"NEW WAVE" MIGRATION FROM TURKEY: EXPLORING IDENTITY, NATIONHOOD, AND SENSES OF BELONGING THROUGH THE CASE OF TURKISH MOTHERS IN BERLIN

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ABSTRACT

"NEW WAVE" MIGRATION FROM TURKEY: EXPLORING IDENTITY, NATIONHOOD, AND SENSES OF BELONGING THROUGH THE CASE OF TURKISH MOTHERS IN BERLIN

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The thesis examines how the formulations of identity, nationhood, and belonging are shaped for the Turkish mothers in Berlin related to how they perceive Turkey and are affected by its socio-political context. It highlights the intergenerational concerns in national belonging through the overlooked experiences of womanhood and motherhood within the popular debates on the "new wave" migration from Turkey. Thus, the sampling constitutes women who emigrated between 2009 and 2019 to grasp the impacts of the recent Turkish socio-political context. The data from seven in-depth interviews were analyzed with MAXQDA. The main findings show that the formulations of identity, nationhood, and belonging of the mothers have been shaped with reference to four main axes: personal/subjective, professional/economic, children-related, social relations/ties. The 'ruptures' in senses of belonging and attachment to the homeland do not necessarily reflect a radical shift 'following' the emigration but are already questioned in pre-migration

and revisited through practical comparisons in post-migration. Firstly, how migrants re-negotiate belongings is affected by their social locations and their abilities in transferring social and economic capital within the migration process. Secondly, the stereotype of strong national belonging of Turkey-descended populations in Germany is shifting towards more practical and detached accounts of identity formation through 'elective belonging' with the "new wave" migration. Thirdly, women's boundaries with the Turkish society are affected by the political and cultural divide especially between lifestyles, and they favor freedom, individuality, and safety rather than origins or ethnoreligious values. Overall, the thesis finds that the quality of life, social rights and welfare, and concerns for the future become primary in re-negotiating belongings than national attachments for the case of mothers.

Keywords: belonging, emigration, national attachment, Turkish-German migration, motherhood.

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'NİN YENİ DIŞ GÖÇÜ BAĞLAMINDA DEĞİŞEN KİMLİK, ULUSALLIK, VE AİDİYET HİSLERİ: BERLİN'DEKİ TÜRKİYELİ GÖÇMEN ANNELER ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tez, Berlin'deki Türkiye kökenli annelerin, Türkiye'yi algılama biçimleri ve sosyopolitik bağlamdan nasıl etkilendikleri açısından kimlik, ulusallık, ve adiyetlerinin nasıl şekillendiğini incelemektedir. Gittikçe popülerleşen Türkiye'nin "yeni dalga" göç tartışmalarında kadınlık ve annelik deneyimleri üzerinden ulusal aidiyetin kuşaklararası kaygılara dokunan yönünün altını çizer. Türkiye'nin günümüz sosyopolitik bağlamının etkileri üzerinden incelenebilmesi açısından, örneklem 2009 ve 2019 yılları arasında Türkiye'den Berlin'e göçen ve göç öncesi veya sonrasında anne olmuş olan kadınları içermektedir. Yedi adet derinlemesine görüşmeden toplanan veriler MAXQDA üzerinden analiz edilmiştir. Temel bulgular kimlik, ulusallık, ve aidiyetin göç sürecinde dört ana eksene bağlı olarak şekillendiğini göstermektedir: kişisel/öznel, profesyonel/ekonomik, çocuk(lar), ve sosyal ilişkiler/bağlar. Ana yurda olan adiyet algıları ve bağlılıklardaki 'kırılmalar'

dış göçü 'takiben' radikal bir değişimi değil, göç öncesi sorgulamalar ve göç sonrası pratik karşılaştırmalar aracılığıyla sürekli yeniden ele alınan kırılmaları işaret etmektedir. İlk olarak, göçmenlerin aidiyetlerinin nasıl şekillendiği, sosyal konumları ve göç sürecinde sosyal ve ekonomik sermayelerini transfer etme becerileri doğrultusunda şekillenmektedir. İkinci olarak, Almanya'daki Türkiye kökenli göçmenlere dair söylemlerde kalıplaşmış olan güçlü ulusal aidiyetin yerini 'seçici aidiyet' aracılığı ile daha pratik sebeplerle şekillenen ve ayrıksı kimlik söylemlerine bıraktığı gözlenmiştir. Üçüncü olarak, kadınların Türkiye toplumu ile sınırları özellikle hayat tarzları konusunda ortaya çıkan politik ve kültürel ayrım sonucunda çizilirken, etik ve politik değer sistemlerinde kökenlere vurgu ve etnik-dini değerlerdense özgürlük, bireysellik, ve güvenin ön plana çıkışı gözlenmiştir. Türkiye'den Almanya'ya göçler tarihi bağlamında aidiyetlerin tarihsel değişimi açısından bu tez, "yeni dalga" göçle birlikte yaşam kalitesi, sosyal haklar ve refah ile gelecek kaygılarının aidiyetleri yeniden kurgulamada anneler örneğinde ulusal bağlılıklardan daha önemli hale gelmekte olduğunu göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: aidiyet, dış göç, ulusal bağlılık, Türk-Alman göçü, annelik.

To the memory of my beloved father.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

On the celebration event of the 99th anniversary of the establishment of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) and April 23rd National Sovereignty and Children's Day, a primary school student was asked the question, "What is your dream in academic terms?" on live TV. She responded, "I want to study medicine at the University of Cologne; then I might become a German citizen" (Evrensel, 2019; Independent Turkish, 2019). The response attracted considerable public and media attention, especially for the latter part. Turkish media and public discourse have already been swaying with discussions on how both young and old, educated, and intellectual citizens are increasingly either leaving Turkey or considering to. What marks this day distinctive is that the only national holiday dedicated to children, youth, and their future was overshadowed by the reality of how both young people and their families are ceasing to see a fruitful future in their homeland. The long-discussed problem about how highly skilled people growingly lose their hopes about pursuing their and their children's dreams in the homeland faced a more significant confrontation in the public discourse. The latest discourse on "leaving Turkey" dates to the Gezi Park protests in 2013, and it gained renewed attention, especially after the coup attempt on July 15th, 2016. However, there was not much statistical data on how many of those highly skilled people actually decided to migrate for reasons other than primarily economic or political obligations. After 2016, the discourse around the issue has started to grow, only to blow up with the student's claim of dreaming of becoming a German citizen and how it hit many in the country.

Taking this sociopolitical context of Turkey at hand and considering broader phenomenon of the 'new wave' of highly skilled migration, this thesis answers the following main research question: How the formulations of identity, nationhood and belonging are shaped for the Turkish mothers in Berlin, in relation to how they perceive their experiences in Turkey and the Turkish socio-political context? The main research question and the main

conceptual themes it addresses are thus examined including specific references to womanhood and motherhood within migration and belonging processes. The supporting research questions also seek to address the main motivations that have impacts on emigration of women; how the sociopolitical events and everyday life in Turkey affect belonging and attachments; and whether the impacts of gender, family, and children on the continuity of the decision to emigrate imply indicators of ruptures in national attachments and senses of belonging. Seven in-depth interviews were conducted face-to-face with emigrant mothers to address these research questions. The data collected was then analyzed using MAXQDA qualitative analysis software according to the main themes from the conceptual framework.

Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK) published the International Migration Statistics of 2018 only three months after this event, on July 23rd, 2019. The rates attracted even more attention, and the public and media discourse on "leaving Turkey" increased. The official state statistics on emigration rates of Turkish individuals and households only dated back to 2016. According to TUIK (2019)[1], the number of people emigrating from Turkey in 2018 vis-à-vis the previous year has increased by 27,7%, with 323,918 people. Of this population, 53,3% constitute men and 46,7% constitute women. Of the population emigrating from Turkey in 2018, 136,740 are Turkish citizens, while 187,178 are foreign nationals. As of every December 31st, the population emigrating from Turkey was 177,960 people in 2016; 253,640 people in 2017, and 323,918 in 2018 (TUIK, 2019). An approximate increase by 180% appears to be remarkable when also combined with great public and media attention on the issue.

The numbers are not too extreme in proportion to the total population of Turkey. The rapid increase in percentages and the growth in public attention about the issue still make the emigration in Turkey need a renewed scholarly visit. Primary reasons could be summed as following essential points:

1) The connection of public attention to the discourse of "leaving Turkey" with the socio-political conjuncture of Turkey,

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[1] The 2019 data is used here, since the field study was also conducted on this year. Some of the latest 2020 data will also be used in the related following chapters.

2) outburst of new media discourse on the issue both from regular channels and the emigrants themselves,

3) the increases in the emigration of certain sociodemographic groups (such as women, children, families).

It is crucial to focus on the notable increases in certain sociodemographic groups' emigration, some of which constitute the unit of analysis for this thesis. The first of these groups is minors. Emigration of the age group 0-19 has increased from 33,263 in 2016 to 57,717 in 2018. Secondly, and even more remarkably, the emigration of the age groups 30-39 and 40-49 have doubled. The statistics and public attention were always taking the emigration of younger generations for granted. This is because they usually migrate due to educational reasons without making big life plans. However, the increase in the emigration of adults above the age of 30, most of whom probably already had settled lives and jobs, or even families in Turkey, requires a closer look. According to TUIK (2019), the emigration of the age group 30-39 has increased from 40,195 in 2016 to 77,022 in 2018; while the emigration of the age group 40-49 has increased from 23,161 in 2016 to 48,416 in 2018. Thirdly, the increase in the emigration of adult women also constitutes the unit of analysis of this thesis. It attracts attention compared to other sociodemographic characteristics of emigrants that stand out. Those who emigrated in 2016 within the age group 30-39, 17,850 are women. This increased to 35,907 women in 2018. This change constitutes an approximate increase by 200%, standing out among the sociodemographic characteristics throughout the years. Emigration of those within the age group 40-49 reveals 23,161 women in 2016 and an increase into 48,416 women in 2018. This change also constitutes an increase of 200% at least. Overall, among those who emigrated, the women's ratio increased from 37% to 42%, most of them being educated urbanites (Şap, 2019). The emigration rates of women in Turkey were generally moderate, unlike men. That is why those notable increases in only two years deserve to be the focal part of an analysis of Turkey's recent emigration.

Finally, the number of emigrants and the proportion of women in it only started to decrease slightly in 2019, as the 2019 data shows (TUIK, 2020). This aspect also makes it valuable to focus on emigration between 2009 and 2019, making this 10-year span a vital episode to examine in detail through implications in Turkish socio-political conjuncture, impacting the increasing emigration.

Significant public and media attention circulating discourses on "leaving Turkey" is one of the primary drawers for studying this phenomenon. Since 2016, but growingly through 2019, many national and international media outlets produced various content on highly skilled, educated, and intellectual people leaving Turkey. Those who emigrated after the July 15th, 2016 coup attempt, FETÖ[2] investigations, and the purge in Turkish academia that followed were mostly on the forefront. Nevertheless, the public discourse has started to emphasize that those were only a minority, whereas what really mattered for the people fleeing was the political climate. The public and media convened in a perception that some left for political reasons, some for their objections regarding lifestyle, some for economic instability, some for the limited employment opportunities, high taxes, favoritism; but all of them for a 'concern for the future' (Şap, 2019). In a New York Times interview, Sirkeci (2019) claims that "Turkey has seen waves of students and teachers leave before, but this exodus looks like a more permanent reordering of the society and threatens to set Turkey back decades." These highly emphasized public views require a revisiting of various social, political, and cultural issues that might be affecting mostly an educated middle- and upper-middle class in Turkey. These outstanding discourses, which refer to a future at stake, are also rendering it essential to examine emigrant mothers and their families to grasp the crucial gendered aspect and the more persistent and future-oriented factors related to migrating and 'planning not' to return.

The noticeability of adults over 30 and women, following the youth, within the emigration statistics were the primary concerns to constitute the unit of analysis. If one connects the statistical indicators with what circulates in the public discourse, one cannot but notice the complaints about the education system as well as the future of minors and how those complaints are related to discussions of "leaving Turkey." Emigration of women and children also has significant connotations for the possible disengagements from the nation. However, education and future concerns are only starting points to draw the analysis into emigrant mothers and their families, depending on the roadmap that the intersection of statistical indicators and the overweighing themes in the public discourse presents. The

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[2] The US-based Islamic cleric known as the Gülen movement was claimed to be the mastermind of the attempted military coup, by the Turkish government and courts. The Gülen movement was thus deemed as a terrorist organization and labelled as the Fethullah Terrorist Organization (FETÖ) (Human Rights Watch, 2018, pp. 1-2).

assumption that belonging and adaptation could get more problematic with rising age and more people in the household also render such unit of analysis valuable.

This thesis's starting aim is to reveal the roots of this notable phenomenon of rapid emigration of highly skilled individuals and their families, especially in the last decade. What is beneath or behind this new wave of emigration and its popularity in the public discourse? What makes it different than other waves of emigration in the history of Turkey? Why would it imply a disengagement from the nation and society, contrary to what is mostly discussed in the previous emigration waves in Turkey's history? Why the representation of women and/or mothers are important in this phenomenon, while problematizing attachments and belonging to the homeland? In this way, this thesis finds out the underlying conjunctural mechanisms related to the decision to emigrate and the impact of the emigration experience on women's senses of belonging and understandings of society and nationhood. Overall, while problematizing the relationship between emigration and women's sense of belonging to their home country, the latter's socio-political conjuncture will be the central reference point.

The importance of the study of 'belonging' mostly relates to the existing lack in the emigration literature towards catching hold of intersubjective levels and their relationships to structural conditions. Referring to the urgency of studying belonging, Duyvendak (2011) claims its importance is related "to the fact that today perhaps more than before, the inclusion of some seems to go hand in hand with the exclusion of others" (p. 16). Thus, exploring belonging within the new wave migration from Turkey can enable understanding the exclusionary mechanisms in the homeland. Further, when employed with qualitative analysis, it points out ruptures and disengagements as well.

In line with sociological analysis, the structural roots of the phenomena (the relation between emigration and the problematic of belonging) are intended to be explored through subjective accounts and individual (or household) experiences. Besides the ever-present global drivers for migration, mechanisms initially related to Turkey seemingly necessitate "leaving Turkey" for a part of the society in this specific context. Although this motivation was always existent at different periods, the remarkable statistics and the growth in public attention make this phenomenon important again. Following those arguments, this thesis hypothesizes that the local conjunctural mechanisms which drive this new emigration wave imply ruptures in people's senses of belonging to their home country. It suggests that

the increasing emigration of highly skilled Turkish citizens is an indicator of a contemporary problematic of belonging to the homeland with its social, political, and cultural implications. More specifically, the thesis also hypothesizes that the increase in the emigration of women and for the sake of the children imply symbolic importance (regarding the problematic of belonging) for the relationship between gender, nation, and intergenerational concerns. Emigration of women and children could have more drastic connotations regarding hypothesized dissociations from the nation and society in the long run. The focus on this group aims to highlight the sub-themes that appear to be increasing in the new wave migration from Turkey, such as family migration, migrating for children's sake, and migration of women. This introduces the importance and the place of those themes within discussions of national and social belongings.

For the socioeconomic groups that constitute the main unit of analysis of this study, Turkey could be seen both as a place of comfort zone and of socio-cultural and political oppression. Stepping out of this 'comfort zone' gains much more meaning when the actors are settled women in their 30s and 40s today, and their children. Students and new graduates could be considered more easily dispositioned towards stepping out of comfort zones and building new lives. Thus, it becomes even more critical when this is done increasingly by adult women who have children or wish to have children. It also becomes remarkable if those already had at least some experience of work in the home country. Migration scholars also mention the importance of applying feminist approaches to their studies in order to make women more visible in the research field; and studies on skilled female migrants represent a crucial part of this aim (Gilmartin, 2008, p. 1840)

The study's significance lies in the fact that the theoretical and methodological tools are directed towards understanding the migration experience and senses of belonging primarily with reference to the home country. It discovers the perceptions and ruptures related to identity, nationhood, and belonging. It shows how those might be resulting from the experiences in Turkey and the current socio-political context of Turkey and throughout the migration process. Anthias (2009) also highlights the respective lack in the literature, claiming that "little attention has been paid to the ways in which migrants are constituted as ethnic, class and gendered subjects already in their countries of origin and the continuing importance of bonds with it" (p. 7). Many studies that discuss the same themes focus indeed on emigration/immigration, mostly with reference to the experiences in host countries. Analysis of the host countries' integration policies on migrant experiences could

be the most common example for that. On the other hand, this thesis takes the contextualities related to both places at its analytical perspective. Given the initial argument that recent Turkish socio-political conjuncture plays more prominent roles than many global impacts that prepare for emigration, it is significant that this thesis turns its lens back into Turkey. As migration is understood as a process and identity and belonging are understood as shaped with reference to multiple places, this thesis's discussions still cover this whole. The study suggests that exclusion and inclusion dynamics are not separate in those places. Instead, they are at play in comparison to one another within people's senses.

Finally, the study is also significant because it draws its theoretical focus on social locations and identifications and the role of migrant subjectivities within. This is contrary to many studies in the field, which usually use macro approaches such as push and pull factors. It must be kept in mind that the discourses and public discussions around "brain drain" and "intellectual people leaving Turkey" are rooted heavily in Turkish local spheres and media. Considering the not-too-dramatic global statistics on Turkish emigration, there is a tendency to overemphasize the themes such as "brain drain" because the discourses are too much located in Turkey itself. That is why this study focuses on the intersubjective levels which reflect the reasons for the increases in these discourses and the respective impacts they create, rather than focusing on macro approaches. It is valuable to recall Gilmartin (2008), who criticizes the straightforward tendency in how "push and pull factors are often described primarily in economic terms" (p. 1839). Her account also strengthens the importance of not overlooking the new approaches that incorporate qualitative techniques and focus on migrant perspectives and subjectivities.

The second chapter covers the literature review and theoretical framework and considers the two aspects that form the thesis's main research question: migration and belonging. It starts with an overview of the related theories and paradigms in the migration literature and aims to rationalize the theoretical preferences of the thesis. It follows with the conceptual framework which constitutes discussions of identity, nationhood, and belonging with specific references to migration and gender. The aspect of women and children plays an integral part in linking identity/belonging and emigration symbolically. This symbolism shows itself mostly through the link of gender with the nation and the continuity of the nation, and the meanings given to it.

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The third chapter problematizes the notion of belonging with reference to the Turkish and the German contexts. The first sub-chapter dwells on conceptualizations and classifications regarding this recent emigrant profile and the drivers of a hypothesized disengagement from the Turkish society and nation. What renders this group as 'new,' and according to what central aspects they could be examined as a 'group' are discussed. It follows with an overview of the changing socio-political context of Turkey in the last decade. The second sub-chapter examines the changing characteristics and the history of migration to Germany, to make sense of how to problematize 'new' belongings with reference to structural shifts. It follows with discussing the situatedness of Turkish migrants in Germany, dealing primarily with inclusionary and exclusionary dynamics affecting belonging over time and for different groups of Turkish migrants in Germany.

The fourth chapter analyses the unit of analysis, emigrant mothers, and their families in Berlin, based on the prevailing theoretical themes and key findings from the in-depth interviews. The first sub-chapter gives details on the methodology, field process, and explains the main limitations of the study. Second sub-chapter initiates the analysis through examination of social locations of the interviewees, the respective changes in social locations and their impacts on the migration process. Third sub-chapter focuses on the reasons to emigrate and the reasons to stay and shows how those are negotiated continuously together throughout the migration process. Fourth sub-chapter analyses the identifications and social/emotional attachments of the interviewees and illuminates how processes such as place-belonging and elective belonging operates. Finally, the fifth sub-chapter examines the ethic and political value systems of the interviewees with the aim of finding out how and through which processes the politics of belonging operates.

CHAPTER 2

AN OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The chapter starts with a literature review covering the studies on emigration, labour migration, and brain drain, referring to the main paradigms in the studies of international migration. While briefly describing the related literature, the chapter aims to rationalize why the transnational paradigm was seen fit rather than using brain drain theories or push-pull and development paradigms. Then, the second part continues with the conceptual framework on identity, nationhood, and belonging.

2.1. From Brain Drain to the Transnational Social Spaces Paradigm

Brain drain is a phenomenon referring to the movement of educated and highly qualified people from developing into developed countries. As the contemporary migration movements get more complex in terms of the profile of emigrants and their main motivations, it becomes harder to classify which groups can be considered brain drainers or else. The transnational ties which render mobility a never-ending process of being here and there, combined with the complexity of micro motivations and macro processes which cut across each other, the classifications regarding migration types become somewhat blurry.

The movement of high-skilled people into different parts of the world is a phenomenon that is as old as times of antiquity. However, the term "brain drain" has started to be used only after World War II, invented by the British as they started to experience losses of professional people, mostly to the United States (Sunata, 2002, p. 35). From that period onwards, skilled labor migration grew rapidly upon the selective and skill-based migration policies of industrialized countries (Gökbayrak, 2009, p. 132). The term brain drain is examined today widely as a pattern in high-skilled labor migration. Jałowiecki and

Gorzelak (2004) claim that "in contemporary literature the term, brain drain, denotes the phenomenon whereby a country suffers an outflow of its educated elite, on a scale threatening the needs of national development in the long term" (p. 299).

Main paradigms for studying international migration are also central while examining brain drain. Those paradigms are push-pull factors, development, and transnational spaces (Kaya & Sahin, 2007). Push-pull factors specifically play a central role in brain drain studies, most of which are economically oriented. Güngör and Tansel (2012, p. 209) exemplify the most common "push" factors, such as unemployment and economic and political instability in the home country, as well as "pull" factors, such as better career prospects and lifestyle freedom in the host country. The aim of attaining better working and living conditions has always been considered among the primary motivations for brain drain. Higher salaries, better working conditions, stability, political freedom, and improved educational prospects for the children attract emigrants to Western countries highly today (Jałowiecki & Gorzelak, 2004, p. 300). It is also argued that the emigrants' destination choices are mostly linked to geographic distances, historical ties, and vicinities in terms of culture and language (Docquier, Lohest & Marfouk, 2007, p. 198; Sunata, 2010, p. 4).

The second paradigm in discussing international migration is the development paradigm. By depriving developing countries of human capital, one of their scarcest resources, brain was usually seen as a drag on economic development (Docquier, Lohest, & Marfouk, 2007, p. 193). Many studies in this paradigm have approached the phenomenon of emigration predominantly as a national 'problem' that should be dealt with by incorporating necessary development policies. Criticisms towards the development paradigm refer mainly to its lack in accounting for the agency aspect and micro-level analysis. Like the push and pull paradigm, the development paradigm also tends to approach migration as a linear, one-direction movement.

Migration flows through globalization in the 1990s and 2000s caused a renewed attention to brain drain studies in Turkey and the world. The collapse of the Soviet Union, the fall of the Berlin Wall, open border policies followed by a new period of international mobility initiated a new chapter in how scholarly debates develop. The third paradigm in international migration, i.e. transnational spaces, has started to gain importance while discussing highly skilled migration. The main factor for the renewal of interest in the issue was that skilled labor migration had been the mode of migration which constantly

increased its share in overall migration movements during the 1990s (Gökbayrak, 2009, p. 132). Developed countries started to apply more intensive methods for attracting highly skilled people in that period. Finally, the emigration of people pursuing higher education also attracted more scholarly interest, who might decide on staying abroad after their graduation.

On the Turkish side, the brain drain phenomenon started to get academic and intellectual attention, mostly starting from the late 1950s and early 1960s. The early studies have mainly focused on the emigration of physicians, engineers, and scientists. According to Başaran (1972), Turkish academic studies up to the early 1970s reveal that the majority of high-skilled Turkish emigrants were settled in Anglo-American countries, West Germany and Switzerland. Studies around this period also revealed a very high tendency for return intentions as well as a rate of actual return. There was a lack of concern for the negative impacts of brain drain in Turkey. This indifference was partly due to the amount of remittances coming from Turkish emigrants being huge, especially up to the 1980s. Also, because of the alleviating impact of labor migration on unemployment and its improving effects on the balance of payment through workers' remittances, successive Turkish governments have for long supported emigration (EUROSTAT, 2000, p. 40). Since the 1990s, Turkey has continued to become a sending country of high skilled labor migrants to most receiving countries in Europe and the USA, Canada, and Australia (Sunata, 2010, p. 1). Turkish authorities started to get concerned about emigration, as it was (expected) to grow even more due to high unemployment rates and economic crisis, especially at the start of the 2000s. The education levels of Turkish migrants were above than of Turkish non-migrants, which also brought out a necessary apprehension (EUROSTAT, 2000, p. 65).

Impacts of global hierarchies and political economy dimensions have been in the foreground while studying brain drain in the last decades. For instance, in a study on potential brain drain, Sunata (2002) posits her arguments around the 'compelling' force of the global cultural hegemonic processes which result in (potential) brain drain. Cohen and Sirkeci (2011) also draw importance on how migration, in general, is about international flow and global processes (p. 26). In a further era of globalization, the highly qualified labor force is chosen as 'emigrants,' owing to their immaterial labor, which makes them transnational migrants (Sunata, 2005, p. 183). This argument implies the specific impact of globalization, which 'compels' people to emigrate, drawing the scholarly focus once

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again into the greater impact of macro trends and less focus on the agency or specific socio-political conjuncture.

Contemporary studies also argue that migration occurs growingly to pursue individual needs, and socioeconomic stability in origin countries is also important in terms of investments such as remittances (Gökbayrak, 2009, p. 133). It is possible to claim that these motivations based on individual needs are becoming much more predominant for educated and upper-middle/high-income groups in society, as mobility itself also gets much easier and fluid within globalization's further progress. Similarly, this highlight on individual needs and motives seems to necessitate a different theoretical look than what brain drain literature provides, mostly demand-oriented explanations drawing on the flows of global capitalism.

This thesis aims to revoke the importance of agency shaped through the spread of transnational spaces and the newer focus on social and political (in)stability in the sending countries. This means a need to focus more on micro, local, and conjunctural processes, especially in the sending countries, which impact high-skilled emigration, even unexpected ones. Those structural factors might as well involve "cost of living/inflation and the ability to find work" (Güngör & Tansel, 2008, p. 3069) or the impacts of civil conflicts and effectiveness of governance. For example, A 2007 study on OECD countries conducted with data from 1999 and 2000 indicates that the brain drain increases with political instability and the degree of fractionalization at origin (Docquier, Lohest, & Marfouk, 2007, p. 193). Both this study and the existing broader empirical literature widely use 'socio-political environment at origin' as one of the main sets of explanatory variables to analyze the determinants of brain drain. Secondly, the specific socio-cultural orientation of the migrants and the sending countries should also be more on the forefront than in brain drain studies. "It is crucial to look beyond the present and the person to understand the history and socio-cultural setting of the mover" (Cohen & Sirkeci, 2011, p. 26). Therefore, this thesis considers the primary transformations on the socio-political conjuncture in sending countries and the transnational agency's role while investigating high skilled emigration and predominant motivations related to the phenomenon today.

The first two paradigms and the theories on brain drain under those drew heavily on economic aspects, the relationships between states and the capital, and "often make assumptions about the beliefs and behaviors of migrants, without making any effort to

examine those assumptions other than through an examination of migration patterns" (Gilmartin, 2008, p. 1839). Furthermore, Turkey cannot be considered one of the most prominent countries to give brain drain when global statistics are considered. The intense local discourses on the subject tend to create a bias in that sense. The literature also acknowledged that the people must perform at least equal to their professional skill levels in the receiving country to be accepted as brain drainers. When the main characteristics of new emigrants of Turkey are considered, one faces a somewhat more scattered group than a flow of individuals following global demands with the primary motive of economic and professional satisfaction. In many experiences, people might not perform the equal skill levels for some time or anytime further in the migration process. Those heterogeneous qualities could be overlooked within the strict framework of brain drain theories. Plus, the cutting across of the specific local socio-political conjuncture and the related agencies also render a more focused, agency-oriented framework that zooms into the partialities of migration experiences necessary. Based on the initial aim of exploring the specific process and context regarding Turkey and its emigrants, brain drain is thus not considered necessary for theoretical purposes.

Lastly, the rather young and still flourishing literature on "lifestyle migration" could have been seen as suitable for analytical purposes derived from this thesis's research question. This is primarily due to the tendency in the lifestyle migration theories to problematize the structure-agency relationship together with examining subjective and moral values of the migrants. Even though this thesis's main findings also correlated significantly with motivations associated with lifestyle migration, the analytical approach is not found suitable for a specific case study based on the Turkish context. This is due to reasons ranging from the theories on lifestyle migration being too Western-centric, focused much on "white" identities from developed countries, and experiences of people who could be considered at the top of the global hierarchies, unlike the case for Turkish immigrants. The notion of relative privilege in lifestyle migration theories were also not entirely applicable to the unit of analysis of this thesis since the relative privilege of Turkish immigrants could only be meaningful within the context of Turkey itself, but not in the context of the destination country.

Recently growing emigration in Turkey, especially of the highly skilled and intellectual Turkish citizens who migrate for reasons primarily other than economic or political obligations, thus necessitates an updated scholarly elaboration. This is both because of the

mentioned shifts in paradigms in the migration literature and the specific qualities of the current Turkish context and its suggested impacts on emigration. These so-called "new wave" migrants from Turkey and their ties to their home country carry importance as well. This necessitates bringing forward the transnational character of the new emigration wave and its migrant subjectivities. Thus, one needs to understand what the transnational social space paradigm entails in migration studies and why it is suitable for analyzing the themes of identity and belonging within it.

Each of the mentioned three main paradigms in migration studies has emphasized the role of 'agency' of the migrant more than the previous one. This paradigm shift in the literature necessitates a re-examination of migrants and migration experiences in terms of 'identity and belonging' even more with each new one. That is also because the paradigm shifts go hand in hand with changing migration motivations and migrant profiles both for local and global contexts. Studying identity and belonging in conceived transnational space have been on the forefront more intensively since the 1980s. However, it is necessary to re-examine identity and belonging in terms of the most recent migratory movements with reference to their local realities and characteristic particularities due to newer patterns in terms of migrant profile, motivations, and new spaces inhabited transnationally.

Within the anthropological theory of transnational space, 'transnationalism' is defined as "the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together societies of origin and settlement" (Bash, Glick Shiller, & Szanton Blanc, 1994, p. 8). It thus provides the analytical look for comprehending the affective relationships between the new social space inhabited by the migrants in the destination countries and the specific social, cultural, and political context of their home country. Likewise, Gilmartin (2008) frames transnationalism as "the ways in which migrants are intimately and intricately involved in social, political and economic networks that stretch across national boundaries" (p. 1841) and claims the concept's centrality in contemporary studies which handle the relationship of identity and migration. Furthermore, as Anthias (2008) puts, "there is no doubt that ethnic and cultural ties are increasingly operating at a transnational rather than merely national level" (p. 6). She adds that "the debates around different forms of transnational identity (for example, hybridity, diaspora and cosmopolitanism) all point to the difficulties of thinking about the contemporary world as bounded by national boundaries alone" (Anthias, 2008, p. 13).

The approach generates some fundamental bases upon which the analysis must commit. Firstly, "the reality of transnational social spaces indicates that migration and re-migration are not definite, irrevocable, and irreversible decisions. Transnational lives in themselves may become a strategy of survival and betterment" (Faist, 2000, p. 200). In the transnational paradigm, migration becomes a 'process' rather than a movement with a 'before' and an 'after.' Migration should be understood as ongoing; since motivations, feelings and experiences also change rapidly with every step within the migration experience. This approach also enables to conceive recent emigration in Turkey and the Turkish emigrants' motivations as shaped further and ongoingly both before and after migration. The argument is that the transnational approach necessitates explaining migration and motivations for migration through analyzing reasons for 'leaving' and 'staying'[3] together. Analysis of those reasons is handled under the fourth chapter, with respect to the transnational approach and the impact of social ties and social capital within it to explain contemporary migrations.

Secondly, migratory movements and experiences occur in a 'space' that transcends borders and involves places, individuals, communities, and roadmaps together in this space at once. Those are not considered separately. Cultural elements from both the countries of origin and destination have found entry in the cultural repertoire of the migrants, aided by constant border-crossing communication (Faist, 2000, p. 235). How those multiple spaces that they were and are inhabiting affect each other should be examined as well. The interviewees' changing attachments to, and the relationships with, the Turkish society or the reformulations of them within Germany could indicate good instances of that. Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) further argue that a reformulation of the concept of society is central to the project of transnational migration studies; the lives of increasing numbers of individuals can no longer be understood by looking only at what goes on within national boundaries (p. 1003). Space wherein the migrant subjectivities act and practice should be understood within the omnipresence of origin and destination contexts and how they affect migrant belongings together.

For the study, the impact of social ties and the transferability of social capital used within the transnational approach constitute importance. The growing significance of and

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[3] This refers to staying in Germany and the process of determining that decision.

interactions between specific localities helps explain the transnational relations and networks between those localities and how they further accelerate mobilities. Faist (2000) claims the "need to consider the character of social capital as a local asset that limits mobility in the beginning stages of migration, while it may function as a transmission belt and help accelerate international movement in the later stages" (p. 14). The location-specific social capital embodied in assets such as "economic resources, such as money or physical capital, human capital, such as educational credentials, vocational training, and professional skills" can "translate into specific advantages of potential migrants" (Faist, 2000, p. 15). This understanding helps analyze the interviewees' reasons for leaving Turkey and reasons for staying in Germany, according to the impacts of their transnational ties and transferability of local assets as social capital, which help increase mobility in the longer run. This study reveals that this very process shapes the interviewees' disposition towards building stronger social and emotional attachments with Berlin, Germany as well. Plus, it also reflects a kind of relative privilege of those migrants (compared to non-migrants) who reflect stronger belonging.

2.2 Conceptual Framework: Identity, Nationhood, and Senses of Belonging

In this sub-chapter, theoretical concepts of identity, nationhood, and belonging in the literature will be elaborated in general and concerning migration studies. The intersection of these themes with aspects regarding gender and family is crucial. The chapter conceptually defines and discusses the meaning of emigration of women, children, and families with reference to their concerns for the future and how to link migration motivations of such groups with hypothesized disengagements of belonging to the home country in social, cultural, and national terms.

2.2.1. Situational Approach and Narrative Identity

Concepts of identity, nationality, and citizenship are broadly studied under migration contexts. However, agency-oriented approaches are not always at the forefront to comprehend more subjective motivations for newer mobilities and (trans)formations of identity. To contribute to this field, it is crucial to implement political sociology tools from an agency perspective as well. The conceptual framework starts with elaborating on identification and the situational approach to narrative identities. The framework collected by Richard Jenkins on social identities is also visited mostly due to its comprehensive take

on the situational approach to identity. After all, Mills' (2000) concept of sociological imagination invites "to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society" (p. 6). Situational approaches to identity with a boundary focus are useful due to their strengths in catching hold of social change (history) and the subjectivities (biography) in a comprehensive way.

The concept of identity developed within social sciences following the social movements in the US during the 1960s[4]. It implies the human capacity – rooted in language – to know who is who and what is what, involving knowing who we are, knowing who others are, them knowing who we are (Jenkins, 2008, p. 5). The most prominent theories on identity mostly diverge from each other in terms of their weight on either narratives and practice or categories and group boundaries.

According to the focus on narratives and practice, Yuval-Davis (2010) highlights that "identities should be understood as specific forms of narratives regarding the self and its boundaries" (p. 272). She suggests a theoretical approach to identities as 'narratives' which "relate, directly or indirectly, to the perceptions of self and/or Others of what being a member of such a grouping or collectivity (ethnic, racial, national, cultural, religious) might mean" (Yuval-Davis, 2010, p. 267). Further, Martin (1995) claims that narrative identity "leaves room for variations on the past […] and also for initiatives in the future" and "is an open-ended identity which gives meaning to one's practice, which makes any one act meaningful" (p. 8). These constitute significant reflections of situational approaches to identity.

Identity appears as a process that should be understood as *identification*, rather than a 'thing.' It is something that one *does*, rather than *has* (Jenkins, 2008, p. 5). Identification is dependent on the context, which gives this process a fluidity over differing time and space. It can overlap with motivations, behavior patterns, or interests; however, it does not have to explain them all the time. It only appears as a base through which people define themselves and others respectively through process and production. The dialectical

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[4] Social movements in the US during 1960s and later had empowered the discourse and claims on 'identities.' Those were mainly identity claims and struggles around civil rights, feminism, gay rights, environmentalism, ant-Vietnam War movement, and the student movement. See https://web.archive.org/web/20200618061958/http://www.lessonsite.com/ArchivePages/HistoryOfTheWorld/Lesson31/Protests60s.htm

interplay of self- and external identification should also be well understood. The two notions, process and production, are essential for elaborating on identification. Stuart Hall (1990) has been one of the pioneers of this tendency as well, by claiming that identity must be thought of as "a 'production,' which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation" (p. 222). There lies the integral aspects of 'process' and 'production' within the concept of identity and identification.

Following Hall's position on identity, "the notion of identity occupies a specific analytical space" (Yuval-Davis, 2010, p. 263) in Nira Yuval-Davis's work on belonging and the politics of belonging. Floya Anthias prefers terms of 'location' and 'translocation' instead of identity. Her account is crucial since "the notion of 'location' recognizes the importance of context, the situated nature of claims and attributions and their production in complex and shifting locales" (Anthias, 2009, p. 12); whereas "the concept of translocational positionality addresses issues of identity in terms of locations which are not fixed but are context, meaning and time related and which therefore involve shifts and contradictions" (Anthias, 2008, p. 5). Yuval-Davis warns against essentializing attitudes in scholarly traditions as well, by stating that one should "investigate what brings certain people under certain conditions to identify or not with particular identity groupings, rather than constructing social location as social destiny" (Yuval-Davis, 2010, p. 268). It is indeed crucial not to essentialize "macro social categories, such as gender, class, race, ethnicity and so on" (Yuval-Davis, 2010, p. 268) when people do not relate their identity narratives specifically to those categories and because the impacts of those categories on experiences are open for change in different contexts and by different meanings given. However, "the fact that identity narratives in everyday life often do not mention people's social positionings does not mean that their gaze at the world is not situated and affected by those positionings" (Yuval-Davis, 2010, pp. 268-269). Similarly, the analysis of narratives collected for this thesis through in-depth interviews consider those positionalities without essentializing them as constituting a fixed group. The duality of belonging and longing to belong is reflected in those narratives of identity (Yuval-Davis, 2006a, p. 202).

Other views in the literature find the concept of identity problematic altogether. For instance, Brubaker and Cooper suggest the use of various meanings given to or associated with identity in separate ways. They argue that identity "tends to mean too much (when understood in a strong sense), too little (when understood in a weak sense), or nothing at all (because of its sheer ambiguity)" (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, p. 1). The necessity to

avoid the concept's vagueness is indeed a scholarly requisite. Using identity 'narratives' directs exactly to this aim, since "narratives that contain references to identity or 'identity talk' (collected for example by researchers) use available interpretive repertoires, ways of talking and thinking that are subject to regulatory practices" (Anthias, 2009, p. 10). Brubaker and Cooper further argue how "one can analyse 'identity-talk' and identity politics without, as analysts, positing the existence of 'identities'" (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, p. 5). Indeed, narratives can also be used without positing the fixed existence of identities. After all, "identities by themselves do not exist, they are constructed by identity narratives which attempt at imagining communities" (Martin, 1995, p. 17). Overall, identity as a term suggesting the "ways in which individualistic and collective action can be governed by particularistic understandings of self and social location rather than by putatively universal, structurally determined interests" (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, p. 17) become useful for this study.

Brubaker and Cooper (2000) also recall the situationalist/contextualist approach by stating that "'identity' is invoked to highlight the unstable, multiple, fluctuating, and fragmented nature of contemporary 'self'" (p. 8). For instance, despite the previous criticisms, the scholars admit the importance of studying identity, focusing on categorical commonalities and situating social narratives in historically relational settings. Likewise, the situational approach is beneficial for this thesis because it shows the importance of social positionalities and their impacts on people's experiences and how they define themselves and others. Identity is thus to be perceived as a production through a process within specific contexts that becomes meaningful at the intersection of subjective narratives and objective social locations.

2.2.2. Questioning Nationhood

The relationships of migrants with the home countries are mostly examined through diaspora nationalism, long-distance nationalism, or transnational patriotism. How migrants represent and reproduce their home cultures and sustain their national ties and attachments have usually been at the forefront in the related literature. However, the transnational approach also allows revealing alternative and/or hybrid identifications, which renders the question of possible 'ruptures' in national attachments also valuable to examine. This thesis primarily considers the relations to the homeland; in a way to elaborate on how migrants may also be motivated to 'be free from' or 'feeling disappointed' regarding those

national attachments, rather than merely reproducing them. In that sense, the transnational approach might also enable to perceive conditions in the home country that directly or indirectly affect such ruptures. This would help to examine the home country through the lens of the experiences in the host country.

To start with, the problematic definition of social existence with reference to the concept of 'nation' should be addressed. As Hall (1999) argues, "what the nation 'means' is an on-going project, under constant reconstruction" and "its meaning is constructed *within*, not above or outside representation" (p. 5). In times of increasing migration and nationalistic discourses, defining 'the social' through the nation and continuing this perspective by overweighing the power of nationalist feelings within migrant experiences is problematic. Rather than accepting a top-down understanding, it is valuable to focus on meanings given 'within.' As much as belonging might be studied as something experienced through social consciousness and national solidarity, it can also be examined through values and as dependent on how people choose to pursue their lives. In the contemporary context that gives birth to socialization processes above the idea of nations and nation-states, the more partial and alternative ways people build their own socializations are worth elaborating on. The core idea of "national self-determination" apparent in nationalism studies can be considered as an example here. Further to this idea, there is a need to elaborate whether the more complex realities of migration, politics, and culture might as well be creating cases of "self-determination" through more subjective levels and/or partial categories other than mere ties to the nation.

Following the great migration waves of the 20th century, the studies were centered mostly on national identity crises due to growing immigration to the host countries and the persistence of migrants in maintaining their home cultures. However, there is a need to discuss the national 'detachments' of migrants from their home countries as well. This implies a necessary look into problematics of national identities causing emigration in the first place, rather than the integration crises which come afterward. Schnapper (1994) argues that "it is less the objective difficulties of integrating migrants – even if they do exist – which explain the passion of the European debates on 'immigrants' than the crisis of the nation-state itself" (p. 138). Further, it should be acknowledged that this crisis is not solely directed towards the host countries today since more voluntary and experiential forms of migrations are getting common. This is also related to broader possibilities and imaginings of alternative life-projections at reach than the past's rather more

bureaucratically structured economic migrations or political obligations to flee. Thus, the contemporary situation of an increasingly globalized world and the intensification of digital societies bring forward the need to examine national identities and attachments/detachments in various aspects.

Similarly, the diaspora literature generally considers nationalistic sentiments to be more powerful in the diaspora. However, diasporas are the foremost spaces and networks through which nation-states are being reproduced and challenged simultaneously. This study argues that even before a meaningful involvement within the diaspora, people can start the challenge as they start to become potential migrants in their home countries. The challenge begins in the life-projections and (potential) practices of people who do not necessarily feel belongingness to their territoriality. Thus, what is considered in this thesis is that changing contexts and social locations of migrant groups might prove different types of socializations as well as life-projections. These could manifest themselves as ruptures, emotional detachments and/or dissociations, without necessarily belonging to some disadvantaged (ethnic) group in their home countries. To this end, it is crucial to discuss to which core categories the concept of 'nation' might be surrendering itself, which has for so long been considered as the main or primary social category. This approach would also give weight to the part that 'agency' plays in emigration and re-negotiations of belonging. Westwood and Phizacklea (2000) also give references to this aspect by claiming that "the notion of rupture emphasizes the active decision-making processes of migration" and suggests "the unfinished and discontinuous nature of both the migratory process and the making of national identities and nations" (p. 7).

Questioning nationhood should pay attention to the essentialist understandings of the nation as a container of society which turns into a "territorial trap" (Agnew, 1994). The encapsulating idea of the nation projects itself as a "methodological nationalism" (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002) while studying complex characteristics of identity formations and attachment processes within migration experiences. This idea of the nation as a container of society situates the society mainly as a national phenomenon and "reinforces the totalizing power of the territorial state as a primal force; everything is subordinate to it" (Agnew, 1994, pp. 59, 68). Societies could be made in various levels of formation, transcending or intersecting various boundaries. To not fall into the territorial trap, one should consider the 'simultaneousness' of social phenomena as well as the contingent character of the nation-states. Likewise, it is crucial to acknowledge that

nationhood and national attachments imply non-territorial characteristics as well. The aim is to understand nationalism as well as ruptures in national attachments and detachments in a way that transcends the intersection of identities and territories. Benedict Anderson's (1989) essential work on imagined communities also approach nationhood as shaped through ruptures and shifts regarding vernacular languages and patterns of communication. His elaboration supports the idea that shifts in the apprehensions of 'simultaneity' and 'locality' can have a role on shifts in imaginations of nations as well.

Within the scope of citizenship studies, Yuval-Davis (1997b) criticizes the "automatic assumption of an overlap between the boundaries of civil society and those of the national community" (p. 7). She invites an understanding of citizenship as something wider than the mere relationship between the individual and the state (Yuval-Davis, 1997b, p. 22). A thorough elaboration on nationhood and citizenship then requires paying attention to disengagements regarding identities that are manifested as non-belonging. It is analytically not possible to employ such a perspective without accepting that identities, territories, civil society, and national collectivities do not have to overlap. Focusing on the ruptures is thus meaningful. The altered meanings given to the concept of citizenship as well as nationhood should be grasped, which, for instance, become apparent in the narratives and life-projections of the new wave of Turkish emigrants.

Finally, it is crucial to employ the gender perspective while questioning the situational variations in terms of how people might be associating or dissociating themselves from the idea of the nation. Tendencies to associate the notion as too powerful, especially in migration contexts, might refer to primordial or culturalist explanations. The feminist perspective the politics of belonging employs is valuable here. It provides an explanation of the ruptures in national attachments through feelings and experiences of exclusion. It is also useful for grasping the 'inabilities' regarding the practical accommodation of selves with the greater society. Nira Yuval-Davis' *Gender & Nation* offers a useful framework here, focusing on gender and womanhood as mostly ignored categories within nation and nationalism studies where the focus on states, bureaucracy, and state apparatuses predominate.

Among various definitions of the nation, Yuval-Davis recalls the underestimated element of 'common destiny,' which is crucial because of its role in the construction of nations and its orientation towards the future (Yuval-Davis, 1997a, p. 19). In addition to her recalling of how this element is effective in the assimilation processes of many individuals and

groups, one must also acknowledge how the same element could as well manifest itself as something to be refrained and be freed from. This inversion of concepts used in the literature offers a new lens in understanding relationships of migrants with their home countries, as much as it can with their host countries. In the new wave migration from Turkey, the understanding of migration as a tool for 'self-determination' and planning their own destinies themselves, are the prevailing elements that this study also demonstrates. For instance, the depiction of women as cultural reproducers of the collectivity is one of the most crucial points, which feeds Turkish women's narratives on their migration motives and experiences. According to Yuval-Davis (1997a), "as the biological 'producers' of children/people, women are also, therefore, 'bearers of the collective' within these boundaries" (p. 26). She further adds that "women especially are often required to carry this 'burden of representation', as they are constructed as the symbolic bearers of the collectivity's identity and honor, both personally and collectively" (Yuval-Davis, 1997a, p. 45). Within migration decisions, there is at least a partial rejection of the nation's cultural expectancies and reluctance to bear this 'home' collectivity when they decide to reproduce. The latter is where the symbolic importance of giving birth or raising kids abroad rather than one's own country appears, not necessarily due to any obligation but due to decision-making through experiences and expectancies. The focus on 'motherhood' and the role of this specific agency within the broader discussion thus appear as well.

The aspect of the social context plays a role again in terms of experiences and expectancies regarding the nation and the concept of nationhood. The decision of women from middle- and upper-middle-class backgrounds to migrate with their children or raise children abroad could then be read as a political or reactionary attitude towards the concept and the collectivity. When considered in relation to their social locations and the context in the home country, the reactions of migrants against the collectivity of the nation, consciously or unconsciously, might grow even bigger. This makes the topic promising for the future of the relationship between emigration of women and the meaning of nationhood from a feminist perspective.

In these discussions on the nation and women's location within, culture is also a source of power and repression. Pointing out the connotation between national identities and culture, Hall (1999) claims that "a shared national identity thus depends on the cultural meanings which bind each member individually into the larger national story" (p. 4). As much as this

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binding characteristic is discussed within the literature, the instances whereby disengagements occur in some sections of societies should also be pointed out. Women's location within these cultural meanings is one of the critical instances. Yuval-Davis (1997a) mentions how cultural discourses, being produced through the interactions between hierarchized positionalities within the national collectivity, "often resemble more a battleground of meaning than a shared point of departure" (p. 41). The reactionary decision-makings of women who emigrate also project the pressures existent in this battleground. Their positions herein reflect how they conflict with the cultural expectancies of the national collectivity and its "hierarchies of desirability as well as constructions of inclusions and exclusions" (Yuval-Davis, 1997a, p. 43).

2.2.3. Senses of Belonging and Elective Belonging

After elaborating on the narrative identity approach through a feminist perspective on the meaning of nationhood, the concepts of belonging, politics of belonging, and elective belonging play the complementary part. As the last conceptual frame to base a detailed analysis of attachments to the home country and changing identity processes, problematizing 'belonging' offers a path to comprehend both the subjectivities and social change.

Many studies on belonging reflect heavily on its spatiality and "focus on ethnic, racial, or national minorities and/or otherwise marginalized groups" (Lähdesmäki, et al., 2016, p. 4). It is crucial to take a different look by predominantly problematizing the belongingness of migrants to their homelands, where they are not necessarily a part of a minority. Problem of belonging has mostly been discussed as 'following' the act of migration, but not always regarded as possibly starting 'before' migrating. For this reason, the character of rupture starting possibly from the experiences in the 'home' country have come to be overlooked. The heavy inclination on Western-centric studies and theories in the belonging literature should be referred to as well. Belonging is studied in the majority as related to the politics of immigration in Europe and handled under the problems of integration and the limits of multicultural societies. The aim of turning the lens back into the home country, i.e., Turkey, thus becomes valuable.

In Turkey, although within Development Plans[5] it is understood as a national crisis topic, emigration is not generally analyzed as a problem of 'belonging.' Most studies approach rather to the economic and developmental losses related to emigration and focus on statistics and numbers. Impacts and consequences on social and subjective levels are generally overlooked. Every changing paradigm and form of community brings out new types of identifications and attachments. For Turkey's case, it is necessary to examine whether there are new types of identifications and attachments resulting from the new emigration profile and emigrants' changing socializations with Turkey. As Brockmeyer and Harders (2016) suggest, "focusing on belonging also means keeping the possibility of change in mind, since belonging is constantly renegotiated" (p. 6). Thus, one of the best ways to inquire this is constituted by the theories on belonging, which help to discover changing boundaries and perceptions.

Among various inquiries on belonging within the literature, there is a common understanding ofow the concept is about emotional attachment, feeling 'at home' and feeling 'safe' (Yuval-Davis, Kannabiran, & Vieten, 2006b, p. 2). It is about to be accepted as part of a community, have a stake in the future of a community of membership, share values, networks, and practices; it is not just a question of identification (Anthias, 2006, p. 21). The usage of 'belonging' enables looking at "social and economic locations of individuals, at emotional attachments as created through narratives, and at ethical and political values" (Brockmeyer & Harders, 2016, p. 4).

Scholars critically approach handling the notion of belonging as self-explanatory (Antonsich, 2010; Lähdesmäki et al., 2016). Some insist that the concept's vagueness constitutes its usefulness (Crowley, 1999, p. 16). Belonging had been widely situated as a sub-notion of cultural and national identities or equal to them, but not so much through its own contents and meanings. 'Belonging,' although appearing as a mere aspect in studying identities, could encompass more. Anthias (2013) argues how, with the concept of belonging, there is an aim of overcoming the fixated aspects related to the notion of identities. Thus, it is important to inquire this notion as encompassing both formal and informal forms, referring to its various meanings and contestations in terms of belonging to a country, a nation, a place, a culture, and more. For varying purposes, belonging could

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[5] Development Plans include regional and state-wide development goals which specify economic and social roadmaps for attaining them. See https://www.sbb.gov.tr/kalkinma-planlari/

be approached as an inclusion/exclusion issue or as a reflection of claims and struggles. For instance, Anthias (2006) reminds that it is "through practices and experiences of social inclusion that a sense of stake and acceptance in a society is created and maintained" (p. 21). Belonging can also be examined as 'experience,' the evidence of which is to be found "in everyday practices and emotions" (Anthias, 2013, p. 8). Within this thesis's scope, it is also crucial to think of belonging as a sense of social relation to a 'community' and as a question of centering the nation or another category within this sense of sociality.

Some other tendencies in studying belonging are also worth mentioning. Marko Antonsich describes two major analytical dimensions: "belonging as a personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home' in a place (place-belongingness) and belonging as a discursive resource which constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion (politics of belonging)" (Antonsich, 2010, p. 645). Anthias (2013) gives attention to formal and informal belongings as well as to the affective dimension of belonging, which refers to "feeling of cultural competence and of safety as well as practices of inclusion" (p. 7). Belonging could manifest itself as inclusion (formal and informal), within the polity, within networks, within the state or intersubjectively; but it always exceeds those, because even where formal rights or political belonging are granted, there can be exclusion through gender, class or ethnic/racial categorizations (involving ideas of non-belonging to the social fabric) (Anthias, 2013, p. 8). Senses of exclusions can also appear due to an inefficiency in generating a sense of place-belongingness (Antonsich, 2010, p. 650). This thesis suggests that this inefficiency can be valid for non-migrant citizens within their home country as well, as much as it can be for migrants in a host country.

At this point, it is useful to turn back to Antonsich once again. The first analytical level of belonging was expressed as a personal/emotional matter. The second level referring to the politics of belonging, implies that "to be able to feel at home in a place is not just a personal matter, but also a social one" (Antonsich, 2010, p. 649). This means that the emotionally driven place-belongingness cannot drive a sufficient analysis without the politics of belonging. The latter takes the discourses and practices affecting inclusion/exclusion into account. Without dealing with those discourses and practices, the socio-political impacts and power relations cannot be adequately addressed.

Yuval-Davis (2006a) explains the three major analytical levels on which belonging is constructed: "social locations (constructed along different power axes of difference, for

instance, gender, class and, ethnicity); individuals' identifications and emotional attachments (for instance, narratives about who you are and where you belong), and ethic and political value systems, by which people judge their own and others' belonging" (pp. 198-199). The first level indicates social and economic locations that have implications in the specific context. It should pay attention to intersectionalities as well. The second level refers to the constructions of belonging which reflect emotional investments and desire for attachments (Yuval-Davis, 2006a, p. 202). Identifications and social attachments are also related to concerns of security and imply a performative dimension. Specific social and cultural spaces which link individual and collective behavior are crucial for constructing and reproducing identity narratives and constructions of attachment (Yuval-Davis, 2006a, p. 203). Finally, the third level reflects the contestations around "ideological issues and the ways people utilize social locations and narratives of identities" (Yuval-Davis, 2006a, pp. 203-204). The third level projects the issues through which the politics of belonging operates.

The aspect of the politics of belonging and how it employs the more structural level becomes apparent here. Yuval-Davis (2006a, p. 199) argues that even in its most stable 'primordial' forms, belonging is always a dynamic process that is only a naturalized construction of a particular hegemonic form of power relations. Anthias (2013) adds that 'narration,' a means for yielding the experiential and the intersubjective realities, "is never free from the societal framing as well as the intersubjective field in which it is narrated, relating therefore to broader power relations" (p. 5). Indeed, to feel at home is not only about "being rooted in a specific spot or to be attached to a certain neighborhood" (Duyvendak, 2011, p. 112). Social, cultural, economic, and legal factors related to the place, people's social positioning, and the social relations involved contribute to the personal sense of belonging and attachments. Thus, it is essential to balance the bridge between narratives on place-belongingness and the politics of belonging; and not leave the positionalities along intersecting axes of power and the impacts of different historical contexts out of the picture. This also enables bridging the levels of structure and agency. Since the concept of belonging reflects how subjects relate to the world and how they are addressed, "it can mediate between the micro level of agents and the macro level of society" (Brockmeyer & Harders, 2016, p. 3).

The social, cultural, economic, and legal factors and the impacts of the social context reflect the politics of belonging and fuel the transformations in identifications and senses

of belonging through this way. This brings out the last concept formalized by Savage et al. (2005) that will be complementary: 'elective belonging.' Scholars bring forward the socially constructed aspect of belonging as an "embedded process in which people reflexively judge the suitability of a given site as appropriate given their social trajectory and their position in other fields" (Savage et al., 2005, p. 12). In this context, elective belonging implies the partly 'chosen' nature related to belonging and the limits of familiarity and rootedness. The social factors are thus what brings forward the elective belonging and affect further transformations. People might 'elect to belong' in specific spaces in which they can successfully accommodate themselves in their surroundings, depending on various criteria that they value. Those can be based on references to parenting/mothering, education, work, or social relationships. Savage et al. (2005) describe this by claiming that "individuals attach their own biography to their 'chosen' residential location, so that they tell stories that indicate how their arrival and subsequent settlement is appropriate to their sense of themselves" (p. 29). The abilities of self-realization or self-fulfillment within a place, alongside the possibilities of feeling content, appear critical here. As much as fulfillment of those abilities may create senses of belonging, the lack of them could bring about a practical non-belonging. This is precisely in line with belonging encompassing more than mere membership and being more about the abilities to construct desired selves. In this thesis, the struggles for creating senses of belonging relate heavily to references to womanhood and mothering. In her study focused on migrant women from Turkey, Erel (2009) also refers to the importance of understanding how women narratively construct 'liveable' notions of self for themselves and through which kind of 'citizenship' practices they develop new agencies. This focus on practices with a 'citizenship consciousness'[6] to make sense of elective belonging is also crucial for the analysis.

However, it should be recalled that the seemingly personal abilities in realizing selves always converge with social and political factors that give birth to changing inclusion/exclusion dynamics. Lähdesmäki et al. (2016) argue "how belonging – however individual the experience of it may be – always comprises social and political dimensions" (p. 5). Emotional factors mostly related to familiarity and rootedness do not always overlap with the changing social factors positively. In other words, emotional factors do not have

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[6] 'Citizenship consciousness' term is used in order to highlight the practicing of citizenship or having the mindset of it, without legally being a citizen; for the case of women interviewed for this thesis.

to bring an inclusive belonging to a country, a nation, or a place. Even if they do, they always stay open to transformation. This means "that one's personal, intimate feeling of belonging to a place should always come to terms with discourses and practices of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion at play in that very place and which inexorably conditions one's sense of place-belongingness" (Antonsich, 2010, p. 649). In this thesis, the problematization of belonging to Turkey is also found to be closely related to this kind of 'inability' to come to those terms. In such processes of ruptures or crisis, elective belonging might appear as a performative tool for actual or potential migrants. The same approach also enables perceiving womanhood and mothering as being beyond mere personal experiences but socially conditioned ones that change the course of the construction of elective belonging.

If emotional attachments are threatened in various ways, they develop into politics of belonging (Brockmeyer & Harders, 2016, p. 2). This thesis suggests that these points of threat or rupture, and how they are utilized in making sense of selves in people's narratives, can also project how people 'elect' to belong. After all, elective belonging "implies a view of residential attachment that articulates a distinctive ethics of belonging that has nothing to do with the claims of history" and, "it is premised on the values of those […] who make a choice to live somewhere and make 'a go of it'" (Savage et al., 2005, p. 53). Thus, it also helps to acknowledge the aspect of flexibility and retrieve from ending up in primordial explanations.

CHAPTER 3

PROBLEMATIZING BELONGING: HISTORICITY OF THE TURKISH AND THE GERMAN CONTEXTS

This chapter aims to define and operationalize the recent emigration wave in Turkey and its emigrants. Data driven both from academic works and the public discourses are visited for this aim of coming up with proper definitions and classifications. This is done primarily by their positionings before Turkey, the home country, and the specific socio-political conjuncture of Turkey that rendered them 'emigrants'. The first sub-chapter covers this.

To further understand the specific dimensions of the new wave migration from Turkey, it is also crucial to capture how it is differentiated with previous emigration waves. The second sub-chapter examines this, specifically through migrants' historical positionings within the German context. This could help to understand the changing inclusionary and exclusionary dynamics affecting people's senses of belonging as well.

3.1. "New Wave Migrants" from Turkey and the Drivers of Disengagement

For the purposes of operationalization, a brief discussion on how categories and groups are to be located is crucial. Concepts of groupness and/or group formation as well as group boundaries play role on the development of identities and the respective interactions. Establishment and reproduction of identifications through the dynamism of similarity and difference create social identities that constitute group formation. Within the scope of this thesis, these concepts create the basis for how the 'group' of migrants that constitute the unit of analysis could be reconceptualized and understood in a new lens. As similarity and difference are being re-defined throughout time, one must consider newer identifications of 'groupness' in every new context.

According to Jenkins' distinction between groups and categories; "group identity is the product of *collective internal definition*", whereas "categorisation […] is a generic

interactional process, in this case of *collective external definition*" (Jenkins, 2008, p. 105). Groups exist inasmuch as they are recognised by its members; whereas categories are constituted in their recognition by observers (Jenkins, 2008, p. 104). The meanings bounded to self-identification become one of the primary sociological data to theorize identification. The so-called "new wave migrants" from Turkey demonstrate a collective internal definition that the interviewees see themselves as a part of, even though ambiguities in some narratives exist. This "new wave" resembles a category also in the process of being defined and experienced as a group. It is becoming an internal group identity which is also recognised by its others, especially in the context of Turkish-German migration.

Besides mostly being discussed as "brain drainers" in public and media discourses, academic works and the migrants themselves rather use definitions such as: "new migrants from Turkey" (Savaş, 2019), "new generation migrants" (Çömlekçi & Bozkanat, 2019) and "new wave of Turkish immigrants" (Türkmen, 2019). The term "newcomers" (Puduhepa, 2018) was used by Berlin immigrant women's initiative Puduhepa[7]. "New Wave Berlin"[8] was used in the popular Facebook group of the newcomers. For the broader new emigration wave, Korkmaz (2018) uses the term "secular migration". Another term is "alternative diaspora" (Çömlekçi & Bozkanat, 2019, p. 934), especially used for the German context in a way that refers to new migrants as reflecting characteristics unparallel to the diaspora formed with labor migrations. In general, the definitions imply the people who emigrated to work in highly qualified jobs or attain graduate studies. "New wave migrants" has been developing as a category in the last decade. As ever-growing numbers of migrants appropriated the definition and as their 'differences' from other migrants

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[7] Puduhepa – Women's Initiative for Solidarity is a non-profit civil society organization officially founded in 2018 in Berlin. The founders identify themselves as women who emigrated to Germany because of inabilities in finding a living space in Turkey due to socio-political restraints. See https://puduhepa.org/

[8] New Wave Berlin was the most populated Facebook group founded in 2016 for people who moved to Berlin from Turkey with the latest migration wave. Starting as a communication channel for a small group of people, the group had reached into more than 4000 members in 4 years. On September 2020, the founder has announced a decision to close the group to further entries. Older posts still reside for archival purposes. The group had faced internal disagreements mainly about the group rules, which resulted in an alternative group to be founded in 2018 called Otekilerin Berlin Dalgası (Berlin Wave of the Others). This alternative group still functions with more than 2000 members.

started to gain weight in social discourse, it is appropriate to claim that they occupy a distinct group identification even though the boundaries can be fluid for some.

The phenomenon, or discourse, of "new wave migrants" that departed from the Turkish-German migration context is examined through the understanding that "identity is never produced only from inside a group" and that "a group is formed as much because others believe it exists, and attribute certain features to people they put in it" (Martin, 1995, p. 11). Only it is crucial to avoid equating "social categories with social groupings" and assuming "they all have the same attachment and the same understanding of that social category *cum* identity" (Yuval-Davis, 2010, p. 268). Therefore, it is primary that "the minimal reality of a group is that its members know that it exists and that they belong to it (although what accounts as belonging may take many forms)" (Jenkins, 2008, p. 12). Further, Mills (2000) suggests that "perhaps the most fruitful distinction with which the sociological imagination works is between 'the personal troubles of milieu' and 'the public issues of social structure'" (p. 8). Even though the field study is focused on individuals, the study situates the individual migrants within the specific social group, by conceptualizing the group in itself and in relation to the structure. What is 'new' here, then, in terms of socio-political context and its impact on approaches to belonging and identity?

The first observations demonstrate that the motives do not solely depend on economic aspirations, and not necessarily result from political danger or obligation for everyone. They feed from a range of exclusionary dynamics, structural problems as well as a 'seeking' in a sense of experience. There is also an 'affective' aspect to the phenomenon. In this sense, Savaş (2019) characterizes this migration wave as "shaped by mostly 'negative' feelings that flow from the lived experiences of political oppression, violence, and trauma and fuel the desire, need, or impulse to leave the country—loss, hopelessness, anger, disappointment, fear, anxiety, grief, depression, suffocation, stuck-ness, and overwhelmedness" (p. 5406). She adds that these affective aspects procure collective, public, and political dimensions as well.

Another common aspect that describes "new wave" migrants within public and media discourses, as well as in relation to structural conditions and problems, is that they all migrate due to hopes of attaining a happier, freer and safer life. Those can also appear as common points to form the basis of their identification with the "new wave" group, narrated by the migrants themselves (Bilir, 2020). For the case study; impacts of the

historical setting, complaints and discontents regarding Turkey, voluntary nature of mobility (since the case study does not cover political exiles), and seeking an experimental change of lives (as a middle- and upper-middle class strategy) also appear important. The specific unit of analysis that the field study is based on, constitutes only of women who did not necessarily face political execution or politically related obligations to emigrate. Yet all of them display political, social and cultural opponency regarding Turkey through their narratives. Overall, the causes of possible disengagements from the Turkish society and nation are also understood as what constitute them as part of this 'new' 'group'.

When the existing studies and discourses are combined with the initial findings of the case study, changing identity-formations and belongings with respect to the recent Turkish context and social changes within, refer to 'disengagements' due to following themes:

1) Decreasing respect for the educated and intellectual sections of society in Turkey as well as feelings of loss in perceived social status

2) negative perception of Turkish education system and the concerns about the future of children

3) complex political agenda

4) tensions in everyday life and sociocultural environment

5) political polarizations

6) concerns on freedom and individuality as well as lack of personal space

7) concerns of security in public life and the increase in undesirable social encounters

Further, the importance of looking to Turkey from a migrant's perspective and the impacts of practical comparisons in post-migration also appear complementary.

Barth (1969) claims that "the incentives to a change in identity are inherent in the change in circumstances" (p. 25). The transformations in place, context and/or circumstances on which the studies depend, play a guiding role on how to analytically handle identities. Similarly, as Jenkins (2008) suggests, "change, or its prospect, is particularly likely to provoke concerns about identity" (p. 26). Overall, the approach makes it necessary to refer

to the transformations in the related context, in order to make sense of transformations in the identity-formations of the social groups at hand.

3.1.1. Transformations in the Turkish Context

The AKP[9], founded by the key reformist political figures within the national vision movement of Turkish politics, came to power in 2002. The first few years of the AKP rule marked economic growth. The party gained support mainly due to liberal policies as well as for its moderate approach to Islam. Initiatives for EU membership as well as for the resolution of ethnic conflicts were taken. From 2010 onwards, however, scholars started to build consensus on the fact that the AKP's identity formation had evolved into a Turkish-Islamist identity reflecting strong Muslim nationalism (Yılmaz, 2017; White, 2014). Those shifts also found entry in the changes in forms of social struggles and claims in the society, along with increasing polarizations depending on differences. Erdoğan (2020) describes polarization as resulting from the political preferences of people starting to overlap with identities, which reflect emotional distances between political party supporters and end up in a reciprocal sense of inability to stand each other. It is possible to track back Turkey's contemporary polarizations into the constitutional referendum of 12 September 2010,[10] which is referred to as the start of *Kulturkampf[11]* in Turkish social and political life (Kalaycıoğlu, 2012). Scholars, however, agree that polarizations evolved further especially after the 2013's Gezi Park protests[12], with stronger manifestation of the

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[9] Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party).

[10] The referendum resulted with 58.8% 'Yes' and 42.1% 'No' votes to the government's constitutional amendment package. The constitution change was criticized mainly due to risks regarding politicization of the judiciary. Voting for 'yes' was also seen as a symbolic further support for then Prime Minster Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. See https://web.archive.org/web/20191226174849/https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-11228955

[11] Kulturkampf is a German word for culture struggle. Kalaycıoglu (2012) refers to the concept within context of constitutional referendum of Turkey as reflecting the increasing struggle mainly between religious and secular sections of society.

[12] Demonstrations started on 28 May 2013 to protest the government's plan to remove the Taksim Gezi Park, one of the few green areas left in the centre of Istanbul's European side, to build a shopping mall and possibly a luxury residence. Civilians had been staying in tents, occupying the park against interventions. What started as peaceful gatherings against the government's plans developed into a civil unrest after the police started to attack civilians to remove them from the park on 31 May 2013 with water cannon and tear gas. Demonstrations in support with Istanbul continued

AKP's authoritarian rule (Yılmaz, 2018, p. 57). The increasing polarizations thus reflect "the AKP's oppressive treatment of all forms of opposition, contemptible disregard for the rule of law, hostile attacks against freedom of expression, and violent repression of ethnic conflicts at home and across the country's borders" (Toktamış & David, 2018, p. 4). There is also a strong understanding of new wave migrants as supporters of Gezi Park protests in 2013 (taz, 2019). Although being valid for a considerable part, this argument would bring a problematic generalization as well. Latest decade also brought many emigrants and asylum-seekers who were strong supporters of the AKP government back in 2013.

Gezi protests symbolized "a challenge to the increasing authoritarianism of the governing party; its permanent denial of people outside the current power bloc (such as Alevis, Kurds, secularists, LGBTI people, Westernized and secular youth, women, and the new middle classes)" (Yılmaz, 2018, p. 62). At the same time, it fostered the ground on which polarizations have deepened. Indeed, new and complex classifications of 'difference' which gained weight from Gezi protests onwards have accelerated into contemporary identity politics in Turkey. This shift simply reflects an identity politics heavily dependent on religious and ethnic ties. It is also argued to have strong impacts on the increasing emigration today.

One of the most recent studies on polarization in Turkey mention that "social distance between party supporters, the moral high ground that they feel against each other and the political intolerance they feel towards other parties' supporters constitute the three benchmarks of emotional political polarization (TurkuazLab, 2020). The qualitative study also shows that the events which cause differences of opinion in Turkey the most are; 15 July 2016 coup attempt (34%), Kurdish issue (32%), transition to presidential system (30%) and the Gezi protests (32%). It is thus crucial to mention those other events as well.

Municipal elections of 2014 had fuelled hopes regarding change for Gezi supporters in the aftermath of the uprisings but resulted negatively for them as the AKP kept both Istanbul and Ankara; with receiving the 45,6% of total votes. The upcoming period marked the developments in the 'peace process'[13] regarding the Kurdish issue. June 2015 general

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in more than twenty Turkish cities and also abroad by the Turkish Diaspora. Twenty-two people were killed and more than 8000 were injured.

[13] The peace process (also known as 'solution process') was aimed at reaching a resolution in the violent armed conflicts between the Turkish armed forces and the PKK (Partîya Karkerên

elections resulted with the AKP losing the parliamentary majority, whereas the HDP[14] which joined the elections for the first time had passed the 10% election threshold[15]. The election was followed by violent attacks[16] in the south-east Turkey in July 2015. The peace process on the Kurdish issue was then officially waived by the government. The criticized decision of early elections was also announced after the coalition meetings following the June 2015 general election had remained inconclusive. The early elections took place in

Kurdistanê – Kurdistan Workers Party) continuing since 1984. The PKK is recognized as a terrorist organization by Turkey, EU, NATO, the US, Australia, Japan, Canada, Syria, Iraq, Iran and several more countries and international organizations. The peace process was aimed towards resolving the Kurdish issue which is also mentioned. Political roots of the Kurdish issue dates to the Ottoman Empire and the ethnic policies since the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Struggles over the definition of citizenship based on Turkishness as well as the disputes over Turkification policies, Turkish History Thesis, the ban on Kurdish language and other events formed the further shaping of the political side of the conflict. History of the Turkish Republic also marked various popular revolts related to the Kurdish issue. Especially during the 1990s the escalation of the armed conflicts between Turkish armed forces and the PKK draw the south-eastern part of Turkey into a civil war situation. Between 1999 and 2004, a unilateral ceasefire was put in place but the violence in the border regions continued afterwards. The peace process between 2013 and 2015 initiated by the AKP government thus marked the first bilateral ceasefire period whereby negotiations had started to took place.

[14] Halkın Demokratik Partisi (Peoples' Democratic Party) is a left-wing pro-minority political party founded in 2012. The party has a co-presidential leadership system and implements a gender-balanced participation rule. The party took active part within the peace process negotiations between 2013 and 2015. Today, the AKP accuses the HDP of having organic links with the PKK.

[15] The election threshold in Turkey had been set as 10% following the military coup of 12 September 1980. The threshold being too high compared to advanced democracies still constitutes a matter of debate. For the case of contemporary Turkish politics, the debates over 10% election threshold revolved around the arguments that how this prevents the political opponency to increase parliamentary participation and enables the hegemony of the AKP rule to further retain. The HDP to make the cut in June 2015 elections was thus perceived as a significant threat by the AKP and the then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan himself.

[16] In Suruç district of Şanlıurfa a suicide bomb attack was carried out by ISIS in July 20th, 2015 which resulted in the death of 34 civilians and the injury of more than 100. Two days later, another attack was carried out in Ceylanpınar district of Şanlıurfa which resulted in the death of two police officers. It was assumed to be carried out by HPG, a branch of the PKK; however, was denied by the PKK executives. The period also marked other attacks in various parts of the country such as: a multiple suicide bomb attack by ISIS in Ankara Railroad Station on 10 October 2015, causing 109 deaths and more than 500 injuries; a suicide bomb attack in Sultanahmet Square of Istanbul by ISIS on 12 January 2016, causing 29 deaths and 61 injuries; a car bomb attack in Kızılay Square of Ankara by TAK (Kurdistan Freedom Falcons are recognized as a terrorist group and as a branch of the PKK by Turkey, the US, the UK and the EU. The PKK rejected this alleged link.) on 13 March 2016, causing 38 deaths and more than 120 injuries; a suicide bomb attack in Istıklal Street of Istanbul by ISIS on 19 March 2016, causing 5 deaths and 36 injuries; a car bomb attack by TAK aimed at Turkish riot police in Fatih district on Istanbul on 7 June 2016, causing 13 deaths and 36 injuries; armed assault and suicide bomb attack in Istanbul Ataturk Airport by ISIS on 28 June 2016, causing 45 deaths and 236 injuries; and more.

November 2015, with result of AKP increasing its votes by 8,63% and building the majority this time. The important aspect of 'human security' which was heavily highlighted by the interviewees of this thesis have its reflections especially in the socio-political events from 2015 onwards. Sirkeci, Cohen and Yazgan (2012, p. 380) explain that human insecurity in Turkey manifests itself in four ways: a) violent conflict (e.g. armed conflicts or forced displacement), b) socio-economic deprivation (e.g. unemployment and poverty), c) political deprivation (e.g. bans on political parties), d) cultural and social discrimination. They further declare those as key factors for emigration in Turkey. Similarly, all interviewees gave references not only to violent attacks but examples from other factors while explaining their feelings of insecurity as well as hopelessness, which specifically intensified around the period in question and afterwards. Even if people do not directly experience all these themselves, they still become affected by the likewise happenings and experiences in their surroundings.

One of the other most referred events causing insecurity and resentment by the interviewees was about the Academics for Peace movement. On 11 January 2016, the Academics for Peace Petition was published as an open letter with the title 'We Will Not Be a Party to This Crime!'. The open letter "called on the government to end human rights violations against civilians in the Kurdish provinces of Turkey" (Berger, 2018, p. 7). The petition also included demands from the government to determine a new roadmap for the resolution of the Kurdish issue, to remove the curfew in Kurdish provinces, and to detect the human rights violations in the region with the appropriate penalization of whoever is responsible. Purges of the academics, under charges related to terrorism, started right after the circulation of the petition and continued with their further linking to 15 July 2016's attempted military coup[17] investigations. Those academics and the signatories of the

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[17] 15 July 2016 coup attempt is a failed military coup staged by a group of soldiers within Turkish Armed Forces. A memorandum was broadcasted on Turkish state television channel TRT and on the website of Turkish Armed Forces which announced a state of siege and that the army seizes control of the government. The Bosporus and Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridges in Istanbul were closed down and the parliamentary building in Ankara was bombed by F-16 warplanes. The president Erdoğan was attempted to be assassinated; whereas the Chief of General Staff Hulusi Akar, several other commanders and the Secretary General of the Presidency were taken hostage by the coup plotter soldiers. Heavy armed conflicts between the military forces and the police took place. Civilians took the streets following the president Erdoğan's call for national solidarity and many were attacked too. In total, there were 241 deaths and 2194 injuries. The coup attempt was then asserted to be backed by the Gülen movement which is an Islamic transnational movement. For more information, see https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/7/15/turkeys-failed-coup-attempt-all-you-need-to-know

petition constitute an important part of the "new wave" migrants as well, who also founded Academics for Peace initiative in Germany in 2017.

Following the attempted military coup on 15 July 2016, purges in many sections of society and bureaucracy started. State of emergency was announced in July 2016 for initially three months but extended until July 2018. The purges initially started to dismiss the members of the Islamic cleric known as 'the Gülen movement'[18]. However, they have been extended into dismissal of much larger sections of society who are not related to Gülenist organizations but are only political opponents. Turkish government and courts claimed the Gülen movement as the mastermind of the coup attempt, deeming it a terrorist organization by labelling it as the Fethullah Terrorist Organization (FETÖ). (Human Rights Watch, 2018, pp. 1-2). The purges have included the dismissal of approximately 100,797 and interrogation of more than 118,000 public employees, and arresting of more than 40,000 people including journalists, Kurdish politicians and mayors, leftist activists, and academics; even the ones who were known non-Islamic members of the dissent (Yılmaz, 2017, pp. 495-496; Toktamış & David, 2018, p. 5). The related Human Rights Watch report also noted that a considerable part of the prosecutions of individuals charged with FETÖ membership lacked compelling evidence of criminal activity (Human Rights Watch, 2018, p. 2).

The downfall of the hopes of the opponency saw another depth as the regime change from parliamentary to presidential system took place in April 2017, which "led to an over-concentration of power at the hands of the president without checks and balances" (Yanasmayan & Kaşlı, 2019). Partisan media outlets increased pro-government broadcast even more afterwards. The following municipal elections of 2019 resulted with the victory of the main opposition party CHP's candidates for Istanbul and Ankara. However, the High Election Board announced a decision to renew the 31 March 2019 municipal election in Istanbul after the loss of the AKP's candidate. This situation "not only levelled the last institutional stronghold of electoral democracy, which protects the highly fragile link

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[18] The Gülen movement, also known as Cemaat (Community) or Hizmet (Service), is a transnational Islamic movement based on the ideas and under the guidance of Islamic preacher Fethullah Gülen, who has been living in the US since 1999. The movement had been especially active within education, private schools and universities in Turkey. The movement has been acknowledged as having a power struggle with the AKP government, which ended up with it being held accountable for the attempted coup on July 2016. The movement was then banned and labelled as a terrorist organization.

between legitimacy and legality but also totally destroyed the myth of 'free and fair election' in the country" (Yılmaz & Turner, 2019, pp. 691-692). The renewal of the election did not change the result and the CHP's candidate Ekrem İmamoğlu became the new metropolitan mayor of Istanbul.

Kaya (2019, pp. 131-132) argues that this new kind of authoritarianism had coupled with growing chaos, anomie, hopelessness and terror; and became alienating for young Turkish citizens with university degrees from Turkey. The alienation in fact has been apparent not only among youth but also other sections of society. Among those, women indeed hold a significant place. Overall, these feelings of alienation and suppression have come to summarize the state of mind of the people who decide to emigrate or build lives abroad: the people who felt 'excluded', 'unwanted', and believed that their achievements will stay unrequited in Turkey (Şap, 2019).

For another example of women's problematic positionalities along the structure, some aspects of the social welfare understanding of the government can be pointed out. Yılmaz (2015, p. 374) mentions how the Turkish welfare regime is organized in a way that assigning its core responsibilities to the family; and in this way, how it utilizes the place of women. Responsibilities that would be attributed to the welfare regime become blurred and mistaken as social responsibilities of women in various cases such as unpaid domestic labor or care for the elderly. The approach of the state in terms of family thus reinforces the continuity of socio-cultural norms which foster gender inequality. It is not a surprise that the case study also reflects women's gendered experiences and their strong relations to criticisms of welfare state in Turkey, along with the undesired cultural norms on family and womanhood. For the case of new wave Turkish migrants, at least the narratives collected for this thesis prove on the most part that social welfare comparisons result in a way that favoring the opportunity structures more in Germany. The mindset employed by the governing bodies and policy-making strategies also have problematic reflections in terms of approaches to cultural life, differences, and lifestyles. For instance, Göğüş and Mannitz give the example of "normative references [by the ruling political discourse] to Islamic education, lifestyle and ethics were used in order to influence Turkey's public moral economy" (2016, p. 14). They call examples of these as "moralizing interventions" which heavily relate to gender issues and cultural lifestyles through problematic utilization of religious discourses. The increase in the strength and voice of women's rights and feminist movements in the last decade's Turkey also represent an important political

mobilization and reaction towards the moralizing interventions into women's lives and rights by the governing bodies and conservative circles.

Studies conducted by migrant women's collectivities also open a new roadmap to elaborate on national identity and belonging within women's migration experiences. For instance, a "Göç Yolları Araştırması"[19] (2018) gives significant highlights to enter the emerging phenomenon of Turkish emigrant women, their children and their concerns for the future. The study shows that the new wave women migrants from Turkey who are mostly highly skilled, claim discontents towards Turkey mostly on themes such as heavy political agenda, education system, social welfare and peace, individual freedoms, and lack of green areas and parks (İyidoğan Pencereci & Erbaş Erdurmaz, 2018, p. 13). The satisfaction for the same themes also constitutes their main reason for emigrating and staying in Germany. This remarkable intersection supports the importance of the socio-political conjuncture of Turkey as well as cultural values and lifestyles of the migrant subjects.

What Yuval-Davis (1997a) describes as the "people as power" discourse perceives women as the biological reproducer of the nation (p. 29). This mindset also brings the sociocultural norms on when to marry, when to give birth, when to give birth the second time, 'how' to raise children and so on. Yuval-Davis (1997a) further mentions how "relations between adults and between adults and children in the family, ways of cooking and eating, domestic labor, play and bedtime stories, out of which a whole world view, ethical and aesthetic, can become naturalized and reproduced" (p. 43). All those norms and practices reflect the power to operate as an oppressive tool on women. Contestations around those themes also come up heavily within the narratives of women interviewed for this thesis.

Lastly, the most recent studies demonstrate that the 'new' nationalism in Turkey increasingly involves senses of anti-globalism, anti-Westernism and high valuing for national isolationism at its center again (Halpin, Werz, & Hoffman, 2018). The impact of Islam and different forms of anti-globalism had indeed been effective in Turkish national identity and its historicity. Yet there has been significant intensification of those themes together with the championing of national solidarity, which is becoming more effective within the new formulations of Turkish nationalist ideas. Those very same points also

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[19] "Migration Routes Study". On June 2017, approximately ten to fifteen Turkish emigrant mothers that settled abroad recently, have founded a Facebook group called "Migrant Mothers" (Göçmen Anneler), which has more than 20,000 members from at least 90 countries today (Sanmartin, 2019).

constitute an important part of what accelerates polarizations in the country on political lines. Polarizations thus feed into the constitution of new national identities back again, marking their impacts on socializations and daily lives as well. It is remarkable that how the same decade also started to face increasing emigration of both young and middle-aged, educated people, either with impacts of direct obligations or as voluntary. This thesis employs the suggestion that it is not a mere coincidence that the polarization and the new Turkish nationalism have been increasing, together with the increase in discourses and practices regarding highly skilled people leaving Turkey.

3.2. Transformations in the History of Migration from Turkey to Germany

The starting period of Turkish-German migration was mainly around economic motives. The Guest-worker treaty between Turkey and Germany had taken effect on 1 September 1961. Labor migration of the 1960s was thus organized through a bilateral agreement between both states. Abadan-Unat (2017, p. 86) further highlights that the labor export was entirely at the hands of the policies of the states in question, which also determined the workers' conditions of immigration and where they were to be accommodated. Initially defined as Gastarbeiter[20], it was presumed that non-married male workers were to come for one year to Germany and return to Turkey at the end of a year. This initial principle of 'rotation' was never realized indeed, as both the authorities in Germany and the workers themselves wanted to stay further. The first flow of labor migrants continued intensely throughout 1973. The oil crisis in 1973 caused a temporary stop in new foreign labor recruitments to Germany. Cyclical migration and family reunification started to overweigh instead. Return initiatives were put into process for labor migrants by Germany in 1983, marking the start of return migrations (Aydın, 2016, p. 5). The initiatives were based on new policies – such as monetary support – which encourage returning, if not obligate to. Yet, the increase in family reunification demonstrated a strong increase in the total population from Turkey, which was to foster integration debates. New migration flows continued with the aftermath of the 1980's coup d'état[21] in Turkey and the political

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[20] Gastarbeiter means "guest worker" in German. The term was later criticized and ceased to be preferred to be used, as labour migrants started to root in Germany in both social and legal terms.

[21] 12 September 1980 military coup was plotted by the Turkish Armed Forces through chain of command. The main motives were related to the acceleration of long-lasting violent conflicts between right- and left-wing as well as socio-political and economic instabilities. After the military seized power, the president of the National Security Council Kenan Evren became the Head of State by overthrowing the government of Süleyman Demirel. Political parties were closed, and party

oppressions that followed. Aftermath of the coup thus marked overweighing of political emigrations and exiles. The number of leftist and Kurdish emigrants and asylum-seekers continued to increase due to Turkey's ethnopolitical conflicts involving the Kurdish issue. This period marked emigration and exile to Germany and other countries such as the UK, the Netherlands, Sweden, and France.

The period of the 1980s also marked social debates around the problems regarding the education of immigrant children and women's employment. Turkish workers were pushed towards withdrawing to their ethnoreligious circles and/or ghettos due to problems related to not speaking the host country's language, not being able to orientate in the complex education system of Germany, and struggling to adapt to a different society (Abadan-Unat, 2017, p. 93). Exclusionary dynamics in local settlement structures and especially in the education system had important effects on their withdrawal into ethnoreligious circles. The conditions of this period and its distinctness to contemporary conditions that are at hand for today's new wave migrants should be kept in mind from now on. Differences in structural opportunities, in approaches of Germany into immigration, and in the initial social, cultural, economic capital of the immigrants shape a great deal of how different migrants reflect different identifications and discourses on attachments.

Further, highly skilled migrations from Turkey to Germany started to intensify around the 1990s as part of the increasing global demand for qualified labor from developing countries to developed ones. Regarding political migration, Kurds and Alevites were indeed emigrating in various periods, too. Nevertheless, it is crucial for this thesis that, in the last decade, the emigration of people who identify as Turks is also getting renewed attention and being linked with political impacts even when not all of them are exiles or asylum-seekers.

Sirkeci, Cohen, and Yazgan (2012, p. 377) recall that there is no one-way flow in the Turkish-German migration corridor. From 2000 onwards, circular migrations start to come to the forefront again (Aydın, 2016, p. 5). Those intensifying two-way flows overlap

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leaders were put on trials. The 1961 constitution had been waived and replaced with 1982 constitution. Following the military coup, 650.000 were detained, 230.000 were tried by court martial. 300 people died in prisons, 171 of them due to torture and 50 due to death sentence. More than 1,5 million people were blacklisted. The first investigation as part of crimes against humanity has started in 2011 against the coup plotters; and the coup was started to be tried in 2012. In result of the trials, Kenan Evren and Tahsin Şahinkaya received life sentence.

greatly with changing socio-political developments both in Turkey and Germany and the movers' social locations within them. For example, ethnic discrimination and xenophobia/Islamophobia in Germany versus democratic backslide and rising authoritarianism in Turkey could impact different groups in varying ways, becoming drivers for emigration from Turkey to Germany or return migration from Germany to Turkey. Finally, highly skilled migrations from Turkey peaked, especially after the purges followed by the July 15 coup attempt in 2016.

According to the latest data on population with migration background in Germany in 2019, the most important origin country appears as Turkey (13,1%) (DE Statis, 2020). Among the total of approximately 2.9 million Turkey-origin people residing today in Germany, 52.2% have been born in Germany, whereas approximately half of the total Turkey-origin population has only Turkish citizenship (Adar, 2019, p. 7). Those who have only Turkish citizenship constitute the most significant foreign group in Germany, with around 1,47 million people (BAMF, 2020, p. 209). The number of Turkish nationals immigrating to Germany was 21.508 in 2015 (BAMF, 2016, p. 41), which increased to 35.417 in 2019 (BAMF, 2020, p. 258).

Among Turkish nationals who immigrated in 2015, 1340 people moved for education[22], 1412 for employment[23], and 7720 for familial reasons (BAMF, 2016, p. 80). In 2019, those numbers increased to 1627 people for education, 3389 for employment, and 8708 for familial reasons (BAMF, 2020, p. 258). Turkish nationals who immigrated with at least one-year long residence permits amounted to 14.749 in 2009, 18.019 in 2015, and, with a rapid increase, 27.676 in 2018 (BAMF, 2020, p. 259).

One common way in the scholarly debates to perceive the impacts of the structure on inclusion/exclusion dynamics is to seat the discussion in nation-state policies on integration. The works of Castles and Davidson (2000) on citizenship and migration mention that within the nation-state policies, there are various possible approaches to situating citizens and migrants within the social body of the state and society. Within those,

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[22] 'Education' in those reports includes academic studies, language course, visiting students, and other trainings.

[23] 'Employment' in those reports includes researchers, self-employed people and Blue Card holders.

'partial exclusion' could explain the "denizenship"[24] of many migrants. Those manifest themselves as institutionalized exclusions through restrictions in certain rights and reverberate in migrants' social locations and relationships. Shifts in policies on the legal status and social rights thus significantly impact how different groups of migrants might be making sense of their place in Germany then and now. For instance, Schnapper (1994) mentions how, until reunification, the ethnocultural approach of the "German policy towards immigrants consisted of maintaining a legal and political distinction between nationals and foreigners" (p. 135). Bloemraad, Korteweg, and Yurdakul (2008) also recall Germany's pre-2000 ethnic nationalism, which is "associated with belonging to a nation rooted in descent, a view that usually excludes migrants" (p. 158). The new Auslaendergesetz (Foreigners Law), which took effect on 1 January 1991, had eased young generations' naturalization processes but involved provisions through which the right to residency was restricted in conditions of prolonging unemployment (Abadan-Unat, 2017, pp. 99-100). The long-term ethnic tradition in approaches to citizenship and belonging in Germany had started to shift into more civic characteristics only later, even if not resolved entirely. With the policy change in 2000, the citizenship principle of *jus sanguinis* (blood tie citizenship) was replaced with *jus soli* (birthright citizenship). Germany-born children obtained the right to German citizenship if one of the parents has been living in Germany for eight years with a valid residency (Erel, 2009, p. 24).

Even after the belated acknowledgment of Germany to be perceived as an immigration country by the authorities 2000s onwards, the replacement of German Leitkultur[25] with the discourse of multicultural society could not take effect in an instance. Leitkultur signaled the idea that migrants had to employ the German culture in order to have fully belonged. Leitkultur discourse prevailed the idea that the Turkish minority in Germany is to remain marginalized and separated by cultural and religious lifestyles (Tecmen, 2020, p. 22). Overall, the mentioned structural transformations and the continuing discursive struggles might exemplify some turns in the possible transformations of belonging for Turkey-descended collectivities as well. Those are also reflected in public discourses in ways that mention how previous and new migrants' identity perceptions vary. The sociological and structural factors that existed throughout different periods of socialization of different

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[24] Denizens, or quasi-citizens, are non-citizen migrants with certain legal status and social rights.

[25] Leitkultur refers to leading and/or guiding culture.

Turkey-descended migrants within Germany have long-lasting impacts on their (and their descendants') differing local attachments.

A strong impact easing the adaptation and belonging for new wave migrants vis-à-vis previous ones, in relation to the structural opportunities for the destination context, might be exemplified by their right to obtain a Blue Card[26]. The number of Turkish nationals with a Blue Card who entered Germany in 2013 was only 134; this continuously increased to 990 people only in 2019 (BAMF, 2020, p. 262). The migrant status obtained by the Blue Card owes not only to those migrants' high level of professional experiences but also to their socioeconomic background, respectively. Further, the status reflects certain motives for emigration and conditions the migrants' opportunities in Germany, which implies a rather privileged stance than the initial conditions that the other migrants had. For instance, according to the law that took effect in 1991, second and third generations' opportunities in bringing their spouses to Germany were restricted upon whether the primary settler has been living in Germany for eight years uninterrupted. The spouse who joins could acquire a separate residence permit and the right to work only after five years in reunification (Abadan-Unat, 2017, p. 101). Considering that a significant part of the new wave of migrants emigrates with Blue Card, it should be noted that the Blue Card provides the spouses, for instance, the right to work right away in any job sector they would like. The interviews conducted for this study also demonstrate that the Blue Card holders indicate more straightforward adaptations and faster attachments due to the rights provided by this migrant status. Some interviewees even claimed that they felt 'privileged,' given how relatively easy and quick the application and obtaining process had worked for them. Further, there are also studies confirming that highly qualified migrants can adapt and integrate easily to host countries, due to their developed language, education and professional experiences (Türkan-İpek, 2018, p. 101).

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[26] EU Blue Card was introduced in 2012 in Germany as a type of residency permit for high-skilled workers. In order to obtain a Blue Card, one has to have a recognised higher education degree and an official job offer from a company in Germany which should correspond to a gross annual income of at least 55,200 Euros (in 2020). The EU Blue Card is valid for the duration of work contract with an extra of 3 months but can be extended within a four-year period. If one can prove at least B1 level of German language proficiency, one can receive a permanent residency at the end of their first 21 months. In case one cannot prove language proficiency, one may obtain permanent residency at the end of the first 33 months.

Another instance of transformations in the easier attachments of the collectivity today might be represented by the characteristics of 'the place.' This refers specifically to Berlin for this thesis. With the increasing new wave migration, the previous discourses on insufficient local integration of Turkish migrants have been shifting into discourses on ruptures from Turkey, along with the popularity of Berlin and how it can sustain a new place-belongingness for new migrants. Berlin also transformed significantly as a city that can be thought together with the transformation of the Turkish presence in it. This presence was predominantly understood through the locality of Kreuzberg, for instance. Even though Turkey-descended communities persist greatly in Kreuzberg, the district had become more and more multicultural with various immigration waves. As much as it had been a ghetto of especially Turkey-descended population, this started to change slowly from the fall of the Berlin Wall and reunification onwards. Today, Kreuzberg's popularity as a hip urban space has also been attracting many Western immigrants in the last decades.

The initial integration and multiculturality debates were rather directed towards establishing culturally detached urban spaces for immigrants. This played a crucial role on the previous Turkey-descended population to persist their strong national attachments to the home country in their preserved spaces within Berlin. Abadan-Unat (2017, p. 106) claimed that, together with intense xenophobia, the ghettoization caused national ties to become strengthened, which resulted in the increase of cultural discrepancies among the broader society. This thesis suggests that, when thought together with the mentioned transformations in the urban space, the cultural detachment within locality has been transforming further with the contemporary new wave migration. Even though the fieldwork demonstrated that new wave migrants also continue building attachments as Turkish communities, the detachment from the broader society is not apparent as much as it was. Most interviewees mention inabilities in building deeper connections with Germans due to language limitations, but they do not necessarily claim detachment or discrimination. These owe not only to the changing urban space but also that newcomers mostly have more advanced structural opportunities. Plus, they also have advantages related to conjuncture, which let them have quite globalized and digitalized cultural repertoires.

The interviews conducted for this study demonstrate that the long-term Turkish presence in Berlin provides so many conveniences, ties, and familiarities that enable new wave migrants to adapt and belong there more easily. Even in an earlier study, Ehrkamp (2005)

demonstrated that "transnational ties and multiple attachments enable local attachment rather than preventing it" (pp. 361-362)[27]. The study further shows how placing identities in the local context lead migrants to construct a new place-based identity. Although circumstances and the types of practices change over time and in different places, both new and already existing transnational ties help in the sense of placing attachment to the place today. Those ties could be related to the locality of both Germany and Turkey at the same time. That is why it is important to recall that while studying 'detachments,' remaining attachments to or various forms of connections to the homeland can also act as an advantage to build new connections to the new setting.

One example of those 'types' of practices could be traced in the previous studies, which comprise rich references to ethnoreligious spaces inhabited by Turkish migrants. Ethnoreligious spaces were mostly handled as primary in reflecting migrants' ways of re-negotiating belongings. Communities of faith have been mostly at the forefront while studying local attachments of Turkey-descended populations. Those communities indeed persist, along with the long-term political organizations inhabited by Turkish and Kurdish migrants. However, in later times, communities with more counter-hegemonic outlooks started to stand out; their identifications result heavily from their critical positionality against Turkey, along with feelings of anxiety, oppression, or disappointment. The striking part of those communities is that they are also heavily employed in digital spaces today. The interdisciplinary diaspora solidarity network Kopuntu[28] illuminates an example in that sense. Savaş (2019, p. 5408) examines this digital network of "new generation diaspora" and argues how Kopuntu publicly communicates, circulates, and archives feelings in digital space to create affinities, give rise to collectivities and facilitate possibilities of hope among new wave migrants from Turkey. Examples of new wave networks specific to Germany or Berlin, on the other hand, might be Academics for Peace and Puduhepa immigrant women's initiative. In other words, there are increasing examples of communities that are established around critical affections towards Turkey as well as

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[27] The study was conducted between 1998 and 2000 in Marxloh, Duisburg, where the proportion of Turkey-origin population was very high.

[28] "Kopuntu" refers to 'ruptured piece', and 'diaspora'. Kopuntu inter-disciplinary multi-lingual multi-media network was initiated with an affective manifesto and collectively expanded further with various digital productions and archives by people who have recently left Turkey. See https://kopuntu.org/

inclusive migrant solidarity rather than ethnoreligious identifications. Having mentioned some of the various structural conditions that might impact attachments differently, the problem of popular comparisons between previous and new migrants can now be perceived better.

3.2.1. Turkishness and Inclusion/Exclusion in Germany

What could be possible factors that have impacts on the way migrants belong? How they feel included or excluded under specific contexts? The chapter started with seeking answers to those questions by looking at the changing structural conditions. It aimed to understand the history of migration from Turkey to Germany, the importance of still studying it, and use this shift to understand changing or prevailing patterns in the destination context that impact senses of belonging. This sub-chapter continues by arguing that the changing inclusionary and exclusionary dynamics affecting belonging could also be understood by examining how popular comparisons between previous and new migrants in Germany have been discursively constructed.

On May 27th, 2019, an online article called "'But you don't look Turkish!'[29]: The Changing Face of Immigration to Germany" (Türkmen, 2019) was published. The article discusses how the "new wave" of Turkish immigrants, mostly academicians and white-collar workers, are having problematic confrontations due to their alleged non-familiarity with the settled stereotypes of 'Turkishness' before the eyes of the German public. Türkmen (2019) states that "because newly arriving immigrants do not fit the existing perception of Turkishness in Germany, most end up having to explain how they, too, are Turkish/from Turkey." The article caught attention, especially on Twitter. Some affirmed how uncomfortable they also feel when Europeans cannot locate them within the stereotypical 'Turkish' framework in their minds. Others criticized this discourse, claiming that it implies a hierarchy and reflects a disdain by 'white Turks'[30] towards previous (labor) migrants. The article argues that the new highly skilled immigrants from Turkey differ

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[29] The headline "But you don't look Turkish!" actually originates from a 2018 photo exhibition called "But you don't" by artist Işıl Eğrikavuk who is based in Germany since late 2017; driven by the same problematic she also faced regarding the stereotypical understandings of Turkishness in the German setting.

[30] The term refers to a highly educated and urbanite middle or upper-middle class sections of society who employ westernized and secular values of lifestyle.

considerably from the majority of the Turkish population, not only in Germany but also in Turkey, in their educational attainment, religious belief/practices, and lifestyle (Türkmen, 2019). These highlights that emerged hand in hand with the rapid increase of "new wave" Turkish immigrants in Germany tell something about how previous immigrants (and their descendants) and new highly skilled immigrants differentiate themselves from each other. As Jenkins (2008) also recalls, "identification is often most consequential as the categorization of others, rather than as self-identification" (p. 15). The differentiation and the mechanisms of 'othering' do not only result from the German gaze, but also from the gazes of these groups coming from the same home country directed towards each other.

This differentiation could be understood as depending on differing socioeconomic levels or lifestyle and values of those migrants, as the article in question suggests. It is further possible to claim that this 'But you don't look Turkish!' discourse might lead to the new wave of Turkish immigrants becoming alienated both from Turkey and Germany in a sense. This phenomenon appears like a brand-new type of hegemonic struggle and recognition, which are always being created within migratory contexts. As Çırakman (2001, p. 31) also recalls, 'comparisons' demonstrate not only how people perceive other cultures, but also how they perceive themselves relatively. Likewise, the motive to differentiate oneself from the stereotyped Turkishness goes hand in hand with efforts of building new subjectivities in the transnational space. Again, these efforts account for the importance of studying those new subjectivities, identities, and senses of belonging through the emergent "new wave" migrant groups. It is crucial, however, to employ a critical look.

This discussion on self-differentiation gives clues on the different abilities of new wave migrants. Their socioeconomic background and lifestyle preferences are also of the most crucial factors that let this voluntary mobility happen in the first place (if political exiles are excluded). The same also accounts for what keeps them there in Germany, along with their high education levels. Those characteristics play a crucial role – despite all the possible alienation when faced with the sentence, 'But you don't look Turkish!' – to increase their chances to be included and even feel belonged in Germany. On the other hand, the historical settings in which the previous migrants emigrated, the obligations they had to meet, and their motivations varied in different periods. To some extent, this contrast can account for any differing results for their inclusion and belonging in Germany in the

long run and how these senses of belonging might have been (and will be) transferred intergenerationally.

Some sources claim how new wave migrants do not come familiar to German-Turks who have been living there for very long and questioning the newcomers' motivations.[31] Others highlight observations on how a kind of rivalry and polarization exists between previous and new migrants from Turkey in Germany and how previous migrants are more conservative when the newer ones are politically more engaged (Bilir, 2020). One must be careful against these kinds of arguments nevertheless, as they carry the risk of totalizing the heterogeneous communities. This is both due to observations from this thesis's fieldwork, which sometimes reflect the contrary, and also theoretically. A failure in accounting for the impacts of structural conditions of differing conjunctures and the empirical diversity and hybridity found within the Turkish-German transnational social space today would result in making stereotyped claims based on mere periods in migration.

The observations from the fieldwork in Berlin demonstrated how different profiles of new migrants exist as well. For instance, there are also many newcomers who are not necessarily politically engaged, contrary to what most representations make of them. Furthermore, there are also instances whereby previous and new migrants come together for various reasons ranging from migrant solidarity networks (digital societies such as Mothers from Berlin or Turkish Moms in Germany) to academic circles. Many of the studies mention the relatively low socio-economic achievement of the children and grandchildren of the labor migrants (Bayrakdar & Guveli, 2020, p. 2). On the other hand, some highlight that "recent Turkish immigrants have higher educational levels than Turks who migrated to Germany at earlier times" (Seibert & Walper, 2012, as cited in Gresser & Schacht, 2015, p. 42). These facts also fuel the recent comparisons between previous and new migrants to some amount. However, the structural conditions and opportunities were varied throughout history. Plus, there is an important accumulation of intergenerational increase in education and socioeconomic levels in previous migrants' descendants as well. Let alone the existence of strong and long-term experiences of political solidarity and organization in the diaspora. Overall, the misrepresentations and overgeneralizations regarding the long-term and continuing Turkish presence in Germany tell that the deep-

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[31] For detail, see a news video from Deutsche Welle's YouTube channel https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r-a1ad3m4XQ

seated stereotypes might be becoming even more layered with the increasing new wave migration.

One must also be careful against situating migrants from different periods as two 'wholesome' groups which lie at two opposite poles in a reductionist way. Yuval-Davis (1997b, p. 8) warns against viewing 'the community' as a given natural unit; because boundaries are always changing through different time-contexts and socialization processes within. There has been a strong public opinion merely claiming that labor migrants and their descendants have been more conservative and resistant against integration. However, one must acknowledge that communities are internally layered not only according to periods of migration, but also according to historical changes in the receptivity of host societies to waves of emigration and the continuation of the links between diaspora and the home country (Karim, 2006, p. 271). Likewise, the structural hardships and opportunities that the previous and newer Turkish migrants had to face were, and are still, different.

For instance, a study by Kaya and Kentel (2005) reveals that the Turkey-oriented immigrants in Europe that are compatible with the stereotyped 'Turkish' profile amounts only to 40%; and the main reason for conservative or radical identities to be employed by those is, in fact, a result of 'structural exclusion,' i.e., poverty, unemployment, loneliness, insecurity about future, racism, Islamophobia (p. 156). It becomes important not to judge essentialist or radical identities employed in Europe without taking the state of structural exclusions into account. The changing structural patterns and opportunities that have been at hand for different migrant groups become crucial when examining social inclusion/exclusion and belonging dynamics. Boundary maintaining processes between different migrants coming from Turkey also account for the critical structural and opportunity-wise discrepancies. Discussing exclusion/inclusion and belonging solely through categorical comparisons or the identities expressed on an individual level would also create culturalist explanations overlooking the structural conditions that those groups in the first place face.

Today, the latest studies on the Turkish and Kurdish diaspora in Europe demonstrate that the people are "expressing high levels of satisfaction with their living circumstances" and "they are pleased with the educational and economic opportunities the host nations offer" (Hoffman, Makovsky, & Werz, 2020). This latest study also claims that the positives

outweigh the still existing realities of discrimination and other problems. Levels of identification with the host country are relatively lower for the broader Turkey-origin population in Germany than those in other European countries. Nevertheless, emigration to Germany entails a long history and a very heterogeneous population of Turkey-origin immigrants and their descendants that reside there today. This heterogeneous space became even layered with the new wave of immigrants. Those are not to mean that national attachments in diaspora overall, and for the totality of migrants, have been decreasing. However, this means that, in a significant way, identifications and attachments might be getting more affected by practical conditions, opportunities, and structural mechanisms than was thought before.

Migrant groups who stay conservative, become radicalized and/or do cling heavily to their national origin identities due to structural exclusions abroad had already found a central place in scholarly discussions. However, one must ask whether structural exclusions that problematize belongings could be based on the experiences in and perceptions regarding the home country at times. In the specific context of migration from Turkey to Germany, labor migrations marked the understanding of migrant 'identity' as profoundly attached to origins through employing a romantic discourse. Then followed the scholarly discussions on hybrid, plural, and hyphenated identities, focusing on second and third generations. With the most recent emigration wave, there is a need to revisit new 'identity' patterns and constructions in the light of the new socio-political context, primarily of the home country this time. Sources of exclusion and disengagement could also be found within emigrant citizens' experiences in their relations with both the state and the society of their homeland. Examination of those sources in the next chapter through narratives of interviewees sheds light on how the new migrants to a significant extent can be conceptualized as developing "emotional disintegration" (Turkmen & Adar, 2017) to home.

Overall, it was necessary to examine the shift historically and discuss the inclusionary and exclusionary dynamics in the migration process that might affect people from the same country in diverse manners. The important part is to realize that the idea of 'origin' does not itself shape the processes of identification, attachments, and senses of belonging. It is crucial not to lose touch with historical thinking, contextualization, and the impact of different social locations. This would also avert falling into culturalist or civilizationist definitions of migrant groups and divert attention to the socio-political realities and structural conditions of the particular conjuncture 'in the destination countries' as well.

CHAPTER 4

FIELD STUDY: EMIGRANT MOTHERS AND THEIR FAMILIES IN BERLIN

This chapter explores and analyzes the emigrants' motives, attachments, value-systems, and experiences through main themes provided by the literature and the qualitative data from in-depth interviews. The analysis draws on the impacts such as political climate, freedom of expression, socio-cultural values and environment (language, cultural proximity), daily life and lifestyle (social pressures, privacy, individualism), and transferability of capital (as well as its impact on belonging). Overall, the analysis uses the essential sociological data, which are directed to understand the intersubjective realities in terms of which people act and how people define the situation(s) in which they find themselves" (Jenkins, 2008, p. 106).

The analysis of the case study reveals that variations in attachments and belongings mainly revolve around four main axes:

- Personal - Subjective

- Children

- Social relations – ties

- Professional – economic

Those four main axes also intersect differently with: impacts of migration year (years spent abroad) and social locations. Those matter for women and motivate them to differing degrees. Based on this variance, women's search for belonging and constructions of belonging also tend to vary.

4.1. Methodology and Limitations

The main method of in-depth interviewing is due to the aim of focusing on understanding the lived experiences and points of view. The accounts are also aimed to acquire a glimpse of the collective identity of new wave migrants. As Martin (1995) suggests, "as much as an individual is always attached to groups, a narrative always tells the story of one or several groups, and group identity can be analyzed as a narrative, just as individual identity" (p. 8).

In-depth interviewing method was chosen since the main research question addresses how the shaping of identity, nationhood, and belonging formulations take place throughout migration experience in relation to the changing socio-political context of Turkey. The method of in-depth interviewing was considered the best approach to grasp the perceptions and experiences of women, in line with what the research question requires. The method for the analysis then constituted putting the related data within the framework of the current socio-political context of Turkey. Gilmartin (2008) claims that the methodologically important aspects in studying the relationships of migration, identity, and belonging incorporate "migrant stories" at their roots, illuminating "the experience of migrants and the patterns and processes of migration" (p. 1848). Seven in-depth interviews were conducted face-to-face with emigrant mothers in Berlin following these methodological concerns.

Four of the interviewees were reached via Facebook groups for expat parents and mothers in Berlin and through an immigrant women's organization. The Facebook groups were established by and for migrants from Turkey only. The other three interviewees were reached by snowball method. Only women who emigrated between 2009 and 2019 were included in the sampling. Giving references to different experiences of emigrating 'with' children and having children 'after' the emigration was also necessary for analytical purposes. Thus, three of the interviewees were ones who had children before emigration, and four of them were ones who had children after emigration. The interviews lasted on average between 60 to 90 minutes in public cafes of central Berlin. Every interviewee agreed on an audio recording, but almost none wanted their names to be mentioned. All the names used in the thesis are nicknames.

The interview questions were divided into three main themes:

1) Demographic questions – social locations – migration facts (age, occupation, children, education, legal status in Germany, date and process of emigrating, changes in residency conditions),

2) Perspectives and experiences related to Turkey – social and emotional attachments (specific experiences and events that impacted migration decisions, social and political activities or affiliations, problems or exclusionary experiences regarding any of their social locations, experiences and impacts related to motherhood and womanhood, interest in socio-political agenda of the country),

3) Conceptual questions on home, nation, belonging, expectations, ethic and political values (meanings given to national identity, citizenship, the country; where they feel belonged to, because of which reasons; impacts of experiences in Turkey on the meanings given to belongingness; impact of socio-political events and polarizations on the approaches to the country and belongingness).

Despite this divide, the interviews were semi-structured and conducted conversationally, without directing the interviewees all the time. The three-level questionnaire structure was used to give them themes to elaborate on as needed. Most of the questions and the main role of the interviewer was employed towards guiding the interviewees into reflecting on 'changes' and 'transformations' related to the topics and questions at hand. The detailed list of interview questions can be found under Appendices. Beyond the interviews, the whole fieldwork process also fed the overall analysis. I stayed in Berlin for Erasmus+ research mobility between March and July 2019. I took participant observation in various events and conferences organized by and/or with new Turkish migrants and academicans in Berlin. My everyday activities and relationships also made me employ regular interactions with different groups of Turkish migrants, contributing to my overall observations on the current transnational social space. I also regularly followed the private Facebook groups dedicated to the new wave migrants and migrant mothers in Berlin, to catch hold of the most current issues and topics related to the everyday experiences and concerns of the newcomers and the mothers.

Following the fieldwork, qualitative data collected through in-depth interviews was transcribed and then coded on MAXQDA qualitative analysis software according to the main themes in the conceptual framework. The analysis is directed towards understanding

migration, identity, and belonging from the women's perspective. However, it aims to use this perspective to explain the broader migration experience that also comprises the household collectivity, as all interviewees also gave information about their spouses and their familial motivations in general. Similarly, overall analysis is also informed by the whole fieldwork process and observations collected throughout.

The limitations of the study are mainly related to the sampling size. The sample is not representative, though it discloses significant and in-depth highlights and outstanding common characteristics that can also be useful for a more detailed and representative study to be conducted in the future. The fieldwork taking place at the start of the summer season posed a problem in terms of increasing the number of interviewees, since many migrants were going to holidays in Turkey or other places. It was not found favorable to switch to virtual interviews or extend the process of fieldwork too much. Firstly, switching from face-to-face into virtual interviews would break the consistency and depth of the overall quality of interviewing process and in terms of grasping the 'thick descriptions.' Secondly, since the social context and political agenda of Turkey played crucial part in interviews, extending the fieldwork period too much would also cause inconsistencies among the answers to contemporary political topics discussed in the interviews. During the fieldwork period, there were municipal elections in Turkey and the daily political agenda was quite dynamic. Extending the fieldwork process into, for instance, autumn, would have caused discrepancies among the narratives given by the interviewees since the daily political agenda was highly eventful during that period.

4.2. Social Locations

Women's social locations refer mainly to age, profession, ethnicity, socioeconomic background, and gender within this study's scope. Experiences related to and challenges regarding those throughout migration experience carry importance to start the analysis. Transformations in this regard reflect on how people re-negotiate their identifications and senses of belonging. Intersections among social locations and how they affect the migration experience and belongings differently must be considered as well. Brockmeyer and Harders (2016) argue that the intersectional approach enables comprehending the social construction of belonging and non-belonging as a process shaped by gender, race, class, religion, nationality, or migration, depending on the specific situation (p. 4). The approach demonstrates how different historical trajectories influence multiple narratives

that form senses of belonging, which go far beyond those tied to ancestry, authenticity, and places of origin (Youkhana, 2015, p. 12).

4.2.1. Age and the Year of Emigration

At the time the study was conducted, the ages of women varied between 32 and 44. When we consider their ages as they had migrated, the numbers range from 25 to 40. The narratives of each woman are thus informed by varying impacts related to their age as they migrated, how old they are now, and how many years they had spent living abroad when they were giving their narratives on their experiences. The names used here and hereafter in the thesis are not the real names of the interviewees.

Table 1: Age and the Year of Emigration

	Age (2019)	Age (At Time of Migrating)	Year of Migrating	Years Spent Abroad
Canan	32	30	2017	2
Burcu	44	34	2009	10
Deniz	41	40	2018	1
Filiz	37	35	2017	2
Betül	36	30	2013	6
Melis	41	39	2017	2
Aylin	34	25	2010	9

It is crucial to highlight that the migration years of women interviewed spreads through the last ten years (2009-2019). The aim is not to take the exact year of migration as a fixed turning point. It is to recall that migration-related motivations and decision processes are continuously renegotiated. The understanding feeds from the theories on migration and identity discussed in the literature review.

4.2.2. Migrant Status

What initial status women had when they emigrated and what their status is now, have impacts on their experiences. To start with, Canan, Burcu, and Aylin came through either language course or graduate studies, then switched into their new migrant status through family reunification.

Canan came for a German language course with a 3-month Schengen visa. After meeting her future husband in Berlin, she got married and switched to family reunification visa. She must renew this visa every three years on the condition of staying married to her husband, who is a Berlin-born son of Turkish descended parents. Burcu also experienced a similar path, coming to Germany for a German language course and started doctoral studies afterward. Then she met her future husband, who is a French citizen living in Germany.

Aylin initially came with a student visa along with an artist scholarship to pursue a master's degree. In her later years, she and her long-time partner decided to marry to avoid any problems of extension for her student visa. She already acquired a 3-year freelance visa at that time but got married to her German partner anyway. Thus, currently, her status is within family reunification through marriage.

Suppose one has a relevant higher education degree and a job offer in Germany with a certain annual salary amount. In that case, the EU provides the right to obtain a Blue Card. Germany is the EU country which grants the most and the overweighing number of Blue Cards. Deniz, Filiz, and Betül have residence permits through Blue Card. This shapes their experiences mostly differently from the other women. Nevertheless, it still affects differently depending on whether they are the primary Blue Card holders in their household and whether they can pursue their desired professional jobs in Berlin.

Deniz is the primary Blue Card holder in her household. She claims that through the Blue Card procedure, one can receive their residence permit much faster and easier than through other ways of obtaining work visa. After paying a premium for the initial twenty-one months, if one can also prove B1 level of German language proficiency, one can receive a permanent residence permit. She claims her willingness to obtain this permanent residence and reflects confidence in this regard. She believes that her life will be much more comfortable afterward. Plus, this status is also favorable since it provides the spouse of the primary Blue Card holder the opportunity to work as well. Deniz claims this is quite advantageous since her husband does not have to deal with further bureaucratic work.

As the accounts on family reunification visa processes mostly reflect hardships and more extended waiting periods, it is apparent how easier the Blue Card procedure makes the mobility for highly skilled migrants. Deniz further states that even the family reunification

visa process for her children was quite easy and fast. She also explains this situation herself as a 'positive discrimination' for highly skilled migrants who qualify for Blue Card.

Filiz also reflects on the 'special status,' in her own words, which comes with the Blue Card. Her husband is the primary Blue Card holder in their household, but this status also enables her to benefit from the rights given through the Blue Card. The Blue Card procedure makes it mandatory for the primary holders to continue working in their previous job fields. This means that an engineer, for instance, cannot work in an irrelevant position to engineering. They must continue working in the engineering sector to be able to continue with their Blue Card. However, Filiz claims that this rule does not apply to the primary Blue Card holders' spouses. Spouses can enjoy the perks of the Blue Card and can also change sectors if they like. Overall, she describes the most important advantages of the Blue Card status as migrating and settling very fast without minimal bureaucratic obligations. She explains it as an important aspect that one can benefit from many opportunities that normally the EU citizens can. She further adds that one can receive allowance for child-care. She concludes by admitting that this is a very advantageous status, and her household had the opportunity to complete a very smooth transition process in their migration experience.

Betül and her husband both received their own Blue Cards, starting as separate processes in the same timeline. Their bureaucratic processes continued separately. She claims discrepancies among their processes, such as her receiving an initial residency for three years, whereas her husband received four years. She had to renew her residency when she was on pregnancy leave. She explains facing discrimination from the officials who claimed that since she was not working at the time, they cannot renew her Blue Card. For a while, she had to get by with extension visas, which lasted for one year the most. She claims how these kinds of discriminatory treatment depended on which officer in charge one coincides there randomly. She further explains that when she went to make a renewal again, the officer in charge this time found the previously given extension visas unnecessary and gave her a five-year-long residency permit. However, there was still discriminatory treatment. Even though she brought all her own job and salary documents, this time, the officer refused to give a permanent residency because she did not bring her husband's documents. Betül claims, with a wry smile, the absurdity regarding how her husband already has a permanent residency in their sixth year in Berlin, but she still does not. Betül and other women gave accounts on how the visa renewal and permanent residency

processes are blurry because the treatments vary from one officer in charge to another. Further than gender-based treatments, they also claim the officials approach people's visa procedures differently, depending on whether the applicant can speak good German or not.

From the three accounts from holders of Blue Card, even though it is a privileged procedure compared to other migrant statuses, there are still gendered variations in the procedure as exemplified by Betül's experience. Deniz started the procedure alone herself, and her husband joined her later, whereas Filiz joined her husband, who is the primary Blue Card holder in their household. However, even though Betül acquired her own Blue Card separate from her husband at the same timeline, she was in fact discriminated against later in the visa extension periods. This discrimination took place upon her pregnancy first, and then under the excuse that she did not bring her husband's documents even though her visa process had started individually at the beginning.

Melis's experience is more complicated than other women. She claims that as they initially planned to move as a family. Her husband aimed to open a bar in Berlin and Melis to continue her business for art and design recruitment. Her husband emigrated earlier to try to start his business, whereas Melis was waiting with their daughter in Istanbul. She claims her family reunification visa process took almost ten months, which was very tiring for her. This was not only due to the long waiting process was also due to questionings regarding her marriage throughout. The extended visa process together with the personal and marriage-related issues thus reflected a tough start in her migration experience. After emigrating through family reunification, she filed for divorce and switched to a self-employed entrepreneur visa approximately one year later. These are highly effective in her process of in-between attachments and hardships regarding re-negotiating her sense of belonging.

She also gives examples of gendered experiences while applying for family reunification. She claims how angry she was getting because the officers did not ask for a single personal document regarding herself and her own work-plan, but only marriage-related documents. This seems to have affected her, mostly symbolically, making her question her own place and own motives regarding this migration decision. She makes fun of this situation to cope with it by claiming how she felt like being treated merely according to a "wife quota." It is indeed a unique perspective on the family reunification procedure, which exposes how a gendered experience of a feeling of loss regarding individuality. Throughout Melis's

migration process, it is also observable how, along with the transition in her migrant status, her individual motivations regarding her own experience and place also start to transform independently.

4.2.3. Ethnicity and Gender

All the women are Turkish and hold Turkish passports. None of them identifies directly with a specific ethnic group. Only Aylin implies having Turkmen roots and Burcu having Kurdish relatives who were assimilated and called Turks. Burcu explains this in relation to how in a 'safe-guarded' manner they were raised as kids, causing a relatively late discovery of their ethnic ties and a sense of ignorance to existing ethnic hate speech within the country. Deniz directly identifies as a "white Turk," claiming she cannot be the subject of a categorical exclusion in that sense. Even though she identifies explicitly as such, she adds that she obtained those privileges due to her own achievements by getting education in the most accredited institutions in Turkey, rather than through the help of her family's economic capital or the advantages of the (welfare) state. Aylin also mentions, due to not being a minority, she did not have to question her ethnic identity as she was growing up. All women thus admit their relative privilege in terms of ethnicity in Turkey. Translation of this throughout the migration experience could at times appear as experiencing their Turkishness in Germany in problematic ways. When their relative privilege in ethnic terms in Turkey is considered, experiences related to ethnicity in Germany are mostly 'new' to them. For instance, Canan claims that "you have a Turkish passport and a Turkish name. No one would accept you as a German or French or American." This reflects a perception of expected inclusion through not only citizenship but also ethnic lines. Burcu also explains her experience of being Turkish in Germany by stating that the welcome culture does not always directly work for a Turk who lives and pursues education in Germany.

In Turkey and Germany, migrants' experiences as 'women' are significant in how their identity perceptions, attachments, and senses of belonging are shaped. This social location is one of the others to shape the migration experience in specific ways for them. Their marriage conditions, household dynamics, and motivations regarding their children also impact their gendered experiences.

Besides pioneering the migration decision in her household, the only interviewee who came to Germany alone at the beginning and left her husband and children to join her later

is Deniz. Betül came together with her husband, and Filiz joined her husband later. Melis represents a unique experience in the sense that she was supposed to join her husband later as well but decided to divorce him along the way. What started as a family motivation for her turned into an individual motivation, being for the sake of building a better future for her daughter on the most part. The case represents a significant phenomenon whereby even women's individual aspirations mostly converge with their sense of self-sacrifice for their children's well-being. This case reflects it since Melis did not want to leave her comfort zone in Turkey initially but decided to do so primarily for her daughter's sake. Lastly, Burcu, Canan, and Aylin emigrated as their own as well. However, for Aylin, her partner being in Germany was an important motivation, whereas Burcu and Canan met their future partners after they emigrated to Germany, impacting their decisions to stay.

Except for Melis, women who emigrated as they were married all give narratives on how they wanted to convince their spouses to emigrate. Only Deniz claims a more definitive pioneering of the decision within her household. Her husband considered emigration years ago, but Deniz did not find it necessary, and when Deniz started to consider it, her husband questioned this decision at first. Eventually, she was the one to take a step and start the process for the whole household to join her later. Overall, it was observable how all those women's claims reflected that the husbands were the more 'satisfied' ones in the household, especially with their working and living conditions. Women were the ones to question their satisfaction with their lives and to raise the idea of emigration. For instance, Filiz says,

> I wanted us to get away, to stay a bit to ourselves. I was telling these for the last five years, but my husband was not doing much because he was so happy with his life. He wasn't searching for anything. In social sciences, it is not much easy to find a job [abroad]. Maybe the UK would work because of the language advantage. But the other countries are too difficult. So, I nagged at my husband continuously. For five years I did. Then 15 July [coup attempt] happened. I can say, he became convinced very fast after 15 July. (Filiz – Interview)

Some general thoughts about being a woman in Turkey and Germany reflect women's perspective on relating their gender to their migration experience. Filiz's account draws attention in that sense:

> In Turkey, if you are educated, woman, and stand on your own two feet; you are toast. You already don't belong nowhere in a sense. Society continues to harass you at different points in different ways. (Filiz – Interview)

Women also express how their experiences in being a woman in Turkey and Germany have been changing over time, as they visit Turkey and develop comparisons over a change. Burcu claims, when she had been living in Turkey ten years prior, it was not a problem for her to get back home at night alone after 2 AM. She says that she is not in that feeling anymore when she is in Turkey. Betül also adds that she does not feel unsafe at night around 3 – 4 AM in Berlin, as she did around 10 PM in Ankara. She exemplifies another illumination of her about some steady beliefs in Turkey. This is regarding how, when a man harasses a woman on the street, the woman would turn her head and try to move away fastly. She claims how she was impressed by women in Berlin confidently responding to street harassers. She adds how witnessing this takes pleasure in her and creates an illumination. She further accounts for the importance of feeling safe on the streets as a woman, says she does not want to come across such problems, and admits that this is perhaps one reason she is unwilling to return to Turkey.

Finally, Melis remarks that she felt the necessity to dress appropriately according to which part of Istanbul she was going to on that day. She claims she could at least leave that necessity in Berlin. She references the common necessity that women have in Turkey regarding how different districts and neighborhoods would create the necessity to dress differently. She claims women had to accord with that in order not to become harassed or made feel uncomfortable. Her accounts also imply realizing how women from Turkey carry an accustomed sense of feeling 'uneasy' and 'alert' while out alone at night, for instance. She says that it took some time to shake this off, and she is grateful that she does not have to think about those things in Berlin.

4.2.4. Socioeconomic Background

Socioeconomic background and how the transfer of social and economic capital throughout the migration process projects itself in women's varying perceptions and identifications is significant. Anthias (2008) argues that "although we may move across national borders and remain middle class or women (for example), the movement will transform our social place and the way we experience this at all social levels and in different ways" (p. 15).

Like some accounts on ethnicity, women generally admit their privileges in Turkey in terms of socioeconomic background as well. Betül, daughter of civil servant parents,

claims herself "privileged" in the sense of being "brought up within bubbles." According to her, the fact that she went to an Anatolian High School[32], studied at one of the most renowned universities in Turkey, and then worked in big companies contributed to that feeling of privilege.

After claiming that she did not experience a categorical exclusion or disadvantage in socioeconomic terms in Turkey, Filiz adds that she indeed experienced hardships. She claims that she was not much troubled at the end of the day as long as she could afford what she wants in her own small world. There were not many things that she could not get a reach of. However, she admits that she still did not feel she belonged. The bottom line is that this changes through the migration experience since the 'migrant identity' starts to become prior to other identifications. Troubles about being a migrant start to feel like more solid troubles, ones they cannot directly solve with the help of their socio-economic benefits.

The less advantaged in socioeconomic terms would be Burcu and Aylin, among others. Burcu, daughter of civil servant parents, worked as a research assistant in Turkey under challenging conditions at the university. She claims that, for instance, she would not be able to afford to raise her triplet kids if she was still in Turkey in those conditions. Aylin mentions how she could not afford graduate studies with fees in Turkey, adding that the only primary kind of discrimination she faced in Turkey – apart from gender discrimination – would be based on her social class.

Changes regarding the residence environment as well as property ownership also shape women's varying experiences. Those are also related to their socioeconomic backgrounds and benefits. They can operate as tools to smoothen the migration process or become things they will have to give up.

Canan claimed she did not have much money as a university student. After working as a cabin crew assistant for a catering company, she managed to buy a flat in Istanbul:

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[32] Anatolian High School is a certain type of high school which were founded for educating highly qualified students who obtain relatively higher scores in the central high school entry exam. Especially in the last decade, through complex changes in the education system, Anatolian High Schools however lost their distinct privilege mainly since most of the high schools in Turkey were turned into Anatolian High Schools.

> I had a flat. I owned it. It was 2 rooms plus 1 living room, 70 cm2 flat. Not the perfect neighborhood but a livable one, in Bahcelievler in Istanbul. Everything was decent, newly constructed. The furniture was brand new. Here [in Berlin] the flat [I moved in to] was falling apart. It was structured but still falling apart. (Canan - Interview)

Filiz also owned a flat in Turkey, Melis still owns one, and Betül used to live in the flat owned by her husband's father. In Berlin, all of them pay rent.

It is possible to state that, though varying on degree, all women gave up to some extent their socioeconomic benefits in Turkey. It is apparent that their relative privileges in Turkey also enabled them to take voluntary action in migrating. For instance, some kept their flats in Turkey for a while until making sure they can settle down in Berlin. This demonstrates that such socioeconomic benefits (or assets) can operate as a smoothening tool and act as an assurance throughout the adaptation process.

Melis had the necessary economic capital to enable her household to come to Berlin as tourists for one month, rent a flat, and try out whether they can build a new life there and find professional opportunities. Similarly, Deniz mentions how she started the migration process with a mindset of 'trying whether she could manage' the experience, which owes her cultural capital based on her education and profession and economic capital. For the households of Betül and Filiz, cultural capital based on education and profession were also the moving factors. Plus, they had the assurance owing to their economic capital in Turkey as they had kept their flats in Istanbul for a while until they could see themselves settling in Berlin.

The study argues that variations in socioeconomic benefits and resources throughout the process could be shaped through differing intersections with other social locations and migration conditions. The year of migrating and the years spent abroad could exemplify the other intersecting conditions. Nevertheless, the variations in socioeconomic benefits and resources are among the most critical factors that shape women's and their household's identifications, attachments, and senses of belonging.

4.2.5. Education and Profession

The education and professions of women also constitute an essential aspect of their social locations. Those refer to the strengths of their cultural capital as well. Whether women

could pursue a career in their desired fields of study in Turkey or pursue it when they emigrate to Germany are critical in shaping their identifications and senses of belonging.

Table 2: Education and Profession of Women

	Field of Study	Degree	Profession (Turkey)	Profession (Germany)
Canan	Stage, Décor, and Costume Design	BA (Continuing MA)	Cabin Crew Assistant	Unemployed
Burcu	Art History; Philosophy	MA (Waived PhD)	Research Assistant	Turkish Language Teacher
Deniz	Business Administration	Prof.	Academic	Academic
Filiz	Political Science; Sociology	MS (Continuing PhD)	Human Resources	Human Resources (Part-Time & Remote)
Betül	Mechanical Engineering	MBA	Mechanical Engineer	Mechanical Engineering (Manager)
Melis	Industrial Design	BA	Art & Design Manager	Art & Design Manager[33]
Aylin	Radio, Television and Film	MA (Continuing PhD)	Freelance Film & Commercial Worker	PhD Scholar & Self-Employed Video Artist

It is crucial that interviewees who continue graduate studies claim to have hardships regarding child-rearing throughout a migration experience and struggling to finish their degree studies simultaneously. Burcu clearly mentions how her migration process started as pursuing higher education ended up with her waiving of her Ph.D. studies for good after getting married and having children. However, other factors such as the inability to adapt to the university environment also played a role. Filiz and Canan also explain the hardships regarding writing their theses and finishing their studies, while at the same time trying to orientate themselves within the migration experience, which they should also take care of their children's bearing and school issues. Evidently, the migration experience and education aspirations of women can get negatively impacted by those responsibilities. In a process whereby motivations regarding their education, career, and the well-being of their children converge deeply, the responsibilities they take for the household and the children may come to overshadow women's individual motivations in migration

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[33] At the time of the interview, Melis was still preparing for starting her business soon. She had the work-plan but not yet officialised it.

experience. In that sense, the process of migration ceases to fulfill its desired function for women's empowerment and attainment of freedom. It can only do partly so.

Structural conditions related to Turkey and Germany shape women's educational and professional aspirations and the sense of belonging in the long run. Burcu, for instance, claims that she did not come to Berlin to become an academic eventually. She also admits that she did not leave her space in Turkey willingly, but it happened so due to circumstances. She intended to take an unpaid leave from the university in Istanbul, in which she worked as a research assistant and come to Berlin for six months. The initial migration motive was to improve herself in the German language and gain a life-experience. However, she had to give up on her job as a research assistant in Turkey because the university did not let her take unpaid leave for six months. She also adds how hard the working conditions at the university were in Turkey. Even though she initially did not want to lose the job for good, she says they did not give her that chance. This follows with a realization that she "could not make a space of her own" because the university would intervene in everything, including the themes of students' theses. She implies that this made her feel uncomfortable and that she wanted "freedom" in her professional life.

In the end, she decided to come to Berlin and then started a Ph.D. there from the start. She still had to change the profession in Germany due to other adaptation problems she claimed to face in German academic life. She eventually became a part-time Turkish Language Teacher/Instructor, leaving aside her academic career. She adds that,

> I was a student without scholarship. I started teaching Turkish in order to make money. And that in fact stay with me. […] Right now, I teach at some place in the mornings, at another in the evenings. When I go home at night, I feel like I lived more than one day. (Burcu - Interview)

This study argues that the obligation to change career paths impacts women's perceptions of still being 'in-between' regarding identifications and attachments. In Burcu's case, this is even applicable after spending ten years abroad, since she still does not have a desirable professional condition for herself.

Deniz claims both she and her husband were quite successful in their careers in Turkey. She was a professor working at a university in Izmir, and her husband was a medical doctor. It is apparent how her ability to continue her career as an academic in Germany supports her easy attachment to Berlin. She indeed faces problems regarding language in

her profession since she must give lectures in German. When she emigrated, she had only two years ahead for obtaining her retirement in Turkey. Plus, she left her permanent job as a professor in Turkey and became a contract-based worker in Germany. Nevertheless, the broader motivations still seem to compensate for those problems and losses. This is significantly about the perception of migration predominantly as a 'life-experience' and professional 'challenge,' in her own words.

Another aspect of Deniz's account of professional motivations relates to the migration decision as a tool for improving her professional 'image' of herself. She states that she built all her professional life in Turkey. She explains how this caused her to say, "I wish I had left earlier," sometimes, even if not made her unhappy about it.

> Because I saw that the people who left were not actually doing great things abroad [professionally]. Yet I had some problems due to my own image of being 'just an academic in Turkey'. But I cannot blame anyone about those. Those were my own decisions. I could go to the US for doctoral studies, but I didn't. I said, what difference would it make? I thought that a PhD in Turkey and in the US would be the same. Unfortunately, I realized that they aren't. By saying it is unfortunate, I don't mean anything related to the quality of the work done; but when you come of [with a PhD from the US, for instance], the 'label' you get is quite different. And this impacts the further processes in your life. It is not the same thing to receive a diploma from an accredited university, with receiving a diploma from a lousy university in Turkey [*laughs*]. Anyways, I believe I got over those things [regarding my self-image]. I advanced in my career in Turkey to professorship. There was not much to achieve there anyway. (Deniz - Interview)

Betül also has the advantage of continuing her mechanical engineering profession in Germany. She even became a manager in this field, which she already had anticipated. Like Deniz, as their professional aspirations become realized through the migration journey, the results show how positively this impacts their attachments to Berlin and their unwillingness to return to Turkey.

> For most theater artists and stage design graduates, poverty is definitely an inevitable thing. (Canan – Interview)

After working in private theaters and commercial and film sets in Turkey, economically unsatisfactory and insecure job environments drove Canan to work in irrelevant jobs. The last of them was a job as a cabin crew assistant for five years. She claims how hard it was for her to work in a job that she was not qualified or educated for. Her inability to satisfy in professional terms started with the problems within Turkey's theater sector and how it was also affected by politics, which devalue art and artists. She gives some examples of

the politicization of theater and art sectors, which negatively affected her opportunities. She recalls the government's announcement to close down the Turkish State Theaters in 2011 and how this impacted her future opportunities, even if the closure did not take place. Meanwhile, she was working in a municipal theater and waiting for a personnel cadre to be opened. She claims, after the alleged news about closing down or privatizing theaters, all the cadres were also waived, and budgets were cut off. Her discontents continued with her obligation to work in an irrelevant field to make ends meet. She claims that similar problems exist in Germany's art sector, too, primarily through the weight of unpaid positions in the sector. This inability to find her professional path throughout the migration process explains why she is the most 'in-between' one among all the interviewees, to a substantial extent.

Aylin used to work in small and insecure jobs in the film and commercial industry. She claims she could not reach a level where she can earn good money because the sector was too problematic. Especially the early career workers were being paid a minimum wage or not being paid at all. She explains how the sector treated people like her as if they were doing a favor just to offer a job. The condition bothered Aylin because she is against employment without payment. She claims, all in all, she was trying to do a professional job. She realized it was not a job she would prefer to continue for a longer time because working in sets was too stressful. Working hours are unclear, and the conditions are too hard. People can neither receive payments on time nor receive official employee status. They mostly work illegally, and their insurance numbers are not taken either. She claims that she could not demonstrate any official employment records during her visa application process for coming to Germany even though she had worked in several jobs.

Problematic experiences in similar sectors drove Canan and Aylin into looking for other options in their lives. The most crucial difference between the two's experiences is that, as Canan could still not find her career path, Aylin could afford herself through Ph.D. scholarships and working as a freelance video artist in Germany. When the problematic perception of Canan regarding attachment and sense of belonging to Berlin is considered, it becomes apparent once again how a more desirable shift in professional life throughout the migration process enables women to more easily accommodate themselves in this experience. Another intersecting impact could also be due to their differing years spent abroad. Aylin has been living in Berlin since 2010, whereas Canan only since 2017. Throughout the study, it was observed that as years spent abroad increase for a sample like

this, problems regarding attachment and belonging seem to dissolve even if they do not entirely disappear.

Lastly, Melis was working in art and design management and artist recruitment in Istanbul. Even though she prepares to continue the same job in Germany, she still struggles with social and emotional attachments to her life in Turkey. Melis, an industrial design graduate, has been living in Germany only for two years at the time of the study. The time and energy she spent throughout the visa process to change it from family reunification visa to self-employed entrepreneur visa were discussed previously. She also took her daughter's adaptation as primary and dealt with a divorce at the same time. She could not yet focus on her professional options.

Women who were already satisfied with their jobs and economic conditions, at least to a minimum extent, tend to seek for things that go beyond these within their experience. This minimum 'satisfaction' does not necessarily relate to an objectively high salary or professional prestige, but rather to whether one could subjectively find what one seeks in professional terms or whether one can professionally do what one desires. The ones who emigrated with already existing problematics regarding their professional and economic conditions or who could not yet find their new professional paths tend to experience belonging in more problematic ways. The years spent abroad as well as the (in)abilities to perform their desired professions in Berlin also appear as intersecting axes that impact their attachments and senses of belonging further.

4.3. Understanding Migration as a Process: Reasons for Leaving and Staying

Before proceeding to the analysis of identifications, attachments, and senses of belonging through the interviews, it is necessary to briefly examine what kind of motives shape women's act of migration as a process. The first sub-chapter aims to cover those main personal motives. Beyond the personal narrations, the second sub-chapter aims to examine the impacts of the existing Turkish-German transnational social space and the respective help of the transfer of social capital within the migration process.

Various motives and explanations with respect to the reasoning for the act of migration come up within women's narratives. Among those, some aspects tend to become common. Before mentioning those, it is crucial to keep in mind that reasons for leaving Turkey and reasons for staying in Germany should be understood together as a process. Faist (2000)

explains the importance of that by claiming "potential migrants often rationalize their actions *ex post* rather than reason *ex ante* to take them" (p. 37). As the interviewees are asked what motivated them to migrate in the first place, their explanations would be mixed up with their later rationalizations. According to the act that is done, rationalization of the act comes later. Thus, how migrants narrate their reasons for migrating should also be understood together with reasons that keep them as migrants; staying there and not planning to return soon.

Before mentioning specific themes apparent in decision processes, it should be noted that the interviewees started the process heavily by saying "according to circumstances." This open-ended starting motivation is highly present among varying narratives. It must be kept in mind that this mindset of continuing the migration process "according to circumstances" implies an experiential approach to migration and reflects the migrants' relative privileges and abilities to take an open-ended road at the beginning.

For instance, Deniz claims how she migrated by herself with the idea of trying out whether she could manage the academic job she was offered and then make her family join her if the circumstances would allow. Starting with such mindset, her primary motivations to stay today compose of being able to speak German more fluently, making her job contract continue, and then proceeding towards getting German citizenship.

Melis mentions that her decision process was primarily moved by her now ex-husband and his aim of starting a business in Berlin. The rising popularity of Berlin was also influential in their reasonings. After living in Berlin for a month as a family to see 'if the circumstances would allow,' she decided to migrate primarily for her daughter. She also had previous professional contacts with Berlin and realized that she could also do an international job herself. She started to believe that her mostly local network in the design sector could be easier to be transferred to Berlin than she had previously thought. Even though she had to deal with a divorce during this process, she managed to settle in Berlin one year later. What started similarly as "according to circumstances" and primarily for her daughter's sake developed into reasoning to stay, mainly due to the following discontents in Turkish politics and social life. Among those, she primarily mentions the

insecure and unsafe atmosphere as well as the terror attacks following the coup attempt on 15 July 2016.[34]

Like previous accounts, Betül and her husband had the idea of staying only for three years mainly for professional concerns but ended up staying for six years and planning to continue. She also mentions that her father's opponency regarding them leaving also impacted their initial thought of returning after the first three years. She explains her father's opponency as being critical to them leaving, because he wanted them to be 'dutiful to their country and nation'. This did not stop them from leaving, but what is more remarkable that about one or two years after their emigration, her father and the other extended family members started to say, "Do not come back to Turkey. Nothing seems to get better here." Betül admits that this was quite impactful on their decision to stay in Berlin, even though they had started with the idea of "according to circumstances."

4.3.1. Emotional Impacts and the Aims of Self-Realization

There are more individual and emotional aspects of reasons to leave and reasons to stay. One of them is related to romantic partnerships and marriage. For instance, although they both had various reasons to leave Turkey, Canan and Burcu both explain their primary motivations to stay as emotional and related to marrying European citizens. Canan specifically mentions what she holds on to in Berlin: first, her husband and child, and second, her education and other small ideals in life. The fact that they stay because of their partners still leaves the other reasonings to stay as open, since other factors also make them, as partners, not consider living in Turkey together. Among those, there is primarily the lack of professional and economic opportunities, the socio-political environment in Turkey, and questions about raising children over there.

Aylin also explains that her main motive to come and stay was her partner, but still adds reasons beyond this. Among those is a rare illness that she was diagnosed with, which she claims to have changed her perspective regarding how she wants to pursue her future life. As she founded a strong support mechanism in Berlin with her partner, friends, and her doctor, the idea of staying started to become even more secure for her.

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[34] She specifically mentions the armed attack in the nightclub Reina on New Year's Eve in Istanbul on 1 January 2017. The perpetrator of the attack which killed 39 and injured 70 was ISIS.

Other personal and emotional reasonings mostly imply the search for individuality, a life-experience, and desires for self-fulfillment and/or self-realization. Migration decision appears in most cases as a performative tool necessary for the realization of self and betterment over women's courses of life. For instance, Deniz relates her reasons to leave into a "mid-life awakening" that hit her in her late 30s. She had realized how the belief she had about the necessity to live close to her parents came in vain. Then she started to contemplate on her life and how she wants to live it further. Deniz also adds how an irrelevant conversation with a woman from her neighborhood in her 90s had an altering effect on her personal questionings about her life:

> I was looking at this old lady as she was talking about things that she experienced in 1950s. We were in 2016 or 2017 then. Anyways. I realized it had been more than seventy years since the things she was talking about took place. She sits near me after all those years, telling me those stories. This made me think, what if I live as long as she has been? I mean, if I will live as long as this woman, I might have fifty more years ahead of me. Do I want to spend these fifty more years in the same way I do today? Or are there other possibilities, and do I want to utilize those possibilities? These thoughts created another paradigm shift for me [regarding my decision to emigrate]. (Deniz – Interview)

Overall, Deniz concludes to define her main motivation as a personal challenge and related to lifestyle concerns. She explains her approach to emigration as a possible second chapter of her life. This approach makes her believe that she can do many different things, go into different work fields, and experiment. She claims that she can take the risk because she believes that life is a story, she desires to render enjoyable. The more remarkable part of her experience in terms of reflecting desires for self-realization and improvement which is based on migration decision as a tool, is to be found in her efforts of mastering the German language in a very short period in order to attain the requirements of the academic job she wanted. Even before her recruitment processes were determined, she started to learn German with personal efforts and reached the level of B2 in approximately three months.

Deniz relates this personal awakening also to the country's economic condition, which was becoming out of balance. She realizes that this would mean much more years of working under demanding but professionally non-challenging conditions just to pay for children's education. This also meant the obligation to give up "small luxuries" that made her enjoy her own life, such as going on holidays. She explains that those small things, such as traveling, make her cling to life. She explains realizing that she won't be able to afford those travels or small holidays anymore and will have to give up on her financial and

lifestyle principles. She then claims that she thinks, in such a scenario: If she is 'able to' emigrate, why wouldn't she?

> I want new things to deal with, new things to tell. I don't want to be have done the same things [all my life]. The children were also important. But I also had personal expectancies about my life too. We could say it's fifty-fifty. […] But this is not about 'life standard.' I was making good money in Turkey; my husband was also earning a lot. We already had a very high life standard within our circle of friends. The financial principles we have were also included in this life standard. I never owed money to a bank because I don't have that kind of consumption habits. (Deniz – Interview)

The perception of migration experience as a life-experience is apparent in other accounts as well:

> [I wanted to see] how it is to live abroad, [...] and we always had this idea about going abroad. (Betül – Interview)

Filiz also explains her household's motivation as a desire to try how it would be to live abroad and to see if they can manage or not. Then she follows her reasoning with the want of having a different life-experience. She perceives emigrating, learning how to live abroad, and seeing different places as a distinct experience. The positive and enjoyable sides of this experience were charming to her. She claims that since she did not like her job, there was not much holding her in Turkey. When she had a child on top of that, she expresses how a kind of "hopelessness came down like a nightmare." It is possible to witness again the appearance of emigration as a tool for self-fulfillment and a life-experience.

Evidently, it is also possible to trace the intersecting of women's personal motivations with the motivations related to their children's upbringing on both Deniz's and Filiz's account. Both kinds of motivations converge with women's personal questionings in their late 30s or early 40s regarding how they want to spend the rest of their lives, too.

> We are speaking of a quite absurd education system, that is to say. There is a loop and I thought maybe I could spin that around. Let's say I gave my son to kindergarten [in Turkey], he will come off after high school or university. Meanwhile, I have to be able to pay all that money through all those years. This means that I must work and live in the same pace and I wouldn't have any other choice. That's the personal part of my motive. (Filiz – Interview)

Filiz thus concludes her main motivations as first, the unfavorable conditions regarding Turkey; second, hostile conditions regarding work-life; and third, the idea that migration

would be a good experience. She also claims that her age and the impact of becoming a mother were impactful, alongside the nonexistence of work-life balance for her and especially for her husband.

4.3.2. Socio-Cultural Impacts and the Effect of Political Agenda

There are social, political, and cultural aspects concerning reasons to leave and reasons to stay. When the motives regarding Turkey's context were asked, the direct answer from Canan was "completely politics." Betül, although claiming her main motive as professional, adds that the problematic relationship between the Turkish aviation industry and Turkish politics was also a worrying factor for her. Melis explains the political part of her migration decision more in terms of security concerns arising, especially after the 15 July 2016 coup attempt and several terror attacks in Istanbul and other parts of Turkey. Deniz explains her discontent regarding her living environment and about the social life in Turkey. She claims that even though they were relatively living in 'a glass house' in Izmir, there was a general condition of unhappiness in the air inflicted by the "Middle Eastern-ness," which pervaded everything around. She continues by saying that this means people are generally unhappy in Turkey, and there are economic, political, and social reasons to that.

Filiz explains her motives regarding her desire to experience a life abroad, try new things, and providing her son a multicultural environment. She further references social, cultural, and political issues to explain why it is hard to see a future in Turkey. She also expresses a need to 'break the chains' from the always existent social support circles in Turkey. Her arguments carry a sense of searching for individuality and the belief in the hardships regarding the ability to attain this in a socio-cultural environment such as Turkey. She further claims hopelessness regarding the future of both health and education systems. She explains how, through such causes and both experienced and expected effects, she came to conclude that they do not have a future in Turkey:

> [It followed with] the Gezi Park events on the year that my son was born. I was already hopeless about the state of things. I was seeing that, whatever happens next, the country will not go into a very good direction; and not much will change in the next ten years. I was telling myself that this is a simple equation, and it is apparent that there is need for much more time for things to get better. But this 'time' was corresponding to my 'life'. (Filiz – Interview)

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Such reasons to leave in the first place converge later in the migration process greatly with reasons to stay, as women observe the social, political, and cultural developments in Turkey from abroad. Those reasons are mostly related to the same themes, such as the adverse developments in the socio-political as well as the cultural environment, and the related concerns about everyday social life in Turkey. 'Comparisons' between Turkey and Germany which determine the decisions to stay can be observed heavily around these issues. Most of those comparisons refer to social welfare mechanisms, search for tranquility as well as political agenda.

For instance, Betül mentions how daily news from Turkey increasingly asserts 'violence' in public life. She admits to being afraid of experiencing these if she returns to Turkey. She adds that this is also related to her desire to feel safe while on the streets. Even though similar things happen anywhere in the world, she highlights the fact that how those kinds of violence are loud in Turkey for a while. She still acknowledges that the increase in violence and the violent encounters in public reflects a vicious circle. According to her, as people's purchasing power decreases and they feel discontent regarding politics, this impacts their social lives and ends up with this vicious circle of violence. She thinks that maybe when those economic and political problems are solved, people will be at peace. However, she still concludes by claiming that she is not considering returning to Turkey even if those problems are to be solved because she enjoys her life in Berlin and likes to live there.

Filiz even mentions that each time they begin to have second thoughts about their migration decision with her husband, 'checking the news from Turkey' erases their second thoughts about returning. Betül also claims when she and her husband run into some videos of daily violence or harassment on social media, they end up thinking, "How can we live among those people anymore?" Similarly, although Burcu claims that she did not plan to "stay for too long" initially, she admits that the acceleration of political unrest in Turkey, especially after she had her children in 2013, greatly impacted her decision to stay.

Lastly, Deniz and Filiz refer to the social welfare mechanisms and democratic deficiencies in Turkey while elaborating on their reasons to leave and stay. Filiz defines Germany as a functioning social state as crucial on her motivations and Deniz takes the state's accountability as important. It is apparent how they re-negotiate their migration motivations afterward through comparisons:

There is a thing about how your taxes are not spent on nonsense things [In Germany]. There is a thing about the possibility of being accounted for. There are media channels which would chase these issues and there is a democratic system which functions. They have this functioning structure and the people are at least relatively happy. Europe has many problems indeed and Germany also do. But I can make a comparison at least, through those points, and that comparison tells me that it is better in here [Germany]. (Deniz – Interview)

4.3.3. Raising Children in Turkey?

Motivations regarding children's future and the education system in Turkey intersect both with economic and personal concerns. Women who were considering migrating with their children all display the same calculation: Would a desirable and quality education environment in Turkey compensate for the money to be spent and the extra energy to be spared from their own lives?

Table 3: Age and Sex of Children

	Age and Sex of Children (2019)	Age of Children at Time of Migrating
Canan	8 months old (F)	N/A
Burcu	4 (Triplets: M, M, F)	N/A
Deniz	8 (M); 10 (F)	7; 9
Filiz	6 (M)	4
Betül	3,5 (M)	N/A
Melis	14 (F)	12
Aylin	1,5 (F)	N/A

Filiz specifically defines education as one of the primary motives in her migration decision. She explains that the cost of sending their son to a quality school with which they would be satisfied would equal to minimum of 60.000 Turkish Lira per year. She admits that the fees of few schools that she liked were starting from around 85.000 Turkish Lira per year. She adds that the money spent only for kindergarten even amounts to 2.500 – 3.000 Turkish Lira per month. This would reflect a vicious circle of maintaining the same life with the same working conditions for at least fifteen more years.

Social and political concerns over Turkish education system and school environment complement the other important part of migration motivations related to children. Deniz highlights her concern on these social aspects and problems while discussing children's education as one of the emigration motives. She states explicitly that, as parents, they have been principally against sending their children to private schools. However, as children grow up and get closer to starting secondary-school, Deniz claims that they would have to send the children to private schools because the social aspect regarding education in state schools starts to become problematic, especially after primary school. She adds,

> Children will had entered puberty. Around that time, there would be possibilities for them to experience different problems in a state school. So you start to convert into considering private school. Then I check the fees of private schools and I realize that, I will have to spare every bit of the money I will earn from that day on, for paying fees for children's education. This will have to continue like this through all their education life. I will receive nothing in return. [...] Then I said to myself, even if it is only for a year, If I go abroad and take children with me and they go to a state school in that country; they will at least learn a foreign language much better than they would be able to learn here [in Turkey]. (Deniz – Interview)

Filiz gives even a more vivid account of her reasonings, which are related to raising a child. She claims that it is remarkable to experience another culture and live abroad, but she says that other motivations become more determinant after having a child. She adds that the concerns about the country increase after having a child:

> You start to think, especially after the 15 July [coup attempt], what will happen to me now? Everything's gone so much worse in just one year. The curriculum at schools tells stories about those [political] events to your kid for at least two months, when you cannot even explain it yourself. They ask for a writing composition or a painting about 15 July. What will happen? [Teachers] will tell different things, when you will tell something else [as parents]. This will develop into a domestic conflict. You will have to tell the stories straight and from your own perspective, without letting the kid question what teachers say. The reactions of the society are also very different. You try to do your best to explain those [social and political] things to a four-year old. Every time you think you managed to explain, someone else comes and tells another thing; and the kid starts to question everything all over again. This has a negative impact on your relationship with your child. That's why it's a condition that is hard to manage. Frankly, I couldn't dare to enter into this conflict regarding education. […] This is actually a syndrome of being stuck. (Filiz – Interview)

After emigration, the motives regarding the child forms the critical part on her decision to stay abroad as well – probably for a longer time than if she had had no kids at all. She claims to experience the same kind of conflicts with her son's babysitter as well.

Eventually, these all imply the hardship of raising a child in Turkey with being able to prevent undesired socio-cultural and political influence on the child. If she was not a parent, Filiz claims that she would only focus on personal experience in emigration. Since she has a child, migration motivation also converges with the motivation to stay further; her son's adaptation and education processes become primary. She claims that Germany is a comfortable place to raise children.

Another aspect related to children comprises concerns about their well-being, safety, and security. Melis defines her main motive as related to her daughter as well, even though her daughter was not willing to in the first place. She was around twelve years old when they emigrated, and due to her age, they faced different problems regarding adaptation. The only initial motive of her daughter was related to her unwillingness to take the transition exam from primary to secondary education in Turkey. Her daughter did not want to take the transition exam and was very stressed about it, as every student and parent in Turkey more or less are. Melis claims that preventing the exam stress for her daughter was a determining factor, even though she was generally satisfied with the private school in Istanbul that her daughter was going.

> I told her that I don't care about the exam but still, she was coming to me and saying, what if I score, let's say, 300 instead of 500? She was feeling embarrassed also due to her friends because everyone was doing tests [to prepare for the transition exam] all the time. She feels compelled to fit into the system as a child. I ended up saying that [if she was to take that exam], we won't tell nobody the score she gets; or we will tell that she got 450 points or something [*laughs*]. (Melis – Interview)

The complex education system and the pressure this puts on children and teenagers in Turkey is a widely acknowledged phenomenon. Aylin also raises concerns over realizing how increasing numbers of young people, including some of her cousins, become obliged to use psychological medicine to overcome anxiety. She claims concerns over putting a child into such a system. Furthermore, Melis also adds the concern of security within her motives related to her daughter. She claims it was even more effective than education concerns to ensure that she provides the minimum safety conditions that she can for her daughter and feel conscientiously content at least. Further, Melis defines raising a child in Turkey as coming with a feeling of 'uneasiness,' which plays a primary part in her decision to stay abroad. She also adds that her acquaintances who stayed in Turkey also try to

protect their children from this sociocultural uneasiness caused by everyday life, social encounters as well as politics in Turkey.

Consequently, 'having a child' can represent a 'breaking point' in the migration decision process for many. The vital part of this aspect is that it is not merely shaped by the individual and/or subjective perceptions. It depends heavily upon structural conditions, opportunities, and comparisons concerning Turkey and Germany. This appears valid even for those who reflect less attachment and belonging to Berlin and/or Germany. Canan represents an example of this when compared to other interviewees. Even in her case, the factor of having children define her decision on staying abroad:

> I have an extra human-being in my life that I have to take care of. Her schooling, her life, her identity, her culture, her language, her psychology... This means, having a child can channel the idea of return into a different way. It is definitely a huge factor. I was talking to a friend and she told me the same thing: I am sick of this place, but I can't leave because there is the child's kindergarten, she is learning German and got used to Germany. [It would not be right to] drift her away and put somewhere else. (Canan – Interview)

4.3.4. Migration as a Tool for Professional and Educational Improvement

Finally, professional and educationally driven motives also shape women's decision to leave and to stay. For some, those are even more determinant among other reasons. All women gave references to how they were unsatisfied with their working conditions in Turkey. Migration appears as a tool for professional self-realization or self-improvement in that sense as well.

Filiz, a human resource professional, tells how wearisome it was to have overtime work all the time. She claims the work culture in Turkey does not respect one's time off. This is something that one can manage better when they are young; but as one gets older and becomes a parent, it becomes hard to maintain. Aylin also mentions realizing that the working conditions in Turkey's film sector would become unbearable for her as she was going to get older. Filiz further says, one's questionings in this regard increase as time goes by and one realizes that they want to live a different life.

> The first time I started to consider emigration was around 2011 and 2012. I was unhappy with my job. I never wanted to be a HR professional, but this identity had stuck on me. That's why I was tending to give up easily and to try new things. […] There was also the thought of 'all work and no play make jack a dull boy'. You do overtime for hours; you can't leave work. When you leave, there's traffic of

> Istanbul. I would've also preferred settling in Izmir or Ayvalık […] but both me and my husband had to work in big companies. Only appropriate place for that was Istanbul. That's why, getting sick of Istanbul was an important aspect [in our emigration decision]. (Filiz – Interview)

Betül also references being unsatisfied in professional terms, having to do too much overtime, and not being able to maintain a social life in Istanbul. As the one interviewee who gets the most of her individual motivation from professional reasons, Betül makes comparisons between Turkey and Germany when what makes her stay abroad is asked. She mentions discontents regarding work-life in Turkey caused especially by the relationship between politics and her job sector, the aviation industry. When the concerns regarding meritocracy are also added, she explains how she concluded that it is better to do simple engineering in Germany than to cope with those pressures to do careerism in Turkey. She claims to be uncomfortable with top-down policies in the company, which creates pressure and insecurity on her as an employee.

Burcu and Canan explain their primary motivations for migrating were related to education opportunities. They both came to improve their German while also aiming to look for further opportunities. Burcu started doctoral studies, which she could not finish, and Canan started master's studies. Their academic interests were quite impactful on their decisions to choose Germany. Burcu was working in Turkish academia, and she was interested in German philosophy and art, while Canan was interested in German aesthetics in theatre. Both of their professors in Turkey motivated them into those fields and in their decisions to migrate to Germany for those ends. Migrating to Germany thus seemed like an 'ideal' way through realizing their educational and professional aspirations. They both reflect experiences through which their initial 'ideals' are not realized within the migration experience. Thus, their motivations to stay change in time, even though they came initially for educational and professional motives.

Even if some women, like Canan and Burcu, have not precisely fulfilled the educational and professional aspirations that they expected from Germany yet, their expectations from Turkey in this regard seem even wholly lost. This appears as a critical factor in their professional as well as economic motives regarding staying in Germany. Canan and Burcu reflect good examples of this situation in their narratives.

Canan claims, despite everything, she is not considering returning to Turkey because she believes she will live in poverty if she returns there. She mentions the lack of appropriate

vacancies or cadres in the theatre sector. Private theatres do not pay well either. She also claims it is hard to work contract-based too. On the other hand, she believes there are not many work opportunities for her in Berlin either. Her re-negotiation of the migration decision eventually reflects itself as a self-improvement tool when she has the chance. She believes that she has to try at least to improve herself and save up so that she can feel more secure about maybe returning to Turkey.

Apart from hardships regarding opportunities, Burcu mentions the impact of the condition of Turkish academia. Her case reflects a clear example of the transformations of motivations about the negative socio-political developments in Turkey:

> Purges in the academia started to took place through delegated legislations. The I realized, there is nothing left of 'the university' there [in Turkey]. If I will want to return, where will I return? I was also thinking about that. Where will I return if I do? I have to work after all. I don't have a chance in the university anymore. Universities in Turkey are already done. My friends' jobs at the university were taken away from them without reason. During that period, because of my emotional attachment, I started to believe that it is all over. I don't have a chance in Turkey anymore. Let alone a change, I guess I didn't have the desire to return anymore. (Burcu – Interview)

4.3.5. Turkish-German Transnational Social Space and the Transferability of Social Capital

Social relations, ties, and various networks that women have been involved in in the broader context help shape their experiences and attachments. Migrants' social capital and its impacts on mobility as well as attachments were theoretically discussed while starting the second chapter. Social capital comprises social connections, and under certain conditions, it is convertible into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 242). Resources related to networks and relationships employ potentials for further recognition and entitlement. According to Bourdieu (1986), "these relationships may exist only in the practical state, in material and/or symbolic exchanges which help to maintain them" (p. 247). The question related to this study is that "under which conditions local assets are transferable and under which they are not, and thus contribute to immobility, domestic, or international migration" (Faist, 2000, p. 15).

The impacts of social capital and the abilities to transfer local assets could be analyzed through various examples. To start with, it is crucial to discuss the hardships regarding leaving comfort zones and transferring social capital transnationally. These refer to the impacts of social capital, limiting mobility or making building new attachments difficult at the start, but function as tools for re-negotiating belongings afterward, as discussed under the literature review (Faist, 2000, p. 14).

Among interviewees, Melis was the one who gave the most references about hardships of leaving one's comfort zone. She expresses a strong local attachment to her neighborhood in Istanbul's Kadıköy district and claims difficulties regarding leaving her built social environment behind. This resembles the 'familiarity' aspect discussed throughout the conceptual notion of place-belongingness. She claims she was not stepping out of her own neighborhood that much. She knew where to go shopping, where to go to get her hair done. After reaching an age, leaving this sense of familiarity was making her uncomfortable. She admits that even if one has unlimited money, it is still challenging to build the same life again [in Berlin]. Yet she explains the rather easiness of Berlin in that sense because one can find a relatively familiar cultural space in a place like Berlin. This owes indeed to the existing Turkish transnational space and ties there. Overall, a concern regarding leaving the familiarity, in the beginning, develops into a rather easiness in re-building a familiar socio-cultural space again. The same space also makes her realize that she can perform an international job in Berlin by using her professional networks from Turkey. Through time, she starts to see new ways to transnationalize her social capital, which would help build her new life and profession abroad:

> I really don't have worries about culture, or food, for example. Because you don't have to worry about those things in Berlin. [...] I do here what I was doing in [Istanbul]. A lot of my friends moved to Berlin. [...] Even my mother can get along here without knowing the language, when she comes to visit us. There's not much a feeling of 'moving into Europe' in here. This means you can easily adapt. (Melis – Interview)

Filiz also mentions realizing that the transfer of social capital helps re-building the same life in the new place, in parallel with the practical requirements. She claims to experience this in the process of adaptation, especially with respect to her son's needs and her daily life issues. Eventually, she realizes that one transfers as much as they can and finds a new balance in a new life. One of her examples in this regard is related to having already existing social ties, acquaintances, or relatives in Berlin. She claims that some of her

husband's older relatives were living in Berlin. The existence of them helped in their adaptation, according to her. When migrants have such social ties, the transition period becomes much smoother; in finding a flat, a school, or getting help in bureaucratic issues. Filiz explains how things have been easier because, for instance, they had the chance to make a residence registration in their relatives' house. This helps a lot because almost none of the bureaucratic issues can be handled before making a residence registration in Berlin. Filiz admits how these advantages related to social ties helped them, compared to many other people they witnessed having problems due to not having social ties. Another impact of social ties is exemplified by Aylin as well. She claims that since her boyfriend was German, she was coming into a ready social circle. Knowing this also helps accelerate the adaptation process and transform social ties that reflect re-building a comfort zone.

Some accounts relate to the advantages of the already existing Turkish population in Germany. For instance, Filiz recalls that the existing Turkish-German transnational space – which has been constructed since labor migrations – can help new wave migrants' adaptations. Newcomers benefit from the perks of this long-existing transnational space, mostly due to the ability to find people and services in their shared native language. They can find health, legal or other services in Turkish language, easily reach Turkish products or find Turkish-speaking people when they need any help, and so on. Even though interviewees also mention some conflicts with this existing population at times, they acknowledge benefitting from this existence, especially in daily and practical matters.

Beyond social ties, there are also other assets that primarily highly skilled migrants can utilize. One of those is re-location support provided for professionals. Filiz mentions it would be a much harder process without this financial support. This aspect owes to the social capital of migrants related to their professional entitlements, which can be transferred into economic capital as well.

Another aspect relates to the increasing emigration trend in people's social circles and networks. This also reflects the impact of discourses on increasing emigration. As people around one's social circles also start to emigrate, the decision of emigration or continuing it can become more normalized in migrants' perceptions. This also helps in the further acceleration of adaptation and comfort. For instance, Betül claims that throughout their migration process, they run into increasingly more amount of people from their previous company in Turkey, who also emigrated to Berlin. Realizing that people from one's

familiar social circles also experience the same things helps build new solidarities and relationships abroad. This, in turn, strengthens new local attachments as well. Betül adds that they have become a big group of friends in time.

This situation functions in a way to a reducing of attachments to Turkey in the long run as well. Betül claims they were visiting Turkey to see friends and family more in the beginning. As they build new social ties in Berlin and as friends in Turkey also start to emigrate abroad, they do not feel the obligation to visit Turkey on every holiday. Similarly, Filiz also tells how, especially her husband's social ties from the IT sector in Turkey, started emigrating in huge numbers. She reflects on this situation mainly in two ways. Firstly, learning from one's social ties' emigration experiences gets one ready for one's own emigration journey. One knows what to expect more or less and can exchange ideas on experiences. Secondly, it also functions as normalizing the emigration decision's further process because lots of people from one's social ties also decide to emigrate later. Filiz claims that knowing that there are many other experiences helps her household feel less anxious about the migration process. In time, they become the ones to encourage others to do the same and build a new social network of exchanging ideas and experiences on emigration. She gives many examples of the friends she started to help later find jobs or schools for kids in Berlin. Utilization of social capital and ties in that sense helps fasten adaptation and improve social solidarity under a migrant identity.

Filiz's accounts on this common migrant identity becoming on the forefront carry further importance. She clarifies how big of a social group of friends they have become in Berlin through time. All of them emigrated from Turkey with similar motivations and have children of similar ages. Finding people similar to oneself functions as a crucial tool to re-negotiate belongings in the new place. She claims they experience similar problems; thus, they can socialize much more quickly and create a social support mechanism under the dominant identity of 'migranthood':

> You can turn the situation into an advantage [with the help of those emergent social ties]. [...] You leave everything behind when you emigrate. You leave all your social and cultural capital and try to build something new from the bits and pieces. This is not easy. But the condition of being immigrants implies 'solidarity'. [...] We have the same problems regarding our daily lives. Those problems related to daily lives bring us together. As long as we have those problems, they will make us identify with 'migranthood' before anything else. (Filiz – Interview)

Aylin also references the previously discussed patterns in how her social ties in Turkey started to scatter around the world. Even though she admits it is hard to leave close friends to build a new life abroad, she acknowledges that as the trend of emigration increases among one's social ties, it becomes easier to continue with the decision of emigration for one's own. Similarly, Melis says that so many of her friends from Turkey live in Berlin now. For this reason, she does not feel loneliness or homesickness. As discussed before, the only negative side of the emigration process for her is still heavily about the 'familiarity' issue related to place-belongingness. Melis's situation overall resembles Ehrkamp's (2005) finding on how transnational ties and practices are essential for "immigrants to transform their current places of residence by 'placing' their identities, that is, by inserting their belonging into neighborhoods in Germany and creating local ties" (p. 346). It could also be argued that even though the transfer of migrants' social ties increases in time, there is still a further necessity for re-negotiating place-belongingness. When the search for familiarity and comfort converge both on social ties and the places, attachments and senses of belonging improve more.

Finally, the impact of emerging social ties in Berlin is also crucial. Those new ties feed heavily from the transnational social space in the first place. This, in turn, reflects alternative ways for re-negotiating belonging. For example, Burcu claims that she was not involved in any social or political organizations in Turkey. However, the migration experience gives birth to a need for re-negotiating attachments to the homeland for many. She explains how this brought about a new social consciousness to her, converging with her migrant identity. She claims that she joined migrant initiatives such as Puduhepa and Off-University[35] in Berlin only afterward. Through those initiatives, she started to gain lots of friends who also emigrated from Turkey, have similar problems about the country, and are engaged in social and political solidarity in the diaspora. Burcu admits that she is not sure whether she would join such groups if she were in Turkey. It becomes evident that the need to re-negotiate attachments to the homeland can enable migrants to gain emergent

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[35] Off-University is a research collaboration group comprising of persecuted and/or exiled academics the majority of whom had to emigrate from Turkey to Germany. They offer online lectures and seminars with an understanding of university without borders. Off-University was officially founded as a non-profit association in May 2017 in Germany. See https://off-university.com/

social ties and networks in the destination country as well. This, in turn, help accelerate new senses of belonging transnationally.

Filiz also gives references to the positive sides of having Turkey-related social organizations and foundations in Berlin. She exemplifies the Academics for Peace initiative and Off-University, which provide open access to seminars and events related to discussing Turkey's issues. She expresses it as a good feeling that the 'wounds' of the people related to problems in Turkey can be discussed in those social circles. There is also a reflection on the belief that transnational engagement with Turkey's problems can create a sphere of influence towards contributing to social change to some amount. This also owes to women's claims on how they can approach the sociopolitical problems of Turkey in a more cold-blooded manner when they are abroad.

Digital platforms of Turkish migrants' help accelerate solidarity and familiarity as well. Those platforms not only create new social ties but also provide migrants with common spaces of exchange. Almost all interviewees refer to Facebook groups for Turkish migrants and/or mothers, for instance. They claim that the information circulating in those platforms help smoothen the adaptation periods much because it is hard to discover everything related to the migration process on one's own. Women especially highlight the advantages of getting help to find schools for their children. Digital platforms also form the basis for migrant mothers to organize collective activities to help in both their and their children's socialization. There are also references from women, which imply the importance of the ability to find other mothers through digital platforms who are also emigrants with similar educational backgrounds. This demonstrates a good example of how migrants try to utilize their social capital through digital platforms in order to create new social ties, which would further improve their re-negotiations of belonging.

4.4. Identifications and Social/Emotional Attachments

This chapter focuses on the interviewees' Identity narratives as well as their identifications and attachments to the Turkish society and nation. Intersecting of the narratives with gender, family, and children aspects also hold a crucial part. The limits of familiarity in place-belongingness is discussed through social and emotional attachments. The importance given to notions such as roots, culture, language, and how they impact identifications and attachments is examined. The analysis thus evolves into elaborating on

how 'ruptures' in social/emotional attachments operate and through which practical ways women 'elect to' belong.

To start with, some personal identifications of women are shaped in respect to the previous Turkish migrants in Germany, whereas some are to the "new wave" groups. This owes to their differing years of emigration as well. Burcu, the one who spent the most years abroad, represents an in-betweenness in that sense. Even though she does not feel like a newcomer, she cannot identify with the descendants of the previous migrants either. As a Turkish language teacher, many of her students belong to this group of Turkish-descended youth born and raised in Germany. She expresses her inability to sense their state of mind due to having distinct experiences. She emigrated before the intensification of the "new wave" discourse. However, her experiences and relationships (with newcomer organizations such as Off-University and Puduhepa) direct her to identify with the "new wave," but in an in-between manner. Further to that, Filiz claims that having similar 'resentments' about Turkey's condition also makes the "new wave" identify with each other, as they look at Turkey from the same critical perspective.

Other accounts demonstrate how similar experiences direct migrants to identify with specific groups. Filiz claims felt belonged to the "new wave" because they emigrated in similar times, many has children and have similar problems about their children and their new life in Germany. She further defines the identification with 'migranthood' having various faces. How one will experience it, will depend on the years spent, the proficiency in the language, and the culture of locality. It also depends on whether one was educated there or not. Filiz believes that a person educated in Germany would not have the same identifications or experiences as another person who only emigrated to work in Germany. This exemplifies another instance whereby differing experiences and practices condition the identifications of migrants.

Identifications of interviewees also relate heavily to their lifestyles. Lifestyles constitute an integral part in building attachments to Berlin. Deniz claims that her personal lifestyle is quite inclined to Berlin and Germany already. She gives daily examples such as being punctual or having environmental concerns like recycling. Those were things that she already cared about and were part of her lifestyle before. Emigrating to a place where such daily issues constitute established parts of the local lifestyle enables a straightforward adaptation.

4.4.1. Place-Belonging: In-Betweenness, Familiarity, and Roots

For examining identifications and social/emotional attachments, it is crucial to elaborate on 'in-betweenness' further. Several accounts of interviewees reflect on the flexibility of the notion of 'home' and the impossibility of being fixed to a specific 'place' in terms of identification. Canan gives a vital example by giving reference to what her professor in Turkey once told her:

> Du bist das Zuhause.[36] You can neither exist in Germany nor the US. Then 'you' are the home. That's how I started to think for myself. The countries, the cities, the houses you go are always temporal. Zwischenraum.[37] It is always 'a space between' something. That's why, [my professor] said, you should have confidence in yourself and try to exist wherever you are. […] I guess this is about being in-between. Right now, I can neither go there [Turkey] nor stay here [Germany]. [Something always lacks in both places]. (Canan – Interview)

She further identifies her state with 'nostalgia' but realizes that what signifies the past that she misses does not exist as the same in Turkey anymore. What remains is only the relationships and social ties, which still stay inefficient to maintain a strong place-belongingness. She believes there should be an important social change in Turkey for this nostalgia to correspond to something real.

Filiz also relates the previously discussed dominant identity of 'migranthood' with a feeling of being in-between. She defines this state as the common ground for identifying oneself with other migrants with similar experiences. This common ground represents a transformation in primary attachments as well. For example, she states that, in time, she ceases to discuss her current problems with her social ties in Turkey but instead verges into her emergent social ties in Berlin, who are increasingly more like her due to similar experiences of being a migrant. This, in turn, defines her state of being in-between but also represents a transformation in attachments.

Understanding transformations of place-belongingness in this fluid context requires further references to notions of 'home' and 'familiarity.' Place-belongingness was previously

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[36] 'You are the home', in German.

[37] 'Interspace', in German.

conceptualized as "belonging as a personal, intimate feeling of being 'at home' in a place (Antonsich, 2010, p. 645).

Interviewees identify home-making as a difficult process but heavily relate it to the notion of familiarity. For instance, Burcu claims that it is a comforting feeling to know that one is in a familiar place that she knows. This also includes the people one knows and loves. Aylin exemplifies the same feeling of familiarity in relation to daily life, having social ties and the familiarity in terms of knowing your surroundings in the place you live. Betül defines this primarily as an emotional thing, which is based on her personal and familial relationships. If she is with her family, this is enough for her to call it home. Melis instead refers to the notion of the comfort zone. Those similar but also differing notions play central parts in how interviewees make sense of their belonging to a place.

In terms of transformation in that sense, Burcu represents a good example. This is also due to the years she spent abroad, more than other interviewees. Her experience of ten years demonstrates a gradual transformation of attaining familiarity through language, time, and the impact of building a family – though not reflecting a complete fulfilment of familiarity. She claims that in earlier times, when she was talking to her children about visiting Turkey, she used to say, "I am going home." Through time, she realized that she ceased to use this sentence about visiting Turkey. She thus concludes that 'home' is not certain for her and claims not being sure if it must be. She claims Germany is not her home; and adds with a smile; Turkey is not either.

Aylin claims to have an organic transformation period in terms of getting more attached to Berlin. This happened through establishing new social ties and a new daily life within the place. She highlights the importance of familiarity in getting used to one's surroundings and knowing what to do and where. She adds that she does not want to go to any other place right now, has been living in Berlin for a time, and feels like home there. She still approaches flexible in terms of going somewhere else and call it home in the future. However, she specifically claims not perceiving Turkey as a potential place of return in that sense.

Melis also references the importance of knowing one's surroundings and comfort in being familiar with one's lived space. As this notion carries primary weight in her identifications, it explains why she could not re-negotiate attachments to the new place yet. Being in Berlin

only for two years, this aspect accounts for the differences she expresses compared to other interviewees who also value the same notion of familiarity but have stronger attachments to Berlin. Furthermore, the transformations of attachment also intersect with whether migrants could attain their desired professional and/or economic aspirations within migration experience. Melis's journey has not yet developed into this kind of attainment. This represents the other aspect of difference in her relatively lower attachments to Berlin than other interviewees who also spent relatively fewer years in Berlin but project stronger attachments.

The most important observation to be made in Melis's case is that she is still kind of in a refusal to establish her own life in Berlin, even though she has a professional work plan as well as opportunities because she misses the comfort zone of her lived space in Istanbul. This represents a good example of how social/emotional attachments can also function to prevent re-negotiating belonging within the migration experience. However, those do not function without the impacts of practical and structural conditions either. For instance, along with still waiting to focus on her professional opportunities, the impact of keeping her flat in Istanbul was also previously discussed as a factor of not being able to let go of one's old life.

Understanding place-belongingness further necessitates examining how interviewees identify or not through notions such as roots, culture, or language. Interviewees reflect more on the fact of establishing new roots as more time passes within migration experience. There is also a heavy tendency of constructing identifications based on notions other than 'fixed places.' Emotional attachments, daily practices, and common motives tend to dictate the re-negotiation of belongings; rather than the taken-for-granted importance of 'origin' or 'roots.'

Betül exemplifies these by claiming how, in time, she and her husband ceased to feel the necessity to visit Turkey. This came with the realization that they started to get rooted in Berlin. They also realize it when they have to make choices regarding, for example, going to a tent camping in Europe with their friends from Berlin or visiting Turkey to see family and friends there. She admits that the experience slowly transforms into the tendency to prefer the former. Further, she also adds the importance of having a child in Berlin, which she explains that transforms the 'roots' for the household.

Aylin claims that she is against identifications based on place. She refers to the times when she was working on a video project regarding the theme of Heimat[38] and how she questioned themes such as place and the identifications bounded to it. She explains discovering that this idea of identification through place is in fact related to 'villageism' and romanticisms related to it. She thus finds it an old-fashioned idea to be romantically attached to a place and believes it is not organic. Burcu gives different meanings to 'roots' at different points during the interview. However, she also admits discovering that 'place' and the attachments related to it start to become meaningless in time. She defines relationships as more important. For example, she claims that as she started to see people that she knew from Turkey emigrating to Berlin, she felt like those 'relationships' also came to Berlin's locality. This makes her feel like the place's importance ceases to matter if many of her social ties and relationships are not located in Turkey anymore. In this way, she claims emotional attachments as the primary sources for re-negotiating belongings. On the other hand, Deniz approaches the notion of 'roots' as related to language. As highlighted in relation to shared language, the notion of roots or where one comes from appears to make one's life easier in terms of practical conditions.

The aspect of language then comes up within the discussion of place-belongingness. This aspect is found to be quite strong among the interviewees' search for constructing attachments and senses of belonging. Even the interviewees who reflect the strongest attachments to Berlin respectively, define the problems or lacks regarding the comfort that comes from one's native language as the leading cause of inefficiencies related to belonging. Filiz claims, for instance, she belongs to Berlin to the extent that how much she can belong to a place which she cannot speak the language of. However, she feels that she belongs to the new wave Turkish community in Berlin. Berlin thus still functions as a place that can at least relatively fulfil the search for familiarity in terms of language. Though the lack in terms of feeling considered to belong to the larger society persists. Thus, language reflects a critical arena in the politics of belonging related to duties and/or requirements to be considered belonging to the collectivity (Yuval-Davis, 2006a, p. 209).

Burcu's realization regarding how her sense of belonging to Berlin transformed had also taken place through the impact of language. She could not speak German when she first

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[38] Heimat means home, homeland, or native country in German.

emigrated. She explains the feeling of lack and sometimes exclusion due to not having sufficient German proficiency, especially for the first three years of her experience. She even relates those problems as to why she could not manage to adapt to her Ph.D. studies. What she experienced was indeed a lack of feeling that she could be considered to belong due to her lack of proficiency in the language. She continues explaining how she realized a transformation took place in that sense. After a few years, she increased her command of German. One day, she and her family were returning to Germany from a vacation in Turkey. They were returning in their car. She talks about sitting in the car and gazing at countless road signs written in different languages which she does not understand. She describes having a feeling that "We do not belong here; we do not belong here either" each time she saw signs in foreign languages. Then, at the point they entered Germany, she could see the road signs in German. She claims to have a comforting feeling that she is in someplace familiar now. In short, with the familiarity she gained through getting a better command of the language through time, she realized a transformation in her sense of belonging, even if it does not mean a full sense of belonging according to her perception. She explains at least realizing that "This became my home now, I guess." Burcu's overall experience can be thus understood as follows: Even though her familiarity and belonging to Germany increase over time, she still has an approach towards 'roots' as unchangeable and inevitable. She also tends to think that, no matter how better she masters the language, it cannot ever be like her native language, which means an inevitable lack of belonging. This explains her in-betweenness and the importance she gives to language in order to be considered belonged. She also senses that this is considered as a requirement of belonging by the Germans as well. Therefore, when she starts calling Germany 'home', she continues by adding, 'but it is not.'

Betül also claims to feel a lack regarding her low command of German and seeking the familiarity which comes with speaking one's native language. Even though she can express herself in English as well, it is not the same with Turkish either. Deniz reflects on the feeling regarding the inability to 'deepen' the everyday social relationships due to not being able to use one's native language all the time. Even though she mastered B2 level in German in less than a year, she still experiences hardships regarding giving lectures in German to a classroom where most of the students are native speakers of German. She also reflects on hardships regarding not being familiar enough with the German society yet. For instance, she says feeling foreign when some students in her class reference an event that

took place two or three years ago in Germany. As a newcomer and an academic, she feels the lack of not being familiar with every social issue related to the place.

Melis mentions the importance of language-based solidarity and how it helps in terms of building attachments. She further adds that new wave migrants tend to find Turkish-speaking communities all the time, even though at the beginning they claim they do not want to hang out with the Turkish community in Berlin. The attractive aspect of a shared language is observable, as migrants try to establish identifications and attachments related to the place. Eventually, such reflections of interviewees demonstrate that the relationships to 'roots' are heavily constructed through language. Even if this does not reflect as a problem of belonging all the time, interviewees admit the comfort of familiarity that comes with language command. Only some (such as Canan and Burcu) give higher importance to 'roots' due to language and the inevitableness of fully belonging because of this lack.

In terms of roots, the familial and social aspects also come as significant for women in constructing their attachments, rather than the ethnic or primordial aspects. Interviewees express the importance of language heavily but do not relate it to the idea of origin as in the native country. Their attachments to Turkey thus mainly revolve around familial and social ties.

Betül claims that 'origin' does not mean that much of anything to her, but language does. What matters to her is only about how close she is to Turkey and how easily she can go to see family and relatives, especially in times such as a wedding or a sickness of a loved one. Filiz also specifically references the importance of being there in times of hardship, especially when her parents have health issues. She defines those instances of 'failing to reach' as the only moments that being away from Turkey feels uncomfortable. Canan and Burcu also specifically highlight that their remaining attachment to Turkey is related to having family and friends there.

Attachments to family and the meanings given to it had impacts on previous immobility as well. In Deniz's example, this aspect appears as an emotional investment in the face of which the act of migration becomes a performative tool to break it. Melis also has a similar experience due to her close friends in Turkey expressing that they are upset with her leaving. Unlike Deniz, these still influence Melis's social and emotional attachments in terms of struggling to find a new balance.

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We have a traditional extended family in which I am the eldest child. We are three siblings. My parents always thought that their children would stay near them after finishing degrees. I always felt a big responsibility that I have to be near them because they will need me. There was also the burden of being the eldest child to be the first one to take care of things when anything goes wrong. That's why I hadn't even had imagined about settling abroad for a long time. (Deniz – Interview)

There are friends of mine who nearly got angry with me because I was moving here [Berlin]. Many of them became emotional, saying 'you are all leaving'. They even felt upset about me possibly having new friends in the future [*laughs*]. As people leaving increased, the stayers started to take on a very depressive mood. They felt desolateness, feeling left behind. (Melis – Interview)

The aspect of family and social ties also reflects social/emotional attachments in terms of the need for social support mechanisms. Filiz claims she did not feel lonely within her migration experience but admits that she misses her extended family's support, especially in terms of child-rearing. She claims that her mother was very helpful about her son's issues and care. This results in having zero social support from family in the migration context. This especially becomes hard in the first few months of emigration since they have not gained familiarity in the new setting yet. Through time, she claims to make new friends to leave her son or get help from about his issues, for instance. Betül also reflects the same concerns. She claims that if she had had her son in Turkey, her mother would be able to come to help her much more easily. Being on one's own to raise a child feels like a deficiency in emotional terms. However, she concludes that these are all due to the lack of family only and do not represent a lack of not being in one's 'homeland.' Similarly, Melis and Aylin also reflect on not having their mothers near help them with issues related to their children. Melis gives examples of not having the freedom to leave her daughter to her grandmother so that Melis can go out at night. Aylin also claims hardships of having all the responsibility and not being able to share those with extended family members freely. She believes it is a crucial relief to be able to have family members' support in childcare when needed. Overall, the need for social support in childcare and the fact that extended family members are in Turkey reflect a common ground for interviewees' social and emotional attachment to Turkey.

4.4.2. Identifications and Attachments in Relation to Turkey

This part focuses on through which feelings or notions interviewees construct their identifications and attachments in relation to Turkey in a more detailed manner. Instances

regarding place, roots, and language were touched upon in the previous sub-chapter. This part is dedicated to the narratives of women that are specifically told to describe how they perceive Turkey as well as to what central notions connotate their identifications and attachments in relation to Turkey.

Several notions come up when interviewees are asked to describe their relations, affects, and descriptions regarding Turkey. They tend to construct their attachments and belonging to Turkey through notions such as "disappointment," "resentment," "nostalgia," or as "imagined" without actual reflection in practical reality. The reasons for those affections can depend on both personal or socio-political perceptions and can constitute points of 'rupture.'

To start with, Canan refers to the lack of inclusivity in Turkey, to a constant feeling of a heartthrob, and a feeling of being 'kicked out':

> Of course, I miss my hometown[39] but if I stay there for ten days or a month, I would probably get bored and turn back. Because there is nothing left, there is nothing inclusive. I turn on the TV and see you-know-who all the time. I have had enough [*laughs*]. Everyone's had enough. […] When I compare with the point when I left Turkey, Turkey outweighs because I was comfortable at that point. I had money; I had a job. But it comes with a constant heartthrob. […] It feels like to be kicked out. I also did an artistic installation about this matter. I can neither belong to Germany nor Turkey. I belong to Turkey, but I got kicked out of Turkey. I can't go back because I would starve. There are no opportunities for me there. I expressed these [feelings] on the installation in a grotesque manner. (Canan – Interview)

It is remarkable how the expressions of Canan regarding Turkey and her identification in relation to Turkey is heavily politicized. Her emotional constructions also tend to intensify with the negative feelings regarding structural conditions as well.

Betül claims that she does not necessarily employ an identification with Turkey merely as a place of origin:

> Even though I was raised by a father who champions 'love of country and nation', I was not in fact raised by being imposed with this. That's why I don't feel like

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[39] She uses the Turkish term of 'memleket' while explaining this.

'[Turkey] is motherland[40] to me, paved with gold' and so on [*laughs*]. I cannot say that I am attached [to Turkey] whatsoever. (Betül – Interview)

Betül adds that this is not a rupture of attachment that has happened throughout time. It has always been like this for her in terms of being attached to and then break away from any place that she had lived in. Sense of belonging appears flexible, dependent on time, context, and related to the emotional investments based on that context.

Melis defines her attachment to Turkey in terms of local living space. She claims that she does not have an attachment or belonging above that. She says that she is not the kind of person to experience homesickness in terms of longing for the country and nation.[41] She identifies what she misses as her comfort zone, which she had built throughout the years. The change of the living space and the longing for familiar places merely represent the sources of her attachment to Turkey.

There are some tendencies to formulate emotional attachments as dependent on the inevitableness of relation to origin or blood tie, as something one cannot change. It should be recalled that this 'blood tie' understanding also results from Germany's citizenship and inclusion approach, specifically claimed by Burcu. The formulation of emotional attachment through the inevitability of 'origin' can be done by locating 'culture' as inevitable as well (Canan and Burcu). Some reject 'cultural attachment' in that sense (especially Deniz) and highlight the importance of culture only in the sense of familiarity related to language and social ties; rather than in a nationalistic sense of the love of country and nation (Deniz, Melis, and Aylin).

In emotional terms, of course I am attached to Berlin, but I haven't been born and raised in here. This is not my culture. I was accultured in Turkey and it is in my genes, I cannot let it go. [...] My attachment to Turkey is definitely not a relation I define as based on [concepts of] 'nation' or 'homeland'. Those [*grunts*] concepts really irritate me. But of course, there are [the importance of] lived experiences. (Burcu – Interview)

I don't think I feel attached in cultural terms but culture also has different facades to it. Music is a reflection of culture; but If you ask where I feel culturally attached [to Turkey], it is through 'food'. I cook good and I really love cooking. [...] That's

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[40] She uses the Turkish term 'vatan' here.

[41] She uses the Turkish term "memleket hasreti" while doing this explanation.

the part where I feel the most belonged to [Turkey]. Food is the biggest part that keeps me attached to [Turkish] culture. (Deniz – Interview)

Aylin also implies that when she thinks of her life in Turkey and her belonging to it, it feeds from the common culture. She adds that:

Of course, I have a cultural affinity [to Turkey] and I can define my attachment based on that. But this not about 'being Turkish'. It is about having been brought up within that culture. [...] But this [formulation] was not always like that. It changed through time [*smiles*]. It changed after I moved here. (Aylin – Interview)

She further refers to the aggressivity in Turkey and the culture there, especially in terms of exclusions based on lifestyles. This 'aggressive' image of Turkish society and nation is projected in different narratives of interviewees as well. Burcu also uses similar analogies while explaining how she realized that the positive image she had about Turkey later revealed itself as something artificial:

I was always imagining Turkey as a beautiful place, the place I miss, the place I miss my relationships in it. On the other hand, I have been struggling with building social ties in Germany and failing to construct social attachments. [..] Then I realized my [imagined attachments to Turkey] was also artificial and unreal. That was also [impactful] on me. (Burcu – Interview)

Deniz also reflects a transformation in her attachments and belonging to Turkey and how she perceives there. She says she used to feel very much belonged to Turkey, primarily until the process of her emigration decision had been shaped. She claims having loved living in Turkey, with specific references to the geography, the food, and the weather. However, she claims that she had realized it is not quite right to become too much attached neither to places nor the people:

We are, as people, things that can move; and there is a huge world out there. I feel like it is not right to become too much attached to a specific place. But these are thoughts that came to me throughout years, as part of what how lived experiences had me transformed. As of today, I don't have a too strong belonging to any place. Not here, not Turkey, or not anywhere else. There might be possibilities in somewhere else in the future and [I] could go there as well. I believe anything is possible in life and that's why I think that obsessive attachments are problematic. […] That's why, yes, I don't have a strong attachment to Turkey. (Deniz – Interview)

It is crucial to briefly discuss how transnational practices/engagements and their transformation also demonstrate ruptures and/or continuities in attachments on varying degrees. Those practices might relate to their engagement with the Turkey-descended

community's social organizations/initiatives in Berlin or their interest and participation in Turkey's sociopolitical agenda. Changing voting behaviors could also give clues regarding ruptures or continuities in attachments. Such practices can act as performative tools to re-negotiate migrants' attachments and belongings both to Turkey and Germany.

Burcu claims that even though years go by, she had always been highly affected by Turkey's socio-political events. She realized a need to fix the rupture she felt occurring in her emotional attachment to Turkey. She explains that sensing that rupture made her want to take action. That is how she describes her engagement with the Turkey-descended migrant women initiative Puduhepa. She perceived this as a performative tool to repair the feeling of resentment she was feeling towards Turkey. She adds further:

> I asked myself as well; why [this feeling of resentment] affects me that much. I had been here [in Berlin] for a long time and I already had broken off my attachment [with Turkey] before. But I realized I couldn't break off that relation even when I felt like it was disengaging. This is not about a concern over not being able return. This is about realizing that, what I had imagined in my mind as beautiful [about Turkey] has gotten in fact so ugly. This hurt me. I just wanted to do something that could fix this disengagement. (Burcu – Interview)

Clearly, transnational organizations and initiatives can become spaces of social and emotional investment for migrants to re-negotiate their attachments and senses of belonging. This exemplifies the performative dimension of engagement in specific social and cultural spaces. Engagement in those spaces could link individual and collective behavior and become crucial for constructing and reproducing identity narratives and constructions of attachment (Yuval-Davis, 2006a, p. 203). Participation in the already existing Turkish-German collective spaces or knowing their existence could also contribute in that sense. For instance, Aylin mentions the existence of this "parallel society"[42] in Berlin as an advantageous part of Berlin:

> There is a parallel society that reflects parts of your community that you had in Turkey. You can follow up [social, cultural, political issues and] events very easily. This creates a sense of illusion through which you feel like being involved [in the matters related to Turkey]. That's why you never completely break away.

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[42] Mueller (2006, p. 419) has defined the Turkish "parallel society" in Germany as reinforced by discrimination, restricted educational levels, and low socioeconomic status. Marginalization by the greater society and separation by cultural and religious lifestyles are also defined as factors that causes a parallel society to prevail. In the interview, Aylin uses the term to refer to the specific existence and the transnational sphere of Turkish-German community in Berlin, rather than an aim to highlight aspects regarding discrimination.

> For me, there is also the impact of my profession in art because politics is a huge part of that. (Aylin – Interview)

Filiz expresses a perspective on how political engagement from abroad also provides a calmer approach, and one can also see the positive sides regarding future social change. She claims that it was hard to maintain positivity when she was in Turkey. She also adds that she sees a possibility for new wave migrants to get involved with the previous Turkey-descended migrants in Germany and tell them about Turkey's current situations. She believes that this could impact establishing a more realistic view for the previous migrants who have not lived in Turkey but support the current government.

Aylin gives importance to the ability to participate in Turkey's social movements or protests transnationally. This also reflects the advantages of the parallel society in Berlin, in her own words. She gives examples mostly from the Gezi Park protests in 2013, which also took place around Germany. Those transnational participation abilities help in migrants' re-negotiations of belonging. Aylin further admits that her involvement and interest in the socio-political agenda of Germany increases day by day. She claims that the daily issues related to Berlin and Germany impact her because she lives here now. This could reflect a timely shift in belonging to Berlin with a citizenship consciousness. Constructing identifications with Berlin through citizenship consciousness feed both from everyday life concerns as well as increasing importance given to local socio-political agenda:

> I live here, so I am entitled to the laws of here. The politicians here regulate my daily life. […] I'm trying to say or do things about Turkey, but I should be able to assert myself [politically] in here too, when needed. I started to feel that I need this, and this is not due to an emotional attachment. There are certain laws and regulations that organize my life here and I need to have a say about those. That's why I feel I need to focus on that at this point. I must have a say in decisions given about my living environment. (Aylin – Interview)

Orientating one's practices through an understanding of citizenship results from participation in everyday and urban life the most; but what is described as this 'citizenship consciousness' also greatly employs gendered aspects. Being a woman or a mother cause more layered consequences in building new attachments to place with a new mindset. For instance, previous studies regarding motherhood demonstrated that migrant women might become much more attached to their environment after they become mothers (Fenster, 2004, p. 244). This specifically owes that they start to engage in new kinds of involvements

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with their local surroundings as mothers. Those can refer to new relationships built with other mothers or the spaces they start to inhabit due to necessities and responsibilities that come up for resolving the child's needs and issues.

Deniz also reflects very a similar account with Aylin in terms of developing a citizenship consciousness and approach. Deniz claims that her emotional affection caused her to slowly break away from the Turkish agenda and focus on Germany's issues and daily life. The divergences between different women in terms of their desire for involvement with the home country's social issues and/or politics also depend on whether they had put similar efforts when they were in Turkey. If they believe that they had practices and efforts of this kind back then; the negative or positive conclusions they had arrived at afterward, determine their further motive for transnational involvement. That is why the interviewees who claimed to put efforts for socio-political change in their own ways but ended up in further hopelessness now perceive much more necessity in involving with local issues and agenda of Berlin, rather than a need for focus on Turkey.

Deniz claims she was too much involved with the political agenda when she was in Turkey. She also gives other examples of effort, such as helping Syrian refugees in Turkey. She claims that the whole Syrian civil war issues and witnessing what asylum-seekers in Turkey are going through affected her too much. After committing various kinds of political involvement and personal efforts, she explains that she tends to get less demoralized now because she can look at things from afar and place herself outside of them. After admitting this might sound cruel, she states that she no longer has a relationship with Turkey in professional or economic terms, but only familial. She admits having experienced this 'shift' very fast, and now she is more involved in daily social and political issues in Germany. However, she claims that this shift also took place by realizing that being too much immersed with Turkey's political agenda and social media was making her unhappy and driving her into depression. This demonstrates how her rupture took place in emotional terms that are heavily impacted by socio-political events.

Filiz's and Betül's accounts also carry similar highlights, whereas Melis seems as she was never really interested in socio-political agenda regularly. Filiz, even though she previously claimed the importance of involvements in the transnational space, is not much hopeful about the developments in Turkey. She claims what started as a feeling of angriness and resentment toward Turkey has been shifting into a feeling of 'indifference.'

She explains that is due to her feeling of not having much further to do. Betül also admits becoming increasingly ruptured from Turkey and its socio-political agenda. She is not following the news that much and stopped voting for the Turkish elections at some point. She explains this rupture as being due to realizing that 'nothing is changing.' Therefore, she reflects similar hopelessness and indifference. Melis directly identifies herself as not interested in politics and that she has always been like this. She admits that she is happy with not being exposed to the Turkish political agenda all the time, as she used to in Turkey.

4.4.3. Elective Belonging: Ruptures, Practical Aspects, and Social Factors

Elaborating on interviewees' transnational engagements, practices, and how those affect their further relationship and attachment to Turkey and its socio-political agenda had opened up how 'ruptures' in this regard occur. To examine ruptures further, it is also crucial to focus on daily and practical aspects of migrants' experiences. Transformations in perceptions and practices could reflect how migrants 'elect to' belong in the new context.

Interviewees rationalize practical aspects and social factors related to elective belonging according to approaches ranging from social welfare mechanisms, daily life issues, or socio-cultural affections. To start with, Burcu gives reference to the importance of a functioning social state and claims its significance, which goes beyond the meanings given to the nation or feeling belonged as part of a nation:

> You don't have to be [part of a] nation per se, or you don't have to employ nationalistic feelings. You can indeed belong somewhere due to practical reasons. I'm considering Berlin here; not Germany [as a whole], because Berlin is a really cosmopolitan city. There are people from every country, every place. And they all truly feel attached to Berlin. […] Okay, I might still be imagining returning to Turkey because my attachment is too strong, but it is practically impossible. (Burcu – Interview)

Burcu clearly defines her breaking point of giving up on the idea of returning to Turkey as the point in which she had children and how this affected her life. According to her, this impact related to children feeds heavily upon the difference between what Turkey and Germany offer in terms of social welfare benefits. She identifies this decision as being practical and related to current opportunities. Staying abroad for the children's sake may have an aspect of sacrifice if some women tend not to belong in Germany but stay for

children's sake. However, this also becomes a problem of belonging because what is for the children's sake also reflects a betterment and quality in women's lives, too. In her example, this refers to the fact that she would not be able to afford the same social services as well as maternity leave. She mentions that the German social state provides early daycare for children without zero or minimum fees and maternity leave up to a year, which one can also share with their spouse. These aspects are observed as rupture points related to children and the social welfare benefits, reflecting a 'practical' aspect of belonging. Burcu highlights the benefits of the daycare system in Germany and compares Turkey, concluding how different impacts those two have on mothers' (especially including single mothers) own personal and professional lives. The comparisons also feed heavily upon evaluating what it would be like to be a mother in Turkey versus Germany. Burcu admits 'feeling thankful' about living in Germany after talking to her various friends about their experiences who are also mothers but live in Turkey. Betül also adds comparisons while making sense of how she elects Germany due to practical and/or welfare matters:

> I came here after working in Turkey for eight years. Anyhow, I had only twenty-one days of annual leave back then. I have thirty days of annual leave here [in Germany], for instance. I am not even talking about extra benefits after having a child. I guess this is one of the biggest reasons I didn't want to have a child in Turkey. Here you cannot work for the four weeks before birth and the four weeks after. Plus, you can receive maternity leave for up to three years. In Turkey, no one would re-hire you after three years of leave probably. This is not the case here. Your right to work stays under protection. That is an advantage, of course. (Betül – Interview)

There are also accounts on how this 'practical' aspect is highlighted by women concerning everyday life's most basic strains. Those tend to intersect with aspects of womanhood and motherhood considerably as well. For instance, Burcu tells how hard it has been for her to go to Turkey for a visit with her triplet babies. She admits that it might sound absurd or represent an extreme case; but still claims that it was her 'normal.' She talks about the hardships regarding going for a walk with triplet babies, visiting a park, and running away from the traffic. She states that she was feeling too stressed about those most basic daily life issues each time she visited Istanbul with her children. However, it should be noted that this is indeed an essential drawback in terms of urban life and infrastructure in the context of Istanbul, which reflects structural conditions more than a mere individual experience. Overall, the most basic 'practical' hardships related to daily life can even create rupture points.

Betül also gives similar examples regarding children's parks and the mentality of child-raising in Turkey. She narrates her experiences by comparing Turkey and Germany and concludes by admitting how those comparisons made her choose to live in Germany. She highlights that one starts to realize new hardships related to Turkey after emigrating and having children. The comparisons she makes after gaining those experiences make her elect to belong in Berlin more, as she states that she feels more comfortable there.

Other remarkable examples of this practical kind of belonging related to children are reflected by Deniz and Melis as well. This illuminates a further significant case since the rupture in attachments and belonging reflects itself in the desire for the ability to provide their children German citizenship:

> If nothing extreme comes up in my life such as health problems, I'm considering staying here [in Berlin] at least until I get a citizenship. Because I believe that, the biggest legacy I can leave my children is not a useless house in Turkey or anything like that; but a European Union passport. (Deniz – Interview)

> Now I have this motivation – I learned that [the child] can also get citizenship before the age of eighteen, even if their parents do not have one. That's my motivation now. I can do anything later as long as I can make her get a [German] citizenship. (Melis – Interview)

The limits of familiarity and emotional attachments were previously discussed. Beyond those, social factors and structural conditions contribute further to the shifts in senses of belonging. For example, Burcu claims that she had maintained her hopes about Turkey as a potential place of return simply because of her emotional attachment. However, she acknowledges the 'limits' of that emotional attachment because Turkey's necessary social change is not taking place. This argument also converges with the expression of a desire for being hopeful about a place. She claims there are social problems in Germany as well, such as the increasing power of the far-right and racism. Eventually, she finds herself making comparisons and claims that it makes more sense to be hopeful about Germany than to be about Turkey right now. She still maintains hope due to her emotional attachment to Turkey but adds, with a broken smile, that this is kind of a 'fantasy.'

Filiz previously mentioned that her own new wave community in Berlin is made of people with similar experiences as well as affections towards Turkey. She argues that all of those are people who decided to emigrate due to the same kind of 'rupture' associated with Turkey. Then she adds that the realization of this fact made her say, "It is so fortunate that

I am here." She further claims that this fortunate sense about being in Berlin makes her feel 'independent' even though a part of her is with Turkey. She admits still being affected by the problems over there but feels respectively freer. Her rationalization of how she elects to belong continues with realizing how hard her life would be in terms of structural conditions. The most critical factor in that sense is about her unwillingness to raise her child in Turkey:

> Now I feel it even more powerful that, if I were to turn back to the conditions [in Turkey] to raise my child, I wouldn't be able to raise him in the way I like. Even if things would change [in Turkey] in the next twenty or thirty years, being brought up within that 'system' will have made my son no good. That's the kind of 'rupture' we are talking about [in relation to Turkey]. That's why, when I disengage myself from there on my own today, I feel like I'm at least showing promise for thirty years later. I don't know if my son would return to Turkey or not; that's another issue. But at least I had ruptured; otherwise, he will have been raised within that system. (Filiz – Interview)

She further concludes that her and her new wave community's dominant identity of migranthood reflects a 'chosen' aspect resulting from Turkey-related necessities and hardships. For this reason, as this necessity prevails, the condition of migranthood will also continue for them. The new problems faced as migrants also become 'chosen' ones, resulting from one's own preference. What is further crucial in those accounts is that the rationalizations reflect the agency over 'electing' to struggle with the hardships of being a migrant, rather than having to face Turkey's problems, which affects them in much more various levels. Similarly, Aylin also claims that Turkey is indeed always a part of her, but she 'elects' to live in Berlin. She says that Berlin is her home due to emotional and practical reasons, whereas in political terms, she cannot fully be detached from Turkey even if she would want to.

Interviewees also reflect on Turkey's specific political events and socio-cultural environment in their reflections on points of rupture. Burcu claims that the 15 July 2016 coup attempt and the socio-political developments afterward had changed everything for her. She references the purges in academia, people losing their jobs for no reason, and the FETO investigations that affected many innocent people. She claims to realize during that period that nothing is like the way they were before. She further describes this as a point of rupture, in her own words. This rupture had caused a shift in her possible considerations of return. Even if she is not a potential political target, the situation does not provide security. She further adds having undesirable social encounters in the public sphere when

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she was visiting Turkey. She had noticed that people are not tolerating each other in social life like she that though there was before:

> There is a senseless anger, and everyone is like ready to get in a fight anytime. [...] I also want my children to be raised away from hate speech. This is not possible in Turkey. I think that was also a rupture. Then I gave up on thinking about returning. (Burcu – Interview)

Betül gives specific references to Gezi Park protests. She emigrated nearly after the uprising took place in Istanbul. Even though her decision was not related to those events, she claims the political environment that followed had its impacts. She claims that the exact political event that caused her to give up hopes on social change was the municipal elections of 30 March 2014 and the defeat of the political opponency in Istanbul and Ankara. This election marked severe allegations regarding the ballots being stolen and other infractions of rules. There were also suspicions around power blackouts in different regions on the night of vote counting.[43] She claims this process as a rupture, the point where she and her husband thought, "We cannot go back, and even if we do, some things will have to be changed."

Deniz adds her hopelessness about social change in Turkey to reflect on her points of rupture. She claims this hopelessness about a societal change causes her now to perceive Turkey as only a place to go on vacation. She further explains that this is what she 'chose,' by investing both professionally and financially abroad right now. She adds that the specific place does not matter; this is about 'electing to' invest in a life that is not based in Turkey. Betül and Melis, on the other hand, reflect accounts on professional aspirations while rationalizing how they elect to belong. Betül claims that Berlin is a beautiful city where she can find the things she seeks and do the things she likes. She enjoys Berlin as an urban space but further states that professional opportunities and aspirations are determinant for her. The strengthening of attachments to Berlin due to professional motives is apparent, but the same motive could also enable her to elect somewhere else in Europe:

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[43] The Minister of Energy declared the reason of the power blackout as resulting from a 'cat' jumping into a power distribution unit from high above and getting inside in it. Besides strengthening the allegations regarding the infractions of rules during the vote count night, this statement of the Minister became the featured line of the election process as well. It was and still being both made fun of and criticized harshly by the citizens from the opponency.

> If I find a [good] job somewhere else, I guess I wouldn't hesitate too much. We're not considering returning to Turkey right now. But somewhere else in Europe might be possible. (Betül – Interview)

Lastly, the struggles of Melis in terms of leaving her comfort zone and building new attachments were discussed. Apart from the initial motive of emigration for her daughter's sake, she starts to realize that she must make this experience 'her own' as well. At this point, professional opportunities and aspirations appear primary in how she elects to belong:

> I couldn't yet realize the work-plan I had in mind. It was going to be stuck in my mind. Because there was not something to make me attached here [Berlin]. [My therapist also] said, 'your daughter is socializing at school, while you still have not initiated your work-plan.' Indeed, my daughter has been settling with her school and new friends, but I have been still trying to socialize with my friends from Istanbul. I had been trying to transfer my social life in Istanbul to here, which [prevented me] from getting attached here [Berlin]. (Melis – Interview)

In the struggle of finding her own way to belong, she elects her hopes and aspirations about a new international work-plan as a way to build personal attachments. Even though she is still along the way, it is apparent that professional reasons become her tool. Overall, elective belonging also reflects how women belong to Berlin and build new attachments to there; or strive to do so.

4.5. Ethical and Political Value Systems

Thereby the discussions arrive at the final level on which the study of belonging occurs: "ethical and political values, by which people judge their own and others' belonging" (Yuval-Davis, 2006a, p. 199). The analysis starts by examining how the interviewees reflect their respective values, ideological perceptions, and ethico-political self-narratives. This examination also includes how interviewees "utilize social locations and narratives of identities" (Yuval-Davis, 2006a, p. 204) in ways that imply the boundaries driven between themselves and the Turkish society and nation. These boundaries may also refer to how they place themselves with respect to other Turkish migrants in Germany, German society, or the stayers in Turkey. All would imply how self-differentiations are narrated. How interviewees approach the contemporary socio-political environment and important events in Turkey is also significant. As Brockmeyer and Harders (2016, p. 2) suggested, if emotional attachments are being threatened, it means that they develop into politics of belonging. Women's experiences and perceptions which reflect the sense of threat, project

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what 'the politics of' belonging imply. Under this part, the other focus is thus on the empirical examples of policies and discourses which threatened women's belonging and attachments primarily to Turkey.

To enter the realm of the politics of belonging, the narratives of migrants are examined to find out the most impactful policies, discourses, and political statements that emerge effective for their senses of belonging. Through this way, it is also possible to detect the instances whereby problematizations between identifications and senses of belonging occur:

> "A person may identify with a group but not feel that she or he 'belongs' in the sense of being accepted or being a full member. Alternatively, one may feel accepted and as 'belonging' to a group, but may not fully identify with it, or have split allegiances" (Anthias, 2009, p. 10).

The last level of focus on the boundaries and self-identifications enable to comprehend in which ways the members of civil society might not be sharing the important hegemonic value systems with the majority of the population, especially in sexual, religious, and other matters (Yuval-Davis, 1997b, p. 7).

4.5.1. Values, Boundaries and the Dynamics of Inclusion/Exclusion

Self-narratives of women based on ethical, political, and ideological lines carry varying inclinations to different themes. Some put forward their political preferences and perceptions of party politics, whereas others highlight personal ethical principles at the intersection of politics and lifestyle. Those viewpoints also reflect how they self-differentiate from other groups, and especially from the broader Turkish society and nation.

Canan specifically highlights her opponency to the Turkish President at varying times during the interview. She also adds that everyone she personally knows is also the same. She differentiates herself from the people who were once supporters of President Erdoğan but then became opponents following the socio-political drawbacks at some point. She strengthens her position by positing that she was always a political opponent right from

the start. She relates this to her being a 'strong republican'[44], and continues to explain why her positionalities in those regards makes her contradict with the socio-political condition in Turkey:

> [The condition] is completely contrary to what I imagine and desire about the society I [want to] live in. It is not progressive by any means. Building a new airport or constructing a double highway don't imply progressivity. Those only imply how much percentage you get [*laughs*]. We cannot take the country further; and if you want to go further yourself, you cannot stay there. I guess that explains it in brief. (Canan – Interview)

Aylin does not explicitly identify herself with a political ideology but bases her identification on anti-nationalism and leaning into the left-wing. Most of her contestation with the ideological condition in Turkey thus result in a contestation towards Turkish nationalism:

> My high school years also had an impact. I was studying in a class with heavy center-left viewed students in a high school where national-idealist people overweighed. The political environment at the school was quite absurd in terms of right and left conflicts. The conflicts were stripped down from their political bases and only aimed towards people trying to identify themselves and mark their ideological positions. As I have grown up within a place like this, being a nationalist was already never an option for me. Maybe leftism – but I'm not sure if I ever truly become 'a leftist' [*laughs*]. (Aylin – Interview)

Burcu also gives similar highlights to her own years of youth and how the political environment back then impacted her ideological contestations, especially towards nationalism. It is once again apparent how those contestations are primarily based on women's experiences in Turkey and do not reflect a decisive shift with emigration:

> I started schooling after the 1980 military coup [*smiles*], so we were brought up with a heavy nationalist curriculum. But this was never in me. I don't know where it stems from or when it did break. It never appeared in me – it was something that we were tried to be indoctrinated. Maybe that's why I developed a reactiveness. I realized this during my university years. As some friends of mine were very nationalist, this did not mean anything to me. That was always like that and still is; [...] did not change after I came here [to Berlin]. (Burcu – Interview)

Some interviewees give more highlights on values that reflect general mindsets and ways of life. However, it should be noted how those values and mindsets also constitute their

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[44] Republicanism is one of the political principles of the founding ideology of the Turkish Republic. The principle is thus strongly connected with Kemalist ideology of the founder of the Turkish Republic Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

lines of ideological contestations with the greater Turkish society. Deniz, for instance, starts by emphasizing the importance of 'individualism' for her. She claims that, although being a relatively privileged member of society both due to ethnicity and the high education level in one of Turkey's best universities, she asserts that an essential part of her relative privilege owes to her own successes, not her family's money or something else. In that sense, she also rejects the ideal of 'statism' apparent in the Turkish society because her successes result from individual efforts, according to her:

> I'm not a mindset of thinking that the state had took me in hand and brought me up to where I am. I've never employed that [statist] mindset because I believe in individualism. After all, I feed the state through my taxes and it is obligated to provide me back. This is what the social contract between us is based on. Besides from that, I might identify myself as liberal. I cannot define myself as an extreme leftist. When looked from outside, I'm a typical white Turk; but from the ones who prefer using second-hand products [laughs]. I guess I'm like the 'Grüne'[45] type here, if I have to make an identification. [I am] someone who consumes organic food because I have money in my pocket, someone who does not try to reach to places at someone else's expense and who rejects that mindset, who does not have much to do with networking. (Deniz – Interview)

She further identifies herself as someone who embraces any possibility in life, including in ideological terms. For instance, any relationship model between people or any sexual orientations could be welcomed. However, she defines the problematic part in terms of those as the inability to raise one's voice and claim one's own perspective on Turkey's issues. She claims that she could not put some of her similar ideas into words, even in her own social circles. She explains that this results from the Turkish society being 'too traditionalist,' independently of people's varying political views. This premise eventually defines her sense of belonging to the collectivity:

> That's why you don't belong to that society. I mean, of course there are people like me, but we are a minority in terms of percentage. That depends on how one defines 'minority'; it is not only about ethnic origins. We are a minority due to a 'mindset'. (Deniz – Interview)

The perceived hegemonic mindset of traditionalism and the relative closedness to new and liberal ideas within the Turkish society is thus defined by Deniz as points of threat or

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[45] Die Grünen (The Greens) is a political party that was formed in 1993 through the unification of the Greens Party founded in West Germany in 1980 and the Bündnis 90 (Alliance 90) founded in East Germany in 1989. Die Grünen favours green politics and pro-European ideology and positions at centre left. Today they have 67 seats out of 709 in the German Federal Parliament.

rupture for her own emotional attachment and belonging to the broader collectivity. She gives further examples regarding this critical difference in the hegemonic mindset. She mentions her unwillingness to send her children to private schools because she believes that to do so is stupid. When she shares this idea within her social circles, she claims that they do not understand or approve of her approach. She claims that this depends on the fact that people draw strict boundaries between each other if they have different preferences or approaches to matters of life:

> And, of course, you feel that you do not belong to this. As a person who very often goes abroad and have international contact due to professional or other reasons, since you can speak foreign languages and you follow the matters of the world; you come to realize that, there is a whole different life out there. There is another life in which people feel comfortable, people are content; and a life in which people do not sulk while sitting in the metro in the mornings. (Deniz – Interview)

According to these kinds of narratives about the self and the values, the construction of belonging as well as the judgments regarding others' values are being reflected. This, in turn, shapes the searches regarding where one belongs and demonstrates the practices and discourses according to which people question their belongings. The discussion, therefore, necessitates understanding specific dimensions affecting inclusion and exclusion since they reflect the politics of belonging. Further illuminations of differentiation of 'self' and 'the other' give important clues as well. Within the imagined boundaries, the internal and external dialectic of collective identification reflects how 'belonging' is constructed as something imagined but has real consequences (Jenkins, 2008, p. 147). Pointing out to those boundaries and various interpretations of those by the interviewees thus demonstrate how the transformations of belonging occur with reference to multiple settings as well, as hypothesized in this thesis.

Melis gives an example through her ex-husband's complaints about how he felt uncomfortable under the gazes of especially older German people in public places in Berlin, such as the metro. He does not look like a stereotypical German and told Melis several times about how he senses racism even within random people's gazes. Melis's reaction to that argument is significant, as she admits that she gets exposed to similar racist, exclusivist, or harassing gazes or behaviors nearly every time she steps out of Moda, her neighborhood in Istanbul. She exemplifies some rather conservative neighborhoods as well, by adding that "One can get exposed to enough exclusion already in their own country." She claims not having experienced anything further or extreme in Berlin. This

marks the point where she starts to question the issues of comfort zone and exclusion all over again:

> We all had a feeling of being excluded in Turkey already. This is a sense of being 'the other' even more than the one you feel in here [in Berlin]. That's why [Turkey] does not necessarily invoke a homesickness for me [*laughs*]. (Melis – Interview)

Aylin and Deniz, on the other hand, make almost identical comments on how it is primarily their "lifestyles" that makes them feel marginalized in the Turkish society:

> I dissociate with [the Turkish society] a lot on the lines of social norms, expectations, lifestyles and priorities. We used to dissociate a lot... (Deniz – Interview)

> Based on my lifestyle, before anything else. Even if you belong to Turkey, you definitely become marginalized in certain places [because of your lifestyle]. We had gotten used to this so much that we also tend to marginalize others. I also do it sometimes; marginalize other people. And I always try to overthrow this habit. (Aylin – Interview)

When asked about the lines that made her feel disengaging with the broader collectivity, Filiz replies:

> That [feeling of disengagement] was always existent for me. Everyone is telling me now, that Germany is racist; and asking me whether I do not feel excluded here, and so on. I don't [feel excluded]. I used to feel that in Turkey, do I make myself clear? It's not like I belonged there [in Turkey] but I can't belong in here [Germany]. We were already marginal to at least 80% of the Turkish society. The 80% or 90% of the population were not accepting you with the views and the lifestyle you had anyway. Why would I feel excluded all of a sudden when I come here [to Germany]? That's the story actually. (Filiz – Interview)

Within specific discussions on politics, feelings of exclusions also refer to how certain political discourses or statements of politicians subjectify certain sections of society. For instance, Canan mentions the politicization of the theatre sector and artists in general throughout the years, making artists in Turkey feel more devalued in every period. Aylin mentions the loss of cultural spaces that employed specific importance of social solidarity and collective memory to certain parts of society. She exemplifies the closing down and demolition of Emek Movie Theater in 2013 despite lots of protests. There are further examples in this regard among interviewees, especially regarding how Gezi Park protestors and supporters were politically framed during and in the aftermath of the uprisings. For instance, Filiz states her resentment towards how Gezi Park protest supporters were called

'looters' by the then PM Erdoğan himself. The reflections alike generally imply feelings of marginalization related to how political discourses have been framing people violently, based on their political or lifestyle practices. Further to the above example, Filiz instead concludes in a way to have accepted the already existing framings and marginalizations. Regarding the way the public and politicians talk about emigrants as well as on being an educated intellectual woman in Turkey, she asserts the following:

> It's not like you didn't belong there, you have been the subject of those framings and then you decided to emigrate because of that. It's only that some other people 'name' what you do and what you experience. […] [The moment of decision] is the moment when those marginalizing practices become truly apparent and materialize. It's the moment that you truly realize that 'they frame me like this; but I was already that.' Therefore, this does not have a direct impact on your decision [to emigrate] but makes you realize that this has always been like this and the others frame your experience. (Filiz – Interview)

The account reflects an acknowledgment of being excluded and marginalized due to the identities that one already had. Thus, rather than a sudden realization, the experience had transformed into acknowledging the already existing lack of the ability to insert one's own subjectivity. This becomes apparent, especially in how Filiz reflects on the political framings that she and many other people had been experiencing in Turkey. Her accounts mostly reflect an acceptance of being excluded through the identifications she already employs. She expresses her experiences in Turkey through this acceptance of not being able to practice or feel like a subject of agency. This thesis argues that such experiences demonstrate that emigration also appears as a performative tool through which migrants utilize their social locations and narratives of identities to assert their own agency in a new way.

Another remarkable account of the transforming boundaries with the Turkish society is related to the debates on the handover of capital in Turkey. This refers to existing public debates around how current political conjuncture enabled a transfer of capital from liberal secular sections of society into religious conservative ones. Burcu's related examples demonstrate a feeling of exclusion regarding this:

> As you know, money has translocated in Turkey. With this transformation – [for instance,] we have a summer house in countryside [in Turkey] for more than twenty years. We had neighbors whom we really loved but they all sold their houses and left. The new neighbors are all religious or radical right-wing people. This made me uncomfortable. [The last time] I wasn't feeling as comfortable there as the year before. […] I'm sitting in the garden of the summer house, and the

> neighbor next door – how should I say this – while I'm sitting there in my bikinis, [laughs] there sits the neighbor with her turban. Some of my relatives also cover their heads but those turbans are different; it covers everything. When this neighbor with her turban gazes on you while you're in bikinis, that makes you feel really uncomfortable. (Burcu – Interview)

Apparently, the matter goes further on to project an instance of the cultural conflict between secular and conservative sections of Turkish society. The previously mentioned debate over the handover of capital also started to increase the cultural encounters between people who locate each other in different poles. In some experiences such as Burcu's, those encounters are projected as creating feelings of exclusions, anxieties, or uncomfortableness. Thus, more than reflecting the political divide projected in handover of capital, the account also constitutes an example on the increasing politicization of lifestyles in Turkey.

A further focus on the boundaries and self-differentiation also demonstrates how those are also impacted by the relationships with 'the stayers' in Turkey. By those, the interviewees mean the people who are critical of Turkey's recent highly skilled emigrants for leaving the country at its most troublesome times. Those criticisms arise both in the interviewees' personal relationships and find a place within public and media discourses. The public's criticisms mainly revolve around accusing the emigrants of leaving when they could stay for the love of the country and strive for its betterment. On the other hand, the criticisms from emigrants' own social circles revolve around resentment over being left out in Turkey.

For instance, Filiz mentions some conversations she had with friends who are still in Turkey. She claims that they can underestimate the specific hardships of the migration experience and merely focus on 'them leaving':

> It is not easy to build a new life after your 35 in a place where you cannot speak the language of. It has its own hardships. When people say 'you walked out on us' – I mean, no one would make such a crazy decision without really hitting the bottom of hopelessness or without any reason. [...] I don't know; when you miss someone or something important happens in your life, you cannot go and tell your old friends because they might give superficial reactions. They say things like; 'you left, you got rid of everything, you are at ease now'. You feel like you can't complain about [or share] anything anymore. (Filiz – Interview)

The boundaries can also become shaped by migrants' critical stances towards 'the stayers' in Turkey and their lifestyle preferences. As they become able to materialize their own

preferences throughout the migration experience, the self-differentiations also become more distinctive. For instance, Deniz claims that she and her husband have always been against the mainstream. Their preferences and practices have also reflected going against the mainstream, which has caused them to encounter 'peer pressure.' She has specific principles regarding consumption culture and lifestyle. She claims she does not want to buy a house or a car as many of her peers with similar socioeconomic levels do. Nor she wants to send her children to private schools just because of this peer pressure. These kinds of decisions and practices reflect the 'mainstream' of a particular socioeconomic circle, which she struggled to stay out of. The same points also reflect the boundary she draws between herself and her peers who stayed in Turkey with continuing that certain lifestyle:

> We didn't send our kids to private schools. All our friend got angry with us, saying: 'You are both professors, how come you send your children to the state school?' Because I think this is an unreasonable expense. Besides, I think these kinds of decisions are ways to extremely 'hypothec' yourself into the system. This is not a matter about the private schooling. I also didn't use mortgage to buy a huge house in a gated community. I was living in a small house in Turkey which could be perceived as inferior for someone in my conditions. I bought the most appropriate flat according to what I already had in my pocket. I never wanted a huge car either. In the matter of private schools, you pay huge amounts of money every year but receive nothing in return. The kid cannot even speak a foreign language after four years. [People] do this investment [to private schools] just to soothe their consciences. (Deniz – Interview)

The peer pressure from her socioeconomic circles and the imposed norms, principles, and preferences are primary in Deniz's boundaries and self-differentiations. Those reflect criticisms maybe not to the whole society but to the section of the society that is the most like her. This includes criticisms towards how highly skilled people with high-income levels who are also political opponents actually integrate themselves too much into the system which they have political complaints about. She claims those people consumed a lot during the country's economically stable times, buying million-dollar houses, and become indebted to the banks. In this scenario, Deniz believes, one cannot easily go outside of the system when the time comes. This way, she formulates her criticism towards the stayers, claiming that this also owes to their wrong preferences.

Historical presence of Turkish immigrants in Germany and Europe brings about certain ideas on Turkishness and settled expectations related to deep-seated perceptions. This brings out the previous discussions on how the perceptions of stereotypical 'Turkishness' in Germany have become tangled, especially with Turkey's new wave migration.

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Interviewees reflect experiences with the German or European people, which form significant examples in this regard. Those vary from expectations related to education and profession to habits of eating, dressing, and lifestyles. Betül, for instance, mentions feeling uncomfortable because of questions such as:

> 'Oh, are you really from Turkey? You don't look Turkish. Do you speak Turkish? This doesn't sound like Turkish.' […] These are like those questions which you can no longer believe to be asked with good intentions. (Betül – Interview)

To varying extents, interviewees mostly approve of having own experiences regarding how German or European people have specific stereotypical 'expectancies' from them just because they are Turkish. Non-Turkish people are said to become surprised when they cannot see those stereotypical traits on new wave migrants. Such ethnicity-related experiences faced for the first time with emigration have certain impacts on new wave migrants. They demonstrate tendencies to differentiate themselves from previous Turkish migrants and explain their Turkishness to Europeans. Some examples of those are related to explaining why they are fluent in English, why they do not wear headscarves, or why they drink alcohol and eat pork meat.

Filiz exemplifies a disadvantage of her ethnicity within the migration context, in relation to the existing Turkish presence in Germany. She claims that the Turkish population that the German society had gotten used to is a quite different population. She adds that "When you come here, you belong neither to that Turkish population nor to the images that Europeans have regarding that population in their minds. You are actually in-between." She says that it takes a serious time for Europeans to understand that:

> The reactions people give [when they learn you are from Turkey] are actually innocent reactions. The reactions that had been coded in their minds. But you still get angry at some point. Yes, man, I am eating pork and I am drinking alcohol; that's how I live. They don't feel that I belong with [other Turkey-origin population]. But you can't say anything because that's what they saw for the last fifty years. They find it weird to see a Turkish person who can speak English. There is a disadvantage that comes from that situation for sure. (Filiz - Interview)

Another aspect thus comes up regarding how new wave migrants differentiate themselves from the previous Turkish-German migrants as well. For instance, Melis previously mentioned not experiencing any exclusion in Berlin, which would be more extreme than those experienced in Turkey. She gave this claim in the context of other German or European populations. However, when relationships with and boundaries between the

existing Turkey-descended population in Germany come up, she claims to experience profound exclusion. This was towards her daughter primarily but also included herself. Her daughter was firstly enrolled in a neighborhood school in Kreuzberg, and most of her classmates were the children of Turkey-descended parents whom she claims as heavily being conservative ones. Melis tells about the way the children of Turkey-descended parents were excluding her daughter. She mentions the things that her daughter tried to do to fit in and to prevent herself from being excluded:

> Those were conservative Turks. So, [my daughter] was adding things like halal salami on our shopping list. She started to be careful about what she wears. She was telling me to dress appropriately, not to wears shorts, when we were going to the school together. She spent a year like this claiming she is afraid of the kids excluding her. The kids were perceiving her like someone coming from Europe, or a rebellious Turk. They were also finding her 'cool' because she speaks good Turkish [when compared to them]. They were also making fun of her because she couldn't speak German. It was a struggling year for her. She was calling me on the phone and saying that she is coming home with friends from school; she wanted me to hide the alcohols in the kitchen because she didn't want her friends to see. The kids were telling her, 'how come you are a Muslim? Your mother drinks alcohol.' (Melis – Interview)

Through these experiences, Melis explains how they had to encounter even more conservativism in Berlin because they lived in their comfort zone neighborhood in Moda, Istanbul back then. She found the solution to send her daughter to the international school the next year. She claims that her daughter became much happier and felt included afterward. It is truly remarkable how, even in the context of abroad, people from the same origin country cannot get along and continue differentiating themselves from each other based explicitly on cultural lifestyle lines. This also constitutes a reflection of the polarization between secular and conservative sections already existent in Turkey. In other words, the clash of ethnoreligious versus multi-cultural and secular values reflects itself within the transnational social space and the boundary-making processes therein.

4.5.2. Disengagements through Gendered Values and Motherhood Experiences

Theoretical discussion on the relation between gender and nation is necessary to be revisited with focusing on practical cases. Firstly, the meaning of emigrating with children or staying abroad for the sake of the children is crucial. Turkey's policies and discourses on motherhood, womanhood, and children, and the interrelationship of those with the

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notion of 'national belonging' also complement this discussion. Secondly, women's ideological contestations concerning the state, society, and nation impact women's practices and motivations within migration experience. Examining those through narratives of interviewees feeds the understanding of the politics of belonging operating for the case of Turkish women who decided to emigrate.

Among the interviewees, gendered experiences and motives related to the children and the future carry significant weight. Those also appear powerful in how they narrate their approach to Turkish society, nation and explain the points through which they 'disengage' in that sense. Many accounts that steer them into emigrating also converge with discontents regarding established norms and structures in everyday life, culture, and discourse.

How interviewees diverge from the Turkish society reflects examples from the 'people as power' discourse, which is about perceiving women as reproducers of the national collectivity. This was discussed in previous chapters through the problematic relationship between gender and nation. For instance, interviewees tend to complain about established norms around when a Turkish woman should marry and have children. In intersection with socioeconomic backgrounds and education levels, these norms also reflect expectations regarding when to buy a house, a car, or what kind of profession a woman should have and how much she should be making.

> There are even socio-cultural expectations on how a woman should decorate her house after marriage. The most aggressive version of this could be found on reality shows on marriage on television. (Aylin – Interview)

> It's like everything has an order and you have to do each of them by this order when the time comes. It's the same about when to marry and have children. Even for the time you must have a second child [*laughs*]. Turkish society really expects us to do everything without breaking the order. [...] For instance, we were thinking that we won't be able to have a child if we were to continue living in Istanbul. But, as you know, there is this Turkish 'family pressure.' We didn't want to have kids for the first seven years of our marriage. Every time we thought of it, we were troubled by thinking how to manage raising a child, how to afford it, and so on. There would be problems about the state schooling and lots of expenses. So, we decided not to have a child until after three years that we emigrated here. [We changed our mind] after seeing how calm it is in here. (Betül – Interview)

Betül specifically explains the impact of coming to Berlin. She claims one can be anything that they like here and live the way they want to. She perceives Berlin as a more comfortable place to live in. Disengaging themselves from the sphere of socio-cultural

norms and family pressure in Turkey apparently enabled them to put their agency to the fore. She specifically highlights the aspect of 'freedom' in this regard herself:

> Now I can define my own freedom, for instance. Even when my freedom was pressured, I had learned how the cope to live in that. Because in Turkey, you are restricted all the way; and you start to develop an ability to try to do what you like within this restriction in some way. [...] My aim right now is to prepare my child to claim his own freedoms as well; and to make him also ready for this struggle. That's why I think this would be much easier to do in Berlin. (Betül – Interview)

Interviewees also make claims about the hardships of being an 'individual' in Turkey and the respective socio-cultural pressures in the struggle of pursuing one's own lifestyle. Filiz gives an example in this regard within the theme of religion. She claims that her husband is a deist and that she is also prone to deism in her own religious faith. They also want to raise their son without indoctrinating him with any religion. They prefer it is better when an individual comes of age, learns different religions or any kinds of opinions until that time, and then makes their own decisions. Filiz claims that this simple premise of individualism is quite hard to attain in a socio-cultural environment such as Turkey. The same also accounts for the like-minded parents' hardships in raising their children in such a religiously conservative and non-individualist environment. Filiz further explains what disengages her from the broader collectivity in that sense:

> In Turkey, there is no boundary between the individual and the society. I mean, the truth of one person can be accepted as the truth of everyone. So, people have some premises on [socio-cultural issues] just because the 80% of the population are Muslims. [...] There is another world out of you; and you cannot even properly tell your child your own truth, or the fact that there is not one but multiple truths. [...] I was really baffling with those things. (Filiz – Interview)

There are also other accounts on the lack of the ability to maintain individuality in Turkey and the lack of boundary between the individual and the society. Aylin explicitly highlights that she does not have to deal with other people regarding how children must be raised. She claims there is enormous community pressure in Turkey about proper motherhood and ways to raise a child. She mentions that even random people at the parks in Turkey might intervene and lecture her about how to deal with her own child. She claims that people have certain premises about motherhood and the culture of motherhood, and how children must be raised.

Some favorable policies related to women, parents and their reflections on Germany's societal mindset also find an entry in interviewees' claims. An example from Canan is

related to how students who have children are supported in Germany. A similar support mechanism in Germany is also apparent concerning work-life. Turkey lacking these kinds of policies, as well as in the societal mindset about motherhood, have impacts on women's approaches:

> The issue of being a student and a mother at the same time. We are [in Turkey] not open-minded about such issues. If you are a student, you must be young; how come you can be a mother? You can't be a single mother who takes care of her child on her own. You wouldn't have support either. But it's not like that here [in Berlin]. Even if you are a single parent or not married, both the university and the state support you. [In Turkey there is the premise that] you can become a young mother but then you can't study. You can't study; your life is over. But [the mindset is] different here. (Canan – Interview)

Supporting working women or women in poverty through specific policies constitutes a crucial part of interviewees' sense of feeling included and valued in the civil society. Further favorable examples for Germany's context also comprise possibilities in receiving unemployment pay or receiving job search support. The importance of policies also reflects itself in the inefficiency of gender-based violence laws and the prevention of sexual harassment in Turkey. Concerns of women in terms of feeling unsafe about sexual harassment cases in Turkey were briefly discussed before. This aspect's importance should also be thought of together with the increasing femicide cases and the related inefficiency in implementing laws in both prevention and penalization. Otherwise, these drawbacks constitute a significant part for women feeling unsafe, undervalued, and excluded as citizens as well.

The concept of belonging and its relation to the feeling of safety was already discussed. Within the framework of womanhood, motherhood, and the future, this relation becomes even further critical. In line with this, the necessity of implementing sanctions against sexual harassment and femicide appears in the examples the interviewees give. Burcu specifically states this as a requirement for her to consider returning someday, whereas Melis and Aylin give examples from their own experiences of harassment in Turkey. Melis mentions her daughter also experienced these and that she does not want her to become further traumatized in that sense. She perceives her emigration decision as necessary, especially in gaining a feeling of relative 'security.' Aylin highlights the hardships of being a woman in Turkey, regardless of which place one lives and what one does. She focuses on the fact that how women might also tend to normalize the traumas because the reality of harassment is so always-existent within life. That starts to repress women in much more

layered ways, as they either start to blame themselves or put restrictions on themselves to avoid further harassment. Overall, those realities have become deep-seated in Turkish socio-cultural life. The respective inefficiencies of the policies to address them end up causing women to repress their subjectivities further or seek performative tools to avoid it.

Deniz further relates this to how Turkish society is an aggressive socio-cultural environment. She claims that sexual harassment is not a new problem either. Like previous accounts, she does not want her daughter to become too much exposed to these. Those concerns also reflect a contestation about the broader gender norms and relations in Turkey:

> I don't want my daughter to be gazed upon by strangers in creepy ways when she is out in the streets and wearing what she likes. I don't want her boyfriend to shoot her in the middle of the street. I don't want my son to get into fights with nonsense reasons either. Can't this happen in here [in Berlin]; it may indeed. But [it's less likely]. (Deniz – Interview)

Existent problematics regarding gender relations draw women into certain negative experiences and expectations that are related to the place. The clashing between women's values and the way society is, comes into sight, especially around themes such as gender relations and lifestyles. Further, those become coupled with intergenerational concerns related to motherhood as well. Other examples given by interviewees in that sense rely on the social pressures existent in the Turkish society, regarding how people try to 'impose' their own lifestyles on others:

> I haven't been raised in a household that was extremely aggressive; they didn't tell me things like, 'I will lock you up, you will do this and that' and so on. However, I was always told, 'It is for your own good if you do this and that.' You get fed up hearing those things after a while. And I don't want to spare my energy to cope with this; as I don't want the same for my child either. When I think about my youth, I start to realize how much time I spent for trying to defend myself against nonsense impositions. [...] My child won't have to spare energy to worry about things such as her sexual identity, how she must look like, or how she must dress like. This makes me happy because in Turkey, coping with those things [is not so easy] for a woman. (Aylin – Interview)

The intersection of political authoritarianism and social pressures can also be traced in such accounts. This is mainly because the mentioned social 'impositions' are not merely about interpersonal relations but also reflect political discourses. In women's narratives, the inseparable coupling of values and politics is apparent, especially on womanhood and motherhood themes, proving how subjective experiences relate heavily to social pressures

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existing within the structures. This brings out the impact of considerations and questionings about being a woman and a mother in Turkey versus Germany as well. For instance, Betül even claims that the collective feeling of 'unhappiness' she observes in Turkey withholds her to consider her homeland as the right place to raise a child and give a future there.

Aylin further makes a point by saying that the conflicts are not merely due to religion. It was previously discussed how polarization in Turkey mostly appears on the clash lines between secular and conservative sections of society. It is also true that non-religious people tend to employ conservative ideas as well, especially when it comes to gender norms, womanhood, and lifestyles. Aylin gives an example of how the mother of a friend of hers, who identifies as a secular Kemalist, thinks that her daughter is an 'exhibitionist' because of how she dresses. Aylin's account carries importance because it demonstrates how society's boundaries do not merely comprise a two-poled divide.

Besides all the different clashing in terms of values and women's ideological contestations related to the Turkish society and nation, some accounts reflect concerns over the dominant values and lifestyles in Berlin as well. During the interviewees, those concerns were mainly about the aspect of raising children. Melis, Betül, and Canan claimed worries about drug use and smoking among the youth in Berlin. The concerns involved questioning the negative sides of liberal lifestyles and the insufficiency in drug use policies, especially concerning the youth. However, interviewees also have tendencies to think that if people experience some things earlier in life and easier ways, they might not have to become addicts either. Only Canan seemed to be entirely against any exposure of children to the smoke of marijuana or cigarettes or places that alcohol is consumed. In that sense, she favors Turkey's approach more, which she defines as acting more responsibly when children are considered.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis was based on the main research question of how the formulations of identity, nationhood, and belonging have been shaping for the new wave of migrants from Turkey. The question was directed at emigrant women with children based in Berlin and examined through specific attention given to their experiences in and attachments to Turkey. In line with the situational approach to identities and sociological analysis, the 'historicities' related to understanding social change and the 'biographies' that reflect subjective constructions have led to the overall analysis. The main hypothesis asserted that the increasing new wave migration of the highly skilled Turkish citizens demonstrates a broader problem of belonging, with implications mainly resulting from Turkey's contemporary socio-political and cultural conjuncture. The hypothesis suggested further that the new wave migration, especially the experiences of women who were or later became mothers, implicates 'ruptures' or 'disengagements' from the Turkish society and nation. In other words, new wave migration is hypothesized as a reflection of ruptures in the senses of belonging and national attachments. The focus on women with children was to explore a) the aspects of womanhood and motherhood within national identities and b) the aspect of 'ruptures' in this regard, which might be manifested in the intergenerational concerns that are revealed in motivations regarding the children and the future.

The main findings show that the formulations of identity, nationhood, and belonging of the new wave migrants have been shaped with reference to four main axes: personal/subjective, professional/economic, children-related, social relations/ties. Years spent abroad and the abilities in transferring social and economic capital also appear as intersecting aspects that address their varying expressions of belonging and attachments.

However, the ruptures in senses of belonging and attachment to the home country do not necessarily reflect the sense of a radical shift 'following' the emigration. This non-linearity

supports the initial idea that potential migrants who could be situated within the 'new wave' consist of Turkish citizens who were already questioning and challenging their belonging and attachments to Turkey in the first place. The experiences 'following' the migration, which mainly reflect themselves in practical comparisons, only act out to channel critical affections into building a new life and electively belonging to a new setting. Thus, migration appears to be a performative tool to realize desired selves, and it further shapes the 'already existing' disengagements from the home society and nation. Family, friends, and the immediate social environment mean much more in terms of belongingness than what the nation or the country means to them in general. The discourse that they use to approach the nation and the country is expressed in ways that resemble 'disappointment' and 'emotional detachment' from the broader society. Even in the cases in which some women admit having strong attachments to Turkey, they end up describing this attachment as 'nostalgia' or as 'imagined' but not real anymore. Nevertheless, these tendencies reflect a significant 'change' due to having been sharpened throughout the migration experience. Regardless of how women re-negotiate their attachments to Turkey within this process, the practical factors eventually drive them to 'electively' belong to the new setting or at least strive to do so. Before the further details of the findings, it is necessary to overview the study's structure and key discussions briefly.

The literature review started with the paradigms in international migration studies, labor migrations, and theories on brain drain. The transnational paradigm was useful primarily due to its focus on agency and its understanding of migration as a process. The transnational social spaces paradigm offers a broad perspective going beyond the mere nation-state territories and considers the impacts of social, economic, and cultural capital in multiple sites of origin and destination. Attention given to omnipresent effects of multiple national contexts offers a more thorough understanding, enabling the inclusion of the structural aspects into the study, which handles agencies' accounts. The transnational paradigm also helped to criticize perceiving migration as a linear act. The study results demonstrate that problematics of belonging can start well before the emigration and/or develop into new kinds of questionings following the emigration. According to their existing social locations and abilities in transferring social, economic, and cultural capital, the search for belonging and life-satisfaction is being affected in different ways for interviewees. Nevertheless, this does not lead to a generalized result of 'radical' shifts in detachment from the home country or a linear emancipation process.

The theoretical framework consisted of the thesis's three main conceptual pillars: identity, nationhood, and belonging. The situational approach to narrative identities enabled to examine women's identity narratives to reflect their subjective constructions within their objective social locations. The theoretical discussion on narrative identities steered the analytical approach (as employed under the fourth chapter on the analysis) to understand how women with differing social locations negotiate their attachments and belongings differently. The aspect of nationhood enabled to reveal the problems of taking national identities for granted while examining migrant subjectivities and attachments. Questioning nationhood as a central concept also acted out as problematizing its symbolic relationship with gender and womanhood. This problematic relationship reflected itself in narratives of women, demonstrating how the idea of the nation in terms of attachments is surrendering itself to other emotional ties such as ones to family, friends, or migrant solidarity. This thesis's initial suggestion regarding nationhood was that Turkey's socio-political conjuncture, which fueled the new wave migration, had started to challenge national identities and belonging. Although the traces of rupture in terms of national attachments are apparent and much related to drawbacks in Turkey, the analysis revealed that the disengagements had not necessarily started as a result of emigration itself. Accumulating throughout a process of building new lives and striving for new attachments, the abilities in doing so affect the varying degrees of national attachments detaching or pertaining. Further, as women succeed in building these new attachments and self-realizations in the new setting, they start to develop a 'citizenship consciousness' in their relations to Berlin. The meanings given to national attachments are then ceasing even more. It is important to note that those who struggle more in building new attachments in that sense, are the ones who either could not – or yet – achieved their professional/economic aspirations.

The further theoretical discussion was based on belonging and the politics of belonging. Belonging is analyzed through the social and emotional level of place-belongingness and the discursive level of the politics of belonging, reflecting struggles around inclusion and exclusion dynamics. To point out to the subjective and discursive levels together within the analysis brought about a versatile outcome. The interviewees' place-belongingness is flexible, open to adaptation, and mainly linked to social ties and family. The dynamics of inclusion and exclusion reflecting the politics of belonging, on the other hand, are mostly expressed through comparisons over social and practical aspects of everyday life and the structural opportunities of the welfare state. Throughout their migration processes, the

struggles and practices reflect how interviewees elect to belong to Berlin and through which main motivations. The aspects of 'electing to' belong somewhere and the striving to put one's agency into place are highlighted in the analysis of why and how interviewees decided to leave Turkey and then stay in Germany (Chapter 4.2). Then followed the analysis of why and how ruptures or detachments in national identities occur, especially in relation to the homeland's structure and socio-political conjuncture (Chapter 4.3). Lastly, the theoretical discussion related to the functioning of the politics of belonging was reflected in examining perceived threats over interviewees' ethical, political, ideological value systems and inclusion and exclusion dynamics related to cultural lifestyles and gendered experiences (Chapter 4.4).

Understanding group formation and the historicities of the related national contexts also held a significant place. The historical reading of group formation situated the new wave migrants within the broader history at the intersection of multiple territorialities. The construction of the collective identity of "new wave" is primarily due to new wave migrants' positionality from back in Turkey. Their social, economic, and cultural capital, along with the subjective and structural conditions they were employed with throughout the migration process, situate them within the new wave category. However, the group formation and belonging to it vary from person to person, mostly depending on their engagement with Berlin's locality and transnational social ties. This also reflects the multi-sitedness of the constitution of the group. Plus, as the boundaries with different migrant groups and with the stayers in Turkey intensify through interviewees' various interpretations, their group formation and the respective transformations of belonging become more apparent. In other words, the processes of self-differentiation at play throughout interviewees' migration experiences continue to intensify their distinct groupness as the 'new wave.'

The transformations of belonging for the Turkey-descended collectivities are reflected in the structural shifts both in the Turkish (Chapter 3.1) and German (Chapter 3.2) contexts. The latest decade marked the intensification of culture struggle, political polarization, and authoritarianism in Turkey. An increase in those drawbacks thus rendered the focus on the last ten years valuable. For the German context, the focus was beneficial due to intensifying discourses and statistical indicators on the immigration of highly skilled and intellectual people from Turkey. Transformations of belonging through self-differentiation from the Turkish society and nation are reflected in interviewees' critical affections and

feelings of resentment, hopelessness, and disappointment towards Turkey. The same account also employs a self-differentiation from the other Turkey-descended populations in Germany because their emigration experiences have taken place under quite distinct structural conditions both in Turkey and Germany. For instance, the perceived and experienced "Turkey" can be different for descendants of labor migrants and the new wave migrants. Further, the transformations of belonging through self-differentiation within Germany's context are expressed through feelings of inclusion at the expense of the level of enjoyment of migrant status, structural conditions, and the welfare state. It should then be noted that the feeling of inclusion and the interviewees' stronger sense of belonging relate heavily to whether they could attain their professional and economic expectations from Germany. Values given to nation, origin, or roots cease within the constructions of belonging in the new wave migration. Instead, the value over freedom, individuality, enjoyment of practicing cultural lifestyles, and ability to benefit from structural opportunities and the welfare state starts to become primary. These findings also confirm that emotional attachments are not sufficient in fostering senses of belonging without complemented by structural opportunities and socio-political factors. Social and emotional attachments related to the homeland revolve around family and social ties and varying levels of importance given to the comfort in the native language and cultural proximity. In the overall analysis, it is apparent how women reflect more practical reasonings regarding how they elect to belong and more counter-hegemonic values in their striving to build new attachments and agencies.

The importance of womanhood and motherhood within this context was initially described as their significant positioning within the symbolic relationships between gender and nation. Experiences of women played a central role due to their further possibilities in providing the more challenging, critical, and counter-hegemonic insights to be found in terms of attachments and belongings. Women's narratives went beyond the subjective accounts of womanhood and motherhood since the concepts are already heavily politicized, especially in Turkey's context and overall. The narratives indeed lay bare the feelings of exclusions and struggles and how strongly they are rooted in structural and practical conditions related to being women and mothers. Everyday discourses and policies organizing or affecting women's and mothers' lives and their comparisons have found an extensive entry in the interviews. Through the overall results, being a mother in Turkey is perceived as positive only in the sense of having social support mechanisms from the

extended family members there. Further to that, being a mother in Germany is favored in many aspects ranging from social welfare rights and benefits to aspects of freedom and lack of social pressure in child-rearing. The experiences and disengagements related to womanhood and motherhood in Turkey further intersect significantly with concerns of security and lack of social trust.

As the main research question pointed towards the shaping of identity, nationhood, and belonging in the given context, the main three types of transformations are found. The first aspect shaping the identity, nationhood, and belonging is related to the migrants' social locations (Chapter 4.1) and their abilities in transferring social and economic capital within the process of migration. Opportunities based on their social locations also reflect respective power and privilege in adapting and attaching or not more easily. Migrants who are relatively more privileged in terms of their social locations within Turkey could transfer their forms of capital more easily than the less privileged ones among the sample. Their further abilities in re-negotiating new opportunities in the destination context also continue to shape their sense of belonging to Berlin or Germany. As long as they can transfer and establish their social, economic, and cultural capital in the host country, they express themselves as more content and do not show a further desire to belong in a more significant community such as a nation. In this sense, the relationship between the transferability of capital and the sense of belonging is one of the main findings.

The second aspect of transformation is reflected in how the established stereotype of a romantic sense of strong national belonging to be found in discourses and studies on Turkey-descended populations in Germany is shifting towards more practical and detached accounts of identity formation. The romantic and nationally attached representations of belonging are changing into more practical and flexible representations with the increasing new wave migration. The contemporary identity formations are constructed through counter-hegemonic discourses rather than merely reproducing ethnoreligious attachments and affections. Practices employing a citizenship consciousness are also heavily apparent, which values local participation to make sense of selves and build new attachments to place. The citizenship consciousness is indeed not a recent phenomenon in the Turkish-German transnational social space. The political struggles for the achievement of social and citizenship rights in the diaspora have a long history. Nevertheless, the new wave migration projects a new coupling of those struggles with an increased critical positionality

towards the Turkish political agenda as well, rather than only being directed towards Germany.

Thirdly, ethical and political value systems employed by the new wave migrants express a shift towards valuing freedom and individuality rather than origins, roots, or ethnoreligious community values. The values and the respective practices reflect a more supra-national character with giving weight to counter-hegemonic values and chosen lifestyles. The new wave migrants' concern seems to feed on the desires of feeling included through these individualized aspects, rather than what would be assumed based on their national roots. The feelings of exclusion from the Turkish society and nation also feed on similar insights but reach over to the discontents related to cultural norms and expectations as well as socio-political drawbacks and framings.

Some most addressed perceptions in the interviews also worth elaborating on. For instance, the interviewees mostly used the simple word 'country' while talking about Turkey. Concepts such as roots or homeland were only used variably by two interviewees (Burcu and Canan). Only Canan reflected higher discontents towards her life in Berlin. Her distinctive accounts were primarily related to how she could not realize herself in professional terms yet. Her financial concerns prevail, and she is not participating in any specific local organization or community in Berlin. She seemed to seek familiarity rather than celebrating the multicultural and liberal values of the living environment. Plus, she still feels an obligation of responsibility towards Turkey as its 'citizen.' Burcu also recalled a similar sense of responsibility toward Turkey as a citizen. However, she leaned towards repairing her own social and emotional resentment by engaging in Berlin's transnational communities, which practice activities related to Turkey or the Turkish populations.

All interviewees except Canan claimed to never really have nationalistic feelings towards Turkey in their lives before. When Turkey's impactful socio-political events were asked, Gezi protests of 2013 come up mostly on the front. It is followed at a similar rate by the 15 July 2016 coup attempt and the events afterward such as the announcement of the state of emergency, pressure on the media, arresting of journalists, academicians, and intellectuals. The interviewees also mention the violent attacks - such as suicide bombings – especially between 2015 and 2016, accompanied by their rising concerns about security. The discontents and anxieties over these kinds of events reveal an essential aspect of not being able to belong due to loss of security, hopelessness for the future, and the belief that

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one's achievements will stay unrequited in Turkey. The interviewees' sources of social unrest are also understood through social and political codes about who belongs and who does not. Those are heavily reflected around not sharing the hegemonic social, cultural, and political value systems existent and valued within Turkey's conjuncture.

Overall, re-negotiations of belonging within the migration experience become layered for migrants from different social locations with varying years of living experience abroad, according to a) subjective and personal, b) professional and economical, c) children related, d) social relationships and ties related aspects. The practical and pragmatic aspect of belonging to Germany plays a crucial role since the mere emotional or subjective aspects are never sufficient. Then follows the impacts of having children, which eventually steer the interviewees into rooting in the new setting. Being not only a migrant but also a 'mother' contributes to what they seek in their experience and plays a role in how they re-negotiate belonging. Then the emergent social relations and ties occurring in time complement belonging to the new locality. Being a mother also enables building new social ties and attachments because of the specific layer of experience and necessities it brings to a migrant's life. Mothers speaking the same native language come together in digital spaces and immigrant organizations, fostering an intersectional solidarity network that improves new attachments.

The four main aspects then intersect with the years spent abroad and the satisfaction in professional and economic terms. If high expectations of economic and professional achievement are considered and cannot be satisfied, this reflects an in-betweenness or discontent about belonging to the new setting (See Canan, Burcu). The same in-betweenness or discontent can also reflect itself through inabilities of leaving one's comfort zone and social environment in Turkey and placing the children's betterment before one's self-fulfillment of agency (See Melis). However, even if there is no necessary professional satisfaction, women might still develop strong attachments to the new setting due to satisfaction in life experience, a better future for children, and building new social ties and migrant networks (See Filiz). Among the interviewees, only Canan and Burcu claimed to consider returning to Turkey if socio-political problems are to be resolved and professional and economic opportunities to be increased. However, they still cannot be sure about returning even if those problems are resolved, mainly due to advantages related to raising children in Germany.

This thesis contributes to the related body of knowledge within the literature with a perspective for turning back the lens into the home country and its effects on further shaping of national attachments and belonging. While the studies on diaspora nationalism or senses of belonging focus on the destination contexts, this study offers a reversal of this perspective by demonstrating how detachments and disengagements might occur with reference to conditions and transformations in the home countries as well. The main finding reveals that political and lifestyle concerns converge deeply in general and through uniqueness of experiences in being women and mothers. For the historical transformations of belonging, the study finds out that quality of life, social rights and welfare entitlements, and concerns for the future become more primary than national attachments for the case of mothers. The romantic and attached formulations of identity in the transnational social space ceases as representations of more detached, critical, and counter-hegemonic formulations increase. The study is relevant for understanding the emerging knowledge and conceptualizations regarding the "new wave" migration from Turkey and the differences the "new wave" migrants represent in the long history of Turkish-German migration. The study is also relevant for understanding the unique aspect of womanhood and motherhood within problems of belonging to the homeland. Without illuminating a representative case study, this thesis has shed light on the main subjective accounts and objective conditions that could be useful for analyzing broader units of analysis in the future. The premise of the problematic of belonging today is offered to be read from detachments and disengagements.

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APPENDICES

A. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1) Personal & Demographic Questions

- Age

- Marital Status

- Children: How many? Age and sex of the children?

- Did you emigrate with children or had children after emigration? What were the impacts of emigrating with children or having children after emigrating on your general experience?

- Occupation: What was your occupation in Turkey and were you able to continue your occupation in Berlin?

- Education background and current studies

- Migrant status: Which visa and legal status? For how long? Do you plan to re-apply for residency when your current visa expires? What does your decision depend on?

- Residency conditions: Where were you living in Turkey? Did you own a house/flat or were you on rent? Where do you live in Berlin? Do you own a house/flat or do you pay rent? How do you think your residency situation and environment changed overall?

- Migration history: When did you emigrate and due to which main reasons/motivations? Was it planned or spontaneous? Why did you emigrate to Germany/Berlin and not another place? Why did you emigrate on the specific year you emigrated and not on another year? Were there impacts of your acquaintances, relatives, or networks on your emigration to Germany/Berlin?

2) Questions About Turkey and Attachments

- How would you describe your attachment to Turkey? Through or based on which values, ideas, ties, relations, spaces, or else?

- What were the specific experiences, events, social or political happenings or conditions that had any kind of impact on your decision to emigrate?

- What were your social, political, cultural activities or affiliations in Turkey, if there were any? If you had certain affiliations, did you experience any problems, struggles, or exclusions about those?

- What were the social or political events or happenings that has affected you the most? What were your reactions or engagements about them? Did they play any part in your decision to emigrate?

- Did you experience any problems, struggles, exclusions based on any of your social locations (regarding occupation, gender, ethnicity, political orientation, social affiliations, etc.) in Turkey?

　　　- based on your social/economic conditions

　　　- based on your identities or your affiliations with different groups

　　　- based on your political and/or ethical views or values

- How has your sense/feeling of security and safety been affected throughout the migration experiences?

- Have your perceptions about people in Turkey in ethic, political, or social terms have changed? How? Have people's perceptions about you changed, in your opinion?

- How closely or frequently do you follow the news and the political agenda of Turkey? Has there been any changes in that sense over the course of your migration experience?

- How it is to be a woman and a mother in Turkey and in Germany?

3) Conceptual Questions

- What does belonging mean to you? Is it important to belong to a country, nation, a geography, a place, etc.?

- Were there any changes in the meanings you give to such concepts throughout your migration experience? If yes, dependent on what?

- Have your experiences in Turkey and perceptions about Turkey changed the meanings you give to these concepts such as belonging, national attachment, feeling as a part of a society or culture, etc.?

- To where or what do you think you belong to? Were there changes? If yes, how?

- How do you think the social and/or political events, conditions, happenings have an impact on what you think about belonging?

- Where or what is home to you? What does it mean to feel at home?

- What are your expectations at any level, to feel as belonged? (personally, socially, politically, etc.)

B. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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02 KASIM 2020

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Doç. Dr. Aslı Çırakman DEVECİ

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız Yağmur AKSOY'un "Türkiye'nin Yeni Dış Göçü Bağlamında Değişen Kimlik, Ulusallık ve Aidiyet Hisleri: Berlin'deki Türkiyeli Göçmen Anneler Örneği" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve 308-ODTU-2020 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof.Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
İAEK Başkanı

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C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin (TBMM) kuruluşunun 99. yıl dönümünün de kutlandığı 2019 tarihli 23 Nisan Ulusal Egemenlik ve Çocuk Bayramı etkinliğinde, bir ilköğretim öğrencisine canlı yayında şu soru soruldu: "Akademik hayalin nedir?" Öğrenci, "Almanya Köln Üniversitesi'nde tıp okumak istiyorum, ondan sonra da belki Alman vatandaşı olurum" cevabını verdi (Evrensel, 2019; Independent Turkish, 2019). Bu cevap kamuoyu ve medya tarafından, özellikle de Alman vatandaşlığı vurgusundan ötürü kaydadeğer bir dikkat topladı. Türkiye'de son dönemde hem genç hem yaşlı, eğitimli, entelektüel kesimlerin gittikçe yükselen bir oranda Türkiye'yi terk etmesi ya da terk etmeyi düşünmesine dair tartışmalar kamuoyu ve medyada hali hazırda yoğunlaşmaktaydı. Öğrencinin bahsi geçen söyleminin Türkiye'de çocuklara, gençlere, ve onların geleceğine adanmış tek ulusal bayram olan bu günde gerçekleşmesi, genç insanların ve ailelerinin ülkelerinde verimli bir gelecek göremediği gerçeğini böyle bir günde yansıtması açısından daha derin bir etki yarattı. Son dönemde yeniden tartışılan, yüksek vasıflı vatandaşların kendilerinin ve çocuklarının hayallerinin peşinden kendi ülkelerinde gitmeye dair umutlarını kaybedişlerini yansıtan bu problem, kamuoyu söylemlerinde daha da ciddi bir yüzleşme halinde kendisini gösterdi. Son dönemdeki "Türkiye'yi terk etmek" söylemi 2013 yılındaki Gezi Parkı protestoları sonrasında alevlendi, ve özellikle 15 Temuuz 2016 tarihli darbe girişmi sonrasında da yeniden dikkat çekmeye başladı. Darbe girişimini takip eden süreçte gittikçe artan söylemler 2019 yılında bahsi geçen canlı yayın konuşması sonrasında da meseleyi ülke çapında en çok tartışılan konulardan biri haline getirdi. Türkiye'nin sosyopolitik bağlamı ve "yeni dalga" yüksek vasıflı göç tartışmaları çerçevesinde, bu tezin şu temel araştırma sorusunu yanıtlamaktadır: Berlin'deki Türkiye kökenli anneler örneğinde göçmenlerin Türkiye'yi algılama biçimleri ve sosyopolitik bağlamdan nasıl etkilendikleri açısından kimlik, ulusallık, ve adiyetleri nasıl şekillenmektedir? Temel araştırma sorusu ve temel kavramsal temalar göç ve adiyet süreçlerini açıklarken kadınlık ve annelik deneyimlerine spesifik göndermelerde bulunur. Yardımcı araştırma soruları ise, kadınların dış göçünde etkili olan temel motivasyonların neler olduğunu; Türkiye'nin sosyopolitik bağlamının ve gündelik yaşamının aidiyetleri ve bağlılıkları nasıl etkilediğini; ve toplumsal cinsiyet, aile, ve çocuk faktörlerinin dış göç

kararının devamlılığı üzerindeki etkisinin ulusal bağlılık ve aidiyet hisleri açısından 'kırılmalar' yansıtıp yansıtmadığını araştırmaya yöneliktir. Bahsi geçen araştırma sorularını açıklamaya yönelik olarak yedi adet yüz yüze derinlemesine görüşme gerçekleştirilmiştir. Toplanan veri, MAXQDA nitel veri analizi yazılımı yardımıyla araştırmanın temel kavramsal çerçevesindeki temalara göre analiz edilmiştir.

Bahsedilen canlı yayın etkinliğinden yalnızca üç ay sonra 23 Temmuz 2019 tarihinde Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (TÜİK), 2018 Uluslararası Göç İstatistikleri'ni yayınladı. Rapor "Türkiye'yi terk etmek" konusuna olan ilgiyi ve kamuoyu tartışmalarını daha da yoğunlaştırdı. Kişilerin ve hanelerin dış göçüne dair resmi kurum istatistikleri yalnızca 2016 yılına kadar dayanıyordu. TÜİK'e (2019) göre, 2018 yılında dışa göç eden kişi sayısı 323,918 kişi ile bir önceki yıla göre %27,7 artmıştı. 2018 yılında Türkiye'den dışarıya göç edenlerin 136,740'ı Türkiye vatandaşları, 187,178'i ise yabancı ülke vatandaşlarıydı. Her yılın 31 Aralık tarihi itibariyle Türkiye'den dışarıya göçen nüfus 2016'da 177,960 kişi, 2017'de 253,640 kişi, 2018'de 323,918 kişi idi (TUIK, 2019). Ortalama %180'lik bir artış, kamuoyu ve medyada yoğunlaşan söylemlerle de birlikte düşündüldüğünde dikkat çekici bir hal almıştır.

"Yeni dalga" yüksek vasıflı göç konusunun işlenmesinin farklı sebepleri ve gerekçelendirmeleri vardır. Bunların başında, bahsi geçen "Türkiye'yi terk etme" söylemlerinin, içerisinde oluştuğu sosyopolitik konjonktür ile birlikte düşünülmesinin önemi bulunmaktadır. Hem geleneksel ve alternatif medyada, hem de göçmenlerin kendileri tarafından yine medyada üretime sokulan yeni söylemlerin artması da bir diğer etkendir. Ayrıca belli sosyodemografik grupların dış göç istatistiklerinde dikkat çeken artışlar da "yeni dalga" göçte kadınların ve çocukların yerine dikkat çekmeyi gerektirmiştir. Dış göç veya beyin göçü çalışmalarında genellikle ön plana çıktığı görülen genç göçünden ziyade, yetişkin ve orta yaşlı vatandaşların Türkiye'de profesyonel veya yaşam pratiği anlamında belli bir yere geldikten sonra göç etme kararı alması da dikkat çekici bir unsur olarak görülmüştür. Yine benzer şekilde, çocuk sahibi kadınlar üzerine odaklanmanın da belli sebepleri vardır. Bunların başında göç ve aidiyet çalışmalarında her zaman ön planda gözükmeyen aile göçü, çocuğun iyiliği için göç etme hali, ve kadın göçü gibi boyutlara ışık tutuabilmek gelmektedir. Ayrıca "ulusal aidiyet" ile "gelecek kaygısı" arasındaki ilişkinin toplumsal cinsiyet ve kuşaklararası kaygı perspektiflerinden incelenmesi önemli bulunmuştur. Son olarak, araştırma alanında kadın deneyimlerinin

görünürlüğünü ve sembolik önemlerini ortaya koymak amacı da bu gruba odaklanılmasında etkili olmuştur.

Araştırma üç temel hipotez dikkate alınarak gerçekleştirilmiştir. İlki, yerel konjunkturel mekanizmaların yeni dış göçe yön verdiğini ve bunun insanların kendi ana yurtlarına olan aidiyet hislerinde kırılmalara işaret ettiğini öne sürer. İkincisi, yüksek vasıflı Türkiye vatandaşlarının dış göçünün sosyal, politik, ve kültürel çıktıları ile birlikte ana yurda duyulan aidiyette geniş anlamda bir probleme işaret ettiğini öne sürer. Son olarak, ve daha spesifik anlamda ise, kadın göçünün ve çocuğun iyiliği için göç etme olgusunun artışını ulusal aidiyet anlamında toplumsal cinsiyet, ulusal kimlik ve kuşaklararası kaygı arasındaki ilişkiler açısından sembolik önem taşıdığını ileri sürer. Hipotez edilen ulusal ve toplumsal kopuş açısından kadın ve çocukların dış göçünün uzun vadede daha etkili çağrışımları olduğu iddia edilir.

Tezin öncelikli amaçlarından biri, dış göç kararıyla ilişkili olan konjunkturel mekanizmaları ortaya koymak ve sosyopolitik bağlamın etkilerini anlamaktır. İlgili alandaki pek çok çalışma beyin göçü veya çekici ve itici faktörler gibi makro yaklaşımlardan hareket ederken, bu tez, göçmenlerin algıları ve yaşadıkları kırılmaları açıklarken "değişim" nosyonuna ve göçmen öznelliklerine odaklanması açısından da önem taşır. Ayrıca göç deneyimini ve aidiyet algılarını anlamaya çalışırken lensi, görüşülen göçmenlerin kategorik bir azınlık içerisinde yer almadıkları "ana yurda" çevirmesi açısından da önem taşır. Günümüzde aidiyet olgusunu çalışmak öncelikle öznel boyutlara, sosyal konum(lanma)lara, kimlikleşmelere işaret etmesi açısından önemlidir. Aidiyet kavramı, içerme ve dışlama dinamiklerini anlamaya yönelik olması itibariyle dış göçü yalnızca bir ekonomik veya kalkınma sorunu olarak görmenin ötesine geçmeye yardımcı olur. Nitel araştırma yöntemleri doğrultusunda incelendiğinde ise kırılmalara ve kopuşlara işaret etme potansiyeli açısından önemlidir.

Giriş bölümünün ardından gelen ikinci ana bölüm, uluslararası göç literatüründeki temel paradigmalar ile beyin göçü literatürünün özeti ile başlamaktadır. Uluslararası göç çalışmalarında mevcut olan paradigmalar aynı zamanda beyin göçü incelemelerinde de etkili olmuştur. Bahsedilen temel paradigmalar çekici-itici faktörler, kalkınma, ve ulusaşırı alanlardır (Kaya & Sahin, 2007). Güngör ve Tansel (2012, s. 209) en yaygın görülen "itici" faktörler arasında ana ülkedeki işsizlik ve ekonomik ve politik istikrarsızlık; "çekici" faktörler arasında ise evsahibi ülkedeki gelişmiş kariyer imkanları ve yaşam tarzı

özgürlüğünden bahseder. İkinci paradigma ise kalkınma paradigmasıdır. Bu paradigma uluslararası göçü ele alırken, gelişmekte olan ülkeleri insan sermayesinden eden ve ekonomik kalkınmalarına zarar veren bir süreç olarak bahseder (Docquier, Lohest, & Marfouk, 2007, p. 193). Pek çok çalışma da dış göç fenomenini öncelikle bir ulusal 'problem' olarak ele alır ve uygun kalkınma politikalarının uygulanarak bu problem ile ilgilenilmesi gerektiğini öne sürer. Çekici-itici faktörler paradigmasında da olduğu gibi, burada da aktörler yönü ve mikro analizlere çok fazla odaklanılmamaktadır. 1990'lar ve 2000'li yıllarda küreselleşme süreçlerinin yoğunlaşmasıyla birlikte ulusaşırı alanlar paradigması uluslararası göç ve yüksek vasıflı göç alanında önem kazanmaya başladı. Bu dönemde beyin göçü çalışmaları da yoğunlaşmış, ülkelerin yüksek vasıflı insanları çekmek için uyguladıkları yöntemler çeşitlenmiş, ve yükseköğretim göçü gibi konulara da ağırlık verilmeye başlanmıştı. Beyin göçü teorileri uluslararası göç olgusuna küresel sermaye hareketlerinin yön verdiği ve talep doğrultusunda gerçekleşen hareketler olarak yaklaşır. Bu tezin araştırma sorusu göçmen deneyimlerine ve Türkiye'yle olan ilişkilenmelerine odaklandığından, beyin göçü teorileri bu tez için doğru yaklaşım olarak görülmemiştir. İlk iki paradigma da büyük oranda ekonomik yönlere odaklanır ve "genelde göçmenlerin inanış ve davranışları hakkında varsayımlarda bulunur, bu varsayımları incelemek için göç örüntülerinin incelenmesinden öte bir yöntem uygulamazlar" (Gilmartin, 2008, s. 1839).

Bu noktada, ulusaşırı alanlar paradigmasından ve neden tercih edildiğinden bahsetmek gereklidir. Ulusaşırı alanlar paradigması öncelikle 'aktör'lere verdiği ağırlık ve birden fazla mekanla ilişkili olan göçmen öznelliklerini ön plana çıkarması açısından bu tez için uygun bulunmuştur. Göç bir süreçtir, lineer algılanmak zorunda değildir ve göç, ulusal sınırları aşan ve çeşitli mekanları, bireyleri, toplulukları, yol haritalarını içeren bir deneyim olarak algılanır.

Literatür bölümünün diğer alt başlığı ise literatürdeki kimlik, ulusallık, ve aidiyet tartışmalarına odaklanır ve böylece tezin kavramsal çerçevesi ortaya konur. Kavramsal çerçevenin oluşturulurken C. W. Mills'in "sosyolojik tahayyül" (2000) kavramıyla paralel olarak, sosyal değişimi anlamaya yardımcı olan "tarihsellikler" ve biyografileri anlamaya yönelik olan "öznellikler"in bir arada düşünülmesi ve aralarındaki ilişkinin ortaya konması hedeflenmiştir. İlk olarak durumsal kimlik yaklaşımı ve anlatı olarak kimlik olgularına değinilir. Durumsal yaklaşım, kimliklerin, benlik ve benliğin sınırlarna dair spesifik anlatı biçimleri olarak anlaşılması gerektiğini öne sürer (Yuval-Davis, 2010, s. 272). Kimlik, bir 'süreç' olarak algılanır ve 'bağlam'a göre şekillenir (Jenkins, 2008). Sosyal konumları,

kişilerin kimlik anlatıları üzerinde etkilidir. Kavramsal çerçeve ortaya konurken kadın ve çocuk faktörlerinin kimlik/aidiyet ve dış göç ilişkisi anlamındaki sembolik önemini yakalamak da amaçlanmıştır. Bu önem kendini ekseriyetle toplumsal cinsiyet ile ulus, ulusun devamlılığı, ve buna verilen anlamlar arasındaki ilişki üzerinde göstermektedir. Kavramsal çerçeve böylece ulus ve ulusallık olgularının literatürde nasıl problematize edildiğine odaklanarak devam eder. Sosyal var oluşun 'ulus' kavramı üzerinden açıklanmasına dair eleştiriler literatürde önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Kimlikleri ulus-devlet sınırları üzerinden açıklayan yaklaşımlar "metodolojik milliyetçilik" (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002) üzerinden eleştirilir. Bu yüzden farklı referanslarla şekillenen kimliklere ve ulusal bağlılıklardaki kopuş ve kırılmalara işaret etmek literatüre önemli bir katkı sağlar. Ulus kavramı ve milliyetçilik çalışmaları kapsamında toplumsal cinsiyetin ve kadınların rolü de kopuşları anlamak için önemlidir. Ulusun 'ortak kader' anlatısı üzerinden okunması kadınların ulusun inşası ve devamlılığını sağlama anlamında problematik bir konuma oturtulmasına işaret eder. Kadınları 'kültürel yeniden üreticiler' olarak konumlandıran bu anlayış, kadınları ulusun 'temsil yükü' ile baş başa bırakarak baskı unsuru oluşturur ve bunu yaparken kolektivitenin kimliği ve onurunun sembolik taşıyıcıları olmaları beklentisini yükler (Yuval-Davis, 1997a, s. 45). Tez, bu açıdan, kadınların göç aracılığı ile ulusun kültürel beklentilerine kısmi bir reddetme sunup sunmadığı sorusunu literatüre yönlendirir.

Kavramsal çerçeve son olarak literatürdeki aidiyet, mekansal aidiyet, aidiyet siyaseti, ve seçici aidiyet kavramlarını ele alır. Nira Yuval-Davis'in aidiyet ve aidiyet siyaseti çalışmasında ortaya koyduğu çerçeveye göre aidiyet üç temel analitik düzeyde inşa edilir: a) sosyal ve ekonomik konumlar, b) kimliklenmeler ve duygusal bağlılıklar, c) etik ve politik değer sistemleri. Tezin analiz yöntemi de bu çerçeveden yola çıkarak kurgulanmıştır. Mekansal aidiyet belli bir mekanda kişisel ve samimi anlamda 'evde' hissetmek olarak tanımlanır (Antonsich, 2010, s. 645). Ancak 'sosyal' faktörler de önemlidir ve bunlar her zaman 'duygusal' boyut ile örtüşmeyebilir. Bu ikisinin bir araya gelmesi aidiyetten bahsedebilmek için gereklidir ve bu ilişki aidiyette duygusal anlamda 'aşınalık' boyutunun tek başına yetersiz olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu noktada aidiyet siyaseti tartışmaları önem kazanır. Aidiyet siyaseti kişisel ve duygusal tanımların ötesinde, aidiyetin söylemsel bir kaynak olarak nasıl inşa edildiği, talep edildiği, veya sosyal-mekansal içerme ve dışlama biçimleri olarak karşımıza çıktığını ifade eder (Antonsich, 2010, s. 645). Bu açıdan aidiyet siyaseti farklı söylem, politika, veya pratikler üzerinden

okunabilir ve içerme/dışlama dinamikleri üzerinden nasıl etkilendiği ortaya konabilir. Bu anlamda kopuşlar, kırılmalar, ve kişisel aidiyetlerin tehdide uğradığı noktalar, aidiyet siyasetinin ne yönde ve nasıl işlediğini açığa çıkarır.

Seçici aidiyet kavramı ise bahsi geçen duygusal boyut ile aidiyet siyaseti arasında nasıl köprü kurulduğuna işaret eder. Bu anlamda seçici aidiyet, aidiyetin 'seçilebilen' tarafına vurgu yapar ve 'aşinalığın' ve 'kökenliliğin' sınırlarını ortaya çıkarır. Duygusal faktörler ile sosyal, ekonomik, politik, kültürel, yasal faktörlerin bir araya gelebildiği noktalarda seçici aidiyetten bahsedilebilir. Bu açıdan seçici aidiyet, aktörlerin rolünü ve seçili mekan içinde kendini gerçekleştirme çabalarını ön plana çıkarır. Göç ile kurulmaya çalışılan 'seçici aidiyet' içerme/dışlama dinamiklerinin duygusal olan ile sosyopolitik olan yönlerini uyum içinde bir araya getirebilme çabasını, göçü performatif bir araç olarak kullanarak ortaya koyar.

Üçüncü bölüm, aidiyet olgusunu Türkiye ve Almanya bağlamları üzerinden problematize etmeye odaklıdır. İlk alt başlık "yeni dalga" göçmen profilini anlamaya ve kavramsallaştırmaya yöneliktir. Yeni göçmenlerin Türkiye toplumu ve ulusundan kopuşlar yaşadığına yönelik hipotezin karşılıkları, ön plana çıkan göç motivasyonları ve göçmen profilleri üzerinden anlaşılmaya çalışılmaktadır. Ön plana çıkan karakteristikler genel olarak daha mutlu, özgür ve güvenli bir hayata erişme isteği, sınıfsal bir strateji olarak düşünülebilecek deneysel bir hayat değişimi/deneyimi arayışı, Türkiye'de eğitimliye verilen değerin azaldığı hissi, algılanan sosyal statüde kayıplar, Türk eğitim sistemi ve çocukarın geleceğine dair kaygılar, gündelik yaşamda huzursuzluk ve sosyal ve politik kutuplaşmada artış, özgürlük ve bireysellik kaygıları, ve kamusal hayatta güvenlik kaygısı olarak özetlenebilir. Savaş (2019) yeni dalga göç ve göçmen profilinde "duygulanımsal" yönün de önemine dikkat çeker. Yeni dalga göçün "çoğunlukla, yaşanmış deneyimlerden kaynaklanan politik baskı, şiddet, ve travmalar ile ülkeyi terk etmeye dair gelişen arzu, ihtiyaç, veya dürtüyü harekete geçiren negatif duygularla şekillendiğini" (Savaş, 2019, s. 5406) belirtmektedir. Bunu takiben Türkiye'nin özellikle son on yılda geçirdiği sosyopolitik ve yapısal değişimler, dış göçe itme potansiyelleri bağlamında tartışılmıştır. İkinci alt başlık ise Türkiye'den Almanya'ya göç tarihini ve farklı dönemlerde değişen karakteristikler ile göçmenlerin deneyimlerini ve aidiyetlerini etkilediği iddia edilen yapısal değişimleri ele alır. Bunu Türkiyeli göçmenlerin Almanya'daki değişen konumu, algısı, ve kimliklenmelerine dair tartışmalar takip eder. Yeni göç dalgası ile birlikte

değişen içerme ve dışlama mekanizmalarının neler olduğu ve göçmenlerin hem birbirleri arasında hem de Alman toplumu ile nasıl ayrıştıkları ele alınır.

Dördüncü bölüm derinlemesine görüşmelerin temel kavramsal çerçeve ve ön plana çıkan temalar bağlamında analizine ayrılmıştır. İlk alt başlık, araştırmanın metodolojisi ve limitlerini açıklar. Temel metodolojik yöntem olarak yüz yüze derinlemesine görüşmeler seçilmiştir. Temel araştırma sorusu göçmenlerin deneyimleri, algıları, ve Türkiye'nin sosyopolik bağlamıyla girdikleri ilişkilere göndermede bulunduğu için, bu verileri alabilmenin en uygun yolunun derinlemesine görüşmeler olduğuna karar verilmiştir. Gilmartin (2008) göç, kimlik, ve aidiyet çalışmalarının metodolojik olarak önemli yönünün, çalışmaların temelinde "göçmenlerin deneyimleri ile göçün örüntüleri ve süreçlerini" yansıtan "göçmen hikayeleri"nin yatması olduğunu söyler (s. 1848). Yedi adet yüz yüze derinlemesine görüşme, bu kaygılar doğrultusunda gerçekleştirilmiştir. Analiz yöntemini ise toplanan verinin öncelikle Türkiye'nin – ve aynı zamanda Almanya'nın – son dönemdeki sosyopolitik bağlamı içerisine yerleştirilerek tartışılması oluşturmuştur.

Dört görüşmeciye, expat ebeveynler ve göçmen anneler için kurulan Facebook grupları ile bir göçmen kadın insiyatifi aracılığı ile ulaşılmıştır. Diğer üç görüşmeciye ulaşmak için ise kartopu yöntemi uygulanmıştır. Yalnızca 2009 ile 2019 yılları arasında göçen kadınlar örnekleme dahil edilmiştir. Göçten önce veya sonra çocuk sahibi olmanın yaratabileceği farklı etkiler açısından, üç görüşmecinin göç etmeden önce çocuk sahibi olup, diğer dört görüşmecinin ise göçtükten sonra çocuk sahibi olması önem taşımaktadır. Görüşmeler ortalama 60 ile 90 dakika arasında sürmüştür. Üç ana bölüme ayrılan mülakat soruları kişisel ve demografik sorular, Türkiye ve bağlılıklar ile ilişkili sorular, ve kavramsal sorular olarak özetlenebilir. Araştırmacının görüşmeler sırasındaki rolü yarı-yapılandırılmış sorular aracılığıyla görüşmeciye üzerinde rahatça konuşabileceği temalar vermek, ve ilgili konularda özellikle 'değişim' ve 'dönüşüm'lerin neler olduğuna dikkat çekmek olmuştur. Derinlemesine görüşmeler dışında, araştırmacının Berlin'de geçirdiği dört ay boyunca yaptığı katılımcı gözlemler de analiz ve tartışmalar üzerinde etkili olmuştur. Burada yeni dalga göçmenlerin ve akademisyenlerin düzenlediği veya katıldığı çeşitli etkinliklerde yapılan gözlemler ve girilen iletişimler etkili olmuştur. Ayrıca yeni dalga göçmenlerin yoğunlukta olduğu ve bir kısmı annelere özel olan Facebook grupları da düzenli olarak takip edilmiştir. Bunu yaparken Berlin'deki yeni göçmenlerin ve özellikle de annelerin gündelik hayat deneyimleri ve problemlerine dair fikir sahibi olma amacı ön planda olmuştur. Saha sürecini takiben MAXQDA üzerinde kodlanan veriler

kavramsal çerçeveyi oluşturan temalar bağlamında analiz edilmek üzere tezin dördüncü bölümünün de yapısını oluşturmuştur.

Dördüncü bölümün ikinci alt başlığı göçmenlerin sosyal konumlarına odaklanarak analizi başlatır. Sosyal konumlar, aidiyet literatüründen de yola çıkarak, yaş ve göç yılı, göçmen statüsü, etnisite, toplumsal cinsiyet, sosyoekonomik durum, eğitim, ve meslek olarak tanımlanmıştır. Göçmenlerin bu konumlar üzerinden deneyimleri ve göç sürecinde gerçekleşen değişimlerin, göçmenlerin aidiyet ve bağlılık anlatıları üzerinde etkisi olduğu görülmüştür. Örneğin, göçmen statüsünün önemi, Mavi Kart ile göç eden kişilerin göç sürecine çok daha fazla kazanç ve hakla başladığını ve bunun hem adaptasyon hem de yeni aidiyetler geliştirme üzerinde kolaylaştırıcı etkisi olduğu gözükmüştür. Etnisite açısından ise hiçbir görüşmecinin kendini Türkiye'de herhangi bir etnik azınlık üzerinden tanımlamaması, ve hatta bazılarının "beyaz Türk" tanımını kullanması, bu anlamda göreceli ayrıcalıklarını göç sürecinde bir kenara bıraktıklarını göstermektedir. Toplumsal cinsiyet açısından ise Türkiye'deki sosyal konumlarına eleştirel yaklaşırken, Almanya'da bunun yerini özellikle kadınların hayat tarzı ve güvenliği açısından daha olumlu konumlanmalara bıraktığı görülmüştür. Sosyoekonomik durum olarak ise Türkiye'deki varlıkları daha fazla olan göçmenlerin ve hanelerinin, bu varlıklarının göç ve alışma sürecinde kendileri için bir güvence ve teminat rolü oynadığı gözlenmiştir. Sosyoekonomik durum ve varlıklar bakmından ayrıcalıklı olmak, göç sürecini kolaylaştırmakla birlikte, örneğin, yalnızca iki yıldır Berlin'de olan bir görüşmeci için Türkiye'den kopmak anlamında zorluk yaratabildiği de görülmüştür. Göçmenlerin eğitim ve mesleki konumlarındaki değişim de yeni aidiyet ve bağlılıklar geliştirmeyi önemli ölçüde etkilemektedir. Kendi arzu ettikleri eğitim veya mesleğe göç sonrasında da devam edebilen görüşmecilerin Berlin'e yeni bağlar ve aidiyetler kurmada çok daha rahat oldukları görülmüştür.

Dördüncü bölümün üçüncü alt başlığı göç etme sebepleri ve göç sonrasında kalmaya karar verme sebeplerini bir bütün olarak inceler. Göç kararının yalnızca göçmeden önce net biçimde verilen ve bu şekilde devam eden bir karar süreci olmadığı gözükmektedir. Göçe dair motivasyonlar ve buna bağlı olarak değişen aidiyet ve bağlılıklar, göç öncesi ve sonrasında sürekli yeniden müzakere edilerek şekillenmektedir. Bölümün son kısmında ise Türk-Alman ulusaşırı sosyal alanının bu karar süreçlerine etkisi ve göçmenlerin ulusaşırı alanda sosyal sermaye aktarım beceri ve olanaklarının yeni bağlar kurma ve aidiyetin şekillenmesindeki önemi tartışılmıştır.

Dördüncü bölümün dördüncü alt başlığı göçmenlerin kimlik tanımları ve sosyal/duygusal bağlılıklarına odaklanır. Kimliklerini ve bağlılıklarını hangi mekan, olgu, veya duygulara bağlı olarak ifade ettikleri incelenir. Burada özellikle Türkiye ile olan bağlarını nasıl ve neler üzerinden tanımladıkları önemli olmuştur. Mekansal aidiyette birden fazla yer arasında kalma hali özellikle iki görüşmecide gözlenmiştir. Genel olarak ise aşinalık hissinin önemli rol oynadığı ve yeni yerleşim yerinde bunun zamanla kazanıldığı görülmüştür. Türkiye ile olan bağlar ve tanımlamalarda yalnızca aynı iki görüşmecide kökenin ve kan bağının kaçınılmazlığı vurgusu gözükmüştür. Ekseriyetle dil, aşinalık, ve sosyal bağlar ile yaşanmış deneyimler üzerinden Türkiye ile olan bağlar tanımlanmaktadır. Ancak sosyal ve politik faktörler hesaba katıldığında, aidiyette aşinalık ve köken gibi vurguların yetersiz kaldığı, Türkiye'de arzu edilen sosyal değişime dair azalan umutların duygusal aidiyetin sınırını oluşturduğu gözlenmiştir. Bu anlamda özellikle Gezi Parkı protestoları, 15 Temmuz darbe girişimi ve bunu takiben yaşanan gelişmeler, üniversitelerde akademik özgürlük eksikliği, sosyal hayatta güvensizlik ve terör olaylarının artması, ve şehirlerdeki değişim ile kültürel alanların kaybedilmesi gibi faktörler ön plana çıkmıştır. Genel anlamda görüşmeciler yeni aidiyet ve bağlılıklarını sosyal bağlar, gündelik pratikler, ve ortak motivasyonlar aracılığı ile geliştirmekte, kökenler üzerinden kurulan aidiyet silikleşmektedir. Kökenin önemi kendisini yalnızca dil ve ortak kültür üzerinden göstermekte, bağlar ve 'seçici' aidiyet ise sosyal haklar, gündelik yaşam, hayat tarzını gerçekleştirebilmek ve çocuklar/annelik ile ilişkili kazançlar gibi 'pratik' konular üzerinden kurulmaktadır.

Dördüncü bölümün beşinci alt başlığı ise, göçmenlerin etik ve politik değer sistemleri üzerinden aidiyetlerinin nasıl şekillendiğini anlamaya yöneliktir. Anlatılarında yansıttıkları değer yargıları, ideolojik perspektifler, politik yaklaşımlar, veya kendi sosyal konumlarını anlatılarında nasıl kullandıkları önemli noktaları oluşturmaktadır. Anthias (2009, s. 10), bir bireyin kendini bir grup üzerinden tanımladığı halde bunun tam bir parçası olarak kabul edildiğini hissetmek anlamında 'ait' olmayabileceğini belirtir. Literatürde etik ve politik değer sistemleri incelenirken başvurulan değerler, sınırlar, ve içerme/dışlama dinamikleri gibi olgulara görüşmecilerin anlatıları üzerinden odaklanıldığında, Anthias'ın da vurguladığı bağlamda, kopuş veya öz-ayrım noktaları ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bunlar kendini Türkiye toplumundan kopuş olarak veya kendini Almanya'daki diğer Türkiye kökenli göçmenlerden veya Alman toplumundan 'ayırarak' tanımlamak gibi şekillerde gösterebilmektedir.

Değerler yönüne bakıldığında, görüşmecilerin hepsinin politik konumlanış olarak muhalefet çizgisinde bulunduğu söylenebilir. Milliyetçilik karşıtı değerler (Aylin, Burcu), cumhuriyetçilik (Canan), bireyselcilik (Deniz, Filiz), liberal değerler ve devletçilik karşıtlığı (Deniz), ve kendini apolitik tanımlayıp seküler değerlere ağırlık verme (Melis) eğilimleri görüşmelerde gözükmüştür. Politik değerler açısından Türkiye'ye ilişkin verilen pek çok anlatı rahatsızlık, umutsuzluk, ve dışlanmışlık hislerine odaklanmıştır. Sınırlar yönüne bakıldığında, toplumsal ve politik sınırların farklı gruplarla farklı şekillerde çekildiği gözükmüştür. Örneğin, Deniz, Türkiye toplumu ile arasındaki sınırı Türkiye'nin 'çok gelenekselci' olması üzerinden çekiyor denebilir. Bunun yanı sıra, pek çok görüşmecide bu sınırlar kendini sosyal baskılar, mahalle baskısı, ve özellikle de düşünce biçimi ve hayat tarzı açısından çekilen snırlar olarak göstermektedir.

Türkiye toplumundan kopuşlar bağlamında annelik ve kadınlık deneyimleri ve buna bağlı olan değerler çerçevesi de çalışmada merkezi yer tutmaktadır. Kadınları ulusal kültürün devamlılığını sağlayan aktörler olarak gören söylemler toplumsal cinsiyet normlarını pekiştirmektedir. Görüşmecilerin anlatılarında da özellikle kadınların ne zaman evlenmesi ve çocuk doğurması gerektiğine dair veya çocukların nasıl yetiştirilmesi gerektiğine dair Türkiye üzerinden dile getirilen rahatsızlıklar bu ulusal kültürün devamlılığı söylemleriyle ortaklaşmaktadır. Ulusal kültürün kadınlık ve annelik üzerinden görüşmecilerin anlatılarında da bir baskı unsuru olarak gözüktüğü söylenebilir. Yine benzer şekilde özgürlük ve bireysellik değerlerine verilen ağırlık da çoğunlukla kadınlık ve annelik deneyimlerine bağlı olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu açıdan göç, kadınların kendilerini birer aktör olarak gerçekleştirmek için kullandığı bir araç olarak da gözükür. Türkiye'de kadınlığa ve anneliğe yönelik söylemler dışında, politika ve uygulamalar da önemlidir. Görüşmecilerin etik ve politik değer yargılarıyla bağdaştırılabilecek anlatılarında Türkiye'de son dönemde iyice kökleşmiş olan, dini muhafazakar değerler ile seküler liberal hayat tarzları arasında derinleşen kültürel ve politik ayrımın yansımaları da gözükmektedir. Bu ayrımlar kendini önemli ölçüde toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkileri, çocuk yetiştirme, çocukların eğitiminde dikkat edilecek değerler, sosyokültürel baskı, hayat tarzı özgürlüğü gibi konularda rahatsızlıklar olarak kendini göstermekte ve Türkiye ile olan kopuş noktalarını yansıtmaktadır.

Tezin en geniş anlamdaki temel bulguları, kimlik, ulusallık, ve aidiyetin göç sürecinde dört ana eksene bağlı olarak şekillendiğini göstermektedir: kişisel/öznel, profesyonel/ekonomik, çocuk(lar), ve sosyal ilişkiler/bağlar. Ana yurda olan adiyet algıları

ve bağlılıklardaki 'kırılmalar' dış göçü 'takiben' radikal bir değişimi değil, göç öncesi sorgulamalar ve göç sonrası pratik karşılaştırmalar aracılığıyla sürekli yeniden ele alınan kırılmaları işaret etmektedir. Göçü takip eden deneyimler 'pratik' karşılaştırmalara yol açmakta ve Türkiye'ye karşı eleştirel duygulanımlar yerini yeni bir hayat kurmaya ve yeni bir yere seçici aidiyet geliştrmeye bırakmaktadır. Bu açıdan göç, kendini gerçekleştirmek için performatif bir araç olarak karşımıza çıkmakta, ve Türkiye toplumu ve ulusuyla 'hali hazırda var olan' kopuşları yeniden şekillendirmektedir. Aidiyet olgusunu anlayış açısından görüşmecilerin anlatılarında aile, arkadaşlar, ve yakın sosyal çevrenin, ulusa veya ülkeye ait olmaktan çok daha ön planda olduğu gözlenmiştir. Türkiye'den ve Türkiye toplumundan bahsederken 'hayal kırıklığı', 'nostalji', 'hayal edilen ama artık orada olmayan' gibi anlatımlar ön plana çıkmıştır. Her bir görüşmecinin farklı ilerleyen süreçlerine rağmen, pratik faktörlerin onları 'seçici olarak' yeni yaşam alanlarına ait olmaya, ya da en azından bunun için çabalamaya ittiği görülmüştür.

Araştırmanın sonucunda üç temel değişim kendini göstermektedir. İlk olarak, göçmenlerin aidiyetlerinin nasıl şekillendiği, sosyal konumları ve göç sürecinde sosyal ve ekonomik sermayelerini transfer etme becerileri doğrultusunda şekillenmektedir. İkinci olarak, Almanya'daki Türkiye kökenli göçmenlere dair söylemlerde kalıplaşmış olan ana yurda güçlü bağlılık ve vatan özlemine dair romantik kimlik söylemlerinin, yerini 'seçici aidiyet' aracılığı ile daha pratik ve ayrıksı kimlik söylemlerine bıraktığı gözlenmiştir. Üçüncü olarak, göçmenlerin etik ve politik değer sistemlerinde kökenlere vurgu ve etnik-dini değerlerdense özgürlük, bireysellik, ve güvenin ön plana çıkışına doğru bir değişim gözlenmiştir. Türkiye'den Almanya'ya göçler tarihi bağlamında aidiyetlerin tarihsel değişimi açısından bu tez, "yeni dalga" göçle birlikte yaşam kalitesi, sosyal haklar ve refah ile gelecek kaygılarının aidiyetleri yeniden kurgulamada anneler örneğinde ulusal bağlılıklardan daha önemli hale gelmekte olduğunu göstermektedir.

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