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MASTER THESIS

Mahmut Furkan YAMAN

T.C.

ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

THE CONTRIBUTION OF TURKISH CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS TO THE FORMATION OF THE TURKISH DIASPORA IN THE NETHERLANDS: EXAMPLE OF TÜRKEVI FOUNDATION, ISLAMISCHE GEMEINSCHAFT MILLÎ GÖRÜŞ (IGMG), DUTCH TURKISH FEDERATION AND SOCIAL RESISTANCE INSTITUTE (MAATSCHAPPELIJKE VEERKRACHT)

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Thesis Advisor
Prof. Dr. Kudret BÜLBÜL

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APPROVAL PAGE

The thesis entitled “The Contribution of Turkish Civil Society Organizations to the Formation of the Turkish Diaspora in the Netherlands: Example of Türkevi Foundation, Islamische Gemeinschaft Millî Görüş (IGMG), Dutch Turkish Federation and Social Resistance Institute (Maatschappelijke Veerkracht)” prepared by Mahmut Furkan YAMAN was accepted by the following jury unanimously as a Master's Thesis in Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University Social Sciences Institute, Department of Political Science and Public Administration.

Jury Members		**Institution**	**Signature**
Prof. Dr. Kudret BÜLBÜL		AYBU/SBKY	
Approve ☐	Reject ☐		
Asst. Prof. Başak AKAR ÖZER		AYBU/SBKY	
Approve ☐	Reject ☐		
Asst. Prof. Ülkünur ZENGİN		Polis Akademisi/ Güvenlik Bilimleri Enstitüsü Müdürlüğü	
Approve ☐	Reject ☐		

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I approve that the thesis fulfills the necessities to be deemed a master thesis at Ankara Yildirim Beyazıt University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Political Science and Public Administration.

Director of Graduate School of Social Sciences Prof. Dr. Yaşar YİĞİT

PLAGIARISM

"I hereby declare that all information in this thesis has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work; otherwise, I accept all legal responsibility".

Mahmut Furkan YAMAN

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ÖZET

Hollanda Örneğinde Türk Sivil Toplum Örgütlerinin Türk Diasporası Oluşumuna Katkısı: Türkevi, İslam Toplum Milli Görüş (IGMG), Hollanda Türk Federasyon, Sosyal Direnç Enstitüsü (Maatschappelijke Veerkracht)

İnsanlar zaman içerisinde çeşitli nedenlerden dolayı yaşadığı köyünden, ilçesinden, ilinden ve daha da önemlisi ülkelerinden ayrılarak başka şehirlere, bölgelere, ülkelere yeni yaşam alanları oluşturmak adına yönelmişlerdir. Bu yöneliş literatürde göç olarak nitelendirilmektedir. Göç kavramı ile beraber birçok farklı sözcük literatüre girmiştir. Bunlardan biri de yaklaşık 2500 yıllık geçmişi ile diasporadır. Son dönemde popülerlik seviyesi artan bu kavramın ise içeriği hâlâ tartışmalıdır. Bu nedenle de diaspora kavramının tanımlamasında birçok farklılık ortaya çıkmaktadır. Ancak en yalın haliyle diaspora, anavatanlarından koparak başka etnik grup veya bölge içerisinde yaşamlarını sürdüren bir kavram olarak betimlenebilir (Yaldız, 2013, p. 294). Buna ek olarak, diaspora kavramına yönelik yapılan literatür taramasında kavramın, dağılma veya kopma sözcükleri ile eş anlama gelecek şekilde daha çok dış göç veya bu göç ile alakalı sonuçları belirtmek için kullanıldığı gözlenmektedir (Bülbül, 2020, p. 132).

Özellikle son yıllarda popülerleşen diaspora kavramı, uluslararası alanda birçok ülke tarafından kendi soydaşlarının başka kültürlerin himayesi altında asimile olmasını engellemek adına telaffuz edilmekte ve desteklenmektedir. Hollanda Örneğinde Türk Sivil Toplum Örgütlerinin Türk Diasporası Oluşumuna Katkılarının analiz edildiği bu tez çalışmasında; farklı ideolojik ve organizasyon yapısına sahip, Hollanda'da yer alan, Türk kimliğini benimseyen kişilerce kurulan ve hali hazırda faaliyetlerine devam eden Türkevi, İslam Toplumu Millî Görüş (IGMG), Hollanda Türk Federasyonu ve Sosyal Direnç/Dayanışma Enstitüsü (Maatschappelijke Veerkracht) özelinde Türk Diasporası oluşum sürecine STK'ların katkısına ilişkin bir değerlendirme yapılmıştır. Söz konusu çalışma yapılırken ise genel anlamda literatür hakimiyeti olan Almanya yerine Avrupa'da büyük bir diaspora potansiyeline sahip olan Hollanda'daki Türk STK'larının diaspora aktivitelerine bir bakış sağlanmıştır.

Bu tez çalışmasına yönelik yapılan literatür taraması sonucunda da diaspora kavramına olan ön yargı ve bahse konu kavram yerine kullanılan göçmen, gurbetçi, Almancı, akraba topluluklar, Euro-Türk, Avrupalı Türkler, Hollandalı Türkler vb. gibi birçok başka ifade olması nedeniyle diaspora hususunun Türkiye de literatür açısından eksik kaldığı gözlemlenmiştir. Ayrıca literatür genelinde yapılan incelemeler sonucu var olan çalışmalarda Türk diasporasının sivil toplum kuruluşları özelinde de az sayıda çalışmaya konu edildiği fark edilmiştir. Bu nedenle, diasporada yaşayan Türklerin, Türk diasporasına ve Türkiye'ye bütüncül bakışının analiz edileceği söz konusu tez çalışmasının literatüre STK'lar açısından bir bakış sağlayacağı düşünülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Diaspora, Göç, Kamu Diplomasisi, Lobi Faaliyetleri, Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları, Türk Diasporası.

ABSTRACT

The Contribution of Turkish Civil Society Organizations to the Formation of the Turkish Diaspora in the Netherlands: Example of Turkevi Foundation, Islamische Gemeinschaft Millî Görüş (IGMG), Dutch Turkish Federation and Social Resistance Institute (Maatschappelijke Veerkracht)

Over time, people have left their village, district, province and more importantly, their country for various reasons, and have turned to other cities, regions and countries in order to create new living spaces. This tendency is described as migration in the literature. Along with the concept of migration, many different concepts contain similar issues. One of them is diaspora, an ancient word with a history of about 2500 years. The popularity of this concept has been increasing day by day, and definition of the diaspora word is still controversial. Therefore, there are many differences in the definition of the concept. However, the concept of diaspora, in its simplest form, means that those who break away from their homeland and continue their lives in another ethnic group or region, generally separated from the country of origin, dispersed. Also, we can describe it as a concept derived from the Greek words dia (for, because) and sporos (seed), which was used to describe the Greek Colonies that were only outside the mainland of Athens and the Jews who spread all over the world as a result of the great exile (Yaldız, 2013, p. 294). In addition, in the literature review on the concept of diaspora, it is observed that the concept is used synonymously with the words disintegration or rupture, mostly to indicate external migration or the results related to this migration (Bülbül, 2020, p. 132).

This concept, which has become more popular recently, is pronounced and supported by many countries in the international arena in order to prevent their cognates from assimilation under the patronage of other cultures. In this study, the Contributions of Turkish Non-Governmental Organizations to the Formation of the Turkish Diaspora in the Example of the Netherlands are evaluated in terms of organizations with different ideological and organizational structures, located in the Netherlands, established by those who adopt the Turkish identity and still continue their activities. Also, for this evaluation Türkevi Foundation, Islamische Gemeinschaft Millî Görüş (IGMG), Dutch Turkish Federation and Social Resistance Institute (Maatschappelijke Veerkracht) were chosen as samples. In addition to this thesis research, it will be tried to provide an overview of the diaspora activities in the Netherlands, which has a great diaspora potential in Europe, instead of Germany, which dominates the literature in general.

As a result of the literature review for this thesis study, immigrant, expatriate, Euro-Turk, European Turks and so on used instead of the diaspora and this concept correlated with Armenian and Jews so it can be reason of prejudice against the concept. In addition to this, it has seen in the studies conducted throughout the literature, there are not studies that deal with the perspective of the Non-Governmental Organizations side on the Turkish diaspora. For this reason, it is thought that a thesis study in which the view of the Turks living in the diaspora to the Turkish diaspora and their holistic view of Turkey will be contribute to the literature.

Keywords: Diaspora, Lobby Activities, Migration, Non-Governmental Organizations, Public Diplomacy, Turkish Diaspora.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	: Anadolu Agency
ATKB	: Amsterdam Turkish Women's Union
ATSUYAK	: European Turkish Periodicals Council
BONGO	: Business-Organized NGOs
CBS	: Statistical Institute of the Kingdom of the Netherlands
CMO	: Muslim and Government Liaison Organization
CoHE	: Council of Higher Education in Turkey
DEİK	: Foreign Economic Relations Board
DIDF	: Federation of Democratic Workers Association
DİK	: Religious Advisory Board
DONGO	: Donor-Organized NGOs
DTIK	: World Turkish Cooperation Council
EMCEMO	: Euro-Mediterraan Centrum Migratie & Ontwikkeling
EU	: European Union
GOGO	: Governmental NGOs
HTDF	: Dutch Federation of Turkish Associations
HTIB	: Dutch Turkish Workers Union
IGMG	: Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Gorus
ITC	: International Trade Center
MFA	: T.C. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MHP	: Nationalist Movement Party
MONGO	: My own NGO
NATO	: North Atlantic Pact
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organizations
OECD	: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OJCM	: Advisory Body
OSCE	: Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PTN	: Platform Turkish Dutch
SCIN	: Dutch Islamic Foundation Center
TDK	: Turkish Language Association
TIKA	: Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency Presidency
UID	: Union of International Democrats

UNDP : United Nations Development Program

USA : United States of America

USSR : Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

VVD : People's Party for Freedom and Democracy

WBI : World Bank Institute

YEE : Yunus Emre Institute

YTB : Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities

YUKK : Law on Foreigners and International Protection

1. INTRODUCTION

Over time, like other living creatures, it has been observed that humans have moved away from their original locations and tried to create new living spaces in different regions for various reasons. This movement, which is conceptually referred to as migration, causes many changes in spatial and intellectual aspects among both migrating individuals and indigenous communities in the migrated environment. Therefore, migration studies have long been present in the literature within the framework of examining these movements.

For many years, along with the concepts of migration and immigrant that have been areas of study, the concept of diaspora, which has a history of about 2500 years and is an ancient word, has gained popularity in recent years, although its meaning and content are still controversial (Yaldız, 2013, p. 289). The literature review revealed that although it contains different meanings, the terms migrant or immigrant are also used in place of diaspora. One reason for this may be the emergence of immigrants as a result of a migration movement, and diasporas can also emerge as a result of a migration phenomenon.

At the root of all these conceptual complexities lies the concept of "migration", a dynamic process that is simultaneous with world history. From the past to the present, many different groups in terms of culture, economy, society, religion, and ethnicity have migrated or been forced to migrate for various reasons. Therefore, groups who have been separated from their homeland and live among other ethnic structures have always existed. These groups are generally described as a concept derived from the Greek words dia (for, because) and sporos (seed), which mean separated from the country of origin, scattered, and were originally used only to describe Greek colonies outside the mainland of Athens (Yaldız, 2013, p. 290). According to a similar definition, it is understood to be used to describe the organization of an ethnic, national, or religious community that disperses from a certain point in one or more countries, or to describe any relationship that is not limited to land of a population scattered to many homelands (Dufoix, 2011, p. 13). Also, when the website of the Turkish Language Association is checked, it suggests the concept of "kopuntu" as the Turkish for the concept of diaspora.

Although diasporas are defined as communities that separate from their countries of origin and face the possibility of assimilation or integration in the face of the culture of the migrated country, in a globalizing world, relationships between those who migrate to countries other than their homeland and their homeland can be established and maintained more easily as distances shrink. In this context, many countries are carrying out certain activities to prevent their culture from being assimilated under the protection of other cultures. In this thesis, a study has been conducted specifically on Turkey, which has a large diaspora potential in Europe.

For this review specific to Turkey, it is thought that an analysis on the history of the Turkish diaspora should first be made, and when the literature is examined within this framework, it is observed that a diaspora process involving Turks who remained a minority outside the state borders as a result of the territorial losses of the Ottoman Empire is mentioned (B. Bilgiç & T. Bilgiç, 2012, p. 43). In addition, it is stated that a diaspora or anti-diaspora emerged as a result of migrations abroad in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire, in the early years of the Republic, and during coup periods. Especially as a result of a large number of worker migrations to the European Union (EU) region in the 1960s, a large Turkish diaspora began to form on EU lands, and in the following periods, due to the attractiveness of the social welfare level of European countries, the brain drain of skilled people in Turkey who cannot receive the material equivalent of their labor and knowledge is still ongoing. The countries with the most of these masses are; the Federal Republic of Germany, the French Republic, the Republic of Austria and the Kingdom of the Netherlands, which are countries with a high degree of welfare at the center of the EU. Therefore, there are academic studies on diaspora, migration, immigrant and lobbying in the literature in these countries or directed at these countries. However, as a result of Germany being an important base for the Turkish diaspora in terms of population, research on the concept generally tends to be concentrated in this country. Therefore, in this thesis study, the Netherlands was chosen instead of Germany, which dominates the literature, because it is a small, low-population, central EU country in terms of area, and despite this, it is among the first 5 EU countries where Turkish labor migrations took place (Öktem Sipahioğlu, 2019, p. 3).

As a result of the literature review, one of the reasons for the small number of diaspora studies is the use of concepts such as immigrant, refugee, asylum seeker, Dutch Turk etc. instead of the concept in question, and these concepts are used specifically in the studies.

Another reason is that the studies on the Turkish diaspora, which has a large population abroad, are carried out by Turkish diaspora members living in the migrated region and some researchers living in the homeland. Thus, it is understood that there are not enough studies on the Turkish diaspora compared to other diasporas worldwide. This situation is thought to be due to the prejudices against the concept by those living in Turkey or those who migrate to other countries. At this point, the question arises as to whether the prejudices faced by the concept of diaspora have prevented the creation of an effective Turkish diaspora. However, especially in recent times, the fact that the concept of diaspora is pronounced by high-level state officials has led to the breaking of the prejudice that the concept is identified with other nations.

In addition, the few studies on the diaspora and the fact that these studies have been carried out in recent years are observed as a deficiency on behalf of the Turkish diaspora. These studies generally focus on the political and social impacts on the Turkish diaspora of state institutions or tools involved in diaspora activities. However, in this thesis study, instead of looking at the concept of diaspora only from the perspective of the relevant institutions of the Republic of Turkey; an attempt has been made to bring a different perspective to the literature by looking at it from the perspective of individuals who make up the Turkish diaspora and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) established under their leadership.

To achieve this goal, rather than studies that only analyze the institutions in the homeland looking at the diaspora as generally found in the literature, the perspectives of NGOs established by Turkish diaspora members on the diaspora concept and their contributions to the diaspora formation process will be analyzed. In addition, the efforts of the institutions of the Republic of Turkey towards the diaspora will be evaluated. In this context, the focus will be on the activities of Türkevi, the Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Gorus (IGMG), the Netherlands Turkish Federation, and the Social Resistance Institute (Maatschappelijke Veerkracht) which was established by Turks in the Netherlands and is still in service.

Based on this perspective, it is believed that the conducted research will contribute to the literature in the following ways: clarification of what the concept of diaspora is for the Turkish diaspora in the Netherlands, whether there is a prejudice against this concept in society, and whether the biggest obstacle in the underdevelopment of the literature is

prejudice. If such prejudice exists, to what extent it is, how the bias was broken as a result of evaluations, where Turkish NGOs are positioned in the process of diaspora formation, an analysis of the effectiveness levels of activities carried out by Turkish NGOs in the Netherlands, understanding the awareness levels of Turks in the Netherlands in terms of preserving their existence, what the Turkish diaspora in the Netherlands expects from the Republic of Turkey, to what extent the Republic of Turkey can protect the rights of its compatriots in the Netherlands where the Turkish diaspora is densely located, to what extent it can engage in lobbying activities or could engage, the determination of the level of relations with the Republic of Turkey, and finally, mutual contributions to the literature regarding what the Turkish diaspora and the host country have done or could do to achieve integration without assimilation in the context of the Netherlands.

In line with these goals, the methodology of the study, the questions that were sought answers during the thesis study, and the limitations of the study were given in the introduction part of the study. In addition, assumptions arising during the research were discussed, and in the final part of the thesis, findings and suggestions obtained based on these assumptions were included.

The first part of the thesis contains information about the theoretical framework. When creating the theoretical framework, a flow was aimed in the plane of a chain of logic. For this reason, first, a conceptual and theoretical framework related to the migration concept was included. The reason for choosing migration first is that the diaspora in the Netherlands resulted from migration. After the migration concept, the concepts of migration, refugee, and asylum seeker, which are confused with the diaspora in the literature, were discussed. Then, the concepts of civil society and lobbying were focused on. The reason is that before analyzing the effectiveness of NGOs that operate to prevent the Dutch Turkish diaspora, which emerged as a result of labor migration, from losing their self-identity, basic information about civil society and civil society organizations is given. Lastly, a brief theoretical and conceptual framework was drawn on the lobbying concept because it was also mentioned whether the Turkish NGOs established throughout the Netherlands conduct lobbying activities or not.

In the second part of the thesis, firstly, the historical background of the Turkish diaspora worldwide was mentioned, and in the following titles, the contributions of the Republic of Turkey institutions operating in general in the Turkish diaspora were mentioned.

In this section, in particular, the establishment, organizational structure, and areas of activity of the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB), Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA), Yunus Emre Institute (YEE), Religious Foundation, and Maarif Foundation were mentioned. Besides these institutions, brief reference was made to the activities of DEİK, DTİK, Embassies, Consulates, which had an impact on the formation of the Turkish diaspora but did not carry out activities as large as the previously mentioned institutions.

In the third part, which includes the main subject of this study, the contributions of Turkish Non-Governmental Organizations with different ideas and organizational structures established in the Netherlands to the concept of Turkish diaspora are emphasized. In order to ensure subject dominance in general, general information about the Netherlands, which is the sample country of the thesis, is given, and then the relations between the Turks and the Dutch are mentioned. In the following, information about the historical background, organization chart and activities of the thesis sample Türkevi, IGMG, Netherlands Turkish Federation and Social Resistance/Cooperation Institute are given.

In the conclusion part of the thesis; The findings obtained as a result of testing the assumptions obtained as a result of the literature review through interviews with NGO representatives and members of the Turkish diaspora during the visit to the Netherlands are included. Also, under this title, suggestions are given for what kind of steps can be taken to ensure that the Turkish diaspora does not lose its identity and to strengthen the ties between the Turkish diaspora and the Republic of Turkey, with the evaluation of the findings in question.

1.1. Methodology of Research

In this thesis work, where the activities of NGOs in the Dutch Turkish diaspora are discussed, instead of the quantitative research method specific to generalization, a qualitative research method was utilized, also described as interpretive or field research, which focuses on the different and deep nature of individual characteristics specific to humans and advocates that the depth and originality of information are more important than generalizations, focusing on deep and specific data obtained from smaller study groups instead of large samples. In addition, the techniques of interview, observation, and document

review, which are used to collect data in qualitative research, have been applied at every stage of the study (Baltacı, 2019, p. 369).

In addition, during the extensive literature review of this study, Turkish, English, and Dutch sources have been reviewed. In terms of accessing sources period, have been utilized from the web-based Database Access and Statistics System of Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, the web services of the National Library, Council of Higher Education in Turkey (CoHE) and books obtained physically from libraries.

In order to better analyze and observe the topic, site visits have been made to the cities of Amsterdam, the capital of the Netherlands, which was chosen as the sample country and has the highest population with 921,468, Rotterdam with a population of 664,071, and Haarlem, one of the small cities of the Netherlands, located to the west of Amsterdam, with a population of 165,358, within 2023. The main reason for choosing these cities is that they are cities where NGOs evaluated in the thesis are active in these cities (City Population, 2023).

During the time spent in the sample country, interviews were generally conducted with members of the Turkish diaspora in mosques, clubs, and Turkish neighborhoods, which are areas where the Turkish diaspora live. In addition, observations were made in areas where Turks live or work intensively. Furthermore, face-to-face interviews were conducted with NGO representatives who work towards the formation of the Turkish diaspora.

Interviews with members of the Turkish diaspora were generally conducted in individual, but sometimes group interviews were also included. These interviews generally took place in a conversational atmosphere. On the other hand, the interviews with the representatives of the NGOs related to the thesis topic were conducted in a more formal atmosphere. Also, by maintaining continuous communication with the interviewees, online interviews were conducted before and after the visit to the Netherlands. Permission was obtained from the interviewees during the individual interviews to record the conversations. Individual meetings were attended by Veyis Güngör representing the Türkevi Association, Kenan Aslan representing IGMG, Erim Uğurlu representing the Dutch Turkish Federation, Vahap Yılmaz, a former member of the Dutch Turkish Federation, and İbrahim Yerden representing the Social Resistance/Cooperation Institute. The research questions were asked the aforementioned representatives about the information obtained during the literature

review and the parts that can be described as gray areas, and then problems to be solved based on the answers received were analyzed and suggestions were made for the identified problems.

1.2. Purpose of Research

The main purposes of this study are as follows: The lack of a clear definition of the concept of diaspora, which is the subject of social sciences, the inability to make an unbiased definition of the concept of Turkish Diaspora, understanding the reason for the prejudice against the concept of diaspora, bringing the problems faced by the Turkish diaspora in the country of immigration, evaluation of activity levels of NGOs established by Turkish diaspora members, giving information on the relations between Turkish NGOs and state institutions in Turkey, analyzing Turkey's perspective on the Turkish diaspora, determining the integration level of the Turkish diaspora in the Netherlands, looking at the concept of Turkish diaspora from the perspective of Turks in the diaspora, determining the scope of the Turkish diaspora, giving information about the expectations of the Turkish diaspora in the Netherlands from Turkey and lastly evaluation the Lobbying power of Turkish institutions and Turkish NGOs throughout the Netherlands.

1.3. Hypothesis

As a result of the literature review for the master's thesis study planned within the scope of the Dutch Turkish diaspora, the hypothesis that needs to be tested basically is to analyze whether the members of the Turkish diaspora are biased towards the concept of diaspora, and the activities of Turkish NGOs throughout the Netherlands and the level of their relations with Turkey. In this thesis, besides the main hypothesis, some sub-hypotheses were tested with research questions. These sub-hypotheses are as follows:

- Turkish immigrant groups have a serious diaspora potential.
- There is a general prejudice towards the concept of diaspora.
- There is a general politicization tendency in the Turkish diaspora.
- From the first generation to the fifth generation, the perspective of the Turkish diaspora towards Turkey is changing day by day.
- Unity among Turkish NGOs has not been fully achieved.

- There are relations between Turkish NGOs and the Institutions of the Republic of Turkey on the protection of Turkish language and culture, but it is necessary to increase the number of studies on this issue, to make it more efficient and to increase its visibility by diaspora members.

1.4. Research Questions

Within the scope of this thesis, in order to test the hypotheses obtained at first glance, the question of what are the relations of the Turkish diaspora members with Turkey and the Netherlands, what is the view of the Turkish diaspora to the concept of the Turkish diaspora, and what is the activity level of the NGOs established by the diaspora members comes to the fore. In the literature review conducted as a complement to these questions, the following questions were asked during the interviews and the above-mentioned hypotheses and sub-hypotheses were tried to be tested.

1- What is the view of the Turkish diaspora on the concept of diaspora? Is the concept used among Turks in the Netherlands? Are there any cognitive biases? How is the Turkish diaspora type? Is Turkish diaspora or Turkey diaspora a more correct usage?
2- How do the Dutch position the Turks in society? Do Turks believe they can fully integrate into Dutch society or do they have a fear of being homeless as a result of facing discrimination? Is the myth of the return to homeland idea that dominates the diasporas in general, still valid for the Dutch Turkish diaspora?
3- How are the relations between the Turkish diaspora and the Institutions of the Republic of Turkey? Is there sufficient support from these institutions? Are these institutions adequately supported?
4- In general, what is the ethnic situation in the Netherlands and where exactly does Turkey take place in this structure? What kind of activities does the Netherlands engage in to ensure integration?
5- What does the concept of NGO mean for the diaspora? What is the level of activity of NGOs in the Turkish diaspora? Are these studies enough for Turks to protect their self-identity? What are the biggest problems or limitations of Turkish NGOs?
6- Is an effective lobbying activity carried out by the Turkish diaspora?

7- What should the Turkish diaspora and the institutions of the Republic of Turkey do for a more effective diaspora?

1.5. Research Universe and Sample

The most important reasons for choosing the Netherlands as the sample country in the study are that it is among the top five countries in terms of labor migration from Turkey after the 1960s, despite being a small, less populated and central European Union country when evaluated in terms of surface area. In addition, when the literature is examined, it is aimed to contribute to the subject of the Netherlands, which remains untouched, since it is seen that there are many studies conducted specifically in Germany.

In this respect, the Dutch Turkish Diaspora was chosen as the research population. During this process, it was taken into account that the mass migrations that took place especially after 1960 were directed towards the EU region and that the migrating groups have been living in the EU region for almost five generations. During the studies conducted throughout the EU region, it was understood that the literature was narrow and the few studies were specific to Germany. When the researches on the Turkish diaspora in YÖK Thesis Center were listed, it was observed that 18 records were found. As a result of the examination of the 18 records mentioned, it has been understood that although there are theses that are generally mentioned about Turkish diaspora NGOs, there is no study specific to NGOs that are the subject of this thesis. It has been seen that one of the 2 studies carried out in the Netherlands is a doctoral study named Turkish Diaspora in Europe: The Dutch Example by Buket Ökten Sipahioğlu. This study includes important findings and recommendations for the Dutch Turkish diaspora, and interviews were conducted by NGO managers and members of the Turkish diaspora. However, this doctoral thesis is not a study made specifically for NGOs. The other study, on the other hand, is a study that includes evaluations for several countries. On the other hand, Bedri Yavuz Hatunoğlu's thesis study published in 2002, which was used in the classification of the selected non-governmental organizations throughout the study, also took into account the NGOs in the Netherlands and especially progressed on the Türkevi. However, Hatunoğlu did not mention the concept of diaspora. In this case, it emerges as a point where the two theses diverge from each other.

Table 1. Research Numbers According to Countries

COUNTRY	AFRICA	GERMANY	AUSTRALIA	AUSTRIA	BELGIUM	BULGARIA	FRANCE	NETHERLANDS	GREECE
Number of Studies	1	6	1	1	2	1	1	2	1

The selection of the four Non-Governmental Organizations included in the sample was based on the NGO classifications revealed by Bedri Yavuz Hatunoğlu in his study of Turkish NGOs in the Netherlands in 2002 (Hatunoğlu, 2002, pp. 16-17). In this regard, the representatives of the NGOs were asked which type they consider their NGOs to be close in Hatunoğlu's ideological, religious, social/cultural and cyclical classification, and a decision was made by reviewing the literature and examining the activities of NGOs. As a result of this examination, the Dutch Turkish Federation was accepted as an ideological NGO due to its political ties with the MHP in Turkey, the country of origin. Emphasizing the protection of Islamic values as well as Turkish culture, IGMG has been accepted as a religious NGO. While it has been stated that Türkevi, which organizes physical meetings and events in addition to academic studies, is a social/cultural NGO, the Social Resistance/Cooperation Institute, which contributes to the Turkish diaspora on a person-based periodical academic and social assistance issues, has been accepted as a cyclical NGO. Throughout the study, evaluations were made based on this classification.

Table 2. Name and Types of Research Subject NGO

NGOS	**NGO TYPE**
Dutch Turkish Federation	Political/Ideological
IGMG	Religious
Social Resistance/Cooperation Institute	Cyclical
Türkevi Foundation	Social/Cultural

1.6. Limits of the Research

Finally, in this thesis study, in which the contribution of the Civil Society Organizations established by the Turks in the Netherlands to the Turkish diaspora formation process is analyzed, it is thought that the inclusion of all Turkish Non-Governmental Organizations established in the Netherlands will yield a more comprehensive result. However, due to the breadth of the subject and the fact that this study is a master's thesis, it is aimed to analyze their view of the concept of diaspora and their contribution to the formation of diaspora by choosing a representative institution instead of all non-governmental organizations that include Turkish diaspora members. In the classification to be made, it was aimed to select one NGO from each group and each organization, and the ideological, religious, social-cultural and cyclical NGO distinction obtained during the examination of Bedri Yavuz Hatunoğlu's 2002 study on Turkish NGOs has been taken into account in this thesis (Hatunoğlu, 2002, pp. 16-17). In this respect, the Netherlands Turkish Federation, IGMG, Social Resistance/Cooperation Institute and Türkevi were selected. In this respect, only the previously designated representatives in the table below were interviewed. In addition, the interviewees generally consist of second and third generation members of the Turkish diaspora.

Table 3. Info about Interviewed Persons and Institutions

NGOS	NGO'S TYPES	REPRESENTATIVES
Dutch Turkish Federation	Political/Ideological	Erim UĞURLU
Dutch Turkish Federation	Political/Ideological	Vahap YILMAZ
IGMG	Religious	Kenan ASLAN
Social Resistance/Cooperation Institute	Cyclical	Dr. İbrahim YERDEN
Türkevi Foundation	Social/Cultural	Dr. Veyis GÜNGÖR

In addition, it is also a limitation of the study that the first, second and third generation men were interviewed in general in the interviews, and the female NGO members and the younger fourth and fifth generation were not interviewed.

Finally, it was used in this way throughout the thesis, since it was stated that the concept of Turkish diaspora was common during the interviews about whether the diaspora formed by those living in the Netherlands and immigrating from Turkey is Turkish or Turkish. This situation can be described as a limitation throughout the study. Because there is a possibility that the citizens of Turkey who migrated from Turkey, those who have lost their citizenship and have a blue card, or who have lost their citizenship and become only citizens of the country of immigration, may belong to other ethnic groups. However, they were not interviewed. The fact that some groups are seen as anti-diaspora and the reluctance of some NGO representatives to contribute to academic studies have an impact on the inability to conduct interviews.

2. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

There is an undeniable relationship between diaspora, which can be defined as maintaining its existence in a place without losing its essence, and the concept of migration. In this context, the question arises whether migration is a prerequisite for diaspora formation or whether diasporas are formed without migration from one place to another. In the literature studies conducted in response to this question, William McNeill's classification of migration as four types in a historical perspective drew attention at this point. According to McNeill's classification of migrations:

- Displacement under the pressure of another population (nomadism),
- Conquest of the place of residence by others and subsequent assimilation of the two communities (attempts of conquest),
- Arrival of foreigners welcomed by hosts (establishment of commercial activities),
- The removal of individuals or societies from their lands completely and taking them to another place (slavery) (Yaldız, 2014, p. 384)

This thesis also proceeds with the inference that in order for a diaspora to be mentioned in a region, there must have been a previous migration to that region or the minority status must have been acquired as a result of a conquest in the region.

When the historical background of the formation of the diaspora is examined in the context of the Netherlands, which is the country of the thesis sample, it is thought that it would be appropriate to explain the concept of migration conceptually first. Because the Turkish diaspora in the Netherlands was formed as a result of a migration movement. In addition, in this section, these concepts and theories related to these concepts in the literature are discussed, since Turkish migrations are generally based on labor migration and brain drain. Then, the concepts of diaspora and NGO were examined conceptually and theoretically. Finally, a conceptual assessment will be made for lobbying and lobbying activities, as diaspora activities of NGOs may generate lobbying activities.

2.1. Migration

Migration, a social concept, has been defined in many different ways in the literature over time. However, if a simple conceptualization is to be made, migration can be defined

as moving from one place to another. According to this definition, it is understood that the concept of migration does not only cover human movements and it is a phenomenon that covers the movements of all living beings. However, in this study, only a evaluation on migration activities related to human life will be carried out, so definitions in this direction will be taken into account.

The concept of migration is basically defined as permanently moving from one place to another within the country or abroad, depending on the conditions of the period in which one lives. The two types of migration mentioned here can basically be characterized as leaving from one place to continuing life in a new settlement. The definition of the concept of migration by the Turkish Language Association is: "The act of individuals or communities moving from one country to another, or from one settlement to another for economic, social, and political reasons; migration; emigration or expatriation." There can be many reasons underlying this relocation process and these reasons are analyzed with migration studies. Generally, when the most important reasons for migration are mentioned, economic, social, political, and cultural issues come to the forefront (Koçak & TERZİ, 2012, p. 178). In addition, can be obtained information about the economic, sociological, and political situation of the period migrated with conducted migration studies.

The broad scope of the concept and its ancient history have led to its long-standing research and in-depth examination in the literature. During these examinations, answers of many questions have been sought. For example, to these questions: Why do people migrate? What are the desired features in the regions migrated to? Are the desires of immigrants always met in the regions they migrate to? What are the types of migration? Answers to these and similar other questions have been sought to draw a theoretical framework for the concept of migration. Many thinkers have expressed their ideas at this point. For instance, Stuart Hall, when defining migration, uses the sentence, "Migration is a one-way journey; there is no home to return" (Arı & Türkan, 2018, p. 31).

In addition to Hall, many thinkers have contributed academically to the literature. For example, Ravenstein, who conducted studies towards the end of the 19th century when people increased their migrations to the interior of Europe and North America as a result of industrialization, wrote the first known article on the concept of migration in 1885 and 1889. In his article, Ravenstein mentioned the existence of seven laws of migration (Yalçın, 2004; Cited Çağlayan, 2006). These seven laws are; migration and distance, migration and its

stages, spread and absorption process, migration and its chains, direct migration, rural-urban settler difference, gender difference. Ravenstein's views form the cornerstone of neo-classical economic-based migration studies (Çağlayan, 2006, p. 71).

Apart from Ravenstein, Lee's push-pull theory was also used to try to reveal the basic and common features of migrations. Four of the push and pull factors related to migration were prioritized by Lee. These are: factors related to the place lived, factors related to the place thought to be moved to, intervening obstacles, individual factors (Yalçın, 2004; Cited Çağlayan, 2006, p. 72). According to this theory, demographic factors such as age, gender, education, race, and similar are considered very important in determining the advantages and disadvantages of migration at the personal level (Çağlayan, 2006, p. 73).

According to William Petersen, five different types of migration have been created according to individual and class differences. These are: primitive migrations, forced migrations, impelled migrations, free migrations, mass migrations. In addition to Petersen's migration typing, typologies of migration types are encountered in the literature. These types of migration are as follows:

a) Forced migrations: Migrations that occur in situations encountered due to reasons such as war, disaster, exile etc.
b) Voluntary migrations: Situations where the individual decides to migrate on their own to raise their level of welfare.
c) In terms of the method of migration, there is a distinction between legal and illegal migration, the timing, location, and direction of which cannot be predicted. Some of the illegal migrations are transit migrations. The most memorable example for illegal migration is Syrians and Afghans crossing through Turkey to go to the EU Region.
d) Labor migration: It is the migration of workers who cannot find employment opportunities in their country or work at low wages to different countries.
e) Brain drain is a type of migration that covers skilled professionals who go to work in another country.
f) Migrations according to their durations are temporary and permanent migrations.
g) According to the place, migration separates to internal migrations and external migrations (Çağlayan, 2006, p. 75).

It can be stated that the migration of Turks, which took place after 1960, which was discussed in the thesis in question, was initially made to earn money temporarily and to return to their homeland. However, as a result of the questions asked in the interviews about the history and types of migration, it was stated by Veyis Güngör, the President of the Türkevi Association, that the Turks became permanent over time due to family reunification, a regular life in the Netherlands and obtaining citizenship. Since these migrations are generally intended for abroad, they can be described as external migration. In addition, while Turkish migrations initially occurred as worker migrations, the rate of worker migrations decreased over time. Today, it consists of family reunification (migration through marriage), brain drain or quality migration and finally political migration. While brain drain is an example of voluntary migration in these new migration movements; Migration for political purposes can be shown as an example of forced migration.

Apart from these, if the recent Turkish migrations are evaluated, as a result of the land losses that started from the last periods of the Ottoman Empire, forced migrations occurred to a large extent. In addition to this, since the establishment of Turkey, political migration has taken place in every period. At this point, it is thought that political/ideological migrations can be added in addition to Petersen's migration types.

In short, while people had to migrate due to wars or climate changes in the past, also today there are many different reasons for people to migrate from one place to another. In the evaluations made in the Netherlands example, it can be said that different types of migration have emerged.

2.2. Migrant-Refugee-Asylum Seeker:

Alongside the concept of migration, another complementary concept is immigrant. If there is migration, there naturally needs to be a person or group to carry out this migration. However, some confusion arises when defining the term immigrant. Because the question "Is it correct to call every person who changes their location an immigrant?" comes to mind. In particular, it has been observed that the concept of immigrant has been frequently confused with the concepts of refugee and asylum seeker in recent times. Upon examining the concepts of refugee, asylum seeker, and immigrant in depth, it is seen that they have different statuses according to international law.

The United Nations defines a refugee as "a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion. In addition, refugee is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country." Therefore, refugees are granted special status and legal protection by international agreements. Those who are yet unable to benefit from this protection are referred to as "asylum seekers". Asylum seekers are those who seek international protection as refugees but whose status has not yet been officially recognized. Also, the term “immigrant” refers to those who voluntarily leave their country for economic or other reasons. So, while immigrants leave their countries voluntarily, on the other hand refugees are forced to leave their countries or are made to leave.

The 1951 United Nations Geneva Convention on the Legal Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol on the Legal Status of Refugees form the fundamental documents regarding legal boundaries for refugees at the international level and at this point, it is seen that the concepts of immigrant and refugee are distinguished in terms of legal status. In addition, Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights also regulates the right to asylum. This article states, "Everyone has the right to seek and to benefit asylum from persecution in other countries." On the other hand, states also implement national regulations regarding asylum seekers. In this context, the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (No. 6458) was adopted in Turkey on April 4, 2013, and published in the Official Gazette No. 28615 dated April 11, 2013. This Law has regulated the legal status of asylum seekers in Turkey and has created new international protection statuses such as conditional refugee, subsidiary protection, and temporary protection (Dost, 2014, p. 28).

It is understood that the key difference between the concepts of refugee, asylum seeker and immigrant is whether the immigrant has a will or not in the migration process. Because, as explained above, refugees and asylum seekers migrate due to the possibility of persecution in their country. At this point, they differ from the immigrants who voluntarily migrated and settled in order to increase the level of welfare.

In this respect, when we evaluate the Turkish migration, it is understood that the Turks in the Netherlands generally intensified as a result of the labor migration that occurred after the Ankara Agreement signed in 1963. For this reason, it is understood that Turks generally came to the Netherlands as immigrants and continued their lives as an ethnic minority over

time. In addition, there have been periodic political migrations in Turkey. As a result of these migrations, there are groups of refugees and asylum seekers. However, the migrations that make up the diaspora are mainly due to voluntary migrations in Netherlands.

2.3. Labor Migration/ Expatriate/Guest Worker/Gastarbeiter

Given that the main subject of this thesis is the Turkish diaspora in the Netherlands, and that the majority of Turks who migrated to the Netherlands did so under the labor agreement signed on September 12, 1963, it was thought appropriate to explain the concept of labor migration under a separate heading when outlining the conceptual framework of this thesis.

Worldwide, mass labor migrations especially emerged after the industrial revolution as a result of the free movement of labor, with those unable to find employment in their own countries or working for low wages migrating to different countries. When evaluated in terms of types of migration, it can be understood that labor migration is not a forced migration, but being under the category of voluntary migration based on personal will. Because forced migrations usually occur as a reflection of extraordinary situations like war, disaster or exile etc. However, labor migrations generally result from individuals deciding to migrate for better living conditions, and therefore their migration based on voluntariness.

If we evaluate the movements of Turkish immigrants within the scope of labor migration, we can observe a general migration flow to the European region under the labor migration agreements made between the Republic of Turkey and European countries in the 1960s. The migrating masses are referred to as expatriates or "Gurbetçi" by their countries of origin, while the countries to which they migrate call them "Gastarbeiter" or guest workers. During the interviews with İbrahim Yerden from the Social Resistance/Cooperation Institute and Veyis Güngör from the Türkevi Association, it was stated that the main reason for using the term guest worker was the belief that these migrations would be short-lived for the emigrated Turks and for the institutions and citizens of the emigrated country. Because the emigrating Turks aimed to return to their countries of origin by gaining a certain level of income. On the other hand, the institutions and citizens of the immigrated countries thought that labor migration would greatly contribute to the development of Europe, which was destroyed after the Second World War.

Labor migrations can be temporary or permanent, depending on the nature of the migration. For example, the primary goal for the Turks who migrated as a result of the demand for workers from non-European countries for the reconstruction of Europe in the 1960s was to earn a certain level of income and return to their homelands. However, over time, many of them decided to stay in the places to which they migrated. In other words, migrations that are initially temporary can later become permanent. Finally, labor migrations are subject to a dual distinction, both domestically and abroad. While workers may migrate to welfare countries to find job opportunities and earn wages in foreign currency, they may also migrate to places within their country that offer seasonal employment opportunities. However, in this study, labor migrations to foreign countries will be evaluated due to the research being specifically about the Netherlands.

2.4. Brain Drain

Brain drains or, as defined by Türkevi Association President Veyis Güngör, the concept of quality migration is a concept used to express the situation where well-educated, productive, thinking, qualified employees go abroad for the purpose of research or work and do not return. (Kaya, 2003, p. 2). Brain drain, like labor migration, is an international migration. The most significant benefit a country expects from international migration is that skilled migrant workers return to their home country with their gained experiences, accelerating the development process of the origin country (Bakırtaş & Kandemir, 2010, p. 962)However, if migrants settle in the developed country and do not return, this situation represents the export of trained human power for free, and it is the most significant cost of international migration for homeland countries (Bakırtaş & Kandemir, 2010, p. 962).

In addition to the above-mentioned advantages and disadvantages for both the sending and receiving countries, brain drain has many other effects. From the perspective of the sending country, the migration of unskilled migrants abroad leads to an increase in per capita national income. However, the brain drain of skilled individuals may lead to an increase in per capita national income within the country, in the short term, the redirection of the contribution that the skilled worker could provide abroad may seem like a gain due to the increase in the share taken from the national income. However, in the long term, it leads to significant loss of experience.

Brain drain, which has different consequences for the sending and receiving countries, can occur for many reasons. These can be organization-based, geographic, or industry-based. In the case of Turkey, the reasons for brain drain are divided into two: negative (push) and positive (pull) reasons (Kaya, 2003, p. 3). The push factors of brain drain can be listed as the pressure of unemployment on educated people, low salaries in the homeland country, increasing rates of unemployment and inflation, national security issues, increasing practices of mobbing and nepotism at workplaces, inadequate resources allocated for research and development, the low living standard created by low human development, and political and economic instability (Bakırtaş & Kandemir, 2010, p. 961). The pull factors of brain drain can be presented as the opportunity to work in better conditions with a higher salary, to have more vacation, and to rise faster in their profession. The effects of brain drain on countries include a decrease in the number of experts in the field, disruption of scientific and cultural studies, and economic loss for the country (Bakırtaş & Kandemir, 2010, p. 961).

As a result of the brain drains for the reasons mentioned above, there are three ways in front of countries. The first way is to make political, social and economic breakthroughs that will keep qualified people in the country, and the second is to make use of the experiences of those people by working to ensure the return of qualified brain drained citizens to their countries, and the last and most important point is to assimilate in the migrated places instead of reversing the brain drains. It is to ensure that activities beneficial to their countries are carried out without assimilation.

2.5. Diaspora

If we look at the historical background of the concept of diaspora, which constitutes the main subject of this thesis work, we can see that the word was first used to describe the expulsion of Jews from Palestine. This exile in question is thought to have taken place between 598-587 BC and is known as the Babylonian Exile. Even in quotes from the Torah about this issue, it was stated for Jews that, "The Lord will cause you to be defeated before your enemies; you shall go out one way against them and flee seven ways before them. And you shall become a horror to all the kingdoms of the earth" (Dufoix, 2011, p. 1). Although Cyrus II (538 BC) freed the Jews at the end of the Babylonian Exile, the vast majority of Jews scattered across the world (Dufoix, 2011, p. 1). Therefore, as Dufoix also points out, the concept was initially used to describe the situation of the Jews.

In the 2nd century AD, the first church fathers, whose writings were accepted as rules in matters of religion, preferred to use the term "paroikia" instead of the concept of diaspora in relation to the dispersion of Christians across the earth and the idea of being a chosen community. They described diaspora as a concept specific to the Jewish people. This event can be considered the beginning of the prejudices against the concept that continue to this day. Because even today, attempts continue to depict diaspora as a word specific to Jews and to express the stated situation with different words. For example, in interviews conducted with Türkevi President Veyis Güngör, although it was stated that this concept is heavily prejudiced among nationalist circles, it was emphasized that it would be more correct to use this concept until a substitute common concept is created.

The concept of diaspora, which is mostly attributed to Jews and whose reason has been stated, has come to be used for other communities that have separated from their homeland over the historical process. Examples of these communities include Africans who migrated or were made to migrate to other regions to work or be employed, and Armenians who migrated as a result of the events of 1915 (Yaldız, 2013, p. 295). In addition to these, it can be said that it was used for Huguenots who left France for religious reasons and for Chinese who came to San Francisco to work on railway constructions and in mines (Dufoix, 2011, pp. 1-3).

Over time, due to the neoliberal trend and globalization, there has been an expansion and change in the definition and scope of the concept of diaspora, which is only identified with these groups. As a result of this expansion, the concept began to encompass more diverse communities. One of these is the Turkish diaspora, which is the main subject of the thesis.

2.5.1. Meaning and Typologies of Diaspora

Migration, immigrant, refugee, and asylum seeker concepts, as well as the concept of diaspora, which is the main subject of this thesis, are subject to many definitions like other concepts in social sciences. The lack of clear boundaries of the concept leads to incorrect uses that mean the same as the aforementioned concepts of migration, immigrant, refugee, and asylum seeker.

On the other hand, the phenomenon of diaspora, which emerged as a result of international migration, is thought to be inseparable from concepts such as globalization, migration, ghettoization, minority, identity, nationalism, transnational social spaces. Therefore, we encounter many interrelated but not synonymous concepts.

The concept of diaspora, which has different definitions from migration and immigrant, is fundamentally of Ancient Greek origin and is formed by the combination of the words dia-speiro. Dia and speiro mean scattering/spreading from. This concept is mainly used for external migration or its related consequences, meaning dispersion or separation (Bülbül, 2020, p. 132). The Turkish Language Institute defines diaspora as breakage, broken piece. The Merriam Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary defines the term "diaspora" as "the settlement of scattered Jewish colonies outside Palestine after the Babylonian exile", "the region where Jews settled outside Palestine", "Jews living outside Palestine or Modern Israel" and "the migration of the Great Black diaspora to Northern and Western cities in the 1940s or 1950s". The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary also defines the term diaspora as "the dispersal of Jews among non-Jewish nations" and "all Jews living outside the promised lands in the Bible" (Sheffer, 2003, p. 36). These definitions generally stem from the classic diaspora view that associates the concept of diaspora with Jews. Other definitions generally refer to peoples who have left a place and established new living spaces in various parts of the world.

In these definitions, it generally originates from the classical diaspora view that associates the concept of diaspora with Jews. In other definitions, it is generally expressed as the peoples who leave from one place and establish new living spaces in various parts of the world.

Apart from the definitions mentioned above, many social scientists have been interested in diaspora and different conceptualizations have been made. Diaspora is a word of Greek origin and its dictionary meaning is 'dispersal' or 'dispersed ones'. In ancient times, Greek-speaking tribes meant immigration and colonization from the diaspora (B. Bilgiç & T. Bilgiç, 2012, p. 42). However, diaspora has more negative and dramatic meanings, especially for Jews, Palestinians and Armenians. For these societies, the diaspora indicates a collective trauma, being exiled, and a constant homesickness in the places of exile (Cohen 1997; Cited by B. Bilgiç & T. Bilgiç, 2012, p. 42)

Milton J. Esman defines diaspora as a community that has become an ethnic minority as a result of migration and continues to maintain an emotional or physical relationship with the land of its birth. Esman emphasizes the phenomenon of migration in this definition. Because, if a community falls into an ethnic minority as a result of a conquest, annexation, or arbitrary border arrangement, Esman does not accept them in the diaspora category (Esman, 1986; Cited. B. Bilgiç & T. Bilgiç, 2012, p. 42). At this point, Bilgiç evaluates the situation from a different perspective, stating:

> *"We claim that the Turkish diaspora communities in the Balkans, which emerged with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and the Kosova Turks, who constitute the main subject of this article, are a modern Turkish diaspora and because they see Turkey as a kin state, consider Turkey as the first natural place to seek refuge when they feel endangered due to social, economic and/or political reasons, we believe there is a diaspora relationship between this community and Turkey."* (B. Bilgiç & T. Bilgiç, 2012, p. 43).

In short, in this section, Bilgiç indicates that there is no obstacle to counting citizens who became ethnic minorities abroad as a result of the Ottoman Empire's territorial losses, as a part of the Turkish diaspora.

Writers such as Rogers Brubaker, Gerard Chailand, and Jean-Pierre Rageau, approach the concept of diaspora with a classical diaspora perspective, associating the concept of diaspora with Jews, and stating that if other religious or ethnic groups are considered as a diaspora, the boundaries between ethnic minority and diaspora will become blurred (Chailand and Rageau 1995 Cited. Bilgiç, 2012, p. 42). Additionally, diasporas can also be characterized as a fracture in the sovereignty of modern nation-states, a tool for democratic social struggle where ghettos, referred to as societal debris, gain self-awareness and seek equality (Ulusoy, 2017, p. 58).

According to Walker Conner, the term is used to include certain people living outside their homelands. For example: Cubans and Mexicans in the United States, Pakistanis in England, Maghribs in France, Turks in Germany, Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, Greek and Polish minorities, Palestinian Arabs, Blacks in North America, various Caribbean communities in different countries, Native Americans and Armenians, Corsicans in Marseille, and even Flemish-speaking Belgians living in common settlement areas in

Wallonia (Saffran, 1991, p. 83). According to William Safran, today, "diaspora" and more specifically "diaspora community", increasingly seem to be used as metaphorical definitions for various categories of people (expatriates, deportees, political refugees, foreign residents, immigrants, and ethnic and racial minorities) (Saffran, 1991, p. 83).

However, William Safran was to prevent the term from losing its meaning, it is appropriate to extend Connor's definition and categorize communities with certain features as a diaspora. According to Safran, there are certain features that qualify a community as a diaspora. These are as follows:

I) An ethnic group or their ancestors have dispersed from their homeland to two or more environments or foreign regions,
II) The physical location of the homeland of migrating communities,
III) Having a collective memory, vision, or myth about history and accomplishments,
IV) The existence of a community that believes they are not fully accepted by the host society and perhaps cannot be accepted, and therefore feels partially alienated and isolated from the migrated place society,
V) Seeing the homelands of their ancestors as the real, ideal home and the place where they or their descendants will eventually return (or should return) when conditions are suitable,
VI) Believing that they must collectively remain committed to the preservation or restoration and security and welfare of their homelands, continuing to relate in one way or another with that homeland personally or indirectly, and their ethno-social consciousness and solidarity being significantly defined by the existence of such a relationship, it is claimed that the aforementioned communities can be a diaspora (Saffran, 1991, pp. 83-84).

Under Safran’s definition, other diasporas are not in the ideal type diaspora position that the Jewish community possesses. However, Armenian, Maghreb, Indian, Palestinian, Cuban, Greek, Chinese, and Turkish societies living outside their homelands can now be counted as a diaspora. The group most similar to the Jews are the Armenians, with a common pain formed around genocide claims. In addition to these, there are also groups without a return myth. The best example of this type of diaspora is the Gypsies. Because Gypsy diasporas do not have a specific homeland. (Saffran, 1991, p. 86)

Similar to Safran, Cohen has outlined nine criteria similar to William Safran's six criteria for analyzing whether a group is a diaspora or not. These criteria are:

I. Dispersing to two or more regions, often through traumatic migration from a common center,
II. Primarily being for work, for trade,
III. Maintaining a common past, myth, or vision related to the homeland,
IV. A lack of complete sense of belonging to the host country and a feeling of alienation,
V. The belief that the homeland is the ideal country to live in and the desire to return to the homeland,
VI. A long-lasting ethnic group consciousness based on common history and common fate,
VII. Sympathy towards ethnic members in other countries,
VIII. The belief that there should be cooperation for the development and progress of the homeland,
IX. Being in mutual relationships (commercial, familial, political, etc.) with the homeland (Cohen, 1997, p. 27).

In addition to Cohen's views, according to Reis, it is not necessary for a crisis or traumatic event to occur in modern diasporas unlike the Jews and Armenians in the classical diaspora concept. Especially when viewed in the context of globalization, migrations are no longer solely due to a traumatic event or a disaster (Ulusoy, 2017, p. 61).

Changing contemporary conditions are also changing the reasons why people migrate, and this increases the chances of new diasporas emerging. Opportunities abroad with the globalization process are seen and evaluated by human communities all over the world. In this case, the concept of diaspora is moving away from being a structure solely tied to political and cultural conflict.

In a similar vein to Safran’s claims, Robin Cohen also asserts that the ideal type of diaspora is the Jews. In fact, according to Cohen there are three separate periods concerning the concept of diaspora. The first of these periods is the concept of diaspora used for Jews and the ancient Greek city-states, referred to as the classical diaspora. This period lasted until approximately the 16th century.

In the second stage, the modern diaspora period emerged. The modern diaspora period can be examined in three sub-periods. The first of these covers the period that started with the expansion of European capital in the 16th century and continued until the first quarter of the 19th century. The second period describes the era in which new diasporas emerged as a result of labor migrations that arose from the industrial revolution and continued until World War I, from 1815-1914.

The final stage of modern period diasporas covers the period between World War I and World War II. This period laid the foundation for the diasporas that would emerge with the transformation of Europe into a war zone and later the migration of workers from all over the world for the purpose of rebuilding Europe. The last stage appears as the contemporary and late period diaspora period. Especially in this phase, which includes the present day, it is observed that the concept of diaspora has become popular as a result of globalization, expansion of its scope, and its frequent mention in the literature (Reis, 2004, pp. 41-60).

As Cohen also pointed out, Michele Reis, in her article published in the International Migration Journal, takes the historical experience of the Jewish diaspora as the starting point regarding the classical diasporas referred to as first period diasporas. On the other hand, according to Reis, it is not necessary for a crisis or traumatic event to occur in modern period diasporas. Especially in the context of globalization, migrations are no longer solely due to a traumatic event or disaster (Ulusoy, 2017, p. 61).

In addition, Robin Cohen has also made a distinction in diaspora types. According to Cohen, there are five different types of diasporas. The first of these is the exiled diasporas, which express the diasporas who were exiled by being displaced. Jews, Irish, Palestinians and Armenians can be given as examples of such diasporas. Secondarily, they are imperial diasporas, which are characterized as certain countries to settle or send their own citizens to another country for political and economic purposes. Examples of secondarily diaspora type are Russian, British and Spanish diasporas. The third type of diasporas are those formed for commercial purposes. The Japanese and Lebanese diasporas are examples of this type. In fact, travels and settlements made by Muslim traders to distant geographies in the past can be given as examples of this type. Fourthly, it consists of diasporas for the migration of the workforce abroad for working purposes. Turkey, Indian and Chinese diasporas, which are

the subject of the thesis, can be given as examples to this country. Lastly, it occurs in diasporas for cultural purposes (Bülbül, 2020, pp. 132-133).

"Diaspora, in accordance with its old perceptions, implies some cultural differences between the diaspora and other groups." (Beck, 2006; Cited from Faist, 2010, p. 15). Similarly, "old perceptions of the diaspora imply that its members are not fully integrated socially (politically, economically, culturally) into their host countries, that they set boundaries between themselves and the majority groups and protect those boundaries. This perception of the diaspora is often related to a boundary maintenance concerning the discrimination that a dominant majority imposes on diaspora groups." (Bhabha, 1994; Cited from Faist, 2010, p. 13).

Changing current conditions also change the reasons for people to migrate, increasing the chances of new diasporas emerging. With the process of globalization, opportunities abroad are seen and evaluated by human communities all over the world. This situation leads the concept of diaspora to move away from being a structure solely tied to political and cultural conflict.

2.5.2. Most Important Diasporas Who Use NGO's

When reviewing studies on the subject of the diaspora, it is observed that many diaspora communities utilize civil society organizations to maintain their ties with their countries of origin. Examples of this can be seen in the diaspora NGOs formed by communities from Haiti, Palestine, Somalia, Syria, India, Sub-Saharan countries, and Jewish and Armenian communities. These diasporas typically operate around the goals of aiding in the development of their countries of origin and defending their rights in the countries to which they have migrated. Additionally, some diasporas also engage in public diplomacy efforts to spread their own cultures.

According to Cohen Turkey has a labor diaspora in the world. Similar to Turkey India is a one of the best examples of being successfully diaspora activities. Previously India has a bad impression in the world but nowadays prejudices against India are being broken down thanks to its pluralistic democracy, the successes of multinational companies such as Infosys Technologies and Wipro, Tata Group and Reliance Group, and the global reputation of the Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs) and the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs).

Today, India has a diaspora that spans from Fiji and Malaysia to South Africa and Trinidad. India's soft power, which is attributed to the establishment of the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs in 2004 and the resultant dialogues with Indians living and working in overseas countries, has played a significant role in achieving this (Önal, 2019, p. 334).

Civil society organizations established by the Jewish diaspora, which is a representative of the classical period and identified by Cohen as the ideal type of diaspora, are of great importance in preserving and spreading Jewish culture and identity. Jewish NGOs also help maintain and strengthen ties among Jews. The Jewish diaspora also supports lobbying efforts to narrate the Jewish genocide worldwide through financial and organizational activities (Galchinsky, 2011, p. 2). Additionally, Jewish NGOs contribute to human rights and the protection of the rights of all minorities, not just Jews in Europe (Fink, 2004). In short, Jewish NGOs work on issues such as protecting civilians and refugees, defending minorities against discrimination, religious freedom, women's, children's and family rights, protection against racism, and prohibiting genocides and mass executions.

Considering today's data on the concept of diaspora, which many thinkers have done conceptualization or classification studies before, the countries with the highest diaspora in the world for whatever purpose are India, Mexico and Russia. These are followed by China, Bangladesh and the Turks in the 6th place (Bülbül, 2020, p. 133).

In this thesis, information about the fields of activity, aims and tools of the Turkish diaspora is discussed in the second part of the thesis. Therefore, no further information is given in this section.

2.6. Non-Governmental Area and Non-Governmental Organizations

Non-Governmental Organizations are entities that operate independently of official institutions, work with lobbying, persuasion, and actions in line with political, social, cultural, legal, and environmental goals, employ their members and employees on a voluntary basis, and are non-profit organizations that obtain their income through donations or membership fees (Kurt & Taş, 2015, p. 201). Non-Governmental Organizations operate under the names of chambers, unions, foundations, and associations. Foundations and associations are legal communities established to develop a beneficial service for society.

Like other concepts in social sciences, the concept of civil society has many definitions. A generalization resulting from definitions made so far suggests that civil society is a structure outside the bureaucratic structure of the state. Furthermore, in the literature, civil society is also referred to as the 'third sector' that lies outside the public and private sectors, and as the 'fifth power' following the legislative, executive, judiciary, and the media (AB-İlan).

When looking at the historical past of the concept of civil society, the term "civil society" was used to express "city manners" as a result of the re-use of Roman Law (Corpus Juris Civilis) with the resurgence of cities in Western Europe from the 12th Century. It is stated that the "civil" part in "civil society" was used to express the rights and obligations brought about by city life (Bayhan, 2002, p. 4). At this point, it can be inferred that the concept of civil society is a structure established in social life, particularly with the existence of large cities, generally for the protection of rights in city life and the fulfillment or reminder of responsibilities.

If we look at the basic assumptions of the phenomenon of civil society, its emergence goes back to the concept of "politike koinonia" by Aristotle in Ancient Times. However, it is observed that the concept, which changes and transforms over time, is finally formed following the discussions of Aristotle, Cicero, Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau on the state-society relationship. After the 18th-century enlightenment, there have been differentiations in the content of the concept of civil society (Tosun, 1998; Cited. Kaldık, 2018, s. 2540). The effects of Hegel, Marx, and Gramsci are present in the concept gaining its current meaning (Aslan, 2010, pp. 207-208). In short, according to this view, the emergence of an actor outside the state actor took place with the 18th century enlightenment. However, this point of view can basically be considered as a very Eurocentric point of view. Because civil organizations are found in many societies. One of the most important establishment of these is the foundation culture that emerged in the Islamic tradition.

2.6.1. Theoretical Background of Non-Governmental Area

As mentioned before, many studies have been conducted on civil society, which is a social concept, and many opinions have emerged to define the concept. These views vary according to the thinkers or ideologies that make the definition.

In this context, one of the earliest definitions of the concept of civil society was made by Larry Diamond. Diamond stated that civil society emerges depending on a legal order or common rules that are voluntary, self-producing, self-supporting, autonomous from the state in organized social life. He also defines civil society as an intermediary entity standing between the private sphere and the state (Onbaşı, 2005; Cited. Yeşilyurt, 2020, p. 21).

According to, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel first made the distinction between the concept of the state and the concept of civil society, which is expressed as an area outside the public sphere (Yeşilyurt, 2020, p. 22). According to Hegel, civil society is a dialectical tool for the family to reach the state, and civil society constitutes an aspect of the modern nation-state formed with the French Revolution, and it constitutes a complex combination of the behavior of specialized rules, institutions and groups developed in the political and legal axis of the national state that defends the rights of individuals (Kaldık, 2018, p. 2540).

According to Bassam Tibi, who has a more liberal perspective on the concept, civil society is defined as a structure that is autonomous from social and political institutions, that cannot be controlled and subject to the state although it is related to the state (Yeşilyurt, 2020, p. 21).

Alexis de Tocqueville, on the other hand, states that, based on his observations in the United States, associations have been established in the country on the grounds of religion, morality, commerce, industry and public safety, and that the right to form an association is equivalent to freedom of the press. Tocqueville defines non-governmental organization as "state within state, nation within nation" and sees civil society as security against majority pressure (Karakaya, 2022, p. 317).

In the 19th century, intellectuals such as Saint Simon, Proudhon and Marx brought civil society to the fore. According to them, society should be strengthened and the state should be limited and controlled by the social structure. According to Marx, the state is not in a superior structure to end conflicts in civil society and defend general interests. Antonio Gramsci, on the other hand, sees civil society as a super structural field, not as an infrastructural field like Marx. According to Gramsci, civil society expresses the hegemony that a social group tries to establish over the entire social structure. This hegemony has an effect not only in the field of production, but also in the cultural and political fields (Çaha,1996 Cited. Bayhan, 2002, p. 6).

However, there are very important differences between the current meaning of the concept of civil society and the way political thinkers use it. Today, civil society unites around issues such as being separate from the state, having a purpose related to public issues and being based on volunteerism. In short, when civil society is mentioned, it is a part of the state which is based on voluntariness, which is beyond the control of the state.

2.6.2. Historical Background of Non-Governmental Area in Turkey

When examining the history of Turkish societies, the general inclination towards the concept of civil society remains at a limited level due to the presence of a strong state structure and the positioning of the state as eternal and at the highest point (Yeşilyurt, 2020, p. 25). It can be said that the tradition of expecting everything from the state stems from the strong state tradition left from the Ottoman Empire, the predecessor of the Republic of Turkey. Although this situation has undergone change over time, sufficient participation in the field of civil society cannot be observed. It is understood that the fundamental tradition possessed has delayed the development of civil society.

However, as a result of the neo-liberal trends and globalization movements of the 1980s that affected the world as a whole and thus affected Turkey, neo-liberal policies have begun to be adopted and contractions have occurred in the domain of the state. This situation has contributed to the expansion of the scope of civil society.

In fact, with the increase of neoliberalism and globalization all over the world in the 1980s, discussions on democracy, legitimacy, and representation problems in political administrations have flared up (Yeşilyurt, 2020, p. 29). Especially the collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries brought the phenomena and debates of democracy and civil society to the fore. Influenced by global developments, the concept of civil society began to be discussed in Turkey in 1983 and civil society organizations began to become a part of social life, but essentially, as a result of legal regulations occurring in terms of organization after 1990, civil society organizations rapidly proliferated, becoming an active actor in social and political life (Özer, 2008, p. 87).

2.6.3. Non-Governmental Area and State Relationship

In the evaluations made regarding the exact location of the civil society, opinions generally emerge that the state should be outside the dominion area. However, it is thought that some problems may arise here as well. For example, non-governmental activities of angry and hostile groups against the state, separatism, etc. purposes may be involved. In this framework, the state and civil society should work in mutual interaction in a democratic environment both for social benefit and to ensure the continuity of the democratic structure of the state, the state should be impartial, give importance to participatory and freedom of expression, pay attention to pluralism and the state should be supervised by the society (Yeşilyurt, 2020, p. 29).

2.6.4. Non-Governmental Organizations

Although all organizations operating in the field of civil society are defined as civil society organizations, in the literature not at all organizations are mentioned non-governmental organizations. At this point, a debate may arise about which groups constitute non-governmental organizations. According to some thinkers, it is declared that religious communities or groups will not be an NGO. However, at Prof. Dr. Kudret Bülbül's Dictionary of Political Science, one can freely join or leave a group or structure without being subject to any sanction, participation in activities is not compulsory, it is all kinds of voluntary religious or secular groups can be stated non-governmental organizations. According to Bülbül, civil society is seen as the area where the state is based on political force, the private area where the private sector is located, the area outside the family activities and criminal organizations (Bülbül, 2020, p. 501). Similar to Bülbül, Özer mentioned that in modern society, civil society organizations are entities that do not pursue economic interests, fight for public benefit, and voluntarily enlighten and guide society (Özer, 2008, p. 91). Therefore, for an effective civil society, the organizations that will operate need to be positioned in an area that is autonomous and far from the state's control.

The increasing number of NGOs in today's world and their complex structure have led to the emergence of new terms derived from the term "NGO" used in English. Terms such as MONGO (My Own NGO), BONGO (Business-Organized NGOs), DONGO (Donor-Organized NGOs), and GONGO (Governmental NGOs) are examples of these (Ryfman, 2006).

Similarly, in Turkey, civil society organizations are present outside the political sphere. However, civil society in Turkey is not exactly at the desired levels. It can be said that the main reason why civil society is not sufficiently developed and its capacity is limited is due to the aforementioned state tradition. However, as a result of the legislative regulations made in Turkey since the 1990s, there has been a certain increase in the number of associations and foundations, but the number of associations and foundations per person is seen to be low compared to developed countries. The European Union process and especially the grants provided have been effective in increasing the number of associations. The small number of NGOs also affects the number of volunteers (Kalkınma B., 2018).

In Turkey, when civil society is mentioned, associations, foundations, unions, chambers, and cooperatives come to mind first. Within civil society organizations in Turkey, the most numerous types are associations. As of 2022, the number of associations nationwide is 121,843 (Karakaya, 2022, p. 316). When the distributions of associations by their fields of activity are examined; professional and solidarity associations, associations related to sports branches, and associations that carry out religious services share the top three places. The number of associations operating in the field of social services is at a lower level (Karakaya, 2022, p. 316).

2.7. Brief Explanation About Lobby and lobbyists

In general terms, lobbying can be defined as defending your own assertions, theses, and truths in the international arena with the right methods and tools, convincing, influencing, and persuading those in decision-making mechanisms (Özkan, 2009). Looking at the word meaning, the dictionary definition of the word lobby, which is used to mean "corridor," can be defined as a "community" formed by people who try to validate a self-serving politics in parliamentary corridors, influential circles, press, etc., often to secure some benefits (Bayramoğlu, 1985; Dinçer, 1999, Akt. Aslan, 2009, s.1).

The popularity of the concept of lobbying is increasing with globalization. However, looking at the historical background of the concept, it is observed that the most rooted lobbying activities are carried out in the United States (Yılmaz, 2009). In fact, the following event is stated as the starting point of the term lobbying:

In the 1870s, U.S. President Ulysses S. Grant, trying to escape from the stress of his workday at the White House with cigars and cognac in the chic lobby of the nearby Willard Hotel; upon the discovery by others of President Grant's habit, many people who wanted his support for personal or other reasons began to gather in the lobby of this hotel over time, and as a result, Grant named those trying to surround him to tell their problems 'lobbyists' (Yılmaz, 2009).

According to historical records, however, the verb "to lobby" in American English emerged much earlier, in 1850. It was used to describe the efforts of some citizens in the broad corridors of Congress to "request" representatives and senators. In subsequent years in the U.S., lobbying evolved and became more widespread along with democracy and was even regulated by laws.

In the EU, it can be said that professional lobbying emerged in the 1980s in light of globalization and neo-liberal policies. Also, in Europe, as in the U.S., the word "lobby" can still evoke ulterior motives. Generally, all lobbies first target of in the U.S. is seen as the European Commission based in Brussels and the Council of Ministers, which is the final decision-maker, for lobbying activities. For example: Before the Copenhagen Summit on December 12, 2002, which marked a turning point in the expansion of the European Union, the fact that the officials of the Turkish government went on a series of travels covering all EU members and their contacts there is a good example of lobbying conducted on a country-by-country basis across the EU.

Looking at Turkey's lobbying history; it can be said that this process started with some initiatives of Sultan Abdulhamid II to direct European public opinion in favor of the Ottoman Empire. It is seen that the concept of lobbying used today was first started in 1924 with the Turkish Cooperation Society "Turkish Welfare Association" after the declaration of the Republic (Yılmaz, 2009, s. 466).

According to Karpat, in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire (between 1869-1915) 319,545 Turks immigrated to America (Akın, 2004, p. 466). Turks who immigrated to America and want to strengthen social solidarity among themselves came together with the idea of establishing an association in order to withstand the activities of the Armenian and Greek lobbies and to help the victims of war in Anatolia, and this association became the first Turkish lobby established in America. The first known modern lobby activities in

Turkey was also carried out by the distribution of brochures prepared by the same association to the members of the US congress. (Yılmaz, 2009).

However, one of the main reasons why the lobbying activities that started in this period could not continue is that the Turks who immigrated to America after the establishment of the Republic have returned to a large extent. For this reason, there is no Turkish lobby as strong as Armenians or Jews in the USA today. In addition, the fundamental disagreements among the citizens of Turkey, which has a cosmopolitan structure, cause disagreement and separation. This issue was also observed when we went to the Netherlands to see the content of the thesis on site. It has been observed that the Dutch Turks are differentiated according to different thoughts that occur at the point of political, ideological and religious life.

The Republic of Turkey, which has been ineffective in lobbying activities since the first years of the Republic, has recently been calling for historians from both sides to come together and make a study to explain the facts against the Armenian genocide claimed by the Armenian Lobby, and this call has been stated on many platforms.

3. GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT TURKISH DIASPORA

Turkey's perspective on the concept of diaspora has emerged differently from the classic diaspora understanding identified with Jews. The most important point here is that Turks have formed a diaspora in the Netherlands through voluntary migration, unlike the Jewish and Armenian diasporas, which are characterized as classic diasporas.

Among Turks, the concept of diaspora is not a commonly used term due to the communities with which it is associated, and it is clear that there is a significant prejudice against the concept. This situation has been observed during travels made in the Netherlands, the thesis sample country, for the purpose of observing the subject on the spot, and it has been mentioned during the conversations that the concept of Turkish diaspora is not preferred by the members of the diaspora. Instead of this concept, the term "Dutch Turks" is particularly preferred.

Turkey has millions of citizens living abroad. This situation indicates the potential for a vast diaspora network. It can be said that the first diaspora that Turkey had was formed by the segment that chose to stay in the USA out of the 400 thousand people who migrated from the Ottoman Empire (Yılmaz, 2009).

The second group consists of the Turks who remained in the Eastern Europe and Thrace regions outside the country after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The third group includes Turkish citizens who migrated for political reasons during the Republican period (after the coup, etc.). The fourth group consists of the Turks, who survived until the fifth generation in the places they went as a result of temporary worker migrations planned by Europe, which was destroyed after WW II. The fifth group includes those who migrated abroad after the 1980 coup, while the sixth and last group is the emigration of qualified Turks abroad within the scope of brain drain by Veyis Güngör, the President of the Turkevi Association, which has increased recently.

A Turkish diaspora has emerged day by day with the combination of land losses, the demand for a more prosperous life or the politically separated sections of the country. In general, the level of ownership of their country by those who make up the Turkish diaspora is very high. However, there are groups that migrate from Turkey and carry out anti-diaspora and anti-lobbying activities.

3.1. Meaning of Turkish Diaspora

When historical research is conducted on the Turks, it can be seen that there has been a migration movement in every period. Turkish migrations have occurred between summer and winter pastures, as well as migrations that change continents. However, because the Turks did not go to the lands they migrated to as a minority and generally settled in those areas as a result of a conquest, and consolidated their own communities in the conquered societies with successive migrations, the migrated lands have always become their homeland in every period. Even in later periods, instead of returning to the homeland, pan-Turkism views were created to combine what exists with what was in the past.

However, this situation has diversified, starting especially from the last periods of the Ottoman Empire. In labor migrations carried out mostly for economic purposes, it is observed that the main aim of the Turks is to save some money in the places they migrated to and return to the homeland. In this regard, due to the issues such as the myth of returning to the migrated place, the difficulties encountered in integration to the migrated place, and the bond of belonging and affection with the homeland, the Turks who migrated could not fully integrate into the societies they migrated to. Turks, who generally maintain their lives in peripheral areas, have preserved their identity in these areas and formed a diaspora.

In addition to Safran and Cohen's views on diaspora, which are included in the conceptual framework part of the thesis, former YTB President Prof. Dr. The definition of Turkish diaspora that emerged during the interviews with Kudret Bülbül can be explained with a diagram. This diagram is as follows:

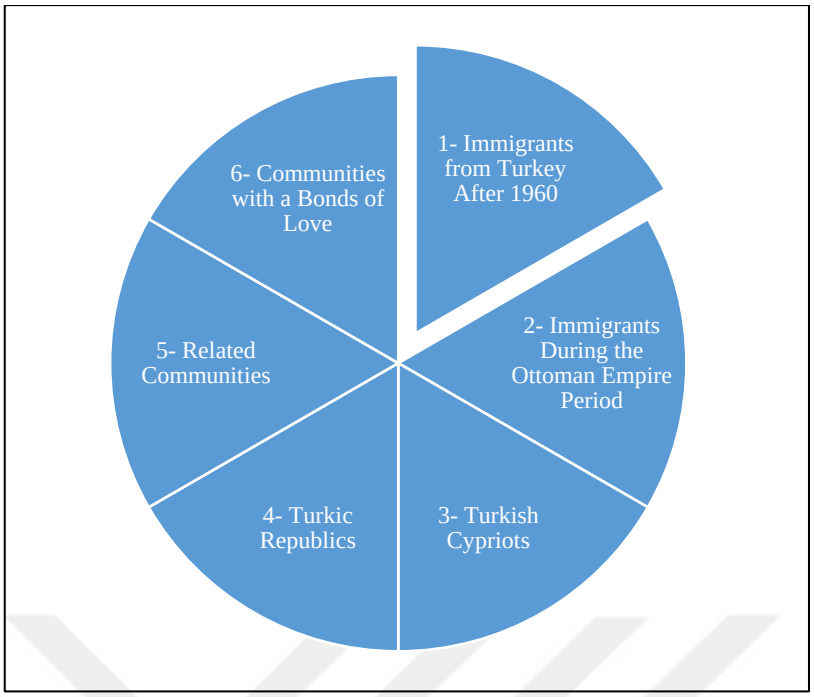

Figure 1. Kudret Bülbül's Turkish Diaspora Definition Diagram

As stated in this diagram, there is an evaluation on the basis of the Turkish diaspora that took place in the Netherlands after 1960, since it is accepted that the mass migrations to the Netherlands occurred after 1960, basically and throughout this thesis. However, according to Bülbül, the Turkish diaspora did not emerge only with the migrations that took place after 1960. In addition, he mentions that a Turkish diaspora was formed as a result of the migrations that took place during the Ottoman Empire period. In addition, it was stated that Turks in Cyprus, cognates living in Turkic Republics, people with a common background living in Relative Communities, and finally anyone with whom a bond of affection was established at any time in history can be included in the scope of the Turkish diaspora.

As stated under the first title, where the conceptual and theoretical framework is drawn, the concept of diaspora has been used to describe other groups rather than Turks for many years. However, with the emergence of the existence of a Turkish community living abroad and in a consolidated form over time, it has drawn the attention of both the countries to which they migrated, the motherland Turkey, and theorists studying on the subject of diaspora. The works of Walker Conner and William Safran stand out in qualifying Turks living abroad as a diaspora.

Even though it has caught the attention of theorists and administrators, prejudices towards the concept of the Turkish diaspora still continue today. Instead of the concept of diaspora, concepts indicating that they are immigrants, guest workers, Almancı (a derogatory term for Turkish migrants in Germany), overseas Turks, Euro-Turks or Turks of the region to which they migrated are used. Therefore, the literature on the concept has not gained clarity. At this point, during the interviews conducted, when asked the reason for this prejudice, it was generally seen that the concept's identification with Armenian and Jewish groups stood out. It was stated that the concept of diaspora is not accepted, especially by nationalist groups. At this point, it is thought that the support of nationalists for the concept of diaspora would be more appropriate under normal circumstances.

When asked about what needs to be done to overcome the prejudices towards the concept, Veyis Güngör, the President of the Turkevi Association, mentions that there is no problem in using this concept and developing the literature on this concept until a new one is found. When asked whether there is a Turkish study to find a new concept to replace this one, it is mentioned that a new word cannot be found to replace the concept due to the presence of different ethnic, social, cultural, religious, etc. groups within the Turkish diaspora.

In addition, during visits made in the Netherlands, when the views of NGO managers about the Turkish diaspora were asked, it was mentioned that the definition and content of the diaspora concept is renewed every day. When asked who could be qualified as the Turkish diaspora based on the changing definition, the answer was received from Veyis Güngör, the President of the Turkevi Association, as "Everyone who establishes a sense of belonging and heart connection with Turkey is the Turkish diaspora." This situation shows that the most important issue for the Turkish diaspora is the sense of belonging and heart connection.

Also, during the literature review about the concept of the Turkish diaspora, it has been observed that there is a debate whether it is Turkish diaspora or diaspora from Turkey during the formation of the concept. When this issue was asked to the representatives of Turkish NGOs and members of the Turkish diaspora, it was mentioned that there is an ideological distinction at the base of the distinction between being from Turkey and being Turkish. It is claimed by left-leaning groups that the concept of being from Turkey is more inclusive. In the introduction of this study, it is mentioned that the use of Turkish diaspora instead of

being from Turkey is more correct because this debate mentioned during the interviews has lost its popularity, and a large majority of Turkish citizens living abroad use the concept of Turkish diaspora. Accordingly, the concept of Turkish diaspora has been used throughout the study.

3.2. Information about Turkish Government Agencies Working on Diaspora

Countries generally open different institutes all over the world in order to increase their interaction with other countries in the global world order and to carry their languages and cultures to the international arena, they establish departments related to their own language and culture in universities, and they also engage in various cultural activities. These activities are explained in the literature with the concept of "cultural diplomacy", which is a sub-title of the term public diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy can be briefly expressed as the presentation of cultural elements such as art, science, education and technique in order to increase the reputation of countries and establish partnerships. The best example for the concept of cultural diplomacy is the culture of giving and receiving gifts (Yağmurlu, 2019, s. 1184).

Although it seems to be a new concept in social sciences, public diplomacy and sub-expansions such as culture, sports, religion, economy, etc. Diplomacy studies on the subject have been going on for years around the world. In Turkey, public diplomacy activities started in the 1990s and gained momentum especially since the 2000s.

Recently, it has been observed that the influence of state institutions operating abroad in Turkey is increasing day by day. In this context, Turkey carries out an effective public diplomacy with the countries of the world through cultural centers, educational institutions, investments, aids, cultural activities and scholarships.

With these institutions created in addition to public diplomacy for the promotion of the country in all aspects, Turkey is increasing its recognition through citizens living abroad who are the visible face of the Republic of Turkey abroad or diaspora members who still maintain their ties with Turkey despite their citizenship.

Turkey has an impact area consisting of representatives of YTB, TIKA, Diyanet Foundation, Maarif Foundation, DEİK, DTIK, Yunus Emre Institute and Central institutions representatives and Embassies workers, struggling to protect the self-identity of Turkish

diaspora members and to facilitate their integration into the country of origin without being exposed to assimilation. Under this part of thesis, information will be given about the fields of activity, mission, vision and future plans of these institutions.

3.2.1. YTB (Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities)

Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities was established as an under secretariat affiliated to the Prime Ministry with the entry into force of the "Law on the Organization and Duties of the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities", enacted by the Grand National Assembly on March 24, 2010, by being published in the Gazette dated 6 April 2010 and numbered 27544. Described as the “new institution of the new Turkey” by Prof. Dr. Kudret Bülbül, who served as the President of YTB between 2016 (AA, 2016). The institution was affiliated to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, as a result of the transition to the Presidential System in 2017, and has a public legal personality and a special budget.

Within the Presidency, there are three boards: the Advisory Board for Citizens Abroad, which serves as a consultative body concerning Turkish citizens living abroad; the Cultural and Social Relations Coordination Assessment Board, formed with the participation of representatives of public institutions conducting activities related to cognate and related communities in Turkey, and associations, universities, research centers, and think tanks working on these issues; and the International Student Evaluation Board, established to monitor the problems of international students at the institutional level, analyze the results of the studies, and determine the principles related to treatment expenses considering the general applications in Turkey, the number of students to be granted scholarships, the amount of scholarship, accommodation, food and other payments according to national and international conditions. The presidency consists of these three boards and eight departments, namely the Department of Overseas Citizens, Department of Cultural and Social Relations, Department of Institutional Relations and Communication, Department of International Students, Department of Personnel, Department of Informatics, Department of Support Services, and Department of Strategy Development (YTB, 2022).

Among the institution's objectives are conducting studies related to Turkish citizens living abroad and producing solutions to their problems, carrying out activities aimed at these communities for the development of social, cultural, and economic relations with

cognates and related communities, and ensuring coordination between relevant institutions by determining all principles for the successful completion of the education processes of students coming to Turkey within the framework of international agreements and those deemed suitable to study in our country by public institutions and organizations, excluding the Council of Higher Education and universities, within the framework of projects carried out within the European Union (Işıdan, 2022, p. 3).

Under the framework of activities carried out for citizens living abroad, relative communities, and international students studying in Turkey on scholarships, the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities provides project-based financial supports to non-profit civil society organizations, universities, international organizations, think tanks, and research centers established domestically or abroad. Additionally, the Presidency, in collaboration with TİKA, engages in various activities such as mosque, shrine, and historical artifact restoration. During election periods, guides are prepared for citizens of the Republic of Turkey, informing members of the Turkish diaspora about address declarations, voting boxes for voters, and many other issues to be handled during the election period, using informative diagrams (YTB, 2022).

In addition, efforts are being made towards the lands of the Balkans and Africa, which were within the borders during the Ottoman Empire period and are referred to as the geography of affinity. Within the scope of the Turkey Graduates Project, it is aimed to benefit from the bilateral relations of bureaucrats who received education in Turkey and who hold senior management positions in their homeland and to make them "ambassadors of affinity" (Korkmaz, 2022, p. 323).

Also, the institution offers scholarships under the name of "Turkey Scholarships" for students studying at the undergraduate and graduate level, those engaged in art activities, those who demonstrate outstanding achievement in their field, and researchers. Furthermore, scholarship opportunities are provided under the Turkish Communication Program for Public Officials and Academics for diplomats, academics, and researchers who want to have knowledge about Turkey and get to know it closely. The scholarships include monthly scholarship payments, accommodation, tuition fees, health expenses, Turkish language education, and contributions to transportation costs (Işıdan, 2022, pp. 4-6).

The main aim of this scholarship activity carried out by the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities is to promote Turkish culture by providing scholarship opportunities to international students, to have Turkey supported by more educated individuals on the international stage, and to gain a new image for Turkey, making it a center of attraction in the eyes of international students. It also aims to engage in cultural diplomacy, which is one of the sub-headings of Turkey's public diplomacy, and to prevent the breaking of ties with the cognates, related communities, and people of the geography of affinity living abroad through its units, and to propose solutions to their individual or societal problems experienced outside of Turkey.

In addition, YTB carries out some studies within the framework of ensuring that citizens living abroad, namely the Turkish diaspora, do not lose their identity and belonging to their homeland. During the interviews held in the Netherlands on this issue, it was mentioned that the members of the Turkish diaspora and YTB have joint projects. In general, it was stated that project-based grant support was given for the teaching of the Turkish language and cultural tours. During the meetings held, Kenan Aslan, the representative of IGMG, mentioned that the studies on joint projects with YTB for the protection of the family structures of the Turks living in the Netherlands.

When asked about his evaluations regarding the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) due to his previous presidency, Prof. Dr. Kudret Bülbül described the YTB, which he referred to as the Ministry of Diaspora, as an institution that has been addressing neglected areas for many years, coordinating Turkey's public diplomacy activities, strengthening bonds with compatriots and establishing collaborations in new areas.

According to Bülbül, YTB has three main areas of responsibility towards citizens. Firstly, Bülbül emphasized that there are Turkish citizens living abroad and stated that "it is the fundamental duty of YTB to contribute to the better positioning of our citizens abroad, their increased influence in society, and their multidimensional participation in society. Our citizens who have migrated abroad may have gone as workers. Every profession is sacred, of course. However, in order for their children not to remain as workers, it is necessary to do whatever is needed for them to become engineers, academics, doctors, or politicians. In this regard, it has been stated that YTB has financial support programs for citizens living abroad and NGOs can apply to these programs to carry out projects (Trend News Agency, 2016).

Bülbül also mentioned that scholarships are provided to young people studying for master's and doctoral degrees abroad under the name of "Diaspora Scholarships."

Bülbül stated that the second area of responsibility of the institution is compatriot and related communities, and emphasized that there has been a long-standing neglect in terms of compatriot and related communities, and in order to fill this gap, it is necessary to develop relations between academics, religious figures, NGOs, and opinion leaders in those countries with their counterparts in Turkey. It has been stated that there are many programs to establish new relationships in the Balkans, Caucasus, Middle East, Far and East Asia, and Africa, and it is necessary to increase these programs.

Describing another responsibility area of YTB, Kudret Bülbül explained that it is a legal obligation of the YTB institution to bring students who want to study in Turkey from all over the world to Turkey and coordinate their activities. As a result of this program, the aim is for "Turkey's graduates to be beneficial primarily to their families, communities, and countries. Secondly, it is expected that they will assume a bridge role between their countries and Turkey and contribute to the establishment of warm, sincere, and continuous connections. It was stated that Turkey's graduates are the ones who can represent and introduce Turkey the best and most accurately, and therefore, Bülbül emphasized that he worked more closely with alumni associations during his presidency of YTB (Trend News Agency, 2016).

Lastly, Bülbül mentioned that during his presidency, he worked on project support programs under the titles of Citizenship-Participation, Discrimination-Rights Violations, Preservation of Mother Tongue, Assistance to School Lessons, Higher Education and Vocational Training, Young Leaders, Youth Bridges, Family and Social Work, as well as the implementation of the Blue Card Program and the creation of a diaspora strategy document.

3.2.2. TİKA (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency)

The Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), which has been tasked with the execution and coordination of international aid in line with the foreign policies of the state, especially development and cooperation aid in Turkish public administration, was established in 1992 under the name of the Economic, Cultural and Technical Cooperation

Presidency under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The most important reason for the emergence of the institution is the independence of many Turkish states after the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1991, and the need for an organization within the framework of the implementation and coordination of the support that the Republic of Turkey will provide to these states in the social, economic and cultural fields (Kardaş & Erdağ, 2012, p. 184).

Despite being one of the most important tools of Turkish public diplomacy, the institution could not be sufficiently effective in the 1990s due to Turkey's serious economic and political problems. During the country's situation in mentioned period, was the biggest obstacle to aiding the Balkans and Turkic Republics. However, over time, the agency's scope of activity has expanded, and broader operations have started after the attachment to the Prime Ministry on May 28, 1999. Especially after 2002, collaborations have been established with many countries in economic, commercial, technical, social, cultural, and educational fields.

The primary purpose of TİKA in its early years can be summarized as helping Turkic Republics produce their social structure, establish their identity in a healthy manner, develop cultural and political rights, and address deficiencies in technical infrastructure. In addition, TİKA has implemented numerous projects and activities in the fields of education, health, restoration, agricultural development, finance, tourism, and industry.

TİKA opened its first Program Coordination Office in Turkmenistan to execute its programs (TİKA). Over time, the number of offices in the Eurasia region increased to six. From twelve Program Coordination Offices in 2002, the number rose to 25 in 2011, and to 33 in 2012. Today, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency operates in 150 countries with 60 coordination offices across five continents (TİKA) TİKA also collaborates on joint projects with various international organizations such as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), World Bank Institute (WBI), and the International Trade Centre (ITC) (Erdağ 2015; Cited by Karakoyunlu, 2023).

The nature of the work carried out in the growing, developing Central Asia has changed over time. Until 1995, TİKA, which carried out economic, social, and cultural activities in countries termed as relative countries, has since emphasized education and

cultural cooperation. After 1995, TİKA accelerated its education activities, built schools, libraries, laboratories, and provided technical equipment aids to universities. With the influence of globalization in the 2000s, TİKA's projects from the east to the west have turned into institutional capacity enhancement projects. Projects aimed at ancestral lands, which share a common historical heritage referred to as relative communities, have continued. Today, as a part of the Turkish Geography is no longer in need of help but in a position to provide aid, TİKA is working to develop joint projects with the Turkish geography and share experiences mutually. Additionally, TİKA generally provides a cooperation mechanism between public institutions and organizations, universities, non-governmental organizations, the private sector. Also TİKA records Turkey's development aids (TİKA).

Within the framework of Turkey's international development cooperation activities of the Institution, to carry out sustainable projects and activities that will support the economic, social and human development processes of countries and carry our common historical and cultural heritage to the future, and to solve problems at local and global level with development cooperation tools and methods, quickly and efficiently. It continues to work towards becoming an effective and pioneering organization that can offer permanent solutions.

Continuing its projects and activities in nearly 100 countries, TIKA works with a cooperative approach, helping the countries to which it provides development assistance to complete their political priorities and laying the groundwork for sharing knowledge and experience with these countries. Projects carried out by TIKA; Providing financial resources for infrastructure projects such as education, health, renewal, water and purification projects, e-government projects, institutionalization, agricultural development, fighting against poverty, increasing women's employment, irrigation, health and transportation projects, construction of schools and hospitals and cultural It includes the renewal of architectural structures defined as heritage (TİKA).

TIKA has carried out the restoration of many Ottoman monuments, especially the Balkans and Central Asia, in order to protect the common historical heritage. One of the projects that has attracted the most attention lately is the discovery of the lost tomb of Suleiman the Magnificent. On the other hand, hospitals built in countries such as Somalia, Palestine and Sudan are among the most important projects in the field of health. Apart from this, TIKA, which has implemented many projects to strengthen physical infrastructures

such as the construction and renovation of schools, health centers, administrative buildings, in many countries, provides expert training in many fields through exchange programs. In addition, TİKA makes equipment support in the field of agriculture and animal husbandry, drilling of water wells in many regions, especially in Africa. The institution, most recently affiliated with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey, organizes Turkey's foreign aid through its overseas offices and operates in many areas such as restoration, health, education, agriculture and animal husbandry, and development of administrative and civil infrastructures (TİKA).

The institution, which is used as a public diplomacy tool of the Republic of Turkey in general, aims to expand Turkish teaching outside of Turkey with the Turcology Project it carries out. In this context, Turcology departments have been opened in nearly twenty universities, and with this project, it leads the way both for Turks to protect their own language and for those who are interested in Turkish culture, history and language to receive education on this subject.

3.2.3. Yunus Emre Institute

Yunus Emre Institute (YEE) established in 2009 by the law numbered 5653 and dated 05.05.2007. The YEE operates similarly to TİKA but focuses more on cultural diplomacy. The institute, a public foundation, defines its purpose as "promoting Turkey, the Turkish language, its history, culture, and art, providing information and documents related to these to the world, offering services abroad for those who wish to study in the fields of Turkish language, culture, and art, and enhancing cultural exchange and friendship with other countries" (Karakoyunlu, 2023, p. 39). It shares similar aims with the cultural diplomacy institutions of the United Kingdom (British Council), France (Alliance Française), and Germany (Goethe).

The Yunus Emre Institute operates in 83 cultural centers, most of which are in Europe and the Balkans (YEE, 2023). The institute also plans to increase the number of its active centers worldwide to 100 by 2023. According to its 2018 activity report, the region where the Yunus Emre Institute conducts most of its cultural-artistic activities in Europe, Balkans, Asia, Middle East, Africa and America (YEE, 2018).

When reviewing the vision and mission of the institute, it becomes evident that it focuses on humanitarian values and societal peace. It aims to increase Turkey's visibility and reputation globally. The Yunus Emre Institute, which seeks to facilitate cultural exchange through various agreements with different countries, provides this service in some places through Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Centers, in others through the Turkology Project resulting from agreements with universities, and in others through the "My Choice is Turkish Project" (Şahin, 2022, p. 55).

The Turkology Project, prepared within the Yunus Emre Institute, is a comprehensive project encompassing sub-branches like history, literature, and art, aiming to reinforce friendly relations. Turkey represents this school of thought, which developed first in Europe and then in the Soviet Union, as a science of Turkishness in the world (YEE, 2022, p. 41). After the project was carried out under the leadership of TİKA between 1999-2011, it was transferred to the Yunus Emre Institute within the Yunus Emre Foundation following an agreement. Thus, the YEE has completely evolved into a structure that carries out cultural diplomacy (Karakoyunlu, 2023, p. 38). Another project focused on Turkish language education is the My Choice is Turkish Project, established based on the understanding that there is no age limit for education.

In addition to the data above, the Yunus Emre Institute also successfully highlights its cultural aspect through activities such as Turkish Film Weeks related to Turkish cinema, organized by the Cultural Promotion and Projects Department of the Institute, symposiums and literature readings featuring prominent figures of Turkish literature, history talks, and similar events (Karakoyunlu, 2023, p. 45).

While emphasizing that Turkish is the language of brotherhood through language congresses, a journey to the Anatolian cultural heritage is planned with events such as national brand promotions such as Turkish delight and cologne, embroidery and handicraft trainings, Nevruz celebrations and Ramadan holidays (Karakoyunlu, 2023, p. 45).

Finally, another opportunity offered by Yunus Emre Institute to its trainees is the Turkish Summer School Program put into practice in 2010. On the one hand, the trainees receive Turkish, and Turkish culture seminars from expert lecturers in different cities of Turkey; On the other hand, it has the opportunity to get to know the cities, history, culture and art of Turkey closely. In addition to these, trainees can participate in traditional events

such as henna nights, weddings or learn cultural activities such as pottery, marbling and folk dances. The Institute has summer school projects organized in many fields such as 'Turkish Cinema Summer School', 'Turkish Literature Summer School', 'Turkey-Archaeology Summer School' (YEE, 2019).

3.2.4. Diyanet Foundation

Religious and foundation affairs were separated with establishment of the Presidency of Religious Affairs in 1924. The 3rd article of the law number 903 dated July 13, 1967, stated that "tax exemption will be granted to foundations allocated for the execution of services within the budgets of general, special and supplementary budgeted administrations by the decision of the Council of Ministers," thus encouraging the establishment of foundations. Following this decision, the Diyanet Foundation was established on March 13, 1975, by the then President of Religious Affairs and his deputies, and the foundation was granted tax exemption by the Council of Ministers' decision number 7/14422 in 1977.

The Turkey Diyanet Foundation began its operations following the necessary legal arrangements, and it continues to operate as a movement of goodwill that works without discriminating among people. The foundation's vision is to be "a foundation serving humanity in the Republic of Turkey and on all seven continents," and its mission is "to provide material and spiritual support to people and institutions striving for the dominance of goodness on Earth" (DİA, 2013).

In this regard, when the Law on the Establishment and Duties of the Presidency of Religious Affairs is examined, it is seen that the foundation provides services such as supporting the services provided by the Presidency of Religious Affairs, performing beneficial social services, carrying out certain services that cannot be performed with the Presidency's budget, meeting the needs of mosques, Quran courses, mufti buildings, lodgings through the foundation, establishing research centers, conducting publishing activities on Islamic sciences and Islamic art, showing religious and cultural interest to Turks abroad, and also providing assistance to the poor, sick, and needy, providing scholarships, and opening student dormitories.

Due to the foundation's primary policy of supporting the Presidency of Religious Affairs, its priority is to support cognates and coreligionists living abroad and deliver aid to

them, but assistance is also extended to people of different religions, languages, races, and sects. Various activities are carried out by opening educational institutions for our citizens living abroad and communities in Muslim countries or by assigning educators to support existing educational institutions. This situation can also be seen as evidence of the Diyanet Foundation's activities towards the Turkish diaspora.

Nowadays, parallel to Turkey developing and diversifying foreign policy in recent years, the Diyanet Foundation has become an international organization trying to deliver its aid to many geographies and in different ways by carrying out development and assistance activities in various fields in many countries. The foundation, one of the largest budget aid organizations in Turkey, also appears to be an organization reaching many regions in Turkey. As of 2020, the number of countries to which aid is delivered has reached 149 countries.

3.2.5. Maarif Foundation

Maarif Foundation established on 17 June 2016. This foundation is the only institution that has the authority to directly open an educational institution on behalf of the Republic of Turkey with the Ministry of National Education. The Turkish Maarif Foundation, a non-profit foundation working for the public good, was established in every country to carry out effective activities at every stage of education from pre-school to higher education (Maarif Vakfı).

The Foundation operates with 44 educational institutions in 104 countries with official contacts. In addition, the Foundation made 81 protocols and appointed representatives to 67 countries. Finally, it continues its activities with 377 educational institutions and 43 dormitories. However, the Netherlands is not among these countries so these activities do not carry out in Netherlands. This issue asked to interviewed person. According to their answers, Maarif Foundation did not become popular around the Netherlands.

The institution aims to train qualified people who will contribute to the cultural, social and economic development of societies. While doing this, it is based on the common knowledge of humanity and the ancient wisdom tradition of Anatolia and is equipped with knowledge, skills and values; It adopts an innovative education approach that is sensitive to cultures, cares about universal, national and local elements, and is suitable for the requirements of the age. The Foundation aims those students first know and use their mother

tongue very well, be competent in at least one foreign language, social sciences and civics, mathematics and science, and grow up as individuals with digital and technological competence. On the basis of these studies, it is thought to teach Turkish as a second mother tongue to foreigners in general and to increase the popularity of Turkish in the international arena (Tanıtım Katoloğu, 2023, pp. 8-9).

3.2.6. Others (Turkish Embassy and Attaches Organizations, Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEIK) and World Turkish Business Council (DTIK)

There are many state institutions that work to ensure that the diaspora living abroad of the Republic of Turkey does not break away from Turkey in social and cultural terms and is not assimilated. Some of these are YTB, TIKA, Yunus Emre Institute and Turkish Religious Foundation. These institutions have been detailed in the previous sections. Apart from these institutions, the staff (attachment or consultant) sent abroad from the Maarif Foundation, DEİK/DTİK and Turkish Embassies and central organizations operating in the field of public diplomacy also contribute to the Turkish diaspora.

In this context, to be evaluated briefly, the Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEIK), which was established in 1985, carries out the foreign economic relations of the Turkish private sector, especially foreign trade, international investments, services, contracting and logistics. In addition, it explores investment opportunities at home and abroad, contributes to increasing Turkey's exports and coordinates similar business development activities. Having gained a new structure with the Law No. 6552 enacted on September 11, 2014, DEİK has fully undertaken the task of "executing the foreign economic relations of the Turkish private sector", together with its founding institutions, members and Business Councils, formed by Turkey's leading entrepreneurs and business world representatives. is a voluntary 'business diplomacy' organization (DEİK).

DEİK has been evaluated within the scope of this thesis because it carries out activities that support public diplomacy, contribute to the development of bilateral and multilateral social relations, represent the Turkish business world in international and multinational organizations, and lobby on behalf of the country in international platforms. In addition, DTİK (World Turkish Cooperation Council), which was established under the roof of DEİK on December 26, 2007, is the leader of decision-making mechanisms in successful, entrepreneurial spirit Turkish entrepreneurs and international companies with great power,

who are dispersed abroad. It was established to gather Turkish professionals under a single platform. DTİK is the first special purpose council (DEİK) established under the roof of DEİK to bring together the Turkish business world, associations, foundations and similar business world organizations from 6 continents on a single platform with the awareness of Turkish citizens abroad, which is the common denominator (DEİK).

The main structure of DTİK, regardless of their political views and social life, is to bring together those who love their homeland and those who work for its development on this platform and contribute to the economic, social and cultural development of the Turkish diaspora (DEİK, 2023). In other words, it is aimed to conduct studies on how a Turk living in Turkey or anywhere in the world and a Turk living in the Netherlands can do business. Thus, it is aimed to reveal new opportunities both for those living in Turkey and for Turks living all over the world from Africa to Europe, from Asia Pacific to Eurasia. In short, DTİK is to spread the Turkish lobby abroad to large masses by carrying out activities to improve commercial and economic activities among the Turkish business community residing abroad; It carries out activities in order to find solutions to the problems of our Turkish entrepreneur, who spreads around the world and lives a settled life abroad, and to ensure that Turkey's high image abroad is higher than its current position (DEİK).

Another institution that constantly interacts with the members of the Turkish diaspora is the Embassies, Consulates General of the Republic of Turkey, and the personnel assigned to the attaché or consultant, who are the representatives of the central government organizations assigned there. In the examinations made in the Netherlands and in the interviews with the members of the Turkish diaspora, it was stated that in the previous periods, the representatives of the Republic of Turkey held meetings only with the personnel in the same position in the Kingdom of the Netherlands and did not engage in any activity that went down to the base. However, it has been stated that especially recently appointed ambassadors and consuls communicate mostly with members of the Turkish diaspora. In the interviews with the authorities, it was stated that efforts were made to solve the problems of diaspora members in general. In addition, it has been observed that Turkish diaspora members can make appointments to convey their problems on embassy and consulate websites. When diaspora members were asked about this issue, it was stated that they could not get an appointment for a very long time before, but this issue has been resolved recently.

Finally, information on investment advice to Turkish diaspora members and aid campaigns that can be made throughout Turkey (especially after the earthquake that affected 10 provinces in Turkey) is provided on the embassy and consulate websites mentioned earlier. Also, on this website, Turkish diaspora members can find information about civil registration, marriage, passport, military service, notary public, citizenship, death, judicial matters, registration of divorce decision in the Netherlands in the population register, provided for the assignment of translators by the Consulate General of Amsterdam and for obtaining pension rights to Turkish diaspora members from Turkey.

4. CONTRIBUTIONS OF TURKISH NGOS IN THE NETHERLANDS TO THE TURKISH DIASPORA

4.1. General Framework about Netherlands

The Kingdom of the Netherlands is a western European country with a population of approximately 17,600,000, which dominates an area of 41,528 km2. The capital of the country is Amsterdam, and the seat of government is located in The Hague. Official and recognized languages: Dutch, English (in Saba and Sint Eustatius), Papiamento (in Bonaire), Frisian (spoken in the Province of Friesland, Frisian is the only official indigenous minority language in the Netherlands (Britannica). Official currency is Euro. As of 10 October 2010, the Kingdom of the Netherlands consists of four countries (Netherlands, Curaçao, St.Maarten and Aruba).

The Head of State is the King. However, the powers of the King were restricted in 1848 and a constitutional monarchy was passed. The government and the Council of Ministers hold the executive power. The King exists as a member of the government, but not in the Cabinet. The Dutch Parliament consists of two chambers, the Senate (Eerste Kamer/Senate) and the House of Representatives (Tweede Kamer/House of Representatives). The Senate, which is the upper house of the Parliament, consists of 75 members elected by the State Assemblies for a period of 4 years. The last Senate elections were held on 26 May 2015 (MFA). The next senate election is planned to be held on May 30, 2023. On March 15, 2023, Dutch Provincial Elections took place.

The House of Representatives, which is the lower house of the parliament, consists of 150 deputies directly elected by the people for a period of 4 years. The last general elections were held on 15/17 March 2021. Queen Beatrix transferred the throne to her son Willem-Alexander as of April 30, 2013. The Prime Minister is Mark Rutte, leader of the Liberal Party (VVD). In addition, the Kingdom of the Netherlands is a member of the United Nations, European Union, Council of Europe, OSCE, NATO, OECD and many international organizations.

Statistics on the religious beliefs across the Kingdom of the Netherlands are as follows: As of 2021, 57% of the population declared that they did not belong to any religion, but the

most common religious beliefs were Catholic (18%) and Protestantism (14%). The proportion of Muslims in the country is approximately (5%) (Statistica/Religion).

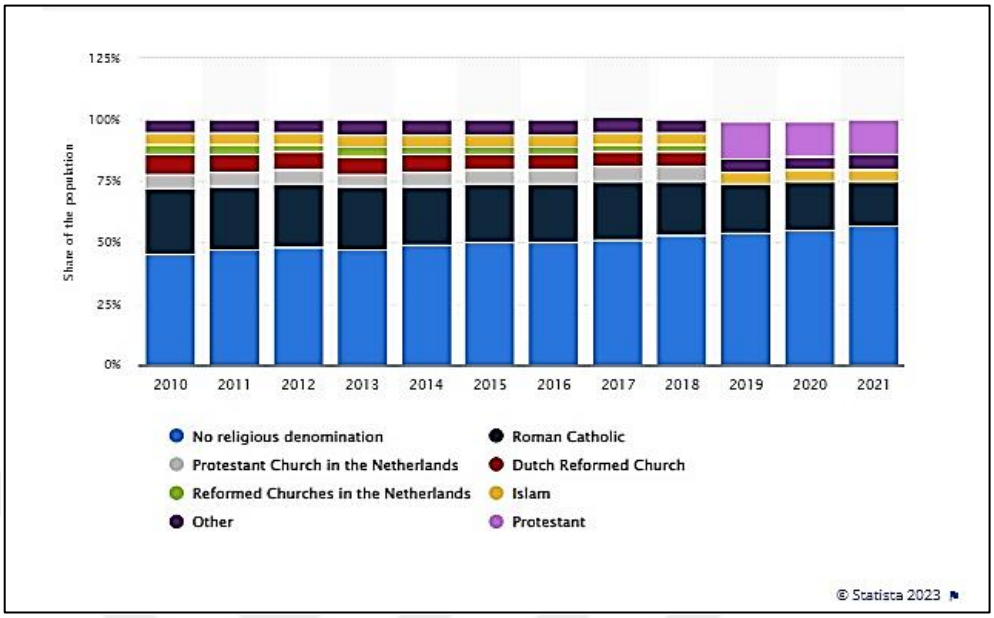

Figure 2. Ratio of Religious Beliefs to Population in the Netherlands

Source: https://www.statista.com/statistics/527782/population-of-the-netherlands-by-religion/

4.1.1. Effective Communities and Ethnic Identities in Netherlands

If we look at the demographics of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, of the 17.6 million people living in the Netherlands in 2022, roughly 4.44 million people had a migration background, defined as first or second-generation migrants. Of the non-Western population, the majority of the inhabitants had a Turkish background, as can be seen in this statistic on the background of the non-Western population in the Netherlands. The second-largest group is formed by the population with a Moroccan background. These groups consist of respectively roughly 416,800 and 408,800 people. According to a 2014 forecast, both the population with a Western background and the population with a non-Western background is likely to increase in the future. It is estimated that by 2060, approximately three million people in the Netherlands will have a non-Western background (Statistica).

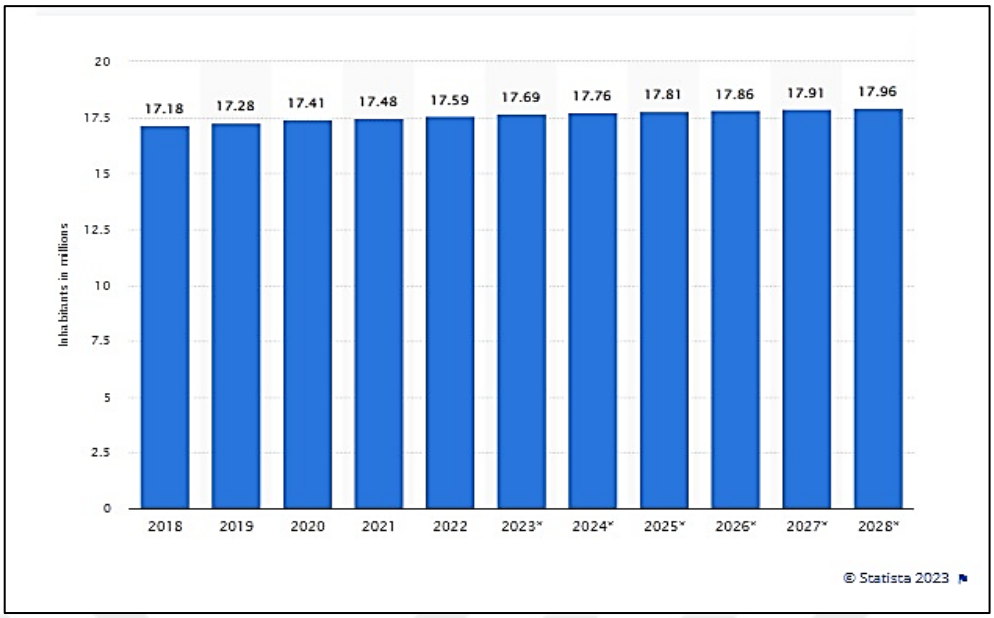

Figure 3. Netherlands Total Population and Future Prospects (2018-2028)

Source: https://www.statista.com/statistics/263749/total-population-of-the-netherlands/

Besides these; Examples of large non-Western minority groups are Surinamese, Netherlands Antilles and Arubans. The only indigenous ethnic minority in the Netherlands are the Frisians, who live in the Friesland region. Although it is stated in the tables below that 429,978 ethnic Turks live, it is thought that the Turkish population is much higher than the rate stated in the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

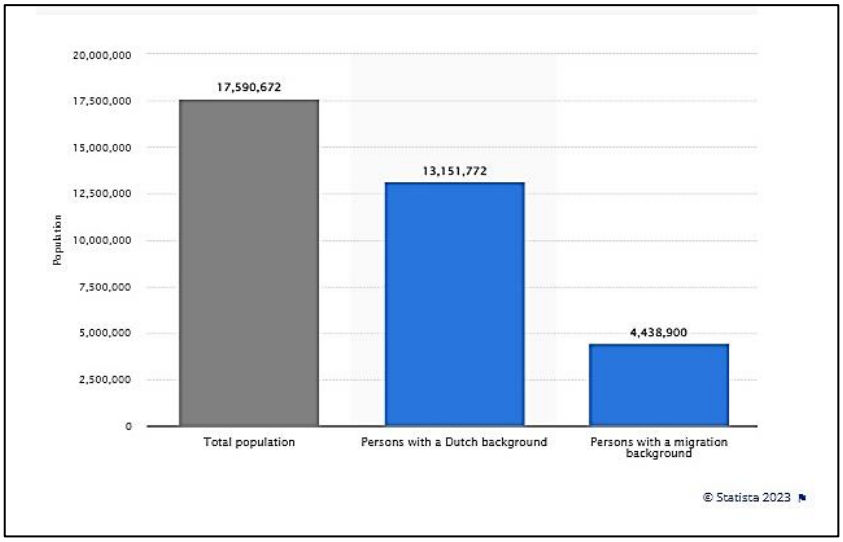

Figure 4. Total Population/Dutch Population/Minority Population in the Netherlands

Sources: https://www.statista.com/statistics/519912/population-of-the-netherlands-by-background/

4.1.2. General Lines of Turkish Diasporas in Netherlands

The Netherlands appears to be a more trade-oriented country, and due to the region where it was established, there was no need for military development. Although it remained neutral in World War I, II. In World War II, he found himself in the war as a result of being attacked by the German forces. The country, which was under the control of Germany for a long time and some of its cities were bombed (especially the city of Rotterdam), tried to recover by making development plans after Germany's withdrawal from the war in 1945. However, due to the return of the Germans who came to work during the war period, there was not enough workforce to work. In this respect, the need for labor arose in order to revive the economy after the war and to carry out some activities in the field of industry. For this reason, the Netherlands, like many European countries exposed to German occupation, demanded worker migration from abroad.

Figure 5. A Photo about Migration to Netherlands from Turkey

Source:https://dogus.nl/hollandaya-gocun-60inci-yili-arifesinde-kazandiklarimiz-ve-kazandirdiklarimiz/

For this reason, there has been a large number of migrations of workers from different nationalities to Europe. Initially, these worker migrations were considered temporary by the Dutch people and their managers. Likewise, while the general aim of the immigrants was to

make a definite return to the homeland after earning some money at the beginning; The expected returns to the homeland did not occur.

In fact, although the relations between Turkey and the Netherlands seem to have started after the migration of workers, there is a relationship between the two countries for more than four centuries. Diplomatic relations, which have been going on since the 17th century, have been moved to a different dimension with the Turkish population who settled in the Netherlands after the workers' agreement signed on 19 August 1964. Today, the Kingdom of the Netherlands is one of the top five countries (Germany, France, Austria, Netherlands, Belgium) where the most Turkish citizens live in Europe (Euronews). According to the data of the Kingdom of the Netherlands Statistical Institute (CBS), 24.8% (2,529,492 people) of the total 17.6 million population of the Netherlands are of immigrant origin and Turks are the most populous ethnic group among immigrants with a population of 429 thousand 978 people (Statistica).

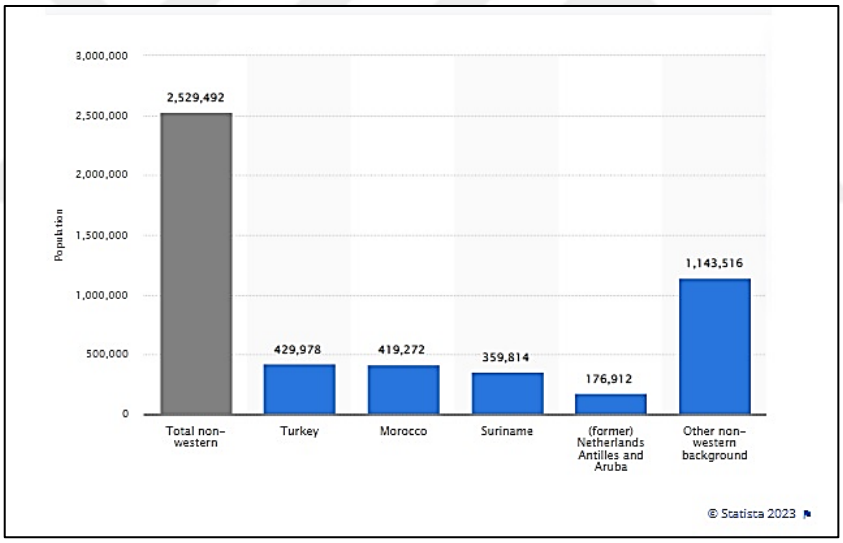

Figure 6. Populations of Minorities in the Netherlands

Source:https://www.statista.com/statistics/519949/non-western-population-of-the-netherlands-by-background/

There have been strong political and commercial relations between the two countries throughout history, and the Netherlands is the country that makes the most foreign direct investment in Turkey. Looking at the distribution of foreign direct investments by country, it is seen that the Netherlands ranks first with 5 billion 365 million dollars. It is observed that investments made from this country correspond to 16.1 percent of total foreign investments (AA, Anadolu Ajansı, 2021). According to official data, despite the negative political

developments between the two countries in 2017, commercial and economic relations continued to develop. The Netherlands is the seventh largest trading partner of our country in terms of bilateral trade volume. While our exports to the Netherlands increased significantly in 2019, at the level of 5 billion 763 million dollars; Our import was recorded as 3 billion 203 million Dollars (MFA). It is estimated that the number of companies established by businessmen of Turkish origin in the Netherlands is around 23 thousand. These entrepreneurs, with their investments of 6 billion Euros in total, provide employment for 80 thousand people and generate a turnover of approximately 8 billion Euros (MFA).

While it is expected that strong economic relations will bring strong social ties, it has been observed that the Netherlands has recently tried to bring new practices towards Turkish society. In accordance with the Ankara Agreement signed on September 12, 1963, it is stated that Turks who immigrated to the Netherlands should be exempt from the compulsory integration exams, while the New Integration Law, which is planned to be implemented as of January 1, 2022, will make it compulsory for Turks to take the integration exams. In this case, Turkish citizens will be able to emigrate when they pass the exams at the Dutch embassies. However, during the examinations made throughout the Netherlands, discussions were held on this issue and it was stated that the issue has not been concluded yet and that this practice is the subject of a lawsuit by the members of the Turkish diaspora and has not yet been concluded.

As can be seen from Figure-6, the share of citizens of Turkish origin throughout the Netherlands is very important. In addition, the influence of Turkish culture is increasing day by day. For example, the Turkish population is quite high in big cities such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The Turkish population also plays an important role in the Dutch economy. Especially business owners and Turkish immigrants in the construction sector have an important place in the Dutch economy.

4.1.3. Historical Background of Turkish Diaspora

The relations between the Netherlands and Turkey did not start with the labor migration that occurred in our century, but dates back to four centuries ago. There has been a mutual interaction between the two cultures, and both Turkish cultures has been influenced by the Netherlands and Dutch culture has been influenced by the Turks. However, in the 16th century, publications were made in the Netherlands Turks shown to all Europe bad and

slandered in order to achieve unity in Europe across Ottoman. However, at the time of these publications, there was no direct official relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the Netherlands. Despite the propaganda in question, it is seen that Turkish culture influenced the Netherlands in the following years. For example, the first example of the tulip was taken from the Ottomans and transported to the Netherlands (Güngör, 1992, p. 56).

The opening of a permanent embassy in Istanbul by the Netherlands in 1612 can be shown as the beginning of the diplomatic relations between the Netherlands and the Ottoman Empire. The first person appointed as the Dutch ambassador was Cornelis Haga. In addition, as a result of the relations between the Netherlands and the Ottoman Empire, the tulip, which is accepted as the national flower of the Netherlands, was moved to the Netherlands in 1594. Furthermore, Dutch coffeehouses opened in 1663-1664 were created by taking Turkish coffeehouses as an example (Özyurt, 2000, p. 260). The relations in those years gained rapid momentum with the two visits of the representatives of the Ottoman Empire to the Netherlands in 1709 and the relations continued mainly on the commercial side. The next important developments were the opening of a branch of a Dutch bank in Istanbul in 1921, the creation of a Turkish village in the Netherlands, and the decoration of a door with the Ottoman coat of arms and a statue of Barbaros. In addition, in 1935, with the support and acceptance of the Dutch Queen Wilhelmina, the Netherlands – Turkey Association was established (Hatunoğlu, 2002, pp. 12-13).

Relations with the Netherlands became more intense, especially with the immigration that started in the 1960s. Migration, which was thought to be temporary at first, became permanent when workers took their families with them between 1976 and 1981 (Güngör, 1992, p. 56). Due to the migration that started temporarily and became permanent, many European countries stopped immigration except for marriage after the oil crisis in 1974 (ÇSGB, 2014, p. 9).

On the other hand, anti-immigrant rhetoric began to emerge across Europe as a result of the temporary immigration becoming permanent and the granting of citizenship rights to immigrants. The peak of these anti-immigrant rhetoric occurred after the September 11, 2001 attack.

On the contrary, former YTB President Prof. Dr. According to Kudret Bülbül, it has been stated that there has been a significant increase in Turkey's activities towards the

diaspora, which was left to its own devices in the 1960s. In fact, according to Bülbül, in the 2000s, Turkey's cultural borders exceeded its political borders and transformed from a Turkey that was afraid of its own history, culture and civilization to a Turkey that lived with and made peace with all of them. It is mentioned that thanks to this transformation, a Turkey that normalizes, relaxes as it normalizes, can communicate with different societies as it relaxes, is not afraid of its past and even confronts its past (Gündem G., 2016).

During the examinations made in the Netherlands, it has been observed that the Turks, who have been in the Netherlands for about five generations, generally reside in certain neighborhoods. Also, some streets in the Netherlands give the impression of walking in Turkey. In other words, the coexistence of the migrating masses still continues. In fact, in some places in the Netherlands, examples of the neighborhood culture, which has been gradually erased in Turkey, are still being maintained. Although it has been stated that citizens living outside of Turkish neighborhoods do not have problems with their Dutch neighbors in general, extreme right-wing rhetoric. The best example of this situation is the thought of making it compulsory for Turks to take the integration exams with the New Integration Law, which will be implemented as of January 1, 2022, while Turks who immigrated to the Netherlands were supposed to be exempt from the compulsory integration exams in accordance with the 1960 Association Agreement. Due to the continuation of the legal process regarding this situation in the Netherlands, this decision has been postponed continuously, although it has not yet found an application area, it has started to be voiced and continues, but this issue has been brought to the court by the Turks and this policy has not found an application area because there has not been a clear judicial decision yet.

As a result, the integration of Turks into social life in the Kingdom of the Netherlands in general, especially in the 2nd Generation and later, is increasing day by day, and there are political, social, economic, etc. it is understood that Turks are accepted by the society in general in each of these areas, contrary to this situation, it is still possible that anti-immigrant movements will become more evident in the future due to the ideas developed around the extreme right and Eurosceptics.

4.2. Information on Interviewed Institutions

Today, non-governmental organizations are needed for immigrants living outside their homeland, not only to defend their economic rights, but also to protect their identities and

keep their culture alive. For this reason, many non-governmental organizations have been established in the Netherlands. According to current data, there are approximately 100 different migrant organizations throughout the Netherlands. These organizations are usually established by Turks, Moroccans and Surinamese. Among these groups, it is seen that the most organized community is the Turks (who make up 40% of the Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands).

When the non-governmental organizations in the Netherlands, which is the subject of this thesis, are examined, it has been observed that the perspectives of the Turkish diaspora members for the non-governmental organizations have changed according to the conditions of the time. The first-generation Turkish diaspora did not see the concept of civil society and non-governmental organizations as an important institution due to the fact that they immigrated only for a temporary period of time to earn money and the culture of civil society. However, After the World War II, non-governmental organizations were established in order to obtain and defend the rights of workers, solve the problems occurring in the business environment of immigrants who provide employment in every business line with the aim of developing Europe and to defend their existing rights. It can be said that in the following periods, civil organizations that were shaped mostly as an extension of political ideological currents in Turkey emerged. Especially after the 1980 military coup in Turkey, ideological institutions from all walks of life increased with the participation of those who migrated abroad. Today, it is observed that there is a tendency to move away from this feature and diaspora Turks generally try to organize within the framework of social / cultural activities in order to keep their selves in mind and to make a soft integration effort.

Kadir Canatan, in his work titled "Immigrants' Search for Identity", classified the organizations he called Turkish self-organizations in Western Europe into a dual classification according to their genesis. These are: "Westernist organizations", which were established from top to bottom by a small elite, were evaluated as elite organizations with a weak base, while the second main group was “Islamic organizations” and they were broad-based mass organizations that emerged spontaneously (Canatan, 1990, p. 114). However, this classification didn’t use in this thesis study.

As a result of the research conducted by Hatunoğlu in 2002, Turkish diaspora non-governmental organizations operating in the Netherlands are evaluated under four main headings according to their aims and forms of activity. These are: Organizations with

political ideological purposes, organizations with religious purposes, organizations with cyclical purposes and finally organizations with social and cultural purposes (Hatunoğlu, 2002, pp. 16-17). In this respect, it has been seen that the NGO classification made in this thesis study is appropriate. It is thought that it would be appropriate to classify the NGOs established by the members of the Turkish diaspora within the framework of the distinction stated by Hatunoğlu.

In this classification, the Turkish Federation, H.T.I.B. (Dutch Turkish Workers Union), D.I.D.F. (Democratic Workers Association Federation), UID (Union of International Democrats), Nizam-ı Alem Suleymaniye Mosque, A.T.K.B. (Amsterdam Turkish Women's Union) are classified in the political and ideological type of NGOs. Religious organizations are (IGMG) Islamic Community Milli Görüş, Turkish-Islamic Assistance and Solidarity Foundation, S.C.I.N. Dutch Islamic Foundation Center, Alevi-Bektaşi Society, Hak-Der, and the Turkish Religious Foundation (Turkish Islamic Cultural Foundation), which was established in 1979 and operates in cooperation with the Directorate of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Turkey.

. As a result of the examinations made within the framework of cyclical non-governmental organizations, it can be said that a significant part of Turkish Non-Governmental Organizations in the Netherlands falls into this group. Such organizations are organizations established to benefit from the opportunities and aids provided to non-governmental organizations in the Netherlands, in other words, they are established to benefit from the social conjuncture. Although these are non-governmental organizations, in essence, they are organizations that are formed by a very small group or a few people, aiming to receive assistance from the Dutch government or local municipalities. Some of them survive with simple projects or studies, while others seem to be established only on paper. Even though some of these organizations were initially established for interest, they later became active and gained the ability to become non-governmental organizations that see activities and services for the Turkish society (Hatunoğlu, 2002, p. 24). An example of such non-governmental organizations is the Social Resilience Institute, which is the subject of the thesis. The main dynamic in the cyclical designation of the mentioned institute is the fact that periodic academic activities are carried out in general and that it is person-based.

Finally, non-governmental organizations established for social and cultural purposes are non-governmental organizations formed to play a role and function in keeping the

identity values and cultures of the immigrant Turkish community living in the Netherlands alive and meeting their social needs. The aim of the activities carried out by such organizations is to transfer Turkish culture to new generations with all aspects and to unite the Turkish community around the common values it has. Turkevi Institute, which is one of the subjects of this thesis, can be given as an example to such non-governmental organizations.

In the light of previous studies, the literature on Turkish non-governmental organizations living in the Netherlands was scanned in English and Turkish. Despite the help of people whose mother tongue is Dutch in scanning in Dutch, no clear data on the number of Turkish NGOs could be found. In a thesis she wrote in 2002, the author Hatunoğlu mentioned that there are 1125 associations registered with chambers of commerce and municipalities, and this number will probably reach around 2000 if the associations that are not registered with chambers of commerce and municipalities are taken into account. Considering the elapsed time, it is thought that this number has probably changed today. However, the exact number is unknown. Even this situation shows the lack of a study on NGOs in the Netherlands by both Dutch and Turkish citizens.

In addition to this, Hatunoğlu mentioned that the majority of the mentioned associations were established to get help from the state and municipalities, some of them were not located at the address indicated, some of them were established by taking advantage of establishing associations and foundations easily, and that they did not have any serious functions. Based on this, in this thesis study, social, cultural, religious, economic etc. operating in the Turkish diaspora. Non-governmental organizations established by members of the Turkish diaspora active in the field were included in the scope of the research. In this respect, Turkevi Institute, IGMG, Turkish Federation and Social Resistance Institute activities in the Netherlands were chosen as the research main topic.

In this thesis study, the classification of non-governmental organizations created by Hatunoğlu was used in the selection of the above-mentioned four NGOs. One representative from each field was selected and a comprehensive analysis was tried to be made throughout the Netherlands. In this respect, the Dutch Turkish Federation, which has no formal ties to the MHP politically, but has a bond of affection based on its worldview, has been chosen as an example for political/ideological NGOs. Although it works within the framework of the protection of origins, languages and traditions in general, as the name suggests, IGMG has

been selected, which carries out activities in order to keep Islamic values alive and to prevent the loss of these values, regardless of the ethnicity of the immigrants. Periodic studies and anthropologist on the basis of Dr. İbrahim YERDEN's sociological studies, the Social Resilience Institute, which carries out intellectual studies on the Turkish diaspora, was selected. Finally, in order to contribute intellectually on the diaspora, Turkevi, headed by Dr. Veyis GUNGOR, was elected. Although the Turkevi Research Center was organized within the scope of Dr. Veyis GUNGOR'S work, it was evaluated in this category due to the actual social and cultural activities.

Within the scope of this distinction, the following part of the thesis will focus on the historical backgrounds, organizational structures and activities of these organizations within the framework of the Turkish diaspora.

4.2.1. Türkevi Foundation

4.2.1.1. Establishment

Türkevi Association, a non-governmental organization engaged in activities for social and cultural purposes, was established in 1992 in the Westerpark district of Amsterdam under the leadership of Veyis Güngör. Turkevi Research Center aims to ensure that the social cultural activities carried out throughout the Netherlands are for the entire Turkish population, to introduce Turkish culture to the Dutch, to eliminate the anti-Turkish hostility and to transfer the long-standing Turkish civilization to the Turks and other ethnic groups living in the Netherlands. It was also established with the aim of improving the relations between the Dutch and the Turkish diaspora, ensuring the integration of Turks into social life, and improving their social, economic and educational status. It is aimed to assist Turks in establishing healthy relations with local governments and to carry out some activities in order to protect and develop the values and existence of Turkish and Muslim identity (Hatunoğlu, 2002, p. 29).

4.2.1.2. Activities in Netherland

Among the activities of the Turkevi, organizing programs promoting Turkish culture, organizing Turkish courses, press activities in cultural and social areas for the Turkish

diaspora, scientific academic activities on the Turkish diaspora and carrying out educational activities come to the fore. On the basis of these activities, there are the studies carried out by the President of the Institute, Veyis Güngör, in the light of the experiences he has gained since 1992, within the framework of the Turkish Diaspora not losing its own identity, culture and language. With these activities, as a result of the policies implemented in the Netherlands, Dutch, English, German etc. It is aimed to prevent the alienation and social separation of the 3rd generation and later Turks who learn other Western languages to their own language and culture. In this respect, the activities aimed at providing Turkish courses, programs promoting Turkish culture, scientific/academic activities aimed at Dutch Turks and providing solidarity among Turks are the most prominent within the body of Turkevi. With the mentioned activities, it takes place at the point of preventing the Dutch Turks from breaking away from their cultural and linguistic origins and qualifying them as a Turkish diaspora.

In addition to these, Türkevi and the Academicians Union, of which Veyis Güngör is one of the founders, carried out activities in order to introduce famous personalities from the past to Turkish youth living in the Netherlands and Dutch intellectuals. First of all, he organized a meeting in Amsterdam in 1996 to introduce Dede Efendi, who was a very valuable figure in Turkish music, even praised by the sultans of the period and who produced works in all genres of Turkish music. In addition, Seb-i Arus programs are organized to understand the current meaning of Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi. In addition, there are also studies to tell the events that the Turks experienced in the Turkevi East Turkestan (Türkevi, Türkevi.nl).

Türkevi worked in various countries of Eastern and Western Europe within the framework of meeting the representatives of the magazines and newspapers publishing in Turkish and the authors, benefiting from mutual experiences and laying the groundwork for future joint studies (Türkevi, Türkevi.nl).

In addition, by supporting the establishment of "European Turkish Periodicals Council" ATSÜYAK in Harlem, the Netherlands on October 12, 1996, increasing and developing mutual communication, exchange of ideas and cooperation between publications published in Turkish and periodicals in European countries, and conducting joint studies. It is aimed to encourage Turkish publications outside of Turkey. Güngör spoke at the 8th European Turkish Periodicals Symposium held in 2018:

"The European Turkish Periodicals Symposium came about years ago, when Turkish publications broadcasting outside of Turkey, especially in Eastern and Western Europe, came together. In the beginning, the main purpose was to bring together publishers and writers publishing in Turkish, to discuss common problems, to exchange mutual experience and knowledge, but today, civil society and political issues are also included in the Symposiums. Therefore, our field of action and target audience has been shaped as the media, civil society and politics. Decisions were taken in this direction in the organized symposiums, and some small-scale projects were also implemented" and explained the development and change of the Symposium over time." (Türkevi, 2018).

With the "Ph.D. Thesis Publication Project" carried out at the Turkevi Research Center, the Turkevi Association aims to create new policies and direct the existing policies by bringing the issues that concern Turks in Europe to the agenda. Güngör mentions that thousands of Turkish students studying in the Netherlands should be organized within the framework of a common policy. In addition, Güngör mentions that there are 2 reasons underlying the publication of doctoral theses on European Turks. The first of these reasons is to convey to future generations how Turkish migration has worked since the first day, and to ensure that Turkish migration and diaspora history take place as permanent works. The second reason is to influence the policies concerning Turks in Europe. It is stated that in these doctorate thesis programs, the publication of five (5) doctoral theses written in Turkish or translated into Turkish will be supported every year and that these doctoral theses must be completed within the last three years (Türkevi).

The Turkevi Association, which has carried out activities at the national level with its activities over the years, has organized activities in the fields of traditional Oil Wrestling championships in the Netherlands, Turkish periodicals symposiums in Europe, Turkish courses, traditional Ramadan activities, Sufism, migration and political participation, and international development cooperation. Türkevi Publications, which was established within the Türkevi Association, published books, CDs and DVDs in Dutch, English and Japanese languages, 101 of which were in Turkish, between 1992 and 2014. Türkevi Research Center was established within the body of the Türkevi Association to conduct scientific research. Finally, a doctoral dissertation titled "Dutch Turkish Civil Organizations and Turkevi" was

published in 2002 by Bedri Yavuz HATUNOĞLU, a PhD student at Sakarya University, Department of Sociology, in order to analyze the effectiveness of Turkevi's activities.

The information about the Turkevi Research Center, which was chosen as the thesis topic and evaluated under this title, was consulted with Veyis Güngör, the President of the Turkevi Association, during the visit to the Netherlands. Veyis Güngör was asked questions such as the Turkish diaspora or the Turkish diaspora, whether there is an antipathy towards the Turkish diaspora, what is the level of activity of the Turks in the Netherlands, what are the activities of Türkevi in the Turkish diaspora. On the other hand, Güngör stated that Turks have a prejudice against the concept of diaspora and the reason for this prejudice is the identification of the concept with Jews and Armenians. Secondly, according to Güngör, who stated that the most active community in the Netherlands is the Turks, it was mentioned that the Turkevi Association's academic studies are very important for the development of the literature on the Turkish diaspora, which carries out cultural and social activities, and the Turks living abroad, and that the Turkevi strives to close this gap. In addition, it has been stated that Turkish lessons and cultural trips are important activities to keep the diaspora Turks together without assimilation.

In addition, the meetings with Veyis Güngör in Amsterdam were held in the "arabaşı event" of the Konya Association in the Netherlands. When we look closely at this event, it can be observed that although some events in the Netherlands seem small in scale, when we look at the big picture, it can be observed that they keep the society together. "arabaşı event" is just one of them. When the "arabaşı soup" event organized by the Konya People's Association was attended, it was understood that the members of the Turkish diaspora from all ages and different non-governmental organizations participated in these events, and thus the feeling of friendship and friendship was preserved. It has been understood that an activity where only soup is consumed can be very important in ensuring the unity of the society.

4.2.2. IGMG (İslam Toplumu Millî Görüş)

The Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Gorus (IGMG) appears as a religious-based non-governmental organization as the representative of the Islamist Milli-Gorus movement abroad, formed by the Turks abroad as an Islamic community providing comprehensive religious, social and cultural services (IGMG). The current President of IGMG is Kemal ERGÜN. Established on the basis of religious purposes, the organization provides various

services for the purpose of learning, teaching, living, transferring Islam to future generations, introducing the religion of Islam and fulfilling the requirements of this religion, improving the living conditions of Muslims and protecting their fundamental rights, etc. is doing the necessary work. The Qur'an and the Sunnah are the main sources that are decisive in IGMG's understanding of Islam. “Compete in goodness and piety.”, “The best of people is the one who is beneficial to people.” and “Make it easy, do not make it difficult”. They carried out their work based on this principle.

In the analyzes to be made on IGMG and diaspora relations, the importance of keeping the relations of the members of the association with their homeland alive and integrating into the society they live together is emphasized. IGMG adopts it as a duty to act with the awareness of this responsibility and to be sensitive to all kinds of problems faced by the ummah as a part of the Islamic ummah. In the analyzes on IGMG and diaspora relations, they emphasize the importance of integration into the society. IGMG adopts it as a duty to act with the awareness of this responsibility and to be sensitive to all kinds of problems faced by the ummah as a part of the Islamic ummah.

When an analysis was made on the name of the association, it was found that the word "Milli" used came from the word "millet", which is a Qur'anic concept. The concept of "nation" mentioned in many places in the Qur'an: "It characterizes the community that believes in a prophet and gathers around the values, ideals and traditions brought by this prophet." Thus, in terms of view and belief with the concept of "National Vision", One of the people of Hz. Prophet Ibrahim and it is mentioned that an Islamic community that follows the path of the Hz. Prophet Muhammad should be understood as the view of the world and strive for the peace of humanity in line with this understanding (IGMG, IGMG Broşür, 2020). In addition, the founder of the National Vision ideology is Necmettin Erbakan, who takes active roles in the political arena in Turkey.

The establishment of IGMG, which is a religious Turkish NGO in terms of conceptual and organizational aspects, was realized upon the realization of the lack of organization experienced by the Turks. Thousands of Muslims who migrated to western Europe with the labor migration in the early 1960s were organized around mosques in order to meet their social and religious needs. As a result of the inadequacy of mosques alone to meet the needs of Muslims, Muslims began to organize. By the end of the 70s, Milli Gorus organizations

have taken sides with Muslims since the first years of migration and formed regions and federations to meet their needs (IGMG, 2017).

From the beginning of the 1970s, Turkish workers gathered around small mosques where they could pray by forming small congregations. By the 1980s, these small communities came together and formed regions and federations. The need for these organizations to establish a "Headquarters", the construction of mosques, the organizations of pilgrimage and umrah, the provision and training of imams and guidance officers who provide religious services, has emerged as a necessity of the age. Founded in 1995, IGMG has made significant contributions to the solution of imperative situations. Today, as an organization that provides services from 7 to 70 with the activities carried out within its body, it has around 2500 branches together with the Women's Organization, Youth Organization, University Students and Women's Youth Organization. It is a well-established organization serving in Europe, Scandinavian countries, the Balkans, as well as Australia, Japan, America, Turkey, Kyrgyzstan and Canada (IGMG, 2020).

4.2.2.1. Organization Structures of IGMG

The Presidency Council, which is made up of eight different units including the General Secretary, Organization President, Financial Affairs President, Guidance President, Education President, Women's Organization President, Youth Organization President, Women's Youth Organization President, under the leadership of the General President of the Islam Community National Vision, a Cologne-based organization, and the General President Advisors, is the highest decision and management body of IGMG (IGMG, 2017).

IGMG units are formed according to the services offered to different areas and different masses, these units continue their work with the sub-units in their own structure. The services of IGMG are carried out according to the work to be done, under the hierarchy of the General Center, region and branch. The smallest organized unit of the organization is local mosques. Mosques, in addition to meeting the basic needs for daily worship and performing religious services in the most comprehensive way, provide various services for the specific needs of the target group related to Women, Youth and Women's Youth Organizations, as well as many services in educational and social fields.

IGMG continues its mosque services in Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium, England, as well as Canada and Australia. Structurally, branches work under regional organizations. IGMG serves with 35 regional organizations, 15 of which are in Germany (IGMG, 2017).

While regional organizations provide the connection between the General Center and the branches on the one hand, they simultaneously coordinate the work of the branches connected to them. In addition, regional organizations are responsible for coordinating guidance and education services and presenting cultural programs. The General Center ensures the coordination of all local and regional services of the organization and prepares general work programs, determining strategies on basic issues (IGMG, 2017).

IGMG operates with 518 mosques across Europe. When women, youth, student, education, culture and sports associations with varying numbers according to countries and regions are added to these branches, IGMG serves with a total of 2330 branches and 127,000 members. Considering the congregation attending the Friday prayer, it can be said that IGMG has a congregation of 350,000 people across Europe (IGMG, 2017).

In addition, IGMG continues its activities with 36 separate regional organizations including Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, Hannover, North Ruhr, Ruhr-A, Düsseldorf, Cologne, Hessen, Württemberg, South Bavaria, North Bavaria, Freiburg-Donau, Schwaben, Rhein-Neckar-Saar, Vienna, Arlberg, Linz, Switzerland, Belgium, North Netherlands, South Netherlands, Paris, Lyon, Alpes, East, France, South West France, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, England, Italy, Australia, Canada, Balkans, and South France.

Figure 7. IGMG Owned Mosques Across the Netherlands

Source: https://ajanda.igmg.org/placecategory/places/

Headquarters is the supreme institution of the regions, branches and organizations affiliated to IGMG - Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Gorus in Europe, Australia and Canada. Branch; It is the common name of the phrases of society, organization and entrepreneur. Community; It is an institution that has a legal personality, detached space and functions as a mosque-masjid as well as various educational activities, social and cultural activities. Branch; It is the common name of the phrases of society, organization and entrepreneur. agency; It is an institution that works outside of mosque activities (IGMG, 2017).

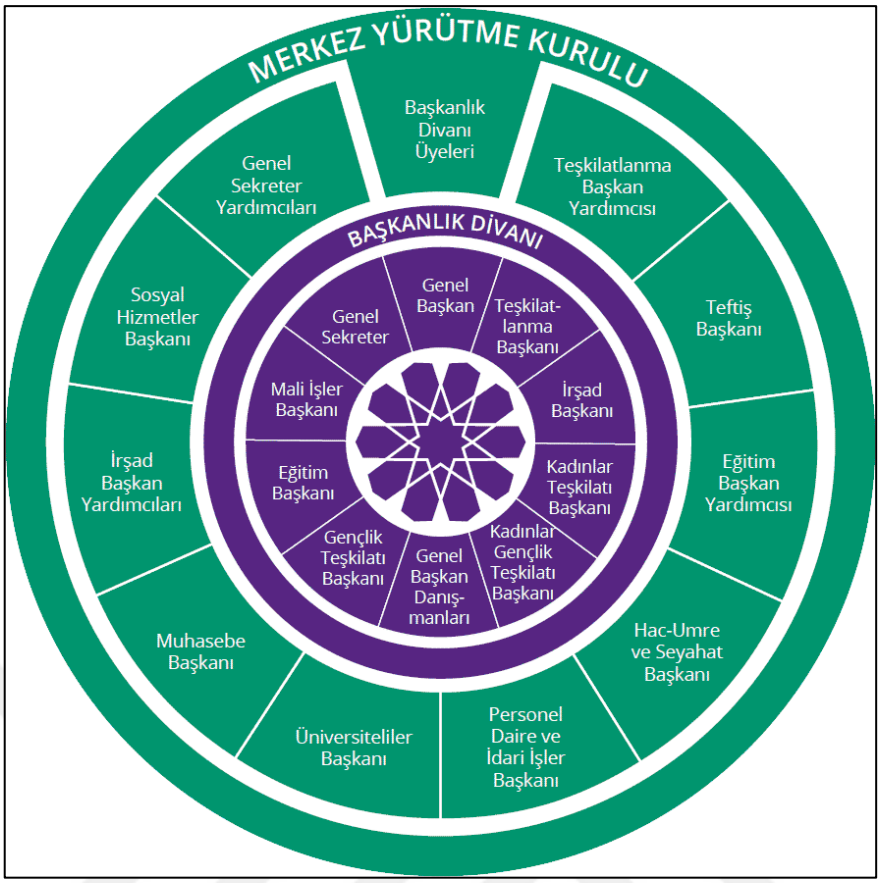

Figure 8. Structure of the IGMG Central Executive Board *(IGMG, 2017)*

Source: IGMG. (2017, 04). IGMG Executive Handbook. Köln, Germany: IGMG

In the IGMG regional organizations that divide the Netherlands into two regions as South and North. Also IGMG occurs a General Assembly, a Presidency Council, a Regional President, a Regional President Advisor, a Regional Secretary, a Head of Regional Organization, Head of Regional Education, Head of Regional Irshad, Head of Regional Youth Organization, Regional Women Head of Youth Organization, Head of Regional Inspection, Head of Regional Accounting, Regional Secretary, Head of Regional Administrative Affairs, Head of Regional Hajj-Umrah and Travel Affairs, Head of Regional Headquarters Membership, Head of Regional Promotion and Cultural Services, President of Regional Press, Regional Funeral Services It consists of the President, the Head of the Regional Aid Studies, the Head of the Regional Social Services, and the Head of the Regional Women's Organization.

IGMG's Youth, Women's and Social Assistance Organization Presidencies draw the most attention. These presidencies carry out important studies for the development of relations with the society in which they live. In addition, new activities and policies for the

future are created in the light of the data obtained through research on women and youth. In addition, trainings are organized to ensure the development of young people and women. In addition, it encourages women and young people who are members of IGMG to engage in religious, social and cultural activities and guides them to be active as members of various non-governmental organizations.

When the administrative structure of IGMG is examined in depth, it is seen that, like the administrative structure of Turkey, it is in a structure where the duties and jurisdictions of each unit are carefully designed. In IGMG, each chair from top to bottom is arranged in a handbook for executives what the general assembly will do. Theoretically, it is seen that there.

Any person belonging to the Islamic faith can become a member of IGMG. Membership to the association is realized by the decision of the board of directors as a result of the written application. Members can be expelled from membership in cases where they engage in activities that do not comply with the objectives of the association, do not act in accordance with the law, violate Islamic principles and, finally, are indifferent to the activities of the association.

4.2.2.2. Activities of IGMG in Netherlands

IGMG carries out its religious, cultural and social services by the central, regional and mosque communities. Also, IGMG provides Muslims with comprehensive services typically provided by religious communities.

Camia, which started its broadcasting life in 2012, offers content for the mosque community in particular and for all Turkish-speaking immigrants with its two-week publication. It has a circulation of approximately 45,000. In addition, religious texts, family and youth section, arts and culture section and news texts related to the subject in Camia Journal are also part of the newspaper's ordinary contents. Camia also includes news about important events taking place in the Turkey.

In addition to Camia Magazine of IGMG, “Perspektif” magazine, another written media tool that has been published since 1995, is one of the most important monthly publications in Turkish in Europe. Perspective is a magazine that informs the Turkish-speaking European immigrant audience with news and comments, nurtures their cultural

roots, and encourages participation in all areas of life in the countries where they live. It deals with issues concerning the rights and social lives of Turkish immigrants and Muslims, and examines issues of interest and value-responsibility issues in Europe and around the world. Perspective is printed and delivered to its readers with a circulation of approximately 12,500 (IGMG, 2020).

"Sabah Ülkesi", which has been published every three months for over 10 years. This Journal includes Turkish-Islamic culture, European culture and common humanity/world culture in general, and art and thought products produced in its pages. The magazine is a culture/art and philosophy magazine that appeals to Turkish-speaking European immigrants. It has a total circulation of 12,500 (IGMG, 2020).

Lastly, the "Gökkuşağı" children's magazine, which has been published monthly since 2006, is the first Turkish children's magazine prepared in Europe, which contributes to the personality development and belonging of children growing up in Europe. The journal generally includes issues on religious and moral values (IGMG, 2020).

IGMG projects to increase cooperation and solidarity, helping o mosque construction and support activities, zakat practices, creation of aid packages in case of disasters and delivery to the disaster area, education projects on Islamic sciences and Turkish language, educational activities for the disabled, summer schools for children, pilgrimage and Umrah organizations, activities for funerals, "Politicken" work[1], IGMG conducts Islamic religion classes, religious education and guidance programs in or outside the mosques.

In addition to these, The Religious Advisory Board (DİK) was established in order to answer the issues that Muslims encounter or may encounter in their daily lives in terms of fqih. They also organize hafiz courses and Quran recitation competitions.

In addition, with the awareness that European Muslims are now permanent in these lands, IGMG carries out educational activities such as kindergarten services, basic education services, adult education, in-service training, educational institutions, homework assistance courses and holiday courses, education for the disabled, and studies for parents. In kindergarten services trainings, kindergarten services aimed at raising children's awareness of the community, and the activities of the Children's Club carried out in parallel with this,

[1] It is a training series that aims to increase the sensitivity of young people towards political and social issues and develop their reasoning skills on these issues, and offers them the opportunity to discover their potential.

the number of children who receive education in mosques during weekend holidays has exceeded seventy thousand. In the Basic Education Services section, Elif-Be Part and Turkish preparatory books are prepared. These activities, which are carried out to teach children about their origins and traditions, are important in terms of maintaining the identity of the Turkish diaspora.

Introducing the historical, cultural and civilizational heritage of many different countries and geographies, especially Turkey, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Andalusia and other Islamic countries. In this organizations providing cultural and identity-building travels for stimulating their own historical and belonging codes for young people and university students living in Europe especially.

Necessary measures were taken by IGMG in order to solve the problems that occurred during the pandemic period, to ensure cooperation and solidarity, and financial and moral support was provided to all Muslim groups, especially the Turkish diaspora living abroad. In this part we can understand IGMG is global organization. Because, they don't act only locally.

In addition, cultural and art courses by IGMG: exhibitions in which various Islamic arts such as marbling, calligraphy, illumination, and courses in which these arts are taught are brought together with their enthusiasts at various times and places. With these activities, which are valuable for Muslim and Turkish culture, members of the Turkish diaspora are provided with special activities within the scope of their own culture. In addition, while keeping the Turkish diaspora alive, a positive impression is left for those who are in other ethnic structures and benefit from these courses. In this way, it is aimed to reduce discriminatory and prejudiced attitudes towards all Muslim groups, especially Turks.

Finally, IGMG aims to promote relations between faculty members, assistants, researchers, experts and students in research, education and training, to develop existing ones, to ensure the common use of the results of research studies and to publish them, to share the educational understanding of the parties and their experiences in scientific organizations. For this reason, a protocol was signed with Istanbul Medeniyet University. This activity, on the other hand, can be evaluated as an important step in terms of setting an example for the relations that should be between the Turkish diaspora and Turkey.

4.2.3. Netherlands Turkish Federation

The Dutch Turkish Federation is a federal association consisting of approximately fifty departments and sub-organizations. TFN has a central board that represents the interests of its sub-organizations and departments and supports its activities. However, each sub-unit also has its own independent fields of activity. In the activities carried out, it is aimed to carry out activities at the national level by including representatives at all levels in general terms. It also carries out joint activities by keeping in touch with not only its own subgroups, but also TFN brotherhood organizations.

TFN main board; It consists of the chairman, secretary and twelve board members in contact. Murat Gedik is the President of TFN. He has been on the national board of directors since 2004 and chairman since 2012. Murat Gedik's vision is expressed on the TFN website as follows:

> *"The Dutch Turks are here and they will stay here. In fact, we believe that Dutch Turks will establish a greater bond with the Netherlands than Turkey in time. But we think that Dutch Turks do not need to forget their Turkishness and roots. The juxtaposition of two cultures and being a full citizen; It is possible in the Netherlands for TFN. We are working for this. In addition, openness and transparency are very important to us. Being transparent is the best way. We want to be at the center of society."* (TFN).

A conference is organized by TFN once or twice a year to take important administrative decisions and interact among the members, to which all subsidiaries are invited by the central board of directors. For this purpose, a large hall is usually rented and Turkish social and cultural activities such as folk dances and concerts are carried out. Not only members but also all Turkish speakers or people who want to speak Turkish can attend these events.

4.2.3.1. Organization Structure of TFN

As stated before, TFN is a non-governmental organization with a federal structure. The reason for the preference for independence at the local level arises from the fact that each region has different dynamics and the necessity of activities related to it.

It is thought that it would be appropriate to consider TFN as a political/ideological non-governmental organization in the classification of non-governmental organizations made within the scope of this thesis. The basic idea at this point is that although the Turkish Federation does not have an official tie with the MHP, the MHP and TFN are inspired by the nationalist ideology of Alparslan Türkeş, and therefore there is a bond between them in terms of both a bond of love and consistency in terms of discourse.

TFN builds all subsidiaries at local level by meeting with others, exchanging experiences and organizing events together to achieve their goals in terms of integration. In the interviews with TFN members, they state that the members do not want to lose their roots in general, but they want to be integrated in the Netherlands, where they live, and to be a part of the society.

It is stated that members of TFN gather in community buildings and mosques, its supporters consist of Dutch Turks who have lived here since the 1960s, and they consist of Turks from the first to the fifth generation. In addition, during the interview with TFN representative Erim Uğurlu, it was mentioned that the people who are devoted to TFN have a constantly growing student group, highly educated people and young professionals.

4.2.3.2. Historical Background of TFN

Although the Dutch Turkish Federation (TFN) was founded as an organization in 1995, it has a longer history as a movement in the Netherlands. The foundation of TFN is based on Turkish nationalism that emerged under the leadership of Turkish politician Alparslan Türkeş in the second half of the twentieth century. Founded by Alparslan Türkeş in the late 1960s, the right-wing Nationalist Movement Party and the vision of Dokuz Işık were more concerned with Turkish nationalism, in which culture, language, customs and emotions played a role rather than racial or ethnic characteristics. Türkeş's followers are generally known as idealists both inside and outside of Turkey. In this sense, this is how the vast majority of TFN supporters are defined. However, TFN states that they are a federation open to all Turkish and non-Turkish people.

The history of TFN's movement in the Netherlands can be evaluated in four stages. With the passing of the years, which consisted of those who migrated from Turkey and came to the Netherlands as guest workers in the first period, guest workers became less and less

'guests' and more and more a part of Dutch society, and at the end of this period they had their own shops, coffee houses, cultural structures, worship centers and football clubs. It is stated that a Turkish society occurred in the Netherlands with all side of life.

Between 1976 and 1995, some organizations were formed under the leadership of the group that emerged as the first idealists. As a result of the termination of these groups, the necessity of an umbrella organization was understood. In order to meet this need, first the Netherlands and Turkish Friendship Association was established in 1979, and then the Netherlands Turkish Associations Federation (HTDF) on September 22, 1982, as the predecessor of TFN. In the congress held in 1986, the organization was terminated due to some political problems.

The third period occurred between 1995 and 2012 and is characterized as creation and opposition. In this period, the Dutch Turkish Federation (TFN), as the umbrella organization, was officially established in 1995 on the same basic principles as its predecessor HTDF, as a result of the meeting attended by 27 organizations.

In the last period, namely 2012 and today, TFN has determined new routes for itself. During this period, it was aimed to establish a permanent, constructive dialogue with the Dutch authorities. In order to build, cooperate and contribute to the Netherlands, the course plan, meaning “at the heart of society”, was created. In addition, TFN works with other Turkish cultural and religious organizations. The most important example of this is Platform Turkish Dutch (PTN), which was established in 2021. Another example that is active is the Muslim and Government liaison organization (CMO), which includes most Islamic groups. In this way, TFN strives to contribute to a Dutch society where different groups live in harmony and respect (TFN).

During the meeting with Vahap Yılmaz, one of the former administrators of the Turkish Federation and a second-generation member of the Turkish diaspora, it was stated that the nationalist ideas of the Turkish Federation were also compared to German fascism due to the periods the Netherlands spent under the yoke of fascist Germany. In the last 2 years, studies are continuing to break the negative judgments about these analogies. Apart from this, when the website of the Dutch Turkish Federation is examined, it is stated that they are an organization that deals with nationalism based on language, culture and traditions, not race or ethnicity, and rejects all kinds of discrimination, racism and fascism.

In the interview with Turkish Federation Secretary General Erim Uğurlu, it was mentioned that Dutch Turks should love Turkey as well as their new homeland, the Netherlands, as TFN strives to build bridges between the Netherlands and Turks and encourages the integration of its supporters, and it is stated that both the country of origin and its culture are not forgotten. It was mentioned that activities were carried out to ensure integration with the Netherlands, the country of immigration, and it was confirmed, like other NGO members, that the most effective and organized ethnic minority in the Netherlands is Turks by Uğurlu and Yılmaz.

4.2.3.3. Activities of TFN

The federation generally carries out the following activities: assistance in case of disaster, billiard tournaments, social activities for young people in locals, Ramadan iftar and Ramadan aid works, social cohesion in mosques for children and activities to ingratiate the mosque, buying fitra and zakat, funeral procedures. They operate in many areas such as aid, sports activities, integration into the country of residence, as well as trainings and social responsibility activities for the protection of Turkish roots (TFN).

In the interviews held with Vahap Yılmaz, one of the former managers of the Dutch Turkish Federation, it was stated that the first work of the Turkish Federation was mainly about funeral procedures. The reason for this is that the immigrant Turks need to create solutions to the problems they face while trying to adapt to the existing Dutch society. Because, for many years, Turkey did not carry out activities for the Turkish diaspora group, which was seen only as a source of foreign exchange, and it is mentioned that these problems started to be solved with the organization of the members of the Turkish diaspora at the level of associations, federations and confederations. In the interview with the Secretary General of the Turkish Federation, Erim Uğurlu, it was mentioned that in the past there was no support from Turkey for a long time, but that some support has been received both from the diaspora institutions and diplomatic channels of Turkey recently. Even at this point, during the meetings held at the Masjid-i Aksa Mosque, which is affiliated to the Dutch Turkish Federation, the Amsterdam Consul came to the mosque and it was asked whether these visits were continuous. Based on this, it was stated that these visits were made by ambassadors, consuls and other public officials assigned for several periods, and they were frequently contacted with members of the Turkish diaspora. In addition, it has been stated that although

it took a long time for the transactions carried out in the embassies in the past, there are improvements in this point today.

In addition, in the interviews with the members of the Dutch Turkish Federation, it was mentioned that the Turks living in the Netherlands are becoming more politicized day by day. In addition, when asked about the level of use of this word in relation to the concept of diaspora, it was mentioned that the concept of Dutch Turks was used instead of this concept. It has been mentioned that the concept of diaspora is not used by the Turks in the Netherlands because it has negative meanings. Finally, when asked about the level of lobbying activities of Turks in the Netherlands, when it comes to lobbying activities by Turkish diaspora members, it is mentioned that there are two types of lobbying activities. In a positive sense, it has been stated that lobbying activities are carried out in order to ensure that the Turkish diaspora living in the Netherlands gains rights, leads a more prosperous life and that events in favor of Turkey, the country of origin, take place. In addition, it has been mentioned that there are some groups engaged in anti-lobbying activities.

4.2.4. Social Resistance Institute (Maatschappelijke Veerkracht)

Registered with the Dutch Chamber of Commerce, Maatschappelijke Veerkracht is a foundation established in the Netherlands in 2013. In literature was researched for gaining information about the Institute. However, information obtaining in the web sites was not sufficient. Due to insufficient information, contact was made with İbrahim Yerden and general information about the association was obtained as a result of these interviews. During these interviews, Yerden stated that Maatschappelijke Veerkracht is a foundation established in the Netherlands in 2013, with the aim of encouraging citizens' social participation and integration into Dutch society. He stated that the main goal of the foundation is to develop and encourage the participation of citizens living in the Netherlands, which is home to multiculturalism, different religious structures and different ethnic groups, in Dutch society. It was also stated that the foundation develops and supports initiatives in line with this aim, carries out activities to strengthen citizens' participation in society, and provides advice and research opportunities.

In this regard, the Social Resilience Institute seeks solutions that strengthen diversity and harmony among immigrants in Dutch society, carries out academic research and organizes conferences to improve and strengthen communication between ethnic groups and

cultural identities. They also put forth practical applications based on scientific knowledge about social and cultural participation. Within the framework of the work and activities mentioned by the foundation before, activities for the elderly and young people are carried out, and projects are created in the fields of participation/polarization/radicalization. These activities ensure that all groups create a social solidarity environment with Dutch society.

Looking at the concept of social solidarity, we encounter a developing paradigm. This expresses the reactions and strategies at the level of individuals, groups, organizations, and societies dealing with complex social problems, and these reactions contribute to innovative solutions that make society more resilient to current and future challenges. Maatschappelijke Veerkracht operates within this framework.

The foundation's latest work aimed at solving problems is directed towards immigrant elders. This study, carried out in collaboration with Moroccan organization EMCEMO and Turkish organization HTIB for Woon Amsterdam, is an exploratory study on the housing desires of elderly immigrants in Amsterdam. In addition, the foundation is working to find an answer to the question "How will migration and diasporas evolve in the future?" within the scope of Erasmus Plus.

In addition, the Social Resilience/Solidarity Institute, which combines scientific knowledge with practical application knowledge, should be evaluated together with Dr. İbrahim YERDEN's contributions to the Turkish diaspora in the field of anthropology. In this regard, during the visits made in the Netherlands, an interview was held with Dr. İbrahim Yerden about his views on the diaspora and the activities of the Social Resilience/Solidarity Institute.

4.3. Analysis of In-depth Interviews

Under this heading, the activities of NGOs established by Turks in the Netherlands, the general situation of Turks living in the Netherlands, their perspectives on the concept of diaspora, their levels of organization, participation in NGOs, and assessments on lobbying activities will be included. During these evaluations, interviews with members of the Turkish diaspora conducted during the visit to the Netherlands in 2023 will be utilized.

In this respect, face-to-face interviews were conducted with Dr. Veyis Güngör representing the Türkevi Association, Kenan Aslan representing IGMG, Erim Uğurlu and

Vahap Yılmaz representing the Netherlands Turkish Federation, and Dr. İbrahim Yerden representing the Social Resilience/Solidarity Institute for the topic of this master's thesis, and collective interviews were also conducted with individuals from the Turkish diaspora. During the interviews, audio recordings and notes were taken and later merged together. During the interviews with the named members of the Turkish diaspora, the questions posed to the participants generally maintained the initial systematic of the thesis, firstly focusing on the concept of migration, then on the concept of diaspora and the concepts of NGOs. Finally, questions related to the concept of lobbying were included and participants' suggestions were listened to make a evaluation about Turkish diaspora and NGO's relationship in Netherlands.

4.3.1. Migration and Turkish Migration:

Within the scope of this systematic, the concept of migration from Turkey to the Netherlands was first mentioned. Veyis Güngör, the President of the Turkevi Association, was asked about the scope of the migrations of the Turks to the Netherlands, whether there is an ongoing migration process to the Netherlands since 1960, and whether the type of these migrations has changed over time. As a type of migration, very few levels of labor migration and family reunification migration are mentioned. When asked which type of migration dominates the most, it was mentioned that quality or brain drain increased. When asked about the differences between this type of migration, which has increased recently, and the first labor migration, it was stated that the integration level of the Turks who performed the brain drain was at a very high level. On the basis of this integration, it has been shown that the immigrant Turks speak at least one foreign language. In fact, Güngör mentioned that with the recent brain drains, the second type of Turkish society, which is located in different social circles, started to form in the Netherlands.

4.3.2. Diaspora

The second issue asked during the interviews was generally aimed at analyzing the perspective of members of the Turkish diaspora on the concept of diaspora. In this respect, it was mentioned that the concept of diaspora is not used among Turks according to the responses received. However, in the interview with Kenan Aslan, the representative of IGMG, in addition to the non-use of this concept among Turks, it was also mentioned that

this concept is divisive and used only as an academic concept. It was also added that the concept will lose its effectiveness over time. However, considering that the basis of the concept has broadened semantically especially as a result of globalization and neo-liberalization, it can be said that the claim that the concept will lose its effectiveness will not materialize. As an opposing view, during the interview with Dr. Veyis Güngör, President of the Türkevi Association, it was mentioned that these concepts need to be studied more academically in order to increase the visibility of the diaspora and Turks living abroad. In addition, it was stated that this concept needs to be used as long as the Turkish community cannot agree on any new concept despite the prejudices about the diaspora concept.

Both during face-to-face interviews and collective interviews, it was observed that there is a prejudice related to the concept. As an example, during the collective interview at the Mescid-i Aksa Mosque affiliated with the Turkish Federation, İbrahim Çitil, President of the Netherlands Sivas Association, said "We do not use the concept of diaspora" at the stage where the subject of the thesis was mentioned. When asked which concept they prefer to use, we were faced with the statement "We, as Turks living in the Netherlands, are Dutch Turks". Furthermore, during the interviews, Güngör mentioned that although the diaspora concept establishes close relations with nationalism, Turkish nationalists are more prejudiced towards the concept.

When asked in which direction the understanding of diaspora of Turks is, it was mentioned that the view of diaspora that Turks have is one that organizes within the framework of more cultural and social concepts and establishes a sense of belonging and emotional connection with the homeland, contrary to attacks on other groups or "me and the other" discourses. On this matter, İbrahim Yerden, representative of the Social Resilience/Solidarity Institute, mentioned that the Turkish diaspora generally focuses on the concept of unity and solidarity. Yerden, who spoke of the Turkish diaspora as different from the Jewish and Armenian diasporas that could be given as examples of the classical concept of diaspora, mentioned that the Chinese diaspora, which forms a cultural diaspora, could be given as an example of a diaspora similar to the Turkish diaspora.

The second issue asked regarding the concept of diaspora is whether it is the Turkish diaspora or the diaspora from Turkey. Because during the web-based literature review, it was seen that this issue has been discussed for a long time. At this point, when all participants were asked this issue, it was mentioned that usage still occurs in both ways, but generally

this distinction arises from ideological foundations and the concept of the Turkish diaspora is generally preferred. However, it was mentioned that the reason for interviewing Turks who migrated from Turkey to the Netherlands in general in the thesis study could create a restriction at this point. However, in the context of the issues mentioned in the interviews, the concept of the Turkish diaspora was used in the thesis content.

When asked about the debate of being Turkish or being Turkish-origin in terms of our people in Europe, Prof. Dr. Kudret Bülbül stated that we are not discussing very different issues in Turkey either. When we ask how to define a citizen in Turkey, we currently use the concept of "Turkish Citizen." Some of our people living in Europe are not citizens of the Republic of Turkey. Some are Muslim, some are not. Some are Turkish, some are not... In Turkey, there are also Jews, Christians, Kurds, Alevi. However, they define themselves and whatever kind of relationship they have with Turkey, all of these relationships are respected by us. We do not have any intention of imposing an identity on them and seeing them in that way. The Turkish society is not a homogeneous society, and the state should be at peace with these diversities. We adopt the same approach towards Europe as well. Whatever kind of relationship our people there want to have with Turkey, however they define themselves, all of these identifications are acceptable to us," he said. However, in the mentioned thesis study, it is noted that the focus on Turkish immigrants from Turkey to the Netherlands may create a limitation in this regard. However, within the framework of the points mentioned in the interviews, the term "Turkish diaspora" is used in the content of the thesis.

In the first part of the thesis, while drawing the conceptual and theoretical framework, when asked about the issue of the return myth in diasporas, one of the six criteria set by William Safran for societies to be described as diaspora, Yerden said; Nowadays, settled Turks in the Netherlands are also Dutch. However, due to the nature of immigration, separation situations can always occur in society. This situation is always possible for Turks in the Netherlands. In this possibility, Dutch Turks see Turkey as a place they could return to. Also, despite the observation that today, Turks who have become part Dutch, despite their Turkish language dominance not being perfect, Yerden mentioned that they have embraced Turkey as the homeland. This shows that Turkey has been internalized by members of the Turkish diaspora and that the ideal homeland in their minds is Turkey. However, according to Yerden, it is stated that the idealized Turkey and the practice in real life always do not match. Because although a diaspora society that could return is mentioned, it should not be

forgotten that Turks who migrated to the Netherlands now have a Dutch identity that can't be lost, and even mentioned that Turks here not only settled but also began to form their own dynamic cultural codes over time. When asked about the issue of idealization mentioned in his words, Yerden explained the concept of idealized society with a pyramid. According to Yerden; unofficial groups are at the bottom layer of this pyramid. This group includes associations from various cities such as Sivas, Konya, Yozgat, etc. This group forms its identity within the scope of the city or district from which it migrated. In the middle group, formal groups where women's associations, NGOs, faith groups, and mosque groups are included. The second layer expresses more religious/sectarian than the identity of the place migrated. At the top level, immigrant Turks describe themselves as "I am Turkish". When the same question was asked to Veyis Güngör, the President of the Türkevi Association, he states that it is important for the diaspora to feel that there is a strong Turkey behind them rather than the myth of returning. This situation already holds an important place in qualifying Turks as a diaspora. In addition, when the same issues were asked to Erim Uğurlu, the representative of the Turkish Federation in the Netherlands, and Kenan Aslan, the representative of IGMG, similar answers were received.

After obtaining information on the use of the terms diaspora and Turkish diaspora, when questions were asked to learn about the level of relations between the Turkish diaspora and the Netherlands, Güngör states that the relationship between Turks and the Dutch is generally weak. To explain the term "weak", Güngör has given the following statements: "The relationship between Turks and the Dutch is weak, but not bad. The main reason here stems from the cold attitudes of the Dutch." When asked if their relationship is like this only with Turks, it is generally mentioned that their relationship with Moroccans is better and even the most successful group in terms of integration into Dutch society is Moroccans. Regarding this, Yerden says: "While Moroccans generally organize individually, Turks are organizing societally. Therefore, Turks, staying within their own groups, do not increase the level of integration to the Netherlands, the country of migration, while Moroccans integrate faster individually." While Moroccans do not live the "We are Moroccan Pride", the "We are Turks" pride is lived in every period among Turks. Additionally; Yerden mentioned that they tried to analyze which identity came to the fore in the 'we are Dutch' event, and it was observed that in Turks, Turkishness came first, then Islam, while in Moroccans, Islam came first, then being Moroccan. The reason behind this is that Moroccans, because of living under colonial rule, have never been able to achieve self-determination at any time.

To describe the situation of Turks against Dutch culture, Yerden cites the situation of Turkish students as an example. He talks about immigrants taking refuge in their own cultures and trying to bring their own culture to the fore due to actions and discourses targeting immigrant students in the Netherlands. He mentions that immigration generally emerged as a concept that provides a defense mechanism and enables every immigrant society to sustain itself. When a question was asked to Erim Uğurlu, the Secretary General of the Turkish Federation, and Vahap Yılmaz, a former director of the Turkish Federation and a second-generation member of the Turkish diaspora; they received the answer, "We are Turks but we are also Dutch". Then they said that they love Turkey very much, it's our homeland, but the Netherlands is where we live. They mentioned that they have always striven to preserve the culture for themselves and the next generations and continue to do so. However, they also mentioned that they have a life here as well and the level of integration is increasing day by day. It was mentioned that the levels and durations of this integration change according to the ideological structures of the groups in the diaspora. For example, it is stated that the level of integration of conservative Turks is at lower levels.

Although the relations between Turks and the Dutch are at low levels, it can be said that Turks, who have been living in the Netherlands for five generations, have taken significant steps towards blending with Dutch culture in general terms. It can be said that Turks, who initially lived on the margins in a more closed structure, began to take part in the social and political fields of the country of migration over time. According to the studies conducted by Yerden on family structure, it has been stated that Turks and the Dutch could not get married before, but can get married today. In addition, he stated that he concluded that Turks generally expect their spouse to learn Turkish in marriages. The same issue was mentioned during the interview with Vahap Yılmaz, and it was stated that this happened due to the Turks' insufficient level in language. In addition, when Güngör was asked his opinions on this matter, he mentioned that increasingly nuclear families were formed. On the same issue, Aslan mentioned that the role of mothers in the education of future generations is very important. In short, all the people consulted agreed that the family structure in the diaspora and the initial education received from the family have a significant impact on preventing diaspora members from losing their self-identity.

Although the relations between Turks and the Dutch are at low levels, there is some degree of integration. When the relations of Turks with other ethnic structures are examined,

it is generally stated that those with the same ideological structure get along well with each other. For example, it is stated that the relationship between Muslim Moroccans and Turkish Moroccans is good, while the relationship between International Moroccans and International Turks is good. In other words, it is stated that relationships between different ethnic communities in the Netherlands can emerge as a result of ideological or religious infrastructures.

When asked whether full integration of Turks into the Netherlands will occur, Güngör mentioned that if integration is fully realized, assimilation will occur, and therefore, Turks will stop that integration at a certain point. When asked if there were any policies implemented by the Netherlands on this matter, it was mentioned that four-year integration policies were established in the past, but today the Ministry Responsible for Integration is interested in new immigrant groups. However, despite the contrary provision in the 1963 Ankara Agreement, it was mentioned that the attempt by the recent Dutch Government to apply exams to migrating Turks was taken to court by the Turks and the case is still ongoing.

The most important factor for a diaspora to remain consolidated and away from assimilation is to keep language and culture alive and transmit it to future generations. In this regard, when the level of Turkish usage in the Turkish diaspora in the Netherlands was asked, Yerden stated that everyone speaks Turkish when they go to associations, mosques, etc. However, although this language usage is not considered sufficient for education, it can be said to be at adequate levels for communication. Language is an important factor in preserving culture. However, he mentions that Turks don't worry too much about losing it. He explains this with the following example: "Turks living here send Turkish messages to their relatives in the village, they communicate very comfortable with them, and they preserve their Turkish." On the subject of whether there is a dialect of Turks coming from Germany and whether the dialect of Dutch Turks is more regular, it was focused on the assumption that there is no definitive opinion on this matter, but such a thing could exist, and this could be linked to speaking Turkish more commonly in the family and environment among Dutch Turks. In the interview with Veyis Güngör, the President of the Turkish House Association, he talked about the importance of Turkish language being a very important factor in preventing the assimilation of the diaspora and the importance of conducting studies to make the Turkish language a language that can be used in scientific research. When asked about the high level of dialect and language use of Dutch Turks, Güngör stated that in

Turkish families living in the Netherlands, one parent speaks Turkish while the other speaks Dutch. Thanks to this tactic, children can learn many languages at the same time. In the interview with IGMG representative Kenan Aslan, it was mentioned that generally, efforts are made to speak Turkish with children at home. In addition, he mentioned that it is important to strive to teach both Turkish language and culture and Islamic sciences to Turks from childhood culturally, as these are important for preventing cultural assimilation.

4.3.3. Turkish NGOs in Netherlands

Although it is stated that Dutch institutions did not participate in integration activities in the past, Turks are trying to integrate into the Netherlands, the country where they live, through NGOs. However, there is curiosity about the level of activity of these NGOs. Therefore, this issue was brought up during the interviews. Based on the answers received, it was mentioned that Turks generally have a quickly organized structure, these organizations generally occur around associations, federations and confederations, and that they are strong throughout Europe. It was mentioned that the IOT (Advisory Board for Turks) was established before and that Turks from all walks of life, such as Sunni, Alevi, Rightist, Leftist, etc., have acted as advisory boards. However, it was mentioned that cosmopolitan and federative structures could not be established recently.

During the interview with Ibrahim Yerden, when asked whether he had information about the number of NGOs, it was stated that there are even 30-40 Turkish associations in Harleem, and he mentioned that there are a small number of organized structures at the federation level. It was stated that each of these organizations was established on a voluntary basis. However, during the interviews with Güngör, it was stated that the membership levels of NGOs were around 30% to 35%. Güngör also criticizes this issue: "It was mentioned that NGOs whose income source is people have problems in volunteering within the diaspora. He also pointed out that the lack of vision of NGO managers is also important here." According to Yerden, participation in NGOs is at a good level. Even for Turks who do not have an NGO membership, the existence of a Turkish NGO, association, mosque, and foundation gives strength to the members of the Turkish diaspora in a spiritual sense. This is not found in another ethnic structure. Also, according to Yerden, rather than participation, the existence of many small and large NGOs also increases diversity in the diaspora.

4.3.4. Integration and Assimilation

When asked about whether the culture would be preserved in the absence of these informal groups in diasporas where cultural concepts are tried to be protected by NGOs, it is stated by NGO representatives that, even though Turkish institutions have tried to be effective recently, the main reason why a Turkish presence can be mentioned worldwide and specifically in the Netherlands so far is the very important role of NGOs established by Turks for this purpose. Because, even though Turkish institutions have studies to preserve Turkish today, when it is considered that we have almost reached the 60th year of immigration, the truth of this matter emerges. If these groups did not have a self-preservation reflex, it is thought that assimilation would occur. However, in recent periods, with the support provided by the institutions of the Republic of Turkey to diaspora NGOs on cultural and language preservation, and the preservation of family structure, it is aimed to preserve the self-identity of the Turkish diaspora.

In addition, there is also a divergence in the Turkish diaspora about the adequacy of the operations of Turkish institutions. One side mentions that they do not have very good ties with the Consulate, and institutions like YTB, TIKA, YEE basically do not have much impact on life, while other members of the diaspora talk about a significant change over time in the structures and policies of these institutions, and that they will get better over time.

When asked about the impact of institutions on the formation and development process of the Turkish diaspora, Prof. Dr. Kudret Bülbül, who previously served as the President of YTB, stated: "Turkey had severed its relations with the diaspora and kin communities for a long time. When the partially misguided policies of the countries where our people reside are added to the equation, we were talking about millions of our people who were left without support. YTB was established with the aim of empathizing with the problems of our citizens abroad and making them active citizens in their host countries. Over time, our European friends perceive the efforts for the Turkish diaspora as interference in their internal affairs. This is a completely groundless concern. Because when we support our citizens to become active citizens, we are actually lightening their burdens. Due to our negligence of 50 years and the incomplete and partially misguided policies of the relevant countries, our citizens there have a strong sense of being marginalized. Naturally, individuals who feel excluded cannot contribute to themselves, society, or their surroundings. In fact, through our efforts, we are creating a foundation for our people to contribute more to the societies they live in.

We want our citizens living in Europe to have a good command of the language, rules, and values of the countries they reside in. At the same time, we desire for our people to preserve their own identities, cultures, values, and sense of belonging. Ultimately, the relevant countries will benefit the most from our people there not feeling excluded while preserving their identities," he expressed (Kandemir, 2014).

4.3.5. Lobby and Lobbyist

Regarding the shortcomings of NGOs, which are very important in preserving culture and self-identity, it is primarily expressed as lack of lobbying activities, problems in systematic work, and lack of organization. However, criticisms are dominant on this matter as well. First of all, it can be said that Turks being the most organized ethnic group in the Netherlands is widely accepted. In addition, it can be stated that Türkevi and the Social Resistance/Solidarity Institute are organizations that do not have base members, and the Netherlands Turkish Federation and IGMG are effective in terms of organization, and the best institution in terms of organization is IGMG.

As a result of the interviews conducted with IGMG representative Kenan Aslan regarding lobbying activities, it was stated that IGMG-origin city council members supported Turkey's lobbying activities, that no positive decision would have been made in the past for Turkey in the Netherlands Representatives Assembly, but these aids were obtained as a result of the activities of the members of the Turkish diaspora during the earthquake period, and that lobbying activities were effective in matters such as softening the relations between the Netherlands and Turkey. However, on the same issue, Güngör stated that there is no organized Turkish lobby, but on average every Turk contributes to Turkish lobbying and introduces Turks to the world.

When the activities of Türkevi, IGMG, Netherlands Turkish Federation, and Social Resistance/Solidarity Institute, the subjects of the thesis, are evaluated in the light of the information given in previous sections, it is understood that IGMG and Netherlands Turkish Federation have a wide member base and a wider organizational structure, so larger groups protect Turkish culture and provide their integration into Dutch society. On the other hand, it was determined that Türkevi and the Social Resistance/Solidarity Institute carried out studies to ensure cultural integration from a more individual and academic perspective and to prevent assimilation under Dutch society.

Finally, during visits to the Netherlands, while the Netherlands was preparing for the Provincial Elections planned to take place on March 15, 2023; The Republic of Turkey was counting days for the presidential and parliamentary elections to be held on May 14, 2023. In this regard, during interviews and conversations with members of the Turkish diaspora, comments were generally made about the elections in Turkey. It has been observed that more importance is given to Turkish elections rather than Dutch elections that will directly affect the daily lives of Dutch Turks. When asked for the main reason for this situation in the interviews, Veyis Güngör, the President of Türkevi Institute, expressed the issue as follows:

> *"Those who follow the Dutch agenda very well know that since 1986, Turkish people in the Netherlands have run intense election campaigns in every election. Many meetings were held, including the Amsterdam Debates organized by the Turkish House Community, and discussion programs were broadcast on television. There was an active and vibrant Turkish community. However, a similar election campaign did not take place this time. There's no doubt that the earthquake that happened in our Turkey on February 6th had a big impact on this, but in the last thirty years, the attitudes of mainstream Dutch political parties towards Turks also play an important role in this indifference."*

From Güngör's statements, it is understood that the lack of sufficient attention by the mainstream parties in the Netherlands to the Turks, who are the most influential minority group across the country, creates an obstacle to the integration of the members of the Turkish diaspora, and therefore causes Turks to show more interest in the General Elections in Turkey. Another reason is, just as with obtaining the right to vote, the Turks carrying the characteristics of a diaspora and having strong ties with their homeland. According to Yerden, developments in Turkey greatly affect and isolate their diasporas. It is mentioned that there is a sense of belonging that would wait in line for hours for the Turkish elections without voting in the Dutch elections despite living in the Netherlands. However, although these reasons are very important in terms of being a diaspora, it can be pointed out that Turks staying away from Dutch politics results in not being able to engage in sufficient lobbying activities with their population strength, which is a negative aspect of this situation.

5. FINDINGS, SUGGESTIONS AND CONCLUSION

Under this section, first of all, the analysis of the hypotheses under the methodology title in the introduction part of the thesis within the scope of literature review, observations and interviews and the findings will be mentioned. After the findings, the future of the Turkish diaspora in general and the suggestions that can be made to Turkish NGOs and the institutions of the Republic of Turkey within the framework of the solution of the problems will be mentioned. In the conclusion part of the study, a general evaluation will be made about all kinds of data obtained during the research.

5.1. Findings

In the context of this thesis study, some assumptions about the Turkish diaspora have been reached through literature review and face-to-face interviews conducted on-site. These are:

- According to the literature, the formation process of the Turkish diaspora began with the great influence of worker migrations after the 1960s, and continued with students, union members, and businessmen who migrated after the 1980s. In the 2000s, despite returns to the homeland due to the increase in prosperity in Turkey, the number of members of the Turkish diaspora worldwide is increasing day by day with low-rate worker migrations and family reunification migrations that have occurred and are still ongoing, as well as a large number of brain or skilled migrations.
- It can be said that Turkish immigrants have a significant diaspora potential. This is because the Turkish diaspora encompasses all six criteria required for a migrant group to be qualified as a diaspora, put forward by William Safran. (Spreading from a center to different locations, having a physical homeland, having a common history consciousness, not being accepted by the host society or the belief that it will never be accepted, and finally, establishing a relationship with the homeland.)
- Turks living in the Netherlands have prejudices against the concept of diaspora. The main reason for this is their association of the concept of diaspora with Jews and Armenians. Therefore, instead of the concept of diaspora, various different expressions are used, the most prominent of which has been observed to be Dutch Turks.
- It has been understood that there are no comprehensive studies in the literature around the concept of diaspora in the Netherlands. The reason for this is, as mentioned before,

the shift of studies to Germany due to the presence of Turks as a large population there, and the prejudices towards the diaspora.

- As a result of the interviews, although priority was given to political/ideological, religious, sports, and cultural activities in the Netherlands, it was observed that the ideological criterion emerged as the most dominant factor in classifying Turkish organizations in the Netherlands. Dutch Turks, who were previously only formed by worker groups, defined Turkey with bonds established on ideological grounds. It was understood that ideological foundations were laid by the right and left groups that came with the migrations of students, union members, and businessmen after 1980 to the Netherlands. This situation increases, especially during the election periods, but it can be said that the level of politicization of Turks across the Netherlands has increased again with the granting of the right to vote to Turkish citizens living abroad, although it becomes more regular over time. There are many Turkish NGOs in the Netherlands with different ideologies and types of organizations. For example, while IGMG has an organized and religious structure, Türkevi is an institution that conducts cultural and academic studies without a social base.
- The Turkish community in the Netherlands has become increasingly politicized, especially after the right to vote was granted. However, the evening of the May 14, 2023 elections raised the question, "Will the Turks living abroad determine the result of the elections?", indicating a level of influence that could provoke such a query.
- Turkish NGOs have been working to preserve Turkish culture since the early years of migration. This has allowed for the continued existence of a Turkish presence abroad, one that hasn't been fully assimilated.
- For many years, Turkey saw Turks living abroad only as a source of foreign currency. However, more recently, there has been a growing concern for addressing the issues of the Turkish diaspora.
- There is not a full sense of unity among Turkish NGOs due to ideological and belief structures. However, Turks are the most organized ethnic minority group in the Netherlands.
- In addition to NGOs, there are many different groups in the Netherlands, such as religious communities, mosque foundations, etc. Each group even organizes around its own mosques.
- Turkish NGOs do carry out lobbying activities to some extent. However, it is understood that they have not yet reached their potential to lobby despite the soft power

Turks have gained through the Turkish diaspora. The lack of an organized lobby poses a problem for both Turkey and the Turkish diaspora.

- There is a reciprocal relationship between Turkish NGOs and the institutions of the Republic of Turkey. However, this relationship has not yet reached the expected levels. It can be stated, though, that the interaction has increased in recent periods and these relationships have become more intense.
- Although Turkish NGOs are seen as the most organized group across the Netherlands, there is a need for civil organizations in the diaspora that can embrace people of all views.
- In the surveys conducted in the Kingdom of the Netherlands and in the discussions with members of the Turkish diaspora, it was noted that representatives of the Republic of Turkey generally only held discussions with personnel of the same rank in the Kingdom of the Netherlands in previous periods and did not engage in any grassroots activities. However, it was mentioned that recently appointed ambassadors and consuls have been communicating more with members of the Turkish diaspora.

5.2. Conclusion

The concept of migration has always attracted the attention of social scientists as a phenomenon that has existed throughout all periods and continues to exist. In recent times, many works have been produced on the subject of migration itself, its impact on the country of emigration and the countries of immigration. However, when the literature is reviewed, it is seen that all groups referred to by concepts such as immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers who engage in any kind of migration activity over time become a part of the society they migrate to. Yet, it has been observed that the longing and love for the country they migrated to does not completely end for those who become a part of the society they migrated to.

At this point, in the example of the Netherlands, the activities of the Turkish diaspora have been examined in the context of the Turk-Evi Association, IGMG (Islamic Society National View), the Dutch Turkish Federation, and the Social Resistance/Solidarity Institute, which have different ideological and organizational structures. The dissertation in question sought to answer the questions, "What is needed for a diaspora to form, or is migration a fundamental condition to be a diaspora?" Within this context, secondarily, the question arose, "Can we describe Turks living abroad with the concept of diaspora, which is

associated only with Jews and Armenians within the framework of classical thought structure, but expanded after globalization in the late 1980s?" As a result of these questions, this dissertation focuses on the necessity of migration or a conquest process for a diaspora to form. However, since there was no conquest between the Netherlands and Turkey, it was thought appropriate to start the study by defining migration because the Turks in the Netherlands occurred especially within the context of labor migrations after the 1960s. Consequently, the conceptual and theoretical framework of migration, immigrant, refugee, asylum seeker, diaspora, civil society, and lobby concepts were attempted to be drawn.

In this regard, the study consisting of six sections was supported by interviews with NGO representatives established throughout the Netherlands and members of the Turkish diaspora. In addition, as a result of an extensive literature review, it has been understood that the Turkish community formed in the Netherlands within the scope of labor migrations generally has a significant diaspora potential. However, it was understood that other concepts were used instead of diaspora due to prejudices about the concept. Furthermore, it was observed that the concept of diaspora was confused with concepts such as immigrant, refugee, asylum seeker.

In addition to looking at the subject only from the Turkish diaspora, summary information about the areas of activity, mission, vision, and future plans related to the representatives of the central institutions and embassies of institutions such as YTB, TIKA, Diyanet Foundation, Maarif Foundation, DEIK, DTIK, Yunus Emre Institute, which try to facilitate the integration of Turkish diaspora members to the immigrated country without being subjected to assimilation and preserving their self-identity, has been included. When examining the activities of the institutions, although not at the expected level, it was understood that these institutions have been working to preserve language and culture for the Turkish diaspora in recent periods. During the interviews conducted within the scope of the thesis study, it was mentioned that the most effective Turkish institution throughout the Netherlands is YTB, followed by YEE and the Diyanet Foundation. Even though Maarif and TİKA operate worldwide, it was understood that they did not have effective activities.

Public Diplomacy Coordinatorship, Ministry of National Education, Directorate of Religious Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, TIKA, YEE, Maarif Foundation and YTB etc. related to Turkish diaspora policy. The presence of more than one institution can create a confusion in the formation of diaspora policy. However, Prof. Dr. When this issue is asked

in the interview with Kudret Bülbül, there may be intersections as a result of the existence of more than one institution. However, there is so much work to be done for Turks abroad that there is a lot of room to cover all this. In time, arrangements will be made at the point of cross-cutting studies.

As a result of the evaluations made on Turkey's diaspora formation process; It was found that the labor migrations that took place after 1960 and the brain drains that occurred in later periods had a significant impact on the formation process of the Turkish diaspora, that Turkish immigrants have a serious diaspora potential in terms of organization, but there is no unity among themselves, when examining the previous studies in the literature, there are not enough studies on the Turkish diaspora, there are very few studies on the Netherlands, which is the subject of the thesis, it was evaluated that the compatriots living in Turkey or immigrating to other countries generally keep their distance to the concept of diaspora, evaluating their studies specifically for other concepts and subjects and although prejudices started to be broken, a literature scarcity occurred related to this concept that could not see enough value, unity is not completely dominant among Turkish NGOs, besides NGOs, there are many different groups such as community groups, mosque organizations, there is a relationship between Turkish NGOs and the institutions of the Republic of Turkey, but it has not yet reached the targeted level.

The Türkevi Association, the Netherlands Turkish Federation, the Islamic Community National Vision, and the Social Resistance/Solidarity Institute, selected as samples, emerge as unique institutions in terms of both their type of activity and worldview. The establishment, organization, vision, mission, and activities of these institutions have been analyzed. In order for these analyses to be more effective, interviews were conducted with NGO representatives with whom interviews had been conducted online previously, and a trip was made to the Netherlands to provide a general overview of the Turkish diaspora. During the time spent in the Netherlands, face-to-face meetings were held with the representatives of the NGOs that are the subject of the thesis, and research questions of the thesis were asked. Findings obtained based on the answers received were specified along with the solution suggestions.

Despite having different ideological or organizational structures, it has been observed that every group has a common goal in preserving their Turkish identity, bringing up new

generations that do not sever their ties with Turkey, and integrating to the extent that they will have a say in the immigrated society.

It is thought that the thesis work done will create a different perspective on the concept of diaspora, which has become popular in recent periods but still cannot capture the expected impact, that it will break the prejudice formed in the society regarding the concept of diaspora, and that it will add value to the literature in terms of analyzing the view towards the concept of diaspora.

5.3. Suggestions

Despite the long migration history, the fragility of immigrant groups still going on including Turks. Effective policies need to be developed in this regard. In this respect, the suggestions to be put forward will be stated under this heading in three groups: Suggestions to Turkish Institutions, Suggestions to Turkish Diaspora Members/NGOs and Joint Proposals.

Suggestions to Turkish Institutions:

- If the existing policies developed by Turkey are improved, taking into account the differences and disadvantages of the Turkish community living in the Netherlands, it will be possible to further advance the relations that have existed between the Netherlands and Turkey for over 400 years. In this regard, Turks in the Netherlands are capable of serving as a humanitarian bridge between the Netherlands and Turkey. This can be achieved by supporting and encouraging NGOs and similar organizations established by the Turkish diaspora. Thus, Turkey will have an active lobby power, and the Turkish diaspora separated from their homeland will be able to become more active in all areas in the Netherlands.
- It is thought that it would be more appropriate for embassies and consulates to prepare brochures on more subjects or to keep them up-to-date if a brochure has been prepared. In this regard, the following issue has been particularly raised: It is essential to prepare or keep up-to-date a guide or brochure containing information on goods that members of the Turkish diaspora, who return to their country during the summer or holiday visit periods, can carry with them across borders, information on vehicles they can bring and use, or information on roads and routes for Turkish diaspora members coming by

road. Furthermore, it is believed that it could be effective for the staff to regularly submit their annual work programs, inspection and research results, and activity reports to their central organizations.

- Turkey needs to develop policies to prevent the assimilation of fellow countrymen and implement these policies urgently. If these works are not carried out, it is thought that Turks who lose their identity in economic, political, and social matters will assimilate and a significant Turkish population will disappear. If this society disappears, there will be no single work left abroad to remind of Turks.
- In the interviews, it was mentioned that incentives were provided by Turkey. It is believed that if these incentives are more effectively introduced to all diaspora members and informed in terms of creating projects, more people will increase their interaction with Turkish institutions.
- It is believed that the Turkish diaspora in the Netherlands needs to be encouraged to participate in political and economic activities. Regarding this issue, former YTB President Prof. Dr. Kudret Bülbül, during her European Local Media Workshop in Frankfurt, said, “When I look at European Turks, I think of Cem Karaca's song 'You are a worker, you stay a worker' and I am happy to see that our people here are workers and not workers. In his continuing speech, Bulbul emphasized the necessity of coming to important positions by stating that if the child of an immigrant family who went from Kenya 100 years ago can be president of the USA today, 50-60 years have passed since the Turks came to Europe. In this framework, it is still not too late and it is essential to carry out studies on this issue (Gündem G., 2016).
- Every individual of Turkey in Europe is a lobbying arm of Turkey, but considering that Turkey can't even use human capital at an optimal level, it is seen as essential to work in coordination with leading wise people from all sections of society and determine diaspora strategies for the correct direction of this capital. In this respect, the vision of YTB during Prof. Dr. Kudret Bülbül's presidency, stating "We aim to determine Turkey's diaspora strategy by working closely with Turkish NGOs", should be maintained.
- Finally, it is believed to be appropriate to promote Turkey also through foreigners who love Turkey, in addition to listening to leading figures from the diaspora Turks, for an effective lobby.

Suggestions to Turkish diaspora members and NGOs in the Netherlands

- In the Dutch education system, the opportunities for immigrant communities to pass their identity values to the new generations are extremely limited. Therefore, this task largely falls on the non-governmental organizations established by the Turkish diaspora. Non-governmental organizations should restructure themselves taking this mission into account.
- Non-governmental organizations should push the current political differences to the background and complement and support each other in activities aimed at preserving identity values, improving the cooperation environment among them. Therefore, it is thought that divisions within society could be prevented by encouraging organization on a social and cultural basis rather than organizing only politically in diasporas.
- Non-governmental organizations should inform diaspora members about the existing rights and freedoms of Turks living in the Netherlands.
- Turkish non-governmental organizations should increase their relationship with Dutch official authorities, which has been increasing recently, by entering into more close cooperation and dialogue.
- Political and economic lobbying activities aimed at increasing the degree of political participation for the Turkish community to defend their rights in the eyes of Dutch authorities should be emphasized.
- Turkish non-governmental organizations should prioritize activities that introduce their identity values to the Dutch society. Because the sympathy field that will be formed against these values in the Dutch public opinion will bring the possibility of preserving Turkish identity values through generations. The efforts to introduce the positive aspects of the Turkish community to Dutch society should be increased. Thus, a more effective Turkish diaspora may emerge against Islamophobia, Turkish, and anti-immigrant policies.
- Turkish non-governmental organizations should work on establishing umbrella organizations that will reflect the common mind. At this point, it is thought that it will not be possible to organize based on a single organization. Indeed, it is believed that this situation will kill the diversity within the diaspora. Therefore, it is believed that care should be taken to form umbrella organizations.

III- Joint Proposals:

- As Ziya Gökalp stated, Turkishness and Islam are shaped together on the basis of the mentality of the Turks, and the absence of one negatively affects the other. In this context, Prof. Dr. Kudret Bülbül, one of the most important problems of our citizens abroad, perhaps the first, is that they protect their own identity and culture, and the most important issue for preserving this identity and culture is language. When this is lost, almost everything about Turkey is lost." For this reason, it is thought that the issue of giving more importance to religion and language lessons should be taken into consideration.
- It is necessary to regularly monitor the problems that occur in integration into the country of immigration throughout the Netherlands and to provide the necessary support to the diaspora members in these matters.
- Efforts to ensure participation throughout Dutch politics need to be increased.
- The Turkish diaspora needs to defend its country of origin, and the country of origin needs to protect its cognates in the international arena against the assimilation policies implemented in the country of immigration against Turkish diaspora members. Thus, a win-win model will emerge for both Turkey and the Turkish diaspora.

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