RETURN MIGRATION TO TURKEY:
IDENTITY PROBLEM AND CHANGES IN THE
CONCEPT OF NATION

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

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CONCEPT OF NATION

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This study examines the changing concept of nation and the identity problem for the workers that turned back to Turkey. Starting from 1960s, lots of workers migrated to European countries as a solution to the problem of unemployment in Turkey. The migrants brought their families with them and got accustomed to living abroad. However statistics prove that a group of migrants returned back to Turkey. Eventually, an identity problem emerged for the returned migrants and they experienced a confusion and ambiguity concerning their origin. Although, these migrants shared the same ethnic origin with people living in Turkey, they experienced difficulties in adapting to their national culture. Some of the migrants adapted themselves to other cultures, and their interest to their traditional cultures decreased. Consequently, the concept of nation carries a different meaning for the returned migrants. This thesis will examine, why and how the returned migrants became the other in their own countries.

Keywords: Return Migration, Turkish Migration, Turkish Migrant Identity, the Concept of Nation.

ÖZ

GÖÇMENLERİN TÜRKİYE'YE DÖNÜŞÜ: KİMLİK SORUNU VE ULUS KAVRAMINDAKİ DEĞİŞİM

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Bu çalışma, Türkiye'ye dönen göçmenlerdeki kimlik sorununu ve ulus kavramındaki değişimi incelemektedir. Türkiye işsizlik soruna bir çözüm bulmak amacıyla 1960'lı yıllardan beri Avrupa ülkelerine göçmen göndermektedir. Bu göçmenler zamanla ailelerini de yanlarında getirerek yurt dışında yaşamaya alışmıştır. Ancak istatistikler, bazı göçmenlerin Türkiye'ye geri döndüğünü kanıtlamaktadır. Geri dönen göçmenler için bir kimlik sorunu ortaya çıkmış, kendilerini hiçbir ülkeye ait değilmiş gibi hissetmeye başlamışlardır. Kendi yurttaşlarıyla aynı etnik kökeni paylaşsalar da geri döndüklerinde gelmiş oldukları ülkelerle karşılaştırıldığında önemli kültür farklılıkları olduğunu görmüşlerdir. Bazı göçmenler diğer kültürlere kendilerini o kadar adapte etmişlerdir ki, artık geleneksel kültürlerine ilgileri azalmıştır. Sonuç olarak ulus kavramı da geri dönen göçmenler için farklı bir anlam taşımaya başlamıştır. Bu çalışmada, geri dönen göçmenlerin neden ve nasıl kendi ülkelerinde ötekileştikleri incelenecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç Dönüşü, Türk Göçü, Türk Göçmen Kimliği, Ulus Kavramı

To My Family

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ALLBUS	German General Social Survey
EU	European Union
İİBK	İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu
S.P.O	State Planning Organization
US	United States

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The primary aim of this thesis is to analyze the changing identities of the migrants who turned back to Turkey and the way their understanding of "nation" changed. The emigrants who started leaving Turkey for getting a job in Western Europe in the early 1960s, formed a life in Europe. Their number increased gradually over time. From 1960's to 2000's, the Turkish population in Europe became nearly three million. The Turkish migrants became the largest non-European migrant group in the Union. Of course the number of people who migrated was more than 3 million, although it is impossible to estimate the exact number.

For this study, I conducted interviews with people in order to understand their thoughts about belonging, adjustment and identity. Interviews had been conducted to twenty three Turks who had migrated to European Countries. I interviewed people who had migrated to the following countries: Germany, France, Denmark, Austria, Netherlands and Switzerland.[1] As the vast majority

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[1] According to the Labor and Social Security Ministry's 2009 annual report, the total number of Turkish citizens in Germany, France, Denmark, Austria and Netherlands are 2.712.735, which makes the %91 of the total Turkish migrants in Europe. The total number of Turkish citizens in Europe is 2.968.385. You can find this data in table 3.

According to the S.P.O. survey, the total percentage of Turkish migrants in West Germany, Austria, Netherlands, Switzerland and France is 91%. I conducted interviews with people who had migrated to the counties, where Turks mostly migrated. You can find this data in table 1.

of the Turkish migrants have gone to Germany, many of my interviews were with the migrants who came back to Turkey from Germany. According to the data, one of every two people who had immigrated to Europe, had migrated to Germany.

Table 1: Information about the participants.

	Age	Sex	Country of immigration
1-	36	Female	Hamburg/Germany
2-	24	Female	Arnhem/ The Netherlands
3-	31	Female	Den Helder/ The Netherlands
4-	23	Female	Vienna/ Austria
5-	27	Female	Frankfurt/Germany
6-	25	Female	Switzerland
7-	31	Female	Berlin/Germany
8-	23	Female	Odense/Denmark
9-	40	Female	Denmark
10-	55	Male	Denmark
11-	27	Female	Switzerland
12-	22	Female	Nuremberg/Germany
13-	39	Female	Germany
14-	12	Male	Cologne/Germany
15-	41	Male	Germany
16-	42	Male	Germany
17-	18	Female	Germany
18-	41	Female	Germany
19-	35	Female	Mainz/Germany
20-	20	Female	The Netherlands
21-	21	Male	Denmark
22-	Unknown	Male	The Netherlands
23-	28	Female	Paris/ France

Figure 1: Table showing the countries that participants had migrated, according to percentages.
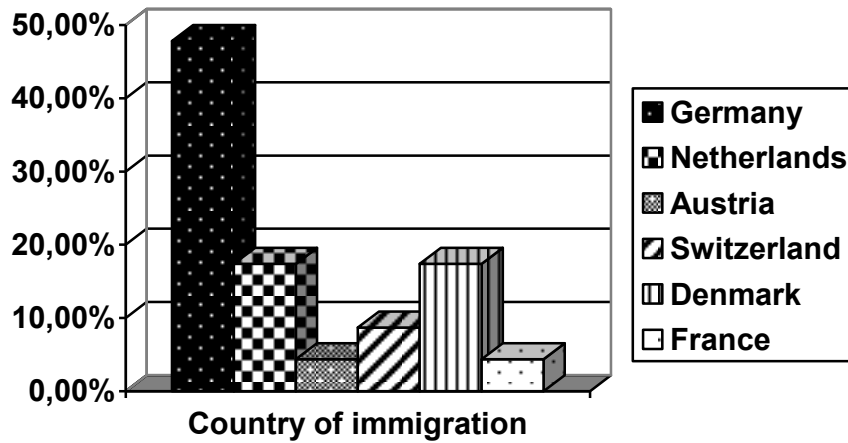
Participants were 12 to 55 years of age, of both sexes. The vast majority of interviews were made through internet. There were full attendance to all questions, although questions were not compulsory.

This thesis also contains interviews with people who migrated to Germany's various cities such as: Berlin, Nuremberg, Cologne, Hamburg, Frankfurt and Mainz. I also had the opportunity to ask questions to people who migrated to various cities in other countries.

For my interviews, the following criteria were used in the purposive selection of participants; they must: (1) be Turkish migrants who returned to Turkey from European Countries or Turkish migrants still living in European Countries. (2) have spent at least five years in European Countries

(3) have migrated to work or migrated to come together with his/her family who have migrated to work.

In this study, the biographies of people, names or personal characteristics that is not pertain to the topic will not be included. With these interviews, the main aim was to conduct a common idea of the "Turkish migrant identity".

First of all I asked the participants which country they migrated to, and basic informations like how long they have stayed in these countries. Of course I also asked their return dates. Among the participants, there were some people who did not turn back to Turkey permanently. These people visit Turkey for holidays, or for some other reasons.

I asked the participants, problems they faced in European Countries and problems confronted after returning to Turkey. I learned the city where they would prefer to live if they had a chance to choose. I also asked them, the differences between the Turks living in Turkey and Turks who have migrated to European Countries. As a continuation of this question, I asked the religious and cultural differences between Turks living in Turkey and Turkish migrants in European Countries.

The main purpose of the interviews was to understand how Turkish returned migrants feel, as I think that an important part of "identity" is; ones own feeling about himself. A man who sees himself as an Indian but who did not have an Indian family and who has never gone to India, is of course not an

Indian. But combined with some other factors, ones own feelings is an important criteria for "identity".

In my interviews, I asked Turkish migrants, their problems that they have faced in European Countries as well as the problems that they faced after returning to Turkey. I tried to analyse their thoughts about religious and cultural differences between Turks in Turkey and Turks abroad. I asked, If they had a freedom to choose where they would choose to live. Among the questions I asked, the most important one without a doubt was "where they felt that they belonged". Of course there were a wide variety of answers that could be given to this question. Any country, any city or any thing that may come to mind might have been said.

I will give examples from the interviews in different sections of this study. In addition, at the end of the study, I will discuss the results of the interviews.

The difference of my interviews from other studies and interviews, is that I also talked with Turkish returned migrants rather than only talking to Turks still living in European Countries. I asked them the issues they faced after returning back to Turkey, as well as the problems they experienced abroad. I did not only focus on their lives after return, I also focused on identities.

I also asked questions to understand if they saw any differences between Turks abroad and Turks in Turkey, regarding religion and culture. As I think that identity is people's own understanding about himself, I asked questions in order to understand their feelings of belonging.

While most studies have focused on Turks in Germany, or focused on just one or two countries that Turks migrated to, many people who had migrated to different European Countries participated to this study.

In chapter II 'Concepts and Definitions', I will discuss the issue of identity and national identity. The concepts of 'Nation', 'National Identity', 'Group Identities', the emergence of the republic of Turkey and the formation of the Turkish Identity will be explained. I will also define the migrant worker and return migration in this chapter.

In chapter III 'Migration', I will give a historical sketch of the Turkish migration starting from 1960's, in order to better comprehend the context within which the return migrants are shaped. The main reason for The Turkish workers to migrate is employment, as they do believe that they will have better jobs in the host countries than their origin countries, but unfortunately the migrants do not have equal access to employment opportunities and there is an apparent discrimination.

Then I will continue with explaining migration flows accreted after the Second World War. Describing European goverments migration policies will be the following subject.

The Turkish Migration to European Countries and Characteristics of the Turkish Migrants are parts of the chapter, I will analyse the differences between the exercises of European Countries.

In chapter IV 'Return Migration' I will explain the characteristics of Turkish returned migrants and different return migration policies of European Countries. I will also mention the process of adaptation to the origin country. Migrants not only try adjusting to their country of immigration, but also struggle to adjust to their home countries after their return. This view is an important part of the thesis.

In chapter V 'Evaluation of the Interviews' I will explain the construction of the migrant identity. After the evaluation of the interviews, I will make an assessment of all these studies.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

2.1. Identity

> I take a nation to be: a group of people who recognize one another as belonging to the same community, who acknowledge special obligations to one another, and who aspire to political autonomy.[2]

Identity is individual's own understanding of himself. The Constructivist's main argument is that identities are not formed by human nature, rather identities are constructed by social structures. One of the well-known scholars of Constructivism, Alexander Wendt argued that the realists were wrong because the international realm is not a self help system. He argued that the international environment is created within a process of interaction, which means that identities are not given but developed in interaction, and the way they behave may change.

The Constructivists claim that identities may change through interaction and identities may also be stable.

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[2] David Miller, *Citizenship and national identity*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000) p.112.

For Habermas, our identity is not only something pregiven, but also its our Project. We can not pick and choose our traditions, but we can be aware of the fact that how we continue them is up to us. [3]

For Stuart Hall identities are producing and reproducing themselves through transformation and difference.[4] For Hall, the diasporic individual's identity is in constant flux, that is why it is better to think of identity as a "production", a process that is never complete.[5]

> In Hall's terms, identity for diasporic groups and others in the postmodern age is not fixed or permanent. 'Identity becomes a 'moveable feast'; formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or adressed' in postmodern societies. This certainly fits the Turkish migrant in Europe. Neither Turk nor Dutch, they fall somewhere in the middle and move back and forth between both cultures, all the while creating a new place for themselves. [6]

Although cultural identities have histories, they face constant transformation. Identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past.[7]

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[3] Ed. Peter Dews, *Autonomy and Solidarity: Interviews with Jürgen Habermas* (London: Verso, New Left Books, 1992) p. 243.

[4] Christine L. Ogan, *Communication and Identity in Diaspora, Turkish Migrants in Amsterdam and Their Use of Media* (US: Lexington Books, 2001).p.175.

[5] Ibid. p.5.

[6] Ibid. p.4.

[7] Ibid p.5.

Hall places cultural identification on two axes that operate simultaneously, an axis of similarity and continuity, and one of difference and rupture. The first of these provides continuity with the past and the second one demonstrates the discontinuities. [8]

For Manuel Castells, for a given individual or for a collective actor, there may be a plurality of identities that is a source of stress and a contradiction in both self-representation and social action.[9]

Castell asserts that all identities are socially constructed, and that process takes place in a context marked by power relationship. He distinguishes between three forms ond origins of identity building. He defines legitimizing identity, resistance identity and Project identity. Project identity: when social actors, on the basis of whichever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by doing, seek the transformation of overall social structure.[10]

This thesis approaches "identity" as it has some features that are pregiven and has some features which is shaped in the society. Personal, cultural, religious and national identities can be changed through time, and migration is also one of the causes of change.

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid. p.9.

[10] Ibid.

2.2. The concepts of 'Nation', 'National Identity','Group Identities' and "identity"

Communities having the same language, territory or religion is an important separator of nations from other nations but rather then these common points, the presence of others constitutes the nation. This is a known fact, that nations emerge because they differentiate themselves from others. But after differentiating themselves from others, nations should have common features which connects people. So this is a nested case that, with common characteristics people create the "other" and with the existence of the others, people come together and form a community.

Smith defines 'nation' as a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members. [11]Smith gives importance to nationalism, in order to understand national identity, as he defines it as the ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation.[12]

Eric Hobsbawn identifies two important principles of nation; nations consist of collective sovereignty based on common political participation and nation comprises common language, history, cultural identity.[13]

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[11] Anthoy D. Smith, *National Identity*, (London: Penguin Books, 1991)p. 14.

[12] Ibid. p. 73.

[13] Gopal Balakrishnan, *Mapping the nation; with an introduction by Benedict Anderson*, (London; New York: Verso, 1996) p.227

'Nation', 'nationality', 'nationalism' and 'national identity' are concepts that scholars refer while defining whichever. Hans Kohn, in his book 'The Idea of Nationalism', said that nationality is not only a group held together by common institutions but its also a group seeking to find its own expression. [14] For Kohn, nationalism is a state of mind and act of conciousness. [15] This group conciousness will lead to a group action and groups developing their own character. Each group creates its own symbols and social conventions, is dominated by social traditions, which find their expression in the public opinion of the group. [16]

Walker Connor suggests that belief in common descent is an important feature. Members of the nation have a conviction that they are related. [17]

Anthony Smith defines identity as the discovery of the self, which is composed of different identities and roles, such as familial, territorial, class, religious, ethnic and gender. Smith argues that identities are based on social classifications which can be modified or abolished.

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[14] Hans Kohn, *The Idea Of Nationalism*, (New Jersey: Trensaction Publishers, 2005) p.19.

[15] Ibid. p.10.

[16] Ibid. p.11.

[17] Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism, The Quest for Understanding*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Pres 1994) p.145.

According to Smith, national identity involves territories and political community with common institutions and a single code of rights and duties for all the members of the community.[18]

"Territory is important when people have exerted mutual, beneficial influence over several generations. Historical memories make the homeland important, as its the place where saints and heroes lived and fought."[19] We observe this situation in Turkey. The period of national struggle and The Liberation War, united other identities under the Turkish identity.

Sometimes regions have local identities, even though nations have unitary institutions and laws, like post-Revolutionary France. United Provinces of the Netherlands had national unions. The Union of Utrecht in 1579 and the Netherlands States General protect the ancient liberties and privileges of the constituent provinces, which had been assailed by Habsburg policies of centralization under Charles 5 and Philip 2. [20]

In Western model of national identity nations were seen as cultural communities, whose members were united by historical memories and traditions. It took several generations for states to accept migrant communities own historical memories and traditions.[21]

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[18] Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, (London: Penguin Books, 1991). p.9.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid. p.10.

[21] Ibid. p.11.

A different model of nation was recognized in the East, which challenged the Western model of 'nation' and added new elements to the concept. While in the Western model consider the place where people live is important, in the Eastern model, There is an emphasis on a community of birth and native culture. Migrants still remain as the members of the community of birth. [22]

According to the Western model, Turkish migrants' identity may change, while for the Eastern Model, Turkish migrants should have the same identity with the Turks living in Turkey.

Smith claimed that, a nation is like a 'super-family' and most importantly a community of common past. [23]

In order to understand the concept of national identity, one must understand the concept of 'nationality'. For Miller, nationality answers how to maintain solidarity among the populations of states that their citizens can not have a community that relies on kinship or face-to-face interaction. In societies with economic markets, people think of themselves, so its difficult to convince them to agree to practices of redistribution from which they are not likely to benefit personally. These problems can be solved by solidarity and feel to act for the common food of that community.

David Miller states that national identity may be a constitutive part of personal identity. He argues that, answering the question "who are you?" as

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[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid. p.12.

"I am Swedish" or "I am the grandchild of Tsar Nicholas 2"is not something that is irrelevant. The second idea of Miller is that nations are both ethnic and political communities. The duties that we owe to our fellow-nationals are different from the ones that we owe to other human beings and people who form a national community in a specific territory have a good claim to political self-determination. [24]A nation's members will have more obligations, if they have a culture that embodies a strong sense of fellow feeling. A Turkish person will have more obligations than an American person, as US (United States)'s social culture is more individualistic. A family does not exist, if it's members do not have feelings towards each other, but rather than these feelings, people consider the needs of the family members whan taking decisions.

For Miller, nationality is people's own idea about themselves. [25]One of the most important claim of Miller is that nationality exists when its members believe that it does. Race or language are not concepts that define nations but these become important when a nation takes them as some of its defining features. [26]

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[24] David Miller, *Citizenship and national identity,* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000)p.27.

[25] David Miller, *On nationality*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995)p. 18.

[26] David Miller, *Citizenship and national identity*, p.28.

Miller's argument supports Ernest Renan's phrase 'a daily plebiscite'.[27] Nations existence depends on a common belief that its members belong together and they have a shared wish to continue their life in common.[28]

Another idea of Miller is that, national identity embodies historical continuity. For Renan, historical tragedies matter more than historical glories, as sorrows have greater value than victories because they impose duties and create common effort.[29]

Miller suggests that national identity is an active one, that do things and take decisions together and the nation becomes what it does by the decisions that it takes, although some of them may turn out to be a national shame.[30]

According to Miller, another aspect of national identity is that it connects a group of people to a particular geographical place. A Muslim could make a pilgrimage to Mecca once but differently a nation must have a homeland. A state should have an authority over a geographical area.

Final emphasis of Miller is that the people who compose the nation are believed to share certain traits that mark them off from other people.

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[27] "A daily plebiscite" means that a nations existence depends on a shared belief that its members belong together, and a shared wish to continue their life in common.

[28] Ibid. p.28.

[29] Ibid. p.29.

[30] Ibid.

[31]National divisions must be natural, but this do not imply racism. The people who compose a nation must believe that there is something distinctive about themselves.

All of these characteristics of national identity; a mutual belief, taking decisions together with its inhabitants, connection to a territory, thought to be different from other communities, distinguish nationality from other sources of personal identity.

Renan adds something else to this definition, he said that to forget and to get one's history wrong are essential factors in the making of a nation. Boundaries have been generally drawn by other forces and reflect the vagaries of imperial competition.[32]

For Miller, a person may both have a national identity and have attachment to other cultural groups, such as religious groups, work-based associations and ethnic groups. Miller reminds that national identities are always in practice biased in favour of the dominant cultural group that has dominated the politics of the state through history and national identity and group identity can be kept separate. As a result national identity includes elements from the dominant culture and generally minority groups are put at a disadvantagous position. [33]

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[31] Ibid. p.30.

[32] Ibid. p.31.

[33] Ibid. p.34.

Miller have argued that others could acquire national identity by adoption, athough usually national identity is something a person is born into. Migrated groups have the option of acquiring a new identity while keeping their own identities. It's not an obligation to leave everything that a person has from his former identity, just because now that this person has adopted a new identity. Miller takes this further and say that what best meets the needs of minority gruops is a clear and distinct national identity which stands over and above the specific cultural traits of all the groups in the society in question. Newly emerged minorities have been obliged to adjust to the social life. [34]

2.3. Minority Groups and Citizenship

Minority groups first demanded not to be forced to adjust to the dominant culture and religion. Then, they asked for inclusion and citizen status. They want society to recognize them equally. A person may have different identities, like being a woman, a homosexual or a Muslim, but still that person should be considered as equal to other British citizens, although most of the British citizens are not Muslims for instance.

When the minority groups feel unhappy, Miller suggests to ask 'does this group have a collective identity which become incompatible with the national identity of the majority?". These people may feel that they are not treated

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[34] Ibid. p.35.

equally or they may feel that their group identity is not represented or their identity may be incompatible with the majority group's identity. [35]

If people have totally different identities with different language and race, it's not possible for them to constitute a shared identity. This situation will create secession, which will destroy the political balance and place these groups in a weak position.

Within nations, there are groups with distinct identities. Miller is concerned with the relationship between group identities and national identities that create solidarity for citizens. Groups should have a right to display their identities and cultures. Miller suggests several things which has to be taken into account; no particular religion should have a comparatively more important place, groups should have an opportunity to participate equally, politics should be conducted in the language of both majority and minority groups, while decision making group differences should be considered. [36]Like Miller, Iris Marion Young conceives the rights of groups within society. Young suggests self organization of group members, group analysis and group proposals and group veto power. [37]

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid. p.64.

[37] I.M.Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1990), p.184.

2.4.   Defining the Migrant Worker

Labour migration can be defined as a worker leaving his country to have a better job with a better income. Later he/she may decide that he would like to stay longer or he may bring his family, and wish to settle there permanently. The migrants may decide to return home or settle abroad, depending on their experiences in the host country.

 The temporary migrant can be defined as a worker recruited for a specific time period, while permanent migrant can be defined as a person who settled abroad and stayed there through out his life. "It seems that during recent decades the favoured model of European labour migration has been that of temporary migration." [38]

In Germany, temporary migrant is called a 'gastarbeiter' or guestworker, in the post war Europe, in France he might be thought as one of the 'new slaves'. In the United Kingdom the term 'ethnic minorities' is generally used. Although the names given to migrant workers in different countries may vary, they are generally; young, healthy, single and strong. In the 1960's, they were mainly unskilled workers, but this started to change in the 1970's.

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[38] Samuel Bentolila, Christian Dustmann and Riccardo Faini, 'Return Migration: The European Experience', Economic Policy, Vol. 11, No. 22 (Apr. 1996), p. 224.

2.5. The Formation of the Turkish Identity

In the cases of migration and return migration, the question of national identity is a significant issue. The first issue is how Turkey define his national identity. Bozkurt Güvenç emphasizes that, a "Turk" is one who speaks Turkish language and sees self or ego as a citizen of the Turkish Republic.

> A comprehensive discussion of the Turks in world history requires considering the pre-Islamic Turks and their precursors; the entry of the Turks and the Mongols, with whom the Turks shared a great deal, into the Islamic world; the last great age of indigenous Asian empire building; and finally the modern period.[39]

Two transformations stand out as particularly significant in Turkish history: the Turks' entry first into Islam and then into modernity.[40] I will focus on second transformation, while examining the Turkish identity.

Turkish modernization began in the eighteenth century, with the attempts to adopt the European military system. Between 1839 and 1908, the reforms involved civilian matters. The Tanzimat Charter's[41] reforms made changes in administration, education, and the judiciary.

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[39] Carter Vaughn Findley, *The Turks in World History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). p.9.

[40] Ibid.

[41] The fundementals of a new regime were proclaimed in the Tanzimat Charter on November 3, 1839. The word 'Tanzimat' is the plural of 'tanzim' which means ordering. With the Tanzimat Charter, reforms were intended to form a new order to the organization of the state.

Turkish Identity was not formed after the declaration of Turkish republic. But it gained different meanings. For example; the Ottoman Empire regarded all Turkish speaking subjects as Muslims, but Turkey regarded every citizen of Turkey as a 'Turk'.[42]

The new government of Turkey was formed at the end of the Ottoman Empire. The new government focused on the national unity, national history and the national government.

> The multi-ethnic, multi-religious Ottomans, also known in the West as the "Turkish Empire", had disowned this ethnic (or nationalistic) identity. Because of the millet (milla) system, Ottomans regarded all Turkish speaking subjects as Muslims. In fact most Turks were Muslims, but all Muslims were not Turks.[43]

As Mehmet Karakaş mentions, when construction of national identity and nationalist movements influence the Western society, Turkish society was also affected. Nationalist movement, which coincided with the end of the Ottoman period, failed in creating a Turkish identity with a national quality. [44] When the Ottoman Empire lost its sovereignty over other communities, "Turkism" became a prominent issue. Until 1923 the Turkish identity could not be used as an effective tool for producing policy.

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[42] Bozkurt Güvenç, "Secular Trends and Turkish Identity" Perceptions, Journal of International Affairs, December 1997-February 1998 Volume 2 Number 4 p.1 http://www.sam.gov.tr/perceptions/Volume2/December1997-February1998/guvenc.pdf accessed on: 26/03/2010 15.22. p.1

[43] Ibid. p.1

[44] Mehmet Karakaş, *Küreselleşme ve Türk Kimliği* (Ankara: Elips Kitap, 2006).p. 144.

After the First World War, new states and identities emerged. With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, both the territory and the citizens had begun to spread. Therefore, for the newly formed state 'Turkey', protection of the Turkish identity and the independence of the state became important.

To have a balance between the West and the East became an important part of the Turkish identity. Ziya Gökalp believed that it was the primary task of sociology to determine what the Turkish people already possessed or lacked to be a modern nation. He diagnosed the major ailment of the existing cultural climate in Turkey within the dichotomous representations of the East and the West. Accordingly he believed in the necessity of an adjustment between the two aspects of social life, civilization and culture.[45] Turkey's dilemma was to show both hostility and interest towards the West.

The proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, and the abolition of the Caliphate in 1924, were the major steps. These developments also led to other reforms, such as the disestablishment of state religion.

The new adminstration decided to disconnect with the Ottoman Past and create a new nation. Important reforms were introduced, such as the change of Arab alphabet to the Latin alphabet in order to use the Turkish language. Regarding the adoption of the Latin alphabet, Feroz Ahmad said "At a stroke,

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[45] Niyazi Berkes, *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays of Ziya Gokalp*, (Westport, Connecticut: Freenwood Pres Publishers, 1959) p.20.

even the literate people were cut off from their past. Overnight, virtually the entire nation was made illiterate."[46]

The historians started to study the history of the Turks, rather than Ottoman history. The education system also changed, all religious instutions were replaced by the Western kind of schools. Women rights and democracy was emphasized. The transition from reign to the republic was an important step together with the secularization process. Turkey declared that nearly every citizen living in Turkey was Turk. Of course non-muslims and different identities continued their existence.

With the Turkish Republic, the aim was to reach to the level of contemporary civilization. With all these developments, the years between 1920 and 1930 were important years for the emergence of the new identity when Kemalist regime became significant.

Six principles of the regime; Republicanism, Populism, Nationalism, Statism, Secularism and Reformism were defined in 1931. The new concepts were introduced to the Turkish identity, by these reforms. The Ottoman identity was transforming to Turkish identity. The sultanate and the caliphate, the two important concepts of the Ottoman Empire; were the implementations that had to be abondoned for the Turkish Republic. For the people that have accustomed to living with their own culture, western music, clothing, education system and alphabet became a part of their life.

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[46] Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London: Routledge, 1993). p.80.

Usually in developing countries, the unitary mass mobilization has held together for about a generation after victory in the national struggle, until dissatisfaction with its leadership mounts, and old internal differences resurface. In Turkey, this began to happen with the transition to multiparty politics after 1945, and the pace accelerated from the 1960s on. For the world in general, the 1960s were a watershed when, partly because of surging demographic growth and an exceptionally large cohort of young adults, old political alliances of Left and Right began to fragment and differences of gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and class began to gain salience anew.[47]

The great depression in 1929 was also an important incident which effected Turkey, like many other country.

After 1980 the Kemalist regime began to be questioned and democracy has became more important. With globalization, the end of the cold war and the internal factors, the 1980's was a new beginning for Turkey. With globalization, Turkey adopted liberal economy, like many other states. A lot of emphasis was given to the private sector, rather than the public sector. While the effect of communism was reducing all over the world, an Islamic right-wing emerged in Turkey. A polarization emerged in the 1990's between Kemalist-Islamist groups.

Kadıoğlu mentions that the political climate that prevailed in the 1980's and the early 1990's has oppened the Kemalist Pandora's box out of which have

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[47] Carter Vaughn Findley, *The Turks in World History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 178.

emerged multiple identities making references to the different sects of Islam and the Kurds.[48]

2.6.   Defining Return Migration

Different terms has been used to define return migration, such as homeward migration, remigration, second time migration. Return migration is simply defined as, migrants turning back to their motherlands. Return migration should be separated from, circular migration or reemigration, as these two are referring to migrants who migrates again after turning back to their motherlands. In this section, return migration will be the main subject.

George Gmelch mentions about return migration's causes. He summarized the various classifications as; returnees who intended temporary migration, returnees who intended permanent migration but were forced to return and returnees who intented permanent migration but choose to return. [49]

Nermin Abadan states that workers abroad may want to turn back to their origin countries, if the employer refused to renew the work contract or lowered wages. [50] In the case of unemployment, workers prefer to stay abroad to look for another job and not to turn back, as it is risky.

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[48] Ayşe Kadıoğlu, *The paradox of Turkish nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity*, Middle eastern Studies, Vol. 32, no.2 (April 1996) p. 14 http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/ayse.htm accessed on: 15/03/2010 15.00.

[49] George Gmelch, 'Return Migration', Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 9 (1980), p.138.

[50] Eric-Jean Thomas, *Migrant workers in Europe: their legal status*, (France: The Unesco Press, 1982), p. 188.

In recent years, there is a tendency to return Turkey for work, have a tendency. According to the Hürriyet newspaper published in Turkey and the Bild newspaper published in Germany, 40 thousand Turks, returned to work from Germany to Turkey. [51]The report also gave examples from interviews which were made with the returned migrants.

Acccording to the interviews, a 36-year-old woman working as an architect in Germany, returned to Turkey for a good job offer. Another 40-year-old migrant who was providing consultancy services in a bank in Germany, returned to Turkey to set up his own firm. Examples like these may be attributable.

It is difficult to estimate the number of returned migrants. Different datas are seen in several sources. According to statements of returned migrants, ever year approximately 1.000.000 workers enter Turkey, while only 3,312 had come back permanently. Generally returns are recorded at the time of the annual holidays.[52] Although we know that many of them are tourists, its impossible to know how many of them turned permanently and how many of them are just tourists to visit their families or friends.

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[51]"40 Bin Türk Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye İş İçin Döndü" http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/16394680.asp Hürriyet ekonomi, accessed on: 30/11/2010 11.28

[52] Eric-Jean Thomas, *Migrant workers in Europe: their legal status*, (France: The Unesco Press, 1982), p. 189.

Some of the migrants decide to turn back, because they see themselves es temporary. At the beginning of the 1960's, this kind of return migration was observed. In 1967, 13,7 percent of the workers turned after a year, 64 percent turned after 1–3 years and 13 percent turned after 3–4 years. According to another data related to the 1960's, many of the migrants turned because of health problems.[53]

Very little is known about what happens to the returned migrants and how many of them returned permanently. Turkish State Planning Organization's survey is an important source which was carried out in 1971. Generally none of the surveys that was carried out in 1960's and 1970's mention anything related to returned migrants. In this sense, the S.P.O (State Planning Organization) survey is an important source. The survey was related to Turkish returned migrants life after return.

The survey covers workers who had returned by 1970. In the survey, there is no classification of how many of the workers were permanent returned migrants, and how many of them were temporary migrants. There is a general understanding that, many returned migrants want to re-emigrate. [54]

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[53] Murat A. Demircioğlu, "F.Almanya'dan Kesin Dönüş Yapan İşgücü" TODAİE, vol 12. issue 2. p.100.

[54] Suzanne Paine, *Exporting Workers: the Turkish Case* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p.55.

Table 2: Percentage distribution of Turkish migrant workers by duration of staying abroad, S.P.O. survey, 1971

	Total %	Urban %	Rural %
6 months	9	11	6
6- 11 months	14	13	16
1 year - 1 year 11 months	27	24	32
2 years - 2 years 11 months	22	17	27
3 years - 3 years 11 months	15	14	16
4 years - 4 years 11 months	7	11	2
5 years - 5 years 11 months	4	5	1
6 years - 6 years 11 months	2	2	1
7 years	1	2	0

Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

Source: Ibid. p.201.

According to the table, Turkish migrants were generally staying abroad for 3years-3years 11 months in 1971.

CHAPTER 3

MIGRATION

> Migrancy involves a movement in which neither the points of departure nor those of arrival are immutable or certain. It calls for a dwelling in language, in histories, in identities that are constantly subject to mutation.[55]

3.1. Migration Waves Towards Europe

According to Dustmann, there were three major reasons for migration: territorial and political changes in Europe; severe labour shortages during the strong economic development in Europe in the 1950s and 1960s; and large economic differences.[56]

The migration flows accreted after the Second World War. Europe experienced several migration waves. War displacements caused migration movements in between 1945 and 1960. Between the mid-1950s and 1973, there were migration movements caused by large labour demands after Europe's economic development. Another migration wave was seen after 1973's, with family unifications and asylum migration. The last movement emerged in the 1980's with the liberalization of Soviet policy and accelerated by the fall of the Berlin Wall.

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[55] Iain Chambers, *Migrancy, Culture, Identity* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994) p. 5.

[56] Samuel Bentolila, Christian Dustmann and Riccardo Faini, 'Return Migration: The European Experience', Economic Policy, Vol. 11, No. 22 (Apr. 1996), p. 215.

Europe's policy was to improve post war economy with labour immigration. The first attitude was to accept migrants as temporary. Family unification was not predicted and the idea was to deal with short run shortages of labour.

There has been an important variation between European host country goverments concerning their migration policies. While, Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands have had strict regulations, France had fewer controls until the 1968 regulations. Anti-migrant groups led the government to introduce new measures to improve their conditions.

3.2. Turkish Migration to Europe

The modern republic of Turkey emerged in 1923, with reforms aiming to transform Turkey into a secular state. In these years, a new strategy based on government control was introduced.

Although the Turkish participation to the international migration began in the 18th century[57], as Abadan Unat mentions, there were three phases of Turkish migration. The first stage was the experimental phase of the late 1950's and early 1960's, when the Turkish emmigration was extremely limited.[58]

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[57] In the 18th century Turkey observed the arrival of 5,000,000 Muslims from Crimea, the Balkans and the Caucasus. The British officials reported that large numbers of men including Turkish migrants have come to work as laborers.

[58] Nermin Abadan-Unat, *Turkish Workers in Europe 1960-1975, A socio-Economic Reappraisal* (Netherlands: E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1976).

The second phase started with the first five year development plan which was implemented in 1963, when Turkey became an exporter of labour. The first two year development plans were not successful in bringing about the required structural transformations and Turkey's development plans were made dependent on labour export. Turkey's aim was to decrease the amount of domestic unemployment with an access to the European market.[59] Turkey's plan was to benefit from the experiences of returned migrants. Migrants were expected to help the development of Turkey, after developing their skills in European Countries.

Turkey defined the migration process as temporary. The government assigned İİBK (İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu)[60] as the manager of the process and banned the involvement of the individuals and social networks. In fact, when the sending and the receiving countries were not in charge, social networks dealt with migration. The case of migration to Sweden, displayed that some individuals from Ankara acted as interpreters and mediated the initiation of labour migration. As a result Kulu, a district of Konya emerged as the main area of supply for Turkish labour to Sweden.[61] The residences of Yozgat and Çorum had migrated to Germany, while people living in Dinar had migrated to Belgium.

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[59] Ibid.

[60] Employment Agency.

[61] Kulu with only 8,900 inhabitants send and estimated 4,000 migrants to Sweden by the end of 1975.

The labour migration came into prominence in the early 1960's, with an agreement between Turkey and the Federal Republic of Germany. Many of the migrants went to the West, and more than half of these workers went to Germany.

The Association Agreement was signed between the EC and Turkey in 1963. The agreement promised to lower the tariffs and migration barriers.[62] Turkey signed labor recruitment and social security agreements with Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, Switzerland, Sweden and with France, to place both countries on an equal treatment. As these countries sheltered most of the Turkish migrants, my main focus will be on these countries.

The labour recruitment agreements with European countries, except Germany, were basically identical to each other, and arranged the recruitment, transportation, rights relating to work and residence of workers and provided the transfer of remittances home. Akgündüz states that the agreement with Belgium gave the Turkish diplomatic mission in this country the right to interfere in the allocation of Turkish workers to Belgian mines.[63]

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[62] In 1976 Turkey announced that it could not lower its trade barriers and in 1982 the European Parliament persuaded the EC to suspend EC- Turkey relations.

[63] Ahmet Akgündüz, *Labour Migration from Turkey to Western Europe 1960-1974, A Multidisciplinary Analysis,* Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES), University of Amsterdam (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), p. 60.

Table 3: Percentage distribution of Turkish migrant workers in the State Planning Organization's survey by country of initial destination.

	Total	Urban	Rural
West Germany	79	84	71
Austria	5	3	8
Netherlands	4	3	5
Belgium	8	3	14
France	1	1	1
Switzerland	2	3	1
Other European Countries	1	1	0
Other Overseas Countries	1	2	0

Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

Source: Suzanne Paine, *Exporting Workers: the Turkish Case* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p.216.

According to the State Planning Organization's survey, 84 percent of migrants from urban and 71 percent of migrants from rural had migrated to Germany. Percentage distributions of migrants in other countries are not much different.

After 1965, the desire to go to the West increased. According to İİBK records, from 1969 to 1973, a total of 1,360,426 people were registered. Unskilled workers over the age of 25 were refused.

The third phase of the Turkish migration took place in 1970's. Although in 1973 World Oil Crisis took place, migration from Turkey did not stop, but continued with family unification.[64] In 1970's, Turkey was the second largest supplier of migrants, after Yugoslavia, which was related to Turkey's economically active population.[65]

Abadan Unat has suggested that employers preferred Turkish labourers as they were less likely to join unions, less demanding, more work disciplined and content with cheap housing. And Turkish migrants were more determined not to return home, to find employment in European Countries.[66] After 1970's, Turkey wanted the number of workers sent abroad to increase, as its contrubition to the economy was excessive, but faced a fall in migrant demand.

It was estimated in 1970's that, the number of Turkish migrants in Germany was comparatively more than in other countries.

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[64] Talip Kucukca and Veyis Gungor, *Turks in Europe; Culture, Identity, Integration* (Amsterdam: Turkevi Research Centre, 2009) p. 436.

[65] Today, Turkey's share in the total stock of migrant workers in Europe is low.

[66] Nermin Abadan-Unat, *Turkish Workers in Europe 1960–1975, A socio-Economic Reappraisal* (Netherlands: E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1976) p.16.

As Akgündüz mentions, in 1970's labour migration was transformed into a family-based migration. For example, in the Netherlands from 1971 onwards, Turkish migrants started to bring their families.[67]

One of the people that I interviewed, explained how their migration story started. Her grandfather heard that they were looking for workers from the radio in 1960's and migrated to Netherlands. Than he returned to Turkey and got married, after that he took all of his family with him and turned back to the Netherlands. His grandchild, a 24 year old woman, stated that both countries are homelands for her, although she feels as a stranger in both. She said that who was born and raised in Turkey and who had migrated can be easily understood.

According to the Swedish Central Statistical Office, in Sweden the under 18 age group made up about half of the Turkish migration in 1971 which reflects the family reunification. Although there was an important shift from labour migration to family reunification, host countries continued to suppose thatmigration was temporary.[68]

After 1970's, immigration did not stop and Turkish workers started migrating to other European Countries, such as Denmark and Italy. The Turkish diaspora in EU have increased rapidly. For Western Europe as a

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[67] Ahmet Akgündüz, *Labour Migration from Turkey to Western Europe, 1960–1974, A Multidisciplinary Analysis*, Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES), University of Amsterdam (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), p. 83.

[68] Ibid. p.80.

whole it rose from 1,988 million in 1985 to 3,034 million in 1996 (2,944 million in the European Union countries). This is a 52.6% increase over one decade.[69] Today 3.3 million Turkish nationals are living in the foreign countries and about 2.7 million are in European countries

Figure 2: Turkish migrants abroad in the mid-1980s, mid-1990s and mid 2000s.
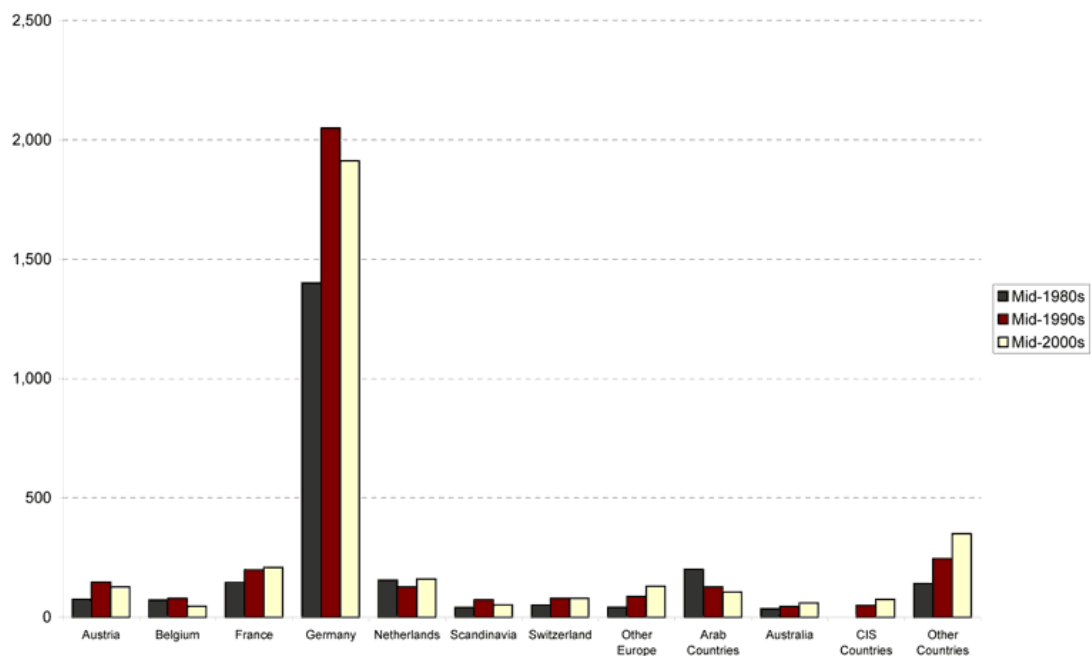
Source: Focus Migration: Turkey http://www.focus-migration.de/Turkey_Update_04_20.6026.0.html?&L=1 accessed on: 07/08/2010 12.55

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[69] Ural Manço, 'Turks in Western Europe' C.I.E Index 2004 http://www.flwi.ugent.be/cie/umanco/umanco3.htm. 06/03/10 16:30

According to the figure, generally the number of Turkish migrants in European Countries increased in 1990's. This increase in outrageous in Germany.

Table 4: Turkish citizens in European Countries, and their employment status.

Country	The number of Citizens	Working Citizens
Germany	1.713.551	564.092
France	459.611	195.794
Netherlands	372.728	128.000
Austria	109.716	39.900
England	52.893	22.458
Denmark	57.129	33.066
Greece	48.880	3.563
Belgium	42.014	9.716
Sweden	67.731	
Italy	20.882	6.414
Finland	5.825	
Poland	3.253	1.586
Spain	3.395	1.097
Ireland	1.472	800
Czech Republic	1.487	475
Malta	400	360
Luxembourg	472	242
Portugal	637	120
Slovakia	161	88
Lithuania	45	35
Latvia	95	
Slovenia	122	20
Estonia	72	6
Hungary	5.814	
Total	2.968.385	1.007.832

Source: Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı 2009 yılı faaliyet raporu, Labor and Social Security Ministry 2009 annual report, p. 50 http://www.csgb.gov.tr/ accessed on: 02/02/2011 17.20

3.3. Characteristics of the Turkish Migrants

Turkish migrants were composed of men, which changed after the family reunifications of 1970's. After that, women and children become a part of Turkish migrants. Still the proportion of women migrant workers is low. In the 1960's they were not married, but later married migrants from Turkey were comparingly more than other sending countries.

Generally Turkish migrants are friends with Turkish migrants rather than having friends of different nationalities. Turkish workers recieve support from the other Turkish workers and rely on their help.[70]

The proportion of literates within Turkish migrants has been higher than the native population. The number of vocationally trained migrants decreased to a great extent in the course of time. At first Turkish migrants were unskilled, but this also started to change in the later years. Skilled workers also migrated to European Countries. The first generation migrants were aged between 25-40 years old. Migrant workers were physically strong, in order to be used in jobs which requires strength.

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[70] Eric-Jean Thomas, *Migrant workers in Europe: their legal status*, (France: The Unesco Press,1982), p. 194.

Generally the Turkish worker enjoys a good reputation. Nermin Abadan states that Turkish migrants are known as; not making any demands, not joining trade unions, having a strong sense of discipline and being content with very modest accomodation. Because of this reputation, a worker who has lost his job could easily find a job in another factory, but because of Turkey's economic situation, employers believe that Turkish workers have no alternative to turn back, so they will work hard to keep their jobs abroad. When the Turkish workers had been dismissed, before thinking to go back home, they will try to find another job in the host country.

There were migrants coming from various parts of Turkey. "Migrants were generally from the richer, more westernized and more conveniently located regions of Thrace and Marmara, and North Central Anatolia, and relatively the poorest regions such as South East Anatolia. East Central Anatolia and Mediterranean, have always supplied a lower proportion of migrants than their share in the total population."[71]

The Turkish workers who expect to stay longer abroad are the ones who have already spent the longest periods in the host countries, as they get uset to living abroad, and they do not want to try to readaptate themselves to their origin countries.

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[71] Suzanne Paine, *Exporting Workers: the Turkish Case* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p.72.

3.4. Turkish Migrants Experiences in European Countries and Different Migration Policies of European Countries

There are two important cornerstose of European Migration Policy, Summit of Tampere (1999) that guarantee a fair treatment of third country nationals and management of Migration flows, and The Hague Programme (2005–2009) which focuses on setting up a common migration and asylum policy for the 25 EU (European Union) member states. Restriction, control and fighting against illegal migration was an important part of the program. The Schengen agreement (1995) also gave importance to improving security in the state borders.

After the 9 / 11 attack, a prejudice appeared against Muslims all over the world. This was also a challenge for Turkish migrants. Although these developments are really important, it is more important to look at the developments which took place before 1990's, as Turkish migrants started migrating earlier.

In Europe, the search for workers, which occurred after the second world war, caused many people to migrate. Over time, not only did the conditions of migration become difficult, but also countries formed return migration policies.

Europe's immigration policies developed in the 20th century when the new institutions were created, such as the EU, and when there were transnational migratory movements. With the globalisation process, the global economy

and the supranational borders, a borders issue arised. Border controls and firmer migration policies were introduced. All European Countries created enemies. Sometimes jews or muslims, sometimes communists or people who defended different political views, became the "other".

Religion, politics or any other differences created the construction of the "other". Today, minorities all over the world, still experience disparities.

> The success of the transformation of the migrants into 'social enemies' is caused by the fact that migrants not only personify the "foreigner", the "other", which is so much feared for the cohesion of the community, but often bear on them the very marks of their alien status, such their skin color, or their religious membership, even when they are the subject of a successful integration. Being guilty for having different life styles, or for not fluently speaking the language of the natives, migrants are regarded as inassimilate and, they has no other choice than trying to get rid of them.[72]

Turkish migrants experienced similar attitudes in the host countries. Turkish migrants generally worked in the textile, metal, chemical and service industries. With the new post industrial economies, Turkish migrants have been excluded. Today, the unemployment rate among the Turkish migrants is very high and the position of ethnic minorities is unfavourable in the host countries. Turkish migrants are also highly under represented in jobs and at the top end of the occupational hierarchy. Migrant workers did not have any opportunity to increase their income. Migrants' lack of qualifications and

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[72] Didier Bigo and Elspeth Guild, *Controlling Frontiers, Free Movement Into and Within Europe* (England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), p.169.

problems in foreign languages, created the argument that they are less qualified than the non-migrant workers.

Steffen Küfnel and Jürgen Leibold's article gives information about the ALLBUS (German General Social Survey) 1996 program which analysed the behaviours and thoughts of both citizens and migrants in Germany.[73] According to this survey nearly all of the migrants consider German citizens feeling different than migrants. Germans feel similar to the Austrians and different than the Turks, and the different characterists such as language, appeareance, culture, are more rejected by the German natives.[74] Similar thoughts were also dominant in other European Countries, however there may be some differences between these countries' approaches towards migrants.

Of course there are differences between the exercises of European Countries, but what they have in common is their potential for experiencing exclusion through ethnic or racial discrimination. Countries use their own terminology to designate the others. The main reason for Turkish workers to migrate is employment, as they do believe that they will have better jobs in the host countries than their origin countries, but unfortunately migrants do not have equal access to employment opportunities and there is a visible discrimination. In this section I will analyse European countries approaches towards Turkish migrants.

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[73] Richard Alba, Peter Schmidt, and Martina Wasmer, *Germans or Foreigners? Attitudes Toward Ethnic Minorities in Post-Reunification Germany* (New York: Palgrave macmillan, 2003) p. 143.

[74] Ibid. p. 143.

Austria, with nearly 30 percent foreign population, shelters a lot of migrants. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the number of migrants increased. In Austria, after the rightist movements, Social Democratic movements gain control of the labour market policy. Austria defined its migration policy as, encouraging migration while diminishing migrants' rights. Introducing a restrictive minority and immigration policy, while allowing foreign employment to rapidly rise, is a unique exercise within the EU. According to domestic and EU-wide comparative studies, Austria now has the worst minorities' rights record of all traditional countries of immigration within the Union.[75]

In Germany, migrants were regarded as a problem to the society, and they call migrant workers 'Auslander', which means alien. The ALLBUS survey exposed the thoughts of Germans, for example parents forbid their daughters to have a Turkish boyfriend.[76] From 1960's, xenophobia and defining foreigners as a problem started. "In 1983 the incoming Kohl government loudly reaffirmed the principle of opposition to immigration, introduced measures to prevent family reunification, and pandered to racist voters by setting up a programme for repartriating migrants."[77]

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[75] Mike Cole and Gareth Dale, *The European Union and Migrant Labour* (Oxford: Oxford International Publishers, 1999), p.223.

[76] Richard Alba, Peter Schmidt and Martina Wasmer, *Germans or Foreigners? Attitudes Toward Ethnic Minorities in Post-Reunification Germany* (New York: Palgrave macmillan, 2003)p. 149.

[77] Mike Cole and Gareth Dale, *The European Union and Migrant Labour* (Oxford: Oxford International Publishers, 1999), p.136.

Germany struggled to preserve its national identity with racist statements. The writer of Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Alfred Dregger claimed that particular types of migrants, including the Turkish migrants, are eternally different from Germans and therefore could not be integrated. According to the German laws, dual nationality is not possible in Germany, so Turkish migrants are unlike to adopt to another nationality, so the naturalisation process is difficult for the Turkish migrants in Germany. The unemployment rate of the migrant population has risen since 1993.

From 1960's to 2000's what have changed is the new Immigration Act introduced in 2005, which brought a new regulation for migrants to integrate with German society.

Angela Merkel have long suggested that Turkey should have a vaguely defined "privileged partnership" with the EU rather than full membership which is maybe because of the integration difficulties of the Turkish population which has recently become an important theme in Germany. Also citizens in Germany point to insuperable cultural differences and diverging historical perspectives and claim these could make integration of the new member state impossible.

France, the main country of immigration, became the country' which expect to achieve 'zero immigration'[78]. Migrants were not encouraged to enter or to settle in France after 1970's. France administration believed that migrants engaged in criminal activities and destabilized French society. Till 1990's,

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[78] In 1993, Charles Pasqua mentioned about 'zero immigration'. Later Jean Louis Debre suggested that what is really meant is 'zero illegal migration'.

anti migrant propogandas continued. "Migrants were seen to be responsible for 'invading' France and usurping the jobs of French workers and for robbing them of their sense of identity and even 'Frenchness'. Either way, non-participation as well as participation of migrants in the labour market was seen as a challenge to national unity and identity."[79] France's immigration laws were also harsh. These laws displayed visible xenophobia. Gaining French nationality became even more difficult. Border controls and police checks on migrants were more than necessary.

More stringent than Merkel, French President Nicolas Sarkozy claims Turkey does not belong to Europe.

Migrant workers in Belgium does not have free access to the labour market, both the employer and the worker have to obtain authorisation and its also impossible for an migrant to obtain a job in the public sector. Bastenier and Dassetto's researches showed that Turkish migrants in Belgium, failed to establish a place for themselves within the working class and formed an underclass.[80] After perceiving the discrimination against the foreigners, migrants have taken Belgian nationality, although the change of the identity card does not guarantee employment or equality.

Netherlands could be imagined as a country with more cultural diversity than other European Countries, but indeed some critics argue that Netherlands migration policies are not an exception of racism. The

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[79] Ibid. p.185.

[80] Nouria Ouali, Andrea Rea and John Wrench, *Migrants, Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market* (Britain: Macmillan press, 1999), p.26.

conception of equal treatment of local people and foreigners displayed 'passivity'. The jobs that were offered to the migrants were unattractive and had poor wages. Turkish migrants are still insufficiently assured of medical care, still living in unimproved houses, and unwilling to continue their education through courses, as these courses are not useful. A research undertaken by Hagendoorn and Hraba showed racial gradations and differences between the ethnic groups. Their research demonstrates that some other minorities experienced greater social acceptance than Turkish migrants.[81]

Although Turkish migrants are not supernumerary in Italy and even though Italy is a newly emerging migrant country, Turkish migrants experience unequal attitudes. People are convinced that they are facing an 'migrant invasion' and xenophobia have been promoted especially in the South and in the centre of the country.

From 1960's till today, Switzerland's migrant population has increased. Country struggled with unemployment and foreign people experienced much of its problems. 1988's registered migrants who were called as 'second generation migrants', were mostly born in Switzerland and were supposedly similar to the Swiss youth, battled with unequal opportunities, economic recession and unemployment. Today, there are other adversities, like Switzerlands' choice of not to give nationality to migrants' children, even if they were born in Switzerland.

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[81] Nouria Ouali, Andrea Rea and John Wrench, *Migrants, Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market* (Britain: Macmillan press, 1999), p.96.

When Sweden and West Germany tightened the rules of work and residence, direction of flow turned to Denmark. [82] In 1972 Denmark decided to close the borders for new migrants and in 2002, with the new family reunification legislations, bringing a husband or wife to Denmark was restricted.[83]

There were also negative conceptions and images surrounding migrant women. Turkish women came to Sweden with their husbands or came later with the family reunion. These migrants needed to fill jobs that did not attract the Swedes and generally worked in cleaning or other jobs in the service industry. In Belgium, "young Turkish women undertaken the vocational training and lead the feelings of guilt and never frounded in prospects of Professional work."[84]

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[82] Talip Kucukcan, Veyis Gungor, *Turks in Europe; Culture, Identity, Integration* (Amsterdam: Turkevi Research Centre, 2009) p. 201.

[83] Ibid. p. 202,203.

[84] Nouria Ouali, Andrie Rea and John Wrench, Migrants, *Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market* (Britain: Macmillan press, 1999) p.29.

CHAPTER 4

RETURN MIGRATION

4.1.   The Reasons of Returns

Half of the migrants returned because of family reasons and the other half returned because of a desire to set up a business. When these migrants return they generally turn back to their birth places, and they prefer self employment rather than wage employment. Employment status is not as good as desired and nearly the same prior to migration. Turkish migrants are pessimistic about finding a job when they have returned.

I have already mentioned that Turkish migrants were unskilled, especially in the 1960's. These unskilled workers become experienced abroad, but they have no opportunity to use this experience when they return to Turkey. They have also no opportunity to use their language skills.

Table 5: Percentage distribution of Turkish migrants by the reasons given for their return to Turkey, S.P.O. survey, 1971.

	Total %	Urban %	Rural %
(i) Family reasons	44	51	37
(ii) Enough savings to set up work at home	18	17	18
(iii) Find a better job at home	7	6	8
(iv) Lack of adaptability to work surroundings	11	10	12
(v) Invest savings to income	1	1	1
(vi) Advance career	2	2	2
(vii) Unemployed	3	3	3
(viii) Chance to own house	1	1	3
(ix) Other	21	21	21
Military service	1	2	-
Passport difficulties	3	2	3
Illness/Unhappy	6	2	12

Percentages add to over 100 as some participants gave two reasons.

Source: Suzanne Paine, *Exporting Workers: the Turkish Case* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p.208.

4.2.   Characteristics of Turkish Returned Migrants

> The inclination to return home grows in inverse proportion to the degree of integration. North Africans has revealed that 'the more educated young people are, the more they express an inclination to leave'. This sentence is important, for it makes it clear that the basic condition to return home is advancement.[85]

Athough Turkey's conditions are better than North Africa, still its conditions are poorer than the immigration countries.

Workers decide to return for a social advancement. They desire to have better jobs. Unfortunalety return migrants could not achieve the ideal because of Turkey's poorer economic conditions. They want to be the bosses of their own jobs, rather than fulfilling the orders.

When migrants turned back to their origin countries, they want to be the owner of their business. Returned migrants feel themselves different from their former friends or neighbours, and behave like a new 'elite', because of the foreign exchange and consumer goods that they bring.

As Eric-Jean Thomas mentioned, it is common for migrants, to percieve turning home as a failure. Illnesses or family difficulties are also viewed as a failure. A survey made in Turkey in 1975 showed that returned migrants were those among the migrants who stayed abroad for the shortest period.[86]

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[85] Eric-Jean Thomas, *Migrant workers in Europe: their legal status*, (France: The Unesco Press, 1982), p. 195.

[86] Ibid. p. 1973.

The S.P.O survey analysed where returned migrants put their savings. The general attitude is, investing in work ventures and purchasing a house or a building plot. Returned Turkish workers have a stronger urge to buy land than other migrants, because of the rural origin of the Turkish population.[87]

4.3. The Status of Turkish Migrants When European Countries Were Supporting Return Migration

In 1970's managing migration and borders together with fair asylum processes became an important issue. Return migration has become an important element of European Countries migration policies. Restrictive migration policies were seen in 1970's and 1980's. Although European Governments followed restrictive migration policies, migration could not be prevented. Main reason for this was, the family unification waves, undocumented workers and asylum seekers. Of course voluntary or involuntary return exercisez emerged. Despite the similarities of experience between countries, there was no harmonized EU approach to either involuntary or voluntary return.

The migrant problem could also be evaluated by considering the economic dynamics. In Belgium, there were 438.000 unemployed workers, by 1993. As many other countries, the Belgium Goverment ended legal immigration in 1974. But still there are 82.000 Turkish migrants in Belgium. [88] Germany was

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[87] Ibid. p. 203.

[88] Wayne A. Cornelius, James F. Hollifield, and Philip L Martin, *Controlling Immigration, a global perspective,* (California: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 244.

also one of the countries that tried to manage migration. In Germany, a discussion started in the 1960's about how to encourage return migration. Agreements had been signed between Turkey and Germany in 1972, to support returners, and a law of 1982 emphasized two principles for migration policy: integration and return.[89] Other European Countries had similar agreements emhasizing return.

Aiding to migrants who voluntarily want to return, was a program that some of the European Countries followed. For example, France launched its first considerable return migration programme in 1975, which was based on financial aid and capitalization of funds.[90] In 1977 France government set up a system for aiding migrants to return home. All migrants who worked in France for a minimum of five years had the right to apply. If an migrants application had been accepted, migrant had two months to leave the country with his family. In 1978 Turkish migrants with their families and the persons concerned, a total of 2554 person received aid.[91] In 1970, the Netherlands Parliament decided to reduce the immigration of workers, and concluded that it was necessary to restrict immigration in general. The basic principle was that the admission of newly recruiting migrants would be accepted only if no other alternative existed. The idea of providing migrants aid to return

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[89] Samuel Bentolila, Christian Dustmann and Riccardo Faini, 'Return Migration: The European Experience', Economic Policy, Vol. 11, No. 22 (Apr, 1996), p. 220.

[90] Eric-Jean Thomas, *Migrant workers in Europe: their legal status*, (France: The Unesco Press, 1982), p.54.

[91] Ibid. p.54.

was rejected by the associations which defended the interests of migrant workers.

Exclusionism is seen towards migrants in European Countries. Some of the native people think that legally established migrants from outside the EU should be sent back to their country, and some of them think that migrants should send back if they are unemployed. [92] Turkish migrants all over the world also faced this situation.

Migrants were perceived as an economical and social threat in European Countries. For native people, migrants had the worst education, created insecurity problems, abused the system of social benefits.

Extreme right-wing parties have become popular in European Countries, especially in 1990's. In Austria, the Freiheitliche Partei Österreich (FPO) attracted quarter of the votes in 1999 and joined a coalition government. 14 members of the EU boycotted Austria. After that, although there were other countries that extreme right wing parties were not successful, there were plenty of countries that saw right wing parties emerging. One of them was the Vlaams Blok, that won considerable percent of the votes in Belgium.[93]

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[92] Datas are from the 1995 module of the International Social Survey Program's (ISSP) survey, which was conducted among adults of 23 countries, including Europe.

Merove Gijsberts, Louk Hagendoorn and Peer Scheepers, *Nationalism and Exclusion of Migrants, Cross-National Comparisons,* Research in Migration and Ethnic Relations Series, (England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004), p.125.

[93] The Vlaams Blok (Flemish Bloc) won 24 percent of the votes in November 1991. The program of the Vlaams Blok included sending home all migrants and their children who

People who were politically dissatisfied and people who perceived minorities as a cultural threat to western values supported extreme right wing parties which had exclusionistic reaction towards outgroups.[94]

Switzerland has the strictest migration policy, which is an extreme case of the use of foreign labour and denial of full membership of the community. The naturalisation policy is also very restrictive with a 12 year residence requirement and many other demanding conditions. [95]

Today there are more strict rules for non EU migrants. EU Countries only accept people with passport, visa and identify card, and without these they deport these people. Generally, countries expect these migrants to leave the country in ten days.

4.4. Adaptation to the Origin Country

Returned migrants should be readapted to their origin countries. Gmelch defines adaptation as to achieve good conditions economically and socially.[96]

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were unemployed or in prison. Grouping migrants in special schools, teaching them in their own language and building Mosques of the Muslims outside of the city, were a part of the program. Their sentiment was "Sending the illegal migrants home, means getting rid of all problems; unemployment, homelessness, delinquency and budget crises." (Hollifield, Martin, 1194).

Ibid. p.161.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Lydia Morris, *Dangerous Classes: The Underclass and Social Citizenship*, (London: Routledge, 1994),p.146.

[96] George Gmelch, 'Return Migration', Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 9 (1980), p.143.

Some other view defines adaptation as, persons own view about his adaptation. Although a person does not have better conditions in his origin country, than the host country, he may still feel integrated.

When a person migrates for the first time, generally he is not aware of the conditions in the host country. He does not know the culture, traditions, way of life, language, and the location. Return migrants do not feel that much foreignness, as they know their origin country is better and also they have relatives, friends in the origin countries.

Return migrants are generally economically better than their neighbours, but still they feel dissapointed as they do not have a life that they expected to have. Turkish workers who turned back from Germany say they would like to reemigrate as they are very dissatisfied with the conditions at home.[97] I observed the dissatisfaction of returned Turkish migrants by interviews. Turkish migrants prefer living in European Countries rather than living in Turkey, because of better conditions and better income.

Generally return migrants feel dissapointed as their origin countries have changed in time, and does not have the same traditional culture. Their neighbours and friends in the origin country, have made new friends and changed their interests. Some of the returned migrants feel that they have changed so much that their interests are more similar to the host countries' natives.

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[97] Ibid. p.143.

CHAPTER 5

EVALUATION OF THE INTERVIEWS

In this chapter I will make an assessment of interviews. I will not only focus on my own interviews, but I will also focus on different interviews and studies from several sources.

Thomas Faist, Bernhard Peters and Rosemarie Sackmann in their research, try to answer, whether migrants see their fellow countrymen at home as their group of reference.[98] They try to analyse if Turkish migrants in Germany include Turks in Turkey when they speak about what it means to be a Turkish and in which way. According to those migrants 'Turkish' does not necessarily imply that one sees Turkish people in Turkey as part of this group.

Migrants take their culture with them from their home country to their country of immigration and resist assimilation. As Faist, Bernhard and Sackmann truely analysed, the main reason for resistance is that they stay in close contact with Turkey and keep having relationships.

Regular visits or permanent returns do not imply that migrants still feel at home in their country of origin. The country of origin changes through time and also, migrants change themselves.

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[98] Thomas Faist, Bernhard Peters and Rosemarie Sackmann, *Identity and Integration: Migrants in Western Europe, Research in Migration and Ethnic Relations* (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2008) p.162.

5.1. Self Description of Turkish Migrants

In Faist, Peters and Sackmann's interviews the migrants were asked: 'What would you call yourself?' 'Would you call yourself a Turk, a German Turk, a German, or what else would you call yourself?'

Interviews' results showed that some participants used a different term while identifying themselves: 'true Turks' of former times. In these cases the reference group was the same for Turkish people everywhere in the world, but in reality it does not exist anywhere today.

The results proved that participants from second generation call themselves as 'Turk' implies personal identification. Some of the participants thought that this identification is enough, while some of them argue that the person should also hold on to some Turkish traditions, although they could not specify this imlication further. For most of the participants, being a member of the group requires a sense of belonging. People's own decisions and feelings are important in this sense. People decide whether they are Turkish or not.

Differently, some participants of the research suppose that label means descent. They do not attach feelings to Turkishness. They or their parents were born in Turkey and they also have a Turkish passport, and these are the only things which connect them to Turkey. [99]

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[99] Ibid. p. 164.

According to Deniz İnceoğlu's research, which was published in the newspaper "Hürriyet", returned migrants realized that they had a better relationship between them. [100] Some of these returned migrants had formed a group, in which people came together through e-mails. Probably the group is now more than 400 people. Some of these returned migrants said that they attended Turkish lessons, in order to get rid of the word "Almancı".[101]

In the interviews, a woman who had returned to Turkey when she was 25, said that she gave birth in Turkey and felt very uncomfortable with the conditions of hospitals when compared with Germany, as she gave birth to her first child in Germany.[102]

5.2. Turkish Migrants Dissapointment After Returning Back To Turkey

In İnceoğlu's interviews, we see simple problems people encountered when they turned back to Turkey. A Turkish migrant who went to Germany when she was 17, got used to living in Germany, and she even became a German citizen. After 24 years, she started trying to have a dialogue between the two societies. She realized that everyone was talking about Turks integration problems. She turned back to Turkey in 2004, but she did not break off her

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[100] Deniz İnceoğlu, 'Almanya'yı özleyen Türkler' Hürriyet Gazetesi 19/11/2007 http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=7707984&tarih=2007-11-19 accessed on: 06/02/2011 17.18.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid.

ties with Germany. She said that while everyone could go to swimming in Germany, only a specific class could go to swimming in Turkey, as everything was more expensive in Turkey.[103]

Another migrant stated that lots of people warned her about turning back to Turkey by saying: "do not turn back, you will regret it". When she was ill, she felt more comfortable because she did not put an end to her health insurance in Germany. What is more interesting is that, in Turkey, she dyed her hair to dark, as some of the people had a missunderstanding about how she looked.[104]

Of course returned migrants miss many different things of foreign countries that they lived in. The group that İnceoğlu interviewed summarized their longings to Germany. They missed organised, patient and calm people, better traffic, not having burocratic obstacles, unprejudiced people, German beer and cake, being cured in state hospitals comfortably, doctors who listen and respond.

Some participants of Ogan L. Christine's research, had returned to Turkey to live and work, thinking they would stay permanently. Some of them came to think that life would be beter there, and they would fit into Turkish society

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[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid.

better than they did in Dutch society. Once they spent an extended period of time in Turkey, they decided that Amsterdam was a beter choice.[105]

> Parents in this study complained that their children didn't like making the summer trips. They were bored and not accepted by their cousins or neighbours in Turkey. People remarked about their accents and their lack of firsthand knowledge of Turkish pop musicians or other cultural figures. So they were anxious to return "home".[106]

Table 6: Percentage distribution of returned Turkish migrant workers by whether or not they plan to go abroad, S.P.O. survey, 1971.

	Total %	Urban %	Rural %
Yes	73	65	82
No	24	32	14
Do not know	3	2	4

Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

Source: Ibid. p.211.

5.3. Analysis of the Answers

It may be useful to assess the outcome of my interviews. In this section, results and evaluation of my own interviews will be presented.

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[105] Christine L. Ogan, *Communication and Identity in Diaspora, Turkish Migrants in Amsterdam and Their Use of Media* (US: Lexington Books, 2001).p.68.

[106] Ibid. p.68.

Those who migrated to Europe in the 1960s and 1970's, usually got used to the lifestyle of the ghetto style and were not adapted to the countries in migration. The second generation of migrants could have adapted a little more to foreign countries' cultures. Those born as children of migrant families in European countries, almost entirely disconnected from the Turkish identity.

The children of migrant families in Europe faced a number of problems when they returned to Turkey. They experienced a very different way of life and different standards in Turkey.

I started my interviews with asking the country that they migrated. Then I asked the place where they felt like belonging to. They could have give the names of the city where they migrated, Turkey or anywhere else. I asked if they faced any difficulties in European Countries and if there was any difficulty, I wanted them to explain these experiences in detail. Later I asked, if they had any problems in Turkey after return.

I asked them the city/country/place where they would prefer to live in the future. Then I asked the participant, "Are there any differences between Turks living in Turkey and Turks living in the country that you migrated?" Following this question, I asked the cultural and religious differences between Turks living in Turkey and Turks who had migrated (and returned).

I also asked how old they were and their future plans, if they were planning to re-emigrate.

5.3.1. Belonging

In many of the interviews, I observed that migrants did not feel like belonging to Turkey. As I mentioned earlier, some of the participants felt themselves like belonging to Turkey, but many of them did not have a sense of belonging. To the question "Where do you feel like belonging to?" only six of the participants said that they felt like belonging to Turkey. Five of the participants felt like belonging to the Migrant Countries, which are Germany, Switzerland and Denmark. Two people answered this question by giving names of different places. Ten people which constitutes the vast majority of the participants, emphasized that they did not have a sense of belonging to Turkey or The Migrant Country.

Figure 3: The answers of participants to the question; "Where do you feel like belonging to?"
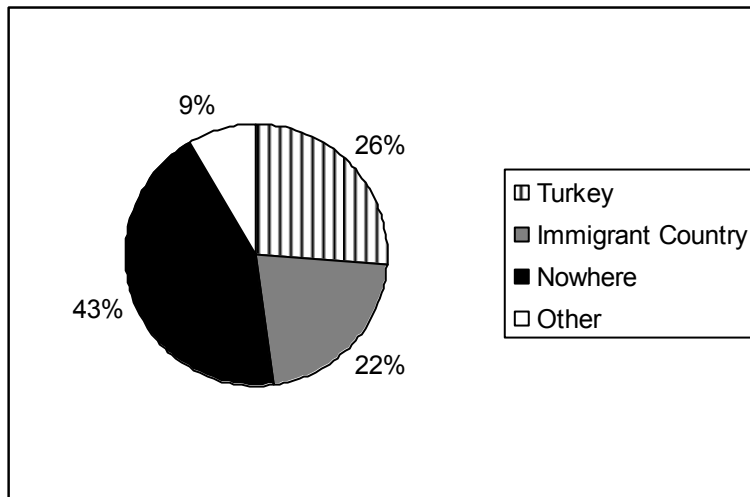
Also similar results observed in other researchs.

Less than a quarter of our interviewees see Turkey as the place where they belonging to first. However, Germany was not mentioned most frequently either, but rather the city where the migrants live their daily lives. While the city was mentioned most frequently by second-generation migrants, within the first generation no place stands out: Turkey, the whole world, Germany and the city have been mentioned each by roughly a quarter of the interviewees.[107]

Faist, Peters and Sackmann's found out in their research that an important amount of migrants did not feel that they belonged to Turkey. In the interviews the migrants named the location where they felt that they belonged to first. [108]Participants choosed from the answers; 'the city where they live', 'Germany', 'Turkey', 'Europe', 'the whole world'. I should also mention that, the participants could also name a different place of their own choice. After choosing the first place that they felt like belonging to, they were also asked to choose a second place of belonging.

Strong feelings of belonging to Turkey are not observed. In Faists, Peters and Sackmann's research, only a quarter or less of the participants saw Turkey as the place that they belong at the first place. In the same way Germany was not mentioned frequently. Migrants generally choose the city where they live as the place where they felt that they belonged to. [109]

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[107] Thomas Faist, Berhard Peters and Rosemarie Sackmann, *Identity and Integration: Migrants in Western Europe, Research in Migration and Ethnic Relations* (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2008). p164.

[108] Ibid. p. 164.

[109] Ibid. p. 164.

Table 7: Sense of Belonging of Turks in Germany

	Turk	German Turk	Muslim	German	Other categories or none at all	Total
Total	51 (46%)	32 (29%)	8 (7%)	2 (2%)	19 (16%)	112 (100%)
Second generation	18	29	2	2	8	59

Source: Ibid. p.163.

While the first generation migrants choose Turkey, the whole world, Germany and the city where they live equally, the second generation migrants choose the city where they lived in. What is suprising in Faist, Peters and Sackmann's research is that the migrants who call themselves 'Turkish'did not choose Turkey as first or second place of belonging. Half of the participants did not mention Turkey at all.[110]

Also in my own interviews, I saw that migrants no longer felt themselves like belonging to Turkey. They were unaware of Turkey's recent history, and adopted to a lifestyle and way of life in European Countries.

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[110] Ibid. p. 166.

Figure 4: Showing distinction between the ideas of migrants who migrated to different European Countries. The answers of participants to the question; "Where do you feel like belonging to?"
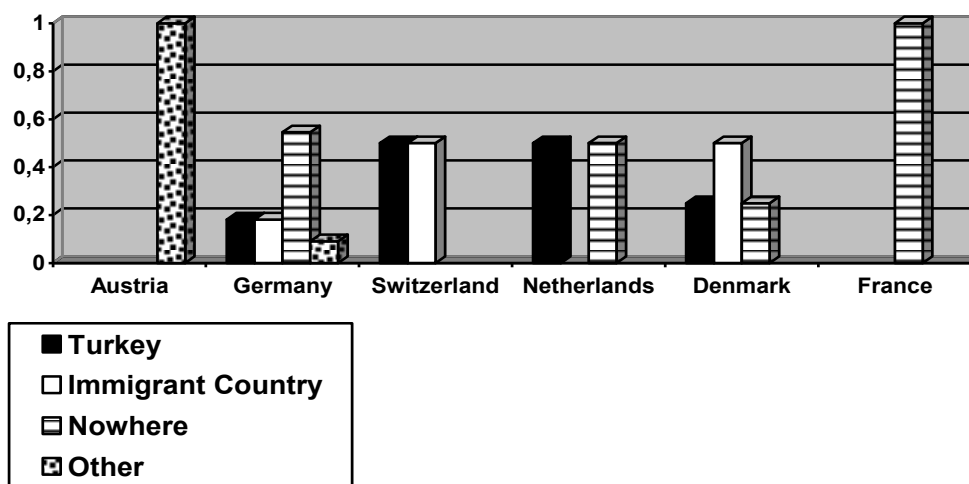
In the interviews, only six of the participants said that they felt themselves like belonging to Turkey. Two of them said that they felt themselves like belonging to nowhere. The rest of them said that they felt like belonging to the cities where they had migrated.

In Ogan, L. Christine's study, there is a perception that migrants have to think about belonging every time they step out of their front doors, every time they walk into the public school, every time they enter the work place.[111] For Ogan, while it is true that first generation and many in the second generation still consider themselves Turks, once they have been accepted as full-fledged citizens of the Netherlands, they have become Dutch.[112]

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[111] Christine L. Ogan, *Communication and Identity in Diaspora, Turkish Migrants in Amsterdam and Their Use of Media* (US: Lexington Books, 2001).p.175.

[112] Ibid. p.180.

Morris's study include opinions of Turkish migrants. Serpil who lived in Germany for thirty years, is one of them. Serpil could no longer see anywhere else as home, because she is living in Germany since she was a child.[113] Many other Turkish children who grew up in European Countries have similar thoughts.

40-year-old woman answered questions about the state of belonging. She got married in 1985 went to Denmark in the same year. She feels like belonging to Turkey, though 25 years later, when she went to Turkey for an holiday, she was feeling like a stranger. She feels like a second-class citizen of Denmark, but she said that she had a similar feeling in Turkey too.

The migrants who call themselves 'Turkish' do not include Turkish people living in Turkey into that group. Returned migrants have feelings of alienation which prevent them from constructing a group including Turks in Turkey.[114] The main reason for this is that these migrants find differences between Turks in Turkey and Turks in Germany. I also saw this situation in my own interviews. People that I conducted interviews, talked both about the cultural and religious differences. Many of the participants argued that that Turks in Turkey have changed, while the migrants abroad have stayed the same.

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[113] Chris Morris, *The New Turkey; The Quiet Revolution of the Edge of Europe*, (London: Granta Books, 2005).188.

[114] Thomas Faist, Berhard Peters and Rosemarie Sackmann, *Identity and Integration: Migrants in Western Europe, Research in Migration and Ethnic Relations* (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2008) p. 166.

I interviewed a 41-year-old woman who went to Germany in 1980. For her, the people who migrated in 1960's and 1970's still remain like how they were before migration and did not adapt to Germany or did not change, while Turks in Turkey changed through time. She said, the third generation is trapped between two cultures. She observed that only a small part of migrants adapted to Germany. She is sure that Turks in Germany care more about their religion.[115]

In Faist, Bernhard and Sackmann's research, a first generation Turkish migrant called herself 'Turk' choose Germany as the place of belonging. Her second choice of belonging was the city that she lives in. When the differences between Turks in Turkey and Turks in Germany was asked, she said "Definetely there are differences between Turks who live in Turkey and Turks who live here. Differences exist. We go on holiday, to give a simple example, we can't adapt ourselves to Turkey, we do not match, we can't create harmony. This situation is same in all areas, even in shopping. Because we have already settled down here for years now. Differences do exist."[116]

Another first generation migrant, who is a father calling himself 'Turk' choose the whole world as the place of belonging and the city he lives as the second place of belonging. He said "Unfortunately, there is a difference between Turks in Turkey and Turks who live here. Turks who live here have stayed honest and honourable to a degree of 60 percent. Every year I go on a trip to

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[115] Interview with Gülcan Aslan.

[116] Thomas Faist, Berhard Peters and Rosemarie Sackmann, *Identity and Integration: Migrants in Western Europe, Research in Migration and Ethnic Relations* (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2008) p.167.

Turkey, and every time I miss our home here. Why do I miss it? Because we have our good friends and neighbours here. The atmosphere is totally different, friendlier. Turks in Turkey are not that way anymore. Yes, our friends are here. Even though they are integrated in many ways, they have remained true to themselves and kept their pure, good heart." [117]

Another first generation migrant, who named himself 'Turk' feels like belonging to Turkey and secondly to the city he lives in. Although he feels that he is belonging to Turkey, still he thinks that there is a difference. For him, Turks abroad are more developed in terms of material things and behaviours. He said " When we go to Turkey we appear to be strangers. This would not be the case if we could get together. The problem is caused by us. We have been here for too long. And when we go there, they are like strangers. We can't form a bond." [118]

5.3.2 Do Turkish Migrants Prefer To Live in Turkey?

To the question, "where would you prefer to live?" migrants generally gave the name of the country or cities outside of Turkey. While ten people prefer living in the Migrant Country, eight people prefer living in Turkey and 5 people prefer to live in different places of the world.
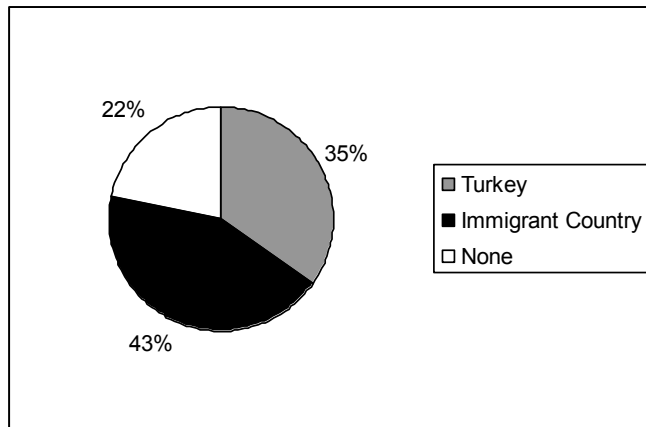
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[117] Ibid. p.167.

[118] Ibid. p. 167.

31 years old Circassian origined Turkish woman who was born in Berlin, Germany, answered my questions. She stated that, she would prefer living in İstanbul, although she feels like belonging to Caucasia.

Figure 5: The answers of participants to the question; "Where will you prefer to live?"

36 year old woman who is living in Hamburg Germany, answered my questions about the state of belonging. She said that longing to the origin country is a normal feeling, although she prefers to stay in Germany. She sometimes misses living in Turkey, but when compared she is happier in Germany. She said that, her mother never traveled to Germany although she did not have any visa problem. The mother is an example of people who never want to leave the place where they were born. She thinks that Germany is a much better place considering the conditions of life. [119]

[119] Interview with Meltem.

Figure 6: Showing distinction between the ideas of migrants that migrated to different European Countries. The answers of participants to the question; "Where would you prefer to live?"
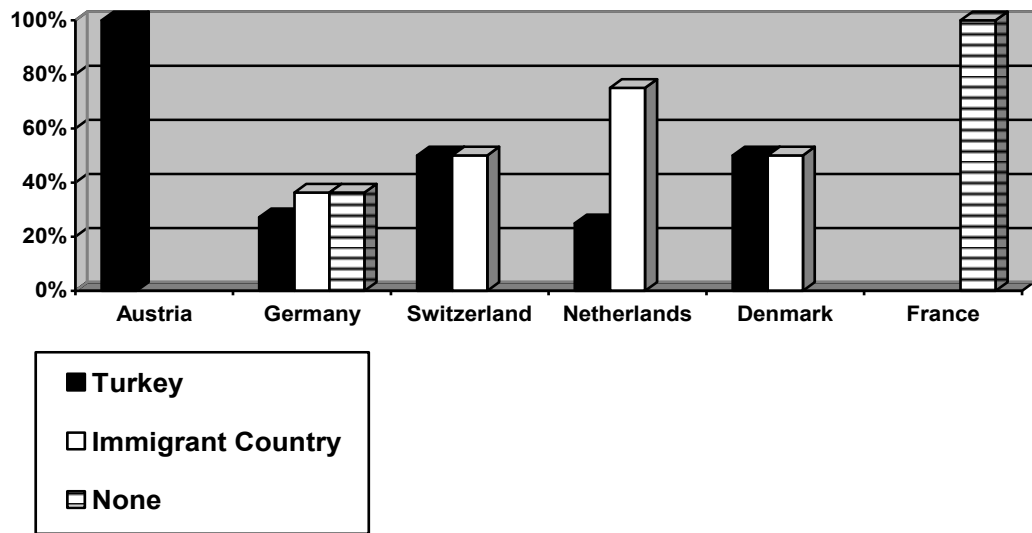
Older aged migrants and migrants who migrated before 1980's, think they are connected to religion, more than Turks in Turkey. As they struggle to protect their religion, they usually adopted to more stringent rules than the other generation migrants and Turks in Turkey.

5.3.3 Turkish Migrants Feel Religiously Different

According to 83 percent of the participants, there are differences between Turks in Turkey and Turks who migrated to European Countries, regarding religion. (shown in Figure 8)They generally think that they are more attached to religion, because they missed living near mosques and with Muslim people, Muslim traditions. Living in a society which consists of people who

generally believes in different religions, created feelings of longing to religion. Different responses are given by different age groups. For younger generations of Turkish migrants and for the ones who was born in European Countries, still there are different religious feelings. They think that some of the requirements of religion are unnecessary, such as drinking to be forbidden. Regarding this question, there are no differences between the answers of Turkish migrants who migrated to different countries of Europe.

23 year old woman living in Denmark, Odense made an assumption saying approximately eighty percent of Turks living in Denmark are attached to their religion. While having a boyfriend was wrong for Turks in Denmark, Turks in Turkey had boyfriends and were more open-minded about this. For Odense, religious people in Turkey have a negative image although Turks in Denmark could easily live their religious requirements without any judgements. She defines Turkey as a country in which these issues are usually discussed. Turkish customs and traditions are experienced more in Denmark, but in recent years, there are also some changes in this regard, she said. Young people could not speak Turkish, and the traditions could be forgotten in time.

Figure 7: Showing distinction between the ideas of migrants who migrated to different European Countries. The answers of participants to the question; "Do you see any religious differences between Turks in Turkey and Turkish migrants abroad (or returned)?"
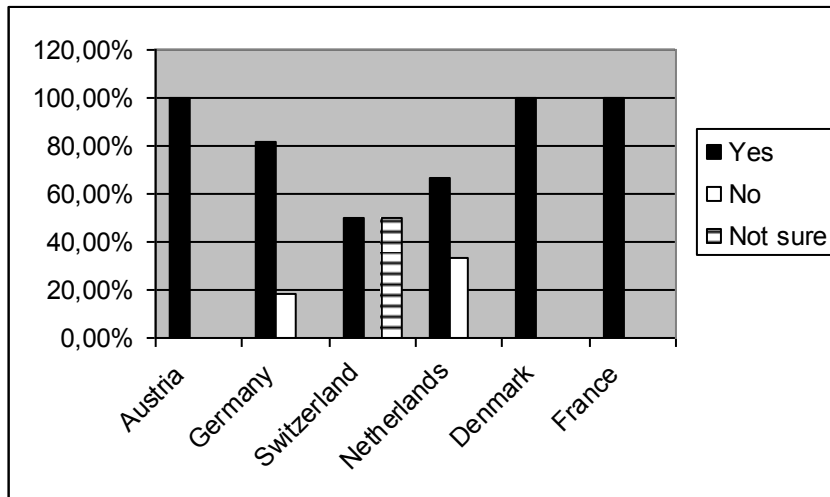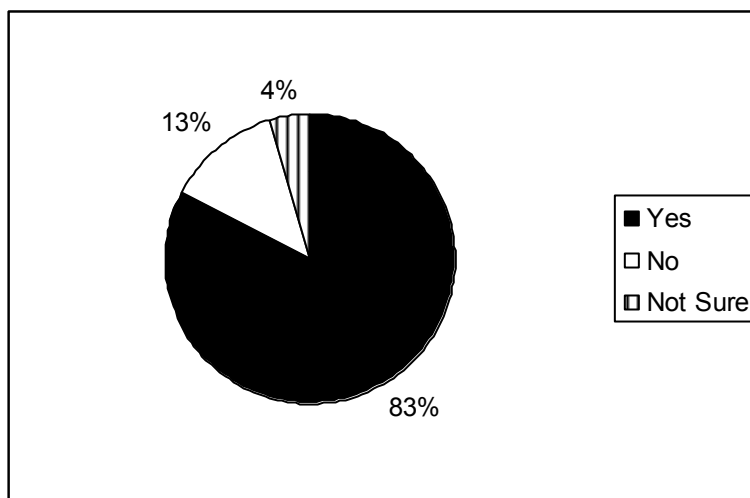

Figure 8: The answers of participants to the question; "Do you see any religious differences between Turks in Turkey and Turkish migrants abroad (or returned)?"

23 year old woman, who lived in Austria Vienna said that as the number of mosques abroad are less, people are longing more. She said that they even felt happy when they heard the sound of "ezan" on television. For her, people are more conservative in their residence. Also Turks in Turkey are less conservative than the Turks in her residence in Vienna.[120]

Other generation migrants, especially those born in Europe choose to adapt their religion to the European-style way of life. Those migrants become a kind of European and give up their Turkish identity and form a kind of European-Muslim identity.

Some of the younger generation have reacted to their exclusion from the mainstream by turning back towards stricter and more political versions of Islam, in a search for their own identity.[121]

Apart from the sunni Muslims that constitute most of Turkey, there are other groups who can not receive the same recognition, such as Alevis or Kurds. This thesis does not examine different ethnic groups' experiences abroad or after return, but still these people should be mentioned as they are a part of Turkey. These people feel more comfortable in European Countries and maybe this is why they prefer to live in European Countries, even after return.

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[120] Interview with Esma Duman.

[121] Chris Morris, *The New Turkey; The Quiet Revolution of the Edge of Europe*, (London: Granta Books, 2005).190.

Alevis have become a highly organized political group and are starting to receive far more recognition of their separate identity in Germany than they do in Turkey. The extreme left is also active and so are the Kurds.[122]

5.3.4 Turkish Migrants Feel Different Than Turks Living in Turkey

Daniel Faas's study verifies that migrants give up their Turkish identities. Faas in his article explores how Turkish identity shaped in Germany. Faas directs two important questions to the Turkish migrants. These two questions are; "To what extent do you see yourself as European?"and "Where do you feel you belong to?" Both of the two people who answered the first question feel European. Participants of the second question reflected their concerns of losing their Turkish identity as a result of integrating or assimilating into the German society, as the prevalent German identities cause marginalisation of Turkishness.[123]

Turkish students that Faas interviewed, emphasized German identities over Turkishness. A Turkish girl felt more German than Turkish because her dad worked there, she planned to study there and work there. These girls are generally the children of Turkish migrant families and they were born there. This is the main reason why they feel German more than Turk.[124] I also observed this situation in my interviews. Generally comments regarding the

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[122] Ibid. 189.

[123] Talip Kucukcan, Veyis Gungor, *Turks in Europe; Culture, Identity, Integration* (Amsterdam: Turkevi Research Centre, 2009) p. 165.

[124] Ibid. p. 164.

new-generation migrants show that migrant Turks are being stuck between two cultures.

As living standards throughout Europe is much better than Turkey's standards, after return, migrants are particularly suffering from hospitals and disorderliness in Turkey.

Figure 9: The answers of participants to the question; "Do you see any differences between Turks in Turkey and Turkish migrants abroad (or returned)?"
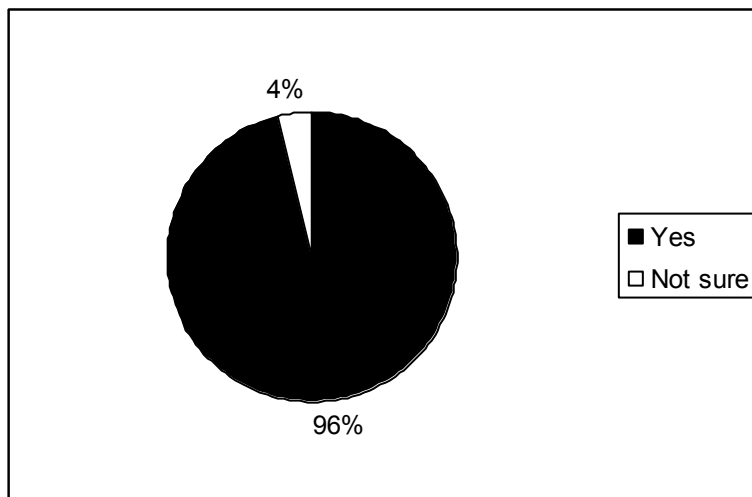
96 percent of the participants think that there are differences between Turks in Turkey and Turkish migrants. The main reason why migrants feel as a foreigner in Turkey is that Turks in Turkey appreciate those migrants as "tourists", "aliens". Undoubtedly, Turks calling those who migrated to Germany as "Almancı" is the simplest example of this alienation. All the

people who migrated to Germany expressed their discomfort in interviews, because of this naming.

Turks in Turkey marvel both tastes of music and clothing of young migrants that returned from Germany. Even this simple example shows that Turks in Turkey have a certain prejudice against the migrants. This creates a re-adaptation process of the migrant Turks to live in Turkey.

The children of an migrant family, born in Switzerland, do not felt any difficulty for being a foreigner in Switzerland, but she had some problems when she returned to Turkey. When she was speaking Turkish, unconsciously she used some foreign words or sentences, and people started to behave differently as if she was not Turk.[125]

Migrants are treated as "tourists" in Turkey. Whether they turned back from France, from Germany, or other European countries, they all go through this problem. In most of the interviews there is a feeling that returning migrants are uncomfortable because of the prejudice against them in Turkey.

These migrants could not integrate completely with Europeans, but also they differentiated from Turks in Turkey, so now they formed a different group.

In the interviews, I asked migrants the problems that they had faced in foreign countries. Many of them had experienced problems with language. Some of them had never experienced a personal problem, but faced the difficulties of

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[125] Interview with Funda Yörük.

being a foreigner. Others, stated that they had seen advantages of being foreign, but they did not give any details of these advantages.

5.3.5 The Problems that Turkish Migrants Faced After Return

One of the question that was asked in interviews was: "Did you face any problems or difficulties when you turned back from European Countries to Turkey?" After returning to Turkey, they encountered a variety of problems. I will give more details from these responses.

31 year old woman who lived in Den Helder, the Netherlands said while she was abroad, she was not exposed to any bad behaviour, but in Turkey she was exposed to different behaviours because people were from different cities than her. She felt excluded because of this situation. She also had problems with her daughters' adaptation when they turned back to Turkey.

Another migrant who had migrated to Sweden, complained about the lack of unemployment salary in Turkey. Also she said that salaries in Turkey were lower and Turkey was worse in terms of social rights.

The children of an migrant family born in Switzerland, turned back to Turkey in 1994, together with her family. After return, she faced many difficulties. Starting school and learning Turkish constituted a difficult process. She was not able to understand what people were saying. Her name was in a foreign language and she was required to change her name. Moreover, she expressed that Turkey had a layout issue and in terms of living conditions and social

rights Turkey was not a better place to live in. She also said that Turks living abroad and Turks living in Turkey had cultural differences.[126]

A person who migrated to Vienna, mostly complains about hospitals in Turkey. The lack of family physicians is also an important problem for her. In fact, the basic problem is her being accustomed to the comfort in Vienna and being unable to find that comfort and layout in Turkey.[127]

An migrant families' daughter, who was born and raised in the Netherlands, complains about not being able to explain exactly what she thinks. In other words, those who live abroad and turn back to Turkey have a language problem which has a resemblance to the language problem that Turkish migrants have in European Countries.

An migrant who migrated to Denmark, mostly complains about Turks treating returned migrants as "tourists." Local shops and stores generally demand twice of the actual price from the returned migrants as if they are foreigners. In fact, this is a simple indicator that people do not see these people as one of them and exclude them. These are some examples of the problems experienced by Turkish migrants when they return to Turkey. Of course there are a variety of such examples.

Regardless of which European Country they migrated, migrants always go through similar problems. It is better to separate migrants by their

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[126] Interview with Funda Yörük.

[127] Interview with Esma Duman.

destination dates and length of stays, rather than the countries of migration. Migrants who migrated in 1960's and 1970's, usually adopted a type of ghetto life. They are less adapted to European Countries and they adopted more stringent rules in order to protect Turkish traditions and religion. While abroad, these people missed living in Turkey more than other generation migrants. Mostly these migrants are the ones who choose to live in Turkey, if they have a chance to live wherever they want.

Later generations could adapt more to the European Countries. Maybe a reason for this is, later generation migrants are more skilled and working in better jobs than the first generation Turkish migrants, who were working only in physically demanding labor sectors. So, later generation migrants have similar jobs with Europeans, unlike the first generation. Later generations adapted less strict rules and are more open minded. They are also less strict in the religion and their desire to return is less. These are the ones who generally compain about the social rights in Turkey.

Another issue to be addressed is, the children who have born in European Countries as childrens of Turkish parents. They were born in Europe, grew up in Europe but learned Turkish traditions from their parents. They feel themselves like belonging to European Countries. They do not prefer to live in Turkey, and they dislike Turkey's living conditions. When these people turned back to Turkey together with their families, they had problems like Turkish migrants who migrated to European Countries. Language problem is the most important one, as they started their education in European Countries.

France, Germany, Switzerland or the Ntherlands, whereever they migrated, Turks encounter similar problems. Most of these problems are on the basis of different social rights that they have not found in Turkey. For this reason they do not want to return to Turkey. Even if they have returned, they dream of going back to European Countries.

5.3.6 Turkish Migrants See Cultural Differences Between Turks that Migrated and Turks Living in Turkey

Figure 10: Showing distinction between the ideas of migrants who migrated to different European Countries. The answers of participants to the question; "Do you see any cultural differences between Turks in Turkey and Turkish migrants abroad (or returned)?"
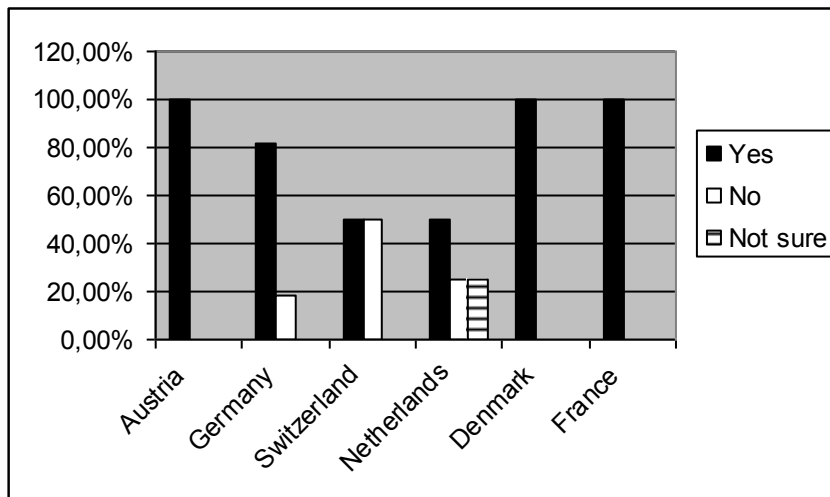
Figure 11: The answers of participants to the question; "Do you see any cultural differences between Turks in Turkey and Turkish migrants abroad (or returned)?"
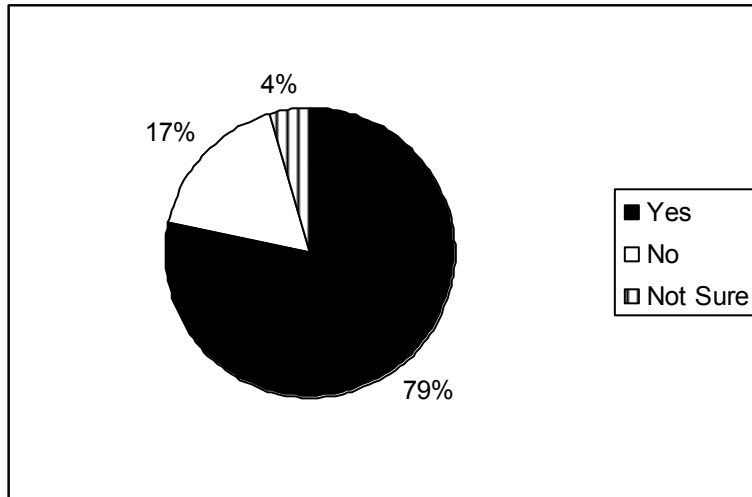
According to 79 percent of the participants, there are cultural differences between Turks in Turkey and Turks who migrated. When we observe the answers of migrants who migrated to different countries, we do not see significant differences. Many of them think that they have cultural differences from the Turks who did not migrate, because they examined the culture, tradition and customs of both Turkey and the Migrant Country, and adopted some features of both countries. Especially the younger generation migrants and the people who was born in the Migrant Countries stated that they were more broadminded and feeling closer to the European culture.

Many of the migrants do not feel like belonging to Turkey. They saw religious and cultural differences between the Turks in Turkey and the Turks abroad. Some of them prefer to live in Turkey, some of them do not, some of

them feel like belonging to Turkey, some of them do not, but none of them feel exactly the same as a Turk who has never migrated.

They feel as "second-class" citizens in European Countries, and as "tourists" in Turkey. They are a group which stucked between two cultures, two countries, two languages and different traditions.

5.4. The Construction of the Migrant Identity

Nation, national identity and identity are reviewed in relation to the various opinions of scholars. In general, we see that they are united in common points: what people feel are important in this regard, nations must have a historical continuity, nations take joint decisions and act together, people who form nation gathers together in a certain geography, people who form nation should have some differences than other people.

When we examine the identities of Turkish migrants who migrated to various parts of Europe, we see some differences from the Turkish identity.

We said, historical memories make the homeland important. But the migrants who started migrating to European Countries in 1960's, could not share some of these historical memories. Without a doubt, the 1960's and 1980's were the years that a radical change took place in Turkey. Most of these migrants did not see the left- right conflict that dominated Turkey, and the beginning of terrorism in Turkey.

The first military coup took place in Turkey on May 27, 1960. Democrat Party was closed in 1960 and Fatih Rüştü Zorlu, Hasan Polatkan and Adnan Menderes were executed in 1961.

Workers' Party of Turkey, March 12, 1971 memorandum, the Ecevit government, Cyprus operations and the September 12, 1980 coup were important turning points for the Republic of Turkey.

With the 1980 intervention, prime minister Süleyman Demirel's government was dissmissed and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey was dissolved. With this coup, a period of pressure begun.

PKK[128], started organizing in the early 1970's and in 1980's, became an armed threat.

Those migrants were far away from these developments that took place in Turkey. So, after a certain time, they stopped sharing the same historical processes with the ones living in Turkey. I have seen this situation in my interviews.

Ogan L. Christine asked Turkish migrants, if they took their children to the seaside or to museums or places of historical or cultural interest in Turkey.

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[128] PKK in Kurdish; Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan, which means Kurdistan Workers Party

Many people said they did not.[129] This also shows their lack of interest to the historical heritage.

One of the people that I interviewed, 42-year-old man who immigrated to Germany in 1981, said that thrd generation in Germany were far from the Turkish culture and heritage, as many of them did not know Atatürk and the Gallipoli War (Çanakkale Savaşı). He criticizes this situation but still he feels himself like belonging to Germany. Despite not having had any difficulties in Germany, he had some problems when he returned to Turkey. He wants to live in Spain. He observed some differences between Turks in Turkey and Turks abroad. Most of the Turks living in Germany are from the East and Central Anatolia of Turkey, and they did not develop themselves much. He thinks that in 30 years Turkey developed and Turks in Turkey also changed and advanced. He believes that Turks in Germany are more attached to Islam. For him, religion became less important for Turkey. [130]

If traditions are important parts of identity, then it may be useful to describe the ties of the Turks living abroad with Turkish traditions. The 55-year-old man, who went to Denmark in 1980 as a worker, thinks that Turks living abroad are more connected to their Turkish customs and traditions. For him, Turks in today's Turkey, do not give much importance to customs and traditions. He is in a conflict by saying both Turks living abroad are more religious and Turks in Turkey are in some respects more religious. He gives an example, unlike in Turkey, in foreign countries religious holidays are not

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[129] Christine L. Ogan, *Communication and Identity in Diaspora, Turkish Migrants in Amsterdam and Their Use of Media* (US: Lexington Books, 2001).p.69.

[130] Interview with Necabi Aslan.

exuberant celebrations. He complains that this kind of tradition was forgotten over time. He mentions about the new generation being stuck between two cultures.

He was not the only one who thought that way. Many of the migrants told me that the first generation migrants were more attached to religion and Turkish traditions than the Turks in Turkey. But they think that the newest Turkish generation in European Countries are far from the Turkish traditions. In both cases, we observe a difference of traditions.

31 year old woman who lived in Den Helder, the Netherlands and returned to Turkey in 2005, said that cultural life of the Turks living in Turkey have always modernized. She emphasized that people who migrated abroad learn their cultures from the oldest member of the family, and try to live that way. Generally oldest people are more attached to their religion, traditions and have more strict rules. For her, when people had difficulties in fulfilling these rules, they started sliding to the foreign countries culture which was already a large part of their lives. After a while they also alienated from the Turkish culture.

For many scholars, nations take joint decisions and act together. Migrants who returned to Turkey, of course, take joint decisions and act together with Turks living in Turkey. After all, they are living under the same legal system and they have the same rights. But when we examine their daily lives, as I also observed in many of my interviews, we see that they could not act

together with the public, as people exclude them by threating them as foreigners, tourists.

As I reviewed in the previous section, according to many scholars, one of the most important point of national identity is certain people sharing a particular geography. Of course, this situation is quite different for migrants. Migrants formed a life in different geographies of European Countries. In this respect, even the Turkish migrants all over the European Countries, do not share a territory.

For Miller, the people who compose a nation must believe that there is something distinctive about themselves that marks them off from other nations.[131] When we examine differences of Turks from others, we see Turkish language, historical past, mainly the Ottoman Empire, War of Independence and declaration of the republic, Islam, Turkish traditions and family ties. These are the main things that distinguish a Turk from an English. But also Turkish migrants had different characteristics from Turks living in Turkey. Their language which changed by European Countries languages, culture, territory and recent history, are all different from what the Turks living in Turkey experienced.

Many scholars agreed on the idea that, culture, religion and language differentiate people. Some of the Turkish migrants stayed in Europe for such a long time, that they forget Turkish. Turkish migrants also can not speak

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[131] David Miller, Citizenship and national identity, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000) p. 30.

English, French or German. This means that they are also stucked between two langugaes, as well as between countries.

27-year-old woman who went to Frankfurt, Germany in 1990 at the age of 7, answered my questions about belonging. She was mad of people who is unable to speak Turkish and tried to speak with German dialect. For her, in Germany, everything felt more enthusiastic. Being away from home and suppressing emotions lead people to be attached more to their religion. From the answers given here, one can understand that migrants has changed their language and have developed a different accent, and sometimes it is difficult for them to speak Turkish. [132]

> The second generation has had different experiences in Dutch society from their parents. Though many of them have a love-hate relationship with the Dutch, they neither wish to be Dutch nor to be Turkish. They want to be them-selves, something different from either cultural definition. As several of the participants of this study said, they were born there, educated there, learned to communicate in Dutch, and now want to take their place alongside the Dutch as equal in the workplace and in social circles. Because that hasn't happened for many of them, they have retreated to their own culture to find solace among other Turks who have also been unfairly treated or not fully accepted. Yet if they were fully accepted, it might be an acceptance based on how Dutch they were perceived to be how much they had been assimilated into Dutch society. And to do that would mean leaving their Turkishness behind them. Stuart Hall said that there are "contradictory identities within us pulling in different directions so that our identifications are continuously being shifted about.[133]

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[132] Interview with Sevil Erol.

[133] Christine L. Ogan, *Communication and Identity in Diaspora, Turkish Migrants in Amsterdam and Their Use of Media* (US: Lexington Books, 2001).p.173.

According to the research of Ogan L. Christine, some of the young people who have been drawn back to Turkey for a time, thinking they would find acceptance and compatibility there, were suprised to find that there was as much difference between themselves and the Turks there as they found between themselves and the Dutch in Amsterdam. [134]

Faruk explains why he listens German- Turkish rappers who mix the sounds of the East and the West, by saying "they talk about things we understand. They know what it's like."[135] This is a simple example which shows that these people feel more comfortable with other Turkish migrants and with people who can understand their feelings. Another Turkish migrant, Ali said that they were people in between. "They still regard us as foreigners here, and when we go back to Turkey they call us Germans" he said. [136]

In many of the interviews, I saw that migrants believed that they formed a group which had different characteristics than the Turkish identity. The main reasons of this is, differentation of the language, experiencing different territory, culture and changes in religion. Almost all of the participants stated that migrants abroad were more attached to the religion than the Turks living in Turkey. They claim that Turks in Turkey had lost sympathy to the religion in the name of modernization.

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[134] Ibid. p.173.

[135] Chris Morris, *The New Turkey; The Quiet Revolution of the Edge of Europe*, (London: Granta Books, 2005).189.

[136] Ibid. 188.

Lise Jönsson, a Turk with Swedish ties who lived in Denmark, describes her experiences as an migrant in her article.[137] She stated what her friend Efendi, who is also a Turkish migrant living in Denmark, has told "I'm like an migrant. I don't feel Turkish in Turkey or like a Dane here. All Turks who live abroad feel like that."[138] This also suports the idea that Turkish migrants consider themselves as a group, rather than feeling like belonging to Turkey or to the country that they had migrated.

I asked Turkish returned migrants, where they felt like belonging to. A 24 year old woman who was a child of migrant parents, born in Arnhem the Netherlands, said "I grew up between two cultures and I do not belong to both countries". When comparing Turks living abroad and Turks living in Turkey she thought that the differences in both language and culture were obvious. She made plans for living in the Netherlands, because education and employment opportunities in Turkey are different. She emphasized her effort to communicate a lot in order to break the prejudicial thoughts in Netherlands. Many times people said her "Aa! how good is your Dutch" and she answered as "How strange! Your Dutch is also good". By that she was showing people how a silly question it was to ask to a person who was born in the Netherlands. She was also having problems with her family, because the Dutch frame of mind may be able to contradict with the Turkish mindset.

A 23 year old woman living in Denmark, Odense said that she felt like belonging to Denmark, although she felt as a Turk. As she was greatly

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[137] Talip Kucukcan, Veyis Gungor, *Turks in Europe; Culture, Identity, Integration* (Amsterdam: Turkevi Research Centre, 2009) p. 201.

[138] Ibid. p. 211.

attached to Turkish customs and traditions, it was impossible for her to be more intimate with the Danish. She thought that Turkey faced many problems, particularly related to government offices and hospitals. For her, unemployed people in Denmark to be connected to an unemployment pension was a benefit too. Everything was more planned in Denmark, this is an advantage as well. For her, Turks living abroad had a good faith and she believed that these people were more pure. She defined the reason for this as the lack of competition in Denmark. Everyone was in the same status in Denmark and because the rich did not oppress the poor, status differences were not noticeable. For her, Turks in Turkey were more selfish because of the living conditions. Her assumption was that eighty percent of Turks living in Denmark were attached to their religion. While having a boyfriend was wrong for Turks in Denmark, Turks in Turkey had having boyfriends and were more open-minded about this. For her, more religious people in Turkey had a negative image although Turks in Denmark could easily live their religious requirements without any judgments. She defined Turkey as a country which these issues were usually discussed. Turkish customs and traditions were more experienced in Denmark, but in recent years, there were also some changes in this regard, she said. Young people could not speak Turkish, and the traditions could be forgotten in time.

For Miller, a person thinking himself as belonging to a national community is an important feature of national identity. As I mentioned earlier, nationality exists when its members believe that it does.

Migrants differentiated from the Turks living in Turkey, felt themselves as a group. If feelings have an important role in the formation of identities, then Turkish migrants to feel different than the ones living in European Countries and Turkey, has an importance.

After all these evaluations, we see that the Turkish migrants who immigrated to various parts of Europe, by losing some of the features of the Turkish identity, adopting some characteristics of European Countries, feeling excluded and having changed in both countries, formed their own identity.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study tried to examine the identity problems of Turkish returned migrants. Its basic question was to see to what extent changes in perceptions of identity occured after return for Turkish migrants.

At first, the thesis analysed the historical background of the process. Migrants' adjustment problems, exclusion and experiences in European countries were described. Their problems showed that the reason why Turkish migrants were not feel like belonging to these countries. Perhaps, if they did not feel excluded in these countries, they would never decide to return.

After defining the migration process, it was looked into the return process, it was tried to understand why Turkish migrants decided to return and what happened after their return. Turkish migrants faced many difficulties in European Countries, from adjustment to living conditions challenges. Living abroad was difficult in these countries, but migrants faced some problems after return too.

The main purpose of the thesis was to explain what happened after their return. To what extent Turkish migrants feel different from the Turks living in Turkey, and to what extent they feel as a "foreigner" in Turkey.

After return, they had adjustment problems, and maybe the main problem was that they were dissappointed because they could not find Turkey of pre-migration. They could not find better jobs in Turkey, and they could not find friendships as before.

Turkey was changed in many respects. With globalisation, Turkey lost some of its characteristics that separates him from the rest of the world. The music, fashion, food, and every other cultural item began to resemble to European and American cultures.

Migrants had many problems after return. Turks in Turkey excluded them from the society, mainly because their language was different. In Turkey they were called as "Almancı", "tourist", "foreigner". They could not feel like they were at home.

Apart from these, migrant people could not feel the same as Turks in Turkey. They do not feel like belonging to Turkey, and they are willing to live abroad in the future. Most of the migrants feel closer to the other Turkish migrants who had migrated to other European Countries, because they all had similar experiences.

Migrants feel as "strangers" not only culturally, but also religiously. They think that they are more attached to Islam and its rules, than the Turks in Turkey.

Migrants who felt differentiated in many ways, began to loose the characteristics of Turkish identity. They formed a different identity, which is not exactly the European identity, the Muslim identity or the Turkish identity, but the one in between. This migrant identity is an ambivalent identity, constituted of some of factors; Turkish migrants feeling like belonging to nowhere, them having a desire to live in Europe, and them to keep having religious values and feelings different than both Turks in Turkey and people in host countries.

Migrants migrated for better conditions at the first place, but migrating caused many problems instead of creating good results. Unfortunately, this situation will always continue to happen if people continue migrating. People will always have incompatibilities between personal identity and national identity.

Although, Turkish migrants had dissappointed after returning Turkey, with a positive outlook I can say that they can be considered as richer regarding their identities. Besides the Turkish identity, they also have an identity, which is constructed after their migration. This identity had formed by different cultures of European society, different languages and territories.

The Turkish Migrant identity, which refer to the identity of returned Turks who migrated to European Countries, is not exactly Turkish identity or European identity, but it carries features from both. Similar to the Turkish identity, religion is also an important feature of Turkish migrant identity. Homeland and Turkish language are not defining this identity. With different

cultural characteristics, having two languages and having friends and neighbourhoods in both countries, Turkish returned migrants identities had changed.

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