

EXPERIENCES AND CHALLENGES OF RETURN MIGRATION OF SECOND  
AND THIRD GENERATION TURKISH-GERMANS

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## ABSTRACT

### EXPERIENCES AND CHALLENGES OF RETURN MIGRATION OF SECOND AND THIRD GENERATION TURKISH-GERMANS

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The main goal of this study is analyzing experiences and challenges of second and third generation Turkish–Germans during the return migration process and offering possible solutions and social policy recommendations to eliminate these challenges. For this reason, current return migration literature and social policy practices of Turkey and different countries were examined. Qualitative methods of social research have been applied in this study using semi-structured in-depth interviews with returnees. The main findings show that transnational practices affect the diaspora policy and experiences of second and third generation migrants. Moreover, the challenges faced by interviewees in the reintegration process were examined. As a consequence of the study, some social policy recommendations were presented based upon current literature and problems experienced by returnees.

**Keywords:** Second Generation, Diaspora, Transnationalism, Return Migration, Social Policy

## ÖZ

### İKİNCİ VE ÜÇÜNCÜ KUŞAK TÜRK-ALMAN GÖÇMENLERİN GERİYE DÖNÜŞ GÖÇÜNDE DENEYİMLER VE ZORLUKLAR

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Bu tezin temel amacı ikinci ve üçüncü kuşak Türk–Alman göçmenlerinin Türkiye’ye geri dönüş göçü sürecinde edindiği deneyimleri ve karşılaştığı zorlukları analiz etmek ve bu zorlukları yok etmek için olası çözümleri ve sosyal politika önerilerini sunmaktır. Bu sebeple mevcut geri dönüş göçü konusundaki mevcut literatür ile Türkiye ve farklı ülkelerin göçmenlere yönelik sosyal politika pratikleri incelendi. Niteliksel araştırma yöntemlerinin kullanıldığı bu çalışmada geri dönen göçmenlerle derinlemesine ve yarı-yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Temel araştırma bulguları ulusötesi bağların, diaspora politikasını ve ikinci ve üçüncü kuşak göçmenlerin edindiği deneyimleri etkilediğini göstermiştir. Bunun yanında, katılımcıların yeniden entegrasyon sürecinde karşılaştıkları zorluklar incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın sonunda mevcut literatürden ve geri dönen göçmenlerin yaşadığı problemlerden yola çıkarak bazı sosyal politika önerileri sunulmuştur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** İkinci Jenerasyon, Diaspora, Ulusötesicilik, Geriye Dönüş Göçü, Sosyal Politika

To My Parents

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Return migration has been researched since the 1980s by various disciplines, including sociology, migration studies, and political science (Cassarino, 2004). Early studies about return migration from Germany to Turkey have focused on first-generation migrant workers and their benefits to their homeland in the relation between immigration and development. Even though these guest workers could not meet the expectations for new business ideas and investments (Abadan-Unat, 1974), their contribution to the country's economic development has been researched by scholars (Razum, Polit, & Sahin-Hodoglugil, 2005). The decrease in the unemployment statistics and their financial remittances was beneficial for the economic situation in Turkey. After the Second World War, Germany's economy demanded more workforce for the continuation of its economic development and requested work power from other countries. With the result of mutual agreements, labor immigration has started from Turkey to Germany (Kılınç, 2013). During that time, the first-generation Turkish immigrants had seen as reformists who will bring the education, language, and new working capabilities to their homeland (Guarnizo, Portes & Haller, 2003).

Although some of these labor workers voluntarily returned to their homes by encouragement programs, some of them preferred to stay in Germany (Rittersberger-Tılıç, Çelik & Özen, 2013). Also, they wanted to bring their families by taking advantage of family reunification law. Women and children become a part of Turkish migrants after the family reunifications in the 1970s.

Turkish population increased significantly with the migration of labor migrant families to Germany. However, the waves of return have continued since the beginning of the movement to Germany. There has been a significant increase in return migration in recent years (Aydın, 2016). Since starting with the mutual

agreements between Germany and Turkey in 1961, labor migration movements have been reached nearly its 60th year now. Today, fourth-generation Turkish-origin citizens live in Germany. The number of Turkish-origin citizen population in Germany is the third-highest population of immigrant movement in international immigration history (King & Kılınç, 2013). In 1961, when Germany and Turkey signed the migrant workers' agreement, 6,700 Turkish citizens which is equivalent to 1.2% of the total foreign population, were living in Germany (Kaya & Kentel, 2004). When by the end of 2012, there were approximately 1,6 million citizens of Turkey, which 'almost 22% of the total foreign population in Germany' (Abadan-Unat, 2014, p.13). On the other hand, it is nearly impossible to find exact numbers and statistics of returned migrants from Germany to Turkey because of naturalization numbers and dual citizenship.

Whether migrants participate in return migration voluntarily or not is one of the subjects examined in return migration. Helga Rittersberger (2013) shows three different types of return migration in her report that examines the return from Germany to Turkey: voluntary return, voluntary return with obligations and forced return (Rittersberger-Tılıç, Çelik & Özen, 2013; Kılınç & King, 2013). Voluntary return refers to the arrival of the immigrants to their homeland, utterly dependent on their will. The IOM divides voluntary return into two categories: Spontaneous return and assisted voluntary return. The most crucial difference between the two is that assisted return creates programs that support the return of migrants with legal and financial rights. During the 1980s, the most important reason for the increase in the number of migrants returning from Germany to Turkey was the laws that the German Parliament were enacted which encourage return migration. Immigrants in this group can be described as people who want to return but do not have sufficient opportunities for it. On the other hand, the forced return is the forced expulsion of migrants by the competent authorities and departments, even though they do not want to leave the country. Throughout this thesis, we will work with people who voluntarily return to their ancestral homeland.

After the labor immigration to Europe during the post-second world war era, return migration studies have been conducted in several regions. In these studies, transnational practices of second generations have been researched. Susanne Wessendorf's (2007) "Roots-migrants': Transnationalism and 'Return' among Second-Generation Italians in Switzerland"<sup>1</sup> article studies return of second-generation Italians from Sweden to Italy.

Also, King and Christou's (2014) 'Cultural Geographies of Counter-Diasporic Migration: Perspectives from the Study of Second-Generation' Returnees' to Greece'<sup>2</sup> article studies second and third-generation Greeks returning from the USA to Greece. In her article, Wessendorf (2014) suggests the root-migration term and explains the return migration process of individuals who have multinational identities during their childhood and teenage years. Transnational practices, which play an essential role in the return decision, are the practices that the government does not intervene; instead, the immigrants put forward in their own will in social, economic, and cultural fields. The visits of migrants and their families to their homelands, their ties with their relatives and friends through messages, telephone, Skype, and other social media tools, and the occasional short trips between these two countries for educational and job purposes are the practices to be covered throughout the thesis. Additionally, another research subject is the recent developments in the Turkish diaspora and the impact of these developments on second and third-generation immigrants.

Today, migration is a process in which migrants shape and maintain multi-layered relationships and activities that connect many places (Schiller, Basch & Blanc, 1995). Along with transnationalism, social, and economic relations from both of the countries (sending and receiving) affect both the integration level and return decision

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<sup>1</sup> Wessendorf, S. (2007). "Roots migrants": Transnationalism and "Return" among second- generation Italians in Switzerland. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(7):1083-1102ez

<sup>2</sup> King, R., Christou, A. (2010), Cultural geographies of counter-diasporic migration: perspectives from the study of second-generation 'returnees' to Greece. *Popul. Space Place*, 16: 103-119

of returnees. Advocates of transnationalism viewpoint that return migrants continue to their social relations between their relatives and friends with regular visits and travel to their homelands. Also, with investments via remittances, return migrants strengthen their economic ties with their homelands (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2016).

Migratory countries and their diasporas established transnational ties. This issue is discussed in the literature (Bauböck & Faist, 2010). To make their diaspora loyal to their homeland and to prevent their assimilation, the sending countries play an active role in social policy initiatives and policy-making processes. This is seen as extending and redefining the country and its borders through diasporas (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2016), and social policies gain a transnational character (Yeates, 2009).

The transnational perspective in migration research enables us to understand the multi-local and multi-social changes created by immigrants and the rising of diasporas as new actors in the policy area. Immigrants living in Germany had a mission to become a bridge between Germany and Turkey. Improvements in social and political citizenship rights of immigrants have been experienced with the increase of transnational ties and technological communication. From labor migration to the present, we can observe the transition from the economic role to the political role of the Turkish diaspora.

Migrants have undergone policy changes in their hostland and in their homeland, which facilitate their lives and increase their mobility. While it is the duty of national states to ensure social equality and to protect the rights and security of their citizens, international social policy solutions are needed in an increasingly globalized world. To provide social policy initiatives that are consistent with a global perspective for those immigrants who define themselves in multiple places and social fields, should be among the duties of both Germany and Turkey. The primary goal of this thesis is to analyze the experiences and challenges of second and third generation Turkish-Germans during return migration process. It aims to contribute to social policy recommendations on return migration within the transnational perspective.

## **1.1 Research Topic and Questions**

The master thesis focuses on how return migration affects experiences and challenges of second and third-generation Turkish-Germans. Also, it examines the effects of transnational practices and networks in the diaspora on return migration decisions. It explains the formation and changing process of the Turkish diaspora in Germany. During the reintegration process, returnees have to retest their language, education, work, and social skills. Both governments made specific policy changes during return movements and reintegration processes. This Master Thesis reveals the issues returnees have faced during the reintegration period in terms of education, work, and social environment in their ancestral homeland and gives some social policy recommendations at the end of the Master Thesis. The research questions answered in this thesis are as follows:

1. What are the experiences and challenges of return migration of second and third-generation Turkish-Germans?
2. What is the role of transnational practices in the lives of return migrants and their reintegration process in the homeland?
3. What kind of social policies should be developed by policymakers to ease the reintegration process of returnees?

## **1.2 Introducing the Key Concepts**

In this section, I will define the basic concepts to clarify the scope of the study. The most used concepts throughout the thesis will be the second generation, return migration, transnationalism, and the diaspora. The main actors of the thesis are second and third-generation German-born Turks. When we say the second generation, it is generally considered as children of the first-generation immigrants. Although this is correct, it is contradictory, as well. The conflicting situation here is that the experience of immigration belongs to their ancestors instead of themselves. However, it is defined as the return to the homeland and going to a country they did

not born and live (King & Kılınç, 2013). While the academicians represent the second generation, they consider the number of years spent in the hostland as an essential parameter (Lee, 2008). As a result, they offer different categories and approaches. According to Rumbaut (2004), persons who settled in a hostland below the age of 18 are identified as the first generation, under the age of 18 are classified as one and a half generation and children born from a local, and an immigrant individual is identified as two and a half generations (Rumbaut, 2004). The main conclusion here is that the essential criteria of the second-generation individuals are that they migrated from their homeland at a young age and thus did not have much homeland experience before migration (Schneider, 2016). It is another crucial factor that they receive their primary education in the host country. However, it is not possible to fit all individuals in these concepts or to even define them to a full extent. Many different scenarios can take place, such as the place during school age, having a local parent, or going back to their homeland for a while. Therefore, it would be more accurate to say only the second generation. In defining the concept of the second generation, researchers state that migrants raised in transnational social fields may belong to both countries through social, economic and political ties and that ties should be taken into account when defining them. In this thesis, the second and third generations are counted as transnational community members living in transnational social areas.

Migrants may travel elsewhere for short or long-term reasons such as work, education, or health. Because of that, the times and reasons for returning to their homeland from their hostland may vary widely. Therefore, it is difficult to identify and limit return migration conceptually. The definition of Gmelch's return migration is:

Return migration is defined as the movement of emigrants back to their homelands to resettle. Migrants returning for a vacation or an extended visit without the intention of remaining at home are generally not defined as return migrants, though in some settings it is difficult to distinguish analytically the migrants returning home for a short visit or seasonally from those who have returned permanently (1980, p. 136).



In this thesis, return migration means that the return decision of the migrants is voluntary, and they reside in another country for a significant period. (Dustman & Weiss, 2007). There is no single definition of return migration. Scholars had not explained it only by economic conditions or political, social, and cultural reasons (family relations, social networks). King splits the return migration to four different categories and investigates the reasons behind the immigration. They describe these four types of guest laborers as:

1. with the intent to return to their homelands and manage to return
2. to return to their homes but could not manage to return
3. without the purpose to return to their homelands but forced to return due to obligatory reasons or homeland nostalgia
4. without the intent to return to their homes and willing to stay forever in their settled land (King, 2000).

In the very first place, return migration has been mostly tried to be explained via economic success or failure with regards to growth and development. Cerase's studies with structural investigations about return migration from the USA to Italy has shown that there is a relation between the decision of return and social and economic status of their homelands (Cerase, 1974). Despite the fact, with the globalization of the world, it is impossible to explain return migration only with economic reasons and structural factors (Cassarino, 2004). Rapid progression of technology and transportation helps the flow of both people and information. These changes have revealed new opinions.

The second and third-generation immigrants living in Germany are born into the diaspora and experience their daily life practices in this field. In this study, to better understand the second and third generation individuals who are growing in the diaspora, it is also vital to comprehend the diaspora itself. Diasporas are created by people who have common historical, cultural, and ethnic structures, getting together. Even though the existence of diasporas is related to immigration movements, how is

the development procedure for second and third-generation individuals who have never lived in that homeland to be included in that diaspora? To answer these questions, first, the diaspora should be defined.

Many researchers studied diaspora as a concept, and throughout time, some variations have been developed. The classical diaspora concept, also known as ethnographic diaspora, was improved for the new global world, then the concept of modern diaspora emerged. Explaining the diaspora concept with a limited set of rules or preparing a precise definition of it is extremely difficult. According to William Saffran (1991), it requires six criteria. These are;

1. to immigrate at least two different regions from their homelands
2. to have a shared history and ideal
3. to believe that the new society will never accept them or will never be able to adapt to them
4. to think that someday they are going to return to their homelands
5. to be committed to their homes and work for its growth and safety
6. to be in a relationship with this diaspora

Diaspora can be divided into four different categories: Victim, trading, labor, and cultural diasporas (Cohen, 1997). Turkish-rooted immigrants who went to post-second world war Europe can be an example of labor diasporas (King & Kılınc, 2013). If we look at the above examples, it is hard to say that children and grandchildren of first-generation immigrants are carrying these properties. However, the developed and globalized world could also alter the meaning of classical diaspora. Together with transnationalism, it evolved to a more specific term, including even second and third-generation immigrants.

Transnationalism had become a hot topic after globalization, improved living conditions, increased ways of transportation and communication, and technological advancements (De Haas & Fokkema, 2010). Frequent changes in the living

conditions of people have shaped their home definition to sustain their cultural and social connections. Guest workers were the first actors of transnationalism movements. Immigrants who bring foreign money to their countries, learn new languages and business and social information, they are seen as reformist actors in their homelands (Guarnizo, Portes & Haller, 2003). This concept needs to be examined more in the studies of second and third-generation immigrants. Transnationalism shows that immigrants are not integrated into only one country. Still, instead, they have embedded in two or more countries as social and economic beings, and they form their networks in that way (Levitt, 2001). One of the most important criteria that is building transnational social connections. Instead of putting migration stories as temporary, permanent, and return migration, transnationalism looks from a broader perspective, and with the new globalized world, it produces new return migration processes (Faist, 2008). In this thesis, I have focused on how transnational practices and links affect the return migration decision and reintegration process of returnees.

### **1.3 Significance and Contributions**

In sociology and migration studies, transnational practices and reintegration process have been widely studied (Rittersberger-Tılıç, Çelik & Özen, 2013; Kılınc & King, 2013; Kaya & Kentel, 2005). However, the advancement of technology, thriving links, and networks beyond nation-states have become more prevalent each passing day (Schiller, Basch & Blanc, 1995). The policies and regulations implemented by the national states for immigrants were insufficient to solve today's problems. Thus, my thesis will draw attention to the transnational dimensions of social policy and advance the study of transnationalism concerning social policy and welfare.

This study is based on field research. It offers data based on returnees' transnational, and multi-local social networks of family and friends both hostland and homeland in the reintegration adjustment process. It is a significant contribution to return migration literature.

This article consists of five chapters, which are an introduction, theoretical framework and literature, data analysis, and research findings, research design and methodology, policy advice, and prospect for future research. In the following chapter, the background of migration from Turkey to Germany, the Turkish diaspora, and its organizations in Germany will be discussed. Also, transnationalism and its relationship with the second and third generation will be analyzed throughout the thesis. The methodology section gives information on the design of the study and profiles of the participants, a detailed explanation about the information gathering and analysis process, and discussion about the thesis topic and its strengths and limitations. The fourth section of this article covers findings and analysis. This section reveals returnees' stories about their return migration decision and reintegration period. In the policy advice part, social policy recommendations will be given for a more natural adaptation process. The last section of this thesis consists of general remarks and discussions.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Background of Turkish Migration to Germany

This part covers the historical background of Turkish migration to Germany. It summarizes Turkey's social, economic, and political environment during labor migration movements. It draws attention to the characteristics of migration to define the Turkish diaspora formed by labor migrants in Germany.

In the post-World War II European countries, industrialization acts advanced, and the need for labor increased. The unemployment rate in Europe was shallow. Meanwhile, underdeveloped or still developing countries have taken the task of supplying raw materials and labor to these developed European countries. In this period, especially Germany, in order to increase demand in the growing post-war industry, began to collect human resources from the surrounding states for the jobs which their citizens did not want to do. In Germany, guest workers known as Gastarbeiter migrated from their home country for better opportunities and possibilities. Germany first started labor migrant recruitments with Italy in 1955. Germany and Turkey had recruitment agreements on September 30, 1961, and 1964. Also, Turkey made labor agreements with Austria (1964), Belgium (1964), Netherlands (1964), France (1965), and Sweden (1967) (Abadan-Unat, 2002).

Turkey was experiencing a severe economic crisis until May 27, 1960, military coup. Along with military intervention, unemployment and foreign exchange shortage have increased. During that period, labor migration emerged as a demographic solution (Abadan-Unat, 2006).

The goal of the policymakers was to reduce unemployment in the country through labor migration and to develop the country through new remittances and new

knowledge and skills acquired by return migrants (Sayarı, 1986). Labor migrants were supposed to create new job opportunities by sending money to their families and relatives and investing in their savings. First Five-year Development Plan explains this situation as follows:

Another aspect of the employment policy is the export of labor surpluses to Western European countries, which suffer from labor shortages. Even though Turkey has a labor surplus, it also suffers from famine in a high-quality workforce. If that labor force is a high-quality labor force, this can increase this scarcity, and measures should be taken to prevent this disadvantage. (2006, p. 184).

Both countries would have reached their goals with the movement of labor migration. The first agreement between the two countries was held on October 31, 1961, to make this win-win scenario real. East Germany was not included in this agreement. The number of workers migrating from Turkey to Germany was risen to 18 558 in 1962 and been increased to 27 500 in 1963 (Gitmez, 1979, Abadan-Unat, 2002). Labor migrants were seen as the main actor of improvement and recovery in the origin country (. Workers who went to Germany in the 1960s were more qualified (Abadan-Unat, 2002). According to official figures, 800 000 workers emigrated to Europe via Business and Employment Agency- Anwerbebüros der Bundesanstalt for Arbeit- from 1961 to 1974 (İçduygu, 1991). According to these agreements, labor migration was short-term and temporary. However, Germany had become a more cosmopolitan structure (Aydın, 2016). After the labor agreements were made, the volunteer workers made their applications, passed the medical examinations, and the appropriate candidates joined in the labor migration. The health and working areas of the workers in Germany, their sheltering and legal rights, and the violation and the annulment of their contract have been clarified. To protect and monitor the rights of the workers, Foreign Relations, and Abroad Worker Services General Directorate have been founded in 1967 (Bilgili, 2010).

Immigrants that are coming in the early 1970s were more frequently from rural areas and less educated than the first comers (Abadan-Unat, 2002). Guest labors had a

residence permit for their families, and family reunions started (Kaya & Kentel, 2004). The crowded households were in search of houses in settlements near the factory, and migrant worker dominant districts were established. Economic growth continued to grow in Europe from the 1960s until the 1973 oil crises.

With the oil crisis in 1973, Germany experienced economic stagnation and began to implement new immigration policies to stop the recruitment of foreign workers. When bilateral agreements were made, the German government and employers adopted the principle of 'rotation' and expected for migrant workers to return a few years later (Bentolila, 1996). Apart from the economic stagnation, concerns about the adaptation of labor migrants and their families in German society had increased. However, economic growth continued to stop, and the Social democratic government developed a new practice between 1974-1980. According to this, the ban on procurement of workers will remain, measures will be taken for the integration of foreigners living in Germany. They will be given assistance to return to their homelands (Kılınç, 2013). Meanwhile, the workers continued to send money to their families and relatives. Turkey has reached the target remittances from the workers, and foreign exchange flow to the country met 50 percent of exports in 1970-71 and 90 percent of exports in 1973. They were also trying to invest in the country as part of the return strategy. In 1973, these remittances closed the foreign trade deficit by 154 percent (İçduygu, 2014).

On November 10, 1983, the German government enforced 'The Law on Encouragement of Return Migration' (Rittersberger-Tılıç & Çelik & Özen, 2013). It was a legislative effort to speed up the return of guest workers. According to this return migration supporting law, each worker working in Germany would receive 10500 DM for at least two years. Besides that, each individual in the family could get 1500 DM (King & Kılınç, 2013). At the same time, the labor migrants would also take back their pension contributions. As a result of this incentive law and the implemented financial programs, 250 000 Turks returned their homelands (Aydın, 2016). However, this figure tended to fall towards the end of the 1980s.

Because of the German government's halt policy for labor migration, application with the request for refugee status have increased from Turkey. In 1976, the number of applicants with political pressure reasons was 809, and however, four years later, in 1980, this number jumped to 57,913 (Abadan-Unat, 2006). Due to the 1980 military coup and the Kurdish problem in the 1990s, the refugee applications continued in different European countries as well. After the 1980s, the immigrant communities in Germany have been divided and segregated due to the various ideologies (Aydın, 2016). Previously, the Turkish government founded some institutions for both protecting the rights of their guest workers and economic reasons. At this time, the Turkish government founded the Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs in 1984, a branch of the Presidency of Religious Affairs. The aim was to encourage the Turkish diaspora to stand together even though there were divisions due to ideological ideas (Aydın, 2014).

The number of immigrants from Turkey in Germany had the highest rate compared to other communities (Abadan Unat, 2006; Kaya ve Kentel, 2005). Most of the labor migrants coming from different countries returned to their homelands. Between 1961 and 1965, around 1 million Italian workers left Switzerland and Germany to return to their homeland. (İçduygu, 2014). One of the essential reasons why Turkish guest workers wanted to stay in Germany was Germany's vast social security rights for guest labors. The social security rights of labor migrants and their spouses, such as birth and child allowance and retirement, were guaranteed by law. In the 1990s, some progress was made to change the citizenship law of Germany with the support and assistance of civil society organizations and some policymakers (Ehrkamp & Leitner 2003).

The basic principle of the German citizenship law was *jus sanguinis*. This law of 1913 is based on the pedigree principle. This principle gave citizenship rights to newborn individuals through blood ties. For adults to become German citizens, they had to live in Germany for at least ten years. To obtain German citizenship, the individual's adaptation to the German lifestyle, having sufficient knowledge of German, and



sustaining his/her life was among other criteria (Çınar, 1994). Obtaining citizenship of the children of foreigners born and raised in Germany was on the agenda. Since 1993, the law was amended to increase the integration of foreign permanent immigrants and to make their lives easier. The inclusion of the implementation of the *ius soli*, which came with Germany's Nationality Act of 1999, was an important step in the German Citizenship law. Another was related to the lifting of the ban on dual citizenship. However, under the *ius soli* principle, the children of labor migrants born in Germany were entitled to become German citizens under certain conditions.

According to the German citizenship law for migrants, the mother or father of an individual had to live in Germany at the least eight years and has at least three years' residence permit (King & Kılınç, 2013). The immigrant children born in Germany had dual citizenship right up to the age of 23, and it became imperative for them to choose the citizenship they would be involved in at that age. It is called as option obligation (Pusch, 2015). If people of Turkish origin wish to hold Turkish citizenship, they lose German citizenship. The critical thing to note is that the German citizenship will automatically be lost if no declaration is made by the age of 23 (Yetkin Aker, 2019). New regulations were also made for first-generation immigrants. The time to live in Germany to get a residence permit has been reduced from 15 to eight years.

## **2.2 Transnationalism of Diasporas and Social Policy**

The definition of diaspora has changed over time after its classical definition gained new meanings (Dufoix, 2008). The concept was initially used for people (Jews, Armenian) exiled from their homelands or scattered to other territories (Saffran, 1991). These people could not return to their homeland and could not achieve their dreams of living there (Cohen, 1997). However, the emergence of diasporas in today's world is not only due to political or cultural conflicts. (Reis, 2004). Since the diaspora was shaped as a consequence of forced migration movements, how did the second and third-generation migrants become involved in the diaspora? What were the effects of transnational practices in the diaspora, and in the process of forming their

identities? To answer these questions, I will try to present the change in the meaning of the diaspora concept in the globalized world.

When we look at the classical definition of diaspora, it is hard to say that Turkish immigrants living in Germany meet these criteria. However, diasporas are always in the process of restructuring (Van Hear, 1998). Because of these features, they always change and gain new meanings. Many social scientists with different dimensions studied the concept of diaspora (Clifford, 1994). Clifford summarizes the subject as:

'for better or worse, diaspora discourse is being widely appropriated' (1994, p. 306).

Saffran (1991) and Cohen (1997) discussed diaspora with a more traditional approach (Tölölian, 1991). Diaspora has moved away from the detachment and dream of returning to the homeland and instead took on a structure containing different identities and cultures (Hall, 1990). It began to be called by the concepts of displacement or mobility. Cohen says people who do not have to live abroad also develop strong transnational ties and see themselves as diasporas (Cohen, 1997). In transnational migration studies, diaspora is referred with 'borderland.' Diasporas cover undetermined, transnational migrations that do not belong to a specific geographical or geopolitical boundary (Clifford, 1994).

The emphasis on the homeland is essential in traditional diaspora studies (Saffran, 1991). However, today, the concept and perception of the homeland of migrants have also changed. When discussing the concept of the homeland, social scientists argued that immigrants would be assimilated during the second and continuing generations and would not be tied to the homeland anymore. So, it was believed that the concept of the homeland would disappear. However, it was realized that these bonds did not disappear. Diasporas create new identities between homeland and hostland. Taline Papazian and Khachig Tölölian (2014) discussed Armenian diasporas and identity issues. Tölölian explains what will happen the future of the diasporas when the assimilation took place and the original identities disappeared as:

Assimilation will continue. In each generation, intermarriage, loss of language, and other factors will lead to it. However, it is not the only tendency at work. Two other developments are significant: one is how diasporic identity is understood, experienced, and performed by the young in their daily lives. The other is the emergence of transnational social spaces.

...

The "third space" in which they live is geosocial or geo-cultural and very different from the area in which traditional immigrants lived. The new transnationals receive cultural products from the homeland – they watch satellite TV, have their TV broadcasts, internet contact, cheap phone calls; whereas an immigrant of 1914 waiting for a letter that (s)he might get once a month, these people live in a space where daily contact with the country of origin is possible. Many travels back annually. (2014, p.92)

Researchers and policymakers are reluctant to use the concept of diaspora (Milner & Ritter, 2014). The reason for this is that the classic definition of the diaspora includes migrants with a desire to return to their country, and who have many challenging experiences (Faist, 2000). Thus, policymakers prefer to call as a transnational community instead of the diaspora concept (Vertovec, 2001). These communities, while trying to integrate into their host land, continue to maintain their commitment to their cultural identities, religions, and origins. Both concepts have common characteristics, but they do not fully substitute for each other. In this thesis, the second and third generations are counted as transnational community members living in transnational social areas.

Transnationalism is a multi-dimensional concept that allows people, knowledge, and products to move between countries that connects both sending country and migration-receiving countries and immigrants themselves with the people and institutions in these two public areas (Faist, 2000). The globalization of the world has accelerated the transfer of technology and knowledge. Transnationalism and globalization are interconnected concepts and beyond national states (Kearney, 1995). Today's migrants are called trans-migrants, and they connect with both their hostland and their homeland, build institutions, conduct activities, and even influence local and national events (Faist, 2000). Formation of transnational bonds and

identities also required an understanding of the concept of transnational spaces. This term refers to the socio-economic areas in which everyday life practices are produced and where mutual social, economic, and cultural networks are created among individuals (Özgür, 2018).

There are many studies on the second generation in the literature. These studies are generally related to the extent to which the second generation will be assimilated in the society they were born and what their integration levels will be (Thomson & Crul, 2007). Some scholars believed that transnational immigrants will not be permanent in the host country and will eventually return to their home countries. It was expected that the immigrants who permanently moved to a country would be able to cut their ties with their homeland, and they and their next generations would be completely assimilated into the accepted society. After World War II, Europe predicted migrant workers as temporary residents; however, this expectation did not realize. These immigrants continued to use their mother languages and cultures with the second and third generation in the diaspora. Some academics argue that assimilation will occur (Kivisto, 2001), while some say that ties with their homelands will continue under the influence of transnationalism (Schiller, Basch & Blanc, 1995). In the studies conducted on immigrants in America, the second generation was expected to be assimilated and could not establish transnational ties with their homelands. Portes and Zhou (1993) suggested the concept of segmented assimilation. However, this typology was not compatible with the second generation in Europe. Studies defending the assimilation theory ignored the fact that the families of the second and subsequent generations have strong ties with their homeland (Levitt, 2001). The abundance and multiplicity of the transnational practices of the second generation of immigrants were significantly affected by the policies, ethnic origins, genders, economic conditions, and social capital of the country and their homeland (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993).

In the beginning, first-generation migrant workers from Turkey to Germany had higher plans and desires to return to their countries. After World War II, Europe

predicted that the labor migrants would remain temporarily. However, this expectation was not realized. The Turkish immigrants, who continued to stay in Germany, settled in overtime and tried to adapt to the host country while maintaining their close ties with their own countries. Thus, they led to transnationalism of the areas they used to migrate and lived in (Çağlar, 2001). Transnational links include families, relatives, and friends of migrants and their economic, social, political, and cultural practices in homeland and hostland (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). Even though Faist (2010) had defined the concepts of transnationalism and diaspora as 'awkward dance partners,' they are now used as overlapping concepts (Bauböck & Faist, 2010). Although the concept of diaspora only used for communities that have been forced into displacement initially, they are now used for almost all communities that have been allegedly dispersed (Kenunedy & Roudometof, 2002). One of the reasons why the concept of diaspora is so often referred with transnationalism is that the identity and belonging that the immigrants create in the hostland are associated with their homeland (Bauböck & Faist, 2010).

Before the spread of transnationalism, the majority of nation-states did not find it appropriate for immigrants to have more than one citizenship. They thought that dual citizenship made it difficult for them to integrate into society and pose a threat to the understanding of the nation-state. However, over time, they accepted that people continue to live in more than one country, and individuals with multiple identities exist. In some cases, the second and subsequent generations can have dual citizenship (Conway, Potter & St. Bernard, 2008). Dual citizenship is a method to solve many problems in a global world where transnational individuals are frequently moved from one place to another. Thus, many countries that received migrants started to change their positions on this issue and started legal practices to solve these problems. Dual citizenship can be earned in many different ways, such as birth, marriage, and residence time, depending on the laws of the country (Vertovec, 2004).

Visits to the homeland of their ancestors were also influential in the return migration of the second and third generations. Continuous communication was achieved by

contacting uncle, aunt, grandmother, or siblings via communication channels such as the internet or telephone. Duval (2004) investigated in his ethnographic study the relationship between return migration and visits to the homeland among Caribbean community members in Toronto. These visits have a transnational character. It helps to strengthen social ties and harmony with people in the homeland. Besides, it holds a vital place among the preparations for return because immigrants have an idea about the country before return (Duval, 2004).

Wessendorf argues that in the second generation return migration, transnational identities are shaped by transnational and diasporic ties (Wessendorf, 2007). The second generation, with the development of technology, can easily reach cheap airplane tickets and fast transportation. In this way, he/she can spend more time with his family members, can make a holiday in his country, and strengthen his/her transnational relations (Reynolds, 2010).

Also, transnational communities and diasporas serve as bridges between countries of origin and host countries in the field of economics. Portes (2003) sees transnational migration, as cheap and ordinary migrant labor to large industrialized countries; also, he sees the non-industrialized countries as the output of capitalism, which makes them dependent on the remittances that migrant workers send to their homeland (Portes, 2003). However, the economic practices of transnational migrant communities are very active and comprehensive. The most important form of these practices is the large number of money transfers that migrants send to families and communities in the origin countries (Orozco, 2005). Immigrant communities send money to their relatives in their homeland and make joint investments or establish a business. This is another way of maintaining their existence in both countries. Besides, to be a source of capital (Graham, 2014), these remittances affect gender roles in the family and relative relationships in their homeland (Vertovec, 2001). It reflects the transnational practices of Turkish immigrants in various German cities and their local commitment through investments in the local neighborhood (Çağlar, 2001).

To understand the process of transformation and change of diasporas, it is of great importance to see the evolution of the second and subsequent generations with the culture of the hostland. Immigrant children and grandchildren create a new identity by blending the culture and experience they acquired in the country of birth in the homeland culture.

### **2.3 Turkish Diaspora Policy in Germany and Turkey**

With the industrial revolution, a great reformation took place in the field of economy. This revolution brought liberal policies and a number of social problems. In this period, social policy emerged as an understanding of balance for nation-states (Yüksel, 2014). Social policy was particularly effective in solving societal problems after the Second World War. However, as a result of technological developments, the continually growing global capital made the social policies produced by nation-states inadequate (Ozaydın, 2008). As a result of the global pressures felt by the social state, the need for transnational institutions was realized primarily through changes in the economic field. The rise of non-governmental organizations and voluntary non-profit organizations are emerging actors in global social policy (Yaetes, 2001). Organizations such as IMF<sup>3</sup>, OECD<sup>4</sup>, and WTO<sup>5</sup> started to manage global capital and shape the policies of nation-states (Ozaydın, 2008).

The increase of communication and transportation and the acceleration of technology have increased the interaction and intensity in transnational networks in the globalized world. It helped to establish and sustain dialogue within the community beyond national boundaries. Nationalities started to use their citizens living abroad

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<sup>3</sup> See International Monetary Fund, <https://www.imf.org/external/index.htm>, accessed on: 2/11/2019

<sup>4</sup> See The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, <http://www.oecd.org/>, accessed on: 25/11/2019

<sup>5</sup> See World Trade Organization, <https://www.wto.org/>, accessed on: 25/11/2019

in the field of diplomacy to create public opinion (Adamson, 2019). Public diplomacy is used by policymakers to protect the interests of citizens living abroad and to achieve national interests by directing the diaspora (Faist, 2008). Economic and commercial relations are developed, cultural and social ties are maintained, and through civil society organizations and the state mutual dialogue is improved. The Turkish diaspora began to emerge in Germany in the 1960s with the guest workers. Today, the second, third, and even the fourth generation begin to participate in the diaspora with their distinct diaspora identities and transnational practices. In many parts of the world, there are Turkish citizens. Still, Turkey kept strong ties with the diaspora in Germany and in the international arena, has tried to increase its soft power with diaspora politics (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003). Until this time, studies have mostly followed countries that have received migrants and their policy implementations regarding the minorities. In this section, I would like to mention how and with what aim Turkey manages its diasporas.

The most crucial factor in the permanent establishment and development of the Turkish diaspora in Europe was migrant worker immigration to Europe. Over time, ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity increased in the diaspora (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003). In the beginning, Turkey had not a particular policy for citizens living abroad. The diaspora, which grew in time, was first identified with economic elements. The most important tasks of the diaspora were seen as remittances and investments in Turkey. Only in the 1980s, efforts were made to manage the Turkish diaspora with increasing activity and intensity and protect its interests. The 1982 constitution became a turning point in policies for Turkish communities living abroad. Many institutions have been established. Transnational bonds have been created to protect the rights of the Turkish diaspora in Germany and strengthen bonds with its citizens:

The state shall take the necessary measures to ensure family unity, the education of the children, the cultural needs and the social security of Turkish nationals working abroad, and shall take the necessary measures to safeguard their ties with the home country, and to help them in their return home. (Aksel 2014, p. 203-204)



Turkish citizens living abroad were offered dual citizenship rights. This law gave immigrants the right to hold the citizenship of the country they went to. It was aimed that immigrants would strengthen their presence in the hostland and continue their ties with their homeland. The responsibility for strengthening these ties was fortified by law for both citizens and governments. In 1984-1985, a new political attitude towards diasporas was adopted under the leadership of Turgut Özal (İçduygu, 2014). The main feature of the renewed Turkish diaspora policy was the politicization and use of Turkish communities living abroad as a means of diplomacy. Many associations and institutes were established in host countries. Government support was provided to protect the social and cultural loyalties of the Turks living in Europe and to raise future generations with Turkish-Islamic synthesis. Turkish consulates increased their interaction with Turkish citizens in a foreign country.

Özge Bilgili explains the field works of these institutions and the purposes for which they function in her article 'Understanding the Changing Role of the Turkish Diaspora'<sup>6</sup> (2010). In Turkey, ministerial-level institutions dealing with citizens living abroad are the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, the Ministry of State, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The primary aim of these ministries is to ensure the integration of the Turks living abroad in social, economic, and political areas. The Ministry of Labor and Social Security has an essential duty to regulate and protect the conditions of business and social security rights of its citizens. Another important institution is The Directorate of Religious Affairs. In 1967, Foreign Relations and Abroad Worker Services General Directorate (FRAWSGD) was established to protect the rights of migrant workers and to ensure social security agreements. In 1985, the Turkish government initiated the establishment of a religious organization called the Turkish-Islamic Union of Religious Affairs<sup>7</sup> (DITIB) in the Federal

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<sup>6</sup> Bilgili, Ö., Siegel, M. (2010). *Understanding the Changing Role of the Turkish Diaspora*, UN University/Maastricht Economic and Social Research Institute on Innovation and Technology (UNU-MERIT)

<sup>7</sup> See Türkisch İslamische Union der Anstalt für Religion, <http://www.ditib.de/index.php?lang=en>, accessed on: 10/11/2019.

Republic of Germany under the auspices of the Directorate of Religious Affairs (Federal Directorate of Religious Affairs). Today in Germany, more than 1000 mosques connected to the DITIB association and, therefore, constitute the formation of Turkey's largest diaspora organizations. The primary purpose of these institutions is to protect the native language, culture, and religious elements of the citizens living abroad.

The Turkish diaspora, which has a high population in foreign countries, was also encouraged to establish a non-governmental organization to defend their political rights (Aydın, 2014). Consultancy Board for Citizens Living Abroad (CBCLA) was founded in 1998 in order to deal with the problems of Turkish citizens living abroad and to determine strategies for how to manage the diaspora. Yunus Emre Institutes<sup>8</sup> were established in 2007 as a non-profit organization to promote Turkish culture, promote mutual dialogue and understanding. This new institute also aims to bridge the Turkish diasporic formations in host countries. Another aim of this institution is to teach the Turkish language to the descendants of the guest workers.

One of the most important institutions is the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities Department<sup>9</sup>. The main working area of the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities is Turkish immigrants living abroad (Yıldırım & Yıldırım, 2017). The Ministry of State established this institution in 2010 in order to be more active in the diaspora, to be more effective in the management, and to solve the problems of Turkish citizens. While the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities Department includes Turkish citizens and immigrants of Turkish origin in the diaspora, at the same time, it includes people who are culturally and historically connected to the Turkish diaspora. It also offers a scholarship to students coming from different countries to study in Turkey. One of its works includes establishing transnational ties with these students and continuing relationships with them. Non-

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<sup>8</sup> See Yunus Emre Institutes, <https://www.yee.org.tr/>, accessed on: 3/11/2019

<sup>9</sup> See Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities, <https://www.ytb.gov.tr/en>, accessed on 30/11/2019

governmental organizations help to strengthen these ties. For this reason, the Presidency supports the active participation of Turkish citizens and their relatives in civil non-governmental organizations and protection of their ties with Turkey (Yılmaz & Kılıçoğlu, 2017).

This institution had many important works, such as the Blue Card process for citizens who are unable to hold Turkish citizenship. This card implements the necessary procedures for employing their voting rights in elections, organizing scholarships, and training activities for international students. It helps to organize Young Leaders Abroad Program (for Turkish immigrants residing in the USA) for Turkish citizens studying abroad, to increase their participation in non-governmental organizations, and to come together with think tanks in different countries (Yıldırım & Yıldırım, 2017). In 2016, Turkey Internship Program was implemented. The program aims to keep the strong connections of young immigrants of Turkish origin with the country, to promote the labor market, and to help them to use the Turkish language more effectively. On the other hand, with Evliya Celebi Youth Bridge program, an attempt was made for Turkey's recognition (Yılmaz & Kılıçoğlu, 2017).

Another important work of the Presidency is in the field of law. The main law-related activities of the Presidency are the protection of citizenship rights in the host countries where the migrants are located, creating and supporting fields where they can actively participate, such as voting in elections. People who came to Turkey learned about the country's history. This structure aimed at enhancing the political awareness that would contribute to the political, cultural, economic, and social life simultaneously, while enhancing qualified political participation (Yılmaz & Kılıçoğlu, 2017). The Presidency is trying to take a productive and active role in abroad with the civil society activities it organizes. Turkey's diaspora politics participate in the policymaking process through these organizations. (Bilgili, 2010).

Significant progress has been achieved in education, religion, economy, and civil society organizations in the Turkish diaspora in Germany (Østergaard-Nielsen,

2016). Teachers sent from Turkey to teach children the Turkish language and history. Religious officials were sent through the Religious Affairs Administration in order to maintain cultural ties and to maintain the loyalty of immigrants to their homeland (Adamson, 2019).

Turkish origin individuals were supported to put their presence in business ventures in both Germany and Turkey. Working attaches were established. One of the most important factors showing the political dimension of the diaspora was non-governmental organizations. While the diaspora was formerly seen in the context of domestic politics (Sheffer, 1986), it has become an important policymaking tool in foreign policy via globalization (Adamson, 2019). In particular, the AKP (Justice and Development Party) administration took extra care to strengthen the ties of nationalism with the Turkish diaspora in Germany. They succeeded in creating a strong public opinion (Abadan-Unat, 2014).

Public opinion creation is one of the soft power tools to be used in the international arena. The Turkish diaspora protesting the recognition of the Armenian Genocide is an excellent example of that (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2009). States that have the power to direct diasporas can increase the commitment of the diaspora abroad to the homeland with rights such as dual citizenship and the expansion of the political rights of the diaspora within their homeland (Jones-Correa 2001).

The Turkish diaspora is having problems in employment, education system, and integration in Germany. For this reason, Turkish citizens in Germany established transnational frameworks and organized against the existing problem of integration and inequality in education. They presented research on these issues. The Turkish Community in Berlin (TGD)<sup>10</sup> and Turkish Union in Berlin-Brandenburg (TBB)<sup>11</sup> are examples of civil society organizations. TGD spokesman states that they are

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<sup>10</sup> See Turkish Community in Berlin, <https://www.tgd.de/ueber-uns/>, accessed on 30/11/2019

<sup>11</sup> See Berlin-Brandenburg Turkish Community, <https://tbb-berlin.de//home>, accessed on 01/12/2019

transnational actors: "Our hardware is Turkish; our software is German!" (Aydın, 2014, p. 22). The rate of Turkish immigrants graduating from schools accepting senior students in Germany is quite low compared to other migrants from different countries (Abadan-Unat, 2014). They aim to increase social and political participation by fighting the problem of integration and racism. The political parties that campaign for the purpose of pulling votes should play an active role in conveying these problems into the Turkish Parliament and in policymaking processes that will facilitate the lives of transnational immigrants.

In 2012, the Turkish diaspora gained political power by getting the right to vote in the elections (Aydın, 2016). Turkish citizens living abroad have suffrage rights for legislative elections. Regarding that topic, Abadan-Unat made a study about Turkey's 2014 presidential election process and the factors influencing the voter turnout in that election. Political parties had high expectations from the votes cast abroad. According to the survey, when the votes, used at the border gates or in the countries of residence, were collected, it has been shown that only 19 percent of 2,779,726 voters abroad voted. According to the results of the research, the election date's intersection with the summer holiday, and the new appointment system negatively affected the participation rate (Abadan-Unat, 2014). However, political parties tried to influence the Turkish diaspora with their process of lobbying and party campaign.

2017 Constitutional Referendum and 2015 Parliamentary elections are two of the most prominent examples of Turkey's international diaspora's participation. Also, Abadan-Unat (2014) indicates that creating parties under the name of Turkish political parties is illegal in German law. Thus, in order to support their party, immigrants are organized under non-governmental organizations.

Organizations such as the Republican People's Party (CHP) Berlin Union, the Revolutionary Union of the People, and the Kemalist Thought Association are some examples. Union of International Democrats (UETD) is another organization that supports the Justice and Development Party (AKP) (Abadan-Unat, 2014). Especially

in Germany, the presence of a large Turkish diaspora increased the campaigns and effectiveness of NGOs. In this way, Turkish diaspora has acquired political power in Turkey as well (Ostergard-Nielsen, 2003).

These institutions are among the necessary policies that Turkey had created to meet the needs of the Turkish diaspora in Germany. On the other hand, Turkey also tried to protect the rights of returnees living and working in Turkey and made policy changes to facilitate their lives. Although with the Constitution of 1982, dual citizenship right is provided by Turkey, because of Germany's age restrictions brought to dual citizenship, Turkish immigrants are having trouble shifting places (Pusch, 2015). Turkey has enacted the Blue Card application to bring back and facilitate the entry of the Turks living abroad and qualified individuals of Turkish origin. Before the Turkish Blue Card application, Pink Card was issued in 1995. The pink card allows returnees to live in Turkey (Pusch & Splitt, 2013). Pusch & Splitt (2013) points out that the number of Blue Card holders is deficient compared to the high number of Turkish immigrant population in Germany and the world. With the laws issued during the transition process from Pink Card to Blue Card, it is seen that individuals with Blue Card have more extensive rights. However, it can be said that the reasons for the low number of people with a blue card are the lack of a clear determination of what to do in case of retirement, a new application, and bureaucratic problems (Pusch & Splitt, 2013). The Blue Card is an example of an international solution that responds to the needs of individuals living in those two countries, which have had immigration exchanges for many years. In particular, bringing young immigrants of Turkish origin who want to return to their homeland contributes to the development and economic improvement of the country. People who have the Blue Card have all citizenship rights in Turkey (residence, work, and to have real estate), except for the right to elect and to be elected (Pusch, 2013). With this card, migrants can establish their lives in more than one place and live and work seamlessly between the two countries.

It was mentioned that there were return migration movements from the year after the start of the migration from Germany to Turkey. With the halting of recruitment in 1973, these returns have increased. However, in the 1980s, 213,469 immigrants came back from Germany as a result of the reforms made by Germany to support the return movement. In 1984, the Ministry of National Education opened Anatolian High Schools (Pusch & Splitt, 2013), providing English, German, and French education for immigrant children to adapt to the education system and continue their education (Doğan, 1990). In his article "Problems of young people returning from abroad"<sup>12</sup> Suleyman Doğan (1990), described these high schools as adaptive Anatolian high schools with the following characteristics: institutions that do not accept students through the central examination system, take only the children of immigrants returning from abroad and provide three years of secondary and three years of high school education. In today's education system, students coming from abroad are studying together in Anatolian high schools where local students go. Students returning from different countries of Europe continued their education without entering any examination in these schools.

After the return migration for children of families migrating abroad through labor agreements, many studies have been conducted on their adaptation to the Turkish education system, language integration, and school achievements (Akbalık, Karaduman, Oral & Özdoğan, 2003). Scholars found that one of the biggest problems of the students was not being able to use Turkish properly and not being able to understand the lessons properly (Kuruüzüm, 2002). Some policy suggestions were made to integrate the children of guest workers better back into school and society. These suggestions include opening language preparatory classes for children, setting up necessary units for integration courses, developing guidance services, and informing teachers about these students (Akbalık, Karaduman, Oral & Özdoğan, 2003). Students returning from abroad continued their education in Turkey but

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<sup>12</sup> Doğan, S., (1990), Problems Of Young People Returning From Abroad, *Türk Eğitim Derneği Yayınları*.

showed differences in career choices than students undergoing education all his life in Turkey. It was revealed that the professional preferences of the students returning from abroad differed from the local students. These students turned to linguistic-related departments. They moved to fields like German departments, foreign language teachers, or hostesses (Çetin & Ercan, 2008).

In 'Migration in the Opposite Direction: Highly Skilled German Women in Turkey'<sup>13</sup> article, Pusch (2013) points to the importance of the Blue Card application and the establishment of the Presidency of Turks Abroad and Relative Communities as two important examples of policies for Turks living abroad. However, she indicates that the return of highly qualified Turkish immigrants to the country did not get much attention in the media and academia, and this situation contradicts the current foreign policy of Turkey.

## **2.4 Theories of Return**

In order to explain the reasons for return migration, since the 1960s, researchers have developed different theoretical approaches and interpretations (Cassarino, 2004). As we mentioned earlier, research on return migration subject increased with the return of guest workers to their homelands in the 1980s. Economic approaches were developed in this period. Todaro (1962) argues that the decisive factor in migrating is the difference in salary and income level between migrants' countries and their homelands (Güllüpınar, 2012). This is also called the neoclassical economic approach. Migrants calculate the benefit and cost and migrate voluntarily to where their net profit is highest (Toksöz, 2006). The neoclassical economics approach suggests that returning migrants have an unsuccessful migration experience and are unable to meet their economic expectations (Cassarino, 2004). On the other hand, the new economics of labor migration approach emphasizes that the return of migrants

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<sup>13</sup> Pusch, B., (2013). Migration in the Opposite Direction: Highly Skilled German Women in Turkey, *Turkish Journal of Sociology*, 2013/2, 3/27, 138-149.



is a 'calculated strategy' (Cassarino, 2004, p.3) It argues that the aim is to ensure a return to their countries with adequate accumulation (Cassarino, 2004). This approach sees immigration as a temporary action to achieve the goal. Constant and Massey (2002) examines guest workers in Germany in terms of the neoclassical and new economics of labor migration and explains NELM:

NELM, thus, views return migrations not as failures, but as 'successes': people who have met their income goals and are returning home to enjoy their success. Rather than being a mistake, return migration represents the final stage of a pre-established plan (2002, 11).

In the 1980s, financial remittances from Germany to Turkey has closed a critical gap in the economy (Gitmez, 1991). Migrants are more prone to return migration if spouses or children are waiting in the homeland. However, if a family reunion takes place, and children start school in the host land, it becomes difficult to attend return migration. These foreign exchange inflows and investments in the homeland were considered to be an indication that migrants could not adapt to the host country (Özgür, 2018).

Both of these two economic approaches interpreted return migration from different perspectives. However, trying to explain return migration in a meaningful way by just putting it on an economic basis means ignoring social and political factors. At the same time, these theories are insufficient to explain the reasons for the return of children and grandchildren of migrant workers. Therefore, the structural approach has been developed (Cassarino, 2004). This approach argues that the social and institutional aspects of the host and home states are also important, as well as the financial parameters in the return migration (King, 1986; Cerase, 1974). In this approach, the four-category typology of Cerase (1974) draws attention:

1. 'Return of failure' which occurs when immigrants fail to adapt to the country of residence. Problems such as prejudice against the country, language learning, or exclusion from social life make the integration process more difficult.

2. 'Return of conservatism', which is the accumulation of money and, as Cerase states for "liberating themselves from loathsome subjection to the landowners,"(Cerese, 1974, p.254) is to participate in the return movement when the desired material prosperity is reached. First-generation workers who migrated to Germany are the best example of the return of conservatism. Their goal was with the remittances they sent to the country, to buy houses, to invest in new jobs through relatives or friends, or to establish workplaces where they would have self-employment after returning to the country.

3. 'Return of retirement', which is the return migration of the retired migrants in order to spend the rest of their time in their homeland.

4. 'Return of innovation' in which immigrants have a high level of integration into their host land and transfer the language, skills, and knowledge they have learned there to their homeland. This category is one of the main reasons why Turkish workers want to be sent to Europe by the state (Cerese, 1974).

Gmelch (1980) takes this work one step further and presents an approach that examines the process of reintegration of returnees into their homeland. Returnees see return as a successful action if they can adapt to their social and economic conditions in their homeland (Gmelch, 1980). The structural approach is considered auspicious because it includes classifications of return migration that can be adapted for the second generation and subsequent generations. However, this approach is inadequate to examine the social ties that migrants have and does not examine the network they have developed in their host land. In the late 1980s, to explain the return migration, the transnationalism migration theory has been developed by social scientists. (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992). In this approach, migrants are called transmigrants. The reason for this is because of the social, economic, political ties that they have established and maintained both in their own country and in the country, they arrive and their ability to maintain communication with their families (Schiller,

Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992). Gmelch describes the return of migrants who have no knowledge of the political and economic conditions in their homeland as "ill-prepared for their return" (Gmelch, 1980).

However, the transnationalism approach advocates that trans-migrants are aware of the situation in their homeland through visits to their countries and media and social ties. This approach does not try to fit the migration into specific types. It accepts the migration as a dynamic process that does not need to be an end or not as a point to be reached. The first actors of transnationalism emerge as guest workers. These migrants, who left their homelands for economic reasons, continue to maintain their ties with their native language, relatives, and friends. It is observed that the second and subsequent generations are also trying to keep these ties alive by learning their native language or by visiting their homeland during their yearly touristic visits (Somerville, 2008). Developments in technology and telecommunication and cheap airfare help maintain transnational ties. Advocates of this view repeat that transnationalism has different dimensions to be studied and taken into account such as identity, ethnicity, culture, diaspora, belonging, and transnational areas. Besides, they argue that social, political, and economic events in both host land and homeland have an essential role in the construction of immigrants' identity.

The final theory that I will describe among the return migration theories is social network theory. This approach sees return migration as part of the migration story. Social networks refer to the families of the migrants, their relatives and friends, and the ongoing relationship of the migrants with them (Güllüpinar, 2012). This theory, as in transnationalism, argues that migrants have strong ties with their homeland. Immigrants with strong relations and communication have the right to relocate and get information about different countries. They also have the chance to reduce the cost risks in the economic sense with the help of their relatives in the country they migrate (Massey, 1993). Labor migrations to Germany show the importance of social ties. The first migrants were influential in the migration of their relatives to Germany. Castles and Massey (2009) point out that migration movements are dynamic and

social structures that can sustain themselves (2009). Migrants from same communities begin to establish their own economic and social lives in the countries they went to.

The theory of return migration used in this thesis is "transnational migration theory." This theory questions the ties and interactions of immigrants in two or more countries in terms of economic, social, and political sense. It examines the feeling of belonging to these countries (Faist, 2000). In this thesis, the impact of transnationalism on the return decision of second and third-generation Turkish-Germans will be examined. Social policy initiatives for these immigrants will be offered from the perspective of transnationalism.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

The main goal of this part is to present the research design and methodology of the study, the main features of the field site, and the characteristics of interviewees. It will be mentioned which methods have been used in order to answer the research questions. Besides that, the relationship between the researcher and respondents will also be analyzed. At the end of this section, the strengths and limitations of the study were discussed.

#### 3.1 Methodology of The Study

There are two primary approaches used in social sciences: Qualitative and quantitative approaches. The quantitative approach helps explain an event based on numerical data and statistics. This approach is not open to interpretation and is, therefore, defined as realist or positivist (Creswell, 2003). The qualitative approach plays an active role in explaining behavior, belief, and decision processes by collecting information from the study area. Denzin and Lincoln have described this as:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that makes the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 3).

Fieldwork, observation, in-depth interviews, life narratives, and document analysis are the primary research methods of this technique (Patton, 2005). Qualitative approach processes are aimed to answer the questions by asking questions like 'how'

and 'why.' By interpreting the answers, it creates new opportunities for explanations and classifications (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

One of the purpose of the study is to analyze how transnational practices in diaspora affect return decision of second and third generations. Thus, in my thesis, it would be more appropriate to use a qualitative approach to respond to the question of 'how' and to understand the return stories of the participants. Semi-structured in-depth interview is the selected method for this study. The information I obtained from the analysis of the interviews allows me to examine the experiences of the returnees about their upbringing in Germany, their return process, and transnational practices in the Turkish diaspora in Germany. This method has been used frequently in migration studies as it enables us to understand better. The flow of the interview and the questions were more regular and determined compared to the unstructured interview; however, this method also allows interaction and flexibility between the participant and the researcher (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

The semi-structured in-depth interview method helps to explain people's behavior, beliefs, and perceptions. It also allows participants to express themselves freely (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Although this method requires questions to be in specific patterns, it also includes open-ended questions. This allows the participants to express themselves more easily. This method generally requires face-to-face interviews, but when this is not possible, discussions can be made with tools such as Skype, facetime, and mobile phone.

Before I started the interviews with the interviewees, I gave detailed information about me and my work. I have shared the purpose of my work and the questions I prepared for them. I asked them if it was appropriate for them to get a voice recording during the interview, and I got their approval. After I got consent from the interviewees, I applied for the approval of the Middle East Technical University Human Research Ethics Committee. I informed them that I would share the transcribed version of the interview if they desired. I explained the importance of

their joining in my study. Three of my participants asked me why the study should be analyzed with in-depth interview questions. I explained to them the importance of using this method in answering my research questions. After the preparation of interview questions, I took advice and guidance from my thesis advisor. It helped me much when I was interviewing with my participants. Our interviews were based on open-ended questions that I had previously prepared, and these interviews generally lasted about one and a half-hour. Only two of my second-generation participants' interviews took about 3 hours. I got voice recordings of the interviews we did and then transcribed each word by word.

After transcribing 14 interviews, I had about 150 pages of information about my participants' transnational life experiences and return stories. I am planning to share my thesis with participants, right after finalizing it. Our interviews were conducted in Turkish, but I often encountered German terms when talking to third-generation participants. While the second-generation participants defined their native language as Turkish, the third generation said that they spoke and expressed themselves more easily in German. They stated that they do not know the Turkish counterparts for some terms and institutions. The advantage of choosing the semi-structured interview method is to provide in-depth information by the interviewees to help a researcher to understand their daily lives in a composition. In qualitative research, data analysis comes after transcription and translation. I read all transcripts many times and noted useful comments. Then, I have developed primary narratives and explanatory headings following the theory or conceptual framework used to guide the research.

### **3.2 Main Characteristics of Interviewees and Field Site**

In my study, I did a semi-structured in-depth interview with a total of 14 people. The people I interviewed were second and third-generation German-born Turks. The age range of the participants varies between 18-44 ages. However, the mean age of the participants was 26.07 year. I have been cautious about selecting younger aged participants. Even though the origins of the concept of transnationalism are taken to

an earlier date, the strengthening of technology and communication networks and the globalization of the world have gained momentum in recent years. Especially the fact that the third-generation participants were mostly children of the technology age gave more meaningful data when examining transnational practices in terms of social media and communication. I selected my participants with the snowball sampling technique. Of all the participants I interviewed, five of them reside in Istanbul, and nine of them reside in Mersin. I took special attention to maintain the equality of the number of men and women. In the beginning, I did not mention gender while searching for new interviews. General information about these 14 respondents can be seen in the following tables. (See Table 1 & Table 2).

After a while, I realize that there were very few male respondents, while the majority of the respondents are females. Finally, I reached a balance in gender distribution. My participants are seven men and seven women. Seven of the participants are second-generation immigrants, and the other half are third-generation immigrants. All of my participants were born in Germany, and the birthplaces of all are different. Some of them were born and raised in more rural areas, and some of them in more urban areas such as Berlin, Manheim. My participants are also people who work in different jobs. Nine out of 14 interviewees are university students.



Table 1 - Personal Information of Interviewees

<b>Name &amp; Sex</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Born in</b>	<b>Age of Return &amp; Year</b>	<b>Marital Status</b>
Abdullah/M	21	Frankfurt	2008 11	Single
Dilara/F	23	Mannheim	2007 12	Single
Orhan/ M	31	Berlin	17 2005	Married
Eda/F	21	Datteln	2010 13	Single
Emin/F	21	Hannover	2015 18	Single
Emirhan/F	19	Peknitz	2012 13	Single
Hanife/F	36	Berlin	2012 20	Single
Ebru/ F	44	Ulm	1996 22	Married
Sacide/ F	22	Yruna	2007 11	Single
Samet/ M	18	Hamburg	2013 13	Single
Sare / M	20	Bochum	2011 13	Single
Türkan/F	31	Krefeld	2004 17	Married
Yasin/M	21	Düsseldorf	2012 15	Single
Can/M	20	Stuttgart	2012 14	Single

Table 2 - Professional & Citizenship Information of Interviewees

<b>Name &amp; Sex</b>	<b>Current Living Place</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Citizenship</b>	<b>Generation</b>
Abdullah/ M	Mersin	University Student	German	2
Dilara/F	İstanbul	Air Hostess	Turkish/ Residence permit	3
Orhan/ M	İstanbul	Graphic Designer	Turkish	2
Eda/F	Mersin	University Student	Turkish	3
Emin/F	Mersin	University Student	Turkish	3
Emirhan/F	Mersin	University Student	Turkish	3
Hanife/F	İstanbul	Public Servant	Turkish	2
Ebru/ F	İstanbul	Germant Teacher	Turkish	3
Sacide/ F	Mersin	University Student	Turkish	2
Samet/ M	Mersin	University Student	Turkish / German	3
Sare / M	Mersin	University Student	Turkish / German	3
Türkan/F	İstanbul	Air Hostess	Turkish/ Residence permit in Germany	2
Yasin/M	Mersin	University Student	German	2
Can/M	Mersin	University Student	Turkish	2

The participants stayed in Germany for at least 11 years and at most 23 years. Most of the participants returned to Turkey at a young age consists of third-generation German-born from the Turks. For this reason, their return migration is mostly caused by a family decision. All of the participants started their education in Germany. However, two people of the third generation who returned at a young age to continue their university education.

We see that not all family members of the returning migrants are involved in return migration. Only three of my participants' nuclear family have returned with them to Turkey. However, each participant has relatives in Germany. The citizenship status of the participants also varies. Ten of them have only Turkish citizenship, two have dual citizenship, and two have only German citizenship. Two participants with Turkish citizenship also have a residence permit in Germany.

I conducted this study between August – September 2019 in Istanbul and Mersin. As I planned that the second and third generations would move towards this metropolitan city with a larger population than many European countries for reasons such as work, education, and health, Istanbul was the first city I looked to find a participant. Istanbul is the biggest city in Turkey, which has been growing more and more every year with its internal and external migration and with the highest rate of urbanization. Most of the associations and institutions established by the German-Turkish cooperation also are to be found in Istanbul, which provides different channels of communication to reach the participants. On the other hand, since I completed my undergraduate education in Istanbul, I wanted to benefit from my social connections there. Istanbul was also convenient for me in terms of transportation. I informed my social circles through social media about the position of my work and the general characteristics and I asked those who had been acquainted with this profile to contact me. Having a familiar acquaintance with my participants made it easier for me to interview.

On the other hand, they helped me to connect with people who had the same experience of migration. While most of the talks took place in cafes or restaurants, I

visited two participants at home. One of the biggest challenges I had with interviews was not being able to arrange a standard time with my participants. Due to the exam schedule of my student participants, we had to postpone several appointments.

Istanbul, as a city, hosting many different groups, ethnics, and cultures, would not be able to explain the stories and conditions of migrants migrating back to the relatively smaller city. For this reason, the second stop in my research was the province of Mersin. It is a port city located in the Mediterranean Region. The participants I interviewed in there were mostly university students.

### **3.3 Strength and Limitations of The Study**

There are few studies made about return migration from Germany to Turkey in the area of transnational social policy. Also, considering the fewer number of interviews with third generations, the primary importance of this thesis is its contribution to the literature. Examining the concept of return migration in the field of social policy has created new perspectives and different dimensions to be studied.

In addition to its strengths, there were limitations to this thesis in terms of research methods. I used a qualitative research method in this thesis. This method limits the reaching of a larger sample group and generalization in the broader area. A limited number of sampling brings more in-depth and reliable data; on the other hand, it limits the volume of data. Since the human and experience factor can have very different results, my findings do not allow me to generalize for larger populations. Moreover, eight of the participants were university students in Mersin. Their presence in the same social environment is one of the features that limit the research.

## CHAPTER 4

### DATA ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH FINDINGS

#### 4.1 Turkish life in Germany

According to my findings, the ancestors of second and third-generation immigrants emigrated from Turkey to Germany between the years 1960-1980. The families of the second-generation participants came from Istanbul, Central Anatolia, and the Mediterranean region. Their goal was to save money and start a business when they upon return. The majority of the first generation of immigrants were from more rural areas and generally migrated to work as workers.

Their education levels were not high, and they were working in factories to make a living. Their dream of returning was postponed because of their social rights and the education of their children in Germany. The families of the third-generation immigrants are made up of people from whom at least one parent is born in Germany.

The families of third-generation immigrants speak German as their mother tongue and participate in social and economic life much more effectively than the first generation. Most of the second and third-generation immigrants' families still continue to live in Germany or at least move regularly between Germany and Turkey.

The story below represents the common features of a working-class family from Istanbul. Some other family members of Dilara's (23-year-old, female) family, one of the third-generation returnees, lives in Istanbul, and some other family members continue to live in Germany. Dilara's grandparents migrated to Germany in 1963. Then, she tells about her environment and friends in Germany:

First my grandfather went, about 1963-1964, then they got married and my grandmother went as well. My mother was born there in 1974. They did not return because my mother did not want to live in Istanbul. Here is like our little

Istanbul. We were living in an area where there were more Germans, but if you go to the bazaar and speak Turkish, you won't get lost, there were many Turks. There are more and more Turks there.<sup>14</sup>

The nursery was also nice. There were Japanese, Italian and Russian kids in there. In my elementary school, my teachers and the directors were also very good.<sup>15</sup>

Eda (21-year-old, female), another third-generation interviewee, first shares the story of her family moving to Germany. She gives information about her living and school environment. We can conclude that the third-generation participants have a higher level of adaptation to the society than the second generations. They also have friends from different cultures. However, returnees also stated that their families tried to teach and live with Turkish-Islamic culture and Turkish traditions at home. Eda tells about the Turkish lesson she took at school and in the family in Germany and how she learned Turkish-Islamic culture:

My grandfather went to work in Germany, and my mother was born there. But she met with my father in Turkey, after my father had migrated to Germany as well. Both my parents worked in Germany. My mother and father took care of me together until my brother was born. When my brother was born, he was sick, so our parents stayed in the hospital for five months, so I stayed with my grandmother. I went to daycare and kindergarten. I finished my fifth grade there and started secondary school in here (Mersin). Then I went back to Germany for my high school education. My parents came Mersin with me again, but my mother couldn't live in Turkey and returned back to Germany.

...

I am a very systematic and orderly person; my friends call me discipline. I never forget what I'm going to do. That's the basic thing that Germany taught me. There were no German children at my age, so I had Turkish friends in the neighborhood and German friends at school. I saw Turkish in third and fourth

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<sup>14</sup> Önce dedem gitmiş, 1963-1964 senesi gibi, sonra evlenmişler anneannem gitmiş. Annem 1974 doğumlu orada doğmuş. Annem İstanbul'da yaşamak istemediği için dönmemişler. Küçük İstanbul gibi zaten bizim orası. Biz daha çok Almanların olduğu bir bölgede oturuyorduk, ama çarşıya gitsen Türkçe konuşsan kaybolmazsın, çok Türk vardı. Gittikçe daha da artıyor Türkler orada.

<sup>15</sup> Kreşim de çok güzeldi benim, Japon, İtalyan, Rus vardı. İlk okulum da hocalarım ve müdürüm çok iyiydi.

grade in Germany, and this practice is available in some schools. In that course, our teacher taught the Turkish alphabet and Atatürk as basic knowledge. There was no religion class in school, but there were courses in mosques during weekends. These courses mostly teach about Qur'an and other Islamic rules. Education in the family was very important because you live in a different country in a different religion. My family really cared for me to know my own culture.<sup>16</sup>

One of the most prominent points when talking to the participants about their lives in Germany was that they considered themselves and their families different from other Turkish immigrant families living in Germany. The majority explained that their families were more modern and better adapted to society. The story of Türkan (31-year-old, female) explains this situation below:

On Easter and Christmas, our neighbors brought our home baskets of gifts. When I went to my friends' house for their birthday, their mother brought me veal. This humanity is very special. I have no bad memories of Germany; we were 5-6 families in my neighborhood. We had adapted to them although we were not living a very different life from than them. There were modern people from Bursa and Antalya. But if you go to Berlin, you can see the aunts with shalwar, or the laundry laid on the street. Everything on our site was planned, even to lay laundry. We were very careful about these issues. But they were surprised to see that little Istanbul. My friends were saying you do not look like Turks at all.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Benim dedelerim çalışmaya gitmişler Almanya'ya, annem orada doğmuş. Ama babamla Türkiye'de tanışmışlar sonra babam da Almanya'ya göç etmiş. Annem de babam da çalışıyorlardı Almanya'da. Kardeşim doğana kadar annem ve babam beraber baktılar bana. Kardeşim doğunca annemler beş ay hastanede kaldı, o zaman babaannemde kaldım. Kreşe ve anaokuluna gittim. Orada beşinci sınıfımı tamamladım, ortaokula burada (Mersin) başladım. Sonra lise eğitimim için tekrar Almanya'ya geri döndüm. Annemler de benimle gelmişti Türkiye'ye tekrar, ama burada yapamadı annem sonra geri döndü.

Ben çok sistematik ve düzenli bir insanım, arkadaşlarım bana disiplin diye sesleniyorlar. Yapacağım şeyi asla unutmam, Almanya'nın bana öğrettiği temel şey bu. Benim yaşımda alman çocuklar yoktu bulunduğumuz yerde, o yüzden mahallede Türk, okulda Alman arkadaşlarım vardı. Almanya'da üçüncü ve dördüncü sınıfta Türkçe dersi gördüm, bazı okullarda oluyor bu uygulama. O derste hocamız Türkçe alfabe ve Atatürk'ü öğretmişti, temel bilgiler olarak. Din dersi yoktu, camilerde haftasonları oluyor. Kuran kursu ve diğer temel bilgilendirmeler. Aile içinde eğitim çok önemliydi, farklı bir ülkede farklı bir din içerisinde yaşıyorsun çünkü. Kendi kültürünü tanıman için ailem önem veriyordu gerçekten.

<sup>17</sup> Komşularımız Paskalya'da, yılbaşında sepet sepet hediye getirirdi eve. Doğumgünlerine arkadaşlarımın evine gittiğimde anneleri bana dana eti getiriyordu. Bu insanlık çok özel. Almanya ile kötü anım yok, olduğumuz yerde 5-6 aileydik. Onlara da uyum sağlamıştık, çok farklı yaşamıyorduk onlardan. Bursa'lı Antalya'lı modern insanlar vardı orada. Ama Berlin'e gitsen sokaklarda şalvarlı

One of my second-generation participants, Orhan (31-year-old, male) draws attention to the cultural and social diversity in Germany and making comparisons with Turkey. Orhan's mother is from Poland, and he tells that he first experienced cultural and linguistic differences in his home:

There were not many Turks in where the place I raised. There were only me and one other Turk in my class. There were mostly Russians in the area where I lived. Most of our neighbors were German. There were a many people from other countries like Vietnamese, Chinese, Japanese. My best friend was German, and her family was cops. I've never met discrimination in my education, as well. My mother's relatives are in Germany. My mother is Polish, and we went to Poland a lot during the holidays. My mother often goes to Germany. The diversity of culture in Germany is too much. It cannot be easily explained it has to be lived.<sup>18</sup>

According to the findings, some Turkish families living in Germany exhibited more modern behaviors; some of them have more rigid attitudes. Neighborhood pressure is higher in places where the Turkish immigrant population is dense. Returnees say their families were trying to prevent things that other Turkish neighbors were willing to gossip about or things they think were unsuitable for the Turkish family structure and culture. Hanife (36-year-old, female, public servant), one of the second-generation participants, points out that her family was more contemporary and comfortable than other Turkish families. On the other hand, Ebru (44-year-old), the second-generation participants, explain how she was restricted in their family:

We have never been pressured by our family. My mother was very patient, and if we made a mistake, she would always talk and explain everything. We used to tell her when we wanted to go out. We used to say we're going to have a

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teyzeler, çamaşırlar caddeye serilmiş halde. Bizim sitede her şeyin günü ve saati vardı, çamaşır sermek için bile. Biz bu konularda çok dikkatliydik. Ama o küçük İstanbul'u görüp şaşıyorlardı. Arkadaşlarım siz hiç Türklere benzemiyorsunuz diyorlardı.

<sup>18</sup> Benim bulunduğum yerde çok Türk yoktu. Sınıfımda bir Türk vardı bir de ben. Rus'lar vardı daha çok benim yaşadığım bölgede. Komşularımızın çoğu Alman'dı, Vietnam'lı, Çin'li, japon çok karışıktı. En yakın arkadaşım Alman'dı, ailesi de polisti. Eğitim hayatında da karşılaşmadım hiç ayrımcılıkla. Annemin akrabaları Almanya'da. Annem Polonya'lı, Polonya'ya da çok gidip geldik tatillerde. Annem sık sık Almanya'ya gidip gelmeye devam ediyor. Almanya'da kültür çeşitliliği çok fazla, anlatılmaz yaşanacak bir şey.



friend's birthday at someplace, and go there. But the fathers of our acquaintances or neighbors were more dominant, and they were not allowing anything. Ours even let us go to the disco.<sup>19</sup>

The living conditions were very comfortable, but everything was too planned, I also did not like the Turks there, and that did not make me happy. I was never happy there. You could not be with the Germans completely the Turkish environment was gossiping. I was trying to prevent people from gossiping from behind my mom and dad's back. I couldn't walk around the bazaar with my boyfriends from high school because of gossip. So, I always had in mind to return.<sup>20</sup>

During the interviews, it was observed that the command of the Turkish language was more developed among the second-generation immigrants than the third-generation ones. Before the interview, the participants of the third generation stated that their Turkish is not very good, and they express themselves better in German. The reason for this difference; the second-generation participants' parents learn German after their children or use the language effectively after a long time. Two of the third-generation interviewees, Emirhan (19-year-old, male) and Samet (18-year-old) tell about their native language and environment:

In 1965-66 my grandparents went to Germany to find work. My mom and dad had met in Turkey but immediately migrated to Germany when they had married. My father was working there, and I went to daycare. There were many Turks in our neighborhood. We also had German friends; our families were coming and going to each other. There were theatres in the school, like cartoon theatre. In school, there were courses like Turkish Country Information two days per week.

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<sup>19</sup> Ailemiz tarafından hiç baskı altında tutulmadık bugüne kadar. Annem çok sabırlıdır ve hata da yapsak hep konuşarak bize her şeyi anlatırdı. Gezmek istediğimizde söylerdik. Arkadaşımızın doğumgünü var buraya gideceğiz derdik, çıkar gezerdik. Ama tanıdıklarımızın ya da komşularımızın babaları daha baskın oluyorlardı izin vermiyorlardı. Bizimkiler diskoya gitmemize bile müsaade ettiler (Hanife)

<sup>20</sup> Oranın hayat koşulları çok rahattı, ama her şey fazla programlıydı, oradaki Türkleri de sevemedim ve bu beni mutlu etmedi açıkçası. Mutlu olmadım hiç orada. Tamamen Almanlarla da birlikte olamıyorsun, Türk çevresi dedikodu yapıyordu. Anne-babama laf olmasın diye uğraşıyordum. Lisedeki erkek arkadaşlarımla çarşıda gezemiyordum hemen laf oluyordu. O yüzden hep aklımda vardı dönmek (Ebru)

I learned Turkish in the fourth grade when I came to Turkey. At home, we were mostly speaking German. My brother did not know Turkish, as well. So, my main language is actually German.<sup>21</sup>

We mainly learned Turkish at home. When we came here during the summer holidays, we practiced and learned. We came here every summer for a vacation. Sometimes first we would go to Antalya, then we would pass from there to Maras. It was nice for me to come to Turkey; it was a different environment. Everything was a little more comfortable. I see my relatives once a year.<sup>22</sup>

## 4.2 Experiences and Transnational Practices Before Return

One of the most crucial elements is media that enable the transnational ties of the diaspora and the forming of hybrid identities. Turkish immigrants living in Germany are establishing connections by communicating through the media tools that interact with people in Turkey. In particular, the first-generation immigrants still have relatives in Turkey's close friends. The second and third generations usually stay connected with relatives and friends they met on visits regularly in Turkey. In order to establish a very cheap and instant communication with the Internet, interpersonal communication has emerged with various opportunities such as e-mail, chat, social media, teleconferencing, and video conversation (Bozdağ, 2015).

I asked the interviewees how often they visited their homeland and what was their ideas about Turkey at that time. At the same time, the visit of the second and third-generation migrants to the countries of their ancestors is vital for seeing transnational

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<sup>21</sup> 1965-1966 yılında dedemler gitmişler, iş bulmak için. Annem ve babam Türkiye'de tanıştı ama evlendikleri gibi babamla Almanya'ya göç ettiler. Babam çalışıyordu orada, kreşe gittim. Mahallemizde çok Türk vardı, çoğunlukla Türk'ler oturuyordu. Alman arkadaşlarımız vardı, ailelerimiz de tanışıyordu onlar da gidip geliyordu. Okulda tiyatrolar oluyordu, çizgi film tiyatroları gibi. Okulda haftada iki gün Türkiye Ülke Bilgisi gibi bir ders veriliyordu. Türkçe'yi dördüncü sınıfta Türkiye'ye gelince öğrendim, evde Almanca konuşuluyordu genelde, abim de Türkçe biliyordu. O yüzden ana dilim Almanca aslında (Emirhan).

<sup>22</sup> Evde öğrendik asıl olarak Türkçe'yi. Yaz tatillerinde buraya geldiğimizde öğrendik pratik yaptık. Her yaz tatiline geliyorduk buraya. Bazen önce Antalya'ya uğrar tatil yapardık, oradan Maraş'a geçiyorduk. Türkiye'ye gelmek benim için güzel oluyordu, farklı bir ortamdı. Her şey biraz daha rahattı diyebilirim. Yılda bir kere akrabalarımı görüyordum. (Samet)

practices. Many of the interviews show that they visited Turkey on summer vacations each year. They mention that they are having fun and mostly spend time with their relatives during their visits to Turkey. The concept of the extended family and strong ties in Turkey are important for immigrants. Migrants were coming from Germany by car for the last 5-10 years. Then they have been traveling by plane nowadays thanks to cheap airline tickets in recent years. When immigrants came to Turkey, they spend time with their families and relatives, and after they are going on vacation to the Mediterranean coast in their leisure times. Second generation participants, Sare (20-year old) and Abdullah (21-year-old, male) explain, their arrival in Turkey and how strong these family ties and feelings were:

We were coming to Turkey every summer holiday. I was pleased about that. We were coming here, and we were seeing relatives, it was more joyful. Also, we were coming 4-5 cars together with uncles and cousins. It was quite lovely and fun. My father was buying gifts for everyone; years have passed like that (Abdullah).<sup>23</sup>

We came and went during the summer holidays to Turkey. Only my father's family was here. They stayed in the vineyard in the summer and the apartment in the winter. When we arrived, we were in the garden and the orchard. My father also made poultry for our garden in Germany. He always loved animals and fields. That's why he missed the village so much. He wanted to come and work here. We were becoming happy to see our aunties and cousins. Chickens, field, grandfather, grandmother, everything seemed so much fun to our eyes (Sare).<sup>24</sup>

Interviewees strengthened their social ties with their families and relatives in the homeland when they travel once a year; they also continued to create transnational

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<sup>23</sup> Her yaz tatilinde Türkiye'ye geliyorduk, o zaman mutlu oluyordum. Geliyorduk burada akrabaları görüyorduk daha neşeli oluyordu. Bir de biz 4-5 arabayla amca kuzenlerle gidip geliyorduk baya güzel, eğlenceli oluyordu. Buraya gelirken babam herkese hediyeler alıyor, seneler geçti (Abdullah).

<sup>24</sup> Yaz tatillerinde gidip geliyorduk Türkiye'ye. Burada sadece babamın ailesi vardı. Yazları bağda, kışları apartmanda kalıyorlar. Biz de geldiğimizde bağda bahçede oluyorduk. Babam Almanya'daki evimizin bahçesine de kümes yapmıştı. Hayvanları, tarlayı hep çok severdi. Köyü de o yüzden çok özliyordu, gelip burada çalışmak yaşamak istiyordu. Kuzenlerim, teyze, halaları görünce mutlu oluyorduk. Tavuklar, tarla dede, nine çok eğlenceli geliyordu gözümüze her şey (Sare).

space via existing communication tools. Ebru (44-year-old, female), one of the second-generation immigrants, explains that she frequently corresponds with her family via phone calls and mails:

We came every year to Turkey on holiday. My connection with my family was too secure. We used to mail with my aunts and uncles and talk to them at least once a week. They offered me books. My father read a lot. There were a lot of books at home, so I steadily improved my Turkish by reading and using dictionaries. We live in a neighborhood where all the families and their relatives in the community were in Germany, so they did not need to come on holiday to Turkey that much. Ours was not like that. We were the only ones living in Germany. When we arrived, we were cooking and eating together, laughing and having fun. These things impressed me as I saw these.<sup>25</sup>

In her article ‘Roots-migrants: transnationalism and return among second generation Italians in Switzerland’, Wessendorf (2007) explains that immigrants do not return to their homeland, but they return to the lands where they feel they belong to and explains Basu’s (2004) ‘roots-tourism’ concept. According to Basu (2004), these visits by migrants show that they are in the process of creating their identities and seeking a homeland and describe it as ‘life-changing experience’. We can see this as an effort of immigrants to have a common identity and heritage to keep it alive and to protect it by moving it across borders and turning it into a daily routine.

### **4.3 Narratives of Return Migration**

This section describes how the process of returning to the homeland of the returnees has developed and for what reasons they have decided to return. The concept of homeland for the second and third generations was shaped by their experiences in the diaspora, annual visits via belonging and identity. For this reason, the motivations

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<sup>25</sup> Her yıl Türkiye’ye geliyorduk tatile, aile bağlarım çok kuvvetliydi. Teyzelerim ve dayılarımla mektuplaşır, haftada bir mutlaka konuşurduk. Onlar bana kitaplar önerirlerdi. Babam çok okurdu. Evde kitap çok fazlaydı, o yüzden sürekli okuyarak, sözlük araştırarak Türkçe’mi geliştirdim. Bizim oturduğumuz mahallede bütün ailelerin akrabaları Almanya’daydı, o yüzden onlar Türkiye’ye tatile gelmeye pek ihtiyaç duymuyordu. Bizim öyle değildi, bir tek biz vardık. Gelirdik beraber pişirip yiyorduk, gülüyorduk eğleniyorduk. Ben bunları gördükçe bunlar beni çok etkiledi (Ebru).

they have on returning differ from each other. Aydın (2016) constructed four typologies under return movements in his study of ‘The Germany-Turkey Migration Corridor: Refitting Policies for A Transnational Age’<sup>26</sup> (2016). These are migration for job prospects, belonging to Turkey, education reasons and family decision. Moreover, Kılınç (2013) categorized return migration narratives under three sections: ‘return through family decision and marriage and return as self-realization’<sup>27</sup> (2013). The narratives of return migration will be analyzed in four categories in this thesis: family's desire to return, continue education in Turkey, return through marriage and return for a sense of belonging feelings for Turkey.

#### **4.3.1 Return as a Family Decision**

As stated in the first part of the study, the aim of the first migrant workers coming to Germany was to stay here for a short period of time, save money for work or home purchases and return to the home country. Except for a particular part of immigrants who returned to Turkey because of discrimination or incentives, the vast majority continued to live in Germany. Today, the fourth generation of German-born Turks grew up in Germany. Throughout the study, the return of the second and third-generation immigrants was evaluated in terms of transnationalism. Because transnationalism allows individuals to relocate and offers different perspectives on return migration.

One of the first and most common causes of return migration is a family decision. This decision has consequences that profoundly affect the whole family, especially younger generations. This group includes the young people who are happy with the family's decision as well as the opposite side of those who do not want to return to their homeland or those who struggled to adapt to Turkish culture. In overall, it can

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<sup>26</sup> Aydın, Y. (2016). *The Germany-Turkey Migration Corridor: Refitting Policies for a Transnational Age*. Washington, DC: *Migration Policy Institute*.

<sup>27</sup> Kılınç, N. (2013). *The Second-Generation Turkish- Germans Return ‘ Home ‘: Gendered Narratives of Renegotiated Identities*. Lund University.

be said that the return migration causes from the families' longing for the country or family-related problems were fundamental. For the third-generation participants Emirhan (19-year-old, male) and Samet (18-year-old, male), there was no such absence of an intention to return to Turkey, but longing and desire of their families to make changes in their lives were instrumental in turning back:

We were going to Turkey during the summer holidays. My grandparents were here. But I was missing Germany, and it seemed warmer to me. I couldn't get along with Turkey. It was my mother's decision to come back. She felt like she was living in prison life; it was a situation as if she could not go out. Her parents and siblings were her, so she wanted to come back, so we came back. I want to work in another country after graduation, the USA or the United Kingdom. I want to work one of them. I should not confine myself only to Germany or Turkey (Emirhan).<sup>28</sup>

Returning was not my personal decision, they asked, and I wanted a change in my life. My father was bored with becoming a robot here, so we decided to go back. We wouldn't be back if my father didn't want to, but my mom never said that (Samet).<sup>29</sup>

Sometimes parents are being forced to return due to family reasons. They took their children and returned to Turkey. Second generation returnee, Yasin (21-year-old, male), says under normal conditions, he never thought to return to Turkey:

It was a family decision. My father passed away in 2010. This was the main reason. Then there were problems with my uncles. My mother wanted to move in with her mother. If I get a job after graduation, I'm thinking of returning back.

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<sup>28</sup> Yaz tatillerinde Türkiye'ye gidip geliyorduk, anneanneler buradaydı. Ama Almanya'yı özlüyordum, orası bana daha sıcak geliyordu. Türkiye'ye ye bir türlü ısınamadım Dönmek annemin kararıydı aslında. O hapis hayatı yaşıyorum, dışarı çıkamıyorum gibi bir durum oldu. Ailesi ve kardeşleri buradaydı o yüzden geri dönmek istedi, biz de döndük. Ben mezun olduktan sonra başka bir ülkede çalışmak istiyorum, Amerika ya da İngiltere olur, oralarda çalışmak istiyorum. Kendimi sadece Almanya ve Türkiye ile sınırlandırmamalıyım diye düşünüyorum (Emirhan).

<sup>29</sup> Dönme benim şahsi kararım değil, sordular ben de değişiklik olsun istedim. Babam artık robotluktan sıkılmıştı o yüzden dönme kararı aldık. Babam istemese dönmezdik buraya ama, annem hiç öyle bir şey söylememişti (Samet).

I wouldn't think of coming here without my father's death (Yasin).<sup>30</sup>

Also, Abdullah (21-year-old, male) and Hanife (36-year-old, female) returned to Turkey for family reasons:

My grandmother was ill, so my father said let's move and we moved. I went to secondary school and high school at Diyarbakir. When I first came back, I was crying and whining all the time, but I got used to it. I was having a hard time in the 4th grade, I did not know many words at that time. I didn't understand the jokes, but since we spent our childhood on the streets, we learned over time. At home, we were speaking Turkish with our parents, and with my brothers German. In fact, it is like German became my native language. I learned Turkish afterward (Abdullah)<sup>31</sup>

I work in a government institution, as a civil servant but with worker status. Six years ago, I came to Turkey. My parents had gone there first. They had gone in the 1970s. We are four siblings. Not all of us returned from Germany, some of our siblings stayed there (Hanife).<sup>32</sup>

#### 4.3.2 Return Through Marriage

Another reason to go back to Turkey is due to marriage. Because the majority of the participants are young, the only participant who makes a return migration due to marriage is Ebru. So, this section will only represent one narrative to summarize the return decision through marriage. Among the other factors affecting her in this

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<sup>30</sup> Ailevi bir karar oldu dönüşümüz. 2010 yılında babam vefat etti, temel sebep oydu. Sonra amcamlarla sıkıntılar yaşandı. Annem de annesinin yanına taşınmak istedi. Mezun olduktan sonra iş imkanı bulursam gitmeyi düşünüyorum. Babamın vefatı olmasa buraya gelmek aklımın ucuna gelmiyordu (Yasin).

<sup>31</sup> Babaannem rahatsızdı, babam da taşınalım dedi taşındık. Ortaokul, liseyi orada Diyarbakır'da okudum. Ben ilk döndüğümde sürekli ağlıyordum, mızızlanıyordum ama zamanla alıştım. Dördüncü sınıfta zorlanıyordum tabi, bildiğim kelime çok yoktu. Esprileri anlayamıyordum, ama çocukluğumuz sokaklarda geçtiği için zamanla öğrendik. Evde anne-babamla Türkçe konuşuyorduk, abimlerle Almanca konuşuyorduk. Ana dilim Almanca gibi oldu aslında, Türkçeyi sonradan öğrendim.

<sup>32</sup> Devlet kurumunda çalışıyorum, memur gibi, sürekli işçi statüsündeyim. 6 sene önce geldim Türkiye'ye. Annem ve babam gitmişler oraya ilk. 1970'li yıllarda gitmişler, 4 kardeşiz. Almanya'dan hepimizi dönmedik bazı kardeşlerimiz orada kaldı.

decision, loyalty, and close relationship with her relatives and Turkey comes first. Another factor is also that families want their children to marry Turkish and Muslim people. The story of Ebru, a German language teacher, shows how important the sense of belonging is. However, when Ebru (44-year-old, female) returned to Turkey, her parents and siblings continued to live in Germany:

My parents didn't want to send me alone, so I got married. The Turks in there are resisting to live in harmony. My family had planned to work for a few years and return, but they couldn't return for 30 years because they had children. They did not learn the language, nor did they adapt. They had the fear that their children would marry Germans, would lose their traditions, or would go astray. These thoughts started to change with the second generation. In my opinion, the main problem for the first generation was the language. The idea of going back made the adjustment difficult. They continued living how the way they lived in their villages in Turkey. They went out with slippers, forced their daughters to wear tights under their skirts. The Germans were looking at us, just as we are looking at Syrians.

...

My husband was an officer. We went to Izmir after marriage, and I had no acquaintance there. I felt uneasy at that time. I didn't even know how to pay a water bill. There were greengrocers, markets, and bazaars, and I didn't know if I was buying something cheap or just being fooled. At that time, all my neighbors were extremely helpful. In the apartment, there were ladies who were all divorced or whose husband passed away. There were two married ladies, and all the others were like big sisters. They came to welcome me and then taught me everything. They helped me a lot in all these matters because I had no relatives there. My learning process was enjoyable and easy to adapt because of these people (Ebru).<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Annemler tek başına göndermek istemediler, o yüzden evlendim geldim. Oradaki Türk'ler uyum içinde olmaya direniyorlar. Bizimkilerin kafalarında birkaç yıl çalışıp dönmek vardı ama çoluk çocuk varken dönemediler 30 yıl. Ne o dili öğrendiler ne uyum sağladılar. Vay efendim çocuklarımız Almanlarla evlenirler, geleneklerini kaybeder, yoldan çıkarlar korkusu vardı. İlk kuşakta vardı bu durum. İkinci jenerasyonla bunlar değişmeye başladı. Bana göre birinci jenerasyon için sorun dildi. Geri dönme fikri uyumu zorlaştırdı. Türkiye'de köyünde nasıl yaşıyorsa orda da onu sürdürdü. Terlikle dışarı çıktılar, kız çocuklarının eteğinin altına tayt giydirerek gönderdiler. Biz Suriyeli'lere nasıl bakıyorsak, Almanlar da bize öyle bakıyorlardı.

...

Eşim subaydı, evlendikten sonra İzmir'e gittik hiç tanıdığım yoktu. O zaman tedirginlik hissettim. Su faturası yatırmayı bilmiyordum. Manav market pazar var, hangisi ucuza alınır, kandırılıyor muyum hiç bilmiyordum. O zamanlar komşuluğu son derece iyi bir apartmandı. Hepsini boşanmış ya da eşi



### 4.3.3 Return for Sense of Belonging

It is another form of the return migration to the homeland created by the returnees through their dreams, the information they have learned in the diaspora, and their daily lives following their wishes. In interviews with participants, annual family visits to Turkey, as a result, turns out to be very useful. Some factors that trigger the return migration are warmer people, more sincere behavior, commitment to culture and harmony, and way of life in Turkey. Assets they possess in Turkey, the right to return to Germany, and the fact that some of their families are still living in Germany are essential factors in making this decision. The improvement of living conditions in Turkey, becoming a tourism country, the presence of industries that can use their multilingualism, and have a warmer climate motivates the second and third-generation immigrants to return. Examples from the return story of two participants, Türkan (31-year-old, female) and Emin (21-year-old, male), the first of which is the second generation and the latter, which is the third generation:

My mother begged me not to return to Turkey. She insisted on going to college in Germany. She said, "I'll buy you a car here," but I still came back. My aunts, my cousins are all here and they're all living together. I wanted to be with them. I felt lonely in Germany, especially when I saw them together in here. A year after me, my middle brother came, two years later, my mother came, when she saw us settled here, she gave up insisting. The Turks were very helpful in there, my mother was never alone, everyone was coming to visit her every day. That's why I never thought about my mother. I though worry more about her in Edirne right now (Türkan).<sup>34</sup>

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vefat etmiş bayanlar vardı apartmanda. İki kişi evli hanım vardı, diğerleri abla kıvamında insanlardı. Bana hoşgeldine geldiler ve sonra bana her şeyi öğrettiler. Kimsem olmadığı için orada onlar bana çok yardımcı oldu bu konularda. Öğrenme süreci onlarla keyifli geçti ve uyum kolay oldu (Ebru).

<sup>34</sup> Annem çok yalvardı dönmemem için Türkiye'ye, sana araba alıcam burada üniversiteye git diye ısrar etti, ama ben döndüm. Benim teyzelerim, kuzenlerim hepsi burada ve hep beraberler. Ben de onlarla olmak istedim. Almanya'da yalnız hissediyordum kendimi, hele onları burada hep birlikte görünce. Benden bi sene sonra ortanca abim geldi, ondan iki yıl sonra annem de geldi, baktı biz buraya yerleştik vazgeçti artık. Orada Türk'ler çok ilgiliydi, annem hiç yalnız kalmadı herkes gidip geliyor uğruyor yanına her gün. O yüzden aklım annemde kalmıyordu hiç. Şu an o Edirne'de daha çok aklım kalmıyor (Türkan).

We all wanted to come to Turkey. My father asked we thought first, but then we talked in the family and decided that it was an excellent idea. We had a house in Turkey. It was in the center of the city. The school could take five minutes. Markets could take one minute on foot. We were able to take this step because we had more opportunities like this, so nothing has changed for us, just country and culture. It is still the same distance everywhere (Emin).<sup>35</sup>

#### 4.3.4 Return for Education Reasons

In the last part, return migration due to education reasons will be evaluated. It is known that the number of universities gradually increased in Turkey (Aydın, 2016). The number of students coming from abroad for educational and research purposes is also increasing. The second and third-generation immigrants living in Germany migrate to study in their desired degrees in Turkish universities, using the German language, which they speak effectively, create new educational and career opportunities for them. In this section, only the story of Eda (21-year-old, female) will be cited as an example, because it shows how vital transnationalism is in the daily life of migrants and decision-making mechanisms:

My mother and brother are in Germany now. They returned four years ago, took me with them, but I could not get used to there. I wanted to study in Turkey. I don't know for the time being, but I'm studying as a translator now. I don't know for the future if I can get a good job in there maybe I can go back. My life has always been uncertain. I went to vocational high school after I left again. I went there from Turkey during the 11th half-year period. Since we went in the interim period, there was a collection class that had the refugees, and they placed me there. To not keep me out. I chose the nutrition and diet section. But then I looked, and I saw that I was not happy, and it would be challenging for me to study in Germany as well. So I went back to Turkey. I took the university exam. I was in the language department in high school as well, so I preferred a translation degree. My Turkish improved after returning, we were speaking German even with our Turkish friends. Sometimes we were speaking German with our parents. After returning here, I was able to improve my Turkish.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Türkiye gelmeyi hepimiz istedik babam sordu, ilk bir düşündük ama sonra güzel bir fikir olduğunu aile içinde konuşup karar verdik. Bizim Türkiye’de bir ev vardı baya merkezi yani okula bir dakika pazara beş dakika daha çok böyle imkanımız olduğu için de adımı atabildik, yani bizim için hiçbir şey değişmedi sadece ülke ve kültür. Her yere mesafe yine aynı (Emin).

<sup>36</sup> Annem ve kardeşim şuan Almanya’da. Onlar 4 yıl öncesinde geri döndüler, beni de yanında götürmüştü ancak alışamadım. Türkiye’de üniversite okumak istedim. Şu an için bilemiyorum, ama

#### 4.4 Experiences and Transnational Practices After Return

The transnational levels of the younger generation were affected by the longing for the homeland of their families, the communication with their relatives there, their social networks and their experiences in the community (Levitt, 2001). Brothers, sisters, and relatives of immigrants who have large families can live in different countries. In order to maintain family ties, social networks are tried to be continued by using cross-border communication and transportation facilities. Everyday transnational practices that continue after social and cultural return can be considered as follows: calling friends and family members by phone, skype and e-mail, visiting to Germany, watching German TV channels, series and movies (Özgür, 2018).

Examples from the study:

I lived in Germany until that time. My family, friends and relatives are still there. But I talked with them often on the phone. Now it is very comfortable make video call. Nobody let go of their phone anymore. I am talking to my facetime or whatsapp video with my friends and family (Can, 21-year-old, male).<sup>37</sup>

I have four siblings in Germany, they work there. They are all German citizens. My aunties, my cousins are all there. We always talk to them. Sometimes about the country agenda, sometimes about my nephews. Two of my brothers are married to Arabs, one German, one Turkish. Since we are of Arab origin, families are also very crowded (Sacide, 22-year-old, female).<sup>38</sup>

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tercümanlık okuyorum. İlerisi için bilmiyorum eğer iyi bir iş bulursam gidebilirim. Benim hayatım hep belirsiz geçti. Tekrar gittikten sonra meslek lisesine yazıldım orada. 11. sınıfın yarı dönemde Türkiye'den oraya gittim. Ara dönemde gittiğimiz için mültecilerin toplama sınıfı vardı beni oraya yerleştirdiler. Açıkta kalmayayım diye. Besin ve gıda bölümünü seçtim. Ama sonrasında baktım gerçekten mutlu değilim, Almanya'da üniversite okumam da çok zor olacaktı. Ben de o yüzden Türkiye'ye geri döndüm. Üniversite sınavına girdim. Lisede de dil bölümündeydim, o yüzden tercümanlık tercih ettim. Türkçem döndükten sonra gelişti, Türk arkadaşlarımızla bile Almanca konuşuyorduk orada. Anne babayla da arada Almanca konuşuyorduk. Buraya döndükten sonra Türkçe'mi geliştirebildim (Eda).

<sup>37</sup> Bu yaşıma kadar Almanya'da yaşadım. Ailem, arkadaşlarım ve akrabalarım hala oradalar. Ama sık sık görüşüyoruz telefonda. Artık görüntülü konuşmak çok rahat oldu. Kimsenin elinden telefon düşmüyor. Facetime ya da whatsapp'tan görüntülü konuşuyorum arkadaşlarımla ve ailemle (Can).

<sup>38</sup> Almanya'da dört kardeşim var, orada çalışıyorlar. Onlar Alman vatandaşı hepsi. Halamlar, kuzenlerim hepsi orada. Onlarla hep konuşuyoruz. Bazen ülke gündeminden, bazen yeğenlerimden.

Sener and Türgen (2018) made a research about highly skilled migrants who returned to Turkey from Germany and America and they investigated their reasons of return. In that research, they investigated the adaptation of these immigrants to their country and level of ties with their relatives after their return.<sup>39</sup> In this study, 31 of 36 people returning from Germany to Turkey said that they continued their links with Germany. It is among the findings that immigrants who reside in their host country for longer periods have more intensive connections. Considering the fact that the second and third generation immigrants in this thesis were born in Germany and completed their primary education in this country, it can easily be seen how strong their bonds are.

According to the findings of the interviews, returning second and third generation immigrants continue their transnational activities and networks in social, economic, cultural and political fields. However, in which extent and in what areas these ties exist are very complex. These results vary depending on the length of stay in the hostland, the time they stay in the homeland, and the social, economic and political conditions in both countries at the time of return. Therefore, it is difficult to make general inferences. Other members or relatives of the family in Germany prepared the ground for the continuation of the transnational network between the two countries for reasons such as work and education. In the light of the interviews, when the second and third generations meet, it is possible to say that the transnational ties of the third generation return migrants are stronger.

Every year I go to Germany to work in a company for 10 weeks, 8 hours a day. With this occasion, I see my friends and earn my money. I miss Germany, I miss hanging with my friends, doing activities. Because I've been with my friends there for 10 years, I miss people, but not the country so much (Emin, 21-year-old, male).<sup>40</sup>

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Kardeşlerimin ikisi Arapla, biri Alman, biri Türk'le evli. Biz Arap kökenli olduğumuz için, aileler de çok kalabalık oluyor (Sacide).

<sup>39</sup> Yılmaz-Şener, M., & Türgen, G. (2018), *Permanent Return or Preparation for Re-Migration? Return Migrations of Highly Qualified Migrants From Germany and US*, Journal of Sociological Research, Number 1, 371-377.

<sup>40</sup> Almanya'ya her sene bir şirkette 10 hafta, günde 8 hafta çalışmaya gidiyorum. Bu vesileyle arkadaşlarımı da görüyorum ve paramı kazanıyorum. Almanya'yı özlüyorum, arkadaşlarımla

My mother's relatives are in Germany. My mother is Polish, we went to Poland a lot during the holidays. My mother often goes to and from Germany. I like there very much as well because I grew up in Germany. I want to work there for a while after my school is over (Orhan, 31-year-old, male).<sup>41</sup>

In the first example below, Türkan (31-year-old, female), is one of the second-generation immigrants who returned to Turkey in September, 1983. Türkan says that she did not get citizenship while she was in there, she never went back to Germany again after her return, and she was thinking of return back after her retirement:

Some criteria were introduced, after we made a permanent return, so we could not get citizenship. After returning to Turkey, I never went back to Germany, maybe I can go after retirement. After returning, it was very difficult to get a visa, to reserve money to go to Germany.<sup>42</sup>

However, it is seen that the younger second-generation immigrants whose return dates are closer to the present day have stronger transnational ties. Another one of the second-generation immigrants Sacide (22-year-old, female) and Abdullah (21-year-old-male), returning to Turkey in 2005, describes she considers returning to Germany to study and to work there for a while:

My current goal is to prepare for exams to study postgraduate in Germany. If that doesn't work, I will apply to the law firm where I do my internship. I will do what I can. After I return back here, I went to Germany just to work. I went to Munich through the employment agency in Germany, worked for 2 months and did an internship in Erasmus. That way I've been going there for three years

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gezmeyi, aktiviteler yapmayı özledim. Çünkü ordaki arkadaşlarımla on yıldır beraberim, insanları özledim, ama orayı çok değil (Emin).

<sup>41</sup> Annemin akrabaları Almanya'da. Annem Polonya'lı, Polonya'ya da çok gidip geldik tatillerde. Annem sık sık Almanya'ya gidip gelmeye devam ediyor. Ben Almanya'da yetiştiğim için orayı da çok seviyorum. Okulum bittikten sonra bir süre orada çalışmak isterim (Orhan).

<sup>42</sup> Biz kesin dönüş yaptıktan sonra kriterler getirildi, o yüzden vatandaşlık alamadık. Türkiye'ye döndükten sonra Almanya'ya hiç gidemedim, emekli olduktan sonra belki giderim. Döndükten sonra Almanya'ya gitmek için vize almak almak, para ayırmak çok zordu. (Türkan).

(Sacide).<sup>43</sup>

I don't regret returning, sometimes it makes me think about the conditions of life in here of course but I liked Turkey so much and I got used to it. I don't want to go back under normal circumstances, but if I have to, I may go for work, but I normally want to live here. I feel more belonging to Turkey. When I go to Germany, I work in relatives' restaurants or something, stand around and help them. (Abdullah)<sup>44</sup>

Türkan says that she did not get citizenship while she was in there, she never went back to Germany again. Some interviewees had problems about speaking Turkish after returning:

My Turkish is bad, but our mother spoke to us Turkish all the time so we did not forget so I did not have so much trouble. I make a lot of mistakes in grammar, but when I have a problem, I can explain it. Occasionally, Turkish words do not come to my mind, instead German words come and I directly go into the translate and I memorise the word again (Emin, 21-year-old, male).<sup>45</sup>

My father wanted to return, I did not want to because I got used to there. My father started his own business, was working on the construction site but it did not go well so he returned again. I stayed here, at first I suffered a lot, then I got used to it more or less. When I came, I missed Germany very much, I wanted to return. I didn't want to get used to another place again. At some point, I wanted to return to Germany, I had trouble in the language, also when coming to a place like a village from a large place also made me suffer a lot.

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<sup>43</sup> Şu anki hedefim Almanya'da yüksek lisans yapmak için sınavlara hazırlanmak, o olmazsa staj yaptığım hukuk bürosuna başvuruda bulunacağım. Elimden geleni yapacağım. Buraya döndükten sonra Almanya'ya çalışmak için gittim sadece. Almanya'da iş bulma kuruma aracılığıyla, Münih'e gittim iki ay çalıştım, Erasmus staj yaptım. Bu şekilde üç yıldır oraya gitmiş oluyorum (Sacide).

<sup>44</sup> Döndüğüm için pişman değilim, bazen hayat şartları düşündürüyor tabi ama Türkiye'yi çok sevdim alıştım artık. Normal koşullarda dönmeyi hiç istemiyorum, ama mecbur kalırsam iş için giderim ama normalde burada yaşamak istiyorum. Kendimi Türkiye'ye daha ait hissediyorum. Ben Almanya'ya gittiğimde akrabaların restoranlarında falan çalışıyorum, yanlarında duruyorum yardımcı oluyorum. (Abdullah)

<sup>45</sup> Türkçem kötü ama annem bizle hep Türkçe konuştu unutmayalım diye bu yüzden o kadar sıkıntı yaşamıyorum. Dil bilgisinde çok hatalar yapıyorum ama bir sıkıntım olduğunda anlatıyorum. Ara sıra kelimeler aklıma gelmiyor Almancası geliyor direk çeviriye girip buluyorum yine kelimeyi. (Emin)

But my passport got lost and I lost my access to go in (Can, 20-year-old, male).<sup>46</sup>

I had a hard time after we returned, I was depressed for the first year. People, eating, drinking, school everything was completely different. It was very difficult for me to get used to the uniform in secondary school. The teacher-student communication was also very different. It's more intimate here, there it was more official. Two years later I got used to it. I started to make more friends here. Suddenly I took a look around and I realised I had a lot of friends; it went very fast. I went to high school in Aksaray. When I was in Germany, my Turkish was better than other Turks. We were always talking in Turkish with my friends and inside the house (Yasin, 21-year-old, male).<sup>47</sup>

From this result, we see that transnationalism activities and ties are strengthened with the development of technology and the increase of globalization. The extensive use of the Internet, cheaper transportation, more accessible and faster transfer of information within the diaspora are among the main factors that accelerate transnational ties.

#### **4.5 Re-Integration Challenges of Second and Third Generation German-Born Turks**

The second and third generation immigrants, experience a similar process by which their ancestors had in Germany. The integration process and living conditions of immigrants after returning to their homelands are influenced by the information and

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<sup>46</sup> Babam dönmek istedi, ben ilk başta istemedim oraya alıştığım için. Babam kendi işini kurdu, inşaatta çalışıyordu, o tekrar geri döndü iş tutmadı. Ben burada kaldım, ilk başta çok sıkıntı çektim, sonra alıştım buraya az çok. Geldiğimde çok özlemiştim Almanya' yı, dönmek istemişim. Tekrardan başka yerlere alışmak istemedim. Bir ara dönmek istedim Almanya'ya, dilde sıkıntılarım vardı, büyük bir yerden köy gibi bir yere gelince de çok sıkıntı çektim. Ama pasaportum kayboldu, giriş yapma hakkımı kaybettim. (Can)

<sup>47</sup> Döndükten sonra çok zorlandım, ilk bir yıl bunalıma girecektim. Yeme içme insanlar okul her şey bambaşka. Ortaokulda formaya alışmam çok zor oldu. Hoca-öğrenci iletişimi çok farklı. Burada daha samimi ortam, orası resmiydi daha. İki yıl sonra alışmaya başladım. Burada daha fazla arkadaş edinebildim. Bir baktım çok çevrem var, çok hızlı ilerledi. Liseyi Aksaray'da okudum. Almanya'da iken de diğer Türk'lere göre Türkçem daha iyiydi. Evin içinde ve arkadaşlarla Türkçe konuşuyorduk hep. (Yasin)

research they have obtained before the migration decision. Bosswick and Heckmann (2006) define integration as follows:

Integration, in a sociological context, refers to stable, cooperative relations within a clearly defined social system. Integration can also be viewed as a process – that of strengthening relationships within a social system, and of introducing new actors and groups into the system and its institutions. The integration of immigrants is primarily a process: if this process succeeds, the society is said to be integrated. (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006, p.2).

The information obtained about the economic conditions in the country of return, the functioning of the system, society and social life and all structural activities shapes the expectation and integration process. However, the perception of homeland created in the diaspora and the short-term vacations do not always provide a rational and clear reality. The transnational identities of the first-generation immigrants and their integration after their return were examined. However, when we came to the 21st century, there is still a continuous immigrant input-output between Germany and Turkey. The German-born Turkish population, who has the right to citizenship or residence in both countries, travel frequently, make short-term or substantial return decisions and try to maintain their identity in both countries. In a world that is becoming increasingly globalized and interconnected, states need to use their human capital more efficiently, take steps to protect citizens with transnational identities and support circular migration with the right steps. Therefore, this part reserved for second and third generation immigrants who returned to Turkey from Germany to reveal the difficulties they face in economic and social fields. Although most returnees had planned their return to Turkey and were excited about their expectations, they nevertheless faced several challenges.

Most returnees had concerns about the Turkish country administrative system and problems they had experienced in their bureaucratic procedures, and they have disappointed. They had problems with their documents and in need of legal consultation for their diploma equivalency certificate. Interviewees tell their story about it:



After returning, I was unemployed for 1-1,5 years. I got my equivalence first. I went to the institutions to get that equivalence, but no one had an idea what to do, they all sent me to someone else. There were private schools for KPSS at that time, I went to them. They didn't take me, they wanted hard-working students with good degrees. At first it was hard, but then I got used to it. During my studies, I got a job offer and started to work there as a nurse. It was a subcontractor job I didn't know what it meant at the time, luckily, I started working as a staff member. I think Germany is better in terms of education. All my classes there were important, there was no such thing as numerical or verbal categories. You had the chance to try the profession for the first six months, if you didn't like it, you were allowed to leave the school. You don't have such a luxury in here (Hanife, 36-year-old, female).<sup>48</sup>

Another example:

My dream has been fashion since I was a kid. We researched here, there was Necati Bey High School which was a girls' technical high school. My sister was a year younger than me. Two of us in the education age. After return, we experienced discrimination in school. They asked where we came from, they said we can't accept us. My father had sent our report cards and diplomas to the Ministry of National Education, we waited for their translations and we did not have them, so we could not take the test, our Turkish was also so bad at that time. We had a huge disappointment there. My father was very surprised, and we were very sad. My father said let's spend this year and register next year (Türkan, 31-year-old, female).<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Döndükten sonra bir, bir buçuk yıl işsizdim. Önce denkliğimi aldım. O denkliği almak için kurumlara gittim ama kimsenin haberi yok ne yapılacağından, hepsi bir başkasına gönderiyor. KPSS için o zamanlar dersane vardı, onlara gittim. Beni almadılar, çalışkan, dereceli öğrenciler istediler. İlk başta baya zorlandım ama sonra alıştım. Dershaneye giderken iş teklifi geldi, orada hemşire olarak çalışmaya başladım. Taşeronmuş ben o zaman ne anlama geldiğini bilmiyordum, neyse ki kadrolu eleman olarak çalışmaya başladım. Almanya'nın eğitim açısından buradan daha iyi olduğunu düşünüyorum. Orada bütün derslerim önemliydi, sayısal sözel gibi bir şey yoktu. Mesleği ilk altı ay deneme şansın oluyordu, beğenmezsen çıkıyordun okuldan. Burada yok öyle bir şey (Hanife).

<sup>49</sup> Çocukluğumdan beri hayalim modaydı. Burada araştırmıştık, Necati Bey Kız Lisesi vardı teknik lise. Kız kardeşim benden bir yaş küçüktü. Eğitim çağında ikimiz vardık. Döndükten sonra ayrımcılığı okulda yaşamaya başladık. Nereden geldiğimizi sordular, işte alamayız dediler. Karne ve diplomalarımızı MEB'e göndermişti babam, çevirileri için bekledik onlar da elimizde yoktu, seviye tespit sınavına da giremedik, Türkçe'miz de o kadar bozuk ki. Orada çok büyük bir hayal kırıklığı yaşadık. Babam da çok şaşırıldı ve çok üzüldük. Babam da bu seneyi geçirelim seneye kayıt olalım dedik (Türkan).

Moreover, the existing educational system in Turkey works differently than in Germany. Students who have studied or graduated from German secondary schools have less opportunity to compete in the placement test for high school and university education in Turkey. On the other hand, in the light of the studies, Turkish immigrants who graduated from university in Germany have intention for migrating to Turkey (Sezer & Dağlar, 2009). In the following paragraphs, interviewees tell their problems:

Education system is too bad in Turkey. I think this single exam system is losing a lot. I'm losing to my excitement; I could have done better. The human condition, psychology is not taken into account at that time. It's an exam that affects our lives. You can get ready for another year but it's a waste of time. (Eda, 21-year-old, female).<sup>50</sup>

The education system in Turkey is terrible. The system is constantly changing which is too bad. That's what my family thinks. I think everything needs to change once. Unlike Germany, you are closer with teachers in here which is a good thing in my opinion. My English is better than others in here. My English was very good when I was in Germany as well. The English I learned there until the seventh stayed the same level, I couldn't put anything extra about it in the schools here. I can say I am almost same level with the teachers. When you finish school in Germany, you can speak English like an Englishman. My English is better than my current schoolmates (Samet, 18-year-old, male).<sup>51</sup>

Life in Turkey is much nicer. Every place has beautiful views, but unfortunately, we do not see the asset. We pollute every place we go, and I don't like things like that. If I give an example from myself, I would even throw my sin to the trash bin, so I would never throw it on the ground. In the

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<sup>50</sup> Burada her şeyin tek sınav olması çok kötü. Bence bu sınav sistemi çok kayıp veriyor. Ben heyecanıma çok yenik düşünüyorum, daha iyisini yapabiliirdim. O dönem insanın içinde bulunduğu durum, psikoloji göz önünde bulundurulmuyor. Sonuçta hayatımızı etkileyen bir sınav bu. Bir sene daha hazırlanıp girebilirsin, bu zaman kaybı.

<sup>51</sup> Türkiye'deki eğitim sistemi berbat. Sistemin sürekli değişmesi çok kötü. Ailem de böyle düşünüyor. Her şeyin bence bir kez değişmesi gerekiyor. Almanya'ya göre öğretmenlerle burada daha yakınsın, bence bu iyi bir şey. İngilizcem buradakilere göre daha iyi. İngilizcem Almanya'da çok iyiydi zaten. Yedinci sınıfa kadar orada öğrendiğim İngilizce şu an aynı seviyede, buradaki okullarda üzerine ekstra bir şey öğrenemedim. Neredeyse hocalarla aynı durumdaydım diyebilirim. Almanya da okulu bitirdiğinde bir İngiliz gibi o dili konuşabiliyorsun. Şu anki okul arkadaşlarımdan da daha iyi İngilizcem (Samet).

system, for example, we start to study in English in high school, but no one knows how to speak. For example, if the English classes were to be practiced from the first grade but slowly, a person who came to 8th grade would be able to introduce himself or herself, say where he/she came from which would be better and give the child self-confidence and make the child learn more (Emin, 21-year-old, male).<sup>52</sup>

One of the interviewees is German teacher in a private school. She interprets education system in Turkey:

We also have things that need to be corrected in the education system. The only thing that is more positive than Germany is the lack of classification. If you wish, you can study the university. Classes are crowded, teachers do not have much time to spare, the exam is 3 hours long. But it is very difficult to make Turkey's system like Germany. In our case, fraud may happen, everything may happen. We don't have that option. There are many students. (Ebru, 44-year-old, female)<sup>53</sup>

Social reintegration shows the reinsertion of a returnee into the society and social structures of his or her country of origin. It covers the development of a personal communication and networks among friends, relatives and neighbors. Also, it includes the improvement of civil society structures in the society. A big challenge facing all returnees is regarding socio-cultural issues whereas it was an ignored part of daily life while he/she was abroad. Also, women returnees have to face difficulties related to gender inequality. Most second-generation women experienced community pressure after their return. Below, we will see the stories of several interviewees:

After returning to Turkey, I suffered so much difficulty with my family. Even your relatives are not helping in Turkey. My grandparents came from Germany

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<sup>52</sup> Türkiye'de yaşam çok daha güzel, her yerin ilin güzel özellikleri var ama maalesef hiç kıymet bilmiyoruz, gittiğimiz her yeri kirletip öyle çıkıyoruz böyle şeyler hoşuma gitmiyor, kendimden örnek verirsem ben günahımı bile çöpe atarım, yani yere asla atmam bu yönden gelişmemizi istiyorum. Sistemde mesela lisede İngilizce görüyoruz ama kimse konuşmuyor. İngilizce dersleri ilk sınıflardan sadece böyle yavaştan uygulamaya yönelik olsaydı mesela 8 sınıfa gelen bir insan kendini rahat tanıtır, nerden geldiğini filan söylerdi daha iyi olurdu buda çocuğa özgüven verip çocuğun daha fazla öğrenmesini sağlardı (Emin).

<sup>53</sup> Bizde de eğitim sisteminde düzeltilmesi gereken şeyler var. Almanya'ya göre olumlu tek şey sınıflandırma olmaması. Dilersen okursun üniversiteyi. Sınıflar kalabalık, öğretmenlerin çok vaktinin kalmaması, sınavın üç saat olması. Ama Türkiye'de bu sistemi Almanya gibi yapmak çok zor. Bizde torpili de döner, her şey döner. Öyle bir seçeneğimiz yok. Çok sayıda öğrenci var. (Ebru).

to help us. I don't know, my mother was a widow, maybe because of that we were so lonely. We stayed there but still had a lot of difficulty. I've had a lot of difficulty at school as well, everyone's looking at you like a stranger. They get used to it over time, but you get tired (Dilara, 23-year-old, female).<sup>54</sup>

Rumor is my mother's reason for going to Germany. It is very difficult to live Turkey as a widow, and so are the conditions of work. That's why they returned to Germany, because the state would help them. (Eda, 21-year-old, female).<sup>55</sup>

Eda and Dilara's mothers experienced problem with their relatives. They felt treated so unfairly, they even return back to Germany to get rid of community pressure and gossip. During the interviews, many interviewees remarked that they were experienced disadvantages as a woman in terms of gender equality and cultural norms:

After returning, we felt the pressure of the neighborhood too. There were certain rules in Germany too, but after we returned here, the people jammed us. For example, after someone told my father 'a girl should not use a bicycle', I remember that my bike was broken and thrown. For example, my sister and I always spoke German, we only spoke Turkish when there were our parents nearby, this was a habit for us. We were living with my grandmother and uncle, my uncle had a daughter of our age. My cousin went to my grandmother and cried because we spoke German with my sister. And then we were in Turkey, so my father forbade us to speak German at all (Sare, 20-year-old, female).<sup>56</sup>

I've had a few things in my life to be restrained. We were more devoted to our religion there, and I was always against it. I was riding skates in the neighborhood and my father once told me not to ride. He told me it was

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<sup>54</sup> Türkiye'ye döndükten sonra ben ailemde çok zorluk çektim. Yabancıyı bırak akrabalar bile yardım etmiyor, dedemler ta Almanya'dan geldiler burada evleri vardı, annem belki de dul olduğu için çok yalnız kaldık. Orada kaldık ama yine de çok zorluk çektik. Okulda da çok zorluk yaşadım, yabancıların yani herkes o gözle bakıyor. Zamanla alışıyorlar onlar da ama sen yorulmuş oluyorsun (Dilara).

<sup>55</sup> Benim annemin Almanya'ya gitme sebebi dedikodu. Burada dul bir kadın olarak yaşamak çok zor, keza iş şartları da öyle. Almanya'ya bu sebeple döndüler, devlet onlara yardımcı olacağı için (Eda).

<sup>56</sup> Döndükten sonra mahalle baskısı da hissettik çok. Almanya'da da belli kurallar vardı, ama buraya döndükten sonra el alem örgütü bizi kısıp soktu. Mesela birisi babama 'ne işi var kız çocuğunun bisiklet tepesinde' dedikten sonra, ben bisikletimin kırılıp atıldığını biliyorum. Mesela kız kardeşimle hep Almanca konuşuyorduk, sadece anne baba varken Türkçe konuşuyorduk, bu bizde alışkanlıktı. Babaannem amcamla yaşıyorduk, amcamın bizle yaşıt kızı vardı. Biz kardeşimle Almanca konuşuyoruz diye kuzenim babaanneme gitmiş ağlamış. Ve babam artık Türkiye'deyiz diye Almanca konuşmamızı yasaklamıştı (Sare).

dangerous, and I could fall, but in reality, he did not want me to use it. They tried to forbid it, but I wouldn't let it. There is such a difference, we were doing everything, cycling and skating, we wanted in Germany (Sacide, 22-year-old, female).<sup>57</sup>

Some interviewees addressed the issue of the non-existence of employee rights. Employees cannot protect themselves from many non-professional acts by the employer. Because of that, they have feared losing their jobs at any time. Türkan (31-year-old, female) tells her story:

After return, I had no problems in the adaptation process. I stayed with my brother for a year. However, I was expelled from my company once because of union events, and I regretted coming back. That would never happen in Germany. There's nothing about human rights. It took me a long time to figure out how this could happen. In here there are a lot of bragging.<sup>58</sup>

Even though social and cultural ties hasten the return migration of second and third generation immigrants, there were times they feel the discomfort of Turkish society. Over time, Turkish citizens living in Germany were given different attitudes by the Turkish community. Immigrants from Germany who has a better economic situation than their Turkish relatives, had begun to be referred as 'Almancı' in society because of the gifts they brought, their dress, different styles of behavior and speech (Demirağ & Kakışım, 2018). The participants stated that they were caught between the two communities and some people around them emphasized them as 'Almancı' and it adversely affects their sense of belonging to Turkey. Dilara (23-year-old, female), one of third generation participants, explains how she feels:

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<sup>57</sup> Hayatımda kısıtlanmak için birtakım şeyler yaşandı. Biz orada dinimize daha bağlıydık ve ben bunlara hep karşıydım. Ben paten sürüyordum mahallede, babam sürme düşersin diyordu ama dolaylı yoldan kullanmamı istemiyordu. Yasaklamaya çalıştılar ama izin vermedim. Böyle bir fark var, Almanya'da bisiklet paten istediğimizi şeyi sürüyorduk (Sacide).

<sup>58</sup> Döndükten sonra uyum sürecinde hiç sıkıntı yaşamadım. Bir yıl abimin yanında kaldım. Ancak, THY'den ben bir kez sendika olayları sebebiyle atıldım, o zaman döndüğüme çok pişman oldum. Almanya'da böyle bir şey asla olmazdı. İnsan haklarına dair hiçbir şey yok. Böyle bir şeyin nasıl olabileceğini anlamam çok uzun sürdü. Burada asarım keserim muhabbeti çok.

We were living in an area where there were mostly Germans, but if you go to the market and speak Turkish, you won't get lost, there were that many Turks. There are more and more Turks there. I understand the Germans a little. Most of our people, the Immigrants, are in the part that can't really improve themselves. They behave like wearing horse blinders, they don't develop their culture. Even though I grew up there too, they are giving an ego battle just because I moved to Turkey. Even very close friends of mine, or even my cousins. You're expatriate there, German here. We didn't fit anywhere. You're not a citizen of either country, but you're like an errand-boy. I learned a lot from my mother because she developed herself so well. So were my grandparents. We grew up in touch with the Germans, and they taught us that discipline.<sup>59</sup>

In Germany, I treated people smiling, I had respect to them, but I don't speak with people in here, I don't care if they say anything. The environment in Germany is more respectful, everything doesn't turn into a fight there, but it turns into a fight here, I see that a lot. In Germany, they were making fun of us saying we are Turks, in here they are making fun of us saying we are German. There were also students who were jealous of me because I speak two languages and I was having problems with them too (Can, 20-year-old, male).<sup>60</sup>

Sacide (22-year-old, female) tells her experience after return:

Our reason for return was my parents' longing for the country. We were not asked, I didn't know what to expect. But I was so happy then, I was young, and we were tricked. They told us only about good things. The first day I arrived, I was very surprised to see children playing with fire without shoes. Here people live more dangerously than there. It was a trauma for me, a place

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<sup>59</sup> Biz daha çok Almanların olduğu bir bölgede oturuyorduk, ama çarşıya gitsen Türkçe konuşsan kaybolmazsın, çok Türk vardı. Gittikçe daha da artıyor Türkler orada. Almanlar'ı da biraz anlıyorum. Bizim insanlar yani Gurbetçilerin çoğu, kendilerini pek yetiştiremeyen kısımdalar. At gözlüğü takmış gibiler, kültürlerini geliştirmiyorlar. Ben orada yetiştiğim halde, Türkiye'ye taşındığım için bir ego savaşı veriyorlar. Çok yakın arkadaşlarım, ya da kuzenlerimde bile öyle. Orda gurbetçisin, burada Almancı. Hiçbir yere sığmadık. İki ülkenin de vatandaşı değil de ayakçısı gibi oluyorsun. Benim annem kendini çok iyi geliştirdiği için ondan çok şey öğrenmişim. Dedemler de öyleydiler. Almanlarla daha içiçe yetiştik hani o disiplini öğretiler bize (Dilara).

<sup>60</sup> Almanya'da insanlara güleryüzlü saygım vardı, ama burada konuşmuyorum, birşey derseler de takmıyorum yani. Almanya'daki ortam daha saygılı, orada her şey kavgaya dönüşmüyor ama burada kavgaya dönüşüyor çok yaşıyorum. Almanya'da Türk diye dalga geçiyorlardı, burada Alman diye dalga geçiyorlar. İki dil bildiğim için beni kıskanan öğrenciler de vardı, onlarla da sıkıntı yaşıyordum (Can).

where I had no idea about the language and culture. In the beginning, my mom came to school with me as like a translator. I had no problems making friends. I got used to it very quickly. My brother set a rule, I was writing at least two pages a day. As my Turkish developed, my circle improved. My social life was very rich, I did different sports. When I first arrived, my grades were always one in the 4th grade. I've always been painting in that time. I studied there. People did not pay much attention to painting here so I headed towards to the German department.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Dönme sebebimiz; anne ve babamın memleket özlemiydi. Bize sorulmadı, neyle karşılaşacağımı hiç bilmiyordum. Ama o yaştaki aklımla sevinmiştim, kandırıldık biraz. Bize güzel şeylerden bahsetmişlerdi. İlk geldiğim gün ayakkabısız, ateşle oynanaya çocuklar gördüm çok şaşırdım. Burada insanlar daha tehlikeli yaşıyor insanlar oraya göre. Benim için travmaydı, dilini ve kültürünü hiç bilmediğim bir yerd. Annem benimle okula tercümanlık yapmak için geldi ilk zamanlarda. Arkadaş edinme konusunda hiç sorun yaşamadım. Çok çabuk alıştım buraya. Abim kural koymuştu, günde en az iki sayfa yazı yazıyordum. Türkçem geliştikçe çevrem gelişti. Sosyal hayatım çok zengindi, farklı sporlar yaptım. Derslerim ilk geldiğimde, dördüncü sınıfta hep birdi. O içime kapandığım sürede resim yaptım hep. Sonra hocalarım beni konservatuara yönlendirdi, orada okudum. İnsanlar burada resime çok önem vermiyordu ben de Almanca bölümüne yöneldim. (Sacide).

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

#### 5.1 Policy Advice

Individuals living in diasporas or transnational communities live according to the policies and practices of two or more nations (Baubock, 2010). Therefore, policies implemented under the social system are significant for trans-migrants (Pusch, 2015). For this reason, it is imperative to acquire an international perspective beyond the understanding of the nation-state when producing policy in policymaking.

Social policies endeavour to establish and maintain the mechanisms necessary to eliminate inequality and social problems and to improve the lives of individuals. Under the influence of globalization, economy, politics, and migration events affect all individuals and nation-states. Therefore, the need for recommendations and solutions is increasing globally. For countries like Turkey, which gave its human capital to developed countries via migration, human capital inside diaspora and diaspora's return to the homeland are factors as necessary as diaspora's presence abroad. Therefore, policymakers in developing countries should focus on transformative and transnational reforms in social policy. They should take more active roles in the global social policy and produce common strategies with the German state to ease mobilization of the Turkish diaspora and work in better conditions and to convey its knowledge.

For over 60 years, Turkey and Germany have ongoing immigration flows. The fourth generation of German-born Turks has now replaced the initial expectation of short-term labor migration with short-term business agreements by both countries. With the changing citizenship laws, Germany has become an immigration country, and Turkish-rooted immigrants were entitled to dual citizenship or an indefinite residence under some obligations. Two of the participants in the study have dual citizenship,



and three have the right to an indefinite residence. While Germany has developed adaptation and integration policies for immigrants, Turkey, on the other hand, has become a country of immigration (Kirişçi, 2010). Citizens with transnational identities who have the right to live in both countries provided great benefits and opportunities to these countries in social, cultural, political, and economic spheres. Since Turkey-Germany migration continues to flow, an inclusive and collective citizenship policy is required (Aydın, 2016). Both Turkey and Germany should create new policies and laws to extend the political and citizenship rights of second and third-generation immigrants of Turkish origin who were born in Germany but faced double citizenship barriers. Blue Card application and giving extra privilege in Turkey to the people of Turkish origin is an example of this.

Policymakers, non-governmental organizations and related government offices should develop a joint effort to institutionalize return programs and policies. The governments of both countries could be approached to support these attempts. As mentioned before, there are many institutions and organizations in Germany to find solutions to the problems of the Turkish diaspora (Bilgili, 2010). To better identify the needs of the diaspora, employees in these institutions should conduct research and establish new units accordingly. Employees in these institutions should avoid any political tendency and produce policies for the common good of the Turkish diaspora.

In the thesis, the experiences and difficulties met by the interviewees throughout the reintegration processes were given in terms of employee rights, education problems, social problems, and gender inequality.

Policymakers in both countries should have more manageable reconciliation of return that reflects the reality of migrants' continued movement of migrants between their host and home country. The most important characteristic of this migration path for both countries is the movements of educated second and third generations Turkish-Germans. Turkish origin educated person's immigration from Germany to Turkey in recent years gained a lot of attention both from the media and academia (Aydın, 2016;

Şener & Türgen, 2018; Pusch, 2013). Germany's aging population problem makes qualified young people migration a more critical issue. According to conducted researches, a vast majority of German Chambers of Industry and Commerce' members indicate that they faced with difficulties when they try to find competent personnel in the labor market (Bürgin & Erzene-Bürgin, 2013). Researchers have come to surprising conclusions about the causes of migration. If policymakers imply a transnational perspective in the policymaking process, it helps migrants to sustain their transnational identity and mobility. During the interviews, it was concluded that some attempts should be made for the returning migrants from Germany to Turkey to adapt more quickly to the homeland. Nevertheless, the participants mentioned that they felt lonely after their return and that the state did not support them in terms of learning the language:

After return, there was no support from the Turkish government. Cultural or lingual. I think that these things should be done by the state, especially for children. I'm sure we would have been better directed in this way. There will be people who will want to return as their age progress. Families are obviously not very conscious. Thus, people who want to return can be more courageous. This awareness needs to be created (Orhan, 31-year-old, male).<sup>62</sup>

The cultural and social ties that emerge between the receiving and sending countries have gradually strengthened, and permanent mobility has been achieved today by the influence of transnationalism. Significant technological advancements in communication and transportation have helped to make these ties more robust and sustainable (De Haas & Fokkema, 2010). This activity is useful both in the economic and social fields. Returnees who want to use their human capital skills in their ancestral homeland should be supported, especially in the area of language. Learning the Turkish language with the help of various organizations and educational organs is of great importance for their social and economic adaptation. There is a vast

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<sup>62</sup> Döndükten sonra Türkiye tarafından hiç sahip çıkma durumu olmadı. Kültür veya dil anlamında. Bence devlet tarafından böyle şeyler yapılmalı, özellikle çocuklar için. Böyle bir kuruluş olsa eminim daha iyi yönlendirilirdik. Yaş ilerledikçe dönmek isteyenler de olacaktır. Aileler zaten çok bilinçli olmuyor açıkçası. Böylelikle dönmek isteyen insanlar daha cesaretli olabilirler. Bu bilincin oluşturulması gerekiyor.

number of German and German-Turkish collaborative ventures in the labor market. The need for multilingual (Turkish and German) skilled workers to work in these enterprises creates a situation to facilitate the return migration of German-born Turkish migrants or at least offer them different opportunities. Successful migration and growth policies also include enrich communication and collaboration between migrant host and home countries.

Nowadays, even if it is long-term, it would be insufficient in terms of transnational social policy to characterize return migration. The embracing personalities of second and third-generation migrants with different cultures and abilities should be unfolded (Aydin, 2016). This situation increases the dialogue and collaboration between the two countries and strengthens international relations.

## **5.2 General Remarks and Discussion**

The primary purpose of this thesis is to analyze the experiences and challenges of return migration of the second and third generations Turkish-Germans and their reintegration challenges. I have tried to answer research questions by using in-depth interview methods. As semi-structured in-depth interview method, I did not ask direct questions to people I interviewed. Making use of life-history narratives of 14 returnees in Turkey, I reached my findings. I asked them to tell their life stories in a particular way from their childhood, their educational, social, and economic life in Germany, their participation in the Turkish diaspora in Germany, and their reintegration and adaptation process after returning to their ancestral homeland. The research interview questions were prepared and adapted in this study by using the questions asked to the participants in previous studies in this field.

Researchers first developed economic-based theories when investigating the return processes of labor migrants (Gitmez, 1991). The return of the first generation of labor migrants to their homeland was seen either as a strategic plan or as a failure in the country they went to (Constant & Massey, 2002). Afterward, theories that examine

the social and cultural ties of immigrants were put forward. In this thesis, transnationalism theory was used to investigate the reasons of return migration and the experiences of migrants. This theory will better explain the factors influencing the return of the second and third generations of Turkish immigrants with the globalizing world and the factors that are effective in studying transnational networks and ties. The fact that communication and transportation are much more convenient and accessible today. Technology has increased the relationship of immigrants with their homelands (Çağlar, 2001). The findings show that third-generation immigrants have more dominant transnational identities than second-generation immigrants. It is not possible to say clearly how the second and third-generation immigrants' feelings of belonging and characters are shaped.

I examined the immigrants who participated in the return migration in four different groups. These are, return by family decision, return by marriage, return by education, and return by belonging themselves to Turkey. Second and third-generation immigrants were more prone to return to educational or personal reasons than to economic reasons according to research of Rittersberger-Tılıç (Rittersberger-Tılıç & Özen & Çelik, 2013). Other studies also revealed that discrimination, business, or career opportunities were not a decisive factor in returning (Aydın & Pusch, 2011). My findings of narratives of return migration are compatible with these studies. The main reason for the return migration of second and third generation returnees is the family factor. The death of a family member, sickness of an elder family member, and making adequate investments and savings are some of the reasons for return to Turkey. The only participant who returned due to marriage was a second-generation immigrant. The immigrants who returned for educational reasons were mainly third-generation immigrants. The main reason for this was the education system in Germany and the difficulties of attending university in Germany.

People who decided to return because of their feelings to be a part of Turkey are mainly second-generation immigrants. They stated that they expressed themselves mostly in the German language in their daily and educational lives. However, the

parents of the second generation were always eager to return to their homelands. For this reason, the social, cultural, and economic ties of the labor migrants with the people staying in their home countries were always active. They frequently visited Turkey for investment or relatives and children of the first generation in this process has strengthened the communication with their relatives and acquaintances in Turkey. Those who spent a lot of time in Turkey during their childhood have more belonging sense to their ancestral homeland.

In this thesis, first of all, the effect of transnationalism on diasporas and second and third-generation immigrants is explained to show the change in the Turkish diaspora policy. Afterward, changes in the Turkish government's diaspora policy in Germany and Turkey, established organizations and institutions, were introduced. These institutions were intended to strengthen the relations between Turkey and Turkish immigrants (Østergaard-Nielsen, 20016). Diaspora has a vital role in the establishment and management of public diplomacy (Özkan, 2018). Turkey, over the years, thanks to citizens and compatriots living abroad, have the power of a large diaspora. In order to meet the demands and needs of these individuals, to establish effective communication, and to develop the necessary strategies and programs, a government-created institution was required. The most prominent policies are the establishment of Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities Department and the Blue Card application (Pusch & Splitt, 2013). Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities was established to support, manage, and strengthen the Turkish diaspora worldwide (Bilgili, 2010). The presidency's other area of interest, as its name holds, is the same descendants and relatives. This presidency played an active role in a lot of different regions. To continue its activities successfully, it established various departments such as the Department of Overseas Citizens, Department of Cultural and Social Relations, Department of International Students, Department of Corporate Relations, and Communication. Keeping the strained relations of the government and individuals and ensuring its continuity is one of the crucial duties of it. The establishment of Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities is an example of transnational social policy.

Moreover, transnational practices facilitated a more natural return migration and assisted immigrants in the reintegration process. Knowledge and experience gained in diasporas are very important for the return decision. Involvement in the cultural associations and Turkish diaspora engagement policy through direct links to the homeland was also influential in return migration. Transnational social networks open many ways of communication to the members of the diaspora. It helps to convey more experience about homeland among immigrants. Most of the interviewees in this study mentioned a broad range of transnational practices that they were involved in.

I took great care to maintain the balance between men and women in the number of participants. I assumed that it was important to achieve this equality in terms of gender and would lead to different consequences. Due to the young age of the interviewees my expectations did not occur. Moreover, many of them did not participate in business life yet. There was only one participant who had to return migration through marriage, who was a second generation. The participant said that the neighborhood pressure was the main factor for her to return to Turkey through marriage. Participants did not particularly mention any gender-based problems they have faced in their educational life in Turkey.

On the other hand, a meaningful finding in terms of gender is gender inequality. Migrants faced many odd situations and neighbour pressure after their return. The female majority of participants said that compared to Germany, they lived a more conservative life in Turkey. They said that they tried to adapt to social life in Turkey after their return. According to the interviews, their families restricted and exert pressure on the second and third-generation immigrants, especially after their return.

Although this thesis did not aim to study citizenship studies, there were also findings of citizenship during the interviews. As previously mentioned, Turkey took precautions by law to the right to dual citizenship for citizens living abroad. However, some countries with immigrants do not accept dual citizenship. Germany is among the countries that do not allow the right to dual citizenship of immigrants from

Turkey. For these reasons, immigrants have to decide which citizenship they will have when they reach age of 23.

For this reason, Turkey took a significant step in the field of social policy on this issue and launched the Blue Card application. With Blue card, Turkish immigrants, while having German citizenship, will also be able to benefit from all the rights of Turkish citizenship except the right to vote in Turkey. Turkey's intention with this application is to strengthen national ties with immigrants and to attract educated and multilingual immigrants back to Turkey. Blue card is an important issue that should be examined for future research in the field of social policy. Among the participants in this thesis, some have dual citizenship, but they have to choose their citizenship after reaching the age of 23. Thanks to these cards, immigrants younger than 23 with dual citizenship, become more comfortable to stay in Turkey. People who are still living in Germany with their families and relatives or people who are connected via education or business may not want to give up their German citizenship. However, with this policy implementation, immigrants may live as long as they want and may have rights like work and property acquisition in Turkey. While the Blue Card application allowed Turkish immigrants to live in Turkey, it offers an excellent example of a national social policy.

A lot of research has been studied on assimilation in the field of international migration (Şahin, 2010). Third-generation immigrants have more belonging sense to Germany than the second generation. This finding shows that between generations, assimilation is more dominant in the third generation. The third generation participants emphasized that their mother tongue is German, and they can communicate more easily in German. They did not experience discrimination in Germany and had many friends from Germany and other nations. At the same time, third-generation immigrants said they could return to Germany for a while for work or education. Two of the third generation participants have noted that in the future, they want to live in another country in Europe or America. They do not want to limit

themselves to live only in Germany or Turkey. It can be said that these people have transnational mobility and managed to pass beyond these two countries. However, this finding does not apply to the majority of the participants. Although participants have transnational practical and robust networks, they generally have hyphenated identities.



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## **APPENDICES**

### **A: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

#### **Demographic Questions**

1. Name & Surname
2. Date of Birth & Place
3. Gender
4. Marital Status
5. Education
6. Occupation
7. Current Living Place
8. Citizenship & Generation

#### **Study Questions**

9. Who came to Germany first from your family? When did they come? What was your initial idea for their life in Germany?
10. How was your educational life in Germany?
11. How was your relationship with your neighbors in Germany?
12. How was your work life in Germany?
13. What was your parents' occupation? Did your mother stay at home to take care of you, or did she worked as well?
14. Which type of school did you go? What do you think about your life at school in Turkey? Do you feel like you are performing well? How are your relationships with your teachers and friends?
15. How was your relationship with other Turkish people in your class or neighborhood if there were any?

16. What did you think about living in Germany?
17. How were you feeling about living in Germany?
18. In the beginning, how was your Turkish language skills? Did you do it well?
19. Did you have any acquaintances from German people or other ethnics?
20. How was your relationship with them?
21. Did you feel like any segregation in Germany?
22. Did you see Turkey before the return decision? Did that make any difference?
23. How old were you when you return from Germany?
24. What were your opinions about return migration?
25. Where did you live in Germany?
26. Where did you move in Turkey?
27. What were the factors in your decision to return? Did you make that decision yourself or someone from your family made it?
28. Were you involved in the decision-making process? Did they give you any opportunity about your thoughts on decision making?
29. How was the experience of return migration for you and your family? Have you encountered any difficulties in the adjustment period?
30. What were your before and after thoughts, and feelings about Turkey? How do you feel now?
31. Did you make strong relationships in terms of friendship in Germany? Do you still talk to them?
32. Did you have the chance to return to Germany afterward?
33. Do you think to move back to Germany at some point, or do you consider to stay in Turkey for the rest of your life?
34. Did you consider to go back to Germany afterward?
35. How many times did you go back to your hometown in Germany?
36. Did you see your hometown in Germany again afterward, or did you never had a chance to visit there?
37. What are the main characteristics of German and Turkish culture?
38. Do your ethnic and cultural character affects your life? Where do you put your ethnic and cultural background?

39. How do you see Turkish people in Germany? Do you think they are developing themselves or just staying at the same place in terms of integration and adaptation to the country?
40. Which one would you prefer German politics or Turkish politics? Did you had any chance to check what is going on in Turkey, or were you only checking German news?
41. Did you have any interest in politics in Germany?
42. What kind of policies should implement to ease the integration process of Returnees?
43. What are your opinions about politics related to the integration process of Returnees? What could be done by policymakers to make easier integration?



## **B: PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEES**

DILARA is 23 and third generation returnee. She returned to Turkey with her mother and younger brother from Mannheim in 2007, then her family move back to Germany. She lives in Istanbul and works as hostess in a big airlines company. She has Turkish citizenship and residence permit in Germany and considers going back to Germany in the future.

EDA is 21 and third generation returnee. She returned to Turkey with her mother and younger brother from Datteln in 2010, then they move back to Germany. Four years later, she returned to Turkey to complete her university education and now goes to university in Mersin. She has only Turkish citizenship.

SARE is 20 and third generation returnee. She returned to Turkey with her nuclear family from Bochum in 2011 and completed her secondary education in Kayseri. Now, she goes to university in Mersin. She has double citizenship and consider going back to Germany, if she cannot find satisfying job.

EBRU is 44 and third generation returnee. She returned to Turkey for marriage from Ulm to Izmir in 1996. She works in a school as German teacher and lives in Istanbul with her nuclear family. She does not want to go back to Germany. She has Turkish citizenship and her daughter has German citizenship.

EMIN is 21 and third generation returnee. He returned to Turkey in 2015, when he is 18. He is university student in Mersin. He goes back to Germany only at summer holidays to work in a German company. He has only Turkish citizenship and does not consider going back to Germany permanently.

EMIRHAN is 19 and third generation returnee. He returned to Turkey with his family from Pegnitz and settled in Bursa in 2012. He completed his primary education in Germany, and now goes to university in Istanbul. He has only Turkish citizenship and try to get his German citizenship or residence permit. He wants to work in America or one of North European countries in the future.

SAMET is 18 and third generation returnee. He is the youngest person in this study. He returned to Turkey with his family for education reasons from Hamburg to Diyarbakır in 2013. He completed his high school in Turkey and now goes to university in Mersin. He has double citizenship and consider going back to Germany for a length of time.

TURKAN is 31- and second-generation returnee. She returned back to Turkey from Krefeld in 2004 to complete her university education in Istanbul and then married. She still lives in Istanbul and work as hostess. Her family returned to Turkey after retirement few years ago. She has Turkish citizenship and residence permit in Germany and considers go back to Germany with her husband.

HANIFE is 36 and second-generation returnee. She returned back to Turkey with her family from Berlin to İstanbul in 2012. She lives in İstanbul and works as public

servant. She completed her university education in Germany. She has Turkish citizenship and does not want to go back to Germany.

SACIDE is 22- and second-generation returnee. She came to Turkey with her parents from Yruna in 2007. Her two older brothers and two older sisters live in Germany. She goes to university in Mersin. She went to Germany for doing her internship and visiting family members. She has Turkish citizenship and wants to go back to Germany in the future.

YASIN is 21- and second-generation returnee. He returned back to Turkey with his mother after his fathers' death in 2012. They came from Düsseldorf. He goes to university in Mersin. He has German citizenship and considers going back to Germany, if he cannot find a satisfying job in Turkey.

ABDULLAH is 21 and second-generation returnee. He returned back to Turkey with his family from Frankfurt to Mersin in 2013. His family decided to return for health issues of elderly family members. Now, he goes to university in Mersin. He has German citizenship and does not want to go back to Germany.

ORHAN is 31- and second-generation returnee. He returned back to Turkey from Berlin for education reasons and his family still lives in Germany. He completed his university education in Istanbul. Now, he lives in Istanbul and works as graphic designer in a software company. He has only Turkish citizenship and does not consider go back to Germany.

CAN is 21- and second-generation returnee. He returned to Turkey with his father from Stuttgart to Mersin in 2011. His father went back to Germany after his work bankrupted. He goes to university and lives in Mersin now and considers going back to Germany after completed his university education. He has Turkish citizenship.

## C: APPROVAL FORM BY THE UEAM

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARASTIRMA MERKEZİ  
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



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21 AĞUSTOS 2019

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof.Dr. Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız Tuğba İZGİN'in "İkinci ve Üçüncü Jenerasyon Almanya Doğumlu Göçmenlerin Geriye Dönüş Göçü" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve 327 ODTÜ 2019 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof. Dr. Tuğba GENÇÖZ

Başkan

Prof. Dr. Tolga CAN

Üye

İZİNLİ

Doç.Dr. Pınar KAYGAN

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali Emre TURGUT

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Süreyya Özcan KABASAKAL

Üye

## D: TÜRKÇE ÖZET / TURKISH SUMMARY

### GİRİŞ

Bu tezin temel amacı Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye geri dönüş göçü yapan ikinci ve üçüncü kuşak göçmenlerin yaşadıkları deneyimleri ve zorlukları analiz etmektir. Aynı zamanda, ulusötesi bakış açısıyla geri dönüş göçüne ilişkin sosyal politika önerilerine katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır. İlk olarak göçmenlerin geri dönüş kararını etkileyen ulusötesi bağlar incelenmiş ve ulusötesicilik teorisi tez boyunca kullanılan teorik çerçeveyi oluşturmuştur. Geri dönüş göçü özellikle 1980'li yıllardan itibaren sosyoloji başta olmak üzere pek çok disiplin tarafından araştırılmıştır. Bu tezde, geri dönüş göçü sosyal politika perspektifinden incelenmiş ve geri dönen göçmenlerin karşılaştıkları sorunları ortadan kaldırmak adına sosyal politika önerilerinde bulunulmuştur.

Tezde üç tane temel araştırma sorusu vardır. Bunlardan ilki tezin temel amacı olan, daha önce yaşamadıkları bir ülkeye geri dönüş yapan birinci kuşak göçmen işçilerinin çocuklarının ve torunlarının, Türkiye'ye geri dönme sürecinde edindiği deneyimler ve yeniden entegrasyon sürecinde karşılaştıkları sorunların neler olduğunu tespit etmektir. İkinci araştırma sorusu ise ulusötesi pratiklerin geri dönen göçmenlerin hayatlarında ve yeniden entegrasyon sürecindeki rolünün ne olduğunu anlamak ve etkilerini ortaya koymaya çalışmaktadır. Son araştırma sorusu, geri dönen göçmenlerin Türkiye'ye daha kolay adapte olması için ne gibi sosyal politika önerilerinin üretileceğine dair önerileri ele almaktadır.

Devamında çalışma boyunca en sık kullanılan 'ikinci kuşak', 'geri dönüş göçü', 'ulusötesicilik' ve diaspora kavramları ele alınmış ve çalışmanın daha iyi anlaşılabilmesi için kavramsal açıdan tanımlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Çalışmanın aktörleri olan ikinci kuşak göçmenler, işçi göçü sırasında Almanya'ya göç eden göçmenlerin Almanya'da dünyaya gelen ya da çok küçük yaşlarda Almanya'ya göç

eden çocuklarıdır. İkinci kuşak göçmenleri tanımlamak için araştırmacılar, göçmenlerin gittikleri veya doğdukları ülkede ne kadar süre yaşadıklarını, eğitimlerine nerede başladıklarını ya da kaç yaşında o ülkeye göç ettikleri gibi parametrelerle ikinci kuşak tanımını sınırlandırmak istemişlerdir. Bu tezde bahsedilecek olan ikinci kuşak göçmenlerin hepsi Almanya’da doğmuş ve ilköğretimlerine Almanya’da devam etmişlerdir. ‘İkinci kuşakların geri dönüş göçü’ kavramı literatürde oldukça ilgi toplamıştır. Bunun sebebi, kişilerin daha önce yaşamadıkları bir yere ‘geri dönüş’ yapmalarının çelişkili bir durumu ortaya çıkarmasıdır. Gmelch’in ifade ettiği gibi geri dönüş göçünü sınırlandırmak ve kısa süreli yer değiştirmeleri geri dönüş göçü olarak görmek tartışmalı bir durum yaratır. Bu tezde göçmenler geri dönüşlerini gönüllü olarak isteyen ve Türkiye’de en az 2 yıldır ikamet eden kişilerden oluşmaktadır.

Tezde geçen diğer önemli kavramlar diaspora ve ulusötesiciliktir. Diasporaların ilk ortaya çıkışında kullanılan anlamından uzaklaşıp modern dünyada nasıl şekillendiği, ulusötesiciliğin diasporaya olan etkisi ve göçmenlerin diaspora içerisinde geliştirdiği pratikler tez boyunca incelenmiştir. Diasporaların modern anlamda ne ifade ettiğini anlamak, ikinci ve üçüncü kuşak göçmenlerin Almanya’da nasıl bir ortam içerisinde yetiştiklerini ve Türkiye ile bağlarını anlamak için çok önemli bir referans noktası oluşturmuştur. Araştırmalar, diasporanın yerinden olma ya da zorunlu olarak yer değiştirme durumundan uzaklaşıp, ulusötesi topluluklara dönüştüğünü ortaya koymuştur. Ulusötesicilik kavramı özellikle 2000’li yıllardan sonra globalleşme ile etkisini arttırmış ve sosyoloji, siyasi bilimler ve göç gibi pek çok sosyal bilimi alanında tartışmaya başlanmıştır. Teknolojinin ilerlemesi ve daha kolay ulaşılması bu durumu hızlandırmıştır. Aynı zamanda, ulaşım ve iletişim kanallarının artması ve ucuzlaması ile birlikte ulusötesi deneyimler ve pratikler daha çok ortaya çıkmıştır. Ulusötesicilik, göçmenlerin yalnızca tek bir ülkeye ait olmadığını ve birden fazla kimlik barındırabileceklerini ileri sürmüştür. Ulusötesicilik, göç süreçlerini yalnızca geçici ve temelli gibi kategorilerle sınırlandırmayı reddetmiş ve küreselleşen dünyada göçmenlerin daha sık ve sürekli bir döngü halinde yer değiştirmelerini düşünerek daha global bir bakış açısı sunmuştur.

Geri dönüş göçünü sosyal politika alanından incelemek bu tezin ortaya koyduğu en büyük katkılardan biridir. Geri dönüş göçü literatürde oldukça işlenmiş olsa da, sosyal politika perspektifinden yapılan çalışmalar sınırlı kalmıştır. Ancak çok dilli ve kimlikli yetişen Türk kökenli göçmenlerin sahip olduğu insan sermayesi ve bir ülkenin vatandaşlarına karşı sahip olduğu sorumluluklar düşünüldüğünde geri dönüş göçünü sosyal politika açısından incelemek ve olası çözüm önerileri sunmak büyük önem taşıyor. Çalışmanın saha araştırmasına dayanması ve göçmenlerin hem anavatanlarında hem de ev sahibi ülkede ortaya koydukları ulusötesi pratik ve kimlikleri incelemesi açısından geri dönüş literatürüne katkı sağlar.

## LİTERATÜR TARAMASI VE KAVRAMSAL ÇERÇEVE

Literatürde incelenen konular, Türkiye’den Almanya’ya yapılan göçün arka planı, ulusötesiciliğin diaspora ve ikinci jenerasyon göçmenlerdeki etkileri, Almanya ve Türkiye’de yürütülen Türk diaspora politikası ve geri dönüş göç teorileridir.

İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası Avrupa ülkelerinde endüstrileşme hareketleri ilerlemiş ve işgücüne olan ihtiyaç artmıştı. Gelişmemiş ya da gelişmekte olan ülkeler Avrupa ülkelerinin sanayisi için ham madde sağlıyordu. Bu dönemde özellikle Almanya çevre ülkelerden işgücü toplamaya başlamış ve endüstrileşme hızını arttırmıştır. İşçi göçmen alımlarına İtalya ile başlayan Almanya, daha sonra İspanya, Yunanistan ve Türkiye gibi ekonomik gelişmesi hızlı olmayan ülkelerden işçi alımına başlamıştır. Türkiye’de 27 Mayıs 1960 askeri müdahaleyle beraber ülkede işsizlik ve döviz sıkıntısı baş göstermeye başlamıştı. Bu süreçte Türk hükümeti işçi göçünü ‘demografik’ bir çözüm olarak gördü ve yurtdışına işçi göndererek ülkedeki işsizlik problemini çözmeyi amaçladı. Bunun yanında yurtdışındaki işçilerden anavatana yapacakları para havaleleri ve orada edindikleri mesleki bilgileri de hedef olarak ortaya koymuştur. İlk göç anlaşmaları yapıldığında, hükümetler bu geçin geçici olduğunu düşünmüşlerdi. Türkiye ve Almanya arasında ilk işçi anlaşması 31 Ekim 1961 yılında yapıldı. Almanya’daki misafir işçiler aileleri için oturma izni çıkartarak, onları yanlarına almış ve aile birleşimleri gerçekleşmiştir. 1973 Petrol krizi ile



Almanya da Avrupa'da yaşanan ekonomik durgunluktan etkilenmiş ve dışarıdan işçi alımını durdurmak için yeni göç politikaları uygulamaya başlamıştır. Almanya, göçmenlerin geri dönmelerini teşvik etmek yasalar çıkarmış ve maddi olarak göçmenleri desteklemiştir. Bu kanuna göre en az 2 yıldır Almanya'da çalışan her işçiye 10500 DM, her bir aile üyesine ise 1500 DM dönüş için teşvik parası verilecekti. Bu teşvik yasasıyla 250 bin Türk geriye döndü. Alman hükümeti misafir işçi alma politikasını durdurduğu için Türkiye'den sığınma talebi ile başvurular artmıştır. Devamında Almanya ve Türkiye arasındaki göç koridoru sürekli devam etmiştir. Göçün ilk yıllarından bu yana neredeyse 60 yıl geride kalmıştır ve Almanya'da Türkiye kökenli göçmen sayısı diğer topluluklara göre en yüksek orana sahiptir. Bunun en önemli sebeplerinden birisi Almanya'nın misafir işçilere verdiği geniş sosyal güvenlik sistemi hakları olmuştur. Doğum ve çocuk yardımının yanı sıra emeklilik gibi, göçmenlerin sosyal güvenlik hakları güvence altına alınmıştır.

Daha önce bahsedildiği gibi diaspora tanımı klasik tanımından sonra zaman içerisinde değişime uğramış ve yeni anlamlar kazanmıştır. Diasporanın zorunlu göç hareketleri sonucu oluşurken, günümüzde ikinci ve üçüncü kuşak göçmenlerin diasporaya dahil olma sürecinin nasıl gerçekleştiği ve ulusöteciliğin bu duruma etkileri tezin temel konularındandır. Diasporalar zamanla anavatandan koparılmaya ve geriye dönme hayalinden, tek bir yere aidiyet duymadan ve farklı kimlik ve kültürleri bir arada barındıran bir oluşuma dönmüştür. Diaspora kavramı eskiden zorlu süreçleri ve yerinden olma durumunu ifade ettiği için siyasa yapıcılar ve araştırmacılar günümüzde ulusötesi topluluklar kavramını kullanmayı seçmektedirler. Bu topluluklar buldukları ülkeye entegre olmaya çalışırken, öte yandan kültürel kimliklerini, dinlerini veya kökenlerine bağlılıklarını korumaya devam ederler. Diaspora kavramını değişime uğratan unsurların en önemlisi küreselleşmenin hızlanması ve ulusötesiciliktir. Ulusötesicilik, ülkeler arasında insanların, bilginin ve ürünlerin yer değiştirmesini sağlayan hem göç veren ve göç alan ülkeleri, hem de göçmenlerin kendilerini bu iki ulusal alandaki kişiler ve kurumlarla ilişkili hale getiren çok boyutlu bir kavram olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Dünyanın küreselleşmesi ile teknoloji ve bilgi transferi hızlanmıştır. Günümüzde göçmenler hem ev sahibi ülkeyle

hem de köken ülkeleriyle bağlantılar sağlamakta, kurumlar inşa etmekte, faaliyetler yürütmekte, her iki ülkedeki sosyal, siyasal ve ekonomik alanlara katılmaktadır. Ulusötesi bağlar ve kimliklerin oluşması, ulusötesi alanların oluşmasına sebep olmuştur. Ulusötesi alanlar günlük yaşam pratiklerinin üretildiği ve bireyler arasında karşılıklı olarak sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel ağların yaratıldığı alanlar olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Literatürde ikinci jenerasyon ve ulusötesicilik üzerine yapılmış pek çok çalışma vardır. Bu çalışmalar genelde ikinci kuşağın doğdukları toplumda ne ölçüde asimile olacakları ve entegrasyon seviyelerinin ne ölçüde olacağı ile ilgilidir. Bunun sebebi, uluslararası göçmenlerin gittikleri ülkede kalıcı olmaları veya geçici bir süre kalıp memleketlerine geri döneceklerinin düşünülmesi olmuştur. Amerika’da göçmenler üzerine yapılan çalışmalarda ikinci jenerasyonun asimile olarak, anavatanlarıyla ulusötesi bağlar kuramayacakları savunulmuştur. Portes and Zhou bölünmüş asimilasyon kavramını öne sürmüştür. Bu kuşaklar arasında asimilasyon seviyesinin daha farklı ilerleyeceğini açıklayan bu tipolojinin, Almanya’daki ikinci kuşak göçmenler için geçerli olmasa da üçüncü kuşak göçmenler için görece olarak daha geçerli olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Asimilasyon teorisini savunan çalışmalar, ikinci ve devamında gelen kuşakların ailelerinin anavatanlarıyla güçlü bağlar kurduklarını göz ardı etmiş, bir ülkeye kalıcı olarak giden göçmenlerin anavatanlarıyla bağlarını koparmaları ve sonraki nesillerin de ev sahibi toplumda tamamen asimile olmaları beklemişlerdir.

İkinci Dünya Savaşı’ndan sonra Avrupa aldığı işçi göçmenlerin geçici bir süre kalacağını öngörmüş, ancak bu beklenti gerçekleşmemiştir. Bu göçmenler ikinci ve üçüncü nesilde dillerini ve kültürlerini diaspora içerisinde yaşatmaya devam etmiştir. Bunun yanında ailelerinin vatanlarına duydukları özlem, oradaki yakınlarıyla kurdukları iletişim, sosyal ağları ve toplumdaki edindikleri deneyimler de genç kuşakların ulusötesi pratik ve seviyelerini önemli ölçüde etkilemiştir. Kalabalık ailelere sahip olan göçmenlerin kardeş ve akrabaları farklı ülkelerde oturmakta ve

aile bağlarını sürdürmek amacıyla sınır ötesi iletişim ve ulaşım imkanları kullanılarak sosyal ağlar sürdürülmektedirler.

Almanya’da kalmaya devam eden ve zamanla yerleştikleri ülkede çoğalan Türk göçmenler ev sahibi ülkeye uyum sağlamaya çalışırken, bir yandan kendi ülkeleriyle yakın bağlarını da korudular. Böylece yaşamak için kullandıkları alanları ve göç ettikleri ülkelerdeki mekânların ulusötesileşmesine yol açtılar. İkinci ve üçüncü kuşakların geri dönüş göçünde atalarının anavatanına yapılan ziyaretler etkili oldu. Amca, teyze, büyükanne ya da kardeşlerle internet ya da telefon gibi iletişim kanallarıyla ulaşarak, sürekli bir iletişim sağlandı. Duval (2004) Toronto’da bulunan Karayip topluluk üyeleri arasında yaptığı etnografik çalışma ile geri dönüş göçü ve anavatana yapılan ziyaretler arasındaki ilişkiyi araştırdı. Bu ziyaretlerin ulus ötesi bir özellik taşıdığını ve anavatandaki kişilerle sosyal bağların ve uyumun güçlenmesine yardımcı olduğunu ortaya koydu. Aynı zamanda geri dönüş göçünü gerçekleştirecek göçmenlerin bilgi sahibi olmasına yardımcı olduğunu göstermiştir.

Milli devletler ülkenin ve vatandaşlarının çıkarlarını korumak için ulusal politikalar üretirler. Ancak, ülke dışındaki vatandaşların da çıkarlarını korumak ve var olan diasporayı yönetmek amacıyla siyasalar üretirler. Almanya’daki Türk diasporası sayı bakımından yüksektir ve uzun süredir Almanya’da yerleşik bir düzene sahip olmaları sebebiyle önemli bir diplomasi aracı olmuştur. Almanya’da yaşayan Türk kökenli göçmenler ve geri dönüş yapan göçmenler için çok sayıda politika üretme girişiminde bulunulmuştur. Toplum içerisinde ulusal sınırların ötesinde diyalogların kurulmasına ve devamlılığın sürdürülmesi ile diaspora daha önemli bir konuma gelmiştir. Diaspora politikası ile ekonomik ve ticari ilişkileri geliştirmek, kültürel ve sosyal bağlar korumak ve arttırmak, sivil toplum örgütleri ve devlet organları arasındaki diyalogun güçlenmesi amaçlanmıştır.

İlk başlarda Türkiye’nin yurtdışında yaşayan vatandaşlarına yönelik politikası belirsizdi. Zamanla büyüyen bu diaspora ilk zamanlarda ekonomik ögelerle özdeşleşmişti. Gönderilen para havaleleri ve ülkeye yapılacak yatırımlar diasporanın

en önemli görevi olarak görülüyordu. Ancak etkinliği ve yoğunlukları artan Türk diasporasını yönetmek ve çıkarlarını korumak adına 1980’li yıllarda çalışmalara başlandı. Almanya’daki Türk diasporasının haklarını korumak için birçok kurum ve enstitü kuruldu, ulusötesi bağlar yaratıldı.

1982 Anayasası ile birlikte yurtdışında yaşayan Türk vatandaşlara çifte vatandaşlık hakkı sunuldu. Bu yasa göçmenlere gittikleri ülkenin vatandaşlığını da ellerinde tutma hakkını verdi. Bu uygulamayla göçmenlerin buldukları ülkede varlıklarını güçlendirmeleri ve aynı zamanda anavatanlarıyla bağlarını devam ettirmeleri amaçlandı. 1984-1985 yıllarında Turgut Özal öncülüğünde diasporalara yönelik yeni bir siyasi tutum benimsendi. Yenilenen Türk diaspora politikasının temel özelliği yurtdışında yaşayan Türk topluluklarının siyasallaştırılması ve bir diplomasi aracı haline gelmesidir. Ev sahibi ülkelerde çok sayıda dernek ve enstitü kuruldu. Bakanlık düzeyinde kurulan kurumlar aracılığıyla yurtdışındaki Türklerin buldukları ülkeye entegrasyonlarının artması amaçlanmıştır. Göçmenlerin iş koşulları, sosyal güvenlik haklarının düzenlenmesi, Türk-İslam birliğinin devamı için Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı’nın liderliğinde dini dernek ve kuruluşların kurulması başlıca yapılan faaliyetlerdi. Göçmenlerin adadillerini ve dini öğelerini korumayı amaçlamışlardır. Türkiye’den Almanya’ya öğretmenler ve imamlar gönderilmiş, Türki dili eğitimi ve din ile sosyal kültürel bağlar yaşatılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Türkiye, yüksek nüfusa sahip olan Türk diasporasının buldukları ülkede siyasal haklarını savunmaları amacıyla sivil toplum örgütlerinin kurulmasına destek olmuştur. Bu alanda kurulan en önemli kurum, Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Toplulukları Başkanlığı olmuştur. Bu kurum 2010 yılında diasporanın daha aktif olması, yönetiminin daha efektif olması ve Türk vatandaşlarının problemlerini çözme amacıyla Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı’na bağlı olarak kurulmuştur. Bu yapı, nitelikli siyasi katılımı artıracak, aynı zamanda siyasi, kültürel, ekonomik ve sosyal yaşama eşzamanlı olarak katkıda bulunacak siyasi bilincin geliştirilmesini hedeflemiştir. Bu kurum aynı zamanda yabancı vatandaşların Türkiye’ye okumak için gelmeleri için de çalışmaktadır. Türk kültürünü tanıtmak, karşılıklı diyalog ve anlayışı geliştirmek

için Yunus Emre Enstitüleri kurulmuştur. Türk dilini misafir işçilerin torunlarına öğretmek bu kurumun diğer hedeflerinin arasındadır. İşçi göçünden günümüze Türk diasporasının ekonomik rolünden siyasi rolüne geçişini gözlemlemek mümkündür. Türk diasporası 2012 yılında seçimlerde oy kullanma hakkı kazanarak Türkiye içindeki politik rolünü de güçlendirmiştir. Bu hak, siyasi partilerin lobileşme ve parti kampanya süreçlerine Türk diasporasını dahil etmesine yol açmıştır. YTB' ye bağlı pek çok sivil toplum örgütü kurulmuş ve Türk devleti ile diyalogların geliştirilmesi amaçlanmıştır.

Aynı zamanda Türkiye'nin geri dönen göçmenler için geliştirdiği politikalar vardır. Ancak, diasporanın uluslararası arenada yönetilmesine ve desteklenmesine verilen önemin, geri dönen göçmenler için verilen önemden daha fazla olduğu söylenebilir. Türkiye'de geri dönen göçmenlerin hayatlarını kolaylaştırmak amacıyla Mavi Kart uygulaması çıkarılmıştır. Mavi Kart, uzun yıllardır göç alışverişine sahip olan bu iki ülkede yaşayan bireylerin ihtiyaçlarına cevap veren, uluslararası bir çözüm örneği olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Özellikle, anavatanlarına dönmek isteyen genç, çok dilli ve eğitilmiş Türk kökenli göçmenleri ülkeye kazandırmak, ülkenin kalkınmasına ve ekonomik gelişmesine katkı sağlar. Bu karta sahip kişiler Türkiye'de seçme ve seçilme hakkı hariç, oturma, çalışma ve gayrimenkul sahibi olma, mal ve ürün alıp satma ve miras hakkı gibi tüm vatandaşlık hakları vardır.

Diğer bir sosyal politik uygulaması 1980'li yıllarda geri dönüş göçü yapan işçi göçmenlerin çocuklarına yönelik açılan Anadolu Liseleridir. Almanya'nın geriye dönüş hareketini desteklemek için yaptığı reformların ve uyguladığı teşviklerin etkisiyle, 1980'lerde Almanya'dan 213.469 göçmen Türkiye'ye geri geldi. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, dönen çocukların eğitim hayatlarına daha kolay devam edebilmeleri için, 1984 yılında İngilizce, Almanca ve Fransızca eğitim veren Anadolu Liselerini açtı. Bu kurumlar merkezi sınav sistemi ile öğrenci olmayan, yalnızca yurtdışından dönen göçmenlerin çocuklarını kabul eden, 3 yıl ortaokul ve 3 yıl lise eğitimi veren kurumlardı. Günümüzde, yurtdışından gelen öğrenciler de yerli öğrencilerin gittiği Anadolu liselerinde birlikte eğitim almaktadır.

Geriye dönüş göçünün sebeplerini açıklamak için araştırmacılar 1960'lı yıllardan beri farklı teorik yaklaşım ve yorumlar geliştirmiştir. Geliştirilen iki farklı ekonomik yaklaşımda, birisi geri dönüşü ekonomik anlamda başarısızlık olarak görürken diğeri, geri dönüşün hesaplanmış bir strateji olduğunu ve göçün amacına ulaştığını savunur. Geri dönüşü sadece ekonomik temellere oturtarak anlamlı bir biçimde açıklamaya çalışmak, sosyal ve siyasi etkenleri yok saymak anlamına gelmekteydi ve bu sebeple yeni teoriler geliştirildi. Aynı zamanda bu teoriler işçi göçmenlerinin çocuk ve torunlarının dönme sebeplerini açıklamada yetersiz kalmıştı. Bu sebeple geri dönüşü açıklamak için yapısal faktörleri inceleyen yaklaşımlar geliştirildi. Gmelch bu çalışmaya bir adım daha öne götürerek, geri dönenlerin anavatanlarına yeniden entegre olma sürecini inceleyen bir yaklaşım sunmuştur. Geri dönen göçmenler anavatanlarındaki sosyal ve ekonomik şartlara adapte olabilirlerse geri dönüşü başarılı kabul edilmiştir.

Yapısal yaklaşım ikinci kuşak ve devamındaki kuşaklar için uyarlanabilecek geri dönüş göçü sınıflandırmaları içerdiği için başarılı kabul edilir. Ancak bu yaklaşımda göçmenlerin sahip oldukları sosyal bağları incelemekte yetersiz kalır ve vardıkları ülkede geliştirdikleri bağlantılar incelememez. Bu nedenle sosyal ağlar teorisi geliştirilerek, göçmenlerin anavatanda kalan aileleri, akraba ve arkadaşları ve göçmenin onlarla devam eden ilişkisini araştıran bir teori sunulmuştur. 1980li yılların sonunda ulusötesi göç teorisi ortaya atılmıştır. Bu yaklaşım göçü belli kalıplara sığdırmaya çalışmaz. Göçü sonu olan ve varılacak bir nokta olarak değil, sürekli devam eden dinamik bir süreç olarak kabul etmiştir. Bu tezde ulusötesi pratiklere sahip olan ikinci ve üçüncü kuşak göçmenlerin geri dönüş deneyimini analiz etmek amaçlandığı için ulusötesi göç teorisi kullanılmıştır.

## METODOLOJİ

Bu tezin araştırdığı temel konular, geri dönüş göçü yapan ikinci ve üçüncü kuşak Almanya doğumlu Türk'lerin geri dönüş göçünde karşılaştığı problemleri ve deneyimleri analiz etmek, ulusötesiliğin diaspora ve göçmenler üzerindeki ve üretilebilecek olası sosyal politika önerileridir. Bu yüzden öncelikle geri dönüş göçü

hakkında literatür araştırması yapılmıştır. Avrupa ve Amerika gibi farklı bölgelerde ikinci ve sonraki kuşaklar ile geri dönüş göçü hakkında neler çalışıldığı incelenmiştir. Dönen kişilerin hayat hikayelerini anlamak ve yorumlamak amacıyla, toplam 14 geri dönen göçmen ile yarı yapılandırılmış mülakat tekniği uygulanarak bulgulara ulaşılmıştır. Mülakatlar için sorular hazırlanmış, tez danışmanı Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger Tılıç ile sorular hakkında istişare edildikten sonra ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu onayına başvurulmuş ve onay alınmıştır.

Mülakatlar İstanbul ve Mersin olmak üzere iki farklı ilde yürütülmüştür. Katılımcıların çoğunluğu ile yüz yüze görüşme gerçekleştirilirken, yüz yüze görüşme imkan olmayan katılımcılarla FaceTime veya Whatsapp görüşmeleri sağlanmıştır. Çalışma 7 kadın ve 7 erkekten oluşmaktadır. İkinci ve üçüncü kuşak göçmenlerde aynı şekilde yarı yarıya olacak şekilde seçilmiştir. Katılımcıların yaş aralığı 19-44 arasında değişmektedir. Katılımcıların hepsi Almanya'da doğmuşlardır ve hepsinin doğum yerleri farklılık göstermektedir. Öte yandan, atılımcıların Almanya'da kalma süreleri en az 11 yıl ve en çok 23 yıl arasında değişmektedir. Aynı zamanda katılımcıların çoğu genç olduğu için üniversite eğitimlerine devam etmektedirler.

Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye yapılan geri dönüş göçünü sosyal politika perspektifinden inceleyen çalışmaların sınırlı olması, bu tezin güçlü yönlerindedir. Bunun yanında üçüncü kuşaklarla yapılan görüşmeler sonucu ortaya çıkan çalışmaların az olmasıdır. Bu tezin bir diğer güçlü tarafı , üçüncü kuşakların geri dönüş göçüne katılması hakkında literatüre olan katkısıdır. Kuvvetli yanlarının tezdeki araştırma yöntemleri çalışmanın zayıf tarafları da oldu. Almanya'da bulunan Türk kökenli göçmenlerin zaman için Alman vatandaşı olması ya da çifte vatandaşlık hakkına sahip olması sebepleriyle kaç kişinin geri dönüş göçü yaptığına ulaşmak mümkün olmamaktadır. Ayrıca, sınırlı sayıda katılımcı ile yapılan görüşmeler sonucu elde edilen bilgilerle bulgulara ulaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. İnsan ve deneyim faktörü çok farklı sonuçlar doğurabileceği için, elde edilen sonuçlar büyük popülasyonlar için genellemeler yapmaya olanak sağlamamaktadır.

## BULGULAR VE ANALİZ

Ulusötesicilik göç teorisinin, küreselleşen dünyayı ve ulusötesi ağ ve bağları incelemesi açısından, ikinci ve üçüncü kuşak olan Türk kökenli göçmenlerin geri dönüşünde etkili olan faktörleri daha iyi açıklayacağı düşünülmüştür. İkinci ve üçüncü göçmenlerin aidiyet ve kimlik duygularının nasıl şekillendiğini net bir şekilde söylemek mümkün değildir. Ancak çalışmada, üçüncü kuşak göçmenlerin ikinci kuşak göçmenlere oranla daha baskın ulusötesi kimliklere sahip olduğu görülmektedir.

Geri dönüş göçüne katılan göçmenleri dört farklı grupta incelenmiştir. Bunlar aile kararı ile geri dönme, evlenmek için geri dönme, eğitim sebepleri için geri dönme ve kendini Türkiye'ye ait hissetme sebepleriyle alınan geri dönme kararlarıdır. Daha önce yürütülen çalışmalarda da ikinci ve üçüncü kuşakların geri dönüş sebebinin ağırlıklı olarak aile faktöründen kaynaklandığı ortaya konmuştur. Aile bireylerinden birinin vefat etmesi, aile büyüklerinin hastalanması, Türkiye'ye dönmek için yeterli birikim ve yatırımın yapılması aile kaynaklı geri dönüş sebeplerinin başında gelmektedir. Evlenme sebebi ile geri dönen tek katılımcı ikinci kuşak bir katılımcıydı. Eğitim sebepleri ile geri dönen göçmenler ağırlıklı olarak üçüncü kuşak göçmenlerdi. Bunun başlıca sebebi olarak, Almanya'daki eğitim sisteminden ve Almanya'da üniversiteye devam etmenin zorluklarından bahsetmektedirler. Kendini Türkiye'ye ait hissettiği için geri dönme kararı olan göçmenler ise ağırlıklı olarak ikinci kuşak göçmenlerdir. Katılımcılar günlük hayatta ve eğitim hayatlarında, çoğunlukla Almanca diliyle kendilerini dah rahat ifade ettiklerini belirttiler. Ancak ikinci kuşağın ebeveynleri her zaman anavatanlarına geri dönme konusunda istekli olduğu için, ikinci kuşak göçmenlerin ülkelerinde kalan kişilerle sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik bağları hep güçlüydü. Bu sebeple ikinci kuşak katılımcılar anadillerinin Türkçe olduğunu vurgulamaktadır.

Uluslararası göç alanında asimilasyon konusunda da birçok araştırma yapılmıştır. Araştırma sonucunda, üçüncü kuşak göçmenlerin ikinci kuşaklara oranla Almanya'ya olan aidiyetlerinin daha fazla olduğu görülmüştür. Bu durum kuşaklar



arası farklarda asimilasyonun üçüncü kuşakta daha baskın olduğunu göstermektedir. Aynı zamanda üçüncü kuşak göçmenler gelecekte Almanya'ya bir süreliğine iş veya eğitim için geri dönebileceklerinden bahsetmişlerdir. Üçüncü kuşak katılımcılardan ikisi gelecekte Türkiye veya Almanya'da yaşamakla kendilerini sınırlandırmak istemediklerini, Amerika veya Avrupa'da başka bir ülkede yaşamak isteyeceklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Bu kişilerin ulusötesi hareketliliğe sahip olduklarını, iki ülkenin dışına çıkmayı başardıkları söylenebilir.

Katılımcıların döndükten karşılaştıkları problemler dört başlıkta toplanmıştır. Bunlar işçi hakları, kadın-erkek eşitsizliği, sosyal problemler ve eğitim sorunları olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Döndükten sonra eğitimlerine devam etmek için yapılan başvurulardaki bürokratik işlemlerin çok yavaş ilerlemesi ve denklik belgelerinin alınması başta gelen problemlerdir. Türkiye'de Almancı, Almanya'da gurbetçi olarak görüldüklerini söyleyen bireyler, sosyal anlamda insanların onlara karşı Almancı gözüyle yaklaşmalarından duydukları rahatsızlığı belirtmişlerdir. Bunun yanında, Almanya'daki geniş işçi hakları ve sahip oldukları güvenceler ile Türkiye'deki çalışma koşullarının çok farklı olduğunu belirtmişlerdir.

Katılımcıların sayısında kadın ve erkek dengesini sağlamak için çok dikkatli davranılmasına rağmen toplumsal cinsiyet konusunda anlamlı sonuçlara ulaşılamamıştır. Katılımcıların yaşlarının küçük olması ve birçoğunun henüz iş hayatına katılım sağlamaması sebebiyle beklenen farklılıklar ortaya çıkmamıştır. Kadın katılımcıların çoğunluğu Türkiye'de Almanya'ya kıyasla daha muhafazakar bir yaşam sürdüklerini, döndükten sonra Türkiye'deki sosyal yaşama adapte olmak için uğraştıklarını söylemişlerdir. Yapılan mülakatlara göre, ailelerinin özellikle döndükten sonra ikinci ve üçüncü kuşak göçmenleri daha çok kısıtladıkları ve baskı uyguladıkları görülmektedir.

Tezde, Türk diaspora politikasındaki değişimi göstermek amacıyla öncelikle ulusötesiciliğin diasporalar ve ikinci ve üçüncü kuşak göçmenler üzerindeki etkisi anlatılmaya çalışıldı. Devamında Türk hükümetinin Türkiye ve Almanya'da

uyguladığı diaspora politikası ve kurulan kurum ve enstitüler tanıtıldı. Bu kurumlar Türk kökenli göçmenler ile Türkiye arasındaki bağların güçlenmesini amaçladı. En göze çarpan siyasalar YTB'nin kurulması ve Mavi uygulamaları olmuştur. YTB, Türk diasporasını dünya çapında desteklemek, yönetmek ve güçlendirmek için kurulmuştur. YTB'nin kuruluşu ulusötesi bir sosyal politika örneğidir. Öte yandan Mavi Kart uygulaması ile amaçlanan Türk kökenli göçmenlerin Türkiye'de hayat sürmelerine imkan tanımak açısından uygulanan milli bir politika ürünüdür. Her iki uygulama da sosyal politika alanında atılan önemli adımlardır.

Bu tez vatandaşlık çalışmalarını anlatmayı amaçlamasa da, mülakatlar boyunca vatandaşlık konusunda da bulgular elde edilmiştir. Daha önce bahsedildiği gibi Türkiye, yurtdışında yaşayan vatandaşları için çifte vatandaşlık hakkını yasalarla güvence altına almıştır, ancak göçmenlerin buldukları bazı ülkeler çifte vatandaşlık hakkını kabul etmemektedir. Almanya'da Türkiye'den olan göçmenlerin çifte vatandaşlık hakkına sahip olmasını kabul etmeyen ülkeler arasındadır. Göçmenlerin, 23 yaşına geldiklerinde, hangi vatandaşlığı seçmek istediklerine dair bir karar vermesi gerekmektedir. Bu sosyal politika alanında gelecek araştırmalarda incelenmesi gereken önemli bir konudur.

## POLİTİKA ÖNERİLERİ

Sanayi devrimiyle beraber global ölçekte sermaye hızla el değiştirmeye başlamıştır. Ekonomideki hızlı büyüme, sosyal ve ekonomik alanda sorunlara sebep olmuştur. Bu sorunların çözümü ve vatandaşların daha yüksek refahlarda yaşamlarını sürdürmeleri için yeni kurum ve siyasalara ihtiyaç olmuştur. Milli devletlerin kendi içlerinde ürettikleri sosyal politikalar yetersiz kalmıştır. Bu sebeple uluslararası ve devlet üstü kurumlar oluşmuş, Uluslararası para Fonu ya da Dünya Sağlık Örgütü gibi kurumlar oluşturulmuştur. Sosyal politikalar eşitsizliği ve sosyal sorunları ortadan kaldırmak için gerekli mekanizmaları kurmaya ve sürdürmeye ve bireylerin yaşamlarını iyileştirmeye çalışmaktadır. Küreselleşmenin etkisi altında, ekonomik, çevresel ve göç olayları tüm bireyleri ve ulusal devletleri etkilemektedir. Her iki ülkede de

hayatlarını sürdürmeye çalışan ikinci ve kuşak göçmenlerin, buldukları ülke ve anavatanlarına olan etkileri ve katkıları düşünüldüğünde küresel bir ölçekten ziyade, iki ülke arasında geliştirilecek ortak program ve projelere ihtiyaç vardır. Çünkü birden fazla kimliğe sahip bu göçmenlerin her iki ülkede bulunan yasa ve politikalara göre yaşamlarını sürdürmesi beklenir.

Her iki ülkede de yaşama hakkına sahip ulusötesi kimlikleri olan vatandaşlar, bu ülkelere sosyal, kültürel, politik ve ekonomik alanlarda büyük faydalar ve fırsatlar sağlamıştır. Türkiye-Almanya göçü halen akmaya devam ettiğinden, kapsamlı ve işbirlikçi bir vatandaşlık politikası gerekmektedir. Hem Türkiye hem de Almanya, Almanya'da doğmuş ancak çifte vatandaşlık engelleriyle karşı karşıya kalan Türk kökenli ikinci ve üçüncü kuşak göçmenlerin siyasi ve vatandaşlık haklarını genişletmek için yeni siyasi ve devlet yasaları oluşturmalıdır. Politika yapıcılar ve hükümet, geri dönüş programlarını ve politikalarını kurumsallaştırmak için ortak bir çaba göstermelidir.

Görüşmeler sırasında, Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye dönen göçmenlerin vatanlarına daha kolay adapte olmaları için bazı girişimlerde bulunulması gerektiği sonucuna varıldı. Özellikle, geri dönüş göçüne katılan ikinci ve kuşak göçmenlerin dil alanında desteklenmeleri gerekmektedir. Çeşitli kurumların ve eğitim organlarının yardımı ile Türkçe öğrenmek, sosyal ve ekonomik uyum için büyük önem taşımaktadır.

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