associations as administer or manager. Yet, what attracted my attention regarding transnational activities of those having professional jobs is, despite the frequency of traveling to other countries, Turkey is not anymore a country to where they feel that they *must* go every year. Almost all of them have internet connection at their flat and they make connections via it with their friends living in Turkey and other parts of the world. However this does not mean that they are uninterested in Turkey. They read Turkish newspapers and have interest in the events taking place in social, economic and political life in Turkey through Internet.

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<sup>178</sup> Name: Faruk, Age: 25–34, Education: High School, First Arrival to Germany: 1996, Citizenship: Turkish, Job: Self-employed; supermarket

<sup>179</sup> Name: Harun, Age: 25-34, Education: Higher Degree, First Arrival to Germany: 2002, Citizenship: Turkish, Job: Doctor

Another thing that my interviewees confirm is the density of hometown association membership among Turkish migrants who see themselves as poor in Germany.

*I am meeting with my friends here. This association is like a centre for us. We are trying to help each other here. Otherwise we would be smashed here. If you are alone here this would be unbearable.<sup>180</sup>*

Although especially among unemployed Turkish migrants, the intensity of being a member of a hometown association seems, roughly speaking, to be a rule, what we must bear in mind is the scarcity of the travel to Turkey; even they *don't*, when they *have* enough money to travel. While eating a Döner sandwich prepared by Haluk who is working as a worker in his nephew's Döner Saloon in Neukölln, he was telling why he does not go back to Turkey, although he wants so much.

*My situation is not good here. Look at my job. I was a civil servant in Turkey, you know, I had a job, people were showing respect. Since our town was so small I was important man. I planned many times to go back but I know if I do, they will despise me by thinking that "look at him he went to Germany but could not earn money and came back here, I don't want to hear such things."<sup>181</sup>*

### **5.3.2 Transnationalism in terms of Gender**

When looking at the main areas of transnational linkages such as social-political organizations or hometown associations, it seems that the role of Turkish migrant women is either very limited or insignificant. It does not indeed make so much difference from which social strata they come, Turkish migrant women are generally inactive in such transnational activities.<sup>182</sup> The membership to hometown

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<sup>180</sup> Name: Hasan, Age: 45-54, Education: High School, First Arrival to Germany: 1975 Citizenship: Turkish, Job: Jobless

<sup>181</sup> Name: Haluk, Age: 35-44, Education: High School, First Arrival to Germany: 1998, Citizenship: Turkish Job: Worker, in a Döner Buffet

<sup>182</sup> I should add that the political organizations which are highly active in the context of Berlin produce transnational politics that is, in a large extent, in line with radical left. These organizations

associations in the context of Berlin seems to be generally consisting of men *not* women. In that sense, I can say that, as connected with hometown association, we can talk about generalized field in which women is nearly absent. Perhaps, observing them in altruistic campaigns organized for the benefit of hometowns in Turkey might be the phenomenon that I could not reach as information during this field work. Yet, this does not mean that they are absent in transnational social fields. As depending on fiscal situation, some, with their families, come to Turkey regularly. Yet what is striking is that although Turkish migrant women keep their mind on closely Turkey by watching Turkish TV channels being broadcasted via satellite,<sup>183</sup> they are not as desirous as Turkish migrant men concerning resettling in Turkey.

*We are going to Turkey almost every summer. For holiday it is so nice.  
We, however, don't think to go back to live continuously.*<sup>184</sup>

Although the degree of the wish to stay in Germany varies from social positions at which woman is, or strata which she comes from, it is clear that in comparison to men, women have more tendency to live in Germany.

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contain women activists in considerable number. Yet, since the analysis of these organizations and transnational social fields that they established with Turkey is outside of this study, I am leaving this interesting subject to different time and study.

<sup>183</sup> It is important to notice the effect that Turkish TV channels make particularly on Turkish women immigrants who are housewife. It seems that Turkish TV channels are watched by a large number of Turkish migrants in Berlin. One can easily see and distinguish the apartments in which Turkish migrants live by looking at the satellites fields overflowing outside of apartments especially in Kreuzberg and Neukölln. It is maintained that these TV channels through their programs block integration process of Turkish migrants into German society. In addition to the language problems, it is also said that the cultural patterns of Turkish lifestyles are being produced and reproduced via these channels. Yet, I must say that although what such an approach points out are partly correct results, by this I mean the observation of spreading of ghetto lifestyle among Turkish migrants; they read the process quite wrongly. To me, integration is a concept which must be considered with labor –market relation. The emergence of ghettoization among Turkish migrants is a direct result of reorganization of labor- market relations and the rise of service sector. Therefore, instead of structural and historical approach, making an analysis with the effects of cultural sphere on ghettoization can take us into a point at which we can not possibly read the process properly. For a newspaper article concerning this subject, look at “ Yücel Özdemir, “Avrupada Türk Televizyonları 1” URL: <http://www.evrensel.de/index.php?news=1339>

<sup>184</sup> Name: Ayten, Age: 35-44, Education: High School, First Arrival to Germany: 1983 Citizenship: Turkish, Job: Worker; cleaner in a firm.

*I have divorced from my husband. At the beginning I had hard times to live with four children .But tell me, if this was happen to me in Turkey what would I do? I can easily say that there is freedom here. Nobody intervenes into your life, and state, in this way or another, supports you if you know your rights. I did never think to go back to Turkey and I will never do it.*<sup>185</sup>

Although Turkish migrant women have a general tendency to stay in Germany, it should also be stressed that the role of language ability seems to play an important role in the appearing of inclination to stay. It was highly observable among my women interviewee that the better they speak German, the more they wish to stay in Germany.

### **5.3.3 Transnationalism in terms of Generation**

Among the generations, from beginning of the labor migration from Turkey to Germany, the members of last generation and their activities or perceptions relating them to the country of origin through transnational linkages are indeed much diversified. Particularly the dense use of internet to make contacts with relatives and friends living in Turkey attracts attention as unique characteristics of this generation. The increasing use of internet, with getting cheaper of costs, indeed opens new transnational social fields for family members' interaction.<sup>186</sup> In very that point, the young generation comes into sight as major participants of these fields. Furthermore, some of them are so much interested in socio-economic and political events of Turkey. Therefore, persons from young generation read daily Turkish newspapers and participate in socio- political discussions forums through internet. It seems however that there is no parallel relationship between making contacts via internet

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<sup>185</sup> Name: Leyla, Age: 35-44, Education: High School, First Arrival to Germany: Germany-born, Citizenship: German, Job: Jobless

<sup>186</sup> With spreading of internet among migrants, it is maintained that, the way and formation of family or kinship migration has deeply changed. The dispersion of family or kinship links to cyberspace has been paving the way for a horizontal interaction between family members living in different geographies. In that, new kind interaction spaces have come into being.

and traveling to Turkey. Indeed in comparison to old generation, the frequency of traveling to Turkey seems to diminish. The weakening of concrete contacts with Turkey shows itself also in scarcity of hometown association membership of young generations. On the other hand, this scarcity does not necessarily mean that they have no contacts with Turkey. Yet, different than old generations' travel aims, their travel is generally vocational rather than hometown-oriented.

*Every summer I used to go to Mersin with my family and stay in our town till end of our vocation. Yet for five years, I have gone to our town with them first and then I, with my bother, leave from the town to spend rest of time in Anamur and Antalya.<sup>187</sup>*

The language problem and cultural difference might be one of the reasons forming the way of linkage established with Turkey. In contrast to old generations, ability to speak German causes the emergence of different social links with German society than their parents have. The same thing determines the kind and the way of their transnational socio-cultural connections with Turkey undoubtedly. Basically, they appropriate Germany as their country together *with* Turkey whereas old generations don't.

*-Yes I can say that I am getting bored when I stay in Turkey more than two weeks. Everything I have is here, friends and family  
- Then you feel that you belong here?  
- No I don't. If I have a job I would feel stronger than now that I belong to Germany. Who wants to be belonging to Neukölnn which is full of unemployed people!<sup>188</sup>*

As connected with especially youngest generation, we can talk about an interesting transnational social field which is put into practice through symbols and metaphoric references. Despite the diminishing concrete contacts with Turkey and inability to

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<sup>187</sup> Name: Orhan, Age: 21-24, Education: High School abandoned, First Arrival to Germany: Germany-born, Citizenship: Turkish, Job: Jobless

<sup>188</sup> Name: Rasim, Age: 25-34, Education: High School, First arrival to Germany: 1994, Citizenship: Turkish, Job: Jobless

speak Turkish among young generation, I observed that this generation prefers to make another contact with Turkey by using some symbols and materials. Bewilderingly, one can see an image of Turkey with which they interact; an image that causes reproduction and circulation of many symbols and ideals like solidarity, nationalism, and thus, creates a transnational social field.

After presenting this preliminary data which is on socio-economic status, gender and generation, in following part of this chapter, I shall focus on, and make deep analysis of, the data with the help of a framework which grasps all these transnational social fields as space being knitted with power relations. Here, the aim is to understand which existing power relations to what extent are being reaffirmed or reconfigured in transnational social spaces; in my opinion, this is the unique way to understand reasons lying behind the actions of agents and structure of the field in which they act.

#### **5.4 Reconfiguration or Reaffirmation of Power Relations in Transnational Social Fields**

As has been mentioned the *critical transnational approach* has three focal perspectives; historical perspective, spatial perspective and restructuring of global capitalism. Chapter four was devoted to explaining the historical background of the Turkish labor migration to Europe in general and Germany in particular. Here, the spatial perspective and the restructuring of global capitalism shall be used to explain the dynamic structure of transnational social fields among Turkish migrants living in Berlin; the global restructuring of capitalism will include connections between global and Berlin, whereas spatial perspective shall shed light on nation-state level (policy of Germany and Turkey) and local level (what different agents get through transnational social fields).

*Globally*, as I tried to show in section of transnationalism in terms of socio-economic status, the explosion of entrepreneurial activities of Turkish migrants seems to be quite related with the global structural changes taken place in the mentality and the

reorganization of contemporary capitalism. As result of the exclusion of Turkish migrants from rising service sector on account of their insufficient qualification, entrepreneur activity has become one of few ways of surviving strategies in Berlin context. Yet, regarding such flourishing of Turkish ethnic market in some districts of Berlin, what should be kept in mind is that this ethnic market does not bring together with professionalism.<sup>189</sup> This market is, no doubt, filling up a space that emerged due to demands of Turkish migrants in Germany and Berlin in particular. However, my interviewees are, to a large extent, confirming that the fundamental reasons of the flourishing of self-employment jobs in Berlin context must be analyzed with structural changes.

*Before, I was working in a factory that produces electric bulbs. I worked for eight years there. Then, it moved to Poland where everything is cheaper than here for employers. My family helped me to open this Döner buffet. Before opening here, I looked for a job long time but I could not find. I opened fortunately this place.<sup>190</sup>*

With de-industrialization process, firms prefer generally outside of Germany for investment where conditions for profit are better. It can be said that the Turkish entrepreneurs are usually consisting of those who have no sufficient qualification to find a better position in rising service sector in German economy. Thus, the *structural unemployment* is one of the most powerful reasons lying behind the growing of the self-employed Turkish market in unprecedented way in Germany, particularly in Berlin. In addition to de-industrialization and the rise of service sector, another motive forcing Turkish migrants to establish transnational entrepreneurial linkages with Turkey seems to be the opportunities brought about by new technological advances; getting cheaper of the expenses for transportation and communication opened new areas.

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<sup>189</sup> Look at Antoine Pécoud, “‘Weltoffenheit Schafft Jobs’ Turkish Entrepreneurship and Multiculturalism in Berlin”  
URL: <http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/WPTC-01-19%20Pecoud.pdf>

<sup>190</sup> Name: Ersoy, Age: 25-34, Education: High School, First Arrival to Germany: 1994, Citizenship: Turkish, Job: Self-employed; Döner buffet

*We have opened this call center six months ago. My partner is my cousin. We have also another one in Kreuzberg. We opened this time in Neukölln; you know, here many migrants, Turkish or not, are living. So there is high demand here for making international phone calls.*<sup>191</sup>

On the other hand, the politics of host society is one of the most important factors determining the way and the content of migrants' transnational linkages.<sup>192</sup> *In nation-state level*, the role of *multiculturalism* in Berlin as social policy fuels transnational linkages of Turkish migrants with Turkey. Although politics of multiculturalism is thought in German context as way of solution to the problems such as xenophobia, integration and citizenship,<sup>193</sup> it encourages ethnic and religious differentiation. Thus, it steers Turkish migrants towards strengthening their cultural connections with Turkey. What is more, despite this multicultural politics, German governments display reluctance concerning positive migration policy. It is not possible not see the effects of the German immigration policy assuming that Germany is not an immigration country.<sup>194</sup> For example, the German law rejects "dual citizenship" by requiring that those born in Germany to foreign parents choose, by the age of 23, between their parents' citizenship and German citizenship,<sup>195</sup> and there is also a language test which is obligation to take for those who are willing to naturalize and

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<sup>191</sup> Name; Ünal, Age: 21-24, Education: High School, First Arrival to Germany: 1996, Citizenship: Turkish, Job: Self-employed; call-center. What it must not be overlooked here is the new potential of transnational social fields themselves for trade extending from phone calls, transportation to satellite systems and tourism; it seems likely that transnational migration itself creates new fields of economy and transforms itself into a huge market. I think, this is a point which is usually neglected in research area of transnationalism. However, to me, this feature of migration signifies the emergence of new power relations in transnational social fields. This is one of many points that I felt as important during my research but due to the limits of my study I could not focus.

<sup>192</sup> Alejandro Portes, 2003, op.cit. , p.879

<sup>193</sup> For a detailed discussion of how German multiculturalism does effect Turkish national identity in Germany look at Betigül Ercan Argun, "Turkey in Germany; The Transnational Sphere of Deutschkei", Routledge New York & London 2003

<sup>194</sup> Oepen, M. "Media, Migrants and Marginalization: The Situation in the Federal Republic of Germany" in International Migration Review, Vol.18, No.1, 1984, p. 112

<sup>195</sup> Betigül Ercan Argun, op. Cit. , p.69

become German citizenship. No doubt that law excludes blatantly many old migrants whose language ability is not enough in German.<sup>196</sup>

Nevertheless the formation of transnational social fields between Germany and Turkey can not only be explained by making reference to migration policy of Germany. The manner of Turkey with respect to integration of Turkish migrants into German society seems also to be problematic. From the beginning, Turkey, as part of its institutional policy, has not consciously supported Turkish migrants with respect to having German citizenship by creating various difficulties such as inherent land, own a business, or be buried in Turkey.<sup>197</sup> The reason for that is surely stemming from firstly the significant place of remittances sent by Turkish migrants in Turkish economy, and secondly Turkey wants use its diaspora as political power in Europe in general and Germany in particular. All these institutional aims reflect on Turkish newspapers which are published in Germany as news discouraging and demotivating Turkish migrants about full integration.<sup>198</sup>

The social environment, which nourishes from restructuring of capitalism globally and from both unwelcome multicultural German migration policy and anti-integration effects of Turkish politics locally, is the main reason which lies behind the setting up of transnational socio- economic and physiological linkages with Turkey. The cultural demands of Turkish migrants blossomed on account of such a milieu. These demands, as Betigül Ercan Argun argues, create the structures

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<sup>196</sup> As I am writing this thesis, in German parliament a proposal became law which lays German language test down as a condition to those who are marrying with a German citizen, when they want to come to Germany.

<sup>197</sup> Betigül Ercan Argun, *op. cit.* , p.70

<sup>198</sup> Recently Turkey has made some changes in its politics about Turkish migrants in Germany. In contrast to old, Turkey started to support Turkish migrants for having German citizenship and naturalizing, and eliminated obstacles before the rights Turkish migrants have in Turkey like, inheritance. However, this is totally a part of what de-territorialization of nation-state is. Since naturalization means the right to vote, by supporting naturalization of Turkish migrants in Germany, Turkey aims to be effective in internal politics of Germany. Therefore while propping up naturalization on the one hand; Turkey tries to strengthen cultural links with the migrants through programs and projects on the other.

necessary to reproduce and sustain their culture; the need for kosher meat, proper burials, contacts with their points of departures all create ethnic and religious businesses and networks with people benefiting from these new industries. These are the factors that increase the identification with homeland.<sup>199</sup> Therefore emergence of some entrepreneurs importing Turkish products and selling them in Berlin might be explained, as I shall dwell on later, with the *ethnic* characteristic of market.

In addition to such macro level conflicts in global (capitalism) and nation-state levels (policy of German and Turkey) to see how transnational social fields are full of agents struggling for power and social positions calls for focusing on internal power relations among Turkish migrants acting in these fields.

*Locally*, understanding what transnational actors get from the links connecting them to Turkey is vital point. Regarding to the transnational social fields constituted by Turkish migrants, the development of hometown associations are generally thought as the most concrete areas through which Turkish migrants tie themselves to Turkey. In terms of participants, the boom of these associations seems to include dissimilar motivations for those having different economic, social and cultural capital. The meaning and significance of such associations for entrepreneur Turkish migrants seem quite related with future of the market. By this, I mean that, the reason might be the *ethnic characteristic* of the market. Preserving and strengthening the active links with other Turkish migrants seem beneficial to entrepreneur Turkish migrants. In that, what they get through these associations are both profit and social prestigious. What should not be overlooked is that this profit and social prestigious are both home and host society-oriented. Social networks extending to hometown in Turkey make the social prestigious, which is acquired by successful entrepreneurial activity, profitable in Berlin. That brings me on the point of the fact that the web of social economic and political networks are knitted transnationally. By this, I mean that the

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<sup>199</sup> Betigül Ercan Argun, op. cit. , p.70

way and content of the transnational activity is determined by the *conditions* of localities in Germany and Turkey *at the same time*.<sup>200</sup>

What I observe is that the same transnational phenomena might, even does, not make the same sense for everybody. Being member in such associations can indeed stand for different sense and connotations for different participants. In comparison to entrepreneur Turkish migrants who see the complex networks including usually family members, relatives, and extending from their locality in Berlin to their locality in Turkey as their *Home*, since they get profit through these lines, the motivations which steer Turkish migrants, who are from lower socio-economic status, towards such associations seem to be quite different. When they talk about associations, the subject comes, in this way or another, to *the rise of racism* in Germany and the importance of preserving solidarity among themselves through such associations. This situation completely confirms that negative conditions in host society, marked by downward occupational mobility, leads to the perpetuation of ties with home society.<sup>201</sup> Since they are at the bottom part of the German society, it seems that they prefer to classify themselves in according to the social structure of the locality in Turkey which they come from. In that, their *home perception*,<sup>202</sup> as different from that of entrepreneur Turkish migrants, signifies the web of social relations existing in

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<sup>200</sup> I shall touch the role of localities in the formation of transnational social fields in details in next chapter.

<sup>201</sup> Eduardo, L.G., Portes, A & Haller, W, "Assimilation and Transnationalism: Determinants of Transnational Political Action among Contemporary Migrants, in *AJS* Vol.108, No.6, 2003, p.1218

<sup>202</sup> It is certain that conditions determine the meaning of home. That is to say, since immigrants develop different imagination of home and attribute dissimilar meanings to it, the characteristics of transnational social fields that they establish between Germany and Turkey are differentiating from one another largely. The perception of home seems to be related with two main dynamics; migrant's situation in Turkey and in Germany. If explain, it seems to me that Turkish migrants who are members of lower socio-economic status in Germany develop a class perception concerning themselves which gives priority to their position in Turkey but not in Germany. As parallel to this, for those who managed to find a better place in Germany economically, socially and culturally, the perception works in the other way around. When looking at the transnational activities through these lenses, it is getting clearer that the meaning of home determines the way of connection in the transnational social fields. In spite of the fact that remittances are still forming the major component of transnational linkages, as I indicated above, the membership to hometown associations is also much more widespread among those who perceive themselves as lower socio-economic status in Germany than those who see themselves as belonging upper socio-economic status.

their locality in Turkey. Therefore, the thing that they get from these associations by participating in the activities and the campaigns which are generally held for the benefit of hometown in Turkey might be summed up as follows; the networks which have been established on account of chain migration in years provides them with social and economic solidarity in a milieu whose principals are formed to prop up multiculturalism on the one hand, and a chance to preserve their social prestige at least in their hometown to where, one day in the unknown future, they will return on the other hand. In addition to them, racist discrimination that increased in the wake of structural unemployment, and that they experience in various parts of their life also seems to motivate them to be part of either a minority association or hometown association in Berlin.

*After 3 years I have found this job. They pay to me less than they do to German workers. Last New Year's Day, they gave to me 250 euros premium whereas they paid 500 hundred euros to Germans in workplace. I did not say anything to the Boss. I hardly found this job and don't want to loose it.<sup>203</sup>*

The Turkish migrants having professional jobs are, as I said before, not so much visible in transnational social fields in comparison to others. Yet, it must be added that some of them are working professionally in the administration part of associations. Since they speak German and Turkish fluently and have university diploma, they are to be given a special preference for high positions in associations which are not peculiarly hometown but country of origin oriented. As dissimilar to hometown associations, such organizations or associations are usually political and business-oriented. Just as others, they are also opening new transnational social fields in which political discourse, symbols and economic goods are circulating by tying Germany to Turkey and the other way around. Such organizations, no doubt, pave the way for emerging of administrative elite and give them some opportunities to make claims concerning social positions.

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<sup>203</sup> Name: Gökhan, Age: 21-24, Education: High School, First Arrival to Germany: Germany- born, Citizenship: Turkish, Job: Worker; Dyer

In international migration studies, the situation of the women is generally examined by focusing on the modernization effect of migration itself. The sharing of budget at home, having a different bank account are the symbols of the liberating process of women. As regarding to activities taking place in transnational social fields established between Turkey and Germany encountering different women experiences are so much probable. Yet, what is vital is the necessity *not* to conceptualize transnational social fields as *liberating* linkages in terms of gender.

As I tried to show in the section of the *transnationalism in terms of gender*, the roles that Turkish migrant women play in transnational social fields established between Berlin and Turkey seems to be limited. However, the reluctance that Turkish migrant women display in respect with the turning back to and resettling in Turkey shows the ways in which how gender-oriented power relations are reconfigured and reaffirmed. Transnational social fields do not necessarily mean reconfiguration of existing power relations for the advantage of women. In the locality of Berlin, it seems that Turkish migrant women are generally more pleased with the conditions than the conditions of locality in Turkey. Almost all my women interviewees confirm that Germany provides women more freedom than Turkey do. Here, we basically face with the reconfiguration of existing gender-oriented power relations in their localities in Turkey. The Berlin context with its all components creates more free spaces for Turkish migrant women. Yet, the reluctance they have about resettling in Turkey indicates the reaffirmation of existing gender-oriented power relations in their localities in Turkey. It means essentially that transnational social field here strengthens and reproduces, and thus reaffirms, gender-oriented power relations existing in the locality in Turkey, let alone reconfigures it. Hence it can be said that transnational social fields connecting Berlin to the locality in Turkey break and reconfigure socio-economic status' relations in the locality in Turkey, whereas they usually reaffirm and reproduce gender-oriented power relations strangely. In comparison to Turkish migrant men, this seems to be the reason of why Turkish

migrant women seem to have less tendency to resettle in Turkey. Resettling in hometown would mean the loss of social status for women.

Another important point to remember concerning gender dimension is that the inability to speak German and its effects on distribution of gender-oriented power relations. For Turkish migrant women, who can not speak German adequately, one of the most important problems seems to be the difficulty for finding job in the market. This situation leads women into a life sphere which is isolated not only from their husbands and, more strikingly, children but also from those women who can speak German well. We should also keep in mind that gender relations established in Berlin is not the only reason for staying in Germany; transnationally knitted gender relations sometimes drags women into a situation to take a decision to stay in Germany, despite all bad conditions in Berlin for her. One of my interviewees, Sibel, she was a secretary at one of the Universities in Ankara, she quitted her job, and firstly arrived to Berlin in 1984 by marrying a Turkish man who had migrated to Germany before due to political reasons. She says that she experienced very bad marriage because her husband's jealousy and he have usually behaved harshly towards her throughout their twenty one years marriage. He allowed her to take German language course for only two months and impeded her each time when she wants work. They had two children. Last year, 2005, Sibel divorced from her husband officially despite his threats that he sometimes still does. She lives in a two rooms flat with her small daughter. During the interview, she talks of the possibility of coming together with her husband again because she is also unhappy now. She has no friends in her new environment except for his youngest brother who assisted her from along divorcement process to finding flat. When I ask why she does not think about the option of going back to Turkey, she replied as follows;

*I have done one time in sixteen years before, in 1996. I abandoned my husband and went to my family's home in Ankara. He followed me and came to Ankara and made apologizes many times in front of my family. He promised that he would not impede me in finding job and also he would find for me. I did not believe even one word of what he said, yet I*

*had to reconcile with him because my parents forced me to do so. I got that I, with my daughter, was too much for my parents' home.*<sup>204</sup>

Since benefiting from the social programs, being part of labor market, depends highly on the ability of speaking host society's language, poor language ability, when compounded with transnationally knitted gender-based power relations indeed seems to create isolation for Turkish migrant women in the context of Berlin.

The generation is another interesting dimension of transnational social field established between Turkey and Berlin in which complex power relations are being structured. As I have indicated in the section of the *transnationalism in terms of generation*, it is quite possible to witness in the some regions of Berlin the formation of a new kind of transnational social field which is established by youngest Turkish generation. As different from old generations who have concrete contact with Turkey and prefer to spend half of the year in their hometowns, young generation seems to develop a strong linkage with Turkey which uses symbols concerning Turkey such as wearing hats, t-shirts, sweatshirts having symbols of Turkish flag, using Turkish flag stickers on mobile phones. The establishment of such a transnational social field with Turkey reflects itself onto the consumer behaviors of young Turkish migrants; hence the cultural reproduction of Turkey as "imagined community",<sup>205</sup> opens new economic spaces in which the symbols of this cultural production is transformed into goods and tastes.

Although they express that they get easily bored by staying in Turkey more than two weeks, Turkey as home, or being Turk as an identity, emerges as binding social

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<sup>204</sup> Name: Sibel, Age: 45–54, Education: High School, First Arrival to Germany: 1984, Citizenship: Turkish, Job: jobless

<sup>205</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities; Reflections on the Origin and the Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, 1993)

cement for them.<sup>206</sup> Contrary to old generation, despite their language ability in German and, sometime, inability in Turkish, the coming into existence of such a transnational identification with Turkey among youngest generation might be examined in the light of transnational power relations. Alejandro Portes pins down a similar transnational formation among Salvadoran immigrants in US. The existence of discrimination and hostility against migrants in host society, he says, causes the appropriation of identification with traditions and interests rooted in the homeland among immigrants.<sup>207</sup> He says that immigrants in these situations are *in* the country, but are certainly not *of* it, preferring to see themselves as belonging elsewhere both socially and economically.<sup>208</sup> Portes uses the concept *reactive ethnicity* to explain this transnational strategy. Although the degree of identification with the homeland, and other conditions are different from Salvadoran refugees, the concept of reactive ethnicity can be also of service for explaining the transnational identification of youngest Turkish generation with Turkey. That such identification with Turkey and anger against Germany is observable among almost only young generation from lower socio-economic statuses is meaningful to understand how ethnicity is rendering into a symbolic location on account of class relations;<sup>209</sup> a symbolic location to take shelter in and resist. Roughly speaking, perhaps it can be said that nationalism, or sometimes maybe Islam, is the way young generation use to express

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<sup>206</sup> In the “Turkish day” festival in Berlin in 2006, I witnessed that a group consisted of youngest generation Turks burned a German flag down and shouted slogans for bad treatment of German police against Turkish migrants.

<sup>207</sup> For a interesting analysis, look also at Beth Baker-Cristales, “Salvadoran Transformations; Class Consciousness and Ethnic Identity in a Transnational Milieu” in *Latin American Perspectives* V.31, N.5, 2004

<sup>208</sup> Alejandro Portes, 1999, op.cit. , p.465

<sup>209</sup> In his article in which he studies on ‘social distance’ Joachim Brüß says that “The Turkish youth are relatively deprived in respect of education and of their parents’ occupational status. In comparison resettler and German parents, Turkish parents less often have a profession...fathers of Turkish Youths more often have part time jobs and are more often retired or unemployed than fathers of German and Aussidler youths” Joachim Brüß, “Deteriorating Social Relations? An analysis of the development of Social Distance among German, Turkish and Ethnic German Resettler (Aussidler) Adolescents on Entering the Labor Market” In Bilhan Doyuran Kartal (Ed.) *Batı Avrupa’da Türk Dış Göç Sürecinin Güncel Boyutları* T.C. Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, No.1671, 2006, p.8, and also look at Thomas Faist, “From School to Work: Public Policy and Under Class Formation among Young Turks in Germany during the 1980s” in *International Migration Review* Vol.27, No.2, ,1993, p.306-331

themselves, if other ways are limited or closed. In similar to what Popkin<sup>210</sup> observes among Mayan immigrants in US, the structural unemployment in Berlin emerged with the restructuring of global capitalism, the absence of any social category for Turkish migrants in the stratification of German society except for lower class, and unwelcome migration policy of Germany makes stronger the identification with Turkey as a mechanism of self- defense and collective reaffirmation for this young Turkish generation.<sup>211</sup>

In this chapter, I have begun by explaining the main areas of transnational social fields between Turkey and Germany. I sought to indicate the socio- economic and political formations circulating in these fields. By focusing on the context of Berlin, I sketched the prospect of the ways in which Turkish migrants are becoming part of transnational social fields. Afterwards, by benefiting from the categories of socio-economic status, gender and generation, I tried to catch the picture of how the transnational activities are changing accordingly these categories. In the section with which I delved into whether transnational social fields reconfigure or reaffirm existing structure of power relations in localities, I have tried attract attention to the analysis of what they profit or get from these activities. To indicate different formations and reference points of power relations, I have used two legs of the three-legged analysis of critical transnationalism; restructuring of global capitalism and spatial perspective.

So far I have been examining power relations which determine the way and the content of the transnational social fields established in the context of Berlin by Turkish migrants; from now on, in the light of the findings that I have from the field research, I shall subject transnational approaches to a critical analysis generally. This account of the power relations sketched in this chapter provides me with a

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<sup>210</sup> Quoted from Popkin, Alejandro Portes 1999, op.cit. , p.466

<sup>211</sup> For an reactive identity formation not only for young generation Turkish migrants but also women, look at White, Jenny B. "Turks in the New Germany" in *American Anthropologist* Vol.99, No.4, 1997,p.754-769

framework for making an analysis of transnationalism in international migration studies. In next chapter, with the help of some authors, I shall mention two general mistakes of transnational approaches.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE CRITIQUES TO TRANSNATIONAL STUDIES

In the literature of international migration, the studies of transnationalism seems to contain some common assumptions, despite the absence of one clear definition of it on which thinkers writing on transnational process from different areas come to an agreement. Although it can not be generalized for every study made on transnationalism, even a rough glance at the examples of transnational studies in international migration literature would be sufficient to understand that transnationalism is mostly seen and conceptualized as liberatory process for immigrants which stands for being free from the restrictions of nation-state. In addition to this, the relation of transnational phenomena with locality seems to be one of the matters, which is an impasse. On the other hand, the structure and composition of immigrants also seems to be overlooked in transnational studies in international migration literature. In many studies, it seems to me that especially social and economic differences among immigrants are not taken into account sufficiently. Hence, I shall focus firstly on these differences to think on changing nature of transnational studies by making reference, time to time, the specific findings of my field research; after only getting a general overview of migrant diversity, we can talk about whether these fields represent places which are free from nation-states' domination areas, or to what extent they do open new channels in which nation-state-based inequalities evaporate.

#### 6.1 Migrants as Not Homogeneous

One of the most important shortcomings of transnational literature is that not all of but many transnational studies are sloping towards homogenizing the composition of the migrants. For that reason, it seems to me that they overlook variety of the connections and the meanings that are attributed to them by migrants themselves. As

I tried to make it clear from the beginning of this study, transnational activities of Turkish migrants established in the context of Berlin show a great deal of differences in according to their socio-economic status, gender and generation origin. In addition to, and connected with, them, some other categories like ethnicity, background and conditions of migration are also effective dynamics and they usually determine the way and content of transnational linkages with Turkey.<sup>212</sup> With regards to my case in the context of Berlin, although the absence of economic security in Turkey and Germany is one of the most important reasons lying behind establishing transnational ties, finding political dynamics as reason for establishing transnational social fields is not surprise. To explain, the armed conflict existing between PKK and Turkey in especially southern part of the country seems to be very effective in emergence of some transnational social fields between Turkey and Germany. In that, being Kurdish or Turkish, namely ethnicity, might be significant in Berlin context to be part or a member of a transnational social field. By this, I don't mean only the transnational social fields which are highly politics-oriented but also the fields in which family and kin relations are being reproduced transnationally. Therefore it can be maintained that the economic or political insecurity of the family or kin members left in Turkey directly motivates Turkish or Kurdish migrants to help them in different ways like sending money. Hence, Germany stands for a means of maintaining or improving life standards for those who suffered political insecurity in Turkey.

On the whole, what this picture indicates is the twofold reality concerning transnational social fields. First of all, in contrast to the theoretical approaches and language deriving from them which is exaggeratedly used to delete differences among migrants by overemphasizing community characteristics, what I have found in the field is that migrants are not homogeneous. Second, this reality brings along *variety* of transnational social fields. To put it in another way, the differences emerged, to a large extent, because of dynamics such as the circumstances of

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<sup>212</sup> For example, Betigül Ercan Argun says that two reasons of the emergence of transnational social fields between Germany and Turkey are the absence of colonial roots of Turkey in the past and easiness and cheapness of making travel between two countries.

migration (legal or illegal), the reason of migration (political, economic or social), region from which migrant come or social capital of migrants before migration, determine the way of transnational social fields. If transnational social fields change because of the reasons I mentioned, then they are not stable or fixed. They are formed by agents' motivations in a *historical* and *structural* context. This diagnosis concerning the structure of transnational social fields brings me to necessarily taking up another point at which transnationalism is seen as liberatory.

## **6.2 Is Transnationalism Liberatory?**

The conceptualization of transnationalism as liberatory process has been generally made because of two different, but connected, reasons: the phenomenon so-called “transnationalism below” and deterritorialization of social relations. As I shortly explained in the first chapter of this study, transnationalism from below is thought as opposition to “transnationalism above”. What is meant with this “versus” relation is roughly that in response to the economic and cultural attacks of powerful and multi-national corporations onto nation-states (above), grassroots movements and new ways for trade is emerging among immigrants and their home country counterparts (below). Since all this creates new spheres for action, it is maintained that “transnationalism below” undermines the domination of nation-state, and thus it opens new liberatory<sup>213</sup> spaces.

Such a conceptualization of transnationalism seems to have some problems. In the first place, it is so much optimistic about power relations produced in transnational social fields. As I showed in this study, transnational social fields are the fields in which socio-economic status, gender and generation still preserve their importance in formation of power relations. Although, as different from old times, the field itself cuts across the boundaries of two or more nation states transnationally, we are witnessing the reproduction of nation-state based inequalities in transnational social

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<sup>213</sup> Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, op.cit.

fields<sup>214</sup> like racism<sup>215</sup>. In that sense, there seems to be no evidence to be optimistic about liberatory potential of transnational process.

The second main reason lying behind the conceptualization of transnationalism as liberatory process is associated with the de-territorialization of social relations. It is maintained that deterritorialization of social relations and networks means new spaces for action on which nation-state has no longer total dominance today.<sup>216</sup> Thus, this deterritorialization causes the emergence of hybrid identities. With technological advances taken place in transportation, more importantly, in communication, it seems really that the relationship between space and identity has been becoming problematic. Since web of the networks go beyond specific territories via communication thanks to new advances, it is also becoming possible to develop an identity which necessarily does not make reference to territorially bounded space in classical sense. However, celebrating this process with concept of hybridity is clearly problematic because it often celebrates newly emerging identities uncritically as inherently positive and progressive, and romanticises migrants' identities whilst failing to adequately consider uneven power relations.<sup>217</sup> In the section of *Changing of Nation-Building Process* of this study, I tried to show how this strategy is being used

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<sup>214</sup> Here the reproduction of national narratives of sameness and difference in transnational social fields indicates the transmission of nation-based inequalities into these fields. This transmission is carried out by usually sending and receiving countries' incompatible politics. To preserve its own self interest, sending country produces a discourse of sameness for its compatriots living in receiving country. In the same way, this sameness and difference strategy is also used on migrants by receiving country to create desirable citizens while excluding others from resources. For a short but striking account of this situation, look at Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Stanzon Blanc, 1995b, op.cit. , p.685

<sup>215</sup> For example look at José Itzigsohn, Carlos Dore Cabral, Esther Hernández Medina and Obed Vázquez, "Mapping Dominican Transnationalism: Narrow and Broad Transnational Practices" in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 22, No.2, 1999 ,and, Nina Glick Schiller, Georges Fouron, "Everywhere We Go, We are in Danger: Ti Manno and the Emergence of a Haitian Transnational Identity" in *American Ethnologist* Vol.17, No.2,1990, p.329-347

<sup>216</sup> For examples, look at M. Kearney, "The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism" in *Annual review of Anthropology* Vol.24, 1995 p.547-565, or, Arjun Appadurai, "Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization" (University of Minnesota Press): 2000, or, Homi Bhabha, "The Location of Culture" (London: Routledge): 1994.

<sup>217</sup> Patricia Ehrkamp, "Placing Identities: Transnational Practices and Local Attachments of Turkish Immigrants in Germany" in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol.31, No.2, 2005, p.347,348

by immigrant sending countries; the deterritorialization of nation-state affiliations is put into practice today as social cement that binds those who migrated from these countries. Yet, as it became clear from my example, this deterritorialization process seems to be really far from being liberatory and freeing from the domination areas of nation states; on the contrary, it is being used by nation-states to disperse and reinforce their power and domination to the outside of their bounded territories. The use of nationalistic symbols in world wide by nation-states, as I showed, with the aim of, for example, remittances or the need for diaspora as political agent is essentially not the only example of deterritorialization of social relations.

With regards to my case, for example, what I witnessed is the existence of such a perception among Turkish migrants which ruptured from territory in classical sense. Roughly speaking, as I explained before, for Turkish migrants living in some regions of Berlin, it seems that “the meaning of home”<sup>218</sup> in no way make reference to either Germany or Turkey alone; but to a kind of world of symbols and practice which is being reproduced in the complex web of life patterns existing in these regions. The blossoming of such a perception concerned with the meaning of home seems to be one of the results of many transnational social fields established between Turkey and Germany.

However, in spite of the existence of such de-territorialized social relations in the context of Berlin, and other parts of world, this point still seems to include uncertain and naïve assumptions concerning de-territorialized identity and locality relationship in itself. In my case, it was quite certain that the systematic world of symbols and practices Turkish migrants internalize is the web of life patterns which seem to have been constituted as result of the two countries’ socio- economic and political activities, although what they internalize as home is not Germany or Turkey alone.

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<sup>218</sup> Here, I am using the term of “meaning of home” by benefiting to a large extent from the book edited by Nadjé Al-Ali and Khalid Koser; *New Approaches to Migration; Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home* (Routledge: London and New York 2002)

At a first glance, while their identity has symptoms of deterritorialization, the truth is that this identity is being constructed by the mutual interaction of macro and micro components or activities of the two *localities*. In that, the resource of the identity or belonging here seems to be local to local relations. Put it more proper way, what I have found in the Berlin context was, in a way, the confirmation of what Guranizo and Diaz say<sup>219</sup> pertaining to the Colombian transnationalism; migrants transnational activities and belongings are molded by contextual circumstances in which they are embedded abroad and their localities of origin. Hence, transmigrants are benefiting from opportunities what the localities provide them, whereas they are also limited with restrictions of them. Therefore, in defining migrants' identity or belonging, using deterritoriality with liberatory intimations would be impetuousness; rather, the *translocality*<sup>220</sup> appears to be more convenient to highlight mutual influence of the two localities at the same time in the formation of such belongings, and show reproduction of old and new inequalities in this belongings, let alone their liberatory sides.

In this chapter, I have been concerned my self with two general assumptions of many transnational studies- the assumptions which cause being overlooked of power relations existing in transnational processes. In following chapter which is the last chapter of this study, I will sum up the previous chapters to make a general evaluation. More important than this, I shall also add the probable shortcomings of this study, at the end of which I came to realize, to make a modest contribution to the emergence of new transnational studies.

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<sup>219</sup> Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Luz Marina Diaz, op.cit. , p.416

<sup>220</sup> Ibid. , p.415

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

This study prefers to see the transnational social fields as the field of power relations. In establishing my methodology, by following Mahler,<sup>221</sup> I have considered consciously the tool of transnational social field important and I tried to place it at the heart of my transnational perspective. In forming this perspective, I was largely influenced by critiques of Nina Glick Schiller<sup>222</sup> which are on relationship of the new imperialism and transnationalism, and the social field description of Pierre Bourdieu. She points out that many transnational studies fail to see the strong connections of transnational processes with new imperialist goals, thus, this shortcoming drags them onto a point at which they do not notice the role of nation-states and other global powers in such processes. On the other hand, for Bourdieu, a social field is a field in which social relations are structured by power. The boundaries of a field are fluid and the field itself is created by the participants who are joined in struggle for social positions<sup>223</sup>. To him, society is the intersection of the various fields within a structure of politics.<sup>224</sup> By widening the limits of social field toward transnational sphere, what these two insightful analyses pointed out to me the fact that the analysis of transnationalism calls for a theoretical perspective which grasps transnational processes as power relations from global to local and vice versa.<sup>225</sup> In the light of the synthesis of these two approaches, I have specified *the critical transnational approach* which is consisting of three perspectives; historical perspective, spatial perspective and restructuring global capitalism.

It should be kept in mind that the changing of time-space relationship thanks to the new technological advances fuelled by current restructuring of global capitalism, and

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<sup>221</sup> Mahler, Sarah J. , op.cit.

<sup>222</sup> Nina Glick Schiller, 2005, op. cit.

<sup>223</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford university press; California:1990)

<sup>224</sup> Pegy Levitt and Nina Glick Schiller, 2004, op.cit.

<sup>225</sup> For a different use of transnational methodology as synthesis of macro and micro levels, look at Gold, S. J, "Transnationalism and Vocabularies of Motive in International Migration: The Case of Israelis in the United States in *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol.40, No.3, 1997, pp.409-427

the dispersion of socio-economic and political actions into these new spaces has caused the emergence new type of interactions between immigrants and their country of origin. The constructions of transnational social fields which connect immigrants to their country of origin in social, economic and political ways have already started to force the patterns of classical migration theory.

It is important to recognize that the fields themselves which have been constituted by immigrants through their regular socio-economic and political acts between boundaries, are places of power relations not only in terms of global agents like multinational firms, nation-states but also everyday subjects struggling for profit, social position and prestige. Thus, it might be said that transnational fields, irrespective of being social, economic or political, are the intersecting points of these overlapping power relations; global and local. Then, the point, I think, to be made is to look better at transnational social fields in terms of structure and agents carefully.

The analysis of my research question confirms that agents are acting in structural fields by structuring them through their actions. By bearing in mind this Bourdieuan perspective, the important point to notice is that Turkish migrants act in a structure in the context of Berlin which has been created by the common influences of global transformations, migration policies of Germany and Turkey. In other words, the emergence of suitable structure to establish regular socio-economic and political contacts with Turkey is a direct outcome of complex dialectical relationships of local integration policy of Berlin municipality, which is an outcome of colored composition of immigrants exhibiting variety, and the unwelcome migration policy of Germany and Turkey's politics on Turkish migrants living in Berlin that are formed under the influences of global transformations, which are technological advances, global restructuring of capital, the rise of racism in developed regions of the world and changing of nation building process, on the condition that global restructuring of capitalism is the motor power provoking the all other three. So, that has been the formation structural ground which largely includes institutional arrangements. Yet, coming into scene of contemporary transnational channels for contacting with Turkey has been accompanied by the motives and expectations of Turkish immigrants. As they use these channels, the way and the content of transnational social fields started to be getting concrete. To put it differently,

transnational socio- economic and political actions of Turkish migrants nourishing completely from their motives and expectations, which are direct or mediated outcomes of their socio-economic status, gender and generation positions they occupy in society in Berlin and their localities in Turkey at the same time, have been shaping the meaningful system of power relations in these transnational social fields. Here, the vital point, to always remember, is the dialectical relationship between global transformations and their motives and expectations determining the way and the content of their participation into transnational social fields.

This is to say that it came as no surprise to me that entrepreneur Turkish migrants are the champions of transnational social fields established between Berlin and Turkey, due to this dialectical relationship of locality with global transformations. Here, socio-economic statuses determine indeed the way and content of transnational social field; making entrepreneurial activity by crossing national borders of Germany and Turkey by unskilled Turkish migrants is a strategy to *survive*. As in the case of hometown association membership, I tried to show that entrepreneur Turkish migrants and those who are from lower socio-economic statuses have different motivations and expectations from the transnational social fields. The ethnic characteristic of market in Berlin is important for entrepreneur Turkish migrant for being member of a hometown association. Thus, in a sense, we can say that social prestige is a kind of capital for entrepreneur. However, interestingly, the rise of racism in Germany is signified by Turkish migrants from lower socio-economic statuses, who see these associations as solidarity place, whereas entrepreneur Turkish migrants don't complain about it so much. Regarding Turkish migrants from middle socio-economic status having university diploma, professional jobs, speaking at least two languages flawless, it seems that they are more cosmopolite than transnational. The social positions they occupy in Berlin designate the way of their relation with Turkey and fill its content with cosmopolite values than nation-oriented.

Important to remember one more time is that all these interactions taken place in transnational social fields are the meaningful system of power relations birthing from subjects' struggle for profit and social prestige. I must say that when looking at sociological transnational studies, I have often come to feel that race and citizenship is as if the only categories to be studied. Although they are important, to me, the

analysis of power relations flowing behind these categories and producing states or conditions which mould subjects' expectations and motives must be first and foremost task of sociology. My efforts concerning establishing a *critical transnationalism* approach should be read to this end. Within this framework which have been composed by synthesizing Nina Glick Schiller's ideas on new imperialism and deepened version of her Bourdieu interpretation with Mahler' notions of reconfiguration and reaffirmation of established relations of power and privilege, it became clear that established gender relations in Turkish migrant women' localities in Turkey seems to have been reconfigured in Berlin in favor of Turkish migrant women. Their disinclination concerning resettling in Turkey showed us that established gender relations in their localities in Turkey are being reaffirmed, at least when they visit there in summers. Strikingly, this finding renders the premise of seeing transnational processes as liberatory into a problematic suggestion. Of course, this premise comes with the notion of homogenization of immigrants in the theory, since the clarification of immigrants' daily life would bring transnational power relations out into the open. As has been proved in different parts of this study, what such conceptualizations disregard is basically that in addition to race and identity, gender-based, generation-based and class-based inequalities are being reproduced and restructured in transnational social fields.

It is important to recognize that, as writer of this thesis, at the end of this study, I came to realize that there are ways to make this study more fruitful than it is. Especially, field research part could provide me with deeper data about transnational process if it was made in comparative way. To explain, as I touched in this study time to time, in formation of the way and content of the transnational social fields, migrants' social and economic positions in homeland are as effective as their positions in host society. Here, I focused on Berlin context in keeping with my research question. As a matter of fact, a parallel field research on socio-economic status, gender and generation structure of migrants in their localities in Turkey would be complementary and able to disclose other dimensions of power relations in transnational social fields that I probably missed.

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## **APPENDICES**

### Appendix A. Transnational Involvements of Interviewees

Num. of interviewee	Gender	Name	Age	Education	First Arrival to Germany	Nationality	Occupation and Job	Language ability	Hometown assoc. Membership	Remittances	H.O <sup>226</sup> going to Turkey.	H.O talk <sup>227</sup> to relatives
1	Male	Kemal	45 -54	University	1965	Dual Citizenship	Social Educator	Fluent	No	No	1 time <sup>228</sup>	Phone, not regular
2	Female	Mehtap	25-34	University	Born in Germany	German	Dentist	Fluent	No	No	2 times	Internet, phone, not regular
3	Male	Özgür	25-34	University /two years	2002	Turkish	Old people caring and musician	Adequate	No	No	1 time	Phone, regular
4	Female	Leyla	35-44	High School	1972	German	No occupation/ Jobless	Fluent	No	No	2 times	No connection
5	Male	Orhan	21-24	High School /abandoned	Born in Germany	Turkish	No occupation/ Jobless	Fluent	No	No	7 times	Internet, phone, regular
6	Female	Sibel	45-54	High School	1984	Turkish	Secretary/Jobless	Basic only	No	No	6 times	Phone, regular
7	Male	Harun	25-34	Higher degree	2004	Turkish	Doctor/having job	Fluent	No	No	2 times	Internet, phone, not regular
8	Female	Zeynep	35-44	University	2002	Turkish	Civil Engineering/Jobless	Basic only	No	No	4 times years	Phone, not regular
9	Male	Kadir	45-54	High School	1977	Turkish	Latheman/Jobless	Adequate	Yes	Yes, not regular	5 times	Phone, regular
10	Female	Ayten	35-44	High School	1983	Turkish	Worker/having job	Fluent	No	Yes	6 times	Phone, regular
11	Male	Faruk	25-34	High School	1996	Turkish	Self-employed/ supermarket	Adequate	Yes	Yes	10 times	Internet and phone not regular
12	Female	Adile	45-54	Primary School	1983	Turkish	No occupation/ Jobless	Basic only	No	No	4 times	Phone, regular
13	Male	İmam	25-34	University /two years	1999	Turkish	Dishwasher person/having job	Adequate	No	Yes	6 times	Phone, regular

<sup>226</sup> How often do you go to Turkey?

<sup>227</sup> How often do you talk to your relatives living in Turkey through phone or internet?

<sup>228</sup> How many times did you go to Turkey in last ten years?

14	Female	Ayten	25-34	High School	1997	Turkish	No occupation/ jobless	Adequate	No	No	5 times	Phone, not regular
15	Male	Gökhan	21-24	High School	Born in Germany	Turkish	Dyer/having Job	Adequate	No	No	2 times	Phone, not regular
16	Female	Beyza	35-44	High school	1991	Turkish	No occupation/ Jobless	Adequate	No	No	3 times	Phone, regular
17	Male	Emre	25-34	University	2001	Turkish	Sociologist/ Jobless	Adequate	Yes	No	4 times	Internet, Phone, regular
18	Male	Ünal	21-24	High School	1996	Turkish	Self-employed/call Center	Adequate	Yes	No	5 times	Phone, regular
19	Female	Öznur	35-44	High School	1999	Turkish	No occupation/ Jobless	Basic only	No	No	8 times	Phone, regular
20	Male	Haluk	35-44	High School	1998	Turkish	Worker/having Job	Adequate	Yes	Yes	4 times	Phone, regular
21	Female	Suna	25-34	University	1975	Turkish	Lawyer secretary/ jobless	Fluent	No	No	2 times	No, contact
22	Male	Onur	35-44	University	1995	Turkish	Computer Engineer/having job	Fluent	No	No	3 times	Internet, phone regular
23	Female	Arzu	21-24	University Student	Born in Germany	German	Social Scientist	Fluent	No	No	2 times	Phone, not regular
24	Male	Ali	45-54	High School	1980	Turkish	Worker/having job	Basic only	yes	yes	10 times	Phone, regular
25	Female	Melahat	35-44	Primary School	1996	Turkish	No occupation /jobless	Basic only	No	No	7 times	Phone, regular
26	Male	Rasim	25-34	High school	1994	Turkish	No occupation/ jobless	Adequate	Yes	No	6 times	Internet, Phone regular
27	Male	Ersoy	25-34	High School	1994	Turkish	Self-employed/Döner Buffet	Adequate	Yes	Yes	More than 10	Internet, Phone regular
28	Male	Ömer	25-34	High school	1995	German	Self-employed/silver ornaments seller	Adequate	Yes	Yes	More than 20	Internet, Phone regular
29	Male	Hasan	45-54	High school	1975	Turkish	No occupation/ Jobless	Adequate	Yes	Yes	8 times	Phone, regular
30	Male	Mehmet	35-44	University	1996	Turkish	Self- employed/cafe	Adequate	No	Yes	More than 30	Phone, regular

