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GERMAN-TURKS' RETURN TO THE HOMELAND:  
THE MIGRATION OF THIRD GENERATION GERMAN-TURKS TO TURKEY

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GERMAN-TURKS RETURN TO THE HOMELAND: THE MIGRATION OF THIRD GENERATION  
GERMAN-TURKS TO TURKEY

ALMANYA'DAKİ TÜRKLER'İN YURDA GERİ DÖNÜŞÜ: ÜÇÜNCÜ NESİL ALMAN-TÜRKLER'İN  
TÜRKİYE'YE GÖÇÜ

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## **ABSTRACT**

This dissertation attempts to address the phenomenon of return migration and specifically return of third generation German-Turks to Turkey. The aim of this research is to analyze why do the third generation German-Turks return to Turkey. I try to examine the situation by conducting in depth interviews with the German-Turk migrants in Turkey who have migrated between 2001 and 2012. I also try to reveal the difficulties they have experienced upon their return. The research framework chosen for the research is Transnationalism, which tries to formulate a theoretical and conceptual framework between migrants' host and origin countries. Transnationalists base their analysis on the investigation of transnational mobility and transnational identity of migrants. This is a mixed identity, which contains the identity of migrants' origin and host country. Doing regular contacts and visits to the country of origin creates the transnational mobility. Before I have started this research, my argument to the research question was that the reasons the German-Turks return might be because they want to be and live at their motherland and that they could face discrimination. After the research has been done, I have found out that they did not face discrimination, but one of the reasons was the idea of living and being home. For nearly all participants' return decision is made by the family. It was important to examine third generation German-Turks because of that reason that there are limited researches on different generations' return process in the literature. This study can offer opportunity for further researches on the integration policies of third generation German-Turks.

## ÖZET

Bu tezde geri dönüş göçü ve özellikle üçüncü jenerasyon Alman-Türkler'inin Türkiye'ye dönüşü ele alınmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı üçüncü nesil Alman-Türkler'in Türkiye'ye neden geri döndüğünü incelemektir. Araştırma sırasında 2001-2012 yılları arasında Türkiye'ye dönen Alman-Türkler'le derinlemesine mülakatlar yapılarak göç durumu ele alınmıştır. Ayrıca geri dönüşle beraber bu göçmenlerin karşılaştığı zorluklara da değinilmiştir. Bu çalışmada göçmenlerin ev sahibi ülke ve memleketleri arasında kuramsal ve kavramsal bir çerçeve çizen "ulusaşırıcılık" teorisinden faydalanılmıştır. Ulaşırıcılık teorisi araştırmalarını göçmenlerin ulusaşırı hareketliliğine ve kimliklerine dayandırmaktadır. Ulaşırıcılık kimlik göçmenin memleketinin ve gittiği ülkenin kimliğini içermektedir. Düzenli iletişim ve ziyaretlerle de göçmen ulusaşırı hareketlilik oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışmaya başlamadan önce araştırma sonucunda göçmenlerin dönme sebeplerinin memleketlerinde yaşama isteği ve ırkçılık olabileceği düşüncesindeydim. Araştırma sonucunda katılımcıların ırkçılıkla karşı karşıya kalmadığını ancak dönme sebeplerinden bir tanesinin memleketlerinde yaşama isteği olduğunu gördüm. Neredeyse bütün katılımcıların dönüş kararı aileleri tarafından verilmiştir. Üçüncü nesil Alman-Türklerin araştırılması, literatürde bu konu hakkında kısıtlı araştırmalar olduğu için önemlidir. Bu çalışma örneğin üçüncü nesil Alman-Türkler'in entegrasyonu gibi başka çalışmalara da olanak verebilir.

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

A migrant is a person who moves from one country to another with a specific reason and lives there for a period of time. The move of the migrant, which is called as migration, is a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence, usually across some type of administrative boundary (Faist 2000). Also, return migration is defined as the 'movement of emigrants back to their homeland to resettle' by Gmelch in 1980 (Return Migration Literature Review 2015, p.2). There have been number of motivations which lead the migrants to move in the history. Three 'core groups' of migrants have dominated the study of migration: labour migrants, settler-migrants and refugees (King 2012, p.9). What is examined in this thesis is labour migration from Turkey to Germany in the 1960s. During the 1960s and 1970s, Turkey and Germany signed the Labour Recruitment Agreement and right after this agreement, Turkish workers moved to Germany. The Turkish workers were supposed to fill the labour shortage in Germany. After the full employment process has ended during the 1970s, the German government put a law into operation to advance the willingness to go back home. They started to pay money to encourage the 'guest workers' (Gastarbeiter). Although they were seen as 'guest workers' and the agreement ended in 1973, most of them did not return because of the economic conditions and family reunification. They have settled and enlarged their families in Germany. With the passing years, the Turkish migrants started to return to their parental homeland again. However for the children of the guest workers who were born after 1990, it was not a return, it was leaving their 'home'. Most of them were born and raised in Germany but they were not involved in the decision of return. Because of that reasons, these young

people have faced lots of different problems. In this thesis, the interviewees were asked about the decision of return and most of them answered, as it was their father's decision. This shows that second generation implicate third generation German-Turks in terms of return decision. Although their fathers decide to return mostly because of economic reasons, this interference shows that Turkish families are generally male-dominated.

## **1.1 SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

Although there are number of researches related to return migration in literature, they barely focus on German-Turk migrants, especially not to the third generation German-Turks. As to mention the significance of this topic, some points need to be underlined. After the Labour Recruitment Agreement signed in October 1961, the migration flow between Turkey and Germany has occurred. Lots of debates and studies have been done around this topic but the colossal parts of this studies were about the difficulties workers face during their experience abroad such as discrimination, integration problems etc. In fact, approximately 250.000 Turkish people were in Germany during 1970s, they settled there, some of them returned back to Turkey but the big part of them stayed there and started their families. The number of Turkish workers increased year by year and naturally the return to the 'parental homeland' became more inevitable. But the decision process, the reasons for returning home, the expectations and responses are very important to understand the migration and the results. Because of that reason, the results of this research will show clues about the results of migration in general and especially return migration.

In this thesis, the reasons why the third generation German-Turks return to Turkey will be explored. The young people were seeing Germany as their homeland and visited Turkey just during vacations. They mainly enjoyed their summer

vacations, but in the long run they were calling Germany 'home'. The third generation German-Turks, who are children of guest workers were mostly not a part of the decision-making, they had to return with their families because they were not old enough to live alone. They had to leave their comfortable lives and friends to live in a country, which were seen as 'homeland' by their parents. This dissertation is about the reasons and also about the positive and negative experiences of these young people.

I have chosen this topic because there has not been much research on reasons why people return back to their 'homeland'. As I myself am one of these third generation German-Turks, I decided to go a step further and examine reasons of other children like me. I was the one and only student in my school who came from a foreign country and have experienced quite difficulties. As a kid who had to submit the decisions made by my family, I still think about how my life would be in Germany.

The structure of this thesis will contain three chapters. In the first chapter, introduction, scope of the study and research framework will be explained. The second chapter will contain theories of international and return migration. In this chapter, the theories will be examined by giving information about the concepts of international migration and research framework. The third chapter will be summarizing the situation of first, second and of course third generation German-Turks and their migration process and return in general. The analysis of the interviews consisting of identification and research question will establish the fourth chapter and conclusion; bibliography and the appendix will follow it.

## **1.2 RESEARCH FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH QUESTION**

In this dissertation, the question "Why do the Third Generation German-Turks return to Turkey?" will be analysed with the reference of Transnationalism. When drawing a frame for this research, I tried to understand return migration according to

Transnationalist approach. The reasons that the Transnationalist approach have been chosen is; as I have understood from the in-depth interviews during this research, the third generation German-Turks tend to build double identities. Although most of the return decisions are made by the family and the children are not involved that much, the social and economic conditions have been fulfilled before return. They do not ignore the connection between Germany and Turkey and are actors in their migration cycle. As Transnationalists define transnational identity as a mixed identity, it can be argued that these German Turks did not loose their identity from Germany even though they live in Turkey.

### **1.3 METHODOLOGY**

As methodology, 'in-depth interview technique' made it possible to see what the objectives have been experienced after they have returned. In-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation (Boyce & Neale 2006, p. 3). Although I have done the interviews via Skype, it allowed me to build a casual conversation with people and get more details. Using Skype as communication tool had advantages and disadvantages. First of all, it was hard to arrange convenient time with participants. Most of them were working and I had to be online until late hours. As I was abroad, time difference between United Kingdom and Turkey, loosing Internet connection sometimes were difficult. In despite these, participants were happy because they felt themselves more comfortable at their homes, not being outside. As I myself am one of the third migrants, it was important for me hearing other return stories and their process in their own words. Returning home is an important phenomenon and despite that there are not many researches related to this topic in the literature. The

participants have shared their experiences as children and how their life evolved. As I have come through same things, it was also very emotional to hear stories like mine. Some interviewees are from my inner social circle, but I have also used the snowball sampling technique to reach more people.

The interviews have been conducted in 2017 between April and June. As I am one of the third migrants, it helped to create a more casual environment. Three of twelve interviewees were male and nine of them were female. This is because of that reason that female interviewees were more willing to participate. As the birth dates are the main criteria for the research, all participants were born after 1990. Except one interviewee, all of them went to Realschule (mid-level secondary school) or Gymnasium (high-level secondary school) during their education life in Germany. This shows us that they were well integrated to German society and the language was not a problem for them. They also continued their education when returned to Turkey. Nine out of twelve participants were graduated from college and three of them are still college students. This shows us that they had no much trouble adapting to Turkish education system. Although some of them based their profession on their language ability, the majority chose a different occupation, not relied on German language. But of course, all of them see being able to speak German as an advantage. The occupation of interviewees are as following: Student (3), Teacher (1), Theologist (1), Translator (1), Psychological Counsellor (1), Psychologist (1), Marketing Expert (1), Marketing Communication Expert (1), Lawyer (1) and Architect (1). All participants were born in Germany except one who moved to Germany when she was 7 months old. She has been also a part of this research because she was too young to remember any difference between Turkey and Germany at that time. The group was not chosen regarding the city they have lived in Germany; they have been found

through personal relations from Istanbul. The cities they had lived are as follows: Berlin (2), Düsseldorf (1), Eckernförde (1), Elazig (1), Frankfurt am Main (1), Kaufbeuren (1), Mannheim (1), Siegburg (1), Stuttgart (1), Nurnberg (1), Wiesbaden (1). By the time of their return, four of returnees were 15 years old, two were 20 years old and the rest was as follows: 11, 12, 13, 17 and 18 years old. And finally, the return dates are between years 2001 and 2012.



## CHAPTER II

### THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

This chapter will be an overview of international migration theories. It is very hard to theorize international migration due its versatility. Migration cannot be explained or analysed by taking limited elements into consideration. There are lots of aspects such as economy, social life and personality. In this thesis, the theories will be examined in terms of international migration and return. Although the approaches related to return migration could be traced back to the 1960s, there was a debate among scholars over the return phenomenon and its impacts (Cassarino 2004). As Cassarino (2004) summarizes, in 1980, Francesco Cerase (1974), Frank Boverkerk (1974) and the anthropologist George Gmelch (1980) produced a typology of returnees that focused not only on the returnees' motivations but also on their expectations. In 1981, in the first European Conference on International Return Migration, in the forewords of Cerase, produces a 'useful and up-to-date picture of international knowledge and debate concerning return migration'. 4 years later, a seminar was organized which involved scholars and intergovernmental partners in the better understanding of the modalities and consequences of return migration. In 1986 Russell King edited a volume of the existence of various patterns of returns and finally in 1987, the conference led by the Council of Europe dedicated a whole session to the issue of 'voluntary return' by emphasising the fact that return to the country of origin must be on the basis of free choice. The theoretical approaches discussed below will be examined in the lights of international migration.

As reviewing the literature, theories on international migration range from economical approaches to sociological approaches. But still, it is theorized within the general theories of migration (King & Christou 2008). Cassarino (2004) provides a

very ordinate review of frameworks of return migration. He mentions five frameworks: Neoclassical Economics, The New Economics of Labor Migration, Structural Theory, Transnationalism and Social Network Theory. Neoclassical Economics, The New Economics of Labor Migration and Structural Theory can be count as economic approaches and Transnationalism as a sociological approach. Beside these theories, I would also like to mention push-pull theory, which is one of the oldest migration theories. As seen in many sources, the theories are sorted in the following order as I have outlined and these are the mostly found theories in the scientific literature. In the following years, the theorists contributed to the previous theories or challenged the assumptions. This chapter provides the above-mentioned five approaches and the concepts and a conclusion.

## **2.1 'PUSH-PULL' THEORY**

Ernest Ravenstein, one of the earliest migration theorists, developed his "Laws of Migration" in 1885 and than he restated the principles in a second article in 1889, which contributed to the migration theories very early (Grigg 1977). Ravenstein was a geographer and uses census data from England and Wales to develop his article for the causes of migration. He restated the laws as follows:

1. The majority of migrants go only a short distance.
2. Migration proceeds step by step.
3. Migrants going long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce or industry.
4. Each current of migration produces a compensating counter current.
5. The natives of towns are less migratory than those of rural areas.
6. Females are more migratory than males within the Kingdom of their birth, but males are more frequently venture beyond.
7. Most migrants are adults: families rarely migrate out of their country of birth.
8. Large towns grow more by migration than by natural increase.
9. Migration increases in volume as industries and commerce develop and transport improves.
10. The major direction of migration is from the agricultural areas to the centres of industry and commerce.
11. The major causes of migration are economic (Grigg, 1977).

As Ravenstein is a geographer, he questioned the migration by using census data and cartography in United Kingdom. When we try to evaluate these principles today, it can be agreed that this type of approach can be sorted under economical approaches. Ravenstein saw migration as a part of development which can not be separated from it, and he also argued that the major causes of migration are economic, he also put emphasis on the overpopulation in rural areas (Grigg 1977). He argued that a process called “push-pull” conducted migration. Conditions that are not pleasant in the place of origin push people out and pleasant conditions in another country pull them out (Theories of migration, n.d.). Despite the push factors such as economic, social and political difficulties in the country of origin, the destination country offers contrary advantages. The combination of push and pull factors establish the size and direction of flows (Portes, Böröcz 1989). Several theorists have followed Ravenstein and also his assumptions has been quoted and sometimes challenged. As one of the theorists who followed Ravenstein's assumptions, Everett Lee (1966) states:

While there have been literally thousands of migration studies in the meantime, few additional generalizations have been advanced. True, there have been studies of age and migration, sex and migration, race and migration, distance and migration, education and migration, the labor force and migration, and so forth; but most studies which focused upon the characteristics of migrants have been conducted with little reference to the volume of migration, and few studies have considered the reasons for migration or the assimilation of the migrant at destination (Lee 1966).

He reformulated Ravenstein's theory and paid attention to internal factors, which can be also defined as push factors. He argued that migration decisions are stated by "plus" and "minus" factors in the place of origin and place of destination and he also mentioned intervening obstacles that affect the migration process. According to Lee (1966), every act of migration regardless of being short or long, easy or difficult, involves an origin, a destination and an intervening set of obstacles. In his work "*A Theory of Migration*", he summarizes the factors in the act of migration as follows:

factors associated with the area of origin, factors associated with the area of destination, intervening obstacles and personal factors (Lee 1966). He also put emphasis on how migrants respond to push-pull factors and these factors have been affected by age, gender and social class. Being one of the first theories of migration brought critics and challenges along. Although the push-pull theory shows all major factors, which affect the decision to migrate, the factors' role and interactions have not been specified (Castles, Haas, Miller 2014). Skeldon states:

The disadvantage with the push-pull model is that it is never entirely clear how the various factors combine together to cause population movement. We are left with a list of factors, all of which can clearly contribute to migration, but which lack a framework to bring them together in explanatory system (Skeldon 1990, p.125)

Besides having shortcomings, push-pull theory is one of the building stones in terms of international migration. With the following years, many theorists have developed push-pull theory and they have followed footsteps of this theory. These theories have been improved with new push and pull factors (Kumpikaite, Zickute 2012).

## **2.2 NEOCLASSICAL ECONOMICS OF MIGRATION**

Another economical approach, Neo-classical Economics of Migration is based on migrants' movement to better economic conditions in the place of destination. Scholars such as Lee (1966) and Todaro (1969) argue that migration is a result of wage disparity of home country and destination country and they also argue to get employed in the destination country is a logical judgement (Return Migration Literature Review 2015). Evaluating from a macro perspective, this theory accepts that international migration is caused by geographic differences and supply for labour. A country that has a large number of labourers can offer low wage and in despite of that a country with deficit number of labourers can offer high wage. According to Todaro (1983), research has shown that the rural poor are often simultaneously

'pushed' to the cities by stagnating or declining local economic opportunities and 'pulled' by expectations of abundant jobs and higher incomes' (Ünverir 2008). Evaluating from a micro perspective, the migrant's choice is an important element by explaining the movement. Immigrant becomes a rational actor who calculates the possibilities of gaining economic and social advantage in case of immigration (Ünverir 2008). The migrant has to think about the costs such as the money for the movement, which includes travelling costs and psychological costs such as adapting to a new country and creating a new social network of relations. The Neoclassical Migration Theory was advanced by Todaro (1969) and Harris (1970) to explain the phenomenon rural-urban migration in developing countries but it has also been applied to international migration (Borjas 1989). They have stated that it is necessary to extend wage differential approach by adjusting the expected rural-urban income differential for the probability of finding an urban job (Todaro 1969). Bauer and Zimmermann (1998) advanced this model by Todaro and Harris by adding new factors such as the financial and social costs of migration (Castles, Haas, Miller 2014). Another proponent of this theory, Sjaastad (1962) viewed migration as an investment that increases the productivity of human capital. As to return migration, the neo-classical theorists see return migration as an outcome of a failed and miscalculated migration experience. As Cassarino (2004) states:

In a neo-classical stance, return migration involves exclusively labour migrants who miscalculated the costs of migration and who did not reap the benefits of higher earnings. Return occurs as a consequence of their failed experiences abroad or because their human capital was not rewarded as expected. Furthermore, earnings had to be spent in host countries in order to care for the spouse and the children, instead of being remitted to origin countries (Cassarino 2004, p.2)

Castles, Haas, Miller (2014) explain in their book *The Age of Migration*, push-pull and neoclassical theorists portray humans as socially isolated who passively react to

external factors, but actually people's migration decision is attached to factors such as age, gender, social contacts, preferences and perception of the world.

### **2.3 THE NEW ECONOMICS OF LABOR MIGRATION**

The New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) arose as a critique to the neoclassical approach (Massey *et.al.* 1993). By challenging the assumptions of the Neoclassical Theory, the decision to migrate is not made by individuals; it is made by related people such as family, household or even by the community (Stark 1978). One or more members of the family go abroad and earn money and the other members stay in the country of origin and they afford a better living. According to the proponents of this theory, household control their economic position; it may be followed by family labour. As Massey *et.al.* (1993) stated:

Unlike individuals, households are in a position to control risks to their economic well being by diversifying the allocation of household resources, such as family labor. While some family members can be assigned economic activities in the local economy, others may be sent to work in foreign labor markets where wages and employment conditions are negatively correlated or weakly correlated with those in the local area. In the event that local economic conditions deteriorate and activities there fail to bring in sufficient income, the household can rely on migrant remittances for support (Massey *et.al.* 1993).

As Kunuroglu et al. (2016) paraphrased; unlike Neoclassical Economics, which assumes that migration is permanent in nature so as to maximize earnings, New Economics of Labor Migration, also known as NELM, assumes that people move temporarily (Constant & Massey 2002). In the study by Constant and Massey (2002) from 1984-1997, it was said that who have a spouse and a high rate of employment in the country of origin are more likely to return (Kunuroglu, van de Vijver & Yagmur 2016). According to Çağlar (2006), the remittances were seen as indicators of migrants' attachment to the country of origin. Because of that reason, for example, when consumption and savings of Turkish migrants in Germany change, it was seen

as a sign of severing ties with the country of origin and willingness to integrate. Some researchers have argued that Turkish migrants show that they have been spending higher portions of their income in Germany and therefore they do integrate. And so, these trends were taken as the indication of Turks' incorporation into German society at the expense of their homeland ties (Çağlar 2006). The New Economics of Labour Migrations views return migration as a logical outcome of a calculated strategy, defined at the level of the migrant's household (Cassarino 2004, p.3). Individuals want to maximize their earnings. As Kunuroglu et.al. (2016) states:

In studies conducted on labor migrants, Baucic (1972) found that workers from the former Yugoslavia returning from Germany were mostly disabled by the work done in the host country. They were less enterprising people and could not endure the heavy work conditions in Germany. Kayser (1967) revealed similar findings for Greek return migrants from Germany and Trebous (1970) for Algerian return migrants from France. Similarly, Penninx (1982) reported that Turkish guest workers who had better positions in the hierarchy of labour had less inclination to return (Kunuroglu, et.al. 2016, p.5).

Although Neoclassical Economics of Migration and New Economics of Labor Migration showed important points why people migrate and why they return home, there are shortcomings it needs to be mentioned. These frameworks are solely based on financial and economic reasons and they are overlooking the influence of social, political and institutional and also psychological factors. Using both financial and economic considerations are not enough to understand the phenomenon of return migration and therefore other approaches on migration have also argued that success and failure cannot fully account for return migration. With New Economics of Labor Migration, migration economists started to question household composition traditionally posed by anthropologists and sociologists. This theory shows similarity with the so-called "livelihood approaches" from 1970s among researchers conducting micro-research in developing countries. This research showed that the poor cannot be seen as passive victims of global capitalist forces but they can improve their

livelihoods despite the difficult conditions (Castles, Haas, Miller 2014). This is also another factor that shows factors such as social security, income risk, insurance and product market are also important determinants in terms of migration.

Besides having common points, these two approaches differ from one another by setting different remarks on return migration. The Neoclassical Economists argue that people move permanently to raise and maximize their wages in country of destination return migration is a failure. In contrast to that, NELM asserts that people move temporarily to achieve their goals in the country of destination with a precondition returning home and so return migration is seen as a success (Cassarino 2004).

Although Neo-classical approach has been challenged by NELM proponents concerning the fact that the decision to migrate is not made by individuals, it is made by related people such as family; both approaches tend to put humans' decisions into first place in migration decision. In contrary to both approaches structural approach sees migration as a contextual issue, which has been affected by structural and situational factors.

## **2.4 STRUCTURAL THEORY**

Also known as historical-structural theory in the literature, this approach focus on migration, which are seen as a voluntary action argued among Neo-classical theorists; they tend to focus on large-scale recruitment of labour. They have challenged the assumptions of neo-classical approach by arguing that individuals do not decide to migrate freely, they have been forced to migration because of structural forces (Castles, Haas, Miller 2014). According to structuralists, the economic and political power is unequally distributed among wealthy and poor countries. As Castles and Kosack 1973 stated:

Historical-structural theory sees migration as a way of mobilizing cheap labour for capital, which primarily serves to boost profits and deprives origin areas of valuable labour and skills. In total opposition to neo-classical theory, migration is therefore seen as deepening uneven development, exploiting the resources of poor countries to make the rich even richer, leading to *increased* instead of less disequilibria (Castles, Kosack 1973).

The structuralist theorists also argue that return is not a personal issue; it is affected by situational and structural factors. According to Cassarino (2004), the structural theory brings the success/failure paradigm a step further by arguing that the area of settlement shaped the adjustment process of the returnee once return takes place. Return cannot be analysed only with the individual experience, the social factors in the country of origin should also be taken into consideration.

As talking about the return migration; the structural theory does not discard the importance of financial and economic reasons, but it is argued that the social and background features at the home country are crucial in the returning migrants (Return Migration Literature Review 2015, p.4). King (1986), Dustamann (2001) and Cerase (1974) argue that the success of the returnee can be analysed by associating the reality of the home economy and the expectations of the returnees (Return Migration Literature Review 2015, p.4). The structural approach does not correlate the decision of return just with the income opportunities. On the contrary they think that the return decision is strongly linked to family and lifestyle reasons. The economy and social status of the country of home and the expectations of the returnee should be analysed together when we talk about the returnees' success or failure. These relationships between returnee's expectation and the reality at the home country shows how difficult and complex it is.

One of the proponents of the structural theory, Francesco Cerase identifies four different types of returnees, which are return of failure, return of conservatism, return of retirement and return of innovation. Return of failure belongs to them who

could not integrate in the country of destination and have difficulties in adapting. Return of conservatism includes migrants who plan to return home when earning enough money to buy land in the country of origin. Return of retirement belongs to the retired migrants who return upon their retirement and spend their old age at home. Finally, return of innovation refers to migrants who are willing to use their abilities gained in the country of destination in the home country to satisfy their expectations (Cassarino 2004). This group of migrants are more likely to be younger generations. Gmelch (1980) reformulated Cerase's typology by analyzing migrants' intentions, motivations and adjustment patterns (Kunuroglu, van de Vijver & Yagmur 2016, p.6).

According to Gmelch, return is guided by situational and structural factors, such as opportunities that immigrants expect to find in countries of origin, as well as opportunities offered in respective host countries. However, as the situational factors can only be evaluated after return, Gmelch finds the immigrants ill-prepared for return (Kunuroglu, van de Vijver & Yagmur 2016, p.6)

Besides the economical approaches Neoclassical Economics of Migration and New Economics of Labor Migration and the Structural Theory focuses on the impact of the returnees on their origin societies but it does not provide lots of information about how migrants contact with the environments in the host and home country, and also their psycho-social processes (Kunuroglu, van de Vijver & Yagmur 2016).

## **2.5 TRANSNATIONALISM**

Transnationalism became a current issue when Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye examined an analysis which was based on responding to the need for a broader world politics paradigm that include actors who attempt to exercise influence across state boundaries and owe significant resources in a given issue area (Keohane, Nye 1970). These actors belong to multinational corporations, which try to influence policies, mainly state behaviour in the foreign policy (Cassarino 2004). Risse (1995) explains this situation with two issues that transnational actors need to overcome:

Firstly, the transnational actors need to gain access to the political system of the destination country and secondly, they must generate winning coalitions to change decisions as they desire (Risse 1995).

Transnationalism became an important concept after 1980s when the maintenance of regular migration linkages between country of origin and country of destination and also the back and forth movement of people were highlighted. According to Cassarino (2004), Transnationalism tries to formulate a theoretical and conceptual framework between migrants' host and origin countries. By doing regular visits and sustained social contacts, transnational activities continue on a regular basis. It can be said that according to proponents of Transnationalism, return is not the end of a migration cycle (Cassarino 2004). From that point of view, it can be argued that by doing regular visits and social contacts, the migrant prepare himself/herself on their reintegration upon returning home. Transnationalists base their analysis on the investigation of transnational mobility and transnational identity of migrants. As Castles, Haas and Miller (2014) state:

Although rapid improvements in technologies of transport and communication have not necessarily increased migration, they have made it easier for migrants to foster close links with their societies of origin through (mobile) telephone, (satellite) television and the internet, and to remit money through globalized banking systems or informal channels. This has increased the ability of migrants to foster multiple identities, to travel back and forth, to relate to people and to work and to do business and politics simultaneously in distant places (Castles, Haas, Miller 2014, p. 41).

This is a mixed identity, which contains the identity of migrants' origin and the host country (Return Migration Literature Review 2015, p.8). Doing regular contacts and visits to the country of origin creates the transnational mobility.

In contrast to the structural approach, as mentioned above, return is not the end of the migration. Transnational theory is primarily concerned with economic and political interconnectedness that migrants maintained with their home country

(Remennick, 2003). The transnationalist school of thought adopts the connection between two countries (home and host country) and they argue that returnees migrate when the satisfactory social and economic conditions are available. According to Levitt, migrants may have double identities and they may not conflict identities (Levitt 2001). As mentioned before, to understand the concept of return migration, considering only the economical or financial factors are not enough. As Kunuroglu et.al. (2016) cited:

The transnational studies cover a wide range of key concepts, such as nation, ethnicity, identity, culture, society, place, space, home, nostalgia, etc., which help us understand the multifocal and interdisciplinary nature of mobility from the perspectives of both who have moved and the recipient societies (Quayson & Daswani 2013)

This quote shows that transnationalism is not been fed only by economical factors, the wide ranges of concepts diversify the concept return migration. As to return motives, in transnational approach, actions of the migrants are viewed as a direct outcome of their 'belonging' to an ethnic community and migrants' perception of the homeland is taken to influence their return decision. Several studies show the feeling of belonging home has a strong impact by choosing country of origin among second generations (Kunuroglu, van de Vijver & Yagmur 2016). When talking about returning 'home', a multi layered system of making a choice can be triggering. Lots of factors can be determinant when its time to decide whether returning or not. The reasons may vary from economic reasons to ethnic relations:

Tsuda (2009) examined what has caused millions of diasporic migrants to return to Japan, their ethnic homeland after living away from their country for decades. He stated that even if economic motives are the primary return motive, ethnic ties and emotional reasons play an important role in the decision as well. The relative importance of economic and other motives can vary by ethnic group. In some later studies conducted on second generation Greek remigrants from Germany, it was found that they return mostly because of non-economic reasons such as life style, family, and life stage, or their ethnic ties such as their prior existing social network or their kinship ties. On the other hand, research done on Caribbean and Indian migrants

showed that the return was primarily due to economic reasons such as better job prospects (Kunuroglu, van de Vijver & Yagmur 2016).

As talking about transnationalism, the term 'diaspora' is also been used for transnational communities, which refers to people who are displaced by force. This term has been often used for the Jews, but it is also used for labour migrants such as Turks in Europe, Italians in the USA (Castles, Haas and Miller, 2014). But Cohen (1997) differ diaspora communities from other migrant communities by defining features of diaspora communities. These include: dispersal from an original homeland to two or more regions, a collective memory, a myth about the homeland, a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a period of a long time and the maintenance of transversal links with the co-ethnic members in other countries (Castles, Haas and Miller, 2014, p. 42). As Glick-Schiller used the term 'transmigrant' for those who are actors in the transnational communities, she stated that the lives of increasing numbers of individuals could no longer be understood by looking only at what goes on within national boundaries (Levitt, Glick-Schiller 2004, p.1003). According to that, it can be said that people who are actors of a transnational activity, can differ from each other in terms of their conditions.

## **2.6 CONCLUSION**

Migration came into existence with lots of aspects such as economy, politics, social conditions and personal factors. This complex structure of migration cannot be explained by taking only one or two elements into consideration. In this chapter, the theories on international migration and their roots to return migration have been examined. The theories are based on economic or sociological perspectives in the literature. Although migration cannot be explained with just economic aspects, they play an important role. Majority of people migrate due to economic conditions and to gain better life opportunities. The push-pull theory, which has been developed by

Ernest Ravenstein, shows the features of the country of origin and country of origin, which cause people to migrate. Economic, social or political difficulties in the country of origin may cause people to move as push factors; but in the contrary the job opportunities, gaining better life conditions in the country of destination count as pull factors. Being one of the first migration theories, the push-pull theory have shortcomings by defining just economic reasons. Although this theory has been criticized in the following years, subsequent theories developed it more or less. Another economical approach, Neoclassical Economics of Migration argues that migration is a result of wage disparity of home country and destination country; to get employed in the destination country is a logical judgement. In this theory, the migrant becomes is a rational actor who calculates the possibilities of gaining economic and social advantage in case of immigration. This theory tends to put the migrant in the first place as the most important actor in the migration story. The New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) arose as a critique to the neoclassical approach by challenging the assumptions of the Neoclassical Theory. The decision to migrate is not made by individuals; it is made by related people such as family, household or even by the community. Although NELM criticizes neoclassical approach, both theories are overlooking the influence of social, political and institutional and also psychological factors. When evaluating from the perspective of return migration, using just economic and financial considerations are not enough. The Structural approach, also known as historical-structural theory, focus on migration in terms of large-scale recruitment of labour. They have challenged the assumptions of neoclassical approach by arguing that individuals do not decide to migrate freely, they have been forced to migrate because of structural forces, According to Structuralists, the economic and political power is unequally distributed among wealthy and poor

countries. The structural theory also attaches importance to financial and economic reasons in terms of return, but they also argue that social and background features at the home country are important for returning migrants. The Structuralists also focus on the impact of the returnees on their origin societies but it does not provide lots of information about how migrants contact with the environments in the host and home country, and also their psychosocial processes. And finally, Transnationalism highlights the maintenance of regular linkages between country of origin and country of destination. Transnationalists try to formulate a framework between migrants' host and origin countries. The transnational activities include doing regular visits, sustained social contacts on a regular basis. As talking about return migration, Transnationalists argue that return is not the end of the migration cycle. Returning home is a multi layered system and lots of factors can count as determinants whether the decision of return should take place or not. Reasons vary from economic reasons to ethnic reasons but studies show the feeling belonging home has a strong impact on return decision. They also argue that the satisfactory social and economic conditions need to be fulfilled when a migrant decide to return. Transnationalists base their analysis on the investigation of transnational mobility and transnational identity of migrants. This is a mixed identity, which contains the identity of migrants' origin and the host country. Doing regular contacts and visits to the country of origin creates the transnational mobility.

By reviewing the literature on international migration, Transnationalist approach shed light on the framework of this research. As far as I have understood from the in-depth interviews during this research, the third generation German-Turks tend to build a double identity. They are actors in the migration cycle, which does not have an end. As Transnationalists define transnational identity as a mixed identity, it

can be argued that these German Turks did not lose their identity from Germany even though they live in Turkey.



## CHAPTER III

### BACKGROUND ON TURKISH IMMIGRANTS IN GERMANY

The migration flow from Turkey to Germany started in 1960s and those who migrated in the first place are called as 'first generation' in the literature. The children of the first migrants are the 'second' and their grandchildren are the 'third' generation German-Turks. In this chapter, a historical background on these migrants will be given in order to understand the reasons of their migration story and how their life in Germany was. Since the target group of this research are the third generation German-Turks, their situation will be explained in detail.

#### 3.1 THE FIRST GENERATION

The first generation German-Turks are those who went to Germany after the Labour Recruitment Agreement in 1961. They saw Turkey unquestionably as their 'motherland'. Their education was mostly in primary school level and they were unskilled. They were working in farms and not earning very much. As Enneli (n.d.) cited:

The majority of Turkish *Gastarbeiter* came from rural and economically underdeveloped regions. Those from urban working-class backgrounds (one third) had only recently migrated from the countryside and did not have an established history of urban integration before leaving Turkey. Even in the 1990s, many industrial workers in Turkish cities are first or second-generation migrants from rural areas (Kursat-Ahlers 1996, p.118).

The main reason by migrating to Germany was to become financially more secure and have better life conditions. Most of them were in thought of saving money abroad and to invest small businesses in Turkey.

Experiencing a military coup in 1960 was very painful for Turkey. It was followed by economic difficulties, unemployment and lack of foreign currency (Ünverir 2008). Sending workers abroad would help to decrease the unemployment

and gaining a foreign currency flow in Turkey. This flow was not only beneficial for Turkey, it was also supposed to fulfil the labour shortage in Germany. After signing the Labour Recruitment Agreement, Germany started to set up offices in Mediterranean countries to test the workers. The Federal Labour Office set up an office in Tophane, Istanbul (Duman 2018). They were provided medical examinations and their records were examined. According to Abadan, 2700 workers were employed abroad in 1960 and this number has increased by 300% in just one year (Abadan-Unat 2002).

As Kılınç (2013) points:

In the early stages of migration, Turkish migrants were mainly men aged between twenty and thirty-nine, relatively skilled and educated compared to the average working population in Turkey, and from the economically more developed regions of the country. The proportion of rural migrants at this age was just 17.2 per cent. In the second half of the 1960s, recruitment primarily consisted of rural workers. By 1961, a total of 7.116 Turks had immigrated to Germany to become migrant workers. In 1965, the conservative-led coalition government under Chancellor Erhard responded to the presence of (mostly Muslim) migrant groups, with a 'foreigner law' granting limited rights to guest workers. The government, at the time, considered the presence of foreigners as a temporary problem, which would resolve itself over time (Kılınç 2013, p.5).

The treaties were signed for one year and it was expected that the workers would return at the end of the year. But the reconstruction of Europe was too new; it could not be fulfilled in just one year. It was also not enough for workers; they could not save enough capital to live more comfortably. Although the workers were seen as '*Gastarbeiter*' (guest worker), the conditions made them to stay abroad. The oil crisis in 1973 caused Germany to stop importing foreign labour but it could not stop the increased number of Turks. The Turkish workers started to reunite their families and it caused Germany to issue an act on child support. According to this act, children of Turkish workers who stayed in Turkey would get less support than those who were in Germany (Ünverir 2008).

Migration to a country, which is way too far different from country of origin in terms of language, culture and religion, caused the first generation German-Turks to have difficulties in adaptation process. Getting used from rural life to urban life brought lots of problems along. It was hard to communicate with the German society, be adapted to daily social life beside work. According to Abadan-Unat, more than any other national group, Turkish migrants handicapped by their poor if not non-existing knowledge of the host country's language (Abadan-Unat 1985, p.6). This adaptation process was vice versa with the German community, they were also not very willing to communicate with Turkish people. They saw the migrants as guest workers, wanted them to leave the country when their work is done there. German people even did not want to rent their home to Turks (Abadan-Unat 1985). For the very reason, it was a certain decision for Turkish people to build their own neighbourhood and community to feel together and more secure. They somehow escaped from the host community and created an environment that looks alike their home country. With the groceries selling Turkish food, mosques, shops providing doner kebabs they could find something redolent of home. Building their close-knit identity in the host country, religion played an important role. It was something that differs them from the German society. According to Mandel, Islamic values were considered as a form of resistance against the prevailing norms of an alien society (Mandel 1989, p.41).

The myth of return was always on agenda for the first generation migrants. It can be said that the above-mentioned close-knit relations and lifestyle are one of the main outcome of the idea of going back home one day. As Mandel explains:

The return must be considered as part and parcel of the migratory cycle, despite the fact that most migrants have not repatriated. Some observers have called this seeming contradiction-of preparing for a perpetually postponed return-the myth of return. The myth of the final return retains a prominent place in the consciousness of many, if not most, migrants. For many, this myth of the future justifies the indignities of the present difficult situation (Mandel 1995, p.271).

Although it was a myth to return to the country of origin, the guest workers preferred to stay in Germany. Between the years of 1974 and 1980, the Chancellor Helmut Schmidt formulated three principles to discuss the problem of guest workers. First principle was about integration of those who have the right to live in Germany. Second principle was about the ban that arose after the oil crisis in 1973 and finally financial incentives to support the return of the migrants regarding the 1983 law for the "Promotion of Readiness to Return". The guest workers who left Germany received 10.500 German Mark (approximately 5.250 €). Only 250.000 of migrants accept this and returned to Turkey under the law (Kılınç 2013). When Turkey underwent another military coup in 1980, a new flow of Turkish migrants has occurred. The Turkish population built up about 2.3 per cent of the German population (Kılınç 2013, p.6).

As a result of all these information given above, the unstable economic conditions of Turkey and family reunification made the first generation German-Turks stay in Germany. The children of these migrants, the second generation German-Turks have built a different era by joining their families.

### **3.2 THE SECOND GENERATION**

This group consist of children of the first generation German-Turks. They join their families after 1970 in Germany. This caused a great increase in the number of Turkish children. This children can be divided into three groups: those who were born to their families in Germany and stayed there for education; those whose were born in Turkey or Germany but lived in Turkey during their early childhood and those who were born and educated in Turkey and never joined their families in Germany (Ünverir 2008). Those who were born and educated in Germany are much more lucky then those who were born and lived in Turkey during their early childhood. Going to

kindergarten and primary school in Germany made them more integrated to German society. Children who could not get kindergarten education, they had tough time in their early years in Germany. Since they went to primary school without speaking German, they had to be sent to special schools called as *Sonderschule* in German. When a child is considered as insufficient at school or have trouble in communicating with the other children and the teachers, they needed to be sent to these special schools. By coping with learning difficulties and having sent to a school labelled them as "fool". In most cases, it was just because they could not speak the language fluently. But when accepting the fact that children learn very fast, they were way too luckier than their parents.

In the grand scheme of things, this generation was more social and active than the first generation. They have had better language competences and were more social in human affairs and work places. Since they have grown up in a close-knit neighbourhood with their families and other Turkish families, their mother tongue was dominantly Turkish. They had trouble in terms of adaptation because of multiple factors. When they were at home, they speak Turkish and behave according to Turkish traditions and culture. But when they go to school or to work, they do their bests to get along with German people and society. This dilemma was very painful for those children and brought the question where their actual home is: Turkey or Germany?

As Kaya and Kentel state:

There is lack of awareness in both the homeland and hostland concerning the characteristics of migrants and their children. It is still commonly believed in Turkey that migrants of Turkish origin and their descendants in the West are '*gurbetçi*', with a strong orientation towards the homeland that will someday bring them home. On the other hand, they are also called *Almanci*, a term that depicts such individuals as being rich, eating pork, having a very comfortable life in the West, losing their Turkishness and becoming increasingly Germanised. They are also stereotypically called "foreigner" in their own countries of settlement (Kaya, Kentel 2005, p.3).

Beside this factors that affected integration and adaptation process of German-Turks, it also needs to be mentioned that the German and Turkish cultures are differ from each other acutely. When it comes to defining identities, becoming autonomous and independence in several issues Turkish families are way too paternalistic compared to German families. For example, Turkish children have to show respect to elderly family members. Even if they are very social and self-confident outside, they need to be silent when their father talks (Ünverir 2008). But on the other hand, being autonomous and self-confident are the key concepts that German parents tend to teach their children. Unlike Turkish families, mother is the authority when its about children's' discipline. Being under father's pressure at home and seeing a more free world outside home caused for some of them to assimilate into German culture (Ünverir 2008).

Regarding this information, it can be clearly said that these children had to deal with two different cultures; this caused confusion in terms of the identity and the sense of belonging.

Most of the immigrants both first and second generations, chose to isolate themselves from the major population and lived in their neighbourhood by getting touch with other Turkish migrants. Due to fact of increasing population of Turkish migrants, it was not possible for German government to chase integration and adaptation programs. This was also problematic because whether accepting or not the children of the first generation migrants were growing up in between two worlds. As Enneli states:

In the literature, members of second and third generations are, on the one hand, labelled as the 'lost generation' with negative connotations concerning the consequences of Turkish migration to Germany. This approach highlights the family pressure and the real or imaged discrimination of German society causing them to be lost between two worlds. There is, on the other hand, another point of view emphasising the creating of a completely different and successful identity called "hybridity" between two worlds (Enneli, n.d.)

Growing up in a blurry understanding of home also changed the understanding of home of the second generation German-Turks. Building transnational identities and having dual lives made it harder for them to feel attached to just one country. The perception of home was different for the second generation German-Turks; they exposed a dual life with transnational attachments (Kılınç 2013, p.12).

As to return attempts of the second generations, lots of members of this group returned to Turkey between 1981 and 1983 due to an economic crisis mentioned before. Since this group consist of people who are around 60 years old nowadays, they either have already returned to Turkey or still living in Germany and waiting for retirement.

### **3.3 THE THIRD GENERATION**

The third generation, the target group of this thesis, are the children of second generation German-Turks and they were born mainly after 1990s. This group of children were mostly born in Germany and visiting Turkey during summer vacations with their family. This group had the advantage of being growing up in a bilingual environment, which made their following years in Germany much more easier. Lots of children used to speak German and Turkish at home, but it can be said that some parents tried to speak only Turkish at home with the thought that their children do not forget the mother tongue. Being able to speak two languages at home prepared them to be well integrated to the German society, but they were noticeable when they were in Turkey for vacation by not speaking the Turkish language perfectly. They were also called as '*Almanci*' in their motherland. This group of children were lucky enough to get kindergarten education in their early ages (around age 3), which prepared them to primary school. Unlike their parents, their adaptation process to school was easier. Although attending to kindergarten is not free and compulsory, the

majority of parents wanted their children to receive kindergarten education. Most kindergartens are run by religious organisations such as protestant or catholic churches but they are open to children of all social classes and religious denominations. Even the majority of Turkish migrants are Moslems, they chose to send their children because they were working and they had no one around to look after their children. After the kindergarten education, children attend to primary schools, where the subjects are taught the same for all students. After 4th grade, the students are separated in terms of their academic abilities. There are three different mid-level secondary school systems in Germany: *Hauptschule*, *Realschule* or *Gymnasium*. The *Hauptschule* is from 5th grade to 9th grade and teaches the subjects at a slower tempo and leads to part-time enrolment in a vocational school. It can be said that this school prepares children to the occupational life. The *Realschule* is from 5th to 10th grade leads students to part-time and higher vocational schools. If the students have the high academic achievement here, they have the right to switch to a Gymnasium. The *Gymnasium* leads to a diploma called *the Abitur* and prepares them for university study (German school system, n.d.) According to the interviewees of this research, since they were well integrated and have good language competences, they tend to attend *Realschule* or *Gymnasium*. This kind of education would lead them to better job opportunities than their parents if they wouldn't return to Turkey.

Most Turkish families populate in neighbourhoods where other Turkish families live. This close-knit relationship makes the migrants to feel close and secure. Because of that reason, majority of third generation German Turks are surrounded with other Turkish migrants. This caused them to have Turkish friends and not losing ties with their motherland.

As mentioned above, being well integrated to the society and educated in good schools was the key to better job opportunities than their parents and this was also the reason that they face discrimination more than the first and second generations. The first and second generation migrants were blue-collars and seen as 'guest workers', but the third generation migrants try to get more qualified and permanent jobs in Germany. Because of that, they face discrimination much more.

As to family structure of the Turkish migrant families, it can be clearly said that the more integrated and adapted the parents were, the easier it is for the children to adapt and integrate. Turkish and German families differentiate from each other in terms of identity, raising their children by teaching them how to be independence and autonomous. In most Turkish families, the father is the authority and children need to show discipline in front of their fathers. But in German families, mother and father share an equal partnership when they raise their children. They teach their children to be independent and express opinions freely. This caused that children of more conservative Turkish families develop two different identities in Germany. Because of that reasons they experience two different cultures and worlds at the same time, either they assimilate into German culture or they rebel against their families. But it was also the case that some children could live through both cultures in a healthy way, which depend on their families' attitude.

Another important subject that needs to be touched is German citizenship right for migrants. Since the parents of third generations live and work in Germany for a long time, they have permanent residence permit and also their children. After working eight years in Germany, foreigners are eligible to apply for German citizenship. Migrants who apply for German citizenship must have proof German language proficiency, being financially adequate and pass the citizenship test.

Children born on or after 1 January 2000 to non German-parents gain German citizenship automatically if at least one parent has a permanent residence permit. In this type of citizenship the child have to choose the citizenship of the parents or German citizenship after he/she is 18 years old. In light of this information, it can be said that the youngster who imagine a future in Germany would choose the German citizenship in order to gain right in several issues.

The myth of return is not that strong among these children like their parents and grandparents, but it is still something they keep on the agenda. Although Turkey is a country they only visit during summer vacations, they still feel connected. Even though their parents mainly make the decision of return, they feel strong because of being bilingual and growing up in a European country.

## **Chapter IV**

### **RETURNING 'HOME'**

In this chapter, the interviews regarding the research will be analysed. In light of the information given by the interviewees, the reasons why the third generation German-Turks return to Turkey will be discussed. The objectives of this research allowed the researcher to employ 'in-depth' interview technique. This technique made it possible to build a casual and warm conversation. With this qualitative method, the researcher can collect more details. As the participants of the interviews were found through personal relations and as I myself am one of the returnees, the research was maintained in a casual environment. Most of the participants were found by snowball sampling where some participants recruit others to be a part of this research. Sharing emotions and memories was important to make the interviewees more comfortable. As I was living abroad during the research, the interviews were done via Skype. The interviews have been carried out in Turkish; I have translated them into English. In the end of the thesis, the translated interviews can be found as appendix.

#### **4.1 ARGUMENT AND RESEARCH QUESTION**

In this chapter, the research questions and the answers of the interviewees will be discussed in terms of return reasons. Questions related to their life back in Germany and nowadays in Turkey, general thoughts on both countries, the reasons why they had to return and if their expectations have been fulfilled will be analysed.

As an argument, in my opinion the most powerful answer to the question "Why do the third generation German-Turks return to Turkey?" would be the idea of being and living home. People who have lived abroad for a long time, face lots of issues such as discrimination and exclusion and they have always the idea in their minds to live one day in their home country again. But this passion may be different

for different generations. The second-generation migrants who moved to Germany during 1970s have a history in Turkey, they feel more connected to their country of origin, but they did not face the discrimination to a large extent, because Germany was in need of workers. In contrary, the third generation migrants, in other words the children of the second generation, who were born in the 1990s in Germany, have a more successful background than their families. They were born in Germany, are educated and feel themselves mostly in between. They visit Turkey during their summer breaks for couple of weeks and turn back to Germany. On the other hand, although they have grown up to the German culture and society, they face the discrimination and exclusion more than their parents. They can be occupied such as Germans and they also want to live in higher standards. Because of that reasons they might face more difficulties in comparison to their parents. Based on this point of view, they might show tendency to live in their parental homeland. As being one of the returnees, the idea of return belonged to my father and the whole family had to admit that it was the best for us. He wanted to start his own business in Turkey. Before I have started doing this research, my only thought was that I belong to a small minority and I believed that everyone's return idea couldn't be the decision of the family. That is the explanation of the argument above. Nevertheless, this research showed me that I was not the only one who had to follow the family's decision upon return.

#### **4.1.1 Life in Germany**

The interviewees in question experienced their very first socialization when they went to primary school in Germany. During their early childhood, all participants of this research have experienced more or less the same. Going to school, attending

sports activities, spending time with friends are the common things they have went through. One interviewee states;

*"I have spent my free time with my family and friends in Germany. We were going out for picnic, to the parks and shopping. Beside, I was going swimming, cycling and skating. I was also enjoying reading books and watching television at home."*

Another interviewee states;

*"I was spending my time with my friends. We were going to the movies or take a walk in the city. Sometimes I was at home, reading a book or helping my mother."*

One interviewee had two different social lives, she was spending her time with her German friends and her Moslem friends at the same time in different places. She states;

*"My social life was divided into two parts. In the first years of high school I had lots of German friends. In the last years of high school I started spending my time with my Turkish and Moslem friends. I have worked for DITIB (Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs)."*

These answers may summarize the free time activities of mostly all children in Germany. As Turkish families mostly live in neighbourhoods with other Turkish families, children used to play outside home with other Turkish children. Their very first socialization after school was playing with friends and discovering the surrounding. They were also meeting their German friends outside. In those years, children were more active than now by attending sports activities such as swimming, cycling or skating. Not spending their entire time with computers or smartphones

made them more social and also integrated to the society. This could be count as an advantage.

#### **4.1.2 Education**

All interviewees attended primary school regardless their educational level in Germany. But the secondary school entry process is different; the grade point average of primary school is fully affecting. Children who did not attend kindergarten as one of the interviewee can have quite difficulties in German and can be in need of private classes to catch up. As Zeynep states that;

*"I went to kindergarten, elementary and secondary school in Germany. Because of that reason I did not attend to kindergarten classes too much, I had trouble in speaking German. I took private German classes."*

One interviewee stated that;

*"I started going to kindergarten when I was 3 years old. Then, I went to primary school. One year before our return I was visiting Gymnasium (high-level secondary school)."*

An interviewee, who was not very happy about his educational life in Germany, explains;

*"After 4th grade I started going to "Hauptschule", which is a low-level secondary school in Germany. My grades were average. I was not very interested to school and I was not caring about my grades. In my 7th grade we moved to Turkey."*

As mentioned in the previous chapters, having gone to kindergarten makes great difference, it is very important in terms of socialization and gaining language ability.

All interviewees received school education with western values. Except one interviewee, all participants went to good schools and were happy with their

educational status. After they have returned to Turkey, they continued their educational life in a good way. This shows us that are able to get qualified jobs and creating the working population in Turkey nowadays. As Bünyamin stated;

*"After our return I started going to a private school. The education was different than in Germany but it was qualified. I had the chance to take language classes in high school. Classes like maths and science were not interesting for me. I got interested to school after I started taking German classes. My grades became higher. The education at Istanbul University was more free and professional at the same time. In the first years of university I failed from lots of classes. In the last second semesters I got more interested to university and finally I graduated."*

Another interviewee, Zahide, also clarifies that she remained being successful;

*"I started going to high school here in Turkey. After that I started doing my Bachelor's degree. In 4 years, I got my double degree."*

#### **4.1.3 General Thoughts on Germany**

When asked about general thoughts on Germany only four interviewees stated that they felt discrimination or had some concerns about life in Germany. Eight interviewees shared positive experiences and said that they had no bad experiences.

As an example of a positive comment on life in Germany;

*"I was a quiet boy and I got along well with my teachers. I was showing my respect towards them when I realize they take care of me. I did not have lots of friends. I was seeing them during the breaks. I also got along well with our neighbours. Although we used to make noise in front of the house, they were gentle."*

Another interviewee states that;

*"I cannot generalize the attitude of my teachers. Some were aware that I have disadvantages as a Turkish boy in Germany and so they were trying to help me, but some of them were not."*

One interviewee stated that she has still contact with her teacher;

*"My relationship with my teachers was pretty good. I have had an English teacher who I am still contacting. My relationship with my friends was good as well and we are still in touch."*

One interviewee stated a negative experience;

*"We had an extreme rightist neighbour. He did never wave a greeting and he was angry every time when we tried to play in the garden."*

Apart from some bad experiences, the majority stated that their life in Germany was decent and they did not face any discrimination. Their interaction with the German society was problem free by being well integrated to the society. They could clarify themselves in a good way and felt like Germany was home for them. Although the third generation think that they were not strangers in Germany, it is not possible to say that German people were always kind or open-minded. Some Germans chose to stay neutral. It is maybe because parts of German people were thinking that migrants are temporary residents and so they were not happy to study or work with migrants in the same places. As Gülşen states:

*I had no problems with German people. When I was talking to my German friend, she was mostly very quiet. I was feeling as I am talking to myself."*

#### **4.1.4 Return Decision and Returning to Turkey**

The majority were very young to be asked about return and it is natural that they did not make the return decision. Only two interviewees made the decision with

the whole family and were also willing to return. Three out of twelve participants of this research made their own decision to return to Turkey because they wanted to continue their education in Turkey. These three returnees were over 18 years old, so they were grown-ups and old enough to make decisions by themselves. Seven returnees had to return because their father wanted it to be in this way. As mentioned before, it is natural not to be asked because of their age but this kind of a big decision totally changed their lives. As far as I understood, although the decision was not made by them they were not that much shocked or disappointed upon return decision. Nearly all interviewees answered the question about return in a calm way. As one interviewee stated, the majority of Turkish people in Germany have the idea of return in their minds all time.

*"As you also know, most families in Europe intend to return back to their homeland. In my family, the idea of return was on the table for two or three years and it happened in 2012. The reason was domestic."*

In spite of this, I also met participants who were feeling very sad about return. As Aynur states:

*"I was very sad. I was a successful student and I was very close to accomplish my dreams. Starting from the beginning was hard."*

Nearly all participants have experienced more or less that they are not very welcome in Germany. Some realized religious discrimination and some of them even physical. Even one of the most integrated interviewee had thought that he could be discriminated one day.

Tolga says:

*"My integration process took place when I was 4 years old. I started speaking German in that age fluently. When I was 6 years old, I was speaking German"*

*better than my mother tongue. In that case, I had no problem communicating with Germans. Some people were uncomfortable because of my skin colour."*

When asked if they have made the return decision, one interviewee stated that;

*"No. My father told us that we would return to Turkey. He told us that it would be better to live in Turkey because we are Turkish."*

Another interviewee also stated;

*"We returned to Turkey in 2007. It was my father's idea. We moved because of his work."*

One of the male interviewees stated;

*"It was my father's decision. My mother did not want to return which I figured out nowadays. According to my mother, my father was thinking that his economic situation would get worse. Afterwards I found out that my father was diagnosed with Alzheimer. From his perspective it was not a return, it was an escape."*

As another example, Sibel stated;

*"The idea of return was always on the table. My father was thinking about return. He had plans for us in Turkey. We were also willing. My father and my mother were thinking about our future."*

Economic reasons are also one of the return motives among participants. As one interviewee stated;

*"We returned because of our business life. We had the idea to continue our business in Turkey."*

In fact, being a Turk in Germany is a return motivation all by itself. Numbers of Turkish people living in Germany think that they belong to Turkey and their life in Germany is temporary. These children have lived in two cultures at the same time and

although being well integrated they were aware that Germany cannot be their motherland. And according to German people, guest workers and their children belong to another country even if they live in Germany for a long time. It can be said that the majority returned because of their fathers' decision. This is a proof of the Turkish patriarchal family structure. In fact, second generation returns and the children of them, the third generation were affected. Regarding to the examples given above, families mostly return because of economic conditions and with the idea of being and living home. Even though their children are happy and successful in Turkey, they felt they had to return someday.

#### **4.1.5 Life in Turkey**

Being grown up in a country such as Germany that is an economically strong social state, the participants faced some difficulties upon their return. As Gülşen clarifies:

*"I thought I could not make it in Turkey because all my friends were in Germany and I had nobody in Turkey except my family. I had also concerns about earthquakes and electricity cuts."*

Some interviewees mentioned that they used to live in an ordinate and disciplined country and it was hard to be adapted to Turkey. State affairs, educational differences made it possible to get used in the first place. Although living in the motherland, one interviewee stated that she had could not feel comfortable because people in Turkey do not accept the way she is dressing. As she states:

*Actually I can say that all my expectations came true but sometimes I feel uncomfortable because of people who do not take my way of dressing normally. It was more comfortable for me in Germany.*

Despite these negative experiences, they somehow got used to live in their parental homeland and have no problems nowadays. The best answer to this adaptation

process would be idea of having people with same ethnicity, religion and culture around them. As Sibel stated;

*"Although we had concerns living in Turkey and about a new life, after a short time it was not bad as we thought and we realized that we could live here happily."*

Zeynep also stated that her expectations have been fulfilled;

*"I feel like that my expectations are met. It was like my holiday times but still I discovered difficulties for living in Turkey."*

#### **4.1.6 General Thoughts on Turkey**

All interviewees stated that their life conditions are pretty well in Turkey and they have a positive thinking about living here. I am interested to note that each participant graduated from university. Having a higher education level make it possible to find a job and it allows people to have better life standards. Nevertheless, not everything is perfect in Turkey. When asked about negative experiences upon the return to Turkey, Özge said that:

*"Injustice, mean ideas, an order in disorder, chaos, stress, a fast life..."*

Another interviewee also stated that:

*"All negative experiences a person can face when living in Istanbul. Unsteady secondary school and puberty, tough working conditions in private sector and the social welfare is lower than in Germany."*

Living with family, surrounded with warm-blooded people doesn't make life easy sometimes. As talking about welfare and being a social state, interviewees have more stable comments on Germany.

#### 4.1.7 Differences between Germany and Turkey

A very common answer to differences between Germany and Turkey is that Germany has lots of social reliefs such as unemployment payments, rent allowance and allowance for children. Nearly every participant see Germany as more developed and better in education, health, social life and politics. Being ordinate and clean are also plus points for Germany. Turkey prevail this comparison in terms of its climate, people's behaviour, the relationship between family and friends. As Esra summarizes:

*"The warmth of Turkish climate reflects the emotions, behaviours and lifestyles of people. The friendliness of Turkish people is a known thing; this friendliness affects everything like living conditions, politics, sports and magazine. The gap between poor and rich people is more obvious in Turkey than in Germany. The educational perspective is very different in both countries. Everyone in Turkey seems to have to study at a university. It does not matter which university or which department. In Germany being a professional is more important. People choose their occupation upon their interest and they are being educated in this way. Although it is said to be diminished in Turkey; the 'conscience' still exists. Fortunately it cannot be seen in Germany. The biggest difference is that I think Turkey's struggle to develop and it is felt in the society. And Germany tries to protect its development and that it is a routine in the society."*

Another interviewee also states that:

*The social welfare is too far in advance in Germany. But because of the natural beauty and the climate Turkey has better conditions. I had tough times in North Germany. Another fact is that Germany is a quite country. In Turkey*

*there is always noise and wish. I do not like the silence very much. These are the most obvious differences you can recognize.*

As another example, Sibel states that;

*"The life is beautiful in Istanbul. Turkish people are nice and were first class people here in our own country. In fact, we are foreigners in Germany and this difference is observable. Germany is a very ordinate and clean country. I cannot ignore that."*

And as a final example, Zeynep summarizes;

*"I think that Turkey and Germany have differences on equality. In Turkey, differences between social classes are much more obvious and people bring that out. At the same time, the health and education systems are different. But however, the family relationship and relationship between friends is more stronger in Turkey."*

#### **4.1.8 Transnational Mobility and Identity**

As mentioned before, Transnationalists base their analysis on the investigation of transnational mobility and transnational identity of migrants. The identity contains the identity of migrants' origin and host country. Regular visits and contacts create the transnational mobility. It can definitely be said that Turkish migrants are doing transnational activities by living in Germany and returning to Turkey and also doing regular visits during summer vacations to Turkey.

As Bünyamin stated;

*"I knew Turkey just thanks to our holidays. The first things, which came to my mind, were the sunny days."*

When asked about the feelings when return decision has been made, Zeynep summarizes her feelings as;

*"I was very happy and exciting. We have always visited Turkey during summer holidays and I was crying in the end of the holiday. I felt lonely in Germany. The idea of return made me very happy. Finally, I could be together with my family and relatives."*

Tolga also proves that Turkish migrants are doing regular visits to Turkey during their stay in Germany;

*"People living in Germany are very excited to have a summer vacation in Turkey. I was very excited as a 11 years old boy but in the same time, it was sad that I would be apart from my friends."*

Besides the examples above that explain the transnational mobility of Turkish migrants, there is also a need to look at transnational identity issue among third generation. Building a close-knit identity in Germany, it was important for migrants in terms of creating hybridity between two worlds. This identity was something that differs them from Germans. For example, one interviewee explained that she was spending her free time by doing two different activities. It can be clearly said that she was trying to build the identity of origin and host country. She stated that;

*"My social life was divided into two parts. In the first years of high school I had lots of German friends. In the last years of high school I started spending my time with my Turkish and Moslem friends. I have worked for Ditib (Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs)."*

Growing up bilingual and being able to know both cultures and values made all participants accept their double identity as an advantage. As an example, one interviewee stated that;

*"First of all being able to speak German is very advantageous. Besides growing up in Europe, perspective on life, the way of thinking, discipline and order are the other advantageous benefits."*

One of the male interviewees, Erhan, also confirms that;

*"Seeing different cultures is the most important thing in the world. I gained lots of things."*

Another interviewee clarifies that;

*"Growing up bilingual and knowing both cultures very well made me more intellectual."*

As a final example regarding positive feedbacks, Esra summarizes;

*"After all, my personality and my character were very influenced by German culture. I can still observe the influence of palatal delight, music taste, child-rearing style, and certain behaviours. Especially in my university life, I felt how much the German discipline existed and I felt the other side. The feedback I received was in this direction."*

Of course, it was not easy for everyone to build the double identity. People can get confused when they face difficulties. One interviewee explained that he doesn't know where to belong. He stated;

*"The cultural problems are still with me. I do have an identity problem. I do not know where I belong."*

As it can be seen thanks to last example, the feeling of belonging can be triggering and different for lots of people, especially for migrants. The life conditions and the difficulties they should overcome can make them miss the other country; either the origin or the host country.

## CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

After the Labour Recruitment Agreement has been signed between Turkey and Germany, Turkey has experienced a large-scale labour migration flow. Although the workers sent from Turkey were seen as guest workers in Germany, they reunified their families and settled down. After passing years, return flows to Turkey have started. As being one of the third generation German-Turks who returned to Turkey, this study meant a lot to the researcher. To support the research, in-depth interviews have been applied. The interviewees are the third generation German-Turks and they have all returned to Turkey. The aim of this research was to find why these third generation German-Turks return to Turkey. Analysing from a transnational perspective made it possible to see that these migrants have built double identities by living in Turkey and Germany in different times. According to Transnationalists, the migrants do not lose their identities, they are active by doing regular visits and they are actors in migration cycle. In contrast to structural approach, return is not the end of the migration cycle. As to the return motivation, Transnationalists argue that migrants return when social and economic conditions are available. From this point of view and from the answers of the interviews, it can be said that the return idea was mostly domestic and paternalistic. The interviewees were not old enough to be a part of the decision-making process, but the majority accepted the idea in a good way. After the return, they could easily adopt to their new lives without receiving any professional help. They start speaking the same language, which was dominant at home in Germany. Although they were happy in Germany, they also got used to live in Turkey. In my opinion, being with their families, sharing same emotions and culture made it definitely easier. Before starting doing the research, I thought that the majority could have experienced racism and discrimination but I found out that this

was not the case among the participants of this research. In the grand scheme of things, it can be said that the participants are happy with their lives and by doing back and forth movement to Germany in holidays etc. they experience exactly the same thing when they were coming to Turkey for summer vacations as children.

It was important to study third generation German-Turks, because there is a lack in the literature in terms of return process of young generations. Because of that reason that they constitute the young generation in Turkey now, in my opinion, there is a need to study their integration process and the policy implication regarding these returns. This young generation is educated, bilingual and transnational actors in the migration cycle and are supposed to create the working population in Turkey nowadays. The challenges they have been going through, the psychological process they have to overcome can be studied. Besides, as to the research question why do they return, the most powerful answer was that their fathers have decided to return and the children had to follow it. This domestic and paternalistic decision shows a lot about Turkish family structure and it proves that some codes never change. In my opinion, the abovementioned subjects such as integration policies, policy implications and the effects of Turkish family structure regarding return decision can be studied as further researches.

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## **APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

### **Identification Questions**

1. Name/Surname
2. Date of Birth / Place of Birth
3. Gender
4. Location
5. Marital Status
6. Education
7. Occupation

### **Questions for the research**

1. When did you return from Germany to Turkey?
2. How old were you when you returned?
3. Where were you living in Germany (in which city)?
4. Where did you return in Turkey (to which city)?
5. How were your life, living conditions and family life in Germany?
6. Can you describe your educational life in Germany?
7. Can you describe your social life in Germany, how did you spend your free time?
8. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours?
9. How was your relationship with German people and German society?
10. How did you feel when you were in touch with German people?
11. Have you had any concerns about your life in Germany?
12. Why and when did you decide to return?
13. Was the return your own idea? When no, who told you and how?

14. How did you feel about the idea of returning?
15. How did you imagine your future life in Turkey when the idea of return shows up?
16. How do you feel in Turkey now?
17. Can you compare your expectations from Turkey when you were in Germany and your current life in Turkey?
18. How are your life, living conditions and family life in Turkey?
19. Can you describe your educational life in Turkey?
20. Can you describe your social life in Turkey, how do you spend your free time?
21. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours in Turkey?
22. How is your relationship with Turkish people?
23. Did you have any concerns about your life in Turkey?
24. How is your communication to Germany, are you in touch with your German friends?
25. Have you ever been in Germany after your return to Turkey?
26. How did you feel?
27. What did you think about your trip to Germany?
28. How would your life be in Germany if you had stayed?
29. How do you feel about your current life in Turkey?
30. How is your command of the Turkish language?
31. What were the positive experiences upon your return?
32. What were the negative experiences upon your return?
33. Did you face any cultural or social differences upon your return?
34. What did you do to overcome the differences?

35. Did you receive any help from your family, friends or any kind of institution?
36. Did you ever want to move back to Germany?
37. Do you think that having lived in Germany effect your life today, how?
38. What differences did you observe between Turkey and Germany?



## **APPENDIX II: THE INTERVIEWS**

### **Interviewee Number One**

1. Name/Surname: Bünyamin Musullu
2. Date of Birth / Place of Birth: 20.06.1990/Siegburg
3. Gender: Male
4. Location: Köln
5. Marital Status: Single
6. Education: IFS Internationale Filmschule, Köln (5th semester)
7. Occupation: -

### **Questions for the research**

1. When did you return from Germany to Turkey? 2002.
2. How old were you when you returned? 12.
3. Where were you living in Germany (in which city)? Siegburg / Hennef
4. Where did you return in Turkey (to which city)? Istanbul.
5. How were your life, living conditions and family life in Germany? My life in Germany was quite comfortable. I used to go to school at 8.00 am every morning and coming back home at 13.30 am. I had plenty of free time, which made me happy.
6. Can you describe your educational life in Germany? After 4th grade I started going to "Hauptschule", which is a low-level secondary school in Germany. My grades were average. I was not very interested to school and I was not caring about my grades. In my 7th grade we moved to Turkey.
7. Can you describe your social life in Germany, how did you spend your free time? I was playing football in my free time. I was at the football team in the town when I was 9 years old. I played football until I was 12. Besides I used to play Nintendo games.
8. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours? I was a quiet boy and I got along well with my teachers. I was showing my respect towards them when I realize they take care of me. I did not have lots of friends. I was seeing them during the breaks. I also got along well

with our neighbours. Although we used to make lots of noise in front of the house, they were gentle.

9. How was your relationship with German people and German society? In comparison to my other foreign friends, I got along well with my German friends. I was keeping myself apart from adults, except my teachers. One day I was at stationery for buying a pen and one German worker humiliated me in front of my friends.
10. How did you feel when you were in touch with German people? I felt serious as I was never before. I was thinking twice before joking. They were asking too many questions and so communication was too exhausting for me. I was giving up on explanations. It took a long to build friendships.
11. Have you had any concerns about your life in Germany? I had no concerns but my family had concerns about my future and education.
12. Why and when did you decide to return? Because of that reason my mother was sick and her family was living in Istanbul we returned to Turkey.
13. Was the return your own idea? When no, who told you and how? It was a family decision. In that age I was not able to see the difference between staying and leaving.
14. How did you feel about the idea of returning? I felt weird for being away from my friends.
15. How did you imagine your future life in Turkey when the idea of return shows up? I knew Turkey just thanks to our holidays. The first things, which came to my mind, were the sunny days.
16. How do you feel in Turkey now? I have lived in Istanbul until I was 24 years old and the strongest feelings I felt were belonging and be close to people.
17. Can you compare your expectations from Turkey when you were in Germany and your current life in Turkey? My expectations were finding good friends and going to college. Both came true.
18. How are your life, living conditions and family life in Turkey? In that time when I was living in Istanbul my life was more chaotic and energetic. The living conditions were average as all other students. My life in Cologne is more stable. I have plenty of time for studying and caring for college.
19. Can you describe your educational life in Turkey? After our return I started going to a private school. The education was different than in Germany but it was

qualified. I had the chance to take language classes in high school. Classes like maths and science were not interesting for me. I got interested to school after I started taking German classes. My grades became higher. The education at Istanbul University was more free and professional at the same time. In the first years of university I failed from lots of classes. In the last second semesters I got more interested to university and finally I graduated.

- 20.** Can you describe your social life in Turkey, how do you spend your free time? Knowing different people made me understand Turkey better. I was meeting my friends and having good time. In contrast to my social life in Germany I was more and more outside. During my free time I was watching movies or reading books.
- 21.** Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours in Turkey? I was getting along well with my high school teachers. It was the opposite with my college/university teachers. They knew that I was not interested. Because of the reason they were not warm-blooded I was not getting along well with them. I had no problems with my friends and neighbours. My neighbours were like my family. Sometimes we were having dinner and seeing each other everyday. The whole district was like a family.
- 22.** How is your relationship with Turkish people? I was getting along well with my Turkish friends and I have no trouble making connections with strange people.
- 23.** Did you have any concerns about your life in Turkey? I had no concerns in the first 2-3 years.
- 24.** How is your communication to Germany, are you in touch with your German friends?--
- 25.** Have you ever been in Germany after your return to Turkey? After I have graduated in 2014 from Istanbul University I moved temporarily to Cologne.
- 26.** How did you feel? I was sad in the first place but then I decided doing what I want and I overcame.
- 27.** What did you think about your trip to Germany? It is very expensive to study cinema in Turkey and because of that I temporarily moved to Germany. In Germany money is not the first thing and I thought that I could have a chance.
- 28.** How would your life be in Germany if you had stayed? If I would stay in Germany I probably could not go to college and could not know new people. I would have thinking about the dreams that I could not follow.

- 29.** How do you feel about your current life in Turkey? I was lost 2 years ago. I did not know what to do. But now I know what I need to do and I will move back to Turkey.
- 30.** How is your command of the Turkish language? I love reading books and so my Turkish was always great.
- 31.** What were the positive experiences upon your return? Going to college.
- 32.** What were the negative experiences upon your return? To have an art related job.
- 33.** Did you face any cultural or social differences upon your return? I did.
- 34.** What did you do to overcome the differences? Through the particular interest of my teachers and book suggestions I could easily overcome language problems. And I started knowing my new friends.
- 35.** Did you receive any help from your family, friends or any kind of institution? From my family.
- 36.** Did you ever want to move back to Germany? I moved temporarily to study cinema.
- 37.** Do you think that having lived in Germany effect your life today, how? Yes I do. Speaking German, knowing the German culture and the daily life of the society influenced my way of thinking.
- 38.** What differences did you observe between Turkey and Germany? German people do not question everything and they believe easily. "Being good" is a common thing in Germany and I think it reflects the humour style of people. People in Turkey do have trust problems even during their daily shopping. Questioning is a common thing in Turkey and it effects the humour.

## **Interviewee Number Two**

### **Identification Question**

1. Name/Surname: Gülşen Yılmaz
2. Date of Birth / Place of Birth: 25.07.1990 / Mannheim
3. Gender: Female
4. Location: Istanbul
5. Marital Status: Single
6. Education: Bachelor's Degree
7. Occupation: Teacher (German)

### **Questions for the research**

1. When did you return from Germany to Turkey? In 2008.
2. How old were you when you returned? I was 18 years old.
3. Where were you living in Germany (in which city)? Mannheim.
4. Where did you return in Turkey (to which city)? Istanbul.
5. How were your life, living conditions and family life in Germany? I have lived there until I was 18. My living conditions were good as far as I remember.
6. Can you describe your educational life in Germany? After I have graduated from secondary and technical school I started looking for a job. I could not find a job so I went to a vocational college.
7. Can you describe your social life in Germany, how did you spend your free time? I was spending my time with my friends. We were going to the movies or take a walk in the city. Sometimes I was at home, reading a book or helping my mother.
8. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours? My relationship was okay with my teachers, and also with my friends and neighbours. I do still have contact with my friends.
9. How was your relationship with German people and German society? I was mostly with Turkish people together but I was also getting along well with Germans.
10. How did you feel when you were in touch with German people? I had no problems. When I was talking to my German friend, she was mostly very quiet. I was feeling as I am talking to myself.

11. Have you had any concerns about your life in Germany? No.
12. Why and when did you decide to return? I have decided in 2008, 9 years ago. I was staying with my sisters in that time. My mother and father had returned to Turkey in 2006. After I have graduated and could not find any job I decided to return. I thought a child should be with his/her family.
13. Was the return your own idea? When no, who told you and how? Yes, it was my idea.
14. How did you feel about the idea of returning? I was not very willing in the first place. I was scared that I could not make it there. After that I decided that I should be with my family and I convinced myself.
15. How did you imagine your future life in Turkey when the idea of return shows up? I was just 18 and I thought I would start working. I had little concerns. After that I started going to school. I went to high school 3 more years. Than I have graduated from university, department of German Teaching.
16. How do you feel in Turkey now? I feel like home. I am very comfortable here.
17. Can you compare your expectations from Turkey when you were in Germany and your current life in Turkey? I thought I could not make it in Turkey because all my friends were in Germany and I had nobody in Turkey except my family. I had also concerns about earthquakes and electricity cuts. But it was not that bad as I expected. After I started going to school I made lots of friends and it helped me in terms of my adaptation process. It is true that we experience natural disasters but it is not like I thought about it. It very nice to live in Turkey.
18. How are your life, living conditions and family life in Turkey? I have graduated but I am not working right now but anyway I feel very comfortable. If you do not owe a house, it is very hard to live in Turkey. But I am satisfied.
19. Can you describe your educational life in Turkey? I graduated from Marmara University, department of German Teaching in 2015. And now I am doing another degree in Child Development and Education.
20. Can you describe your social life in Turkey, how do you spend your free time? I spend my time with friends and take a walk in nice weather. When I am at home I watch TV and study for an exam called "public personnel selection examination".
21. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours in Turkey? I have a good relationship with everyone. But we do not have any relationship with our neighbours. No one knows anyone.

22. How is your relationship with Turkish people? It is more sincere and decent. People embrace themselves.
23. Did you have any concerns about your life in Turkey? My only concern is finding a job. I am not working right now and it is very hard to find a job.
24. How is your communication to Germany, are you in touch with your German friends? -
25. Have you ever been in Germany after your return to Turkey? Yes. I visit Germany in every 6 months.
26. How did you feel? I got bored in Germany because I got used to live in Turkey. After I have seen the vitality in Turkey it is boring in Germany.
27. What did you think about your trip to Germany? There is nowhere like Turkey.
28. How would your life be in Germany if you had stayed? If I would not return I could find a job and I think I could not have the opportunity to go the university. I had not had in mind to go to university.
29. How do you feel about your current life in Turkey? Fortunately I have returned.
30. How is your command of the Turkish language? I use German and Turkish words when I am talking. But I can express myself better in Turkish.
31. What were the positive experiences upon your return? I have graduated from university and I made friends.
32. What were the negative experiences upon your return? There are no negative experiences as far as I remember.
33. Did you face any cultural or social differences upon your return? There were differences about education.
34. What did you do to overcome the differences? I got used to very quickly because of the education system in Turkey.
35. Did you receive any help from your family, friends or any kind of institution? I got help from my family.
36. Did you ever want to move back to Germany? No.
37. Do you think that having lived in Germany effect your life today, how? Maybe a little bit.
38. What differences did you observe between Turkey and Germany? I can feel more comfortable in Turkey. I had the chance improving myself here. And I have spent my childhood in Germany, my most beautiful days. The living conditions are nearly the same but it is a little bit harder in Turkey. There are lots of social reliefs

in Germany. Unemployment payments, rent allowance, allowance for children are benefits for Germany, which do not exist in Turkey.



## **Interviewee Number Three**

### **Identification Questions**

1. Name/Surname: Özge Koçak
2. Date of Birth / Place of Birth: 17.02.1992/Düsseldorf
3. Gender: Female
4. Location: Istanbul
5. Marital Status: Single
6. Education: Bachelor's Degree
7. Occupation: Student

### **Questions for the research**

1. When did you return from Germany to Turkey? 2007.
2. How old were you when you returned? 15.
3. Where were you living in Germany (in which city)? Düsseldorf.
4. Where did you return in Turkey (to which city)? Istanbul.
5. How were your life, living conditions and family life in Germany? It was good.
6. Can you describe your educational life in Germany? I have finished the 9th grade in Germany. I had to leave the Goethe-Gymnasium.
7. Can you describe your social life in Germany, how did you spend your free time?  
I used to spend my time with my friends outside, riding bicycle, playing volleyball and taking piano lessons.
8. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours? Very good.
9. How was your relationship with German people and German society? Very good.  
I never recognized that I was a foreigner in that country. I kept pace with Germany culture and society.
10. How did you feel when you were in touch with German people? Normal.
11. Have you had any concerns about your life in Germany? Definitely not.
12. Why and when did you decide to return? We returned to Turkey in 2007. It was my father's idea. We moved because of his work.

13. Was the return your own idea? When no, who told you and how? No, it was my father's idea. He told us that we are going to be very happy in Turkey but I was not thinking in that way.
14. How did you feel about the idea of returning? I thought it was not a good idea in terms of my education life.
15. How did you imagine your future life in Turkey when the idea of return shows up? I thought that I would face difficulties in my education life.
16. How do you feel in Turkey now? I do not feel very good. (There are negative and positive things.)
17. Can you compare your expectations from Turkey when you were in Germany and your current life in Turkey? I did not imagine something big. I thought my life would be better in Germany, I am still thinking in that way.
18. How are your life, living conditions and family life in Turkey? Pretty good.
19. Can you describe your educational life in Turkey? Firstly I went to Cağaloğlu Anadolu Lisesi for the 10th grade. After that I went to Ahmet Keleşoğlu Anadolu Lisesi. I mostly took science and mathematics classes. I graduated from Istanbul University, Department of Translation. Nowadays, I am doing my Master's degree at Turk-Alman University, Department of Intercultural Management.
20. Can you describe your social life in Turkey, how do you spend your free time? Shopping, spending my time with friends and family, education.
21. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours in Turkey? Pretty good.
22. How is your relationship with Turkish people? Good.
23. Did you have any concerns about your life in Turkey? Yes, I do.
24. How is your communication to Germany, are you in touch with your German friends? -
25. Have you ever been in Germany after your return to Turkey? Yes.
26. How did you feel? I was very happy. I felt like I was back home.
27. What did you think about your trip to Germany? I thought I belong there 70%. But actually I do not want to live there anymore. It makes me "me" that my history belongs to Germany. I miss Germany.
28. How would your life be in Germany if you had stayed? I would be in a fair and rational system in terms of my school and education life.

29. How do you feel about your current life in Turkey? That my beloved people are around me.
30. How is your command of the Turkish language? Very well.
31. What were the positive experiences upon your return? To live the four seasons.
32. What were the negative experiences upon your return? Injustice, mean ideas, an order in disorder, chaos, stress, a fast life.
33. Did you face any cultural or social differences upon your return? Yes.
34. What did you do to overcome the differences? I could not. I am still questioning something.
35. Did you receive any help from your family, friends or any kind of institution? No.
36. Did you ever want to move back to Germany? Maybe yes, but not now.
37. Do you think that having lived in Germany effect your life today, how? Yes.
38. What differences did you observe between Turkey and Germany? Germany is one of the most developed countries in the world. In terms of life quality (in terms of education, social life, health and politics) Germany is way too developed than Turkey. But in Turkey the entertainment and human relations are more comfortable and funny.

## **Interviewee Number Four**

### **Identification Questions**

1. Name/Surname: Sema Gldođan
2. Date of Birth / Place of Birth: 19.07.1992/Berlin
3. Gender: Female
4. Location: Ankara
5. Marital Status: Married
6. Education: Bachelor's Degree
7. Occupation: Theologist

### **Questions for the research**

1. When did you return from Germany to Turkey? In the summer of 2012.
2. How old were you when you returned? 20.
3. Where were you living in Germany (in which city)? Berlin
4. Where did you return in Turkey (to which city)? Ankara
5. How were your life, living conditions and family life in Germany? Pretty good. I graduated from high school there.
6. Can you describe your educational life in Germany? I have lived in Germany since I have graduated from high school. I also completed primary and secondary school in Berlin. I had a standard and problem-free school life.
7. Can you describe your social life in Germany, how did you spend your free time? I have not had too much free time. During the week I used to go to school and in the weekends I took private Islamic lessons. During my limited free time I used to spend it with my friends and family.
8. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours? I had a normal relationship with my teachers. Our neighbours were mostly Turkish, because of that I had no problem with them either.
9. How was your relationship with German people and German society? Generally it was okay, but I felt discriminated during my last years in Germany.
10. How did you feel when you were in touch with German people? I could communicate with them in a normal way.
11. Have you had any concerns about your life in Germany? No.
12. Why and when did you decide to return? In 2012 for my education.

13. Was the return your own idea? When no, who told you and how? It was my idea.
14. How did you feel about the idea of returning? I was always thinking the idea of return and when I got the chance for my education I decided to return.
15. How did you imagine your future life in Turkey when the idea of return shows up? I did not imagine lots of things but I thought it would be more comfortable.
16. How do you feel in Turkey now? Actually I feel very comfortable but I have concerns about terrorism and political tension.
17. Can you compare your expectations from Turkey when you were in Germany and your current life in Turkey? Actually I can say that all my expectations came true but sometimes I feel uncomfortable because of people who do not take my way of dressing normally. It was more comfortable for me in Germany.
18. How are your life, living conditions and family life in Turkey? I am married and I am doing Bachelor's degree. My living conditions are okay.
19. Can you describe your educational life in Turkey? I started doing my BA in International Theology and I will graduate this year. I do have a scholarship from Türkiye Diyanet Foundation and I am very happy to be here.
20. Can you describe your social life in Turkey, how do you spend your free time? It is the same as in Germany. I do not have much free time but when I do, I spend it with my friends and family.
21. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours in Turkey? The relationship with my teachers is very different here. We share same emotions and language. But I do not see my neighbours as much as I used to in Germany.
22. How is your relationship with Turkish people? Pretty good.
23. Did you have any concerns about your life in Turkey? No. Sometimes about terrorism.
24. How is your communication to Germany, are you in touch with your German friends? No, I am not.
25. Have you ever been in Germany after your return to Turkey? Yes.
26. How did you feel? It was okay.
27. What did you think about your trip to Germany? I thought that I missed Germany but I still want to continue living in Turkey.
28. How would your life be in Germany if you had stayed? I would probably go to university but I would study something else.

29. How do you feel about your current life in Turkey? I am happy.
30. How is your command of the Turkish language? It's pretty good.
31. What were the positive experiences upon your return? I feel more like I'm at home and warm.
32. What were the negative experiences upon your return? Some terrorist attacks make me feel uncomfortable.
33. Did you face any cultural or social differences upon your return? I grow up knowing Turkish culture, so it was not a big deal.
34. What did you do to overcome the differences? -.
35. Did you receive any help from your family, friends or any kind of institution? No.
36. Did you ever want to move back to Germany? No.
37. Do you think that having lived in Germany effect your life today, how? Of course. Growing up bilingual and knowing both cultures very well made me more intellectual.
38. What differences did you observe between Turkey and Germany? Germany is more secure than Turkey but people are not very warm-blooded. Even if you have grown up there, you can feel that you are different than Germans. My parent's homeland is also home to me right now.

## **Interviewee Number Five**

### **Identification Questions**

1. Name/Surname: Tolga Erkuş
2. Date of Birth / Place of Birth: 20.01.1990 / Eckernförde
3. Gender: Male
4. Location: Istanbul
5. Marital Status: Single
6. Education: Bachelor's Degree
7. Occupation: Medical Translator

### **Questions for the research**

1. When did you return from Germany to Turkey? In July 2001.
2. How old were you when you returned? 11.
3. Where were you living in Germany (in which city)? Eckernförde (Schleswig - Holstein)
4. Where did you return in Turkey (to which city)? Istanbul.
5. How were your life, living conditions and family life in Germany? We were a "middle-income family".
6. Can you describe your educational life in Germany? I started going to kindergarten when I was 3 years old. Then, I went to primary school. One year before our return I was visiting Gymnasium (high-level secondary school).
7. Can you describe your social life in Germany, how did you spend your free time? I was a child during my Germany years. So I was riding my bike, meeting my friends, skateboarding, playing basketball.
8. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours? I cannot generalize the attitude of my teachers. Some were aware that I have disadvantages as a Turkish boy in Germany and so they were trying to help me, but some of them were not.
9. How was your relationship with German people and German society? My integration process took place when I was 4 years old. I started speaking German in that age fluently. When I was 6 years old, I was speaking German better than my mother tongue. In that case, I had no problem communicating with Germans. Some people were uncomfortable with me because of my skin colour.

10. How did you feel when you were in touch with German people? I was not feeling something special. It was the same when I was in touch with a Turkish person.
11. Have you had any concerns about your life in Germany? I had no concerns because of my age. My only concern was the bad marriage of my father and mother.
12. Why and when did you decide to return? It was my father's decision. My mother did not want to return which I figured out nowadays. According to my mother, my father was thinking that his economic situation would get worse. Afterwards I found out that my father was diagnosed with Alzheimer. From his perspective it was not a return, it was an escape.
13. Was the return your own idea? When no, who told you and how? My mother told me about my father's idea of return.
14. How did you feel about the idea of returning? People living in Germany are very excited to have a summer vacation in Turkey. I was very excited as a 11 years old boy but in the same time, it was sad that I would be apart from my friends.
15. How did you imagine your future life in Turkey when the idea of return shows up? I did not imagine anything. It was just a childish excitement.
16. How do you feel in Turkey now? I feel awful even I have had my bachelor's degree and I do have a very good business life than my friends.
17. Can you compare your expectations from Turkey when you were in Germany and your current life in Turkey? The excitement I mentioned turned into disappointment and effeteness.
18. How are your life, living conditions and family life in Turkey? I have been working in a medical institution for 2 years. I also work as a freelance translator. My income is satisfying. I bought my own car. I have a serious relationship for 2 years. These are the factors, which seem good from the outside. My father and my mother split up 9 years ago. My father has Alzheimer and he has 1 year left. My mother is needy until her retirement. She has not any assurance from Germany. My father spent his whole money for his illness and because of that my brother and I are responsible for the family.
19. Can you describe your educational life in Turkey? The secondary school in Turkey was a disaster. I was a Gymnasium student and in my class in Turkey were about 50 students. There were students who could not write or speak properly. I was excluded and I do not want remember these times. High school

was much better. I went to Bayrampasa Anadolu Lisesi and I have three close friends from there, which I am still in contact. I could not go to university for 2 years. Afterwards I went to Marmara University (Translation). In my third year, I went to Istanbul University with an undergraduate transfer. I spent my 5th semester in Austria in terms of Erasmus program. I have graduated from university in 4 years.

- 20.** Can you describe your social life in Turkey, how do you spend your free time? My social life is very limited because of my work life. I go to fitness centre 3 times a week. In my free weekends I spend my time with my girlfriend in Istanbul. We go to the movies, cycling and skating. I do not have any abroad vacations.
- 21.** Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours in Turkey? We had a very district relationship with our teacher when I was in secondary school. Our class was very prankish and the teachers were beating us. This relationship got better in high school. My closest friends are from high school. I do not have any relationship with my neighbours; I think it is a habit from Germany.
- 22.** How is your relationship with Turkish people? It was okay at the university. But it got worse in the business life. I cannot trust people and we do have a superficial relationship. My relationships are for saving the date.
- 23.** Did you have any concerns about your life in Turkey? My concerns increasing from time to time because of political reasons (terrorism, coup attempts, economical uncertainty). But actually the world is changing in that way. There are also uncertainties and terrorism in Europe. We do not live in a very good world.
- 24.** How is your communication to Germany, are you in touch with your German friends? -
- 25.** Have you ever been in Germany after your return to Turkey? Once in 2006.
- 26.** How did you feel? I felt nostalgic. I visited the city I have grown up in.
- 27.** What did you think about your trip to Germany? I thought I should Germany more often. Although I have a German passport, I did not go to Germany for 11 years.
- 28.** How would your life be in Germany if you had stayed? I tried to guess but I could not. There are lots of variables. I do not know.

- 29.** How do you feel about your current life in Turkey? I feel like I am losing my time here. My close friends are judging me for not going back to Germany. They think that I should go back. So, I cannot feel very good.
- 30.** How is your command of the Turkish language? Very good because of my occupation.
- 31.** What were the positive experiences upon your return? Turkey is really very beautiful country. The nature and everything is fine. I found great friends and I had good time in university.
- 32.** What were the negative experiences upon your return? All the negative experiences a person can face when living in Istanbul. Unsteady secondary school and puberty. Tough working conditions in private sector. And the social welfare is lower than in Germany.
- 33.** Did you face any cultural or social differences upon your return? I had an unsteady life. My puberty was very tough. But I think it is a common problem around people who come back from Germany.
- 34.** What did you do to overcome the differences? The cultural problems are still with me. I do have an identity problem. I do not know where I belong.
- 35.** Did you receive any help from your family, friends or any kind of institution? I got help from some people in my family. I had also psychiatric help.
- 36.** Did you ever want to move back to Germany? When everything goes reverse; I have the idea to go back to Germany and start from the beginning. But I did not make any effort yet.
- 37.** Do you think that having lived in Germany effect your life today, how? The position where I stand now is because of that reasons I have grown up in Germany. It was a turning point for me to have lived in Germany.
- 38.** What differences did you observe between Turkey and Germany? The social welfare is too far in advance in Germany. But because of the natural beauty and the climate Turkey has better conditions. I had tough times in North Germany. Another fact is that Germany is a quite country. In Turkey there is always noise and whish. I do not like the silence very much. These are the most obvious differences you can recognize.

## **Interviewee Number Six**

### **Identification Questions**

1. Name/Surname: Esra Karaağaç Işık
2. Date of Birth / Place of Birth: 12.05.1992 / Berlin
3. Gender: Female
4. Location: Erzurum
5. Marital Status: Married
6. Education: Bachelor's Degree
7. Occupation: Psychological Counsellor

### **Questions for the research**

1. When did you return from Germany to Turkey? 2012.
2. How old were you when you returned? 20.
3. Where were you living in Germany (in which city)? Berlin.
4. Where did you return in Turkey (to which city)? Istanbul.
5. How were your life, living conditions and family life in Germany? Very good.
6. Can you describe your educational life in Germany? I have done my Abitur (high-level graduation from high school) in Germany.
7. Can you describe your social life in Germany, how did you spend your free time?  
My social life was divided into two parts. In the first years of high school I had lots of German friends. In the last years of high school I started spending my time with my Turkish and Moslem friends. I have worked for DITIB (Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs).
8. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours? I had no problems with my friends and neighbours. But I have discussed with my teacher about religious issues.
9. How was your relationship with German people and German society? I cannot generalize. I have had good but also bad relationships.
10. How did you feel when you were in touch with German people? Casual and normal.
11. Have you had any concerns about your life in Germany? Yes. Nationalist Germans mostly populated the neighbourhood we lived in. I was concerned about that situation.

12. Why and when did you decide to return? In 2012. I have returned to do my BA in Turkey.
13. Was the return your own idea? When no, who told you and how? It was my own idea.
14. How did you feel about the idea of returning? In the first place it was not a real return for me. I thought if I could not get used to live in Turkey, I would return back to Germany.
15. How did you imagine your future life in Turkey when the idea of return shows up? I had no idea. But my relatives from Germany were concerned about me because they were thinking that Turkey is still like in the 70s.
16. How do you feel in Turkey now? Very well.
17. Can you compare your expectations from Turkey when you were in Germany and your current life in Turkey? My life in Turkey is above and beyond. I have lived in Istanbul for 4 years. After that I moved to Erzurum. Although Erzurum is a place people have socioeconomic bias to live in, we do have a comfortable life.
18. How are your life, living conditions and family life in Turkey? Very well.
19. Can you describe your educational life in Turkey? I have applied to the Yildiz Technical University before my return. I graduated from the department of Psychological Counselling and Guidance in 2016. Nowadays I am planning to apply for a master's program.
20. Can you describe your social life in Turkey, how do you spend your free time? I have a 2-years old child. I am spending my whole time with him.
21. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours in Turkey? It was pretty good. I miss my relationship with my teachers. I do contact my friends via phone and Internet. I barely had problems with my neighbours.
22. How is your relationship with Turkish people? It depends on people.
23. Did you have any concerns about your life in Turkey? No.
24. How is your communication to Germany, are you in touch with your German friends? -
25. Have you ever been in Germany after your return to Turkey? No.
26. How did you feel? -
27. What did you think about your trip to Germany? -
28. How would your life be in Germany if you had stayed? Monotone.

- 29.** How do you feel about your current life in Turkey? I am peaceful and happy.
- 30.** How is your command of the Turkish language? I think it is pretty good.
- 31.** What were the positive experiences upon your return? Feeling not as an outsider in the society. My university life, my marriage and becoming a mother.
- 32.** What were the negative experiences upon your return? Slowness in the governmental agencies, the student affairs at the university and moving to Erzurum.
- 33.** Did you face any cultural or social differences upon your return? Yes, I have faced differences when I moved to Erzurum. But they are little differences, which can happen to every one. (The chitchat, language, clothing...)
- 34.** What did you do to overcome the differences? I did not. I moved on.
- 35.** Did you receive any help from your family, friends or any kind of institution? Yes, from my husband.
- 36.** Did you ever want to move back to Germany? No.
- 37.** Do you think that having lived in Germany effect your life today, how? Yes. After all, my personality and my character were very influenced by German culture. I can still observe the influence of palatal delight, music taste, child-rearing style, and certain behaviours. Especially in my university life, I felt how much the German discipline existed and I felt the other side. The feedback I received was in this direction.
- 38.** What differences did you observe between Turkey and Germany? The warmth of the Turkish climate reflects the emotions, behaviours and lifestyles of people. The friendliness of Turkish people is a known thing; this friendliness affects everything like living conditions, politics, sports and magazine. The gap between poor and rich people is more obvious in Turkey than in Germany. The educational perspective is very different in both countries. Everyone in Turkey seems to have to study at a university. It does not matter which university or which department. In Germany being a professional is more important. People choose their occupation upon their interest and they are being educated in this way. Although it is said to be diminished in Turkey; the 'conscience' still exists. Fortunately it cannot be seen in Germany. The biggest difference is that I think Turkey's struggle to develop and it is felt in the society. And Germany tries to protect its development and that it is a routine in the society.

## **Interviewee Number Seven**

### **Identification Questions**

1. Name/Surname: Erhan Yıldırım
2. Date of Birth / Place of Birth: 04.03.1994 / Frankfurt am Main
3. Gender: Male
4. Location: Istanbul
5. Marital Status: Single
6. Education: College Student
7. Occupation: Student

### **Questions for the research**

1. When did you return from Germany to Turkey? In June 2006.
2. How old were you when you returned? 13.
3. Where were you living in Germany (in which city)? Wiesbaden
4. Where did you return in Turkey (to which city)? Istanbul
5. How were your life, living conditions and family life in Germany? A was a child of a family with middle income.
6. Can you describe your educational life in Germany? I was going to Gymnasium (high-level secondary school) in the 5th grade. After that year, we came to Turkey.
7. Can you describe your social life in Germany, how did you spend your free time? Football was my only activity besides school.
8. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours? Our relationship was pretty good.
9. How was your relationship with German people and German society? It was okay. Germans are nice and well informed. They are the same against Germans and foreigners.
10. How did you feel when you were in touch with German people? It was okay. I have grown up in Germany I was not different.
11. Have you had any concerns about your life in Germany? Definitely not. The best part about Germany is that people do not have any concerns about life.
12. Why and when did you decide to return? I was not able to decide for big events. It was my family's idea.

13. Was the return your own idea? When no, who told you and how? No. My father told us that we would return to Turkey. He told us that it would be better to live in Turkey because we are Turkish.
14. How did you feel about the idea of returning? I was sad when I heard.
15. How did you imagine your future life in Turkey when the idea of return shows up? I was a child and I did not have had any life experience. I was not thinking about my future.
16. How do you feel in Turkey now? Unfortunately Turkey is a third world country. I have travelled all over the world. I was in Germany the last month. I feel very bad when I see the first world countries. Our economy is not bad, but instead we are very bad at law and bureaucracy.
17. Can you compare your expectations from Turkey when you were in Germany and your current life in Turkey? I did not have any expectations. I was a 13 years old child. All I was doing was playing football.
18. How are your life, living conditions and family life in Turkey? We do have a good living condition. But when you are poor, it is hard to live here.
19. Can you describe your educational life in Turkey? I started going to a private school when we came back to Turkey. After that I started doing my Bachelor's Degree at Özyegin University in the department of Civil Engineering.
20. Can you describe your social life in Turkey, how do you spend your free time? I spend my free time with my friends. We go out for dinner or lunch.
21. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours in Turkey? Pretty good.
22. How is your relationship with Turkish people? I do not have any problems.
23. Did you have any concerns about your life in Turkey? I do not have any concerns about my situation. But the market is changeable and a good thing can be evolved into a bad thing.
24. How is your communication to Germany, are you in touch with your German friends? It is okay.
25. Have you ever been in Germany after your return to Turkey? 3 times.
26. How did you feel? I missed my childhood and I was emotional.
27. What did you think about your trip to Germany? I thought it would be maybe better when we did not return.

- 28.** How would your life be in Germany if you had stayed? My life would be probably worse. Turks living in Germany can neither be German nor Turkish. Turkish people live in between in Germany and because of that reason they are culturally disadvantaged.
- 29.** How do you feel about your current life in Turkey? It is okay right now I have lots of things to see.
- 30.** How is your command of the Turkish language? Pretty good.
- 31.** What were the positive experiences upon your return? There is none.
- 32.** What were the negative experiences upon your return? I have seen that there is no system in Turkey when I was 13 and I realized that some people live a country life in a metropolitan city.
- 33.** Did you face any cultural or social differences upon your return? Of course. The cultures and the social life are totally different.
- 34.** What did you do to overcome the differences? I got used over the time.
- 35.** Did you receive any help from your family, friends or any kind of institution? No.
- 36.** Did you ever want to move back to Germany? Actually I would like to move back but I do not have that chance.
- 37.** Do you think that having lived in Germany effect your life today, how? Of course. Seeing different cultures is the most important thing in the world. I gained lots of things.
- 38.** What differences did you observe between Turkey and Germany? System and discipline. Everyone does his/her job properly in Germany. But you can easily realize that no one does his/her job in Turkey.

## **Interviewee Number Eight**

### **Identification Questions**

1. Name/Surname: Zahide Akçakaya
2. Date of Birth / Place of Birth: 18.02.1993/ Kaufbeuren, Germany
3. Gender: Female
4. Location: Istanbul
5. Marital Status: Single
6. Education: Bachelor's Degree - Double Degree
7. Occupation: Psychologist - Political Scientist

### **Questions for the research**

1. When did you return from Germany to Turkey? In 2012.
2. How old were you when you returned? 15.
3. Where were you living in Germany (in which city)? Kaufbeuren.
4. Where did you return in Turkey (to which city)? Istanbul.
5. How were your life, living conditions and family life in Germany? Good.
6. Can you describe your educational life in Germany? After 4th grade, I went to Gymnasium (high-level secondary school). After my 8th grade we returned to Turkey.
7. Can you describe your social life in Germany, how did you spend your free time? After school, I was spending my time with my friends. We were going to movies and to each other's houses. In the evenings I used to do my homework and study for the next school day.
8. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours? My relationship with my teachers was pretty good. I have had an English teacher who I am still contacting. My relationship with my friends was good as well and we are still in touch.
9. How was your relationship with German people and German society? Because of that reason I was going to Gymnasium, most of my friends were German. I myself did not face any discrimination. The discrimination was not because of ethnicity. It was because of religion.
10. How did you feel when you were in touch with German people? I was feeling okay. I had lots of Germans around me; it was a normal situation for me.

- 11.** Have you had any concerns about your life in Germany? No.
- 12.** Why and when did you decide to return? As you also know, most families in Europe intend to return back to their homeland. In my family, the idea of return was on the table for 2 or 3 years and it happened in 2012. The reason was domestic.
- 13.** Was the return your own idea? When no, who told you and how? No; it was my mother and father's idea.
- 14.** How did you feel about the idea of returning? Firstly, I was not that willing. I had a great opportunity in Germany in terms of my school. It was obvious that I will face some difficulties.
- 15.** How did you imagine your future life in Turkey when the idea of return shows up? A new school and country were going to be hard for me; I was aware of that.
- 16.** How do you feel in Turkey now? I got used to live here but I cannot feel exactly that I do belong here.
- 17.** Can you compare your expectations from Turkey when you were in Germany and your current life in Turkey? I was aware that some difficulties are waiting for me and it was exactly how I thought. But now, everything is okay for me here in Turkey.
- 18.** How are your life, living conditions and family life in Turkey? Pretty good, we do have a standard live.
- 19.** Can you describe your educational life in Turkey? I started going to high school here in Turkey. After that I started doing my Bachelor's degree. In 4 years, I got my double degree.
- 20.** Can you describe your social life in Turkey, how do you spend your free time? I am spending my free time with my friends and my family.
- 21.** Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours in Turkey? It is actually the same as I was in Germany. I do have good relationship with my teachers, classmates and neighbours.
- 22.** How is your relationship with Turkish people? Fine.
- 23.** Did you have any concerns about your life in Turkey? I do have concerns as anyone else living in Turkey right now.
- 24.** How is your communication to Germany, are you in touch with your German friends? Fine.

25. Have you ever been in Germany after your return to Turkey? I have been in Germany lots of times. I spent a whole semester in Germany in terms of Erasmus.
26. How did you feel? I felt at home after spending 15 years in that country.
27. What did you think about your trip to Germany? I realized I missed Germany. I thought that the social rights are more important there.
28. How would your life be in Germany if you had stayed? I would probably go to a university. Maybe after that I could have my master's degree.
29. How do you feel about your current life in Turkey? I am happy right now but sometimes I think about how my life would be when I was in Germany.
30. How is your command of the Turkish language? It is pretty good.
31. What were the positive experiences upon your return? Firstly; to improve my Turkish. Secondly; the helpfulness and friendliness of people around me. I definitely gained a new perspective.
32. What were the negative experiences upon your return? I had problem with my accent when I was speaking Turkish. I was a stranger in the first place. The rules were the biggest problem I have experienced. Nobody takes care about traffic rules.
33. Did you face any cultural or social differences upon your return? Of course. There are lots of cultural differences between Turkey and Germany. You can live the Turkish culture in Germany but it is very different to be in Turkey. How people think and the way that they react is very different.
34. What did you do to overcome the differences? I tried to understand people and to be social.
35. Did you receive any help from your family, friends or any kind of institution? I did not receive any professional help but my family and my friends were my biggest supporters. Also my teachers were very helpful.
36. Did you ever want to move back to Germany? I would move back in the following years.
37. Do you think that having lived in Germany affect your life today, how? Yes definitely. I have grown up in Germany and it affects my life.
38. What differences did you observe between Turkey and Germany? Germany has a great structure in terms of laws and social life. In Turkey it is not the same. There are conditions in Germany to get a master's degree; but in Turkey almost every one who has a bachelor's degree can get a master's degree. And in Germany, the

rules are very important. There is a non-working system in Turkey. And most importantly, the life of a human is more important in Germany.



## **Interviewee Number Nine**

### **Identification Questions**

1. Name/Surname: Sibel Çakıcı
2. Date of Birth / Place of Birth: 08.04.1992 / Elazığ (moved to Germany when I was 7-months old.)
3. Gender: Female
4. Location: Istanbul
5. Marital Status: Married
6. Education: Bachelor's Degree
7. Occupation: Marketing/ Business Development (German)

### **Questions for the research**

1. When did you return from Germany to Turkey? In the summer of 2006.
2. How old were you when you returned? 15.
3. Where were you living in Germany (in which city)? Frankfurt/Wiesbaden
4. Where did you return in Turkey (to which city)? Istanbul
5. How were your life, living conditions and family life in Germany? Our living conditions were pretty good.
6. Can you describe your educational life in Germany? I was at the Realschule (mid-level secondary school) and I was very good at school. But before finishing this secondary school, we moved to Turkey.
7. Can you describe your social life in Germany, how did you spend your free time? I have spent my free time with my family and friends in Germany. We were going out for picnic, to the parks and shopping. Beside, I was going swimming, cycling and skating. I was also enjoying reading books and watching TV at home.
8. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours? We had a good relationship. Our elderly neighbours were very friendly to us. They were repairing our bicycles and cycle with us. Some of our teachers were also very friendly to us but some of them expressed clearly that they do not like Turkish people.
9. How was your relationship with German people and German society? Actually our relationship was okay. We did not face any difficulties or communication

problems. When we were younger, we used to be friends with Germans but over time we started to build friendship with Turkish people.

10. How did you feel when you were in touch with German people? We were used to living with them. We had no trouble.
11. Have you had any concerns about your life in Germany? No.
12. Why and when did you decide to return? The idea of return was always on the table. My father was thinking about return. He had plans for us in Turkey. We were also willing. My father and my mother were thinking about our future.
13. Was the return your own idea? When no, who told you and how? My father and my mother did not ignore our ideas. The decision of return was made with the whole family.
14. How did you feel about the idea of returning? I was neither positive nor negative about the idea of returning. I just wanted to try.
15. How did you imagine your future life in Turkey when the idea of return shows up? I did not imagine something. I just had some concerns.
16. How do you feel in Turkey now? I feel very good and I can clearly say that I am very happy about returning to Turkey.
17. Can you compare your expectations from Turkey when you were in Germany and your current life in Turkey? Although we had concerns living in Turkey and about a new life, after a short time it was not bad as we thought and we realized that we could live here happily.
18. How are your life, living conditions and family life in Turkey? My life conditions are very well actually. My husband and I are working and we have a baby. We are happy.
19. Can you describe your educational life in Turkey? After return, I went to high school, which was predominantly focused on the students from Germany. After that, I have graduated from Istanbul University, the department of German Translation. Now I am working and currently I am trying to get my second bachelor's degree in Business Administration (distance education).
20. Can you describe your social life in Turkey, how do you spend your free time? We do have more choices in Turkey to spend the free time. Here, I can find more places to go. I like sharing lots of memories with my family and friends. In Turkey, I can find lots of choices like parks, shopping malls...etc. Besides, I do like spending my free time with my baby. And I also like reading.

21. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours in Turkey? Pretty good. I can clearly say that I loved my teacher more than I do in Germany.
22. How is your relationship with Turkish people? Pretty good.
23. Did you have any concerns about your life in Turkey? My only concern is terrorism.
24. How is your communication to Germany, are you in touch with your German friends? -
25. Have you ever been in Germany after your return to Turkey? I have been in Germany a few times.
26. How did you feel? I realized that I missed the rules and how clean Germany is.
27. What did you think about your trip to Germany? Although I have missed Germany a lot, I realized that I love Turkey more.
28. How would your life be in Germany if you had stayed? I do have more plans about my future in Turkey. I think my plans would be smaller if I have stayed in Germany.
29. How do you feel about your current life in Turkey? I am very happy here.
30. How is your command of the Turkish language? I do not have any problem with the Turkish language. I have improved myself after the return.
31. What were the positive experiences upon your return? -
32. What were the negative experiences upon your return? -
33. Did you face any cultural or social differences upon your return? I have faced several differences in the first and second year after our return, but I got used to live here.
34. What did you do to overcome the differences? I met people who returned from Germany to Turkey.
35. Did you receive any help from your family, friends or any kind of institution? I received help from my family.
36. Did you ever want to move back to Germany? No.
37. Do you think that having lived in Germany affect your life today, how? Of course. The past always affects the future life.
38. What differences did you observe between Turkey and Germany? The life is beautiful in Istanbul. Turkish people are nice and were first class people here in

our own country. In fact, we are foreigners in Germany and this difference is observable. Germany is a very ordinate and clean country. I cannot ignore that.



## **Interviewee Number Ten**

### **Identification Questions**

1. Name/Surname Zeynep Gezmis
2. Date of Birth / Place of Birth 08.01.1991 / Nurnberg
3. Gender Female
4. Location Istanbul
5. Marital Status Single
6. Education Master's Degree
7. Occupation Marketing Communication

### **Questions for the research**

1. When did you return from Germany to Turkey? August 2006.
2. How old were you when you returned? 15
3. Where were you living in Germany (in which city)? Nurnberg
4. Where did you return in Turkey (to which city)? Istanbul
5. How were your life, living conditions and family life in Germany? Although I had one sister and one brother, I have grown up as a single child because they were living in Turkey. Our living conditions were comfortable.
6. Can you describe your educational life in Germany? I went to kindergarten, elementary and secondary school in Germany. Because of that reason I did not attend to kindergarten classes too much, I had trouble in speaking German. I took private German classes. I started going to Realschule (which is a mid-level secondary school in Germany) in 5th grade and I became a certificate of achievement in 7th grade.
7. Can you describe your social life in Germany, how did you spend your free time? I was playing with my friends and ride my bicycle.
8. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours? We had Turkish neighbours and our relationship was very good. During the traditional holidays, we tried our best to stay together because of homesickness. In the first place I was a little bit self-conscious but in general I got along very well with my friends and teachers.
9. How was your relationship with German people and German society? We had an extreme rightist neighbour. He did never wave a greeting and he was every time

angry when we tried to play in the garden. Except that, we tried to be in step and I had lots of German friends.

10. How did you feel when you were in touch with German people? In the first place, I was not very comfortable because of my language skills. I was mostly quiet.
11. Have you had any concerns about your life in Germany? I hadn't any concerns. Sometimes I was anxious when I met people who were against Turkish people.
12. Why and when did you decide to return? The idea of return was always in our minds. We have always missed Turkey. All our relatives except my mother and father were in Turkey. We were always lonely for that. We decided to turn back to Turkey when I was in 8th grade. So, we made the decision for return in 2006 and I started to go to high school in Turkey.
13. Was the return your own idea? When no, who told you and how? It was the idea of the whole family.
14. How did you feel about the idea of returning? I was very happy and exciting. We have always visited Turkey during summer holidays and I was crying in the end of the holiday. I felt lonely in Germany. The idea of return made me very happy. Finally, I could be together with my family and relatives.
15. How did you imagine your future life in Turkey when the idea of return shows up? I was happy but in the same time I was nervous. A new school, a different school system, a new era...To get used all of them made me nervous.
16. How do you feel in Turkey now? I fell like I have achieved all my goals and fulfilled my adaptation process. At the same time, I miss my life in Germany sometimes.
17. Can you compare your expectations from Turkey when you were in Germany and your current life in Turkey? I feel like that my expectations are met. It was like my holiday times but still I discovered difficulties for living in Turkey.
18. How are your life, living conditions and family life in Turkey? I am happy that I'm living in a city like Istanbul. Although the living conditions are getting harder in the last years, I do not face any difficulties.
19. Can you describe your educational life in Turkey? The high school times were very hard for me. The different school system was hard to get used to. There was no uniform in the schools in Germany, it was hard for me. Despite the difficulties, I got a certificate of achievement with the help of my teachers and friends. I tried very hard. After that, I got my Bachelor's degree.

- 20.** Can you describe your social life in Turkey, how do you spend your free time? I had trouble using the public transportation at the first time. I could not go anywhere when I was alone. Over time, after my adaptation I started going out with my friends.
- 21.** Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours in Turkey? I think that the neighbourhood is much more warm and close in Germany. People were more connected there. In Istanbul, people are always in a hurry and the neighbourhood is not as much as good in Germany. But, the teacher-student relationship is much more close in Turkey. I have also lots of great friends here.
- 22.** How is your relationship with Turkish people? When I started to high school here, I did not feel connected in here. We were seen as 'Almanci' (German-Turk). Because of that reason I have grown up with the German discipline, I could not understand the stolid people in Turkey.
- 23.** Did you have any concerns about your life in Turkey? I am worried about the political situation of Turkey. I have concerns about my future. I think the value of people is decreasing.
- 24.** How is your communication to Germany, are you in touch with your German friends? Yes, it is okay.
- 25.** Have you ever been in Germany after your return to Turkey? A few times.
- 26.** How did you feel? I was emotional when I saw the places from my childhood. And I was happy seeing my old friends.
- 27.** What did you think about your trip to Germany? Although I do sometimes think going back to Germany, I have realized that there is nothing to do anymore after I have spent 2 or 3 weeks.
- 28.** How would your life be in Germany if you had stayed? I could not be that social. I would probably get my bachelor's degree, but feeling alone.
- 29.** How do you feel about your current life in Turkey? I am actually happy but sometimes I have concerns about my future. I am thinking of moving to a small city because of traffic problems, but still I cannot desist from Istanbul.
- 30.** How is your command of the Turkish language? I have difficulty in idioms and proverbs. My parents used to speak Turkish with me when we were in Germany. It was very helpful.

- 31.** What were the positive experiences upon your return? I think Istanbul is a magnificent city. It makes me feel happy. The beautiful view of the Bosphorus is not something you can find in Germany. My student life was very good in Istanbul. We had great times with my friends. I think Istanbul is sparkly.
- 32.** What were the negative experiences upon your return? After my experience in Germany, I think that Turkey has problems with order and plans. Istanbul is a crowded city and traffic problems are bad. I also think that health and education systems are much better in Germany. Turkey has some shortfalls.
- 33.** Did you face any cultural or social differences upon your return? Yes, I did.
- 34.** What did you do to overcome the differences? I think that people have to keep step with differences. Over time I got used to the culture. I can say that I had difficulties.
- 35.** Did you receive any help from your family, friends or any kind of institution? I received help from my family and friends.
- 36.** Did you ever want to move back to Germany? Because of the security problems in Turkey, I think moving back to Europe but I cannot desist from Turkey.
- 37.** Do you think that having lived in Germany effect your life today, how? Yes, I do.
- 38.** What differences did you observe between Turkey and Germany? I think that Turkey and Germany have differences on equality. In Turkey, differences between social classes are much more obvious and people bring that out. At the same time, the health and education systems are different. But however, the family relationship and relationship between friends is more stronger in Turkey.

## **Interviewee Number Eleven**

### **Identification Questions**

1. Name/Surname: Betül Özşerbetçi
2. Date of Birth / Place of Birth: 14.10.1990 / Stuttgart
3. Gender: Female
4. Location: Istanbul
5. Marital Status: Single
6. Education: Bachelor's Degree
7. Occupation: Lawyer

### **Questions for the research**

1. When did you return from Germany to Turkey? In 2008.
2. How old were you when you returned? I was 17 years old.
3. Where were you living in Germany (in which city)? Stuttgart.
4. Where did you return in Turkey (to which city)? Istanbul.
5. How were your life, living conditions and family life in Germany? Pretty good.
6. Can you describe your educational life in Germany? I graduated from Realschule (mid-level secondary school) and we returned.
7. Can you describe your social life in Germany, how did you spend your free time?  
I spent my time with my family and friends. I was very active in sports activities such as swimming and volleyball.
8. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours? Pretty good.
9. How was your relationship with German people and German society? My relationship with German people was very good. We were living in a neighbourhood where German population was high.
10. How did you feel when you were in touch with German people? I was feeling normal because I was used to live in that society, I was not feeling as a stranger.
11. Have you had any concerns about your life in Germany? No.
12. Why and when did you decide to return? We returned because of our business life.  
We had the idea to continue our business in Turkey.
13. Was the return your own idea? When no, who told you and how? It was our family decision. My father suggested the idea and we accepted.

14. How did you feel about the idea of returning? I was excited.
15. How did you imagine your future life in Turkey when the idea of return shows up? I did not think about it because of my age.
16. How do you feel in Turkey now? I feel okay but sometimes I miss but I regularly visit Germany.
17. Can you compare your expectations from Turkey when you were in Germany and your current life in Turkey? I was just 17 years old and I had no expectations about life. I was a high school student.
18. How are your life, living conditions and family life in Turkey? Pretty good.
19. Can you describe your educational life in Turkey? Firstly I went to a German high school in Istanbul and then I graduated from Law School.
20. Can you describe your social life in Turkey, how do you spend your free time? I like travelling and be socially active.
21. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours in Turkey? I had never problems with my teachers. My relationship with my friends and neighbours were also okay. But I am always getting well with my friends who have lived in Germany once. It is because we share the common past.
22. How is your relationship with Turkish people? My relationship was always good but there was always a border between me and other people, which I cannot describe.
23. Did you have any concerns about your life in Turkey? Turkey is an eventful country but still I do not have any concerns.
24. How is your communication to Germany, are you in touch with your German friends? We do have a diverse society, which was hard for me sometimes. There are lots of different cultures in Turkey that is the reason.
25. Have you ever been in Germany after your return to Turkey? I travelled a lot.
26. How did you feel? Although I love Turkey very much, I miss Germany sometimes. We were born and raised there. It is like our second home.
27. What did you think about your trip to Germany? I never regret my return decision but sometimes I miss being there.
28. How would your life be in Germany if you had stayed? I would go the university as here and I would be surrounded with people from different countries but I think my life would be more silent.

- 29.** How do you feel about your current life in Turkey? I am very happy for living here and I want to contribute my family's business.
- 30.** How is your command of the Turkish language? My command of Turkish was always good in comparison to other German-Turks. But thanks to my university education it is better now.
- 31.** What were the positive experiences upon your return? -
- 32.** What were the negative experiences upon your return? I have not experienced anything which gone too far.
- 33.** Did you face any cultural or social differences upon your return? No, I did not. There are lots of cultural differences between people but still I did not face any cultural upon return.
- 34.** What did you do to overcome the differences? -
- 35.** Did you receive any help from your family, friends or any kind of institution? No.
- 36.** Did you ever want to move back to Germany? No, I do not think so.
- 37.** Do you think that having lived in Germany effect your life today, how? Absolutely. First of all being able to speak German is very advantageous. Besides growing up in Europe, perspective on life, the way of thinking, discipline and order are the other advantageous benefits.
- 38.** What differences did you observe between Turkey and Germany? It is sad to say that but the truth is Turkey is not that much developed in education. Our resources such as technologic and scientific are not enough and we are dependent on other countries in terms of export. That affects our purchase power and people cannot be active in social life. Some activities, which are very normal in Europe, are seen as luxurious and people cannot owe their desired activities/pieces. Only spot of people can have these things. Because of that reason that we do not have a strong basis both economically and political, we are an unable country. It is not the same in Germany. But I think the young population can change the situation and I wish that every young person can have an active role in business life so that can be a start point for our country.

## **Interviewee Number Twelve**

### **Identification Questions**

1. Name/Surname: Aynur Arslan
2. Date of Birth / Place of Birth: 24.02.90 / Wiesbaden
3. Gender: Female
4. Location: Istanbul
5. Marital Status: Single
6. Education: Bachelor's Degree
7. Occupation: Architect

### **Questions for the research**

1. When did you return from Germany to Turkey? In 2006.
2. How old were you when you returned? 17.
3. Where were you living in Germany (in which city)? Frankfurt.
4. Where did you return in Turkey (to which city)? Istanbul
5. How were your life, living conditions and family life in Germany? Good.
6. Can you describe your educational life in Germany? I went to Realschule (mid-level secondary school) in Germany and I started following my expectations after my return.
7. Can you describe your social life in Germany, how did you spend your free time? Volleyball, basketball, Ping-Pong, ice skating, hanging out with friends.
8. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours? It was always great.
9. How was your relationship with German people and German society? It was better than Turkish people.
10. How did you feel when you were in touch with German people? I think they are warm blooded and honest.
11. Have you had any concerns about your life in Germany? I was different than other German-Turks.
12. Why and when did you decide to return? Not to be between Turks and Germans in Germany.
13. Was the return your own idea? When no, who told you and how? It was my father's idea. It was a sudden decision.

14. How did you feel about the idea of returning? I was very sad. I was a successful student and I was very close to accomplish my dreams. Starting from the beginning was hard.
15. How did you imagine your future life in Turkey when the idea of return shows up? Order was the most important thing in my life and I was imagining Turkey as a country of disorder. I was thinking about how to struggle against this disorder.
16. How do you feel in Turkey now? I still think the same way. As a person who is in love with Istanbul I cannot feel very safe.
17. Can you compare your expectations from Turkey when you were in Germany and your current life in Turkey? As I thought, Turkey is a disorganised and undisciplined country.
18. How are your life, living conditions and family life in Turkey? Very good. I was about to fulfil my dreams in Germany and I am continuing.
19. Can you describe your educational life in Turkey? My high school years were not that much productive but preparation process for college and my college life were very good for me.
20. Can you describe your social life in Turkey, how do you spend your free time? I like discovering new places.
21. Can you describe your relationship with your teachers, classmates and neighbours in Turkey? Great.
22. How is your relationship with Turkish people? Great.
23. Did you have any concerns about your life in Turkey? I have concerns about my country.
24. How is your communication to Germany, are you in touch with your German friends? Great.
25. Have you ever been in Germany after your return to Turkey? Yes.
26. How did you feel? I felt emotional. I missed it.
27. What did you think about your trip to Germany? I compared the order and the free life of people and desired.
28. How would your life be in Germany if you had stayed? I would fulfil my dreams and had a quiet life.
29. How do you feel about your current life in Turkey? Nice but tiring.
30. How is your command of the Turkish language? Average.

- 31.** What were the positive experiences upon your return? The life continues until midnight even in weekends.
- 32.** What were the negative experiences upon your return? People are disrespectful and intolerant to each other.
- 33.** Did you face any cultural or social differences upon your return? Yes, I think that social activities are very restricted and because of that, children try to improve themselves outside and families with higher incomes spend their money on such activities.
- 34.** What did you do to overcome the differences? I had to get used to and I did.
- 35.** Did you receive any help from your family, friends or any kind of institution? No.
- 36.** Did you ever want to move back to Germany? No.
- 37.** Do you think that having lived in Germany effect your life today, how? I built my personality in Germany.
- 38.** What differences did you observe between Turkey and Germany? Order, discipline, people's respect to each other, passion, the way of living, culture, social activities and hobbies.

ETİK KURUL DEĞERLENDİRME SONUCU/RESULT OF EVALUATION BY  
THE ETHICS COMMITTEE

(Bu bölüm İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurul tarafından  
doldurulacaktır /This section to be completed by the Committee on Ethics in research  
on Humans)

**Başvuru Sahibi / Applicant:** Ebru Demirkol

**Proje Başlığı / Project Title:** German-Turks return to the homeland: The migration  
of the second and the third generation German-Turks to Turkey'

**Proje No. / Project Number:** 2017-20019-34

1.	Herhangi bir değişikliğe gerek yoktur / There is no need for revision	XX
2.	Ret/ Application Rejected Reddin gerekçesi / Reason for Rejection	

Değerlendirme Tarihi / Date of Evaluation: 4 Nisan 2017

Kurul Başkanı / Committee Chair

Doç Dr. İtir Erhart (izinli)



Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Hale Bolak

Üye / Committee Member

Doç. Dr. Kaya Akay



Üye / Committee Member

Doç Dr. Ayhan Özgür Toy

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Prof. Dr. Aslı Tuğç



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