AN INVESTIGATION OF THE RETURN MOTIVES, TURKISH AND
GERMAN IDENTITY PERCEPTIONS AND LANGUAGE PREFERENCES OF
SECOND AND THIRD-GENERATION TURKISH-GERMAN RETURNEES

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

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The aim of the present thesis is to explore the return motives, Turkish and German identity perceptions, and Turkish and German language preferences of second and third-generation Turkish-German returnees. A total of 93 informants participated in the study (10 second-generation and 83 third-generation). A mixed method research design was adopted in the study. The data was collected by means of questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. In the analysis of the data, SPSS 24 and MAXQDA 2018 were used. The results of the study indicated that the Turkish identity identification scores were significantly higher than the German identity identification scores, which indicates that Turkish-German returnees identify with their Turkish identity significantly higher than their German identity. Additionally, a significant positive relationship was found between a sense of belonging to the Turkish identity and language preference. In addition, no significant difference was found between the Turkish and German proficiency levels of the Turkish German returnees, which indicates that Turkish-German returnees are balanced bilinguals

who are proficient users of both languages. In addition, while participants prefer Turkish more than German, they continue to use German across different topics and in different procedures. During the qualitative data analyses process, the overarching themes emerged were integration to Germany, perceived discrimination in the host society, post-return experiences in the country of origin (adaptation to Turkey, perceived discrimination), and difficulties related to Turkish language proficiency. According to the qualitative data analysis, it was seen that Turkish migrants were successfully integrated into Germany and a failure to integrate was not a determinant of the return itself. Discrimination was also found to be a factor which cannot solely explain the return decision of the participants. Moreover, the post-return difficulties reported by the participants were mostly associated with language, differences between the two countries in terms of way of life and education.

Keywords: Identity, Language Proficiency, Language Preference, Return Motives, Transnationalism

ÖZ

ALMANYA'DAN DÖNÜŞ YAPAN İKİNCİ VE ÜÇÜNCÜ JENERASYON TÜRKLER'İN DÖNÜŞ SEBEPLERİNİN, TÜRK VE ALMAN KİMLİK ALGILARININ, TÜRKÇE VE ALMANCA DİL TERCİHLERİNİN İNCELENMESİ

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Bu tezin amacı Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye dönüş yapan ikinci ve üçüncü jenerasyon Türk göçmenlerin dönüş sebeplerini, Türk Alman kimlik algılarını ve dil tercihlerini incelemektir. A Çalışmada 10 ikinci jenerasyon ve 83 üçüncü jenerasyon olmak üzere toplam 93 katılımcı yer almıştır. Çalışmada karma araştırma yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Veriler anketler ve yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler aracılığıyla toplanmıştır. Data analizinde, SPSS 24 ve MAXQDA 2018 programları kullanılmıştır. Çalışmanın sonucunda katılımcıların Türk kimlikleri ile Alman kimlikleri arasında istatistiksel olarak anlamı bir fark bulunmuştur. Katılımcıların Türk kimliğine ait skorları Alman kimliğine ait skorlarına göre istatistiksel olarak anlamlı derecede yüksektir, bu da katılımcılarının Türk kimliğine daha yakın olduğunu göstermektedir. Aynı zamanda, Türk kimliğine yönelik aidiyet hissi ile dil tercihi arasında anlamlı bir pozitif korelasyon bulunmuştur. Ayrıca, katılımcıların Türkçe ve Almanca dil yeterlilikleri arasında anlamı bir fark bulunmamaktadır. Bu

sonuçlar katılımcıların her iki dilde de yeterliliği sahibi dengeli ikil olduklarını göstermektedir. Katılımcılar genel anlamda Türkçe'yi Almanca'dan daha çok tercih etmelerine rağmen, hala Almanca'yı farkı konu ve durumlarda kullanmaya devam etmektedirler. Nitel araştırma verilerinin analizinde ortaya çıkan kodlar Almanya'ya entegrasyon, Almanya'da hissedilen ırkçılık, Türkiye'ye dönüş sonrası yaşanan zorluklar (Türkiye'ye adaptasyon, Türkiye'de hissedilen ırkçılık), ve Türkçe ile alakalı yaşanılan zorluklar olmuştur. Nitel araştırma analiz sonuçlarına göre Türkler Almanya'ya başarılı bir biçimde entegre olmuşlardır ve de entegre olamama tek başına geri dönüşün sebebi değildir. Benzer şekilde ayrımcılık da katılımcıların dönüş kararlarını tek başına açıklayabilecek bir faktör değildir. Katılımcıların dönüş sonrası yaşadığı zorluklar genellikle dil ve iki ülke arasında yaşam tarzı ve eğitim sistem farklılıklarıyla alakalıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kimlik, Dil Yeterliliği, Dil Tercihi, Dönüş Sebepleri, Ulusötesicilik

To my weak self

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"Everything looks impossible until it is done". This was the summary of my thesis writing process. The biggest difficulty ahead of me was persuading myself that I could write my thesis. During this process, the biggest help I needed was motivation and guidance. Therefore, I am eternally grateful to each and every one who helped me find the motivation and guidance that I needed to complete my thesis process successfully.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

"Wherever you make your living, that's your home"

Throughout history many individuals have been displaced for a wide variety of reasons. Migratory movements have taken place in individual and mass forms. While international migration is not a concept that has emerged recently; an increase has been observed in migration and displacement as a consequence of conflicts, persecution, and insecurity and absence of opportunity (World Migration Report, 2008). In 2015, there were 244 million international migrants across the world, which accounts for 3.3% of the global population (UN DESA, 2016). According to the World Migration Report by the International Organization for Migration (2018), the number of foreign-born people living in the USA, which is the main destination country for international migrants, rose from 12 million in 1970, to 46.6 million in 2017. These figures indicate that international immigration is showing an upward trend and is gaining in volume. Among European countries, Germany houses 12 million international migrants and ranked first in 2015. Additionally, Germany hosts a large number of refugees and ranks first with 720,000 applications. United States comes second with 262,000 and Italy comes third with 123,000 migrants (World Migration Report, 2018). As stated by Abadan-Unat (1976), migration is a universal phenomenon which can only be investigated systematically from a long-term

historical perspective. Therefore, the root causes of migration are associated with many different factors, which need in-depth investigation.

Primarily motivated by financial reasons, mass migratory migrant movements also took place in Turkey. To initiate the first mass movement of migration, Turkey signed a bilateral labour-recruitment agreement with West Germany in 1961, with Austria, the Netherlands, and Belgium in 1964, with France in 1965, and with Sweden in 1967 (Sayari, 1986) for labour recruitment and employment. In time, a significant migration corridor opened up between Turkey and Germany.
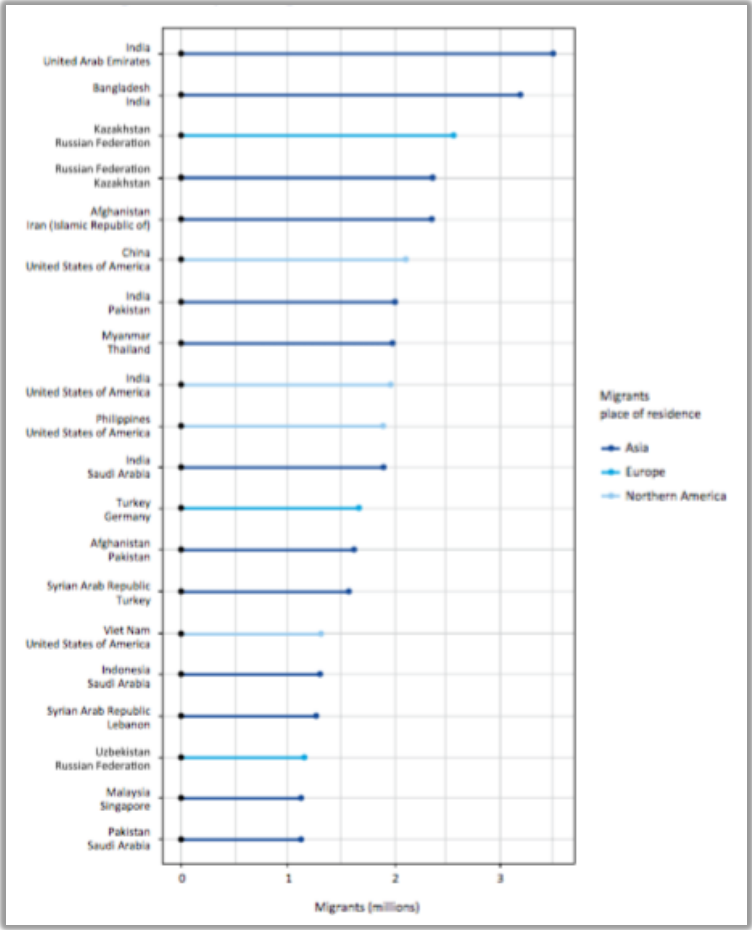
Figure 1.1. Migration Corridors Between Countries (UN DESA, 2015)

Migration corridors between countries generally occurred in periods depending on commercial and financial reasons, conflicts and insecurity, and community and ethnic ties, in addition to smuggling and trafficking (World Migration Report, 2018).

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Currently, as a consequence of the migration from Turkey to Europe – and especially to Germany - Turks remain the largest non-EU immigrant minority in Western Europe (Sirkeci, 2012). Today, it is estimated that more than 3 million Turks are living in Germany. For the last two decades, a downward trend has been observed in the migratory flows from Turkey; however, Turkey ranks high among all countries in terms of the number of migrants it sends abroad. The number of out-migrants from Turkey accounts for about six per cent of its population abroad. (İçduygu, 2012).To gain an insight into the Turkish influx of migrants to European countries, it is necessary to elaborate on the process from a historical perspective by taking into account both sociological and economic factors prevailing in both migrant-sending and receiving countries.

Turkish migration to Europe dates back to the 1960s when European countries were in dire need of an expanded labour force to help rebuild their countries during the post-second world war period (İçduygu, 2012). Although planned temporarily, Turkish migration to Europe did not have unidirectional status and a significant portion of the Turkish community living in Germany and other European countries have returned and remigration to Turkey continues. Some of the guest workers, who set off to Germany in pursuit of better living standards or to save money, returned to Turkey for various reasons upon living in the host country for a limited duration. Today, return migration still continues and about 40,000 migrants of Turkish descent migrate back to Turkey from Germany annually (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2001). This migratory flow from Turkey to Germany, in this regard, will be investigated in-depth with a historical perspective by focusing on the motives and outcomes. According to Manderson & Inglis (1985), "Migration is a process which is frequently seen as having considerable potential for producing social change because of the disruption it introduces into established patterns of social life". In this scope, it is fair to state that migration brings about changes both at an individual and at a societal level. For a sending country, migration presents three benefits: recruitment, remittances, and return migration (Papademetriou & Martin 1991).

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1.2. Turkish Migration to Germany

"Josef Stingl, the then-president of the Federal Labour Agency, was practically euphoric when, in November 1969, he greeted the 1-millionth guest worker from the south-eastern European region at Munich's main train station. The 24-year-old Turk from Konya in central Anatolia was given a television set before being shipped off to a factory in Mainz near Frankfurt" (Spiegel, 2010). This story is a great example of how migration flow from Turkey to Germany began. No one could have guessed that the migration flow, which began with this great euphoria, would turn into such a significant migration story in Germany. Although the mass labour emigration from Turkey was driven by economic reasons in the early 1960s (İçduygu, 2012), the migratory influx underwent different phases under the influence of different factors. Therefore, Turkish immigration to Germany and other European countries should be dealt with taking into consideration the internal and external dynamics that existed in Germany and Turkey at the very beginning of the migratory flow.

The number of immigrant workers in Germany was 1.2 million between 1910 and 1920 accounting for about two percent of the population and the development of German coal and steel industry couldn't have been achieved without immigrants from Poland and Italy (Mueller, 2006). In the post-world war II period, German economy continued to be dependent on foreign labour. Before the labour recruitment agreement with Turkey, Italy had provided a cheap unskilled labour force to Germany to achieve German economic transformation. Initially, workers were known as Fremdarbeiter, which means foreign/alien workers. Later on, they were called Gastarbeiter or guest workers to highlight their alien or temporary status (Mueller, 2006).

Migration from Turkey to Western Europe did not have any colonial roots. The beginning of Turkish migration dates back to the 1950s. In 1956, The Institute of World Economy at the University of Kiel requested an agreement on the exchange of vocational volunteers in order to facilitate German capital investments in Turkey (Abadan-Unat 1976). The Turkish state signed its first agreement with the Labour

Ministry of the West German province of Schleswig-Holstein in 1957 and as a result of this agreement, 12 Turkish technical high school graduates migrated to Germany upon enactment of the agreement in 1957.These 12 trainees were recruited in Germany and decided to stay in West Germany permanently (Akgündüz, 1993). This marked the beginning of the German and Turkish labour recruitment corridor to meet the growing demands arising from the industrial boom experienced in Germany.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, Western European countries implemented labour recruitment programmes by recruiting guest workers to fill in the vacant positions generally requiring an unskilled labour force. Italy, Spain, Greece, and Portugal were the first countries from which Western Germany recruited this labour force. After labour-exporting countries closest to Western Europe ran out of human resources, European countries initiated labour recruitment from physically and socio-culturally more distant countries including Turkey (Martin & Miller, 1980). To meet the need for an ever-growing labour force, Germany also recruited workers from countries such as Morocco, Tunisia, and the former Yugoslavia (Akgündüz, 1993). In contrast to Mediterranean countries such as Spain, Portugal or Italy - countries whose mass migratory movements date back to long before- the flux of immigrants from Turkey can only dates back to the early 1960's. Following the enactment of the 1961 constitution, the Turkish state introduced the first Five-year Development Plan (1962-1967) which stipulated 'export of surplus labour power' in line with the development policies implemented by the Turkish state (İçduygu, 2012). The major aim of this plan was to offer recommendations and strategies in order to achieve economic development and industrialization. The plan outlined rapid population growth and limited job opportunities and suggested exporting the excess, unskilled labour force (Abadan-Unat, 1976).

By means of bilateral agreements with Western countries, the Turkish Employment Service resorted to exporting "surplus manpower" in order to ensure job

opportunities outside the national boundaries. The first bilateral agreement Turkey signed was with Federal Germany on October 30, 1961. Later on, a series of agreements were signed with Austria (May, 1964), France (April 8, 1966), Sweden (March 10, 1967) and Australia (October 5, 1967). (Abadan-Unat, 1976, Gökdere 1978).

In the midst of rapid population growth and intense movement from rural to urban areas, Turkey was struggling with the increasing demands of society. Therefore, the Turkish state aimed both to tackle the unemployment problem and create sources via remittances obtained by Turkish immigrants sent to Europe (Sayari, 1986). In October 1961, the number of Turkish workers in Federal Germany dramatically increased from 7.000 to 18.500 in July 1962 and peaked at 615.827 immigrants in mid-1974 (Abadan-Unat, 1976). Considering that the population increased 2.6% in 1970 in Turkey, it was thought that labour migration would solve the unemployment problem (Kiray, 1972). Following the growing urbanization of Turkish cities between the 1960s and 1970s, problems emerged with regard to housing, municipal services, and jobs (Sayari, 1986).

At a time when the labour recruitment agreement between West Germany and Turkey was put into effect on Oct. 30, 1961, Germany had labour agreements with Italy, Greece and Spain, but the West German economy was expanding and there was a growing need for the labour force (Speigel, 2010). Initially, labour migration from Turkey to Germany seemed a win-win solution for both the sending and the receiving country. Also from the perspective of the migrants, migration offered many benefits because the wages that migrants earned abroad could be significantly higher than the incomes they received for doing similar jobs in their home countries (World Migration Report, 2018). As suggested by Sayari (1986), the main aim of the Turkish government was to mitigate the pressure on the domestic labour market by means of labour migration because "exporting workers" looked like a viable solution considering the high unemployment rampant in Turkey in that period. Moreover, the Turkish government attached great importance to remittances since it was believed that remittances would be helpful to cope with the Turkish economy foreign-exchange crises and migrants who were employed in the industrial regions

of Western Europe would return to Turkey equipped with new skills and training after the experiences they gain abroad. At the same time, as stated by Akgündüz (1993), the labour agreement signed between Turkey and Germany was also a relief for West Germany in terms of meeting the demand for labour at a time when Germany was undergoing a re-construction process in the post-second world war period. Interest in becoming a migrant worker in Germany grew among Turks due to the economic opportunities that employment in Western Europe offered with the higher wages and the Turkish migrants working in Germany who visited Turkey in summer with gifts for relatives and friends and invested their saved money into real estate in Turkey (Sayari, 1986). Since the labour agreement enacted required temporary settlement in the host country, Turks who migrated to Europe decided to migrate back to their countries of origin after having stayed in the host society for a certain period of time. However, along with those who were recruited abroad, some migrants children born and raised in Europe chose to migrate to Turkey to maintain their contact with their roots. (İçduygu, 2012).

The number of workers sent to Germany was 184,000 in 1969 and dramatically rose to 648,000 in 1973 (Akgündüz, 1993). The main reason for the the growth in the number of people migrating to Western Europe was linked to explosive population growth, which resulted in the pressing problems of job supply and employment (Abadan-Unat, 1976). However, the migratory flow from Turkey to Germany was not motivated only by financial reasons. Through the end of the late 1970s, many Turks decided to apply to Germany as asylum seekers due to the political unrest in Turkey and also the military coup happened in 1980 contributed to the number of Turkish citizens who migrated to Europe (Aydin, 2016.) According to İçduygu (2012), Turkish immigrants considerably grew in number in Europe since the beginning of 1960s through the mid-1990s for three major reasons: 1) Turks began to stay in Europe longer than it was first predicted and were joined by their spouses and children, 2) The number of asylum seekers rocketed in the post-1980 military coup period 3) upon family unification, the birth rate in the Turkish community increased substantially, which added to the Turkish population in Europe.

Labour migration from Turkey to Western Europe came to an end between 1973 and 1974. West Germany imposed a limitation on the entry of new migrants coming from countries outside the European Economic Community (EEC), faced with public opinion pressures against further inflow of migrant workers and growing unemployment rates as a result of the economic recession which had hit Germany after the 1973 oil crisis. The first phase of Turkish migration to Germany was terminated by the first oil crisis, and recruitment of Turkish workers was interrupted (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2007). In 1980s, the number of the new immigrants culminated again, which was interrupted with the second oil crisis. The oil crisis turned into an economic crisis and a serious unemployment problem in both the sending and receiving countries (Euwals et al., 2007). Similar to Germany, many European countries applied the same measures taken by West Germany. However, the number of Turks in Germany remain increased since dependants of the workers moved to Germany with them (Sayarı, 1986).

Although recruitment of Turkish workers was halted in 1973 as a result of the worsening economic conditions in Germany, Turkish workers did not go back to Turkey and they were joined by their partners and children (Aydin, 2016). A study carried out in 1964 showed that less than one-third of migrants were accompanied by their families (Martin, 1991). In this context, family unification contributed to the number of Turkish immigrants in Germany and upon family unification, some Turks decided to permanently settle in Germany rather than go back or alternatively, delayed their return. As the migrant workers stayed longer, their families joined them. According to 1974 figures, there were 1 million Turks in West Germany: 60% of them were workers, 20% children, and 20% were spouses who didn't work and their dependents (Martin,1991).

Between 1961 and 1973, about 800.000 Turkish workers were officially recruited for different jobs by European employers. Also during this period, many different Turks went to Western Europe with tourist passports and settled after finding employment (Sayari, 1986). With the enactment of the labour agreement, Turkish immigrants started to come to Germany as of 1961 for a temporary period as guest workers and it was initially believed that these "guest workers" would return to their

home country. At first, guest-worker programs developed as per the bilateral labour agreement signed between Turkey and Germany stipulated that there would be a two-year rotation system and there would be a constant change of workers. This benefitted both Turkey and Germany because Turkey would be receiving remittances and benefitting from the skills that Turkish guest workers acquired in Germany and later bring to Turkey and Germany would be meeting its labour demand without experiencing the problems associated with Turkish integration into Germany (Katzenson, 2016).

In Germany, Turkish immigrants were mainly recruited from the central regions of Turkey and German people initially did not pay attention to whether or not these guest workers were able to read or write or if they could integrate into the German society. For Turkish immigrants, dormitories were allocated to them where they could live together and it was believed that these workers returned to their homelands after working with the rotation principle (Speigel, 2010). The bilateral agreement signed between Turkey and Germany stipulated the return of Turkish immigrants. The recruitment of workers was based on a rotation principle and the agreement allowed for the entry of workers to Germany for a limited time (2 years). According to the agreement, workers were required to return to their home country upon completion of two years for other guest workers to come (Sari, 2003). The German government did not change its view regarding the settlement of Turkish immigrants until the end of 1990s (Euwals et al., 2007).

For a long time, Germany intentionally did not implement proper integration policies to accelerate the integration process of Turkish immigrants to encourage Turks to return home one day. (Speigel, 2010). Since Germany did not anticipate that Turks would permanently stay in Germany, the efforts to incorporate Turks into German society emerged not as a result of empathy but out of necessity (Katzenson, 2016). Also, as stated by Akgündüz (1993), the general image of migrants and Turks was negative and they were perceived as illiterate, unskilled, unqualified labourers coming from the lowest segments of their societies and the most deprived regions

of the sending countries. The notion that Turkish immigrants, along with other immigrant groups, were coming from the underdeveloped regions of their countries and that they lacked an educational background, resulted in biases against minority groups formed as a result of the influx of guest workers.

Studies carried out by the Berlin Institute for Population and Development revealed that compared to other immigrant groups, Turkish workers were less successfully integrated into the German society. However, the "rotation clause" introduced to limit the stay of workers in Germany to two years was abolished from the German-Turkish treaty in 1964 to ease the pressure on the German industry to train new workers from scratch and it was seen that Turkish workers were reliable with less demands compared to their German colleagues. In fact, they were quite productive (Speigel, 2010). Turkish workers, who initially set off to Germany with the dream of returning to Turkey sooner or later, delayed coming home thinking that they would experience a re-integration problem in Turkey and they were much more successfully integrated when joined by their families. Also, Turkey had been plagued by economic turmoil and the military coup, which discouraged Turks to come back home.

Eventually, receiving countries noticed that their guest workers were not leaving, even after their permits expired. To reverse the trend, Germany enforced the Foreigners *Repatriation Incentives Law* in an attempt to tackle the growing unemployment, increased rates of family reunification, and integration difficulties faced by the immigrant population (Aydin, 2016) and promote return among Turks. In fact, Germany did not adopt policies officially to promote and accelerate Turkish integration into Germany. In 1973, the German government put an end to the guest-worker program and began to provide incentives to immigrant labourers to encourage them to return home (Mueller, 2006). According to Speigel (2010), until the late 1990s Germany officially used monetary rewards of up to 10,500 deutschmarks (€5,400) to enable guest workers to go back home. Also, rather than facilitating Turkish integration into Germany, Germany provided Turkish lessons to the children of Turkish guest workers at schools so that Turkish children could get

ready for their future life in Turkey, something which was not aimed at helping immigrant children adapt to the German schooling system (Speigel, 2010).

Although Germany stopped recruiting labourers, the Turkish population in Europe kept growing because of family reunification policies and employers who were reluctant to let their labour immigrants go back to their countries of origin after workers had integrated into their workplaces (Martin, 1991). The policies the German government implemented - including the financial incentives to encourage return - did not work. Added to this, Turkey encouraged the Turkish labour immigrants to stay in Germany due to the high unemployment rate in Turkey and the provision remittances sent by the Turks in Germany to their families in Turkey (Mueller, 2006). As pointed put by (Aydin, 2016), although recruitment of Turkish workers officially came to an end in 1973, family unification contributed to the number of the Turks flowing into Germany. However, figures show that a decline was seen in the intensity of immigration for familial reasons from 25,068 in 2002 to 6,355 in 2012. Also, since Germany had implemented stricter asylum laws and Turkey had become a politically more stable country in the past decade, this resulted in a decline in the number of asylum seekers applying to Germany - a decline from 9,575 Turkish citizens applying for asylum in Germany in 2002 to 1,457 Turkish citizens in 2012. (Aydin, 2016).

Contrary to expectations, a drastic decrease was not observed in the Turkish population despite the ban on recruitment in the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1973, the Turkish population reached 900,000 Turks in Germany. At that time two-thirds of the workers were employed. In 1980, the size of the Turkish population in Germany was approximately 1.5 million and only 590,000 of the Turkish population participated in the workforce (Martin 1991). In 1980, it was estimated that the total Turkish population in Europe was 2 million, with 800,000 legally in the workforce (Penninx, 1982). The phase of migratory flow from Turkey to Germany ended in the early 1980s. Until that time, the Turkish population in Germany grew in size in line with family unification as a result of the mass migration of Turkish immigrants.

Currently, German-born children of Turkish families make up an important section of the Turkish community in Germany in the third phase of the migration movement. (Mueller, 2006).

Currently, the Turkish community in Germany consists of first, second, and third generation Turkish immigrants and it is estimated that 500,000 of these are German citizens (The Economist 2002). The number of Turks who migrated to Western Europe through unofficial means with tourist passports was also high. These people settled down after participating in the workforce (Sayari, 1986). According to 1977 figures, the number of Turks engaged in Germany's workforce was 527,500; In France, which was the second country after Germany where Turkish migrants emigrate most, that number was 31,200 (Martin & Miller, 1980). Germany and France were followed by the Netherlands, Austria, Switzerland and Belgium. (Sari, 2003). As per the ''Recruitment Agreement for Labour'' of 1961, predominantly Turkish male workers were sent to Germany and they accounted for one million of the 2.6 million foreign workers by 1973 at a time when Germany was experiencing an economic stagnation and putting an end to importing immigrant labour.

For a sending country, sending labourers outside their country provides three benefits: export of labour, return migration, and remittances. (Sari, 2003). At the beginning of the migratory flows to Western Europe, Turkish policymakers thought that the migrant's local community would be positively affected by new investments in small or medium-sized investments, new technology and machinery to be brought back by the returnees, and new enterprises upon return. This was particularly important for the economic transformation of rural Turkey (Sayari, 1986). In terms of the guest workers who migrated to Western Europe, higher social status or prestige, (not necessarily in the host society but in the context of the home community in Turkey), higher quality of life expectations, the chance to live in a more modern and developed environment and acquiring greater knowledge about the world were appealing (Sayari, 1986).

1.3. Turkish Return from Germany to Turkey

Recently, return migration has shown a significant increase at a global level. Millions of ethnic Germans and Jews migrated back to their ancestral homelands in the after the end of the second world war. Likewise, the collapse of the Soviet Union marked the beginning of a mass migratory flow of ethnic Russians who lived in Europe, Central Asia and the Caucasus. Likewise, ethnic migrants from Latin America and Eastern Europe migrated to countries like Spain, Italy, Hungary and Poland. Since the beginning of mass Turkish migratory flows, the number of Turkish citizens around the globe has risen to 4.5 million. 4 million of them are living in Europe with 80% being concentrated in Germany. Currently, 170.000 Turks live in Berlin alone. Within this context, Turkey has experienced a remarkably intense migratory mobility with its citizens leaving their home countries, firstly through official channels - such as bilateral agreements - and subsequently by political reasons or preferences, family pressure, or encouragement by the experiences of friends and fellow citizens (Abadan-Unat, 2011). Martin (1991) stated that the number of Turkish returnees is between 500.000 and 900.000. However, there is no exact number available regarding the returnees. Turkish labour emigration started off slowly, reached a peak in the 1970s, and continued with family reunification and retirements after the mid-1970s.

Subsequently, the 1996-67 and 1974-77 recessions experienced in Germany encouraged Turks to return home and the repatriation policies adopted by the Federal Republic resulted in the return of more than 1.500.000 Turks between 1983 and 1984 (Martin,1991). After a military coup was proclaimed in Turkey, a drastic increase was observed in the number of Turkish citizens seeking asylum as well. Turkish migration to Germany, which started with guest worker recruitment and intensified with family reunification and continued asylum seeking led to a significant increase in the number of Turkish citizens living in Europe. The number of Turkish immigrants became almost two million in the 1980s and rose to 2.9 million in 1990s. The number fell to 2.7 million in 2000 and remained unchanged

in the 2000s. But the decline in the number of Turkish immigrants is predominantly caused by Turks acquiring citizenship while living in Germany (Tusiad, 2006).

In terms of Turkish migration to Germany, the 2000s marked a new chapter in which a substantial decrease was seen in emigration and asylum-seeking figures from Turkey. The post-2000 period also symbolizes the homecoming of emigrants who migrated from Turkey to Germany in the 1960s and 1970s (İçduygu, 2012). Gitmez (1983) stated that about 190,000 people returned to Turkey between 1974 and 1977 and an additional 200,000 returned between 1978 and 1983 period. Gitmez (1983) presented additional data on the number of returnees and stated that about 30,000 people returned between 1978 and 1983, between 55,000 and 60,000 in the 1967 to 1974 period, and around 15,000 to 20,000 individuals returned annually between 1976 and 1980. For example, between 1981 and 1984 310,000 Turks returned from Germany, and between 1985 and 1986 10,000 Turkish citizen returned to Turkey from the Netherlands (TÜSAİD, 2006). Another decline was observed in the family reunification phenomenon – a drop of three-quarters since 2000 - and also the number of asylum seekers dropped from 9,000 in 2000 to just 1,800 in 2014. Currently, the Turkish immigrant population in Germany is still high with 3 million current residents and former Turkish citizens there with 1.5 millions of these immigrants being Turkish citizens (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2014).

The Turkish return can be dealt with in terms of factors associated with both Germany and Turkey and also in different phases. Similar to Turkish migration to Germany which was influenced by the financial and political situations both in Turkey and Germany, return migration was also under the influence of financial and political situations in both countries. In the earlier stages of migration in the pre-1990s, Turkish return migration took place in separate waves. Martin (1991) stated that the first Turkish migrants were encouraged or forced to return during the 1966–1967 and 1974–1977 recessions experienced in Germany and the third largest group of people was offered financial incentives during 1983–1984. However, a decline was recorded in return migration numbers from 1985 to 1998 because some Turkish migrants decided to settle in Europe permanently (Razum et al. 2005). Every year, because of the improving economic prospects in Turkey, 8000 immigrants of

Turkish descent and their children return seeking job opportunities in different sectors (Künüroğlu et al., 2017).

Table 1.1
Naturalization of Turks and Their Descendants in Germany (1980-2006)

Year	Turks	Year	Turks
1980	399	1994	19590
1981	534	1995	31578
1982	580	1996	46294
1983	853	1997	42240
1984	1053	1998	59664
1985	1310	1999	103900
1986	1492	2000	82800
1987	1184	2001	75600
1988	1243	2002	64631
1989	1713	2003	56244
1990	2034	2004	44465
1991	3529	2005	32661
1992	7377	2006	33388
1993	12915	Total	683,391

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (2007)

Migrants can be divided into two groups - those with an intention of only staying temporarily in the host country and those who intend to stay permanently. In general, migrants who intended to stay temporarily in the host country returned to their countries of origin after they achieved their specific initial aims, e.g. saving money (Gmelch, 1980). Return migration was the natural consequence of Turkish migration to Germany as it was based on the 'guest-worker' principle with a rotation system (İçduygu, 2012).Although intended to be a temporary measure with the labour agreement stipulating the return of Turkish workers after 2 years, Turkish migration to Germany (which had started as a unilateral flow of workers to Germany aiming to save money or obtain better economic or social opportunities), ended up in the formation of a significant Turkish community in Germany.

Turks who were initially driven by economic prospects, and later grew in numbers with family unification and asylum seekers and political refugees resulting from the political upheavals seen in Turkey, were encouraged to return to Turkey by the

Foreigners Repatriation Incentives Law of 1983 introduced by the German state by covering relocation costs of returnees and providing social opportunities (Aydın, 2016). The German state implemented incentives to encourage Turks to return to their country of origin and they offered up to DM10,500 plus DM1,500 per returning child to workers who were unemployed or who worked part time, and refunded the returning worker's social security contributions immediately instead of waiting for two years. As a result of these incentives, more than 100,000 workers and an uncertain number of their dependants returned to Turkey. Annual Turkish emigration from the Federal Republic of Germany rose from 75,000 to over 150.000 in 1983-84. Return premiums were paid to about 8.5000 Turkish workers and approximately 93,000 of them were paid pension refunds (Speigel, 2010).

Martin (1991) stated that some 1,000,000 Turkish emigrants returned home between 1960 and 1990. Some factors contributed to the return phenomenon among Turkish workers. One of the factors that influenced this return migration was the oil price shock that took place in 1973. The incident resulted in a halt of migrant worker recruitment and an encouragement of return migration (İçduygu, 2012) Returnees in the mid-1970s were mainly prompted to return as a result of employment, whereas those who returned in the 1970s and early 1980s generally returned because they did not have a family with them in the receiving country (Martin, 1991). Another factor accelerating return migration concerned integration into the host society. It is evident that migrants will be less willing to return in case that they are happy with the living conditions that they have in the host country (Sari, 2003).

Although the Turkish population living in Germany exceeds 3 million currently, one of the most significant factors that prompted Turkish guest workers to return to Turkey was the lack of sound policies in Germany to facilitate the integration process of Turkish immigrants. Turkish workers, who had gained immigrant status over time after creating a community, failed to fully integrate into German society. As per the labour agreement which necessitated their return in the rotation system, the German state either intentionally or unconsciously did not attempt to develop polices or measures aimed at integrating Turks into German society. This might also be derived from the will of the German state to cause Turks to 'not feel at home' to

encourage them to return home. Accordingly, as a policy, German state supported Turkish immigrants so that they could maintain their ties with Turkey and uphold Turkish customs and traditions and didn't lose their command of their native Turkish language, with a view to preparing them for a potential return to Turkey (Aydın, 2016).

According to (Tsuda, 2010), the immigration dilemma is more evident in ethnic nation-states where there a stronger ethnic nationhood compared to the civic component because in ethnic nation states there is a dominant ethnic group on which cultural and political unity is based and mass migratory movements to those countries is a threat to the ethnic balance and national solidarity. Because migration results in social and ethnic conflicts, it contributes to the crime rate and receives negative reactions from the host members of that society as well as posing other threats to a country's internal security. These kinds of ethnonational concerns generally result in stricter and exclusionary immigration policies in ethnic nation-states (Castles and Miller, 2003) as opposed to multi-ethnic, civic nation-states, which mostly adopt inclusive and tolerant policies toward immigrants. However, in the case where ethnic nation-states are in dire need of immigrant labour, contradictory ideological forces underlying immigration policymaking arise from the financial and ethnonational pressures.

Although Turkish workers were recruited in Germany based on a rotation principle, it did not work for the Turkish case and at the beginning, Turks stayed in Germany longer than it was expected (Abadan-Unat, 2006). In time, the Turkish population accumulating in Germany lost its labour migrant population and rather became more of a labour migrant population (Sari, 2003). Meanwhile, even though Turks in Germany were initially also recognized as temporary guest workers referred to as "expatriate" (since they were expected to return to Turkey), the Turkish government began to acknowledge the existence of a Turkish *diaspora* in Germany (Aydin, 2016). This marks the acceptance that Turkish migration to Germany did not achieve its major purpose, which was the recognition that Turks in Germany should gain

permanent status. After the Turkish population in Germany became more stable, return migration, which was powerful in the early phases of migration, began to decline as the migration flow from Turkey to Germany reached a saturation point and the incentives offered by the German government lost their effectiveness (Sari, 2003). This might be supported by Penninx (1982) who stated that migrants acquired elevated positions in terms of their skills and experiences and those with better positions relative to their peers in their communities tended not to return home (Penninx 1982). That is to say that Turks who decided to stay in Germany permanently were relatively satisfied with the status they had obtained in Germany's labour hierarchy system. Sari (2003) stated that those who wanted to take jobs in the industrial sector preferred to stay in Germany rather than going back to Turkey because of higher earnings.

Return migration has its reasons and consequences as well - in particular, it is expected to bring about financial consequences. It is believed that returnees will bring back the disciplines, skills and pace of the industrial system of their work life in the host countries when they come back home (Sari, 2003). As also stated by Abadan-Unat (1976), migration from Turkey to Germany created a downward mobility for Turkish guest workers who migrated to Germany, whereas it created an upward mobility for those who returned from Germany and she underlined that Turkish returnees rather chose to be self-employed instead of engaging in the industrial sector. Martin (1991) also stated that emigration created a chance for upward mobility for Turkish workers. Turkish workers returned to their home country with savings and were able to upgrade their financial status. There is generally a mismatch between the sending country and the receiving country in terms of their technological and development levels, and therefore, returnees may see that the skills they gained in the receiving country can be applied in their home country upon return due to this gap (Sari, 2003).

The post-return experiences of returnees remain insufficiently studied. This thesis aims to shed light on the post-return experiences of Turkish returnees. (Paine, 1974) stated that some returnees were not happy about their conditions upon return and considered going back to where they came from. While there were effects of return

migration on Turkey, it should also be underlined that Turkey failed to come up with solid policies for help returnees re-integrate in terms of the Turkish economy (Penninx 1982). This is partly because of the mismatch between the industrial level and capacity of both countries.

1.4. Aim of the Study

The present study aims to explore the return motives, Turkish and German identification of second and subsequent-generation Turkish returnees who were born and raised in Germany and moved to Turkey for various reasons and their preference of Turkish and German language usage within the scope of transnationalism. The main purpose of the study is to focus on the return motives, Turkish and German identity perceptions and the language preferences of the second and third-generation Turkish immigrants (with a particular focus on the third generation), who were born and grew up in Germany. In the study, it is hypothesised that the return motives, Turkish/German identity perceptions and language preferences of the second and third-generation immigrants differ from the immigrants who migrated to Western Europe as unskilled labourers in the first waves of immigration. In the present study, the post-return experiences of second and third-generation immigrants born to Turkish parents in Germany and who later migrated to Turkey for various reasons are also examined. The present study will aim to answer the questions below.

1.5. Research Questions

In order to shed light on the return motives, Turkish and German identity perceptions and language preferences of Turkish-German returnees within the scope of a transnationalism approach, the following questions have been proposed:

1. What are the main return motives of second and third-generation Turkish-German returnees?

2. Is there a significant difference between the Turkish and German identity identification of Turkish-German returnees?

3. Is there a significant difference between the Turkish and German language preference of Turkish-German returnees?

4. Is there a significant correlation between Turkish identity and language preference?

5. Is there a significant correlation between German identity and language preference?

1.6. Significance of the Study

There is a growing interest in return migration in academia. However, return migration studies generally focus on first-generation migrants who migrate to countries outside their country for financial reasons. Today, the number of studies carried out on second-generation returnees is also on the rise. However, third-generation returnees have not been studied extensively. In this scope, the present study is significant since it places a particular focus on third-generation Turkish-German returnees.

The transnational studies carried out on the returnees mainly explore return motives and identity issues; however, the studies conducted do not place a significant emphasis on the language usage of the returnees. This study deals with language preferences of Turkish-German returnees in varying contexts and aims to analyse language in association with transnationalism.

Additionally, those studies which have investigated return migration with a transnational perspective have mainly employed only qualitative or quantitative data analysis methods. However, the present study, which is carried out with a mixed design, is important in terms of validating results obtained through quantitative and qualitative means. Moreover, transnationalism considers migration a continuous process, rather than a one-way and one-time only process. Therefore, the analysis of Turkish return migration from a transnational perspective paints a broader picture

of the Turkish-German immigrants, taking into account their post-return difficulties, identity perceptions and re-migration intentions.

1.7. Limitations of the Study

Setting is one of the limitations of the study. The data was only collected from students of a state university in Istanbul. The study did not, however, include any participants who are located in rural parts of Turkey. This might be a limitation for the generalizability of the results. Similarly, all the participants were undergraduate students enrolled in the department of German Translation and Interpreting. This might also be a limitation for the generalizability of the results.

Another limitation of the study is the imbalance in the number of second and third-generation Turkish-German returnees. The study consisted mainly of third-generation Turkish-German returnees. However, the number of second-generation Turkish-German returnees is comparatively lower than the third-generation returnees.

Furthermore, despite the growing interest in transnationalism as an important framework to understand return migration process, transnationalism has its own limitations. Somerville (2008) maintains that identity should not be analysed based on outcomes by means of static identity markers; processes of identity formation should be analysed in-depth to grasp the emotional attachments of the returnees. Another limitation is also relevant to the literature on transnationalism and finally, the literature is very limited on the return of the subsequent generations (King & Christou, 2008), which makes it difficult to relate past studies to the present one.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Overview of the Chapter

In this chapter, the most prominent theories utilized in the study of return migration will be presented and the main theory that the present study is built upon will be discussed in line with the aims of the study. Return migration has been studied from different perspectives in different research fields. The most important theories utilized for the study of return migration include Cassarino (2004)'s Classification of Return Migration Theories (illustrated in Figure 2.1), Berry (1997)'s Acculturation Framework, Cultural Identity Model of Sussman (2010), U-Curve Hypothesis Gullahorn & Gullahorn (1963). The theoretical framework of the present study will be based upon transnationalism, a theory put forward by Cassarino (2004).

2.2. Return Migration

In general, theoretical and empirical studies deal with migration as a permanent phenomenon (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007). However, there has been a growing academic interest in return migration recently and there have been many attempts to explain return migration (a sub-process of international migration), by multiple approaches which are built upon neoclassical economics, the new economics of labour migration, structuralism, transnationalism and social network theory (Cassarino, 2004). Dustmann & Weiss (2007) describe return migration as "a situation where migrants return to their country of origin by their own choice, often after a significant period abroad". Past studies mainly focus on how returnees

contribute to their country of origin financially upon return, and contextual or economic factors affecting return migration are absent in the studies (De Haas et al., 2014). The number of theoretical studies which deal with return migration from the perspective of the migrant worker is very limited (Steiner &Velling, 1992).

A significant problem regarding the measurement of return migration is the absence of reliable data; for example, the United States of America, do not keep records of emigration statistics (Constant & Massey, 2002). Undoubtedly, migration is a multi-faceted phenomenon having implications not only on the immigrant-sending countries and the immigrant-receiving countries but also on the immigrants and their families. The first-generation immigrants who were recruited through the labour agreement always maintained their contact with their home countries and always cherished the wish of going back home. Similar to first-generations, some of the second generations also kept the 'return' idea alive in order to escape the fate of their parents or to avoid potential problems their children might experience. (Künüroğlu et al., 2017).

According to Dustmann &Weiss (2007) many migrants who migrated to Central Europe between 1955 and 1973 chose to return. Böhning (1987, 147) stated that 'more than two thirds of the foreign workers admitted to the Federal Republic [of Germany], and more than four-fifths in the case of Switzerland, have returned'. As of the 1980s, a shift was seen in the migration patterns of Turkish immigrants. Rather than living in Europe temporarily, Turkish immigrants in Western European decided to settle into the host country permanently, return migration acted as a dynamic component of the overall migration process. Apparently, in the early 1980s, the 'Return Acts and Bonuses' offered by the host governments paved the way for substantial return migration to Turkey (Ayhan, 2000).

One of the biggest issues regarding experiences upon returning to Turkey was that Turkish returnees were faced with stigmatization. Returnees were labelled as "Almancı", which is a word used in a pejorative way. "Almancı" means "a Turk

from Germany" and it is used to differentiate people of Turkish descent who live in Germany. Turks living in Germany or who return are also considered rich since they were paid in euros and obtained social rights which are not available in Turkey. Another consequence of return migration is the issue of reintegration or integration of returnees.

Return and integration were not of critical importance for the migrants who returned during the 1960s and 1970s because these returnees journeyed to foreign countries with the intention of coming back. However, those who returned during the 1980s and 1990s had their families and their children with them. In order not to completely cut ties with Europe, those returnees left some of their children in their host countries. They were in between making a decision whether to settle in the host country permanently or not. Turkish migrants' decision to return to Turkey brought about some challenges both for them to re-integrate into Turkey and for their children to integrate in Turkey. Children of returnees in particular faced grave problems with regard to adaptation to the social and educational environment in Turkey (İçduygu, 2012).

Irrespective of its outcomes for the individuals living in the host society, migration acts as a changing agent for both the migrants but also for the friends and family members of the migrant who remain in Turkey (Day & İçduygu,1997). The change occurs as a result of the separation of the spouses and children, wealth and income growth, new social networks, changed behaviour due to extended interaction with a foreign culture, replacing old roles with new ones; of gaining new qualifications, interests, and aims (İçduygu, 2012).

Although first approaches to return migration go back to the 1960s, scientific investigation of return migration and its influences on sending countries began in the 1980s and Cassarino (2004) provides a classification of theoretical paradigms aiming to explain return migration from different perspectives. He groups return migration theories such as Neoclassical Economics and the New Economics of Labour Migration, The Structural Approach to Return Migration, Transnationalism and Return Migration, Social Network Theory and Return Migration given the fact

that return migration is a multifaceted phenomenon motivated by various factors. In this context, theories which focus on one single factor might fall short of explaining the return phenomenon. Returnees might be motivated by multiple factors such as financial issues or identity at the same time. Therefore, different migration theories put forward differing hypotheses about the factors spurring return migration.

2.3. Economic Approaches to Return Migration

In this section, Cassarino (2004)'s Classification of Return Migration Theories and different theories of return migration will be discussed. The following figure illustrates the return migration theories developed by Cassarino (2004). Then, explanations about these theories will be presented.
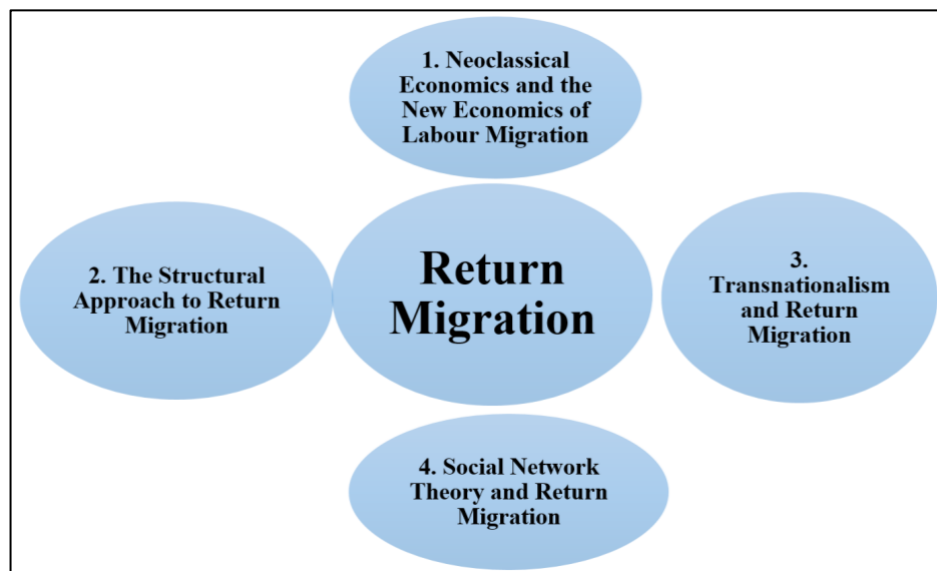
Figure 2.1. Cassarino (2004)'s Classification of Return Migration Theories

2.3.1. Neoclassical Economics and the New Economics of Labour Migration

Neoclassical economics view return migration as a consequence of an unsuccessful migration experience in which the labour migrants experienced a mismatch between the costs and benefits of migration (Cassarino, 2004). According to the NELM

model, the main objective of people is to migrate abroad for an intended temporary stay with an idea of returning home one day after sending remittances or putting aside a certain amount of money. Thus, migrants are not considered failed individuals, they are rather seen as "successes": as people who fulfil their financial targets and return home upon realization of their aims (Constant & Massey, 2012).

While neoclassical migration theory attributes the motive for return to the unsuccessful integration into the host society, the new economics of labour migration views return migration as the reasonable period upon which migrants acquire an adequate amount of savings and know-how to invest in when they come back to their home countries (De Haas et al., 2014). According to the neoclassical approach to return migration, migrants failed to gain utmost earning they expected. On the other hand, according to the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) return migration is a "calculated strategy" in which migrants leave their country of origin temporarily. (Cassarino, 2004, Constant & Massey, 2002).

On the other hand, neoclassical perspective theorises that return migration concerns labour migrants failing to calculate the expenses of migration and who were not able to enjoy the benefits of high earnings. Conversely, neoclassical approaches to return migration underline that higher incomes and accumulation of savings naturally constitute the fundamental reason for return since migrants experience a successful migration period abroad upon meeting their primary goal of migration, which is saving money and re-migrating to the home country, which explains the return decision along with the attachment to the home country (Cassarino, 2004).

It is evident that motivated by the likelihood of return, migrants tend to save more money compared to native-born and the migrants who do not plan to re-migrate to their countries of origin and accordingly, those with the ideal of going back home send their savings to families and family members who stayed in the sending country in the form of remittances (Stark & Galor 1990). Similarly, Steiner &Velling (1994) stated that the driving force for the temporary migration was thought to be caused by "savings", which means that guest workers would return home upon saving a sufficient amount of money to start a business or pursue their life as retirees.

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Considering the first wave of Turkish migration to Europe, returning upon saving enough money was a major source of motivation as found by Werth (1993) who stated that a small group of the Turkish guest workers planned to stay in Germany. The influential factors encouraging the guest workers to return were age and length of stay in Germany, marital status, earnings and savings and employment status.

Dustman (1994) analysed the return intentions of the migrant workers and developed an intertemporal model and offered three explanations as to why guest workers migrate only for a temporary period: "price differences in the host and home country, the opportunity of access to human capital abroad, and complementarities between consumption and the environment where consumption takes place" (p.16). Similarly, according to Steiner and Velling (1994), the intended stay in Germany showed an increase in parallel with length of residence in Germany following migration, level of education, proficiency in the German language, possession of property, having young children, and "feeling good" about Germany; however, a decrease was seen in line with remittances, being unemployed, and having children back in the home country. As stated by Constant & Massey (2012), migrants are generally attracted by the better financial prospects in the receiving countries and they want to earn higher salaries. However, in the case that the migrants' expectations of high salary are not met in the host country, or lack of satisfactory employment opportunities might have an influence on the return decision of the migrant.

According to the surveys by the GSOEP, the determining factors of home return are the social and economic attachments of immigrants to Germany and their home countries. Within this scope, return is more likely for the immigrants who are weakly attached to Germany and likewise, for the those who maintain strong social and economic connections to home countries. Migrants who have a spouse or children in their country of origin or the ones who send money abroad are more likely to return (Constant & Massey, 2012). Accordingly, in cases where the migrant successfully integrates into the host society, the return is delayed. De Haas et al.,

(2014) conducted a study examining the determinants of return intention among Moroccan migrants in different parts of Europe and the results revealed that there was no significant effect of structural integration into the host country by means of labour market participation, education and developing economic and social ties attachment with host countries. It was also found in the same study that there was a positive correlation between investments and social ties to Morocco and cultural integration in the host society negatively affected the migration intentions. The results found in the study indicate that return migration is not a uniform process and encompasses different dimensions. Therefore, different theories of return migration can complement each other.

Although economic perspectives present important information on migration and return migration together, they cannot be solely evaluated with regard to economic factors because political, situational and contextual factors come into play when it comes to individuals deciding to migrate and return. Also, these models do not shed light on the experiences of second and subsequent generations. For these reasons, these models fail to explain multi-layered and multi-faceted phenomenon such as return migration.

2.3.2. The Structural Approach to Return Migration

The structural approach puts forward that return cannot be explained in terms of the individual experience migrants have, rather it can be analysed taking into consideration social and institutional elements in the sending country. The structural approach underline that financial and economic resources brought back to the country of origin are of utmost importance after the migrant decides on returning (Cassarino, 2004). The study by Cerase (1974) sheds light on the relationships between the expectations of the returnees and the social and financial circumstances (i.e. "reality") at the country of origin and classifies first-generation immigrants into the following groups: return because of failure, conservatism, retirement, and innovation.

Return out of Failure: Immigrants face prejudices and stereotypes after they arrive in a new society and fail to confront these difficulties. Accordingly, the immigrant may not successfully integrate into the host society and seeks ways to re-migrate their home country – especially if they their family members are back at home. The first immigrants who generally had unskilled jobs or jobs they did not like, preferred going back home to staying in boarding houses or in factories.

Return out of Conservatism: The biggest source of motivation for some immigrants is to secure economic gains during their time abroad. That's why they only tend to focus on the money they make and accept any jobs available. For the sake of saving money and sending remittances back home, the immigrants work hard and live under difficult conditions. In this type of return, the individuals are conditioned to return back home and alienate themselves from the host society after putting aside sufficient amount of money to own land and a home after returning.

Return out of Innovation: Some immigrants tend to detach themselves from the host society and display a reluctance or fail to accept their position in the new society. This prompts them to return to their home country. In such a case, these immigrants view return as an alternative which will yield more satisfaction; and therefore, uses all means to go back home. This type of returnees cannot be considered in the conservative returnee groups because they regard themselves as agents of change with the skills they acquired in the host country and think that their home countries present better opportunities in terms of satisfying their needs.

Return out of Retirement: As the individual gets older and they harbour some displeasure regarding life in the host society, they might think returning is a sound option. The individual, who set off to a foreign destination mainly so save money and return back home, contemplates coming back home after buying a piece of land and a house, where they can enjoy their time off during retirement. Retired returnees want to spend the last stage of their lives in the places where they originally came from.

Cerase's typology of returnees evidently underlines that economic factors fall short in attempting to explain whether or not a return experience is a success or a failure and therefore it is significant to consider the social and financial factors in the country of origin. (Cassarino, 2004). Contrary to neoclassical economics and the new economics of labour migration approaches to return migration, the structural approach concentrates on the impact that returnees can make in their home countries upon return. This approach indicates how influential contextual and situational factors can be for returnees to act as actors of change. Return migration is not only influenced by the skills and financial capital that returnees acquire in the host countries. The power relations, customs and values rooted in the country of origin influence the post-migration experiences of the returnees as well. (Cassarino, 2004).

W. Dumon puts forward that, "the returnee can be defined as a person who, in order to be reaccepted, has to readapt to the changed cultural and behavioural patterns of his community of origin and this is resocialization" (Dumon 1986, 122). Within this scope, the structural approach argues that if the individual fails to re-adjust, the returnee may think of re-emigrating. Eventually, returnees are unable to follow their interests because they are alienated from their societies of origin after a long time in a foreign environment. (Cassarino, 2004).

The main features of different classifications can be compiled under these typologies (Gmelch, 1980):

1. Returnees with the intention of temporary migration. The time of their return depends on whether or not they were able to achieve the goals they set.
2. Returnees with the intention of permanent migration but who were obliged to return. They actually wanted to stay abroad but they had to return due to factors beyond their control.
3. Returnees with the intention of permanent migration but decided to return. These returnees generally had a failed migration experience.

The structural approach takes into consideration the contextual and situational aspects of the country of origin and the host countries. Nevertheless, in-depth

information is not presented about the interaction migrants have in the receiving and home countries or the psycho-social processes they undergo. Therefore, this approach is inadequate to shed light on the experiences of later generations.

2.4. Sociological Approaches to Return Migration

Neoclassical Economics and the New Economics of Labour Migration and the Structural approach to return migration fail to offer an in-depth insight into the migration and return migration process in some respects. Return migration, which is a multi-faceted and complex phenomenon, might be triggered by reasons beyond economic or contextual factors in the host society. Immigrants who are not entirely satisfied with factory work and city life, might be affected by the friendly and warm environment in their home country during their visits and begin to contemplate starting a new life in their countries of origin (Gmelch, 1980). Dustmann (1993) also contends that the "environmental factor", which might be associated with the level of integration in the receiving country, might influence the optimal length of stay in the host country. That is to say that the higher the integration level in the receiving country, the higher the duration of stay in host country. In this scope, Transnationalism and Social Network Theory might provide insight into the return migration process from a sociological point of view in case return cannot be explained by economic factors.

2.4.1. Transnationalism and Return Migration

Transnationalism is a term coined by social scientists and was first used in the early 1990s and is based on the migrants in the US, who originate from the East Caribbean, Haiti, and the Philippines with long-preserved social links with their ancestral homelands (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992). Migrants, who developed multiple ties connections their ancestral homeland and the receiving society they live in with regard to issues such as family, religion, economics, politics, are called transmigrants (Schiller et al., 1992). Transnationalism primarily

focuses on the multi-layered identities transmigrants develop through their country of origin and host country by means of social and economic links. Therefore, it does not see migration as an end-point (Cassarino, 2004).

Transnationalism argues that social and economic ties that exist between sending and receiving countries influence the migrant identity. Contrary to the structuralists and the advocates of NELM, transnationalism contends that return migration does not put an end to the migration experience of the individuals because identity formation of the returnees continues as a result of the re-integration process that returnees undergo. Transnationalists argue that returnees periodically visit their home countries and maintain and strengthen the ties that they have with their home countries with a view to facilitating the return process. (Cassarino, 2004). The conceptual framework of transnationalism depends on transnational identities and transnational mobility. Transnational identities emerge out of the combination of the dual identities migrants develop in the receiving country and the sense of belonging they have with their home countries. Transnationalists argue that, this combination results in "double identities" and individuals do not develop conflicting identities. Different from the structuralists, who underline adjustment, transnationalists place emphasis on adaptation upon returning home. According to transnationalism, coming back home does not require the individuals to leave the identities they developed abroad. Undoubtedly, returnees are confronted with challenges when it comes to re-integrating into their home society both socially and professionally, the ties that they have with their home countries as well as their regular visits to their home countries facilitate their re-integration process (Cassarino, 2004). This means that transnationalism does not perceive migration as a one-way journey; on the other hand, it brings a perspective to analyse the multi-layered identities that migrants develop through the social and economic connections they maintained with the country of origin and host countries (Kunuroglu et al., 2016).

According to Nadje Al-Ali and Khalid Koser (2002), different allegiances come into play with regard to the conception of homeland. Migrants might be attached to their country of birth and emotionally attached to their country of origin simultaneously. The transnationalism approach argues that migrants' perception of their homeland

and how they identify themselves influence their return decisions and their re-integration process (Cassarino, 2004). Levitt (1998) states that although migrants are a member of a dispersed community group geographically, they "feel linked to one another by their common place-of-origin and their shared religious and social ties" (p. 13). Common allegiances that migrants in different locations hold, such as common ethnicity, common origin and kinship shape transnational activities and characterize transnational identities. According to the transnational approach, the actions of migrants are directly affected by the sense of belonging migrants have to their migrant community. It is worth noting that transnationalism provides a better understanding of the relationships between the returnees and their migrant communities in the host society. From a transnational perspective, returning is addressed concentrating on the ways how returnees adapt themselves into their home environment. Returnees may experience social pressures or feel alienated from their own origin society (Cassarino, 2004). For this reason, trans-migrant is the name given to the migrants in case they formed and preserved various connections in subjects such as family, institutions, religion, economy, and politics, both with their home country and the host society (Schiller et al., 1992).

Since the end of the 1980s, different disciplines began to incorporate the transnational terminology into their studies. Transnationalism was first used by international relations scholars with a view to interpreting the existing regular migration links between sending and receiving countries, which is mostly ignored by structuralists. According to transnationalism, migrants might be attached to their countries of birth and their places of origin simultaneously, or vice versa. The transnationalist approach contends that homeland perceptions of the migrants and their self-identification influence their decision to return and their reintegration process as both homeland perceptions and self-identification present both a social and historical background (Cassarino, 2004).

In general, first generation migrants have a tendency preserve the communal and structural attachments with their home countries. However, past studies have shown

that second generation migrants also retain knowledge of their heritage language and visit their countries of origin, therefore they tend to maintain ties with their home countries (Levitt & Schiller, 2006; Somerville, 2008; Wolf 1997). Not only the political but also economic situation of home country and the host country determine how transmigrants perceive their experiences and develop the dual identities (Schiller, Basch, & Blanc, 1995; Somerville, 2008). Also, studies carried out on transnationalism concentrate on concepts, such as "nation, ethnicity, identity, culture, society, place, space, home, nostalgia", which are helpful to understand multidimensional and interdisciplinary quality of mobility both in terms of the receiving and sending countries (Quayson & Daswani, 2013). Integration is about both the maintenance of the heritage culture in addition to the interaction with and participation in the culture or cultures of the host societies. However, when compared with transnationalism, there is a smaller emphasis placed on the engagement with the country of origin in integration.

The 'diaspora' term describes the people who re-migrate to their home country after living away from their ancestral homelands as a consequence of "political, social, economic, and cultural factors, or cultural pressures" (Yijälä & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2010; Tsuda, 2009a). Despite the association of the term diaspora with Jewish people who lived away from ancestral homelands for a long period of time, the definition of the term is extended now in migration studies. The term diaspora is now used as a term encompassing a broader category of migrant groups which include refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, or guest workers who are away from countries of origin but stick together due to their religious or national identity (Daswani, 2013, p. 35). Therefore, this term can also be used in studies which focus on guest workers considering that labour recruitment results in a sizeable community of immigrants as it is the case for Turks. Recently, the words transnationalism and diaspora have been used interchangeably despite the differences between them (Quayson & Daswani, 2013). Although Turkish migration to Europe started as 'guestworker' migration in the 1960s, it is possible to refer to the Turkish labour diaspora in Germany and other European countries (King & Kilinc (2013).

According to Brubaker (2005), a diaspora should be composed of some core elements such as dispersion, orientation to ancestral homeland, and boundary maintenance. Recently, transnationalism and diaspora have been used interchangeably despite the slight differences between them. Upon settling in a new foreign society, a migrant gains a different status. Individuals who are a part of the majority society in their own country become a part of the minority group in the country of settlement. Although migrants in a receiving society are regarded as ethnic minorities because of their ethnic backgrounds, they gain a similar minority status in their ancestral homelands as well when they migrate back and they socially incorporate as a part of the majority host society. Although they are racially different from the mainstream society, they become a new type of ethnic minority due to the different cultural characteristics they assumed during their experience abroad. They are socially segregated as culturally foreign minorities in their ethnic homeland (Tsuda, 2003).

There has been a growing interest in the number of studies investigating diasporas. Diasporas are ethnic groups which have been displaced for ethno-political persecution or economic factors; however, are connected with a sense of belonging to and nostalgia their ancestral homelands (the ethnic homeland) despite being across different parts of the world (Cohen 1997). The types of diasporic return can be classified into two categories - the return migration of first-generation diasporic people returning their country of origin (country of birth) and the return of next generation descendants of diasporic people including second and their generation returnees returning to their ancestral homelands after being away from their country of origin for generations (Tsuda 2009). Today, the profiles of the contemporary Turkish-origin immigrants, especially of the third generation, are rather different from the guest-worker stereotype of the past. They seem familiar and comfortable with both cultures, can use transportation and communication tools available to them, and can spend varying amounts of time in both cultures. They also take an active role in the financial sector and social life (Kaya & Kentel, 2008). First and subsequent generations differ in terms of their experiences because the first

generation migrants return to their country of birth, whereas second and subsequent generations return to their country of origin to which is completely new to them. Therefore, the experience they have upon return might be similar to migrating into a foreign society. On the other hand, similar to first generations, second and subsequent generations might be personally and emotionally attached to their ethnic homeland.

Immigrant-receiving countries face a dilemma with regard to immigration. Although labour migration is an important means of mustering an unskilled labour force, it raises some questions for ethnonational reasons because of the perception in the immigrant receiving countries that immigrants threaten the national unity of a country and its ethnic stability. It is particularly controversial for countries which have a solid ethnic nationhood perception in comparison with civic-nations. For the migrant sending countries, on the other hand, ethnic return migration offers a remedy to manning the unskilled labour force and does not result in an ethnic breakdown since the immigrants are co-ethnic descendants (Tsuda, 2010). Therefore, there is a conception in the migrant-receiving countries that the large-scale influx of foreigners who are different in terms of race and culture is likely to undermine the national culture and ethnic order in a society, and eventually results in disorders and unrests. As a consequence, countries with ethnonational concerns tend to adopt restrictive immigration policies. Eventually, it creates a dilemma in which liberal democratic states concurrently aim to receive indiduals due to economic concerns but also to limit the number of migrants admitted for ethnonational reasons. (Tsuda, 2010). To tackle this issue, some countries have implemented policies as an incentive of ethnic return that motivate a country's diasporic descendants born and raised abroad to migrate ''home''.

In addition to well-known diasporas with their roots dating back to old times, new diasporas also emerged as a consequence of the labour agreements or refugee flows in the last decades. Therefore, more and more emphasis is being placed upon the second-generation 'return' (King & Christou, 2008). Recently, some ethnic nation-states have implemented policies with a view to encouraging diasporic descendants to come back to countries of origin. From the ethnic country perspective, return

migration is a remedy which solves the immigration dilemma with regards to labour force without resulting in an ethnonational breakdown since the immigrants are co-ethnic descendants (Tsuda, 2010).

In general, second generation is described as two immigrant parents' children born in the host country. However, there is not a clear description of second generation because it is still not clear whether or not to count children with one immigrant parent as a second-generation or those children settled into a host country at a very young age or the children with one immigrant parent. Regarding the latter, they are officially registered as foreign-born by the census and population-register statistics. Consequently, they are considered first-generation immigrants although it is impossible to distinguish them sociologically from the second generation. (King & Christou, 2008).

The studies which are mainly conducted according to ethnographic methods, generally focus on the narratives of second-generation integration and identity. These studies generally, focus on dual cultural identity which is shaped under the influence of the host country and the and ancestral homeland. Studies by Leichtman 2005; Levitt 2001; 2002 maintain that the phenomenon of immigrant transnationalism cannot be limited to the first generation, but can be extended to the second and subsequent generations. Furthermore, the fact that the second generation immigrants are successfully integrated or assimilated does not necessarily imply that they are detached from transnational/diasporic activities which help them feel attached to their country of origin (Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005). On the other hand, as shown by previous diaspora studies, having a strong ethnic identity in the host society does not preclude the immigrants from developing transnational ties to home. Within the scope, it is fair to state that it is not necessary for the migrants to visit their (parents') home country in order to maintain an ethnic attachment (Vickerman 2002).

The literature on return migration mainly focuses on the first generations who migrated to Western countries within the scope of guest-worker agreements, whereas they rarely focus on the return of the subsequent generations, which are second and third generations (King & Christou, 2008). The experiences of the first and subsequent generations differ significantly. Another limitation is that transnationalism is a very branched field that requires a more clear framework as (Portes et al., 1999). According to Somerville (2008) the studies should concentrate on the identity formation processes not just identity outcomes. Therefore, static identity measurement methods fail to shed light on emotional attachments, and how trans-migrants conceptualize their emotional attachments.

The study carried out by King & Christou (2014) on 64 second-generation Greek-German and Greek-Americans who returned to Greece investigated the relationship between return, transnationalism and integration. The study, which revealed the post-return experiences of returnees, indicated that a return to Greece was a difficult experience for second-generation Greek returnees because of the corruption and chaos of Greek life, xenophobia in Greek society towards themselves as "hyphenated Greeks". The results also indicated that some second-generation Greek returnees contemplate re-migration to their country of birth and still hold transnational links with their country of birth.

2.4.2. Social Network Theory and Return Migration

Transnationalism contends that immigrants are individuals who accumulate the necessary resources to go back to their country of origin by means of resource mobilization thanks to common grounds such as religion and ethnicity. However, according to the social network theory, returnees accumulate the resources to ensure their return to their home countries by means of resource mobilization thanks to common interests. According to the social network theory, returnees have strong ties with the previous places they had settled in different countries. Transnationalism argues that the links that migrants have with their home countries result from diasporas; however, according to the social network theory these links do not necessarily stem from common attributes.

Neither the transnationalism theory nor the social network theory view returning as the end of the migration cycle. According to both theories, returning is only one of the stages of the migration process. Both theories underline the importance of the links migrants maintain between host and home countries in order for the immigrants to facilitate their return process. The difference that lies between these two theories is that transnationalism highlights the significance of diaspora. Transnational allegiances develop spontaneously at a cross-border level based on common attributes such as ethnicity and kinship; however, social network theory argues that transnational networks between home and the host society develop in line with social and institutional factors. As a matter of fact, these exchange relations arise from common interests, not attributes. Social network theory presents a more comprehensive framework of analysis which offers an in-depth analysis into the complexity of return migration issues. (Cassarino, 2004).

2.5. Psychological Approaches to Return Migration

2.5.1. Acculturation

Cultural adaptation of the immigrants to a new culture has been comprehensively studied for years, whereas literature on the post-return experiences of a sojourner is very limited (Ward et al., 2001). Despite the fact that some migrants intend to stay in the receiving country permanently, they may end up going back to living in their country of origin for different reasons. In this scope, the acculturation cycle does not come to an end when the migrant enters the receiving society, rather it is likely to last after re-migration. Therefore, re-migration of the migrant to their country of origin creates a new adjustment, process which can be referred to as re-acculturation (Donà & Ackermann, 2006). Identities, perceptions, and intergroup relations might be affected by the migratory experience after return, and it is necessary to study these aspects in-detail (Neto, 2012). The acculturation process brings about different challenges for the individual such as attitudes, language, identity, social interaction, and discrimination. An indicator of the acculturation process is proficiency in both

the ethnic minority language and the majority language (Phinney & Landin,1998). Acculturation also deals with the identity changes and the extent of the identity changes that happen during the acculturation process (Phinney, 1990).

2.5.1.1. Berry's Acculturation Strategies Framework (1997)

Acculturation studies overwhelmingly investigate the processes that individuals go through when they are born and raised in a particular culture and in cases where they intend to find themselves in a different culture. Acculturation aims to research how individuals behave in a new cultural setting and how they find themselves in a cultural context (Berry, 1997). Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits defined acculturation as (1936): "acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (p.149).

According to Berry (1997), societies become culturally plural as a result of immigration flows. This results in power differences across different groups and groups such as "mainstream", "minority", and "ethnic group" arise. The individuals in groups resort to different methods of acculturation. The strategies listed by Berry (1997) include *assimilation, separation, integration and marginalisation*. In cases where migrants are not willing to preserve their cultural identity and engage in interactions with other cultures, the **assimilation** strategy occurs. However, if individuals are eager to maintain their heritage culture and refuse to interact with different cultures, **separation** occurs. On the other hand, in cases where the individuals are both willing to preserve their own identity and engage in interactions with other cultures simultaneously, **integration** develops. However, if individuals are not willing to preserve their own culture and are not eager to interact with the other cultures, **marginalisation** strategy develops. When the dominant society is inclusive and open to other cultures, the integration strategy can be pursued by the individuals. Such societies value cultural diversity (Berry, 1991). In order for integration to be achieved in a given society, both the dominant and the non-dominant group should acknowledge that they are living as people with different

cultural backgrounds. The non-dominant group needs to assume the fundamental values belonging to the host society that they live in and the dominant groups should be willing to meet the needs of the non-dominant group individuals by national institutions such as education, health and Labour. As stated by Berry & Kalin (1995), it is possible to pursue the integration strategy in societies which celebrate multiculturalism.

In cases when a non-dominant group wants to maintain their cultural identity, integration and separation strategies can be followed because these two strategies are "collective'', on the other hand assimilation is more "individualistic" (Cameron & Lalonde 199). However, it may not work to choose an acculturation strategy for the individuals who are easily distinguished from the mainstream society due to their physical characteristics might face prejudice and discrimination, and thus may not be eager to be assimilated (Berry et al., 1989). In addition, the "bicultural" term has been extensively used in cases where the individuals are in contact with two cultures simultaneously (Cameron & Lalonde, 1994).

2.5.1.2. Adaptation

Adaptation refers to the short-term or long-term changes that emerge in individuals or groups as a consequence of external factors. After a certain time, the acculturating individual successfully adapts to a new cultural context in the long-term (Beiser et al., 1988). In case that assimilation and integration strategies are pursued, the acculturating individual fits into the new cultural context, however, when separation, segregation or marginalisation strategies are pursued, the acculturating individual may fit into the new cultural context. The literature differentiates between psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Searle & Ward, 1990). Psychological adaptation is associated with personal and cultural identity, psychological health, and being personally satisfied in the new social setting. Sociocultural adaptation stands for external psychological outcomes that enable the

individuals get used to living in their new context, such as coping with daily problems mostly related to work and school (Berry, 1997).

The study by Neto (2010) carried out with the aim of exploring the re-acculturation behaviours of immigrant adolescents whose families had returned to Portugal indicated that adolescents preferred integration most as the re-acculturation attitude, whereas they preferred marginalization least. Acculturation attitudes were significantly influenced by demographic and intercultural factors; however, intercultural factors were the most significant. Another study conducted by Neto (2012) aimed to investigate to what extent adolescent children of immigrant families who returned to Portugal adapt psychologically and socio-culturally and the predictors of adaptation. The results revealed that adolescent children whose families had migrated back to Portugal were alike in terms of psychological adaptation levels and higher level of sociocultural adaptation compared to peers who had never migrated. The successful adaptation of these adolescents was attributed to the sociodemographic and intercultural contact variables and perceived discrimination had an important role in in re-acculturation outcomes.

2.5.2. Cultural Identity Model of Sussman

It is widely seen that return migration investigations mainly focus on external variables to shed light on the immigration and return migration processes. What is generally neglected is the internal and   individual variables. Psychological theory fails to provide adequate insight into the cultural transitions that take place in the identities of individuals (Sussman, 2010). Almost all return migration investigations concentrate on the Western sojourners who return to their home countries and face identity conflicts (Costigan & Dokis, 2006), negative emotions (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006), and confused thinking (Ghuman, 2000). In this respect, the Cultural Identity Model (CIM) of Cultural Transitions developed by Sussman (2010) aims to present a psychological perspective to the period prior to and after the return process. According to this model, the sense of self and subsequent changes in home culture identity that one experiences influence cultural transitions. According to the model,

the transition process encompasses identity salience, sociocultural adaptation, and cultural identity change.

Identity Salience: Even though cultural context shapes self-concept, emotion, and motivation, many individuals are not aware of the influence of culture. Although home culture surrounds everyone, the individual is rarely aware of one's self concept and cannot recognize the imprint of their own culture on their identity. However, individuals who hold more than one identity (as either distinctly separate or embedded), have a higher awareness of the influence of their culture. When the individual comes into contact with a new cultural context different from one's familiar one, the individual's cultural identity becomes salient and they grow more aware of the impact of culture on behavior. That is to say that cultural identity is strengthened and identification with the home culture grows.

Sociocultural Adaptation: Cultural Identity models propose becoming aware of the difference between their cultural selves (and the aims shaping their attitutudes and thinking) and their new cultural context. Cultural readjustment caused by a mismatch between a person's cultural thinking patterns and behavior and a new cultural context may result in modified behavior or thought and their cultural identity among individuals. Immigrants are confronted with challenges regarding their values, beliefs, and cultural identity. While adjustment is an ongoing change process, adaptation refers to a successful endpoint of accommodation. Newcomers in a host society are able to adapt to their new society in case they benefit from the values, behaviours, beliefs, and thought patterns of the host society. The changes that occur in values, behaviours, beliefs, and thought patterns of the individuals can help themselves build better social relations and professional relations. In line with the gradual awareness of home culture identity at the beginning of migration, the Cultural Identity model contends that cultural accommodation and adaptation bothers the individual's self-concept. The following changes in cultural identity become salient to the returnee when repatriation starts.

Upon returning home, the individual begins to compare their shifted personal values, ideas, and customs with the dominant cultural norms at home. Many repatriates feel a mismatch between their newly formed host culture identity and their antecedent home culture identity. Many repatriates report overwhelmingly negative feelings upon return such as "not fitting in" with friends, family, and former colleagues. There is no longer a fit between the home culture identity and the identity of the individual, and the sojourner feels like an outsider in their country of origin.

Cultural Identity Change: As sojourners and immigrants successfully adapt to their host country by shifting behavior and social thought, they also face changes in their cultural identity. However, newly learned cultural patterns that helped individuals to adapt to the host country may not work in the home culture of the individual. The characteristics that make up the home culture identity no longer function upon the individual adapting to the new culture.

CIM argues that four different types of identity shifts occur in relation to home culture identity which are *subtractive, additive, affirmative, or global/intercultural.*

Affirmative Identity: Individuals with affirmative identity tend to maintain their home country identity. These individuals highly identify with their compatriots due to a common link that brings them together and their perceptions of ethnic identity and compatriots are highly positive. According to the Cultural identity model, these individuals will tend to not adapt to the host society, whereas they will experience less repatriation distress upon return home (Sussman, 2002).

The third category, which is the affirmative identity shift, can be described as the identity form in which the individuals maintain and strengthen their home culture identity throughout the transition cycle. At the earliest stages of the cultural transition, the identity of the newcomers is obscure and it becomes evident in time. Contrary to shifters having the subtractive or additive experience, affirmative shifters mainly ignore the cultural discrepancies that exist between home and host cultures, which reduces their adaptation to the host culture environment. As a result,

individuals will develop a salient cultural self-concept and they will therefore undergo a lower level of repatriation distress (Sussman,2010).

Global/Intercultural Identity: Global identifiers are often sojourners who undergo various experiences abroad. For this group of identity, contact with different cultures only intensifies the sense of belonging to a global community. For global identifiers, adaptation to the host country is of utmost significance and they are expected to have moderate or positive experience. (Sussman, 2002). The self-concept of the sojourner who developed an intercultural identity is as structurally complex. This identity shift paradigm is not related to the integration of home and host culture values (hybridization) or the bicultural strategy developing from the acculturation experience. In this category, the repatriates identify themselves as world citizens and can have interactions in different ways in many countries or regions appropriately and effectively by changing cultural frames when required. Intercultural identity shifts will cause positive emotional responses and little repatriation distress. Intercultural repatriates are likely to establish relationships with individuals from many different cultures and choose different kinds of international entertainment and pieces of reading, and take part in international global communicational groups and web sites. Sussman, 2010).

According to the Cultural Identity Model, individuals with both subtractive and additive identities will successfully adapted to the host country and will experience high post-repatriation distress. Those with a subtractive identity are likely to feel alienated or estranged by their compatriots and they will feel different from them, resulting in negative perceptions about their home country. Those who are additive identifiers are also likely to feel repatriation distress upon return. This repatriation distress will not result from the identity loss they had but from the differences they have as a result of assuming some characteristics of the host culture such as values, customs, social rituals, emotion and thoughts (Sussman, 2002). In subtractive and additive identity shifts, the level sociocultural adaptation is of significant importance. Therefore, it is more likely for the individuals with a low adaptation

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level to experience a challenging repatriation process. As a result of the subtractive identity shift, the returned individuals will tend to not embrace values and norms of their country of origin and as a result they will not find things in common with their compatriots and themselves. On the other hand, an additive cultural identity shift will boost the sense of belonging and attachment orientations of the returnees towards the host culture and they will value the norms and behaviours belonging to the host society (Sussman, 2010).

Despite the fact that both subtractive and additive identity shifters will suffer from the same negative emotion, they will have different behavioural outcomes. Subtractive repatriates might want to interact with other repatriates and view their compatriots as less similar in culturally shaped values and behaviour. What's more, subtractive repatriates may feel deprived of cultural identity and feel alienated. On the other hand, additive repatriates might pursue chances of interaction the members of their former host culture, they might actively take part in host culture; or continue to study the host culture's language.

2.5.3. U-Curve Hypothesis

Gullahorn & Gullahorn (1963) underline that individuals face alienation, anomie, and rejection not only in their attempts to adjust to a new social system but also when they return to their home environments. The W-curve theory by Gullahorn and Gullahorn's (1963) is also known as the reverse *culture shock* model and was one of the most significant and extensively studied theoretical frameworks in earlier times. The W-curve was extended from U-curve theory developed by Lysgaard (1955), which describes people's experiences as 'culture shock' after they start living in a new environment. Upon returning home, the returnees experience a new adjustment process and the wellbeing of returnees tends to show variations over time. The theory suggests that the returnee initially feels relieved upon their return, a feeling which is then followed by culture shock which develops due to a mismatch between what is expected and what is found.

2.5.3.1. Adjustment in an Alien Social System

According to the U-curve theory, although individuals are optimistic when they first interact with the host society, as individuals come into a deeper contact with the host culture and experience frustrations, they report negative feelings about the host society. U-curve theory suggests that the initial excitement or elevation over new ideas or skills is replaced by feelings of depression as one encounters difficulties and complexities (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963).

2.5.3.2. Adjustment in an Alien Social System

After the resocialization experience of the individual in the new environment, an individual begins to assume the characteristics and customs of the host society and social system. In the case that they develop a favourable interaction with the host society, individuals might begin to identify with the alien environment and display behavioural patterns matching the social systems existing in the host society. Eventually, the sojourner feels alienated from their country of origin upon return.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research Design

The present study adopts a mixed design considering the dynamic and multi-layered characteristics of return migration. The aim of the study is to investigate the return motives, Turkish and German identity perceptions and language preference of Turkish-German returnees through quantitative and qualitative means. In mixed method research design, the elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches are used together in order to better understand the phenomenon under scrutiny. (Johnson et al. 2007, p. 123). Mixed method design allows for the research to combine data obtained via qualitative means such as surveys, experiments and data obtained via qualitative means such as focus groups, and interviews. Implementing different research methods in order to investigate a research question is helpful in terms of validating the findings (Jick, 1979). The first part of the questionnaire included demographic information about the participants. The second part of the questionnaire included 20 items relevant to return motives. The identity scale consists of two parts: Turkish identity which has 30 items and German identity which has 29 items. The language section of the questionnaire consists of three parts: Turkish language proficiency which has 15 items, German language proficiency which has 13 items, and the Turkish-German language preference scale which has 16 items. Semi-structured face-to-face interviews were employed as the qualitative data collection method.

3.1.1. Rationale for the Design

Creswell (2009) maintains the research problem is important choose the most suitable research methodology. In this vein, the present study adopts a mixed design considering that return migration is a complex phenomenon in order to gain a deeper understanding of the return migration phenomenon. As stated by Creswell (2014), both forms of data (qualitative and quantitative) offer different kinds of information to the research, and allow for overcoming the limitations that both forms of data have when used individually by combining these two types of data collection methods. In other words, "mixing", or "blending" data allows the researcher to better understand the research problem.

The advantages of Mixed Research Design include (Creswell, 2014):

1. The collection of both qualitative (open-ended) and quantitative (closed-ended) data to test the research questions and hypothesis,
2. The analysis of both forms of data,
3. Integration of two forms of data by means of combining the data, relating the data, or embedding the data,
4. Comparison of various perspectives obtained via quantitative and qualitative data,
5. Analysis of quantitative data with a qualitative follow-up data collection and analysis,
6. Possibility of understanding the experimental results by utilizing individuals' perspectives.

3.1.2. Convergent Parallel Mixed Methods Design

Several typologies have been offered to classify and identify the types of mixed methods strategies that might be utilized by researchers employing a mixed design. Cresswell and Plano Clark (2011) offer several classification systems drawn from

the fields of evaluation, nursing, public health, education policy and research, and social and behavioural research. The type of mixed design method to be employed in the present thesis is the Convergent Parallel Mixed Methods Design offered by Cresswell and Plano Clark (2011).

In convergent parallel mixed methods design, both quantitative and qualitative data are collected. The researcher analyses the data separately and makes a comparision between the findings to see if they match or mismatch each other (See Figure 3.1). The convergent parallel mixed methods design is drawn from the multi-trait idea put forward by Campbell and Fiske (1959), who stated that a psychological trait could be best analysed by collecting various kinds of data. The same concept being measured quantitatively is questioned in the qualitative data collection setp, for example, in an open-ended interview (Creswell, 2014). In the data analysis, the data is analysed separately and combined later to see if it matches or mismatches with mostly quantitative statistical results being reported first and then qualitative results discussed. However, the comparison does not put forward openly convergent or divergent findings, and only a few concepts, themes, or scales show differentiations (Creswell, 2014).
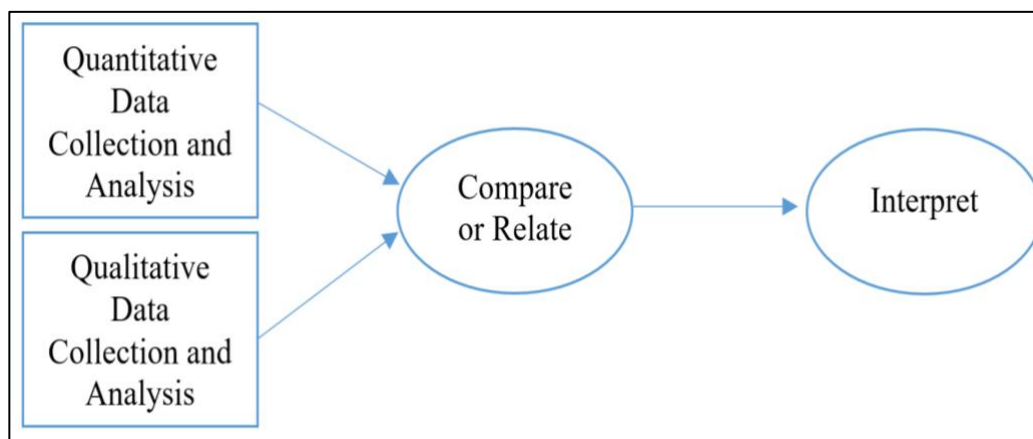
Figure 3.1. Convergent Parallel Mixed Methods Design (Creswell, 2014)

3.2. Participants

A total of 93 informants participated in the quantitative analysis and 16 of these participants were included in the qualitative section of the study. Creswell (2013) suggested that two to ten participants might suffice to reach saturation of knowledge in mixed method research designs. 26 (28%) out of 93 participants were male and 67 were female (72%). The participants of the present thesis were chosen from a state university located in Istanbul. The participants were included in the study based on their willingness and availability. In order to rule out the effect of educational differences, participants were selected with a purposeful sampling method. All participants were enrolled in the German Translation and Interpreting Department of a state university in Istanbul. Most of the participants had initially migrated to Istanbul from Germany. Some of the participants, however, had first migrated to smaller cities in Turkey and then moved to Istanbul to pursue their university education. Family members of the participants were not contacted to ask their permission for participation into the study since the participants were all aged over 18. The data was collected by the researcher herself or through different people. Table 1 presents the demographic information of the participants.

3.3. Research Site

The study was carried out in Istanbul. The main reason for the selection of Istanbul as the research site was ease of access to the data. The data was collected in the German Translation and Interpreting department of a state university in Istanbul. The department has a high number of students who were born and raised in Germany. For this reason, it provided a suitable research site for the study. Also, as Istanbul is the most crowded and most cosmopolitan city in Turkey, focusing on the participants in Istanbul might provide a better representation of participants. This is mainly because a great many students from all regions of Turkey choose Istanbul for their education and they move from rural to urban areas, mainly Istanbul for

university education. Therefore, the background of the participants might vary from each other.

3.4. Data Collection Instruments

The data collection instruments consisted of 8 different sections. All scales are presented in the Appendix. The scales are essentially adapted from the studies by Arends-Tóth (2003), Kang (2006), Phinney (1990), Verkuyten (2007), and Yağmur (1997), Yağmur & van de Vijver (2012). The scale items were slightly changed and adapted to match the aims of the study. The first of the scales focused on demographic information such as age, gender, marital status, and country of birth. The second, the return motives scale, was designed so as to obtain information regarding the return reasons of the participants. The identity scale consisted of two sub-scales: 1) the Turkish Identity Scale and 2) the German Identity Scale. The Turkish identity and German Identity scales consisted of 30 and 29 items, respectively. The identity scales included items about Ethnic and Mainstream Identification, Ethnic and Mainstream Identity, Ethnic and Mainstream Behavior, The Ethnic and Mainstream Social Network, and Ethnic and Mainstream Cultural Norms. The questions were designed on a 5-point response format, changing from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). Cultural, linguistic, social, ethnic, and religious components of ethnic identification, orientation to Turkish and German identity were measured by the items in the scales. Attitudes toward Turkish and German cultures, preferences with regard to food, television, music, and religious identification were measured as well.

The Language Scale consisted of a total of 44 items and three sub-scales. The Turkish Language Proficiency scale consisted of 15 items, the German Language Proficiency scale 13 items, and the Language Preferences scale 16 items. The aim of the language preference scale was to determine the participants' preferred language choice when speaking with different interlocutors including mother, father, and siblings, and for different cognitive procedures such as counting and thinking, and emotional conditions such as when angry or when sad. The responses

were designed on a 55-point response format changing from *always <German>* (1) to *always Turkish* (5). All scales had both negatively and positively worded items.

All questionnaires were prepared in English considering the relevant literature and were translated into and administered in Turkish to all participants. All participants were proficient users of Turkish. After the questionnaires were prepared, they were checked by different experts and corrections were made in line with their feedback to enhance understandability.

3.5. Data Collection

After a pilot study was carried out and after receiving approval from the METU Human Research Ethnics Committee (HREC), the data collection process was initiated. Data collection was realized in two steps - quantitative and qualitative. In the quantitative data collection procedure, the data was collected through surveys and questionnaires and in the qualitative data collection procedure, semi-structured face-to-face interviews were held with the participants. The data collection instruments were prepared in English and translated into Turkish. Participants were included in the study on a volunteer basis and were informed about the procedures and confidentiality issues. On the last page of the questionnaire, participants were asked if they were willing to participate in the qualitative section of the study. The participants who were willing to participate were asked to share their contact information so that they could be contacted. With the participants who agreed to take part in the qualitative section of the study, the qualitative data was collected through semi-structured face-to-face interviews. Individual semi-structured interviews were held in order to get a detailed insight into the subjects under scrutiny. The interviews ranged from 15 minutes to 35 minutes. Participants were asked open-ended questions to obtain in-depth data. Those who wanted to participate in the qualitative data process were contacted later. In the quantitative data analysis SPSS 24 was used, and in the qualitative data analysis MAXQDA 2018 was used.

3.5.1. Pilot Study

In the pilot study step, questionnaires were completed by 8 participants and interviews were held with 3 participants. The pilot study participants comprised of Turkish-French returnees. The rationale for including the Turkish-French returnees into the pilot process was to not reduce the participant number of the study. Also, it can be speculated that Turkish-German and Turkish-French returnees might bear similar characteristics and reveal similar results. Before the administration of the scales, the scales were checked by 5 English lecturers for face validity and construct validity and then the necessary changes were made in line with the feedback given by these experts. The most important considerations were related to time, exhaustion and comprehensibility of the questionnaire items. In order for the questionnaires to not be too time-consuming, recurrent items were excluded from the questionnaires. In the second step, after participants filled in the questionnaires, items that were not clearly comprehended were slightly changed so as to make them more understandable. Also, any interview questions which posed some difficulty in terms of comprehension were altered slightly in consultation with the participants included in the piloting process.

3.6. Data Analysis Procedure

The qualitative section of the study, which employed a mixed design, also aimed to elucidate the return motives, the Turkish/German identity perceptions and Language Preference of the 16 participants. The study made use of semi-structured face-to face interviews as a qualitative data collection tool. Cresswell's Strategy for Coding a Case Study was employed to make an in-depth analysis of the cases. Semi-structured interviews were held with the participants individually and each session was recorded with the consent of the participants. The data collected in the interview was transcribed and an inductive analysis was run with a view to determine the overarching themes and categories emerging from the data. Depending on the themes created a priori, coding was done in line with already existing themes and new themes were developed when needed. In the study, purposeful sampling was applied so that the sample of the study would be homogenous.

As stated by Creswell (2013), the data analysis process involves "a preliminary read-through of the database, coding and organizing themes, representing the data, and forming an interpretation of them" (p. 195). The transcription of the interviews was read thoroughly and, then codes and categorizations were formed and they were combined into themes. The findings were interpreted and reported. Before the data analysis process, the interviews were transcribed verbatim to rule out the possibility of losing or missing any data and after all the interviews were transcribed, the actual data analysis process began. Similar patterns and codes were identified and they were assigned into groups.

3.7. Reliability, Factor Analyses, and Normality Assumptions

3.7.1. Reliability Analysis

With a view to determining if the items that make up a questionnaire and a scale employed in a study have internal reliability, it is required to conduct reliability analysis and compute Cronbach's alpha value for each scale administered in the study. Cronbach's alpha is a measure used to check internal consistency of the items of a scale. Cronbach's alpha values present the relationship between the items in a scale as a group. In order to obtain the internal consistency coefficient of the Return Motives, Turkish and German Identity, Turkish and German Language Proficiency and Language Proficiency Scales, Cronbach's alpha coefficients for each questionnaire and scale were computed. The computed Cronbach's Alpha values can be seen in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1
Internal Consistency Reliability

	Cronbach's Alpha	Number of Items
Return Motives Scale	.88	20
Turkish Identity Scale	.95	30
German Identity Scale	.94	29
Turkish Proficiency Scale	.91	15
German Proficiency Scale	.92	13
Language Preference Scale	.94	16

The Cronbach's alpha value α was found to be .88 for the Return Motives Scale. Similarly, in order to check internal consistency reliability, Cronbach's alpha values were computed for the Identity Scales which consisted of two sub-scales: Turkish Identity (30 items) and German Identity Subscale (29 items). The Cronbach's alpha value was computed as .95 for the Turkish Identity Scale, which shows that the Scale is highly reliable. Likewise, the Cronbach's alpha value was found to be highly reliable for the German Identity Scale with .94. The Language Scale consists of three sub-scales: the Turkish Proficiency Scale (15 items), the German Proficiency Scale (13 items) and the Turkish-German Preference Scale (16 items). Internal consistency reliability analysis was also conducted for each scale by computing the Cronbach's alpha coefficients. The Cronbach's alpha value was found to be .91 for the Turkish Proficiency Scale, .92 for the German Language Proficiency Scale and .94 for the Turkish-German Language Preference Scale, respectively. The results suggest that the items tested have relatively high internal consistency.

3.7.2. Exploratory Factor Analysis

In order to determine the underlying dimensions or factors that exist in the data set, exploratory factor analysis was carried out for each scale. As a result of the analysis run to ascertain how many factors are measured by the 20 items in the Return Motives Scale (see Appendix C, Table A1), it was concluded that the 20 variables seemed to measure 6 underlying factors. As seen in Table A1 (Appendix) 6 components of the scale had an Eigenvalue of at least 1. It is assumed that the other components with low quality scores do not represent real traits underlying the 20 items in the scale. The components with an Eigenvalue value smaller than 1 were considered "scree" and are illustrated in Graph A1 (See Appendix C). The 6 factors that were measured by the Return Motives Scale can be grouped as 1) integration into Germany, 2) perceived discrimination in Germany, 3) emotional attachment with Turkey, 4) The Ethnic Social Network, 5) The Mainstream Social Network, 6) Opportunities in Turkey and Germany. The scree plot (see Appendix C, Graph 1A,) visualizes the Eigenvalues. It is seen that 6 components have Eigenvalues over 1. The components with eigenvalues bigger than 1 are known as strong factors. After component 7 and onwards, the Eigenvalues decline significantly. The significant

decline between components 1-6 and components 7-20 strongly suggests that 6 factors underlay the research question. As a result of the analysis run to ascertain how many factors are measured by the 30 items in the Turkish Identity Scale, it was concluded that the 30 variables seemed to measure 6 underlying factors (See Appendix C, Table A2). The 6 factors measured by the Turkish Identity Scale can be grouped as 1) Turkish Identification, 2) Turkish Identity, 3) Turkish Behaviour, 4) The Norms with regard to Turkish Culture, 5) Turkish Social Network, 6) The Language Choice/Preference. The scree plot in Graph A2 (see Appendix C) visualizes the Eigenvalues of the Turkish Identity Scale. It is seen that 6 components have Eigenvalues over 1. After component 7 and onwards, the Eigenvalues decline significantly. The significant decline between components 1-6 and components 7-30 strongly suggests that 6 factors underlay the research question. The analysis run to ascertain how many factors are measured by 29 questions in the German Identity Scale, it was ascertained that 29 variables seemed to measure 7 underlying factors (See Appendix C, Table A3) 7 factors measured by the German Identity Scale can be grouped as 1) German Identification, 2) German Identity, 3) German Behaviour, 4) The Norms with regard to Turkish German, 5) German Social Network, 6) The Language Choice/Preference, 7) German society membership. The scree plot in Graph A3 (see Appendix C) visualizes the Eigenvalues (quality scores) of German Identity Scale. It is seen that 7 components had Eigenvalues over 1. After component 7 and onwards, the Eigenvalues decline significantly. The significant decline between components 1-7 and components 8-29 strongly suggests that 7 factors underlay the research question.

As for the language scales, the analysis run to ascertain how many factors were measured by our 15 questions in the Turkish Language Proficiency, it was concluded that the 15 variables seemed to measure 4 underlying factors (see Table A4, Appendix C). The 4 factors measured by the Turkish Language Proficiency Scale can be grouped as 1) speaking proficiency, 2) writing proficiency, 3) comprehension, 4) understanding abstract concepts. The scree plot in Graph 4A (See Appendix C) visualizes the Eigenvalues (quality scores) of the Turkish Language

Proficiency Scale. After component 4 and onwards, the Eigenvalues decline significantly (See Graph 4, Appendix C). The significant decline between components 1-4 and components 5-15 strongly suggests that 4 factors underlay the research question. As a result of the analysis run to ascertain how many factors were measured by our 13 questions in the German Language Proficiency, it was concluded that the 13 variables seemed to measure 1 underlying factor (see Table A5, Appendix C). The scree plot in Graph 5A (See Appendix C) visualizes the Eigenvalues (quality scores) of German Language Proficiency Scale. It is seen that 1 component had Eigenvalues over 1. After component 1 and onwards, the Eigenvalues decline significantly. The significant decline after component 1 and components 2-13 strongly suggests that 1 factor underlay the research question. As a result of the analysis run to ascertain how many factors were measured by our 16 questions in the Turkish-German Language Preference, it was concluded that the 16 variables seemed to measure 2 underlying factors (See Table A6, Appendix C). The 4 factors measured by the Turkish Language Proficiency Scale can be grouped as 1) Turkish preference and 2) German Language Preference. The scree plot in Graph 6A (See Appendix C) visualizes the Eigenvalues (quality scores) of Turkish German Language Preference Scale. It is seen that 2 components had Eigenvalues over 1. After component 2 and onwards, the Eigenvalues decline significantly. The significant decline component 2 and components 3-16 strongly suggests that 1 factor underlay the research question.

3.7.3. Normality Assumption

In order to determine if the data was normally distributed, a normality check was carried out. Within this scope, Skewness and Kurtosis values of the data were computed first and results were presented in Table A7 (See Appendix D). In addition, Kolmogorov-Simirnov and Shapiro-Wilk values were calculated and the distribution of the data is illustrated in histograms and box-plots (See Table A8, Appendix D).

As can be seen from Table A7, Skewness and Kurtosis values were .06 and .76, respectively for Return Motives, -.66 and .58, respectively for Turkish Identity, .04

and .47, respectively for German Identity, -.63 and -.51, respectively for Turkish Proficiency, -.60 and -.40, respectively for German Proficiency and .15 and -.85, respectively for the Language Preference Scale. It is evident from the values that the data for the Return Motives and German Identity Questionnaires are symmetric, and the data for the Turkish Identity Questionnaire, Turkish Proficiency and German Proficiency Scales are moderately skewed. However, the data for Language Preference is highly skewed. The fact that the data for the Turkish Identity Questionnaire and the Turkish Proficiency and German Proficiency Scales are moderately skewed and data for Language Preference is highly skewed points to the presence of outliers in the data.

A Kolmogorov-Simirnov (*p>.05*) and Shapiro-Wilk's test (*p>.05*) and a visual inspection of their histograms and normal Q-Q plots showed that the Return Motives and German Identity Questionnaire data is normally distributed, *p>*.05 (see Table A8, Appendix D). Normality assumption is met in these cases. However, Turkish Identity, Turkish Proficiency, German Proficiency and Language Proficiency tests were not found to be normally distributed by the Kolmogorov-Simirnov (*p<.05*) and Shapiro- Wilk's test (*p<.05*). Normality assumption is not met.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

4.1. Overview of the Data Analysis

This chapter presents the results of the study collected through the quantitative and qualitative data collection tools. In order to test the research questions, a number of quantitative and qualitative analysis procedures were carried out. In this section, prior to the statistical procedures, descriptive information about the participants of the study is presented. After a detailed description of the participants, hypothesis and assumptions are checked and reliability and factor analyses results are displayed in tables. Also, a detailed documentation and overall findings using the scales employed in the study are presented. Both quantitative and qualitative data analysis statistical procedures were employed to test the initial hypotheses of the study. The results obtained as a result of these advanced statistical procedures are presented in the tables and graphs.

The statistical data analysis was carried out in different steps. First of all, internal consistencies were established and structural equivalence was checked in order to determine to what extent the same underlying construct(s) in each group are measured by an instrument. In this vein, exploratory factor analyses were run. After the assumptions were checked, and factor analysis results were obtained, each scale was analysed using SPSS 24 for the mean and sum scores. After a detailed documentation of the scales, the Turkish identity and German identity scales were compared by means of a paired-samples t-test to establish a statistically significant difference. Likewise, another paired-samples t-test was carried out to identify if there was a significant difference between the Turkish language and German

language proficiency level of the participants. Additionally, Spearman's correlation coefficients (p) were computed to determine if a there was a significant correlation between Turkish identity and Turkish language preference, and between German identity and German language preference.

Table 4.1 presents information regarding gender, family residence, education, department, marital status, country of birth, country of birth (mother), country of birth (father), and generation of the participants. According to Table 4.1, 26 (28%) out of 93 participants were male and 67 (72%) were female. In terms of the place of residence of the family, 30 of the participant families were still living in Germany (32.3%), whereas 62 (66.7%) of them had migrated to Turkey. Additionally, the family of 1 participant was living in Turkey and Germany simultaneously (1.1%). All the participants were university students (100%) enrolled in the Department of German Translation and Interpreting (100%) at a state university located in Istanbul, Turkey.

4.2. Descriptive Statistics of Participants

As can be seen in Table 4.1, 82 participants were single (88.2%) and 11 of them were married (11.8 %). 87 of the participants (93.5) were born in Germany while 6 of them were born in Turkey, which accounts for 6.5% of all participants. Mothers of 20 participants (21.5%) were born in Germany, and 73 of them were born in Turkey, which accounts for 78.5%. Similarly, the fathers of the overwhelming majority of participants were born in Turkey. Only 7 (7.5%) were born in Germany, 84 (90.3%) of them were born in Turkey, 1 of them (1.1%) was born in Macedonia, and 1 of them (1.1%) was born in Lebanon. The majority of the participants belonged to the third-generation Turkish immigrant group. While 83 (89.2%) of the participants were third-generation participants, 10 (10.8%) of them were within the second-generation Turkish immigrant group. Generally, the younger participants fell within the third-generation immigrant group since their grandparents were among those who had gone to Germany temporarily but then decided to settle in

Germany after family unification. Taking into consideration that first immigrants were generally male labourers who had left their spouses and children behind, it is likely that the parents of the 3rd generation Turkish immigrants were mostly born in Turkey.

Table 4.1
Demographic Information About the Participants (N=93)

Gender	Male	26	28.0
	Female	67	72.0
Family Residence	Germany	30	32.3
	Turkey	62	66.7
	Both	1	1.1
Education	Student	93	100.0
Department	German Translation Interpreting	93	100.0
Marital Status	Single	82	88.2
	Married	11	11.8
Country of Birth	Germany	87	93.5
	Turkey	6	6.5
	Turkey	6	6.5
Country of Birth (Mother)	Germany	20	21.5
	Turkey	73	78.5
Country of birth (Father)	Germany	7	7.5
	Turkey	84	90.3
	Macedonia	1	1.1
	Lebanon	1	1.1
Generation	Second	10	10.8
	Third	83	89.2

As can be seen from Table 4.2, the mean age of the participants was 24.43 (*SD*=6.62) with minimum age 18 and maximum age 49. The mean length of residence in Turkey was 8.18 (*SD*=4.85) with the minimum length of residence in Turkey 2 and the maximum 34 years. The mean length of residence in Germany was 16.01 (*SD*=4.97) with the minimum length of residence in Germany 9 and the maximum 39 years (*SD*=4.97). On average, the participants had lived longer in Germany than Turkey.

Table 4.2
Age and Length of Residence Information About Participants (N=93)

	Min.	Max.	*M*	*SD*
Age	18	49	24.43	6.62
Length of Residence in Turkey	2	34	8.18	4.85
Length of Residence in Germany	9	39	16.01	4.97

4.3. Quantitative Analysis Results

In this section, the analysis of descriptive statistics belonging to each scale and questionnaire will be presented in tables. Table 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7, 4.10, 4.11 and 4.14 summarize the mean and sum scores that participants obtained in the Scales. 4.4 displays the sum and mean scores that participants obtained in the Return Motives Scale. Tables 4.5 and 4.6 give the mean scores of Turkish and German Identity of the participants, respectively. Tables 4.10, 4.11 and 4.14 display the sum and mean scores that participants obtained in the Turkish Language Proficiency, German Language Proficiency, and Language Preference Scales. The results obtained in the data analysis will be presented in tables along with their interpretations. However, it is out of the question to discuss all the items in detail.

Table 4.3 below presents the data regarding Turkish and German Identification, happiness with the decision to migrate to Turkey, and re-migration thoughts of the participants. Participants were asked to choose from I feel Turkish, I feel German, I feel Turkish-German, or I feel neither Turkish nor German alternatives. As can be seen in Table 4.4., 43 participants (46.2 %) chose "I feel Turkish", 4 participants (4.3%) chose "I feel German", 40 participants chose (43.0%) "I feel Turkish-German, 6 participants (6.5 %) chose "I feel neither Turkish nor German". When asked whether they were happy about their migration to Turkey, a significant majority of the participants stated that they were happy with living in Turkey. 72% of the participants (*N=67*) stated that they were happy with their migration to Turkey, whereas 26.9% of them (*N=25*) stated that they were not happy. Moreover, 6.5% of the participants (*N=6*) were not sure if they were happy or not with their

decision to migrate to Turkey. Similarly, when asked whether or not they would want to go back to Germany, 35 participants (37.6%) stated that they were thinking of re-migration to Germany and 4 participants (4.3%) stated that they were not sure if they wanted to return to Germany. However, 54 participants, which corresponds to more than half of the participants (58. %) expressed that they had no intention of going back to Germany.

Table 4.3
Identity, Migration and Re-Migration Results of the Participants (N=93)

		N	(%)
	I feel Turkish	43	46.2
	I feel German	4	4.3
Identity	I feel Turkish-German	40	43.0
	I feel neither Turkish nor German	6	6.5
Migration to Turkey	Happy	67	72.0
	Not Happy	25	26.9
	Unsure	1	1.1
Remigration to Germany	I am thinking of re-migrating	35	37.6
	I am not thinking of re-migrating	54	58.1
	Unsure	4	4.3

Table 4.4 presents the mean and sum scores that Turkish-German returnees obtained in the Return Motives Scale. 1 represents *I strongly disagree* and 5 represents *I strongly agree* in the scale. The scale, which focuses on 6 different factors, was analysed in detail to gain an insight into what the impulses might be that impacted the return decisions of Turkish-German returnees. The 6 factors measured by the Return Motives Scale focus on integration into Germany, perceived discrimination in Germany, emotional attachment with Turkey, the Turkish social network and German social network, 6) opportunities in Turkey and Germany. The items that obtained the highest means in the scale included "I have a strong emotional attachment with Turkey" (*M=4, SD=1.08*), "I love the Turkish culture and way of life" (*M=3.98, SD=1.10*), "My family lives in Turkey/My family moved back to Turkey" (M=*3.89, SD=1.45*), "I want to live together with Turks" (*M= 3.67, SD= 1.08)* The visual inspection of the mean scores also shows that the items with the lowest mean scores were mostly about negative items associated with Germany. These items include "I had integration problems in Germany" (*M=1.69, SD=.96*),

"I had problems with German while living in Germany" (*M=1.70, SD=1.08*), "There were limited job opportunities in Germany" (*M=2.18, SD=1.10*), "I had bad personal experiences in Germany" (*M=2.20, SD=1.22*), "I did not feel comfortable in Germany since I was a Turkish minority" (*M=2.35, SD=1.26*), "I did not like the German culture and way of life" (*M=2.36, SD=1.16*). According to the results obtained, it is visible that Turkish identification and attachment related items obtained high means among the participants, which might have affected their decision to move to Turkey. On the other hand, it is evident from the table 4.4 mean scores of participants in items related to negative aspects associated with Germany (such as being a minority in Germany or failure to integrate), obtained relatively lower scores. Based on the results obtained, it might be assumed that the return decision can be ascribed to positive feelings and perceptions that the participants held towards Turkey rather the negative experiences or feelings they had in Germany.

Table 4.4
Descriptive Statistics of Return Motives Scale Analysis (N=93)

Items	S	M	SD
1. I want to live in Turkey	351.00	3.77	1.11
2. I have a strong emotional attachment with Turkey	372.00	4.00	1.08
3. I want to receive an education in Turkey	272.00	2.92	1.25
4. My family lives in Turkey/My family moved back to Turkey.	362.00	3.89	1.45
5. I have a friend circle and acquaintances in Turkey.	377.00	4.05	1.13
6. I love the Turkish culture and way of life.	370.00	3.98	1.10
7. I want to live together with Turks.	341.00	3.67	1.08
8. Economic conditions in Turkey are getting better.	245.00	2.63	1.38
9. I have better employment opportunities in Turkey.	258.00	2.77	1.19
10. I had problems with German while living in Germany.	158.00	1.70	1.08
11. I had integration problems in Germany.	157.00	1.69	.96
12. I felt that Turks faced discrimination in Germany.	248.00	2.67	1.42
13. I didn't like the policies implemented and attitude towards immigrants in Germany.	293.00	3.15	1.31
14. I did not feel comfortable in Germany since I am a Muslim.	228.00	2.45	1.25
15. I did not feel comfortable in Germany since I was a minority.	223.00	2.40	1.24
16. I did not feel comfortable in Germany since I was a Turkish minority.	219.00	2.35	1.26
17. I had bad personal experiences in Germany.	205.00	2.20	1.22
18. I did not like the German culture and way of life.	220.00	2.36	1.16
19. I did not like the climate in Germany.	281.00	3.02	1.39
20. There were limited job opportunities in Germany.	203.00	2.18	1.10

Table 4.5 displays the sum scores and mean scores that participants obtained in the Turkish Identity Scale. The participants obtained the highest means of all items with "Turkish values are important to me (such as the Turkish flag, the Turkish national anthem" (M=4.29, SD=.99), "I am proud that I am a Turk" (M=4.26, SD=1.11), "I value the importance of the Turkish language" (M=4.26, SD=.99), "I have knowledge about Turkish values (M=4.18, SD=.87), I feel Turkish (M=4.06, SD=.1.06), "Turkish culture is an important part of my identity" (M=4.29, SD=.99). However, the participants obtained the lowest scores among all items in the items "I feel Turkish because I feel I am/was not accepted by the German society" (M=2.17, SD=1.29), "I feel Turkish because German culture doesn't mean anything to me (M=2.38, SD= 1.26)", I feel Turkish because other people consider me as a Turk (M=2.48, SD=1.34), "I feel Turkish because I look Turkish " (M=2.98, SD=1.42), According to the results obtained, it is possible to state that the participants highly identify themselves with Turkish identity with regard to a sense of belonging, Turkish values, norms and customs with regard to Turkish culture, language, behaviour etc. This indicates that although participants highly identify themselves as Turkish, they still value German culture and values. The participants obtained the highest means of all items with "Turkish values are important to me (such as the Turkish flag, the Turkish national anthem" (M=4.29, SD=.99), "I am proud that I am a Turk" (M=4.26, SD=1.11), "I value the importance of the Turkish language" (M=4.26, SD=.99), "I have knowledge about Turkish values (M=4.18, SD=.87), I feel Turkish (M=4.06, SD=.1.06), "Turkish culture is an important part of my identity" (M=4.29, SD=.99).

Table 4.5
Descriptive Statistics of Turkish Identity Scale Analysis (N=93)

Items	S	M	SD
1. I feel Turkish.	378.00	4.06	1.06
2. I am proud that I am a Turk.	396.00	4.26	1.11
3. I have a strong sense of belonging to my Turkish ethnic group.	363.00	3.90	1.21
4. I feel Turkish because I speak Turkish.	320.00	3.44	1.34
5. I value the importance of the Turkish language.	396.00	4.26	.95
6. I spend time trying to find out more about my Turkish ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	378.00	4.06	1.07
7. I understand pretty well what my Turkish group membership means to me.	376.00	4.04	.98
8. I feel Turkish because I am a Muslim.	244.00	2.62	1.56

Table 4.5 *(Continued)*

Items	S	M	SD
9. Turkish values are important to me (such as the Turkish flag, the Turkish national anthem).	399.00	4.29	.99
10. I have knowledge about Turkish values.	389.00	4.18	.87
11. I want to get married to a Turk.	334.00	3.59	1.44
12. I feel Turkish because I live according to Turkish traditions.	321.00	3.45	1.31
13. Turkish culture is an important part of my identity.	355.00	3.82	1.21
14. I feel Turkish because my parents are Turkish.	340.00	3.65	1.36
15. I feel Turkish because I was brought up as a Turk.	344.00	3.70	1.31
16. I feel Turkish because I look Turkish.	277.00	2.98	1.42
17. I feel Turkish because I feel more comfortable among Turks.	308.00	3.31	1.37
18. I feel Turkish because I feel I am accepted by the Turkish society.	314.00	3.38	1.31
19. I feel Turkish because I feel I am/was not accepted by the German society.	202.00	2.17	1.29
20. I feel Turkish because other people consider me as a Turk.	231.00	2.48	1.34
21. I feel Turkish because German culture doesn't mean anything to me.	221.00	2.38	1.26
22. There are/were many Turks in the suburb where I live in Germany.	342.00	3.68	1.33
23. When I have personal problems, I share it with my Turkish friends.	303.00	3.26	1.33
24. All in all, I am more in contact with Turkish people.	341.00	3.67	1.24
25. I interact in Turkish with my family.	361.00	3.89	1.16
26. I interact in Turkish with my friends.	343.00	3.69	1.08
27. I watch Turkish TV channels.	313.00	3.36	1.32
28. I read Turkish books.	332.00	3.57	1.07
29. I prefer Turkish food.	367.00	3.95	1.07
30. I follow and am informed about what's happening in Turkey.	364.00	3.91	1.02

However, the participants obtained the lowest scores among all items in the items "I feel Turkish because I feel I am/was not accepted by the German society" (*M*=2.17, *SD*=1.29), "I feel Turkish because German culture doesn't mean anything to me (*M*=2.38, *SD*= 1.26)", I feel Turkish because other people consider me as a Turk (*M*=2.48, *SD*=1.34), "I feel Turkish because I look Turkish " (*M*=2.98, *SD*=1.42), According to the results obtained, it is possible to state that the participants highly identify themselves with Turkish identity with regard to a sense of belonging, Turkish values, norms and customs with regard to Turkish culture, language, behaviour etc. This indicates that although participants highly identify themselves as Turkish, they still value German culture and values.

Table 4.6 displays the sum scores and mean scores of the participants on the German Identity Questionnaire. The participants obtained the highest means among all items with "I value the importance of German language" (M=3.96, SD=1.21), "I read German books" (M=3.71, SD=1.02), "I have knowledge about German values (M=3.70, SD=1.03), "There were many Germans in the neighbourhood I lived in Germany" (M=3.52, SD=1.30). However, items associated with feeling German, German values, or German behaviour were not among the items with the highest scores. On the other hand, the participants obtained the lowest scores of all items with "I feel German because Turkish culture doesn't mean anything to me" (M=1.53, SD=.89), "I feel German because I look German" (M=1.59, SD=.96), "I feel German because other people consider me as a German" (M=1.85, SD=1.09), I feel German because I was brought up as a German (M=1.93, SD=1.13), I feel German because I live according to German traditions (M=1.97, SD=1.06). Based on the mean scores of the items, it is clearly seen that Turkish identity perceptions and German identity perceptions and the items that the participants ascribe importance to with regard to Turkishness and Germanness differ from each other.

Table 4.6
Descriptive Statistics of German Identity Scale Analysis (N=93)

	S	*M*	*SD*
1. I feel German.	205.00	2.20	1.15
2. I am proud that I am a German.	192.00	2.06	1.23
3. I have a strong sense of belonging to German society.	239.00	2.57	1.36
4. I value the importance of German language.	368.00	3.96	1.21
5. I feel German because I speak German.	222.00	2.39	1.26
6. I spend time trying to find out more about history, traditions, and customs of Germany.	293.00	3.15	1.21
7. I have a clear sense of my German identity and what it means for me.	288.00	3.10	1.40
8. I understand pretty well what my German group membership means to me.	282.00	3.03	1.33
9. German values are important to me (such as the German flag, the German national anthem).	226.00	2.43	1.19
10. I have knowledge about German values.	344.00	3.70	1.03
11. I want to get married to a German.	192.00	2.06	1.17
12. I feel German because I live according to German traditions.	183.00	1.97	1.06
13. German culture is an important part of my identity.	250.00	2.69	1.39
14. I feel German because I was brought up as a German.	180.00	1.93	1.13
15. I feel German because I look German.	148.00	1.93	1.13
16. I feel German because I feel more comfortable among Germans.	197.00	2.12	1.17

Table 4.6 *(Continued)*

	S	*M*	*SD*
17. I feel German because I feel I am accepted by the German society.	223.00	2.40	1.27
18. I feel German because I feel I am not accepted by the Turkish society.	223.00	2.40	1.27
19. I feel German because other people consider me as a German.	158.00	1.70	1.05
20. I feel German because Turkish culture doesn't mean anything to me.	142.00	1.53	.89
21. There were many Germans in the neighbourhood I lived in Germany.	327.00	3.52	1.30
22. When I have personal problems, I share it with my German friends.	226.00	2.43	1.25
23. All in all, I am more in contact with the German people.	222.00	2.39	1.19
24. I interact mostly in German with my family.	257.00	2.76	1.30
25. I interact mostly in German with my friends.	294.00	3.16	1.22
26. I watch German TV channels.	313.00	3.36	1.22
27. I read German books.	345.00	3.71	1.02
28. I prefer German food.	233.00	2.50	1.16
29. I follow and am informed about what's happening in Germany.	322.00	3.46	1.13

Table 4.7 displays data regarding the Turkish Identity (*M*=3.57, *SD*=.81) and German Identity scores (*M*=2.61, *SD*=.72) that Turkish-German returnees obtained in the scales. As it is visualised in the Table 4.8, the mean scores belonging to Turkish Identity is numerically higher than the mean score of German Identity. In this vein, it is clear that the participants identify themselves as Turkish more than German. In order to determine if the difference between the Turkish identity and German identity mean scores of Turkish-German returnees is significant, a t-test analysis was carried out. Since two different variables in the same group were measured, a paired sample t-test was carried out. The results of the paired-samples t-test is presented in Table 4.8.

Table 4.7
Sum and Mean Scores for Turkish and German Identity

	S	*M*	*SD*
Turkish Identity	331.73	3.57	.81
German Identity	242.86	2.61	.72

A paired-samples t-test analysis was conducted to find if there was a statistically significant difference between the mean scores of Turkish Identity and German Identity of Turkish German returnees. The analysis of the results displayed in Table 4.9 revealed a significant difference between the mean scores of Turkish Identity (*M*=3.57, *SD*=.81, *N*=93) and German Identity (*M*=2.61, *SD*=.72, n=93); *t*(92)= 7.2, *p* < .05. It is fair to say that the mean score of Turkish identity is significantly higher than that of German identity. In this scope, participants identify more with Turkish identity rather than German identity in a significant manner.

Table 4.8
Paired Samples t-test for Turkish and German Identity (N=93)

	M	SD	t	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Turkish Identity German Identity	.95	1.28	7.190	92	.000

The sum and mean scores of the participants regarding Self-Perceived Turkish Language Proficiency are presented in Table 4.9. The participants obtained mean scores above .4 in all items except for "I rarely make errors while writing in Turkish" (M=3.6, SD=1.2) and the second lowest mean score was also obtained in the item "I have no difficulty experienced while I write in Turkish (M=4.01, SD=1.24)". The two lowest scores were found in the items related to writing, which is a productive skill. Moreover, participants obtained the highest scores in the items "I can understand Turkish TV series, films and videos (M=4.61, SD=.63), I listen to Turkish music and I understand lyrics (M=4.60, SD=.68), I can understand novels and newspapers in Turkish (M=4.50, SD=.73). It is seen that the highest scores were obtained in the items related to listening and reading, which are receptive skills.

Table 4.9
Self-Perceived Turkish Language Proficiency Analysis (N=93)

Items	S	M	SD
I speak Turkish like a native speaker.	396.00	4.26	.89
I can guess the meaning of unknown words in a speech from the context in Turkish.	399.00	4.29	.77
I understand idiomatic expressions and proverbs in Turkish.	378.00	4.06	1.02
I understand abstract words and concepts in Turkish.	396.00	4.26	.86
I make jokes in speech in Turkish.	412.00	4.43	.76

Table 4.9 *(Continued)*

Items	S	M	SD
I can understand novels and newspapers in Turkish.	419.00	4.50	.73
I rarely make errors while writing in Turkish.	336.00	3.61	1.23
I can understand Turkish TV series, films and videos.	429.00	4.61	.63
I have no difficulty in understanding when my relatives speak Turkish.	414.00	4.45	1.04
I have no difficulty experienced in speaking Turkish in Turkey.	407.00	4.38	.99
I have no difficulty experienced in understanding Turkish in Turkey.	401.00	4.31	1.05
I have no difficulty experienced in understanding what I read in Turkish.	391.00	4.20	1.19
I have no difficulty experienced while I write in Turkish.	373.00	4.01	1.24
My Turkish improved since I moved to Turkey.	396.00	4.26	1.17
I listen to Turkish music and I understand lyrics.	428.00	4.60	.68

As for the Self-Perceived German Language Proficiency Scale, Table 4.10 displays sum scores and mean scores of the participants. The participants obtained mean scores above .4 in all items except for item "I rarely make errors while writing in German" (M=3.9, SD=1.1), which is a similar result to the Turkish Language Proficiency Scale analysis. The participants obtained the highest scores in the items "I can understand German TV series, films and videos" (M=4.60, SD=.59), "I can understand novels and newspapers in German" (M=4.43, SD=.81), "I have no difficulty experienced in understanding German in Germany" (M=4.49, SD=.73), which are items related to listening and reading, which are receptive skills.

Table 4.10
Self-Perceived German Language Proficiency Analysis (N=93)

Items	S	M	SD
I speak German like a native speaker.	388.00	4.17	.90
I can guess the meaning of unknown words in a speech from the context in German.	402.00	4.32	.78
I understand idiomatic expressions and proverbs in German.	380.00	4.09	.90
I understand abstract words and concepts in German.	392.00	4.21	.80
I make jokes in speech in German.	412.00	4.43	.70
I can understand novels and newspapers in German.	412.00	4.43	.81
I rarely make errors while writing in German.	365.00	3.92	1.12
I can understand German TV series, films and videos.	428.00	4.60	.59

Table 4.10 *(Continued)*

Items	S	M	SD
I have no difficulty experienced in speaking German in Germany.	407.00	4.38	.81
I have no difficulty experienced in understanding German in Germany.	418.00	4.49	.73
I have no difficulty experienced in reading German.	397.00	4.27	.92
I have no difficulty experienced in writing German.	386.00	4.15	.99
My German did not get worse since I moved to Turkey.	317.00	3.41	1.37

A comparison of Table 4.9 and 4.10 presented more detailed documentation of the items. The mean score of the item "I speak Turkish like a native speaker" (*M=4.26, SD=* .89) is slightly higher than the mean score of "I speak German like a native speaker" (*M=4.17, SD=* .90). This result showed that participants considered themselves as native speakers almost equally in both languages. Similarly, the participants reported slightly higher results in "understanding idiomatic expressions and proverbs in German (*M=4.09, SD=* .90) than understanding idiomatic expressions and proverbs in Turkish (*M=4.06, SD=* 1.02))". Also, the participants reported the same result in "I have no difficulty experienced in speaking German in Germany (*M=4.38, SD=* .81) and I have no difficulty experienced in speaking Turkish in Turkey (*M=4.38, SD=* 1.1). However, the means score participants reported in items "I have no difficulty experienced in understanding German in Germany" (*M=4.38, SD=* .81), "I have no difficulty experienced in reading German" (*M=4.27, SD=* .92), "I have no difficulty experienced in writing German" (*M=4.15, SD=* .99) were slightly higher than the mean scores of the items "I have no difficulty experienced in understanding Turkish in Turkey" (*M=4.31, SD=* .99), "I have no difficulty experienced in reading Turkish" (*M=4.20, SD=* 1.19), "I have no difficulty experienced in writing Turkish" (*M=4.01, SD=* 1.24). This shows that the participants are overall slightly better at speaking, understanding, and writing German than Turkish. However, the mean scores of the item "I understand abstract words and concepts in Turkish (*M=4.26, SD=* .86)" was slightly higher than the mean scores "I understand abstract words and concepts in German (*M=4.21, SD=* .80)". However, the mean score of "I can guess the meaning of unknown words in a speech from the context in Turkish (*M=4.29, SD=* .77) was slightly lower than the mean score of "I can guess the meaning of unknown words in a speech from the

context in German (*M=4.32, SD=.78*)". Overall, the mean scores that participants obtained in the items are very close to each other, one being slightly higher than the other in most cases. This indicates that Turkish and German proficiency levels of the participants are very similar.

Table 4.11
Mean Scores for Self-Perceived Language Proficiency (N=93)

	M	*SD*
Turkish Proficiency	4.28	.65
German Proficiency	4.22	.65

Table 4.11 displays data regarding the mean scores of the Turkish Language Proficiency (*M=4.28, SD=.65, N=93*) and German Language Proficiency (*M=4.22, SD=.65, N=93*) of Turkish German returnees. As can be seen in the Table 4.11, the mean score for Turkish Language Proficiency is almost equal to the mean score of the German Language Proficiency Scale items. A paired sample t-test analysis was conducted to determine if there was a statistically significant difference between the mean scores of Turkish Language Proficiency and German Language Proficiency of Turkish-German returnees. Since two different variables in the same group was measured, a paired sample t-test was carried out.

A paired-samples t-test analysis was conducted to find if there was a statistically significant difference between the mean scores of Turkish Language Proficiency and German Language Proficiency of Turkish German returnees. The analysis result displayed in Table 4.12 showed that there was no significant difference between the mean scores of Turkish Language Proficiency (*M=4.28, SD=.65, N=93*) and German Language Proficiency (*M=4.22, SD=.65, N=93*); $t(92)= .71$, $p > .05$. This means that Turkish German returnees are competent users of both languages and they display balanced bilingual characteristics.

Table 4.12
Paired Samples t-Test For Self-Perceived Language Proficiency

Perceived Proficiency	*M*	*SD*	*Std. Error M*	*t*	*df*	*Sig. (2-tailed)*
Turkish German	.061	.83	.086	.71	92	.48

As for the language preference, Table 4.13 presents the findings for language preference with different interlocutors and across different topics. The scale was designed ranging from 1 (Always German) to 5 (Always Turkish). Based on the findings, it can be seen that the participants use both languages with different frequencies depending on different situations and settings. A detailed look at Table 4.13 indicates that the participants prefer both languages (38.7%) in school and work settings.

Table 4.13
Language Choice Patterns in Different Domains (N=93)

Language Preferred		**Always German**	**Mostly German**	**Equal Amount of Both**	**Mostly Turkish**	**Always Turkish**
At work/school	F	4	25	36	19	9
	%	4.3	26.9	38.7	20.4	9.7
At home	F	2	13	20	31	27
	%	2.2	14.0	21.5	33.3	29.0
At family gatherings	F	1	5	18	27	42
	%	1.1	5.4	19.4	29.0	45.2
With father	F	3	10	7	30	43
	%	3.2	10.8	7.5	32.3	46.2
With mother	F	3	14	15	19	42
	%	3.2	15.1	16.1	20.4	45.2
With siblings	F	8	20	25	12	28
	%	8.6	21.5	26.9	12.9	30.1
With relatives	F	1	2	18	26	46
	%	1.1	2.2	19.4	28.0	49.5
With Turkish friends	F	0	7	27	25	34
	%	0	7.5	29.0	26.9	36.6
When thinking	F	8	15	35	15	20
	%	8.6	16.1	37.6	16.1	21.5
When dreaming	F	7	13	33	17	23
	%	7.5	14.0	35.5	18.3	24.7
When counting	F	16	17	25	16	19
	%	17.2	18.3	26.9	17.2	20.4
When following social media	F	14	20	33	12	14
	%	15.1	21.5	35.5	12.9	15.1
When tired	F	10	15	29	19	20
	%	10.8	16.1	31.2	20.4	21.5
When stressed	F	12	22	22	18	19
	%	12.9	23.7	23.7	19.4	20.4
When angry	F	14	20	24	15	20
	%	15.1	21.5	25.8	16.1	21.5
When arguing	F	8	19	27	18	21
	%	8.6	20.4	29.0	19.4	22.6

As can be seen in Table 4.13, at home and family gatherings, although Turkish is preferred the most, participants still do use German. Even though participants almost always prefer to use Turkish with their fathers (46.2%) and mothers (45.2%), and their relatives (49.5%), they use German more with their siblings. Also, participants reported always Turkish (36.6) as the highest, 7.5% participants still prefer mostly Turkish and 29% prefer using an equal amount of both when they speak to their Turkish friends. In cognitive procedures which include thinking, dreaming and counting, participants still prefer both languages. Also in emotional procedures such as when tired, stressed and angry and when arguing participants, participants still prefer both languages. This means that participants are balanced bilinguals proficient in both languages.

As can be seen in Table 4.14, a Pearson Moment correlation analysis was run to ascertain if there was a significant correlation between Turkish Identity (M=3.57, SD=.81, N=93) and Language Preference (M=3.48, SD=.86, N=93).

Table 4.14
Mean Scores for Turkish Identity and Language Preference (N=93)

	M	SD
Turkish Identity	3.57	.81
Language Preference	3.48	.86

A Pearson's r data analysis revealed a significant correlation between Turkish Identity (M=3.57, SD=.81, N=93) and Language Preference (M=3.48, SD=.86, N=93). The results suggest that there is no significant correlation between Turkish Identity and Language Preference, r(91)= .29, p=.004.

Table 4.15
Mean Scores for Turkish Identity and Language Preference (N=93)

		Language Preference
Turkish Identity	Pearson Correlation	.29[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

A Pearson's r data analysis revealed a significant correlation between Turkish Identity (*M*=3.57, *SD*=.81, *N*=93) and Language Preference (*M*=3.48, *SD*=.86, *N*=93). The results suggest that there is no significant correlation between Turkish Identity and Language Preference, r(91)= .29, p=.004.

Table 4.16
Mean Scores for Turkish Identity and Language Preference (N=93)

		Language Preference
Turkish Identity	Pearson Correlation	.29**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
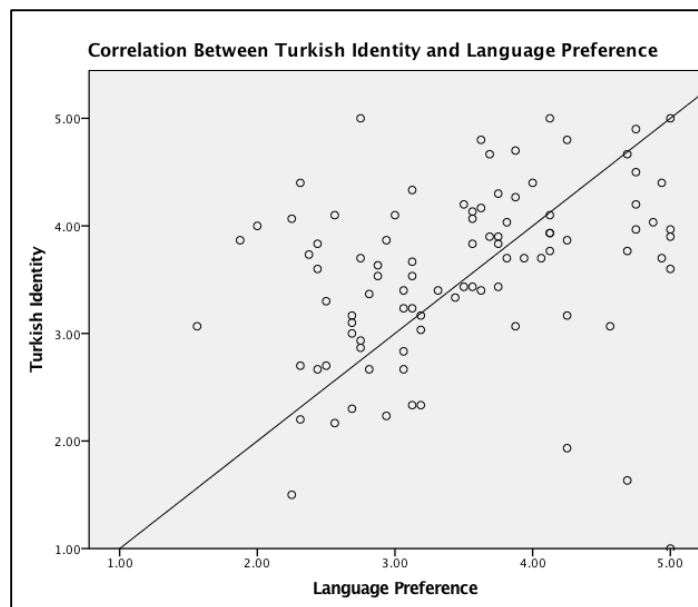
Graph 4.1. Correlation Between Turkish Identity and Language Preference

A Pearson Moment correlation analysis was run to ascertain if there is a significant correlation between German Identity (*M*=2.61, *SD*=.72, *N*=93) and Language Preference (*M*=3.48, *SD*=.86, *N*=93).

Table 4.17
Mean Scores for German Identity and Language Preference (N=93)

	M	*SD*
Language Preference	3.48	.86
German Identity	2.61	.72

A Pearson's r data analysis revealed a significantly negative correlation between German Identity (*M*=2.61, *SD*=.72, *N*=93) and Language Preference (*M*=3.48, *SD*=.86, *N*=93). The results suggest that there is a significantly negative correlation between German Identity and Language Preference, *r*(91)= -.52, p<.001.

Table 4.18
Correlation Analysis Between Turkish Identity and Language Preference (N=93)

		German Identity
Language Preference	Pearson Correlation	-.52**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
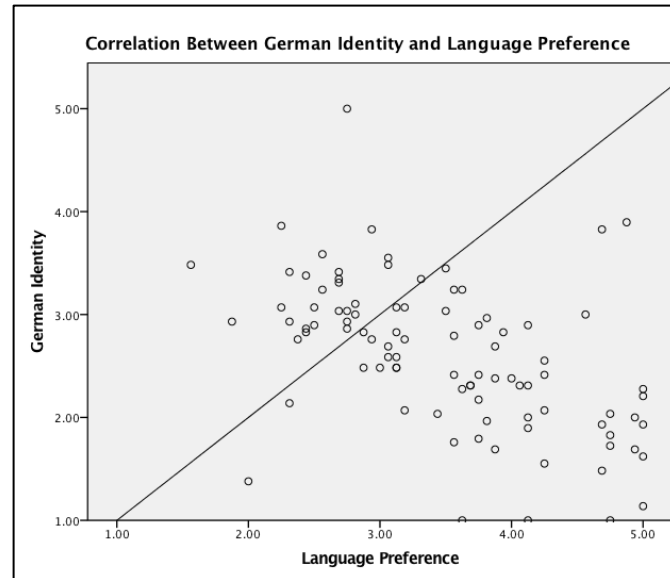
Graph 4.2. Correlation Between German Identity and Language Preference

4.4. Qualitative Data Analysis Results

Content analysis was conducted to analyse the qualitative data. Based on the face-to-face interviews carried out with 16 participants, the following themes emerged (see Figure 4.1). Fives themes were created and data were divided into 14 categories. The qualitative results will be discussed in line with the research questions along with the quotations from the participants.

Table 4.19 and Table 4.20 present demographic information about participants. As can be seen in Table 4.19, the minimum and maximum age of the participants are 19 and 52, respectively (M=*26.94, SD=10.92*), the minimum and maximum length of residence in Germany are 11 and 32 years, respectively (M=*18.75, SD=5.60*), and the minimum and maximum length of residence in Turkey are 2 and 30 years, respectively (M=*8.75, SD=7.55*).

Table 4.19
Descriptive Statistics for Participants (N=16)

	Min.	*Max*	*M*	*SD*
Age	19.00	52.00	26.94	10.92
Length of Residence in Germany	11.00	32.00	18.75	5.60
Length of Residence in Turkey	2.00	30.00	8.75	7.55

As can be seen in Table 4.20, 14 participants were third generation (87.5%), and 2 participants were second generation (12.5%).

Table 4.20
Descriptive Statistics for Participants (N=16)

		n	%
Generation	Third-Generation	14	87.5
	Second-Generation	2	12.5
Department	German Translation Interpreting	16	100.0
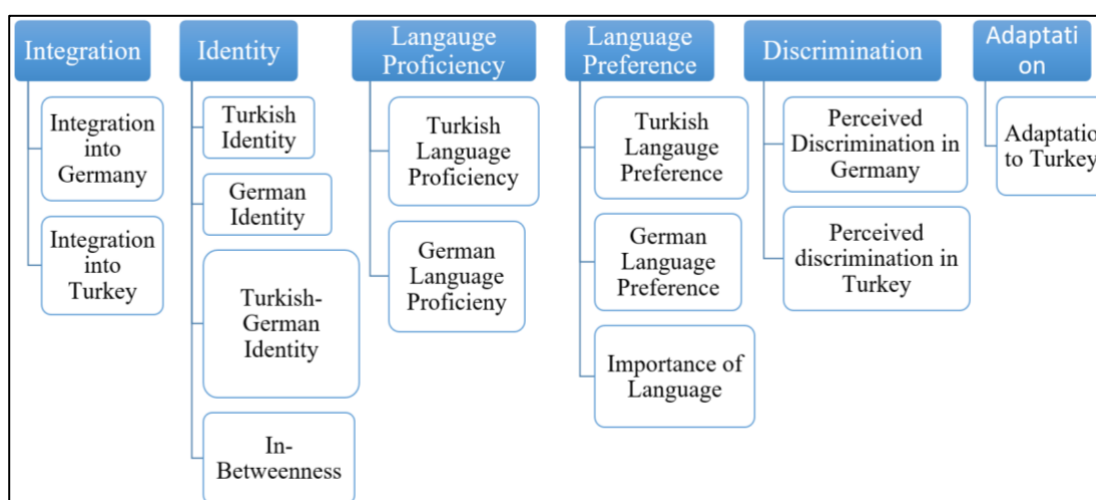
Figure 4.1. Themes and Categories that Emerged in the Qualitative Data Analysis

4.4.1. Motives of Return

The first research question of the study concerns the motives of return among second and third generation Turkish returnees. Although the return phenomenon may look like a family-related decision for second and third-generation Turkish returnees, an in-depth analysis of interviews provided a different insight into the subject. A quick inspection of table 4.18 shows that the return phenomenon is mostly associated with the return decision of the parents, it can also be seen that some participants decided to migrate to Turkey for different reasons other than family.

The examination of the return motives reported by the participants of the study indicated that participants migrated to Turkey for a wide variety of reasons. Participants cited 13 different reasons for their migration to Turkey and some participants underlined that there was no single factor which encouraged them to migrate to Turkey. As can be seen in Table 4.18, most of the participants migrated to Turkey for familial reasons. For the second and third generation immigrants, the major motive for returning to Turkey was the long-lasting idea of return in the family. Similarly, one participant reported the parental divorce and another the loss of family member and yet another the retirement of parents as the reason for migration to Turkey. All these reasons can be categorized as family-motivated return decisions. However, some participants migrated to Turkey for individual reasons irrespective of their families. As it is seen it Table 4.18, two participants migrated to Turkey upon marriage. Yet another participant stated that she had an emotional attachment with Turkey and another stated that he was curious about Turkey because they, as a family, considered Turkey as their homeland, Turkey is where their parents and grandparents came from and so decided to live in Turkey either temporarily or permanently. One participant expressed that she wanted to experience something new and decided to migrate to Turkey.

Table 4.21
Return Motives Reported by Turkish Returnees (N=16)

Return Motives	F
Long-Lasting Idea of Return in the Family	4
Marriage	2
Parental Divorce	1
Curiosity about Turkey	1
Emotional Attachment with Turkey	1
Identity Crises	1
A new experience	1
The stressful school environment in Germany	1
Job Opportunities in Turkey	1
Personal Experience of Discrimination	1
Retirement of Parents	1
Loss of Family Members	1
The belief in the of an upward social status in Turkey	1

On the other hand, they were some negative factors related to Germany which influenced the migration decision of Turkish returnees. One of the participants felt neither Turkish or German and ended up in Turkey in order to free herself from the identity crisis she had undergone in Germany because she couldn't feel a sense of belonging to the German society due to her Turkish origin. Additionally, one of the participants expressed that she faced discrimination in Germany and her experience of discrimination created a sense of disappointment about her future in Germany, and accordingly she decided to migrate to Turkey. Another participant believed that finding a decent job was difficult for her in Germany and she believed that she would find a better job with a higher social status and recognition in Turkey since she spoke German fluently. Furthermore, one participant expressed that both being admitted to university and graduating from university were more difficult in Germany and for this reason, she decided to migrate to Turkey.

In order to shed light on the return motives of second and third generation Turkish returnees, some quotations from the participants will be presented and discussed. Since it is generally the case that the first-generation migrants had an idealized notion of home regarding Turkey and felt nostalgic about Turkey, their children, second-generation Turkish immigrants and their grandchildren, third or subsequent generations, might lack an attachment with Turkey or do not recognize Turkey as their homeland. One of the major motives of return reported by the participants was

the long-lasting idea of return in their family. A great number of Turks living in Germany still keep the idea of return alive. The following narration is an example of a Turkish-German returnee who stated that her family always had the idea of coming back to Turkey and her family always maintained a connection with Turkey:

> I was born in Germany and I really loved living there. I did not face any hostility there but I love Turkey a lot as well. As a family, we always had the intention to re-migrate to Turkey permanently. My father initially went to Germany for 3-4 years but we stayed there longer than we had predicted. We always spent summers in Istanbul. Since it was our plan to come back to Turkey, my father didn't even allow us to speak German at home so that we could easily integrate into Turkey upon return. Therefore, we did not experience any problems with regard to adaptation (Hazan, 2nd generation, 25 years in Germany, 24 years in Germany).

As stated by the participants, most families have always kept the return idea alive and made the return decision with their family members. However, some of the participants did not migrate to Turkey willingly. They were rather forced by their parents or they agreed to migrate to Turkey since their parents forced it upon them. The following narration belongs to a participant who was not even aware that they were migrating to Turkey permanently:

> It was not my decision to come to Turkey to live. I have lived with my father since I was 12, when my parents got divorced. As my father always wanted to return to Turkey, I had to come with him. My father hadn't integrated well into Germany. Even his German was only elementary. Actually, I was told that we were coming to Turkey for the summer vacation but we ended up staying in Turkey permanently. I thought we would go back but I found myself enrolled in a school in Afyon, Turkey (Arda, 3rd generation, 14 years in Germany, 7 years in Turkey).

In contrast with the popular perception that second or third-generation Turkish immigrants living in Europe do not maintain emotional ties with Turkey like their parents, some participants expressed that they wanted to migrate to Turkey because of their roots despite having integrated well in Germany. The following two texts belong to participants who were quite happy with living in Germany. These two could have continued living in Germany because the father of the first participant still lives in Germany and also the family of the second participant is still in

Germany. The first participant chose to come to Turkey with his mother because he was curious about Turkey and the second participant decided to migrate to Turkey because she had always had the intention of living in Turkey at some period of her life.

> Actually, I was quite happy in Germany but I wanted a change in my life. Our grandmothers and grandfathers were born in Turkey. In fact, I wanted to see my own homeland. I had always had the idea in my mind that I was Turkish and I wanted to experience how it felt to live in Turkey (Ahmet, 3rd generation, 16 years in Germany, 5 years in Turkey).

> Overall, I was quite happy in Germany thanks to my friend and family circle. But I have always loved Turkey. It was my dream to study at a university in Turkey (Duygu, 3rd generation, 23 years in Germany, 4 years in Turkey).

In addition to the Turkish immigrants who migrated to Turkey with their families, some of the participants reported that they decided to migrate to Turkey of their own accord for educational or professional opportunities. The third generation-children of some Turkish families living in Europe opt for migration to Turkey by their own free will due to the opportunities available in Turkey despite the fact that their parents live in Germany or other European countries. The following two narrations belong to two participants whose parents still live in Germany. The participants voluntarily came to Turkey for educational reasons.

> My family still lives in Germany. I am the only one from my family who lives in Turkey. I came here for educational purposes. My family is also contemplating returning to Turkey. We still have connections with Turkey but my father will be retired in 3 years (Pelin, 3rd generation, 18 years in Germany, 6 years in Turkey).

> Actually, it was my decision to come to Turkey. My family did not interfere with my decision and told me to do whatever I wanted. I came to Turkey for the opportunities here. In Turkey, it is possible to continue your university education straight after finishing high school; however, I had to take a more complicated route in Germany. I had to complete additional study after high school. That's why I chose Turkey because the education system is more complex in Germany than in Turkey (Hazal, 3rd generation, 14 years in Germany, 8 years in Turkey).

In contrast to these experiences, one participant stated that she had experienced identity related issues in Germany. The participant stated that she had returned to Turkey with her mother, leaving her father in Germany. Her father still lives there

and has long years before his retirement and does not intend to return to Turkey before retiring. Therefore, she had the option to stay in Germany but she chose to come to Turkey, thinking that it would be better for her. This is because she was uncomfortable living in Germany due to her Turkish identity and she failed to identify herself with Turks living in Germany as Turks living there could not or did not integrate into Germany intentionally. Therefore, she was ashamed of her Turkish identity and she couldn't also identify herself as a German and felt stuck in-between:

> I was ashamed of being a Turk. However, there was no escape from it. The German society was always imposing itself on me. I witnessed how Turks behaved and I found them very disrespectful to the German society. I was also restricted by my family in some issues such as drinking alcohol or going out late at night because my mother had become very conservative after the introduction of Turkish TV channels in our home. Later on, when my mother decided to return to Turkey, I agreed to go with her thinking I would be more free in a city like Istanbul because where we lived in Germany was very small. But my father stayed there (Nilay, 3rd generation, 15 years in Germany, 7 years in Germany).

As illustrated in Table 4.18, some participants stated that their families had the long-lasting idea of return to Turkey. However, their families postponed the return because of the education of their children or because their children were not willing to migrate to Turkey. In this vein, the return decision of Turkish families is also shaped by the consent of their children to migrate to Turkey. Following are two examples of Turkish immigrant children who had the long-lasting idea of return in their family but they actually wanted to migrate to Turkey for personal reasons.

> I came to Turkey with my family. My family, just like most Turkish families living in Germany, had the idea of returning sooner or later. However, I decided to migrate to Turkey after a negative experience I had because of my nationality. I had found an internship program in Germany, but after they learned that I had only Turkish citizenship, they cancelled it. I was very disappointed and agreed to migrate to Turkey (Leyla, 3rd generation, 17 years in Germany, 3 years in Turkey).

> I made the return decision with my family. My family had always had the idea of returning. I did not want to come to Turkey during the middle school period even though my family wanted it. When I was 17/18 years old, I wanted to do something new and I wanted to come to Turkey myself. I did not want to stay

in Germany any longer (Sibel, 3rd generation, 18 years in Germany, 5.5 years in Turkey).

4.5.1.1. Perceived Discrimination

An in-depth analysis of the narratives of participants indicated that discrimination was an issue at different scales in Germany. While some participants reported having faced discrimination themselves, some expressed that they did not have any personal experience of discrimination but their parents faced discrimination or xenophobia in different settings and levels. Meanwhile, it was reported by some participants that neither they nor their parents were subject to discrimination, but they had witnessed the discrimination of some friends or overall discrimination of Turks in Germany. Additionally, some participants neither experienced nor witnessed discrimination, whereas they heard stories of discrimination from other friends. The form and setting of discrimination is presented in Table 4.22.

Table 4.22
Experience of Discrimination in the Host Country (N=16)

Type of Discrimination	F	Setting	F
Personal experience of discrimination	5	At work place	1
		At school	4
		Wearing headscarf	1
		In social life	2
Witnessing overall discrimination of Turks	8	At school	4
		At work place	2
		In social life	1
Witnessing overall discrimination of Muslims	3	Fasting	2
		Wearing headscarf	1
No personal experience of discrimination	6		

Table 4.22 presented the frequency and form of discrimination reported by the participants. A total of 5 participants stated that they had faced discrimination personally. The discrimination took place at work, at school, and in social life. 1 participant reported having faced discrimination in the work place and 4 participants at school. In addition to those participants who had faced discrimination personally, 8 participants stated that they had witnessed overall discrimination against Turks in different forms. Out of these 8 participants, 4 participants stated that they had

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observed overall discrimination against Turks at school, 2 of them at work, and 1 of them in their social life. 3 participants reported that they had witnessed overall discrimination against Muslims. 2 participants stated that Muslims had been discriminated against because of fasting and 1 participant reported discrimination associated with wearing a headscarf. 6 participants, however, stated that they had not experienced any form of discrimination.

Based on the accounts of the participants, it can be seen that one of the most noticeable forms of discrimination that Turkish immigrants faced in Germany took place in school environment. Considering that the participants generally migrated from Germany to Turkey in their teenage years, they spent most of their elementary and high school years in Germany. Those who reported having faced discrimination at school stated that some teachers tended to deduct more points from Turkish students. What's more, they even stated that Turkish students who were as successful as German students were not treated equally as the German students. The following text belongs to a participant who had a personal experience of discrimination in the school environment with regard to his school marks. The participant complained about the lack of equality and the presence of prejudice towards Turkish students:

> When I was at high school, I was eligible to join a superior school because my GPA was high. However, my teachers did not send me to a better school because I was Turkish. I was studying at Hauptschule and I could have transferred to Realschule but the school management didn't write the permission petition for me. But something really surprising happened. I had a friend who was studying at Hauptschule with me. His GPA was lower than mine but he was sent to Gymnasium, which is two degrees higher than Hauptschule. I, however, was not able to rise even one degree. I was really heartbroken because my future was badly affected. At that time, I became really disappointed with Germany (Ahmet, 3rd generation, 16 years in Germany, 5 years in Turkey).

One another participant narrated a similar story about the discrimination she faced in school environment and she attributed it to her Turkish identity. She openly stated that Turkish and German students were not treated equally in the school

environment. She expressed that German teachers were stricter towards Turkish students when it came to school marks and performance:

> At school, after we wrote an essay, we had to show our grade to our parents, and they had to sign our exam paper to make sure that they had really seen our grades. I and two of my German friends got a low score in our German language class and we went to talk to our teacher about it. I said that I was ashamed of my grade and I couldn't show it to my parents. My two other friends said the same thing, but our teacher only called my parents - she did not call their parents. I was in the 4th or 5th grade. I don't exactly know if it was because I was Turkish but I thought so because my friends were German; I was the only Turk. (Elçin, 3rd generation, 14 years in Germany, 9 years in Turkey)

The following narration belongs to a participant who said that he was always treated well by his friends and teachers and did not face any kind of discrimination. However, he stated that people did not believe he was of Turkish descent because he was raised as a German and he did not resemble Turks physically. Even though he did not experience any kind of discrimination in Germany, the participant stated that he witnessed overall discrimination of Turks at school and ascribed it to the failure of Turks to integrate into the German society. The following two texts belong to two participants who thought that discrimination or prejudice against Turkish students existed in the school environment in Germany:

> There was definitely discrimination against Turks but this came from both sides. Germans are a bit prejudiced against Turks but Turks do not try to integrate into Germany. In Germany, the schools are classified as Hauptschule, Realschelue and Gymnasium. As far as I know, even though Turks were successful at school, they were not allowed to go to Gymnasium like the Germans. I was allowed, but this was a general attitude towards Turks (Arda, 3rd generation, 14 years in Germany, 7 years in Turkey).

In addition to those participants who had varying accounts of discrimination faced in the school environment, another participant narrated a story of discrimination that she had faced at work. According to the participant, xenophobia was common towards foreigners in her time in Germany because Germans were not accustomed to living with Turks:

> In the past, Germans were not used to Turks. They did not know where Turkey was but now everyone knows where it is. Turks and Ottomans were depicted

as barbaric in the history books and people were scared when you said you were a Turk. There was prejudice against Turks. For example, I was working at a nursing home. I worked there for 8 years after I graduated from high school. An old lady's underwear went missing in the laundry room and the woman accused me of stealing it just because I was a foreigner. There was a kind of xenophobia. I did not feel it intensely but it existed. (Halime, 2nd generation, 25 years in Germany, 24 years in Turkey).

Another participant narrated an interesting story about her father and Turks which indicated salient discrimination against Turks:

My father had problems with his lower back because Turkish immigrants were given all the difficult tasks which required physical effort and because of this, many of them developed health problems. Other immigrants, however, such as Russians working at the same factories were given relatively easier tasks. Also, even if Turks were as qualified as Germans, Germans were prioritized when it came to job opportunities. (Sena, 3rd generation, 18 years in Germany, 5.5 years in Turkey).

As is seen in Table 4.22, participants also faced discrimination in association with their religious beliefs and practices. With regard to the discrimination associated with being Muslim, one of the most significant examples was about wearing the headscarf. However, the participant underlined the fact that the level of discrimination or prejudice was not at a significant level and it varied significantly from one region to another. She stressed that she was happy with her life in Germany overall except for the prejudice she had faced due to her headscarf. The following narration belongs to this participant who faced difficulty about wearing a headscarf at school because of the biased attitudes of some teachers:

I faced discrimination. We lived in the Bayern region. Very old and rich German families live there and they are more prejudiced and discriminatory against foreigners. I faced some difficulties at school due to my headscarf. We had some teachers who had Islamophobia or Turkophobia. However, it was not totally unbearable. Not everyone was like that. It did not reach a level where it stopped me living my life there (Hazan, 3rd generation, 14 years in Germany, 8 years in Turkey).

Another participant stated that there existed a kind of long-lasting prejudice towards Turks and Muslims and they couldn't feel comfortable while they were living in Germany. She stressed the existence of xenophobia and Islamophobia and told that

their neighbours were never friendly towards them and they could only establish friendly relationships with other immigrants from other countries. She also maintained that Turks were subject to the same attitude at school because of their background since the beginning of their school life:

> You begin to notice you are different from others even at kindergarten. You understand that you come from a different culture. We learned German after we started kindergarten. I faced discrimination because there are not many foreigners in the rural areas in general. Actually, we were aware of being different at a young age. I don't want to exaggerate but I had to explain and prove myself to my teachers in front of other students regarding certain religious issues which can only be understood by adults. I didn't realize this when I was there but we were obliged to be more knowledgeable about religious and social issues compared to people living in Turkey. It was because we had to break the existing prejudice against Muslims and Turks and prove that we were actually good people. We had to show that our mothers and fathers were normal people as well or that we did not come from patriarchal families. To do so, we had to act decently and be knowledgeable. It was not that easy (Sena, 3rd generation, 12 years in Germany, 8 years in Turkey).

One of the most significant stories of discrimination came from a participant who stated she neither had a sense of belonging to Turkey nor Germany because of her past negative experiences in Germany. Another participant complained about the fact that Turks are generalized and held responsible for the behaviours of other Turks. According to the participant, Turks are generally judged based on the behaviours of other Turks and are regarded the same as others. This created a sense of in-betweenness for the participant because it made her feel like she was stigmatized and not accepted as a German. Eventually, this caused her to feel ashamed of their identity. The following example reveals the existing generalization and stigmatization of Turks in Germany.

> Whether you are a Muslim or not, people assume you are anyway because of your Turkish origins. This brought about some difficulties for me because I always had to defend myself. I was always obliged to defend or explain myself to set myself apart from other Turks or I had to prove that I was not like other Turks failing to integrate into Germany or Turks who always care about their own interests. The Turks living in Germany have remained unchanged since 1960s. They never adapt themselves and try to integrate into German society. For example, I used to write poems but my teachers did not believe that I was able to write them. They only believed it when I wrote them in front of them. It was not that they did not believe I could write poems but they were implicitly suspicious of me. You can easily feel that. I took part in events like Christmas, Easter and the Church chorus. Germans found it strange but for me, it was just

another activity. Turks were also judging me for being too Germanized. I was stuck somewhere in between. Also, one time, when some Germans saw a man with a big belly and a white undershirt, they pointed him out to me and asked me if he was a Turk to tease me (Nilay, 3rd generation, 15 years in Germany, 7 years in Germany)

Table 4.23 presents the least and most favourite thing about Germany. Looking at the Table 4. 23, it can be seen that the thing that Turkish migrants liked the most in Germany was the order (*F=5*), which is followed by discipline (*F=3*), respect (*F=2*), nature (*F=2*), cleanliness (*F=2*). Other participants reported rules (*F=1*), the health sector (*F=1*), the honesty of people (*F=1*), the lack of favouritism (*F=1*), punctuality (*N=1*), development level (*F=1*), population density (*F=1*) and friendliness (*F=1*). 3 participants, however, reported the boring lifestyle to be what they liked least about Germany. 3 participants stated that there was nothing that they did not like about Germany. Climate (*F=2*), cold people (*F=2*), lack of sincerity (*F=2*), lack of spirit in cities (*F=2*) were also reported to be the least favourite things about Germany. Moreover, some participants stated that what they liked the least about Germany was strictness (*F=1*), lack of equality in all aspects of life (*F=1*), prejudice (*F=1*), discrimination (*F=1*), being too liberal in a religious sense (*F=1*).

Table 4.23
Participants' Least and Most Favourite Things About Germany (N=16)

The Most Favoured	F	The Least Favourite	F
Order	5	Boring Life	3
Discipline	3	Nothing	3
Respect	2	Climate	2
Cleanliness	2	Cold people	2
Nature	2	Lack of sincerity	2
Health Sector	1	Lack of Spirit	2
Honesty of people	1	Lack of equality in all aspects of life	1
Lack of favouritism	1	Prejudice	1
Punctuality	1	Discrimination	1
Responsibility	1	Strictness	1
Development level	1	Being too liberal in a religious sense	1
Population density	1		
Friendliness	1		
Adherence to rules	1		

The interviews held with the participants provided an insight into the most and the least favourite things of participants about living in Germany. Overall, Turkish returnees are seen to be satisfied with life in Germany for similar reasons. Predominantly, the participants liked the social order, rules, discipline and other similar things about Germany and underscored that life was easy in Germany. Participants were particularly happy about the lack of favouritism in Germany compared to Turkey. They complained that people are not selected for positions based on their qualifications in Turkey. On the contrary, according to the participants, there was a fairer system based on people's qualifications in Germany:

> I particularly like that Germany is very green and people are honest. Unfortunately, there is a lot of favouritism in Turkey. In Germany, on the other hand, qualified people reach the higher positions they deserve. In Germany, you achieve what you deserve but here when you want to achieve something there are always hurdles for you (Elçin, 3rd generation, 14 years in Germany, 9 years in Turkey).

Another participant explained in detail what she liked most about Germany. As stated by some participants, the rules are explicit and people adhere to the rules. The fact that everyone follows the existing order was an overarching theme mentioned by the participants. A participant who worked in Germany for a while explained what she liked most about Germany. She underlined that rules are always pre-determined and there are no exceptions to the rules in Germany:

> What I liked most about Germany was the order. There is an order in everything. For example, I was working for a metal company in Germany and before I started working, I received a 1-hour training session. They informed us about everything from A to Z, including worker rights. We learnt everything from what the signs meant to where we had to go in case of a fire. They taught us everything on a power point presentation. You knew what to do or what not to do in each situation. Everything was clear-cut (Hasret, 3rd generation, 18 years in Germany, 6 years in Turkey).

On the other hand, with regard to the things participants did not like about Germany, participants concentrated on similar issues regarding social life such as the boring way of life, lack of spirit in cities, strictness, and some issues such as discrimination and so on. Although participants praised the level of discipline in Germany, one of the participants found the level of discipline extreme:

The level of discipline was a bit too much. It was very strict. I felt like some things were overexerted. (Arda, 3rd generation, 14 years in Germany, 7 years in Turkey).

One of the participants noted that what she liked the least about Germany was the discrimination she felt in Germany, which reduced her sense of belonging to Germany. She pointed out that she became aware of the discrimination she felt upon migration to Turkey:

What I liked the least about Germany was the discrimination. When you feel discriminated against, you understand that you do not belong there. Even if you do not experience it personally, you witness people being discriminated against. For example, when a little child sees a woman wearing a headscarf, they ask their mom what it is. If the mother has good awareness, she carefully explains what it is but if not, she asks her child to turn their head away. These kinds of things happen a lot but I ignored them. After I moved to Turkey and began to visit Germany for vacations, I began to find such things annoying, which I didn't in the past (Leyla, 3rd generation, 17 years in Germany, 3 years in Turkey).

Another issue reflected in the answers of the participants was related to the culture and human characteristics in Germany. Participants stated that there were some cultural and personality differences between Turkish and German people. According to the participants, a distinctive feature of Germans was their distance and importance they attached to personal space, which is different to general Turkish characteristics. The following participant explains what they did not like about Germany as follows:

German people are a bit cold compared with our people. You can easily establish a rapport with Turkish people but it is unlikely you'll have such a level of intimacy with German people. (Hazan, 3rd generation, 14 years in Germany, 8 years in Turkey).

4.1.1.2. Post-Return Difficulties Experienced by the Participants

This section of the study will present what kinds of difficulties participants faced upon migration to Turkey. It is obvious that participants went through a challenging process after they migrated to Turkey. Table 4.24 displays the post-return difficulties experienced by the participants upon migration to Turkey.

Table 4.24
Post-Return Difficulties Experienced in Turkey (N=16)

Difficulties Experienced in Turkey	F
Education system	6
Language	5
People's character	4
Feeling excluded	3
Paperwork	2
Lack of respect among people	2
Cultural Difference	2
Hectic pace of life	1
Lack of consciousness about environment	1
Lack of some values in Turkey	1
Lack of solidarity among Turks in Germany	1
Lack of sincerity	1
Invasion of privacy	1
Judgemental society	1
Health system	1
No difficulty	2

As presented in the Table 4.24, participants had difficulties in a wide variety of topics after they migrated to Turkey. Table X shows that the most striking difficulty that participants had was concerning the education system in Turkey (*F=6*). Another significant difficulty experienced by the participants was related to language (*F=5*), and people's character (*F=4*). 3 participants stated that they felt excluded by Turkish people. In addition, 2 participants complained about the magnitude of paperwork and 2 participants pointed out the lack of respect among people, and 2 other participants stated that cultural difference was a difficulty they faced in Turkey. The other difficulties reported by the participants include the hectic pace of life (*F=1*), the lack of consciousness about the environment (*F=1*), the lack of some values in Turkey (*F=1*), the lack of solidarity among Turks in Germany (*F=1*), the lack of sincerity (*N=1*), invasion of privacy (*F=1*), judgemental society (*F=1*) and the poor health system (*F=1*).

Asked if they are happy living in Turkey or what difficulties they have faced since coming to Turkey, participants provided different answers to the question. Although participants predominantly stated that they were happy with their lives in Turkey, they also expressed that they faced multiple difficulties at first. As presented in Table 4.24, the most significant post-return difficulty reported by the participants was related to the

education system in Turkey. Participants expressed that there was a huge difference between the education system in Turkey and Germany. The Turkish education system was both demanding and challenging for them since they had grown up in Germany and were not accustomed to the education system in Turkey. In particular, participants who had predominantly migrated to Turkey during middle school or high school years complained about the examination system administered and the low quality of education in Turkey. To exemplify, the following narration belongs to a participant who was disappointed with the education system in Turkey:

> No doubt everyone had prejudices before coming here, but I eliminated all my prejudices. I told myself that I was starting a new experience. Everyone questioned the reason why this new experience should be in Turkey. I had already been visiting Turkey in summer and I wanted to try it out. It was not difficult in terms of adapting to the social life because I came here willingly. However, what was difficult for me was the Turkish education system. It is an undeniable fact that the education system is really bad in Turkey. They place all the burden on the students and only ask them to memorise things. It is all based on memorisation. There is no practice or activities. There is no way for students to reinforce what they learn. No matter how much I love Turkey I would like my children to receive education - even their nursing school - in Germany. (Ahmet, 3rd generation, 16 years in Germany, 5 years in Turkey).

Another significant issue raised by the participants was the difficulty experienced with language. Since the participants had mainly used German in their social life and their Turkish was limited to what they spoke at home with family members, their Turkish proficiency was not well-developed. In this vein, language manifested itself as a great barrier for the participants when they first migrated to Turkey. Their low proficiency in Turkish also caused them to have difficulty in the education system of Turkey. Although many Turkish families in Germany still encourage their children to speak Turkish even if it is at a limited level, one of the participants stated that his mother spoke only in German with him and he couldn't learn Turkish at all. The participant, who then migrated to Turkey with his father upon the divorce of his parents, found himself in the midst of a great challenge after settling in Turkey permanently because he was not able to speak Turkish at all. The participant explained the situation as follows:

I had many difficulties when I first came. The biggest one was that I couldn't speak any Turkish. I didn't know my father a lot when I was in Germany. My mother and I spoke German because she didn't want me to experience any difficulty in Germany because of language or no sense of belonging. My father's German was not good. Our communication was only limited to physical contact. His German was elementary level and I learned Turkish by listening to others. While I was speaking, I used to formulate my sentences in German and translate them into Turkish. I had to take the high school entrance exam with the Turkish I had learned within 1 year. High school was difficult because I was excluded because people thought I was German because no one comes from a foreign country in Afyon. But I had the biggest difficulty because of my Turkish. I got used to it after a while, especially after I came to Istanbul (Arda, 3rd generation, 14 years in Germany, 7 years in Turkey).

Similar to the participant above, this narration belongs to a participant who migrated to Turkey with a limited proficiency in Turkish and accordingly experienced difficulty in the Turkish examination system, which is remarkably different from the German one. However, different from the participant above who had also personally experienced negative experiences such as exclusion by the others because of coming from a different country, the following participant stated that coming from a foreign country helped her make friends with others easily:

I didn't experience any difficulty in terms of identity. When my friends came to the classroom they wanted to talk to me because I came from Germany, so I became the centre of attention. This helped me adapt easily. I had a hard time in terms of language. I spent 3-4 years of my life reading Turkish books to improve my Turkish. In the 7th grade, I discovered that I had to get prepared for something called the SBS (high school entrance exam). When I first came to Turkey, my Turkish was only limited to what we spoke at home such as "Can you pass the salt or bread, thank you". I began to learn Turkish in earnest, leaving everything including my social life aside. In short, the biggest difficulty for me was that I came to Turkey with limited Turkish (Elçin, 3rd generation, 14 years in Germany, 9 years in Turkey).

Different from those participants who had difficulty in relation to language, one of the participants stated that he had difficulty in getting used to the way of life in Turkey. He firstly underscored the difference between the education systems implemented in Turkey and Germany and expressed that people were judgemental and he had more freedom in Germany. The differences in the way of life between Turkish and German people pose a kind of challenge for the returnees in terms of adapting to Turkey. The following text exemplifies what sort of challenges participants might have gone through:

I had an adaptation period when I first came. I didn't have any difficulty with language, but I had difficulty in getting used to life here. Everything is different from Germany here. For example, the school system is completely different. I came here in the 6th grade. The education provided in the first 5 grades in Germany is better than the education provided in grades 6,7, and 8 in Turkey. This can also apply to high school. Even in the 3rd grade, we went out in science class and always did interactive things in an applied way in Germany. It may not sound necessary, but we even knew bird species by heart. Here, the information is provided in a very superficial way. We learn theoretical information here. I also had difficulty getting used to the way of life. For example, I came from Samsun to Istanbul when I started university. When I wanted to be the way I wanted to be at university, people in Samsun had the perception that I had changed and they began to judge me. This does not happen in Germany. People do not judge you based on your clothes or your manners (Metin, 3rd generation, 14 years in Germany, 8 years in Turkey).

Similarly, another participant stated that she did not have any issues related to the Turkish way of life or the difference in mentality between Turkish and German people because they maintained a Turkish lifestyle and mentality in Germany and they upheld Turkish values. However, she stressed that she felt like she was excluded by others because people always mentioned that she came from Germany, which made her feel like a foreigner:

I came to Turkey without my family. When I first came here, I totally felt like a foreigner. Whenever I met someone, they introduced me as a German to others or they explained that I came from Germany. In this case, you feel like you are excluded. I did not experience difficulty with regard to lifestyle or mentality because we preserved Turkish culture in Germany as well. (Hasret, 3rd generation, 18 years in Germany, 6 years in Turkey).

One of the participants, in contrast, who migrated to Turkey upon marriage, explained that she couldn't get used to the Turkish way of life and Turkish people in Turkey although she did not have any issues related to her identity. She underlined that since Turks were a minority group in Germany, the solidarity among them was better than here. The following text indicates that the participant couldn't integrate into the Turkish community given the differences between people in Turkey and people in Germany:

I feel like some values are missing here. I can safely say that we even lived Islam better in Germany because there was solidarity among Turks in Germany. Family values are different here because families in Germany are more conservative. They remained the same and preserved their mind-set. They had managed to protect

their values since they first migrated. People are very different here though. (Aslı, 3rd generation, 24 years in Germany, 6 years in Turkey).

4.4.2. Identity

Another important theme concerned the identity perceptions of the participants. In order to gain a deeper understanding of Turkish identity, participants were asked to describe what it means to be Turkish or the connotation of Turkishness for them. Table 4.25 lists the answers given by the participants in reply to the description of Turkishness. Although some similar answers were given, different descriptions of Turkishness are also found.

For the participants, the most distinctive characteristics associated with being Turkish is friendliness ($F=7$). Other qualities that participants attributed to Turkishness include hospitality ($F=3$), being laid-back ($F=3$), being helpful ($F=2$), being patriotic ($F=2$), being spontaneous ($F=2$), tolerance ($F=2$), humanism ($F=2$), and being courageous ($F=2$). Some negative descriptions associated with Turkishness by the Turkish German immigrants are self-interest ($F=1$), laziness ($F=1$), and stereotypical thinking ($F=1$). In order to further analyse to what extent Turkish German returnees identify themselves with Turkishness or Germanness and how they perceive Turkishness and Germanness, some of the participants' statements are provided below.

Table 4.25
Description of Turkishness (N=16)

Description of Turkishness	F
Friendliness	7
Hospitality	3
Being Laid-Back	3
Being Helpful	2
Being Patriotic	2
Being Spontaneous	2
Stereotypical Thinking	1
Laziness	1
Tolerance	1
Self-interest	1
Humanism	1
Being Courageous	1

Asked when what being Turkish means for the participants, the participants stated that it was not easy to make a generalizable definition of Turkishness. However, when asked what being German means for the participants, participants defined being German easily. Some of the participants defined Turkishness with positive attributes, whereas some others with negative attributes. One of the negative qualities that the participants attributed to Turkishness was related to the presence of a fair system based on people's qualifications. The following participant stated that there were differences between Turkey and Germany when it comes to how they evaluate people:

I think that self-interest and favouritism are extremely common in Turkey. There is no favouritism in Germany, if you are good, you are good, if you are bad, you are bad. People are evaluated based on their qualifications (Mustafa, 3rd generation, 14 years in Germany, 8 years in Turkey).

Another significant quality of Turkishness for the participants was that Turks were strikingly different from Germans in the sense that they are friendly and spontaneous. The following text belongs to a participant who made a comparison between Turkish and German people to elucidate what is the most remarkable difference between them:

Turkish people are warm, friendly and spontaneous. They always tell you "Let's go have lunch, let's have a tea, let's go out" spontaneously. However, Germans are very strict. They always stick to their plans. When you suggest going out, they reject you when they feel tired (Nilay, 3rd generation, 15 years in Germany, 7 years in Germany).

As for the description of Germanness, participants provided both negative and positive attributes that they associate with Germanness. In Table 4.26, participants' descriptions of Germanness are presented. For the participants, the most distinctive characteristic associated with being German is discipline (*N=10*). Other qualities

that participants attributed to Germanness include order (*N=5*), being cold (N=3), being strict (N=2), being systematic (*N=3*), honesty (N=2) and being punctual (*N=2*), being hardworking (N=2), being authoritarian (N=1), being adherent to rules (N=1), being sneaky (N=1) and being undiplomatic (N=1). The only two negative descriptions associated with Germanness were being cold and being sneaky. The other descriptions of Germanness include positive characteristic associations. In order to further analyse to what extent Turkish German returnees identify themselves with Turkishness or Germanness and how they perceive Turkishness and Germanness, some of the participants' statements are provided below. Asked when what being German means for the participants, they generally associated being German with positive attitudes such as discipline and honesty. The biggest overarching negative theme was generally concerning the fact that Germans are distant and cold.

Table 4.26
Description of Germanness (N=16)

Description of Germanness	F
Discipline	10
Order	5
Being cold	3
Being strict	2
Being systematic	3
Honesty	2
Being punctual	2
Being hardworking	2
Being authoritarian	1
adherent to the rules	1
Sneaky	1
Undiplomatic	1

One of the participants associated Germanness with being direct. The participant underlined the difference between Germans and Turks with regard to how they express themselves. As is known, there are some directness/indirectness and politeness/impoliteness differences across cultures. In this vein, Turkish and German cultures significantly vary from each other with regard to directness/indirectness and politeness/impoliteness. It is widely known that Germans use direct language rather than indirect language and it is very likely that

they are considered rude or distant as exemplified by the following participant who found Germans too honest and straightforward in a negative sense:

> Some Germans are extremely honest and straightforward. Actually, this isn't a bad thing, it's something they learn. Maybe that's a good thing for them. For example, they say that they are very straightforward. They are straightforward but this can be hurtful for others. You can still be honest but you don't have to be hurtful towards other people. It is what being straightforward genuinely means. Some of the Germans are too straightforward to care about others. They don't establish an emotional attachment (Halime, 2nd generation, 25 years in Germany, 24 years in Germany).

One of the biggest negative attributes that Turkish participants associated with Germanness was that Germans were cold and distant. Although Germany had a perfectly working system, some participants stated that the cities lacked a sense of spirit, which created a negative connotation about Germans in the minds of Turkish immigrants.

> I don't know the reason why but I have a negative feeling about Germanness because they are very cold even though they have perfect order in their country (Hasret, 3rd generation, 18 years in Germany, 6 years in Turkey).

4.4.2.1. Turkish and German Identity Perceptions and In-Betweenness

An in-depth analysis of the interviews held with the participants put forward what the identity perceptions of Turkish German returnees are. When asked how they would describe themselves in terms of identity, the participants provided varying views about how they identify themselves for varying reasons. Although Turkish identity was dominant among the participants, some participants stated that they described themselves as half Turkish and half German. Nevertheless, some participants felt that they were in-between in terms of their identity. Although participants heavily described themselves as Turkish when asked how they would describe themselves in terms of identity, they also underscored that they internalized some German characteristics as well as a result of living in Germany for long years.

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Although participants were quite happy with living in Germany and did not have integration problems, Turkish identity was of utmost importance for them since it is their ethnic origin. The following participant, who did not initially have migration plans and had many problems related to adaptation to Turkey still had a sense of belonging because of her attachment to Turkey:

> I don't know why but as the saying goes Turkish blood runs in my veins and I have that sense of belonging (Zehra, 3rd generation, 20 years in Germany, 4 years in Turkey).

It is generally the case that Turkish families living in Germany teach their children Turkish values and traditions as well as Turkish language so that their children develop a Turkish identity. Participants of the study maintained that Turkish families living in Germany always have the idea of returning to Turkey and in this vein, most of the Turkish families maintained a Turkish way of life in their families and surroundings. The following text belong to a participant who states that she does not feel German and fully identifies herself with Turkishness because she assumed Turkish characteristics in her family, whereas she holds some German characteristics mainly German mind-set:

> I don't feel German. Despite everything, I describe myself as Turkish because we learned about our culture our family. I feel Turkish, but at some points I feel like I have a German mentality. For example, being punctual. About being punctual, I'm like Germans. If I meet someone I always give a specific time to meet such as 15.15 pm or 15.20 pm. People find it very strange it in Turkey. I also bear some characteristics about German discipline (Aslı, 3rd generation, 24 years in Germany, 6 years in Turkey).

The following text is an example of how German values are reflected in the identity of Turkish immigrants living in Germany. The participant stated that she identifies herself as Turkish because they maintained Turkish culture in their family while living in Germany. However, since they were born into the German society, their identity was also shaped under the influence of German way of life as a result of integrating into Germany. According to the participant, although they do not practice some German traditions in their family, they still celebrated and respected them because they lived in the German society:

> Although we maintain the Turkish culture that we learned from our family in Germany, you see German culture and grow immersed in it. For example, there is something called St. Nicholas, a religious day that Germans celebrate. Maybe we don't live in our own family, but inevitably you get used to it, your friends say Merry Christmas to you. Or you get your friend a little present (Leyla, 3rd generation, 17 years in Germany, 3 years in Turkey).

When asked how he would describe himself, the following participant stated that he describes himself as Turkish because he attaches importance to Turkish values and has a Turkish mind-set. On the other hand, the participant stated that he took some characteristics of German society such as the German mind-set and he felt he was a little bit different from his Turkish friends who did not live in Germany:

> I feel Turkish because I value Turkish traditions and customs and I have the mentality of the Turkish family structure. However, I also feel like I assumed some characteristics of German society. For example, when there was a difference of opinion or something about a topic, I felt like I had a different perspective from others when I was at high school (Metin, 3rd generation, 14 years in Germany, 8 years in Turkey).

It is clearly visible that family is a factor which shapes the identity perception of Turkish German returnees. This is evident in one of the participants who stated that he did not feel Turkish and he described himself as German because he did not learn Turkish values in his family. In addition to Turkish values and traditions, the participant did not learn Turkish from his parents when he was in Germany. The participant explained why he feels German as follows:

> Since I was born and I grew up in Germany, my whole friends circle was German. I was friends with Germans not with Turks. Germans did not believe I was Turkish. Also, my mother always paid attention to teaching me the German language and German values. She always spoke in German to me because she did not want me to have difficulty with integration in Germany while I was living there (Arda, 3rd generation, 14 years in Germany, 7 years in Turkey).

One of the overarching themes that emerged during qualitative data analysis with regard to the participants' identity perceptions was the sense of in-betweenness. Although some participants stated that while they fully identified with Turkishness and bore the characteristics of German society, they underlined that internalizing

German values did not change their identity perceptions and they wouldn't describe themselves as German despite the German qualities they carried as a result of living in Germany for so many years. Nevertheless, some participants expressed that it was not easy for them to describe their identity. Since they had lived in Germany for many years, they did not have a complete sense of belonging to Turkish or German society. The following participant gave an insight into the identity perceptions of Turkish German returnees. The participant maintained that it was not possible to fully describe himself as German or Turkish because he was stuck in between two cultures:

> I do not know. I feel in between. But taking into account my principles, I feel like I can identify with the German identity. Although I find it difficult to define myself as German, I feel closer to the German mentality. However, we are neither German nor Turkish, we have always been in between because we have things from German culture as well as Turkish culture. We are not completely Turkish, not completely German. We are not able to fully describe our identity. We have a culture of our own (Ahmet, 3rd generation, 16 years in Germany, 5 years in Turkey).

Due to the sense of in-betweenness, one of the participants stated that she failed to identify herself with one of the cultures fully. Participants overall stated there were significant differences between Turkish and German society. Almost all participants had successfully integrated into German society and assumed its characteristics. This did not create a conflicting identity for them because despite the German mentality or values they embraced, they were emotionally attached to Turkey and valued Turkishness as their ethnicity. However, as a result of the negative experiences, the following participant failed to describe herself as either Turkish or German. She underlined the fact that she is not accepted as a German no matter how well she had integrated into German society. Similarly, she was not accepted as Turkish in Turkey because people considered her "Almancı", a word used to describe Turks living in Germany, mostly in a pejorative manner:

> I don't have a sense of belonging here (in Turkey). I feel very different from Turkish people. I don't feel German because I'm not as disciplined as the Germans, and I'm not as cold as them; I can be friendly with anyone. I'm more spontaneous. Nevertheless, I'm not like Turks either because I'm not as irresponsible as they are. I feel like I am "Almancı". I am Almancı in Turkey and Turkish in Germany (Nilay, 3rd generation, 15 years in Germany, 7 years in Germany).

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Another interesting result obtained was that one of the participants stated that her identity perception changes depending on where she is. She underlined that she had always felt a sense of belonging to Turkey and identified herself as Turkish and migrated to Turkey willingly, but she feels different from the people here as well. Her attachment to Germany identity; however, becomes more visible when she comes to Turkey:

> We are like a mixture of two cultures. For this reason, my identity perception changes when I go to Germany or when I come back to Turkey. I feel like I am Germanized here when it comes to being punctual or having order (Duygu, 3rd generation, 23 years in Germany, 4 years in Turkey).

4.4.3. Language

Another important construct analysed in the study was language. Table 4.27 presents the language proficiency, preference and importance of language results of the participants.

Table 4.27
Self-Perceived Language Proficiency, Language Preference and Importance of Language (N=16)

Self-Perceived Language Proficiency			Language Preference			Importance of Language		
	F	%		F	%		F	%
Turkish	5	31.3	Turkish	7	43.8	Turkish	4	25
German	6	37.5	German	2	12.5	German	8	50
Equal	5	31.3	Both	7	43.8	Equal	4	25
Total	16	100.0	Total	16	100.0	Total	16	100

According to the results (see Table 4.27), 5 participants consider their Turkish better than their German (31.3%). However, the number of those who regard their German better than their Turkish (N=6, 37.5%) is higher than those who consider their Turkish better than their German N=6, 31.3%). Meanwhile, 5 participants stated that their Turkish and their German proficiency is the same (31.3%). Regarding the preference of language, it is clear that Turkish is used more than German in daily

life. 7 participants (43.8%) stated that they preferred using Turkish more in daily life. Similarly, 7 participants (43.8%) reported that they used Turkish and German equally in daily life. 2 participants (12.5%) expressed that they preferred using German more in their social life. With regard to the importance of language, 8 participants (50%) of the present study stated that German was more important than Turkish. However, 4 participants (25%) found Turkish more important than German. Similarly, for 4 participants (25%), German and Turkish languages were equally important.

4.4.3.1. Difficulties Experienced in Turkish

With regard to the difficulties experienced in Turkish and German, participants reported that while they improved their Turkish considerably upon migration to Turkey, they still faced a wide range of difficulties. According to Table 4.28, it is clearly seen that the biggest difficulty faced by the participants is pronunciation. 4 participants stated that they mispronounced or pronounced some words with a German accent, which caused people to realise they come from a different country. Likewise, three other significant difficulties reported by the participants include understanding scientific texts, confusion of words, and usage of suffixes. The other difficulties the participants reported include understanding jokes ($N=1$), understanding literary texts ($N=1$), writing in Turkish ($N=1$), understanding old Turkish (N=1), understanding High-context language/implicit language and figurative meaning ($N=1$), Turkish grammar (N=1), verbals/gerunds ($N=1$), spelling rules ($N=1$). One participant, in contrast, stated that she did not experience any difficulty using Turkish.

Participants stated that their Turkish was limited to what they spoke at home with their parents or siblings. Therefore, their Turkish proficiency was low in Germany. The majority of the participants expressed that they had had language related problems when they first migrated to Turkey. Since they learned German in Germany, they developed an advanced level of proficiency in German and stated that they did not experience difficulty in German because they were able to speak it like a native speaker. Although they are bilingual users of German and Turkish,

German was their dominant language. Moreover, since they did not learn Turkish in formal settings or a school environment, getting used to the Turkish education system was also quite challenging because their language proficiency in Turkey proved to be a barrier for returnees. This affected their school performance and exam scores. In addition to the difficulties faced in school environment and in relation to education, language was also a barrier in social environments for the returnees.

Table 4.28
Difficulties Experienced in Turkish by the Participants

Difficulties Experienced in Turkish	F
Pronunciation/Stress/Intonation	4
Scientific Texts	2
Confusion of words	2
Suffixes	2
Understanding Jokes	1
Literary Texts	1
Written Turkish	1
Old Turkish	1
High-context language/implicit language and figurative meaning	1
Grammar	1
Verbals/Gerunds	1
Spelling rules	1
Nothing	1

As presented in Table 4.28, pronunciation was one of the biggest issues in Turkish for the Turkish German returnees. Mispronunciation of words and incorrect stress and intonation were reported to be very common among Turkish German returnees. The following text belongs to a participant who states that people can easily tell that she comes from a different country because of the way she pronounces words:

> Sometimes I mispronounce words. I do not realize it but a lot of people say that I speak differently. They realize that I come from another country, but they are surprised when I say Germany. They say it's like another accent, not a German accent. Sometimes it's funny to say the words wrong. I don't have difficulty in German. (Sibel, 2nd generation, 30 years in Germany, 10 years in Turkey).

In addition to mispronunciation of words, one of the participants stated that she had difficulty in finding the right word in the right context while speaking. This was due to the fact that her Turkish proficiency was very low when she first came to Turkey and she couldn't speak fluently. She expressed that she couldn't formulate the sentences as quickly as she formulated them in German:

> I have difficulty in pronunciation and vocabulary usage. We hear things, but I don't know if I really have to use that word. For example, since my English is not very good, I formulate the sentence first in my mind and then I translate it into English. This was the same with Turkish when I was in Germany. But as we only speak Turkish now in Turkey, I don't have time to formulate the sentences in my head, therefore I mispronounce or misuse many words (Leyla, 3rd generation, 17 years in Germany, 3 years in Turkey).

As some participants stated, Germans are straightforward in expressing their feelings or opinions in line with the directness and indirectness difference across cultures. For one of the Turkish German returnees, it is still a problem that Turks resort to more figurative meanings and high-context language. Turkish people rely heavily on implicit verbal communication, which makes it difficult for Turkish German returnees to understand the meaning clearly. It is more likely for Germans to use literal meanings compared to Turks who use more metaphorical, idiomatic, or ironic senses of words or expressions. As stated by the participant, even if a metaphor is used in German, it is very clear for her to understand, whereas it is still challenging for her to understand the implicit meaning when the speaker deviates from the literal meaning of a word or expression in Turkish:

> There's something I'm still struggling with in Turkish. I don't understand when people use high context language or figurative meanings. Everything in German is straight and explicit and you say what you say. There is also a metaphor issue. I'm currently translating some advertising content. Germans defined a Porsche in a metaphor in a way that I could understand it. I'm having a hard time figuring out how different words can be drawn to very different meanings in Turkish (Elçin, 3rd generation, 14 years in Germany, 9 years in Turkey).

Contrary to the other participants, one participant stated that she does not experience any difficulty in Turkish and she ascribed this to the level of Turkish proficiency they developed when in Germany. As stated by the informants of the study, although Turkish families encourage their children to learn Turkish, it is evidently the case

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that Turkish families predominantly use German at home. Even family members use German with each other and some participants stated that they still use German with their siblings. Also, in case of the 3rd generation Turkish immigrants in Turkey, it is probable that the parents of Turkish immigrants were born or moved to Germany at a young age. Therefore, it is easier for the family members to communicate in German with each other. Nevertheless, this apparently creates a source of challenge for particularly the 3rd Turkish German returnees because they cannot develop a high level of Turkish proficiency in Germany. As confirmed by the following participant, since she had been a proficient user of Turkish since childhood, she did not experience any sort of difficulty with regard to Turkish:

> I experience no difficulty with Turkish. This is because my Turkish was developed well from the very beginning. The biggest problem for the Turks in Germany is that they speak both languages incompletely. Your Turkish proficiency depends on how you learned Turkish language in your childhood (Sena, 3rd generation, 12 years in Germany, 8 years in Turkey).

4.4.3.2. Importance of Language

As displayed in Table 4.27, with regard to the importance of language, 8 participants (50%) in the present study stated that German is more important than Turkish. However, 4 participants (25%) found Turkish more important than German. Similarly, for 4 participants (25%), German and Turkish languages are equally important. The qualitative data analysis provided answers to why participants found Turkish or German more important. The overall impression was that Turkish German returnees mostly valued German because it is an important European language and valued Turkish because it is their mother tongue.

Within this context, one of the participants stated that she valued German and Turkish equally. Turkish is important for the participant because she considers Turkish as her mother tongue but she values German as well since it is her second language. She also highlighted the importance of learning the host country language in terms of integrating into the given society. Like the other participants of the study,

the participant stated that German proficiency is of utmost importance for employment opportunities:

> Both languages are equally important for me because language learning is very important for me. Since Turkish is my native language, it has a special importance and I think that people should also value of their mother tongue. But there are many Turkish people in Germany who can't speak Turkish. I don't want to be like this. Apart from the job opportunities, German is also important for me because it is my second language. (Hazan, 3rd generation, 14 years in Germany, 8 years in Turkey).

Similar to this participant, another participant also stressed the significance of learning a language in terms of integrating into the host society. Like most of the participants, she considers Turkish her mother tongue and values it emotionally. Even though participants migrated to Turkey on a permanent basis, they still want to preserve their German language proficiency because they spent long years in Germany:

> To me, both languages are the same. But, I never want to forget German. I've lived in Germany for 25 years, so why should I forget German? There are some Turks, on the other hand, who go to Germany and do not learn a single German word. It's ok that you are Turkish but I am against it. Even if I went to Saudi Arabia, I'd try to learn Arabic because I'd be in that country, I'd be living in that country, and I'd be working in that country. You have to learn their culture and their language. But you should not forget your mother tongue as well (Rana, 2nd generation, 25 years in Germany, 24 years in Turkey).

Some participants expressed that Turkish is more important for them because they live in Turkey. In addition to the emotional importance of Turkish being their mother tongue, they maintained that Turkish is more important for them because it is of vital importance to be able to communicate well with Turkish people in Turkey without communication breakdowns.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1. Summary of the Study

The present thesis set out to explore the return motives, Turkish and German identity perceptions, and Turkish and German language preferences of third generation Turkish-German returnees. The study touched upon the pre-return experiences of the participants to gain an insight into the impulses behind migration to Turkey, their identity perceptions with regard to Turkishness and Germanness and their Turkish and German language preferences within the scope of transnationalism. The quantitative data analysis indicated that Turkish identity identification of the returnees was significantly higher than the German identity identification of returnees. In addition, no significant difference was found between the Turkish and German proficiency levels of the Turkish-German returnees, which indicates that Turkish-German returnees are balanced bilinguals. In addition, while participants preferred Turkish more than German, they still continued to use German in certain cases. During the qualitative data analysis process, the overarching themes to emerge were: integration in Germany, perceived discrimination in the host society, post-return experiences in the country of origin (adaptation to Turkey, perceived discrimination), and difficulties related to Turkish language proficiency.

5.2. Motives of Return

The *first research question* of the study dealt with the return motives of the participants. The results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis aimed at ascertaining the return motives of the Turkish-German returnees put forward a wide spectrum of return motives. The data obtained via quantitative means indicated that the items "I want to live in Turkey", "I have a strong emotional attachment with Turkey", "I have a friend circle and acquaintances in Turkey", "I love the Turkish culture and way of life", "I want to live together with Turks" obtained the highest scores. This indicates that the sense of belonging to Turkey is high among Turkish-German returnees and the returnees are emotionally attached to Turkey. Looking at the items with the lowest scores in the return motives questionnaire, "I had problems with German while living in Germany", and "I had integration problems in Germany" scored the lowest. The other items with a low mean score included "There were limited job opportunities in Germany", "I had bad personal experiences in Germany", "I did not like the German culture and way of life", "I did not feel comfortable in Germany since I was a Turkish minority", "I did not feel comfortable in Germany since I was a minority", "I did not feel comfortable in Germany since I am a Muslim". The interpretation of these results reveals a transnational attitude among the Turkish-German returnees on the grounds that the returnees have both emotional attachments with and have a high level of sense of belonging to Turkey and they are successfully integrated into the German society simultaneously.

Looking at the return motives obtained through the semi-structured interviews, the recurrent themes on factors encouraging the returnees to decide to return can be listed as the long-lasting idea of returning in the family, marriage, parental divorce, curiosity about Turkey, emotional attachment with Turkey, identity crises due to being a minority, a new experience, the stressful school environment in Germany, job opportunities in Turkey, personal experience of discrimination, retirement of parents, loss of family members, the belief in there being an elevated social status in Turkey. The major return motive reported by the participants was the long-lasting idea of returning in the family.

A study by Kunuroglu et al., (2017), which investigated the return migration motivations of different generations of Turkish migrants returning from Germany, the Netherlands and France found similar results to the present study. It was put forward in the study that Turkish migrants already having the idea of returning before their migration abroad, the discrimination they faced in Europe, and a strong sense of belonging to Turkey were impulses for returning to Turkey. In a similar comparative study, Şener (2018) focused on the return migration of Turkish qualified migrants to Turkey from Germany and the US and investigated reasons for return, level of re-adaption to Turkey after return, ongoing connections with Germany/the US, and intentions to re-migrate. According to the results, the major motives of return for the returnees were cultural, familial, and emotional issues rather than economic or professional reasons. The findings also are in parallel with the findings of the present study. Razum et al., 2006 found that Turkish male returnees who lived in Germany for different periods of time were motivated to return to Turkey with economic or health-related reasons; value-oriented and emotional themes. In a study in which the main motives for returning were investigated among highly qualified emigrants from Germany, four major motives were presented by Aydin (2006): 1) Migration for job-related reasons due to job vacancies in Turkey, 2) Culture, identity, and belonging, 3) The role of family (living near parents), 4) Education and research in line with the increase in the number of universities in Turkey.

The first-generation migrant group encompasses labour workers above a certain age who were born and raised in their country of origin and migrated to a foreign country for mainly economic reasons. The first generation migrant group mostly consists of unskilled labourers who are not proficient users of the host country language, which makes the process of integration into the host society challenging. In this regard, it is safe to assume that second and subsequent generations in Europe and other parts of the world are less likely to face the same challenges that their grandparents or parents faced. Some second immigrants and all third generation immigrants, who were born and raised in the host society are assumed to have successfully integrated

into the host society as a result of being immersed in its culture and schooled in its education system. Therefore, it is highly probable that the return motives of the first and second and subsequent generation immigrants will significantly vary from each other.

The participants stated that most of the Turkish families in Germany keep the idea of returning alive for years, but they do not take concrete steps to migrate to Turkey permanently. Although Turkish families have the long-lasting idea in their families, they postpone the return decision because of the education of their children, the social and financial opportunities available in Germany or the fear of failure to become adapted to their country of origin. So, although families kept the idea of returning alive for years, they still waited for the consent of their children to return. However, in one of the cases 'forced' return was also seen and the returnees migrated to Turkey during middle school and high school years. In addition to the decision of the parents, some participants expressed a voluntary return to Turkey irrespective of what their parents had decided. Voluntary return can be justified given that some family members of some participants still live in Germany.

Voluntary return was associated with education opportunities in Turkey, marriage, job opportunities in Turkey, curiosity about Turkey, emotional attachment with the ancestral homeland, a new experience. Two participants, on the other hand, returned to Turkey because of the negative experiences that they had in Germany. The results of the present study are in parallel with the results found by King & Kılınç (2013) who studied the transnational experiences and 'return' orientations of second generation Turkish migrants who had lived in Europe and then relocated to Turkey as teenagers or in early adulthood and their results showed that the return took place in the form of a family decision to return; return because of a traumatic experience; return as an escape and a new start; return as a project of self-realisation; return and the attractions of the 'Turkish way of life'. In order to see if the participants had any problems related to integration or faced discrimination that made them feel them isolated from the German society, participants were asked if they were successfully integrated into the German society, if they were happy with their lives in Germany, if they interacted with Germans, and if they were confronted any discrimination.

Accordingly, the aim was to understand if negative experiences or failure to integrate resulted in their relocation to Turkey. It was hypothesized that those who couldn't integrate into German society, those who faced discrimination, and those who were not happy with their lives overall were more likely to return to their country of origin. However, an in-depth analysis of the data revealed opposite results. Based on the narrations of the participants, almost all of them had successfully integrated into Germany. However, the integration level of participants varied among them depending on the region where they lived. Participants who lived in big cosmopolitan cities with a great number of Turkish and non-Turkish migrant communities did not face any issues with regard to discrimination, xenophobia, or integration because they were surrounded by Turks and other non-Turkish immigrants.

Xenophobia was more common in the countryside where there were not many immigrants. Similarly, almost half the students in their classrooms consisted of immigrant students. However, participants noted that their interaction was not limited to Turkish immigrants in Germany, in contrast, they were friends with Germans and other immigrants as well. They stated that they had the propensity to become friends with Turks at the beginning of their school life but this propensity changed in time. Since participants were third-generation Turkish immigrants who were born and raised in Germany and were proficient users of German, they did not have trouble in adapting to the German way of life and interacting with them. In this vein, it is fair to state that third-generation Turkish immigrants did not face difficulties in terms of integrating into German society because they didn't need to integrate. Therefore, failure to integrate cannot be interpreted as an important reason for migration to Turkey. Similarly, De Haas et al., (2014) found no connection between the structural integration into the host country through labour market participation, education and thriving economic and social ties attachment with host countries and the return intention among Moroccan migrants in different parts of Europe.

So as to investigate if perceived discrimination played a key role in the return decision, participants were asked if they had faced discrimination or witnessed discrimination against other Turks or immigrants in different settings. It is worth noting that when participants were asked if they had faced any kind of discrimination or observed overall discrimination to an extent which affected their level of integration into Germany, they responded that they had not. However, based on the narratives of the participants, discrimination with regard to equal opportunities did take place at school, at work or in their social lives. The most evident form of discrimination Turkish immigrants faced was concerning being treated equally at school in terms of school grades. There was an overall prejudice towards Turkish students in the primary and high school periods, which reflected on the school grades they obtained. The participants' common view was that Turkish students were generally not allowed to go to gymnasium schools even if they were successful at school. Also, according to the participants, there was a tendency among teachers to deduct more points from Turkish students. However, the level of discrimination was more severe in the past when Turks first migrated to Germany. Although the level of discrimination towards Turks reduced to a significant extent consistent with the growing number of Turkish population in Germany and the increase in the number of immigrants successfully integrating into Germany, Turks in Germany continue to be confronted with discrimination and bias. While new generations of Turks have successfully integrated into German society, they are still stigmatized and are not acknowledged as German unless they physically look German or act German. However, based on the quantitative and qualitative data measurement tools, it is seen that discrimination was at a negligible level and did not contribute to participants' decisions to return. Therefore, discrimination on its own is not a single factor that can be a motive for returning. As stated by (Aydin, 2016), some surveys which show the presence of prejudice towards Turks in German are available, particularly at work and school, but data showing that immigrants who face greater levels of discrimination are more inclined to emigrate from Germany to their country of origin is limited. However, a study carried out by Sener (2018) on 40 people who returned from Germany and 40 from USA after five years of residence in the host country revealed that discrimination did affect the return decision of the returnees who left Germany, whereas it was not a major factor

affecting the return decision of those who returning from the USA. Gmelch (1980) presents a classification of returnees as a) returnees whose intent was only temporary migration, b) returnees whose intent was permanent migration but were forced to return, and c) returnees whose intent was permanent migration but chose to return. This typology can be applied to those first-generation returnees who return to their country of origin after achieving their goals, those returnees who are forced to return because of external factors, or those returnees who elected to return despite intending to reside permanently in the host country in association with adjustment problems or feeling homesick.

There is limited information as to why people return to their country of origin, while out-migration motives are presented widely in the literature (Hirvonen & Lilleør, 2015). According to the classification by (Tsuda, 2009), diasporic returnees fall into two categories - first-generation diasporic people returning to their country of birth and the return of second and subsequent diasporic people who 'return' to their countries ancestral homelands after living outside their country of ethnic origin for a long time. Labour migrants or refugee flows are also acknowledged as diasporas and a growing emphasis is seen in the number of studies conducted on the second-generation 'return' (King & Christou, 2008). Transnationalism contends that migrating back to the country of origin does not result in being detached from the identities that returnees developed in the host society (Cassarino, 2004). In this vein, the migrants who developed various links such as familial, institutional, religious, economic, and political not only with their home country but also with the country of settlement are called transmigrants (Schiller et al., 1992). In this context, in addition to return motives, the identity perceptions and language preferences of participants will be discussed from a transnational perfective.

5.3. Turkish and German Identity Perceptions of the Returnees

The second research question of the thesis was aimed at exploring the Turkish and German identity perceptions of Turkish German returnees with a transnational

perspective. The Turkish and German identity perceptions of Turkish returnees were investigated by both quantitative and qualitative means. According to the descriptive statistics, 46.2 % of the participants feel Turkish, 43.0% "feel Turkish-German, 6.5 % of the participants feel neither Turkish nor German, and 4.3% participants feel German. The interpretation of the results indicates that Turkish returnees chiefly identify themselves as firstly Turkish and secondly Turkish-German. However, the number of those who identify themselves as German only is very low.

The quantitative data indicates that Turkish returnees strongly identify with the Turkish identity. The scores of the participants are highest in items such as "Turkish values are important to me (such as the Turkish flag, the Turkish national anthem", "I am proud that I am a Turk", "I value the importance of the Turkish language". According to the results obtained, the participants highly identify themselves with being Turkish with regard to Turkish identity, values, customs, language etc. However, the scores of the participants are low in items such as "I feel Turkish because I feel I am/was not accepted by the German society", "I feel Turkish because German culture doesn't mean anything to me". This demonstrates that although participants highly identify themselves as Turkish, they still continue to value German culture.

With regard to German identity, it is seen that participants obtained the highest mean in items such as "I value the importance of German language", "I read German books" and with "I have knowledge about German values". However, the participants obtained the lowest score of all items with the item "I feel German because Turkish culture doesn't mean anything to me". In order to see if the difference between Turkish identification and German identification is significant, a paired-sample t-test was run. The statistical analysis result yielded a significant difference between the Turkish identity and German identity. According to the results, identifying with their Turkish identity is significantly higher than with their German identity.

Taking a deeper look at the Turkish and German identity perceptions of the returnees, it is safe to assume that returnees identify with being Turkish more than with being German. When the items with the highest scores in both questionnaires are examined, what is worthy of mentioning is that the items associated with feeling Turkish, Turkish values and traditions, sense of belonging, Turkish language, Turkish ethnicity are the highest whereas feeling German, a sense of belonging to German society, German ethnicity, German values (such as the German flag, the German national anthem), German culture, German traditions were among the items with the lowest scores. This shows that the meaning that Turkish returnees ascribe to Turkishness and Germanness vary from each other. The items with the highest means were mostly related to being aware of their German identity, having knowledge about German values, being a part of German society, German language, reading German books and watching German TV, following what's happening in Germany. The results indicate that having an awareness of German identity, German values and traditions does not necessarily result in feeling German. Turkish returnees have an emotional attachment with Turkishness and Turkey since they regard Turkishness as their ethnicity and Turkey as their ancestral homeland, whereas they relate to Germany rather than Germanness not because they consider being German as their identity but because they consider Germany as their birth country. The participants value Germany for reasons such as being born in that country, being used to their way of life, the abundance of social and educational opportunities, economic development, social order, discipline, and friend circle. For those who describe themselves as Turkish, some values belonging to German society were important because German rules and ethics had been instilled into their characters since childhood. A part of their identity belongs to Germanness, whereas they identify with being Turkish for emotional reasons. Overall, the results indicate that Turkish identity has an emotional meaning for the Turkish German returnees, whereas their identification with Germany is rather an indication of integration.

Additionally, an important number of participants describe themselves as Turkish-German. This signifies the existence of transnational identity in participants.

However, a small group of participants neither identified as Turkish nor as German and another small group identified as German. The semi-structured interviews held with the participants unveiled the factors that contributed to the Turkish and German identity development of Turkish returnees. Returnees placed emphasis on their Turkish identity being important for them while they were in Germany because they were raised as a Turk. Moreover, participants pointed out that they had lived according to Turkish traditions and were in close contact with the Turkish community while living in Germany. The studies by Leichtman (2005; Levitt 2001; 2002) reveal that the phenomenon of immigrant transnationalism is not limited to the first generation; it can also be discussed in terms of the second and subsequent generations. According to the previous research performed on generational transitions, most of the second-generation migrants preserve some knowledge of their parents' native language, pay visits to their country of origin and maintain their connections with their ancestral homelands (Levitt & Schiller, 2004; Somerville, 2008; Wolf, 1997). Similarly, King & Kılınç (2013) found that in addition to being open to German society and integration, second generation Turkish migrants who lived in Europe and who relocated to Turkey as teenagers or in early adulthood preserved Turkish cultural characteristics such as food, language, a patriotic sense of Turkish history, and various religious practices largely within the family setting.

The in-depth analysis of the interviews also demonstrates that participants who describe themselves as Turkish-German identify with Germanness as well as Turkishness because Germany is their country of birth and they observe that they have internalized some values belonging to German society. Participants celebrated German religious festivals or traditional festivals or conformed to German societal norms because they were born into that society while in Germany. In addition, participants specified that re-migrating to Germany wouldn't be a difficult process for them because they still feel like Germany is their home country. It is evident from the participants' that being born and raised in Germany, and accordingly assuming the characteristics of German society did not result in conflicting identity roles because they are aware of Turkish identity and they live in line with Turkish values in their families. This confirms the development of transnational identities in Turkish German returnees even before they migrated to Turkey. This finding is

consistent with third group classification of Razum et al. (2006) who grouped the types of returnees as the 'nostalgic' returnee experiencing socio-economic problems in Turkey and has a differentiated perception of life in Germany; second, the 'cultural traditionalist' who thinks that Turkish culture is superior to the German culture and left Germany after putting money aside; and third, the 'player of two systems' who is able to thrive not only Turkey but also Germany.

However, some participants who identify themselves as Turkish-German raise the issue of in-betweenness and described themselves as 'Almancı' (mostly a pejorative word used for Turkish-Germans) because they developed a culture of their own and they are more different than Turks living in Turkey inasmuch as they lived in Germany for long years and they internalized German values. As stated by Tsuda (2003), although ethnically not different from their ancestral homelands, when they migrate back to their ancestral homelands, returnees are perceived as a new ethnic minority because of the different cultural characteristics of the host society they assumed. This leads to the social segregation of the returnees since they are considered culturally foreign minorities in their ethnic homeland. As a result, returnees might feel alienated from their own society of origin (Cassarino, 2004).

In order to understand what are the underlying factors for feeling German or feeling neither German or Turkish, the interview narrations might give some clues. One participant who attended the qualitative section of the study stated that she neither felt Turkish nor felt German because she was stuck in between two cultures. She expressed that her parents put her under pressure while they were in Germany because they were profoundly religious and did not allow her to live as free as she wanted. On the other hand, she was not acknowledged as a German because of their roots, which resulted in a lack of sense of belonging to either culture. Because of the general stigmatization and the negative image of Turks, she refused to identify herself with the Turkish identity because she felt ashamed. This feeling was intensified by Germans stigmatizing all Turks and the existing negative profile of Turks. More interestingly, her parents (being scared that she would be too

Germanized and feel distant towards the Turkish way of life), wanted her to grow up in Turkey. Although she could have stayed in Germany because her father still lives there, she agreed to come to Turkey because she was feeling in between two cultures as she didn't have a sense of belonging to German society because of her Turkish roots and nor did she have a sense of belonging to Turkish society because she didn't want to be a part of it.

In the qualitative section of the study, there was only one participant who stated that he felt German. This participant might shed light on the underlying reasons for the stronger German identification compared to identifying with being Turkish. The participant noted that he was acknowledged as a German among Germans because he did not look Turkish physically and did not act like a Turk. This is because his mother attached great importance to raising him as a German because she did not want him to experience any challenges with integrating into the host society. His mother, who was also born in Germany and married a German, spoke to him in German all the time. The father of the participant was not happy in Germany, couldn't integrate into German society and had always wanted to migrate back to Turkey. The participant eventually moved to Turkey with his father without being informed that he was to stay there permanently. This can be an example of 'forced return'. Therefore, the participant who couldn't speak any Turkish faced an integration process upon migration to Turkey. It is fair to assume that these two participants failed to develop a dual Turkish-German identity, which can also be named transnational identity, before migration to Turkey.

Except for one participant, all participants preserved their Turkish identity through items such as the Turkish language, Turkish values, and Turkish traditions in their families back in Germany. Participants still used Turkish at home with their parents, celebrated Turkish religious festivals, cooked Turkish food, and attended mosque not only for religious practices but also to be together with other Turks and Muslims. Turkish weddings and religious festivals were of utmost significant for them to come together. Turkish mosques functioned as a society and was known as 'cemiyet' among Turkish immigrants in Germany. They listened to religious lessons and sold and ate Turkish food to raise money for their community. Coming together at the

mosque was a means of socializing for them because not only did Turks attend mosque but also other non-Turk immigrants attended too. These findings demonstrate that Turks exerted particular effort to stick together to preserve their identity not only within their families but also within the whole Turkish community. As stated by Levitt (1998) despite the fact that migrants are geographically dispersed, they keep their links thanks to their common country of origin and their common religious and social ties. Transnationalists argue that returnees periodically visit their home countries and maintain and strengthen the ties that they have with their home countries with a view to facilitating the return process. (Cassarino, 2004). In this scope, the transnational behavior found among the participants was that participants spent holidays in Turkey and were familiar with the way of life in Turkey.

To gain a deeper insight into the level of integration, participants were asked what are the things that they liked most and least about Germany. Participants overwhelmingly praised Germany for discipline level, order, rules, its nature. On the other hand, participants found the life in Germany boring, complained about the lack of spirit in cities, the strictness, and mentioned Germans being distant. Participants were also asked to narrate the post-return difficulties they had upon returning to Turkey. In the quantitative section of the analysis, participants were asked if they were happy about living in Turkey. An overwhelming majority of the participants (72%) stated that they were happy, 25 unhappy (26.9%), and 1 participant reported being unsure (1.1%). With regard to the question of thinking about re-migrating to Germany, 35 participants (37.6%) said they intended to migrate back to Germany, 54 participants (58.1) stated that they did not have any plans to go back to Germany, and 4 participants (4.3%) were not sure about it. Overall, the majority of the participants were happy with their migration decision to Turkey. They are well settled in Turkey and consider Turkey home despite the post-return difficulties they had. A small group of the participants contemplated re-migrating to Germany for various reasons - mostly associated with their dissatisfaction with living in Turkey.

Post-return adaptation was another significant issue for the Turkish-German returnees. The main post-return difficulties that were reported by the participants were the differences between the education systems in Turkey and Germany, difficulty experienced in Turkish, and cultural differences between Germany and Turkey. One of the most significant issues raised by the participants was that they underwent an acculturation and adaptation process upon migrating to Turkey. Even the participants who migrated to Turkey of their own volition found themselves in a completely new environment.

Based on the narrations of the participants, the adaptation process did not result from issues related to identity or a sense of belonging. It was seen that the differences between Turkey and Germany in terms of education, health system, pace of living, mentality of people, etc were the biggest difficulties faced by the participants. Dumon (1986) investigated the post-return difficulties of return migrants with a particular focus on second generation returnees going back to their countries or origin and found that the challenges faced by the second-generation returnees were to do with social adjustment, integration into the educational system, and integration into the labour market. The mismatch between the Turkish and German educational system resulted in a failure to adapt to the school system because of language related problems. These results are consistent with the findings of the present study.

Participants, who were immersed into the German education and examination system in Germany, were disappointed with the quality of education in Turkey. For those who migrated to Turkey during their middle school and high school years, one of the biggest challenges was associated with the Turkish examination system, which was completely different to the German one. Participants, who were also fraught with language related problems, had to take high school and university entrance exams. Participants were also disappointed with the over-reliance on memorization and dependence on theoretical knowledge in the Turkish education system. They were also unhappy with the quality of the education at their university because they were not challenged enough. Although participants have now successfully settled in Turkey, some participants are contemplating moving back to Germany – anticipating the case that they have children - because the education

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system is not satisfactory in Turkey. Nonetheless, one of the biggest factors that accelerated the adaptation process of Turkish returnees who did not migrate to Istanbul initially was coming to Istanbul and studying in the department of German Turkish translation and interpreting, which helped them find new friends with the same background. This helped them settle in Turkey successfully.

Another significant difficulty expressed by the participants was the difference of mentality between Turkish and German people. It is highly probable that participants would have assumed some of the characteristics of German society, which would make them different to Turkish people. In this vein, participants had some differences of opinion with Turkish people who were born and raised in Turkey. One factor that contributed to this was that Germany was a country of rules, where people stick to the existing social order. However, the lack of rules and the tendency of Turkish people not to obey rules were big challenges for the returnees. Another big issue for Turkish returnees was the difference between the population density in Germany and Turkey. Since Istanbul is an overcrowded and polluted city, returnees found themselves comparing Germany to Turkey in terms of quality of life. Therefore, they reminisce about their previous easy life, the nature and the relative calm in Germany and they tire of the chaotic Istanbul way of life.

Another point which was a common complaint of the returnees was favouritism in Turkey. To the surprise of the participants, the level of favouritism was overwhelming in all aspects of life in Turkey. According to the participants, people stand out from others with their qualifications when they seek job opportunities in Germany, despite the cited examples of discrimination there. The results of the present study are consistent with the study carried out by King & Christou (2014) who investigated the post-return experiences of second-generation Greek-German and Greek-Americans who returned to Greece. Their study revealed that second-generation Greek returnees complained most about the corruption and chaos of Greek life, xenophobia in Greek society and not only towards foreign immigrants but also towards themselves as "hyphenated Greeks". The results also showed that

some second-generation Greek returnees intend to re-migrate to their country of birth and still hold transnational links with their country of birth as do the Turkish participants in the present study. Christou (2016) also investigated the post-return inclusion and exclusion issues faced by the second-generation Greek-Americans and found that participants were disappointed in Greece, Greek people and Greek ways of life as they are different from the nostalgic images they had painted in their minds and they were influenced by their American background.

5.4. Self-Perceived Language Proficiency and Preferences

The aim of the last research question of the study was to determine the language proficiency and language preferences of the Turkish returnees in order to identify the transnational behaviours of the participants. According to the quantitative data analysis, it was found that the participants' Turkish and German language proficiency levels did not differ significantly. This means that Turkish German returnees are competent users of both languages and they display bilingual characteristics. Another analysis focused on measuring the language preferences of the returnees with different interlocutors in different social situations. The data analysis showed that 38.7% of the participants prefer both languages. Another significant finding was that although participants have been living in Turkey for a significant amount of time, they continue using German (although Turkish is used more). Although participants prefer to use Turkish with their parents and relatives, they still prefer using German with their siblings. When thinking, dreaming and counting (cognitive processes), and when tired, stressed and angry and when arguing (emotional processes), participants still choose both languages. These results also indicate transnational behaviour in the participants. Since participants were fully immersed into the German society and schooled in German, a preference for German was a natural consequence. However, participants still use German in some social environment with friends, or with siblings and in some situations such as dreaming or thinking. In the qualitative data collection process of the study, participants were asked which language they found more important. 50% of them stated that German was more important than Turkish. 25% of them found Turkish more important and 25% found both equally important.

With regard to the difficulties they faced with the Turkish language, the majority of the participants reported that when they first migrated to Turkey, their Turkish proficiency was limited. Therefore, they faced a lot of difficulties in their social and school lives. However, despite making significant progress in their language skills, they still face a wide range of difficulties. The difficulties reported by the participants include mispronunciation of words, understanding scientific texts, confusion of words, and usage of suffixes, understanding jokes, understanding literary texts, writing in Turkish, understanding old Turkish, understanding high-context language/implicit language and figurative meaning, Turkish grammar, verbals/gerunds, and spelling rules. One participant, however, stated that she did not experience any difficulty in Turkish. Participants stated that their Turkish was limited to what they spoke at home with their parents or siblings. Therefore, their Turkish proficiency was low in Germany.

The majority of the participants expressed that they experienced language related problems when they first migrated to Turkey. Since they had learned German in Germany, they developed an advanced level of proficiency in German and stated that they did not experience difficulty in German because they are able to speak it like a native speaker. Only a few of the participants expressed that they face difficulty in fluency from time to time because they do not have the opportunity to practice their German enough. Although they are bilingual users of German and Turkish; German was their dominant language. A study carried out in the Netherlands by Eversteijn (2011) indicated that even though third-generation Turkish children do not have problems in understanding the Tukish language, they prefer to use Dutch in daily life - as long as the interlocutor understands Dutch. A similar tendency was also seen in German third-generation children, who chose not to use Turkish outside of their family even with their Turkish friends. However, some of them stated that their German and Turkish proficiency levels became almost equal after living in Turkey for a certain period. Moreover, since they did not learn Turkish in formal settings or at school, getting used to the Turkish education system was also quite challenging because their lack of language proficiency raised a lot of

barriers for them in their integration into Turkey's school system. This affected their school performance and exam scores.

5.5. Conclusion

The present thesis dealt with the return migration with a focus on second and third-generation Turkish-German returnees by providing an overview of the literature empirical studies devoted to Turkish return migration. The literature section presented a detailed documentation of the return migration theories drawn from the fields of economics, sociology, and psychology. The findings of the study; however, were analysed with regard to transnationalism, which considers migration as a process that doesn't end. The first-generation returnees are generally assumed to have migrated to a foreign country mostly for economic reasons or to have migrated back to their country of origin due to failure or nostalgia, or after saving enough money. In this regard, second and subsequent-generation migrants differ from each other with regard to their reasons for returning and their post-return experiences. First generation migrants in Germany mostly failed to integrate or rejected integration into German society with the nostalgia of homeland and ever-present idea of returning which were in their minds from the very beginning. Therefore, it can hypothesized that the post-return experiences of the first and subsequent generations might show variation.

It was notable in the study that second and third-generation Turkish-German migrants in Germany highly identify themselves as Turkish rather than German. Participants also underline that they are different from the Turks in Turkey because they had absorbed some of the characteristics of German society. Moreover, since participants developed transnational identities, re-migration to Germany would not be a challenging process for them. However, rather than the identity outcomes, the identity processes of the participants should be studied. Therefore, longitudinal studies which focus on the identity changes that occur in the participants in the post-return period are required to better understand the construct of identity. In this scope, re-acculturation orientations of the returnees need to be analysed in-depth. All in all,

Turkish return migration and remigration are both complicated and multi-layered issues which cannot be explained from a single perspective.

5.6. Suggestions for Further Research

The present study dealt with the return motives, Turkish-German identity perceptions and language preferences of second and third-generation Turkish-German immigrants. However, the study did not compare the second and third-generation Turkish-German immigrants. Future studies might adopt a comparative approach to second and third-generation Turkish-German immigrants with regard to the return motives, identity perceptions, and language preferences.

In addition, the present thesis only focused on Turkish-German returnees. The future studies can focus on immigrants who returned from other Western European countries, where Turks live in communities. Similarly, returnees from different countries can be compared so as to draw the similarities and differences among them.Furthermore, the present study only focused on the identity outcomes of the returnees. However, identity development and shifts of returnees might be better analysed by means of longitudinal studies.

Additionally, different studies might provide a better insight into the return experiences of the returnees by means of a wider sample size. The inclusion of participants representing whole Turkey might yield more generalizable results in terms of understanding the return experiences of the return.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: APPROVAL OF METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

Sayı: 28620816 / 682

03 OCAK 2019

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof.Dr. Sultan Çiğdem SAĞIN

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız Havva ÖZTÜRK **"Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye Geri Dönüş Göçü: Türkiye'ye Göç Eden Türklerin Geri Dönüş Göçü Nedenleri, Türk/Alman Kimlikleri ve Türkçe/Almanca Dil Tercihleri"** başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay **2018-EGT-206** protokol numarası ile araştırma yapması onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımla bilgilerinize sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Tülin GENÇÖZ
Başkan

Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL
Üye

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR
Üye

Prof.Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI (4.)
Üye

Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK
Üye

Doç. Dr. Pınar KAYGAN
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali Emre TURGUT
Üye

APPENDIX B: DATA COLLECTION PERMISSION

T.C.
İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ REKTÖRLÜĞÜ
Öğrenci İşleri Daire Başkanlığı

Sayı :53891476-302.08.01-
Konu :Havva ÖZTÜRK-anket
        çalışması

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ REKTÖRLÜĞÜNE
(Öğrenci İşleri Daire Başkanlığı)

İlgi   :30.01.2019 tarihli 54850038-044-E.85 sayılı yazınız.

Üniversiteniz İngiliz Dili Eğitimi Anabilim Dalı İngiliz Dili Öğretimi yüksek lisans programı öğrencisi Havva ÖZTÜRK'ün öğretim üyesi Prof. Dr. Sultan Çiğdem SAĞIN'ın danışmanlığında yürütmekte olduğu "Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye Geri Dönüş Göçü: Türkiye'ye Göç Eden Türklerin Geri Dönüş Göçü Nedenleri, Türk/Alman Kimlikleri ve Türkçe/Almanca Dil Tercihleri" başlıklı tez çalışması hakkında, Üniversitemiz Edebiyat Fakültesi Dekanlığından alınan 05.03.2019 tarihli 47439 sayılı yazı ekte gönderilmiştir.
Bilgilerinizi ve gereğini arz ederim.

e-İmzalı
Prof. Dr. Recep GÜLOĞLU
Rektör a.
Rektör Yardımcısı

EK :
Yazı (1 sayfa)

APPENDIX C: FACTOR ANALYSIS RESULTS

A1. Total Variance Explained (Return Motives Scale)

| Component | Initial Eigenvalues | | | Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings | | |
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	6.401	32.005	32.005	6.401	32.005	32.005
2	2.639	13.194	45.200	2.639	13.194	45.200
3	1.481	7.404	52.603	1.481	7.404	52.603
4	1.360	6.801	59.405	1.360	6.801	59.405
5	1.279	6.395	65.800	1.279	6.395	65.800
6	1.029	5.147	70.947	1.029	5.147	70.947
7	.819	4.097	75.044			
8	.738	3.692	78.736			
9	.605	3.027	81.763			
10	.594	2.971	84.734			
11	.521	2.606	87.341			
12	.439	2.194	89.535			
13	.412	2.058	91.593			
14	.338	1.690	93.283			
15	.312	1.561	94.843			
16	.272	1.362	96.205			
17	.243	1.215	97.421			
18	.217	1.083	98.503			
19	.164	.822	99.325			
20	.135	.675	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Table A2. Total Variance Explained (Turkish Identity Scale)

Compone nt	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulativ e %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	13.464	44.880	44.880	13.464	44.880	44.880
2	2.088	6.959	51.839	2.088	6.959	51.839
3	2.020	6.735	58.574	2.020	6.735	58.574
4	1.385	4.616	63.190	1.385	4.616	63.190
5	1.220	4.067	67.257	1.220	4.067	67.257
6	1.065	3.551	70.808	1.065	3.551	70.808
7	.972	3.242	74.050			
8	.867	2.890	76.940			
9	.689	2.298	79.238			
10	.640	2.135	81.373			
11	.596	1.987	83.360			
12	.499	1.663	85.023			
13	.466	1.555	86.578			
14	.451	1.504	88.082			
15	.427	1.424	89.506			
16	.373	1.244	90.750			
17	.365	1.215	91.965			
18	.334	1.114	93.079			
19	.314	1.046	94.125			
20	.296	.986	95.111			
21	.253	.842	95.954			
22	.229	.764	96.718			
23	.180	.601	97.319			
24	.165	.549	97.868			
25	.157	.523	98.391			
26	.140	.467	98.857			
27	.112	.373	99.230			
28	.099	.331	99.562			
29	.078	.260	99.822			
30	.053	.178	100.000			

Table A3. Total Variance Explained (German Identity Scale)

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	11.145	38.430	38.430	11.145	38.430	38.430
2	3.222	11.110	49.540	3.222	11.110	49.540
3	1.601	5.521	55.061	1.601	5.521	55.061
4	1.302	4.491	59.552	1.302	4.491	59.552
5	1.236	4.263	63.815	1.236	4.263	63.815
6	1.104	3.806	67.621	1.104	3.806	67.621
7	1.004	3.463	71.084	1.004	3.463	71.084
8	.928	3.201	74.284			
9	.821	2.832	77.116			
10	.678	2.338	79.454			
11	.645	2.224	81.678			
12	.586	2.019	83.697			
13	.555	1.914	85.611			
14	.508	1.752	87.363			
15	.473	1.629	88.992			
16	.443	1.529	90.521			
17	.359	1.237	91.758			
18	.353	1.217	92.975			
19	.329	1.135	94.111			
20	.288	.992	95.102			
21	.241	.830	95.932			
22	.224	.774	96.706			
23	.205	.707	97.414			
24	.170	.586	98.000			
25	.140	.483	98.483			
26	.133	.459	98.942			
27	.117	.405	99.347			
28	.105	.363	99.710			
29	.084	.290	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Table A4.

Total Variance Explained (Self-Perceived Turkish Language Proficiency)

Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
7.471	49.806	49.806	7.471	49.806	49.806
2.135	14.234	64.040	2.135	14.234	64.040
1.033	6.888	70.928	1.033	6.888	70.928
1.003	6.688	77.616	1.003	6.688	77.616
.637	4.245	81.861			
.612	4.082	85.943			
.531	3.538	89.480			
.325	2.164	91.645			
.301	2.006	93.651			
.230	1.534	95.185			
.221	1.475	96.660			
.172	1.146	97.806			
.155	1.030	98.836			
.092	.615	99.451			
.082	.549	100.000			

Table 5A.

Total Variance Explained Self-Perceived German Language Proficiency

	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
Component	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	7.472	57.477	57.477	7.472	57.477	57.477
2	.952	7.322	64.800			
3	.936	7.197	71.996			
4	.799	6.145	78.142			
5	.611	4.697	82.838			
6	.476	3.661	86.499			
7	.404	3.108	89.608			
8	.383	2.943	92.551			
9	.278	2.135	94.686			
10	.222	1.706	96.392			
11	.179	1.379	97.772			
12	.168	1.292	99.064			
13	.122	.936	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Table 6A.

Total Variance Explained (Turkish German Language Preference Scale)

| Component | Initial Eigenvalues | | | Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings | | |
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	8.548	53.428	53.428	8.548	53.428	53.428
2	1.543	9.646	63.074	1.543	9.646	63.074
3	.987	6.168	69.242			
4	.872	5.450	74.692			
5	.772	4.823	79.515			
6	.637	3.981	83.496			
7	.489	3.055	86.551			
8	.449	2.809	89.360			
9	.437	2.733	92.092			
10	.310	1.940	94.032			
11	.237	1.484	95.516			
12	.206	1.288	96.804			
13	.197	1.231	98.035			
14	.133	.830	98.865			
15	.103	.643	99.508			
16	.079	.492	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
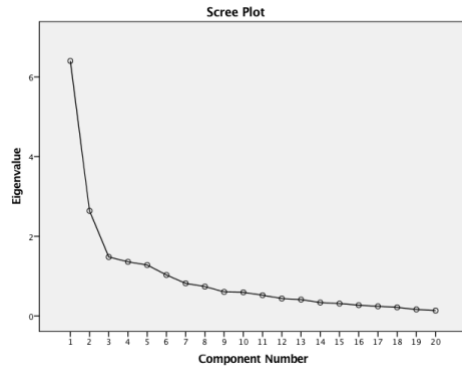
Graph A1. Scree Plot of Return Motives Scale
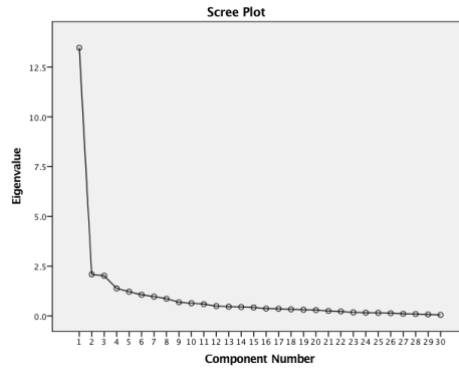
Graph A2. Scree Plot of Turkish Identity Scale
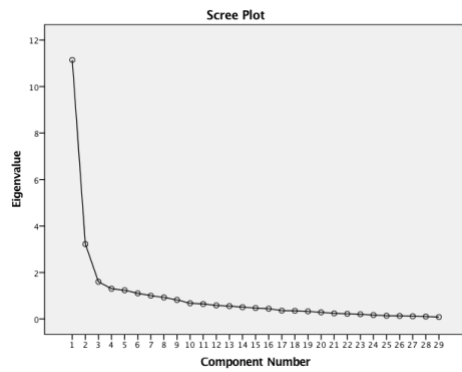
Graph 3A. Scree plot of German Identity Scale
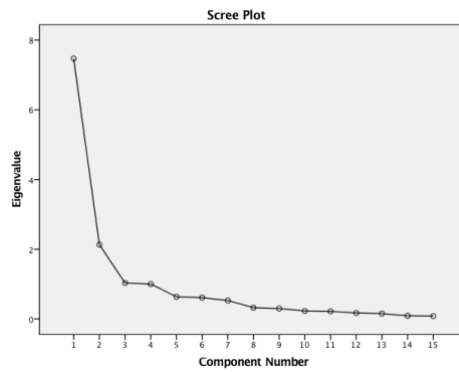
Graph 4A. Scree Plot of Self-Perceived Turkish Language Proficiency
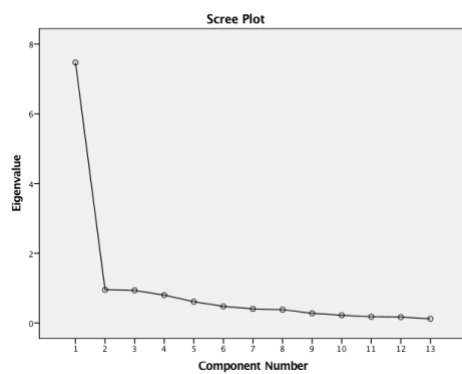
Graph 5A. Scree Plot of Self-Perceived German Language Proficiency
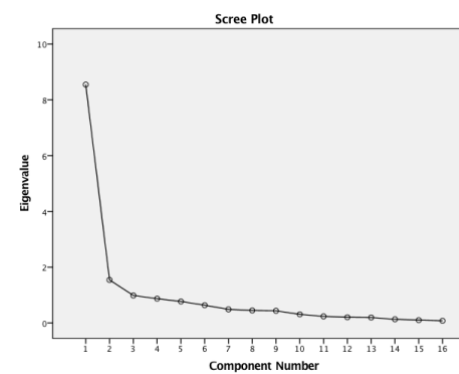
Graph 6A. Scree Plot of Self-Perceived German Language Proficiency

APPENDIX D: NORMALITY ASSUMPTION

Table A7.

Mean, Skewness and Kurtosis Values for All Scales

		Statistic	Std. Error
Return Motives Scale	Mean	2.89	.069
	Skewness	.06	.25
	Kurtosis	.76	.49
Turkish Identity	Mean	3.58	.084
	Skewness	-.66	.25
	Kurtosis	.58	.49
German Identity	Mean	2.61	.075
	Skewness	.04	.25
	Kurtosis	.47	.49
Turkish Proficiency	Mean	4.28	.068
	Skewness	-.63	.25
	Kurtosis	-.51	.49
German Proficiency	Mean	4.22	.067
	Skewness	-.60	.25
	Kurtosis	-.40	.49
Language Preference	Mean	3.48	.09
	Skewness	.15	.25
	Kurtosis	-.85	.49

Table A8.

Kolmogorov-Simirnov and Shapiro-Wilk Values for All Scales

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov[a]		Shapiro-Wilk	
	Statistic	Sig.	Statistic	Sig.
Return Motives	.046	.200[*]	.987	.515
Turkish Identity	.092	.048	.968	.022
German Identity	.075	.200[*]	.985	.354
Turkish Proficiency	.143	.000	.905	.000
German Proficiency	.117	.003	.929	.000
Language Preference	.095	.038	.967	.018
a. Lilliefors Significance Correction				

APPENDIX E: QUANTITATIVE DATA COLLECTION TOOL (TURKISH VERSION)

Bu çalışma Almanya'da yaşayıp Türkiye'ye göç eden Türk asıllı bireylerin Türkiye'ye göç etme nedenleri, göç sonrası hayat memnuniyetleri, Türk ve Alman kimliklerine dair görüşleri ve Türkçe-Almanca dil kullanımlarına yönelik bilgi edinmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Katılım gönüllülük esasına dayalıdır. Anket katılımcılarının bilgileri üçüncü şahıslarla paylaşılmayacaktır ve her durumda gizli tutulacaktır. Anket bilgileri Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi İngiliz Dili Eğitimi bölümünde yürütülen yüksek lisans çalışmasının kapsamında toplanmaktadır. Katılımınız bizim için çok değerlidir. Katılımınız için çok teşekkür ederiz.
İletişim: havvaozturk1@istanbul.edu.tr   Tel: 05543604250
Havva ÖZTÜRK, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi İngiliz Dili Eğitimi, Tezli Yüksek Lisans programı

1. KISIM (KİŞİSEL BİLGİLER)

İsim & Soyisim: _____(İsteğe Bağlı)

Cinsiyet:	Kadın ☐	Erkek ☐
Yaş:	_____	
Kaç yıldır Türkiye'de yaşıyorsunuz:	_____	
Kaç yıl Almanya'da yaşadınız:	_____	
Almanya'da kaçıncı jenerasyon Türk'tünüz?:	_____	
Ailenizin yaşadığı ülke:	Almanya ☐	Türkiye ☐
Türkiye'ye geliş tarihiniz:	_____	(ay/yıl)
Mesleğiniz:	_____	
Eğitim durumunuz:	_____	
Üniversite öğrenciyseniz bölümünüz:	_____	
Doğduğunuz ülke:	Almanya ☐	Türkiye ☐
Annenizin doğduğu ülke:	Almanya ☐	Türkiye ☐
Babanızın doğduğu ülke:	Almanya ☐	Türkiye ☐
Medeni haliniz:	Bekar ☐	Evli ☐
Türkiye'de bulunma durumunuz:	Geçici ☐	Kalıcı ☐

2. KISIM

1) Bu bölümde kendinize en uygun olduğunu düşündüğünüz alternatifi işaretleyiniz.
  ☐ Kendimi **Türk** hissediyorum.
  ☐ Kendimi **Alman** hissediyorum.
  ☐ Kendimi **Türk-Alman** hissediyorum.
  ☐ Kendini **ne Türk ne de Alman** hissediyorum.

2) Bu bölümde kendinize en uygun olduğunu düşündüğünüz alternatifi işaretleyiniz.
  ☐ Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye göç etme kararımdan memnunum.
  ☐ Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye göç etme kararımdan memnum değilim.

3) Bu bölümde kendinize en uygun olduğunu düşündüğünüz alternatifi işaretleyiniz.
  ☐ Almanya'ya geri gitmeyi düşünmüyorum.
  ☐ Almanya'ya geri gitmeyi düşünüyorum.

3. KISIM

Aşağıdaki ankette Almanya'dan göç etme nedenlerine ait maddeler yer almaktadır. Maddeleri okuduktan sonra (kesinlikle katılmıyorum, kararsızım, katılıyorum, kesinlikle katılıyorum) seçeneklerinden yalnızca bir ifadenin işaretlenmesi gerekmektedir (*1=Kesinlikle Katılıyorum, 2=Katılıyorum, 3=Kararsızım, 4=Katılıyorum, 5= Kesinlikle Katılıyorum*)

Türkiye'ye döndüm çünkü:	1	2	3	4	5
1. …Türkiye'de yaşamak istiyorum.					
2. …Türkiye ile güçlü bir duygusal bağım var.					
3. …Türkiye'de eğitim almak istiyorum/çocuklarımın Türkiye'de eğitim almasını istiyorum.					
4. …ailem Türkiye'de yaşıyor/. …ailem Türkiye'ye dönüş yaptı.					
5. …Türkiye'de arkadaşlarım ve çevrem var.					
6. …Türk kültürü ve yaşam şeklini seviyorum.					
7. ....Türklerle birlikte yaşamak istiyorum.					
8. …Türkiye'de ekonomik koşullar iyileşiyor.					
9. ..Türkiye'de iş bulma olasılığım daha yüksek.					
10. …Almanya'da Almanca ile ilgili problemler yaşıyordum.					
11. …Almanya'ya uyum konusunda sorunlar yaşıyordum.					
12. …Almanya'da ayrımcılığa maruz kaldığımı hissediyordum.					
13. …Almanya'da göçmenlere uygulanan politika ve yaklaşımlardan rahatsız oluyordum.					
14. …Müslüman olduğum için kendimi Almanya'da rahat hissetmiyordum.					
15. …Azınlık olduğum için kendimi Almanya'da rahat hissetmiyordum.					
16. …Türk azınlık olduğum için kendimi Almanya'da rahat hissetmiyordum.					
17. …Almanya'da kişisel olarak kötü tecrübeler yaşadım.					
18. …Alman kültürünü ve yaşam şeklini sevmiyordum.					
19. …Almanya'nın iklimini sevmiyordum.					
20. …Almanya'da iş imkanları kısıtlıydı.					

4. KISIM

Aşağıdaki ankette Türk kimliğine dair maddeler yer almaktadır. Maddeleri okuduktan sonra (kesinlikle katılmıyorum, kararsızım, katılıyorum, kesinlikle katılıyorum) seçeneklerinden yalnızca bir ifadenin işaretlenmesi gerekmektedir. *1=Kesinlikle Katılıyorum, 2=Katılıyorum, 3=Kararsızım, 4=Katılıyorum, 5= Kesinlikle Katılıyorum*).

Türk Kimliği	1	2	3	4	5
1. Kendimi Türk hissediyorum.					
2. Türk olmaktan gurur duyuyorum.					
3. Kendimi Türk toplumuna ait hissediyorum.					
4. Kendimi Türk hissediyorum çünkü Türkçe konuşuyorum.					
5. Türkçe benim için önemli.					
6. Türk toplumu, örneğin Türk tarihi, gelenekleri ve görenekleri hakkında daha fazla bilgi edinmeye çalışıyorum.					
7. Türk toplumunun bir parçası olmanın benim için ne anlama geldiğinin bilincindeyim.					
8. Türküm çünkü Müslümanım.					
9. Türklük değerleri benim için önemlidir (örneğin Türkçe, Türk bayrağı, Türk milli marşı).					
10. Türklük değerleri hakkında bilgi sahibiyim.					
11. Bir Türk ile evlenmek istiyorum.					
12. Kendimi Türk hissediyorum çünkü Türk geleneklerine göre yaşıyorum.					
13. Türk kültürü kimliğimin önemli bir parçasıdır.					
14. Kendimi Türk gibi hissediyorum çünkü anne ve babam Türk.					
15. Kendimi Türk gibi hissediyorum çünkü Türk gibi yetiştirildim.					
16. Kendimi Türk gibi hissediyorum çünkü fiziksel olarak Türk'e benziyorum.					
17. Kendimi Türk gibi hissediyorum çünkü Türkler arasında kendimi daha rahat hissediyorum.					
18. Kendimi Türk gibi hissediyorum çünkü Türk toplumu tarafından kabul edildiğimi düşünüyorum.					
19. Kendimi Türk gibi hissediyorum çünkü Alman toplumu tarafından kabul edilmediğimi düşünüyorum.					
20. Kendimi Türk gibi hissediyorum çünkü diğer insanlar benim Türk olduğumu düşünüyorlar.					
21. Kendimi Türk gibi hissediyorum çünkü Alman kültürü bana bir anlam ifade etmiyor.					
22. Almanya'da yaşadığım yerde çok fazla Türk var/vardı.					
23. Kişisel problemlerim olduğunda Türk arkadaşlarımla paylaşırım.					
24. Genel anlamda, daha çok Türklerle etkileşim halindeyim.					
25. Ailemle Türkçe iletişim kurarım.					
26. Arkadaşlarımla Türkçe iletişim kurarım.					
27. Türk TV kanallarını seyrederim.					
28. Türkçe kitap okurum.					
29. Türk yemeklerini tercih ederim.					
30. Türkiye'de olup bitenleri takip ederim.					

5.KISIM

Aşağıdaki ankette Alman kimliğine dair maddeler yer almaktadır. Maddeleri okuduktan sonra (kesinlikle katılmıyorum, kararsızım, katılıyorum, kesinlikle katılıyorum) seçeneklerinden yalnızca bir ifadenin işaretlenmesi gerekmektedir. *1=Kesinlikle Katılıyorum, 2=Katılıyorum, 3=Kararsızım, 4=Katılıyorum, 5= Kesinlikle Katılıyorum).*

Alman Kimliği	1	2	3	4	5
1. Kendimi Alman hissediyorum.					

2.	Alman olmaktan gurur duyuyorum.				
3.	Kendimi Alman toplumuna ait hissediyorum.				
4.	Almanca benim için önemli.				
5.	Kendimi Alman gibi hissediyorum çünkü Almanca konuşuyorum.				
6.	Alman toplumu, örneğin Alman tarihi, gelenekleri ve görenekleri hakkında daha fazla bilgi edinmeye çalışıyorum.				
7.	Alman kimliğimin ve bana ne ifade ettiğinin bilincindeyim.				
8.	Alman toplumunun bir parçası olmanın benim için ne anlama geldiğinin bilincindeyim.				
9.	Alman değerleri benim için önemlidir (örneğin Alman bayrağı, Alman milli marşı).				
10.	Alman değerleri hakkında bilgi sahibiyim.				
11.	Bir Alman ile evlenmek istiyorum.				
12.	Kendimi Alman hissediyorum çünkü Alman geleneklerine göre yaşıyorum.				
13.	Alman kültürü kimliğimin önemli bir parçasıdır.				
14.	Kendimi Alman gibi hissediyorum çünkü Alman gibi yetiştirildim.				
15.	Kendimi Alman gibi hissediyorum çünkü fiziksel olarak Alman'a benziyorum.				
16.	Kendimi Alman gibi hissediyorum çünkü Almanlar arasında daha rahat hissediyorum.				
17.	Kendimi Alman gibi hissediyorum çünkü Alman toplumu tarafından kabul edildiğimi düşünüyorum.				
18.	Kendimi Alman gibi hissediyorum çünkü Türk toplumu tarafından kabul edilmediğimi düşünüyorum.				
19.	Kendimi Alman gibi hissediyorum çünkü diğer insanlar benim Alman olduğumu düşünüyor.				
20.	Kendimi Alman gibi hissediyorum çünkü Türk kültürü bana bir anlam ifade etmiyor.				
21.	Almanya'da yaşadığım yerde çok fazla Alman var/vardı.				
22.	Kişisel problemlerim olduğunda Alman arkadaşlarımla paylaşırım.				
23.	Genel anlamda, daha çok Almanlarla etkileşim halindeyim.				
24.	Ailemle Almanca iletişim kurarım.				
25.	Arkadaşlarımla Almanca iletişim kurarım.				
26.	Alman TV kanalları seyrederim.				
27.	Almanca kitaplar okurum.				
28.	Alman yemeklerini tercih ederim.				
29.	Almanya'da olup bitenleri takip ederim.				

6.KISIM

Aşağıdaki ankette Türkçe dil yeterliliğine dair maddeler yer almaktadır. Maddeleri okuduktan sonra (kesinlikle katılmıyorum, kararsızım, katılıyorum, kesinlikle katılıyorum) seçeneklerinden yalnızca bir ifadenin işaretlenmesi gerekmektedir. *1=Kesinlikle Katılıyorum, 2=Katılıyorum, 3=Kararsızım, 4=Katılıyorum, 5= Kesinlikle Katılıyorum).*

Türkçe Dil Yeterliliği Anketi	1	2	3	4	5
1. Türkçeyi anadilim gibi konuşuyorum.					
2. Türkçede bilmediğim bir kelimenin anlamını içinde kullanıldığı bağlamdan tahmin edebiliyorum.					
3. Türkçe deyim ve atasözlerini anlayabiliyorum.					
4. Türkçe soyut kelime ve kavramları anlayabiliyorum.					
5. Türkçe şaka yapabiliyorum.					
6. Türkçe roman ve gazete okuyabiliyorum.					
7. Türkçede yazı yazarken hata yapmıyorum.					
8. Türkçe dizileri, filmleri ve videoları anlayabiliyorum.					
9. Akrabalarım Türkçe konuşurken anlamakta güçlük çekmiyorum.					
10. Türkiye'de Türkçe konuşurken güçlük çekmiyorum.					
11. Türkiye'de konuşulan Türkçeyi anlamakta güçlük çekmiyorum.					
12. Türkçe okuduğumu anlamada güçlük çekmiyorum.					
13. Türkçe yazmada güçlük çekmiyorum.					
14. Türkçem Türkiye'ye yerleştikten sonra gelişti.					
15. Türkçe müzik dinliyorum ve şarkı sözlerini anlayabiliyorum.					

7. KISIM

Aşağıdaki ankette Almanca dil yeterliliğine dair maddeler yer almaktadır. Maddeleri okuduktan sonra (kesinlikle katılmıyorum, kararsızım, katılıyorum, kesinlikle katılıyorum) seçeneklerinden yalnızca bir ifadenin işaretlenmesi gerekmektedir. *1=Kesinlikle Katılıyorum, 2=Katılıyorum, 3=Kararsızım, 4=Katılıyorum, 5= Kesinlikle Katılıyorum).*

Almanca Dil Yeterliliği Anketi	1	2	3	4	5
1. Almancayı anadilim gibi konuşuyorum.					
2. Almancada bilmediğim bir kelimenin anlamını bağlamından tahmin edebiliyorum.					
3. Almanca deyim ve atasözlerini anlayabiliyorum.					
4. Almanca soyut kelime ve kavramları anlayabiliyorum.					
5. Almanca şaka yapabiliyorum.					
6. Almanca roman ve gazete okuyabiliyorum.					
7. Almanca yazı yazarken az hata yapıyorum.					
8. Almanca TV dizileri, filmleri ve videoları anlayabiliyorum.					
9. Almanya'da Almanca konuşurken güçlük çekmiyorum.					
10. Almanya'da konuşulan Almancayı anlamakta güçlük çekmiyorum.					
11. Almanca okuduğumu anlamada güçlük çekmiyorum.					
12. Almanca yazmada güçlük çekmiyorum.					

13. Almancam Türkiye'ye yerleştikten kötüleşmedi.					

8. KISIM

Aşağıdaki ankette Türkçe dil yeterliliğine dair maddeler yer almaktadır. Maddeleri okuduktan sonra (kesinlikle katılmıyorum, kararsızım, katılıyorum, kesinlikle katılıyorum) seçeneklerinden yalnızca bir ifadenin işaretlenmesi gerekmektedir. *1=Her zaman Almanca, 2=Çoğunlukla Almanca, 3=Eşit Derecede, 4=Çoğunlukla Türkçe, 5=Her zaman Türkçe.*

Türkçe/Almanca Tercih Anketi	1	2	3	4	5
1. İşte/okulda…					
2. Evde...					
3. Aile toplanmalarında...					
4. Babamla...					
5. Annemle...					
6. Kardeşlerimle...					
7. Akrabalarımla...					
8. Türk arkadaşlarımla...					
9. Düşünürken…					
10. Hayal kurarken…					
11. Sayı sayarken…					
12. Sosyal medya kullanırken…					
13. Yorgunken …					
14. Stresliyken …					
15. Sinirliyken …					
16. Tartışırken/Kavga ederken…					

APPENDIX F: QUANTITATIVE DATA COLLECTION TOOL (ENGLISH VERSION)

This study aims to collect information about the return motives, Turkish and German Identity perceptions and language preferences of Turkish immigrants who migrated from Germany to Turkey. Participation in the study is voluntary. The information of the survey participants will not be shared with third parties and will be kept confidential in all cases. Survey information is collected within the scope of the postgraduate study conducted in the Department of English Language Teaching at Middle East Technical University. Your participation is very valuable to us. Thank you very much for your participation.
Contact: havvaozturk1@istanbul.edu.tr
Havva ÖZTÜRK, Middle East Technical University, Department of Foreign Langauge Education, MA Programme

PART 1 (PERSONAL INFORMATION)

Name & Surname: _____(Optional)

Gender:	Male ☐	Female ☐
Age:	_____	
Length of Residence in Turkey:	_____	
Length of Residence in Germany:	_____	
Which Turkish generation do you belong to?:	Second ☐	Third ☐
Residence Place of Family:	Germany ☐	Turkey ☐
Year of migration to Turkey:	_____	(month/year)
Profession:	_____	
Education:	_____	
Your department (if you are a student):	_____	
Country of Birth:	Germany ☐	Turkey ☐
Birth Place of Father:	Germany ☐	Turkey ☐
Birth Place of Mother:	Germany ☐	Turkey ☐
Marital Status:	Single ☐	Married ☐
Your Residence in Turkey:	Temporary ☐	Permanent ☐

PART 2
In this part, please choose the most suitable option for you.
1) ☐ I feel **Turkish**.
   ☐ I feel **German**.
   ☐ I feel **Turkish-German**.
   ☐ I feel **neither Turkish nor German**.
2) In this part, please choose the most suitable option for you.
   ☐ I am happy with my migration decision to Turkey.
   ☐ I am not happy with my migration decision to Turkey.

3) In this part, please choose the most suitable option for you.
   ☐ I am not thinking of re-migrating to Germany.
   ☐ I am not thinking of re-migrating to Germany.

PART 3

The following questionnaire contains items on the motives of return from Germany.
After reading the items carefully, please choose the option that suits you the most.
(*1= I definitely don't agree, 2= I don't agree, 3= Neutral, 4= I agree, 5= I agree*).

I migrated to Turkey because:	1	2	3	4	5
1. …I wanted to live in Turkey					
2. …I have a strong emotional attachment with Turkey					
3. …I want to receive education in Turkey					
4. …My family lives in Turkey/My family moved back to Turkey.					
5. …I have a friend circle and acquaintances in Turkey.					
6. …I love Turkish culture and way of living.					
7. …I want to live together with Turks.					
8. …Economic conditions in Turkey are going better.					
9. …I have better employment opportunities in Turkey.					
10. …I had problems with German while living in Germany.					
11. …I had integration problems in Germany.					
12. …I felt that Turks faced discrimination in Germany.					
13. …I didn't like the policies implemented and attitude towards immigrants in Germany.					
14. …I did not feel comfortable in Germany since I am a Muslim.					
15. …I did not feel comfortable in …Germany since I was a minority.					
16. …I did not feel comfortable in Germany since I was a Turkish minority.					
17. …I had bad personal experiences in Germany.					
18. …I did not like German culture and way of living.					
19. …I did not like the climate in Germany.					
20. …There were limited job opportunities in Germany.					

PART 4

The following questionnaire contains items on on Turkish identity. After reading the items carefully, please choose the option that suits you the most.(*1*= I definitely don't agree, *2= I don't agree, 3= Neutral, 4= I agree, 5= I agree*).

Turkish Identity	1	2	3	4	5
1. I feel Turkish.					
2. I am proud that I am a Turk.					
3. I have a strong sense of belonging to my Turkish ethnic group.					
4. I feel Turkish because I speak Turkish.					
5. I value the importance of Turkish language.					
6. I spend time trying to find out more about my Turkish ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.					
7. I understand pretty well what my Turkish group membership means to me.					
8. I feel Turkish because I am a Muslim.					
9. Turkish values are important to me (such as Turkish flag, Turkish national anthem).					
10. I have knowledge about Turkish values.					
11. I want to get married to a Turk.					
12. I feel Turkish because I live according to Turkish traditions.					
13. Turkish culture is an important part of my identity.					
14. I feel Turkish because my parents are Turkish.					
15. I feel Turkish because I was brought up as a Turk.					
16. I feel Turkish because I look Turkish.					
17. I feel Turkish because I feel more comfortable among Turks.					
18. I feel Turkish because I feel I am accepted by the Turkish society.					
19. I feel Turkish because I feel I am not accepted by the German society.					
20. I feel Turkish because other people consider me as a Turk.					
21. I feel Turkish because German culture doesn't mean anything to me.					
22. There are/were many Turks in the suburb I live in Germany.					
23. When I have personal problems, I share it with my Turkish friends.					
24. All in all, I am more in contact with the Turkish people.					
25. I interact in Turkish with my family.					
26. I interact in Turkish with my friends.					
27. I watch Turkish TV channels.					
28. I read Turkish books.					
29. I prefer Turkish food.					
30. I follow and am informed about what's happening in Turkey.					

PART 5

The following questionnaire contains items on German identity. After reading the items carefully, please choose the option that suits you the most. (*1= I definitely don't agree, 2= I don't agree, 3= Neutral, 4= I agree, 5= I agree*).

German Identity	1	2	3	4	5
1. I feel German.					
2. I am proud that I am a German.					
3. I have a strong sense of belonging to German society.					
4. I value the importance of German language.					
5. I feel German because I speak German.					
6. I spend time trying to find out more about history, traditions, and customs of Germany.					
7. I have a clear sense of my German identity and what it means for me.					
8. I understand pretty well what my German group membership means to me.					
9. German values are important to me (such as German flag, German national anthem).					
10. I have knowledge about German values.					
11. I want to get married to a German.					
12. I feel German because I live according to German traditions.					
13. German culture is an important part of my identity.					
14. I feel German because I was brought up as a German.					
15. I feel German because I look German.					
16. I feel German because I feel more comfortable among Germans.					
17. I feel German because I feel I am accepted by the German society.					
18. I feel German because I feel I am not accepted by the Turkish society.					
19. I feel Turkish because other people consider me as a Turk.					
20. I feel German because Turkish culture doesn't mean anything to me.					
21. There were many Germans in the suburb I live in Germany.					
22. When I have personal problems, I share it with my German friends.					
23. All in all, I am more in contact with the German people.					
24. I interact mostly in German with my family.					

	1	2	3	4	5
25. I interact mostly in German with my friends.					
26. I watch German TV channels.					
27. I read German books.					
28. I prefer German food.					
29. I follow and am informed about what's happening in Germany.					

PART 6

The following questionnaire contains items on Turkish language proficiency. After reading the items carefully, please choose the option that suits you the most. (*1= I definitely don't agree, 2= I don't agree, 3= Neutral, 4= I agree, 5= I agree*).

Perceived Turkish Language Proficiency	1	2	3	4	5
1. I speak Turkish like a native speaker.					
2. I can guess the meaning of unknown words in a speech from the context in Turkish.					
3. I understand idiomatic expressions and proverbs in Turkish.					
4. I understand abstract words and concepts in Turkish.					
5. I make jokes in speech in Turkish.					
6. I can understand novels and newspapers in Turkish.					
7. I rarely make errors while writing in Turkish.					
8. I can understand Turkish TV series, films and videos.					
9. I have no difficulty in understanding when my relatives speak Turkish.					
10. I have no difficulty experienced in speaking Turkish in Turkey.					
11. I have no difficulty experienced in understanding Turkish in Turkey.					
12. I have no difficulty experienced in reading Turkish.					
13. I have no difficulty experienced in writing Turkish.					
14. My Turkish improved since I moved to Turkey.					
15. I listen to Turkish music and I understand lyrics.					

PART 7

The following questionnaire contains items on German language proficiency. After reading the items carefully, please choose the option that suits you the most. (*1= I definitely don't agree, 2= I don't agree, 3= Neutral, 4= I agree, 5= I agree*).

Perceived Turkish/German Language Preference Scale	1	2	3	4	5
1. I speak German like a native speaker.					
2. I can guess the meaning of unknown words in a speech from the context in German.					
3. I understand idiomatic expressions and proverbs in German.					
4. I understand abstract words and concepts in German.					
5. I make jokes in speech in German.					
6. I can understand novels and newspapers in German.					

7. I rarely make errors while writing in German.					
8. I can understand German TV series, films and videos.					
9. I have no difficulty experienced in speaking German in Turkey.					
10. I have no difficulty experienced in understanding German in Turkey.					
11. I have no difficulty experienced in reading German.					
12. I have no difficulty experienced in writing German.					
13. My German did not get worse since I moved to Turkey.					

PART 8

The following questionnaire contains items on Turkish/German Language Proficiency. After reading the items carefully, please choose the option that suits you the most. (*1= I definitely don't agree, 2= I don't agree, 3= Neutral, 4= I agree, 5= I agree*).

Turkish/German Language Preference Scale	Always German	Mostly German	Equal Amount of Both	Mostly Turkish	Always Turkish
1. At work/school I speak...					
2. At home I speak...					
3. At family gatherings I speak...					
4. With my father I speak...					
5. With my mother I speak...					
6. With my siblings I speak...					
7. With my relatives I speak...					
8. With my Turkish friends I speak...					
9. When thinking I use…					
10. When dreaming I use…					
11. When counting I use…					
12. Language preferred while following social media…					
13. Language preferred when tired …					
14. Language preferred when stressed …					
15. Language preferred when angry …					
16. Language preferred when arguing…					

APPENDIX G: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
(TURKİSH VERSİON)

1. Bir Türk olarak Almanya'daki hayatınızdan memnun muydunuz?
   - Bir Türk olarak Almanya'da yaşarken zorluklarla karşılaştınız mı? Karşılaştıysanız ne gibi (Müslüman olma, Türk olma, ayrımcılık)
   - Almanya'daki entegrasyon ile alakalı ne düşünüyorsunuz? Eğitimde veya iş hayatında fırsat eşitliği mevcut mu?
   - Almanlarla iletişiminiz nasıldı?
   - Almanya ile alakalı en çok sevdiğiniz/en az sevdiğiniz şeyler nelerdi?

2. Türkiye'ye dönüş sebebiniz/sebepleriniz nelerdi?
   - Türkiye'ye dönüş kararınızdan memnun musunuz?
   - Türkiye'ye geldikten sonra zorluk çektiğiniz konular nelerdi?
   - Almanya'ya geri gitmek istiyor musunuz? İstiyorsanız neden? İstemiyorsanız neden?

3. Kendinizi Türk hissediyor musunuz? Hissediyorsanız neden? Hissetmiyorsanız neden?

4. Kendinizi Alman hissediyor musunuz? Hissediyorsanız neden? Hissetmiyorsanız neden?
   - Başkaları sizi nasıl görüyor?
   - Nasıl görmeleri istersiniz?

5. Türk olmak sizce nedir? veya Alman olmak sizce nedir? veya Türk – Alman olmak sizce nedir?

6. Kendinizi Türkçe'de mi Almanca'da mı daha rahat hissediyorsunuz?
   - Türkçe/Almanca'da en çok hangi konularda zorlanıyorsunuz?

7. Günlük hayatınızda Türkçe mi Almanca mı kullanmayı tercih ediyorsunuz?
   - Türkçe TV izliyor musunuz?
   - Sosyal medyayı hangi dilde kullanıyorsun?
   - Türkçe müzik dinliyor musunuz?
   - Türkçe film izliyor musunuz?
   - Türkçe kitap veya gazete okuyor musunuz?

8. Hangi dil sizin için daha önemli?

APPENDIX H: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
(ENGLISH VERSION)

1. Were you happy with your life in Germany as a Turk?
   - Did you face any difficulty in Germany as a Turk? If yes, like what? (Being Muslim, being a Turks, discrimination)
   - What do you think about the integration policies in Germany? Do you think there is equal opportunity at work and school?
   - How was your communication with Germans?
   - What were the things you most liked and disliked about Germany?

2. Why did you come to Turkey?
   - Are you happy with your decision?
   - Türkiye'ye geldikten sonra zorluk çektiğiniz konular nelerdi?
   - Do you want to re-migrate to Germany? Why or why not?

3. Do you feel Turkish?Why or why not?

4. Do you feel German?Why or why not?

5. Do you feel Turkish/German?Why or why not?
   - How do others see you?
   - How do you want others to see you?
   - What does it mean to be Turkish?
   - What does it mean to be German?
   - What does it mean to be Turkish/German?

6. In which language do you feel more omfortable?
   - What are the difficulties you experience in Turkish/German?

7. Do you prefer Turkish or German more in your daily life?
   - Do you watch Turkish TV?
   - What is your social media language?
   - Do you listen to Turkish or German music?
   - Do you prefer watching movies Turkish or German?
   - Do you read newspapers or books in Turkish or German ?

8. Which language is more important to you?

APPENDIX I: TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

ALMANYA'DAN DÖNÜŞ YAPAN İKİNCİ VE ÜÇÜNCÜ JENERASYON
TÜRKLER'İN DÖNÜŞ SEBEPLERİNİN, TÜRK VE ALMAN KİMLİK
ALGILARININ, TÜRKÇE VE ALMANCA DİL TERCİHLERİNİN
İNCELENMESİ

Türkiye 1961 yılında Batı Almanya ile ikili işçi göçü anlaşması imzalamıştır. Batı Almanya'dan sonra Avusturya, Hollanda, ve Belçika ile 1964 ve Fransa ile 1965 ve İsveç ile 1976 yılında ikili işçi göçü anlaşmaları yürürlüğe koyulmuştur (Sayari, 1986). Özellikle Almanya'ya yapılan yoğun göç nedeniyle Türkler Batı Avrupa'daki AB üyesi olmayan en büyük göçmen topluluk özelliğindedir (Sirkeci, 2012). Günümüzde Almanya'da 3 milyondan fazla Türk'ün yaşadığı tahmin edilmektedir. En başta geçici olarak planlanmış olmasına rağmen, Almanya'ya giden Türklerin büyük bir kısmı geri dönmemiş ve Almanya'da büyük bir Türk topluluğu ortaya çıkmıştır.

1969 yılında Almanya'ya gönderilen işçi sayısı 184.000 iken bu sayı 1973'e gelindiğinde 648.000'e ulaşmıştır (Akgündüz, 1993). O dönemde Türkiye'de yaşanan hızlı nüfus artışı istihdam konusunda sıkıntılar yarattığı için Batı Avrupa'ya göç eden insan sayısında ciddi bir artış ortaya çıkmıştır (Abadan-Unat, 1976). Türkiye'de 1970'ler sonunda yaşanan siyasi karışıklıklar ve 1980 darbesi de Türkiye'den Avrupa'ya yüksek sayıda insanın göç etmesiyle sonuçlanmıştır (Aydin, 2016.) İçduygu (2012), 1060'ların başından 1990'ların ortalarına doğru Türk göçmen sayısının ciddi oranda artışını 1) Türklerin ilk başta planlanandan çok daha uzun süre Avrupa'da kalması ve göç eden işçilere eş ve çocuklarının katılması 2) 1980 darbe döneminde ilticacı sayısının yüksek oranda artması ve 3) ailelerin bir araya gelmesinden sonra Türk topluluğundaki doğum oranının artmasıyla beraber Türk nüfusunun ciddi oranda artması olarak vermiştir.

Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye Geri Dönüş Göçü

Martin (1991) geri dönen Türk sayısının 500.000 ile 900.000 olduğunu ifade etmiştir. Almanya'da 1996-67 ve 1974-77 dönemlerinde yaşanan ekonomik durgunluklar birçok Türk'ün ülkesine dönmesine sebep olmuş ve Federal Almanya'nın uyguladığı geri dönüş politikaları 1983 ve 1984 dönemleri arasında 1.500.000 Türk'ün geri dönmesiyle sonuçlanmıştır (Martin,1991).

Türk geri dönüş göcü hem Almanya hem de Türkiye'deki koşullar açısından ele alınabilir. Almanya ve Türkiye'deki mali ve siyasi koşullardan etkilenen Türkiye'den Almanya'ya göç gibi, Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye geri dönüş göçü de her iki ülkedeki mali ve siyasi koşulların etkisinde gerçekleşmiştir. 1990 öncesi dönemde, Türk geri dönüş göçü farklı dalgalarda meydana gelmiştir. Martin (1991) ilk Türk göçmenlerin 1966–1967 ve 1974–1977 tarihlerinde Almanya'da yaşanan ekonomik durgunluklardan dolayı dönmeye karar verdiğini ya da dönmek zorunda kaldığını belirtmiştir. 3. Grup göçmenlere ise 1983–1984 tarihleri arasında mali teşvikler sunulmuştur. Ancak yine de Türk göçmenler kalıcı olarak Avrupa'ya yerleşmeye karar verdiklerinden 1985 ve 1998 tarihleri arasında geri dönen Türk göçmen sayısında bir düşüş gözlenmiştir (Razum et al. 2005). Geri dönüş göçünü etkileyen bir başka faktörse ev sahibi topluma entegre olabilme seviyesidir. Göçmenler ev sahibi toplumdaki var olan yaşam şartlarından memnun olan göçmenlerin geri dönüş ihtimallerinin daha düşük olması olasıdır (Sari, 2003).

Geri dönüş yapan Türk göçmenlerin dönüş sonrası tecrübeleri yeterince incelenmemiştir. (Paine, 1974) geri dönüş yapan göçmenlerin dönüş sonrası koşullardan memnun olmadıklarını ve bazılarının yeniden göçü düşündüğünü ifade etmiştir. Geri dönüş göçünün Türkiye üzerinde etkileri varken Türkiye'nin de geri dönen göçmenlerin Türkiye'ye entegrasyonuna yönelik sağlam politikalar geliştirmediğinin altı çizilmelidir (Penninx 1982).

Bu tez Almanya'da ikinci ve üçüncü jenerasyon olarak yaşayan ve çeşitli sebeplerle Türkiye'ye dönüş yapan Türk Göçmenlerin dönüş sebeplerini, Türk –Alman kimlik algılarını ve dil tercihlerini ulusaşırıcılık (transnationalism) kavramı çerçevesinde incelemeyi hedeflemektedir. Çalışmanın amacı ağırlıklı olarak üçüncü jenerasyon Türk Alman göçmenleri olarak ikinci ve üçüncü jenerasyon Türk göçmenlerin dönüş sebepleri, Türk-Alman kimlik algıları ve dil tercihlerine odaklanmaktır. Çalışmanın hipotezi ikinci ve üçüncü jenerasyon Türklerin dönüş sebeplerinin, kimlik algılarının ve dil tercihlerinin ilk göç dalgasıyla birlikte işçi göçü kapsamında göç eden birinci jenerasyon Türklerden daha farklı olacağı yönündedir. Çalışma Türkiye'ye göç eden ikinci ve üçüncü jenerasyon Türkler'in dönüş sonrası tecrübelerine de odaklanmaktadır. Çalışmanın yanıtlamaya çalıştığı araştırma soruları şunlardır:

1.   İkinci ve üçüncü jenerasyon Türkler'in en önemli dönüş sebepleri nelerdir?

2.   Geri dönüş yapan Türk-Alman göçmenlerin Türk kimlik ve Alman kimliği ile özdeşleşme seviyelerinde anlamlı bir fark var mıdır?

3.   Geri dönüş yapan Türk-Alman göçmenlerin Türkçe ve Almanca yeterlilik seviyelerinde anlamlı bir fark var mıdır?

4.   Türk kimliği ve dil tercihi arasında anlamlı bir korelasyon var mıdır?

5.   Alman kimliği ve dil tercihi arasında anlamlı bir korelasyon var mıdır?

Literatür Taraması

Genellikle, teorik ve ampirik çalışmalar göç konusunu kalıcı bir olgu olarak ele almaktadırlar (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007). Ancak son yıllarda geri dönüş göçüne yönelik olarak, geri dönüş göçünü neoclassical economics, the new economics of labour migration, structuralism, transnationalism and social network theory (Cassarino, 2004) gibi teorilere dayalı yaklaşımlarla açıklamaya çalışan akademik çalışmaların sayısında artış gözlemlenmektedir. Dustmann & Weiss (2007) geri dönüş göçünü "yurtdışında belli bir zaman geçirdikten sonra göçmenlerin kendi istekleriyle kendi ülkelerine geri dönmesi" olarak tanımlamaktadır.

Ulusaşırıcılık ve Geri Dönüş Göçü

Ulusaşırıcılık sosyal bilimler alanında ortaya çıkmış ve ilk kez 1990ların başlarında kullanınmış ve Doğu Karayipler, Haiti ve Filipinli göçmenlerin anavatanlarıyla olan uzun süre korunmuş olan bağlarını tanımlamak üzere kullanılmış bir derimdir (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992). Ana vatanları ile aile, din, ekonomi, siyaset gibi konularda çeşitli bağlar geliştiren kişilere transmigrant adı verilmektedir (Schiller et al., 1992). Ulusaşırıcılık göçmenlerin aslen geldikleri ülkeyle ve sahibi toplumla toplumsal ve ekonomik bağlantılar vasıtasıyla geliştirdikleri çok katmanlı kimliklerin odaklanmaktadır (Cassarino, 2004).

Ulusaşırıcılık geri dönüş yapan göçmenlerin düzenli olarak ana vatanlarını ziyaret ettiklerini ve dönüş sürecini kolaylaştırmak için ana vatanlarıyla bağlarını sürdürdüklerini ve güçlendirdiklerini iddia etmektedir (Cassarino, 2004). Ulusaşırıcılığın kavramsal çerçevesi ulusaşırı kimlik ve mobiliteye dayanmaktadır. Ulusaşırı kimlikler ev sahibi toplumda göçmenlerin geliştirdiği kimlikten ve ana vatanlarına karşı sahip oldukları aidiyet hissinden ortaya çıkmaktadır. Ulusaşırıcılık göçmenlerin "ikili kimlikler" geliştirdiğini; birbirleriyle çatışan kimlikler geliştirmediğini iddia etmektedir. Şüphesiz geri dönen göçmenler hem sosyal hem de mesleksel anlamda kendi ülkelerine döndüklerinde yeniden entegre olma sürecinde zorluklar yaşamaktadırlar ancak kendi ülkeleriyle geliştirdikleri bağlar ve ülkelerine yaptıkları düzenli ziyaretler yeniden entegre olma sürecini kolaylaştırmaktadırlar (Cassarino, 2004). Genel olarak, ilk jenerasyon göçmenler toplumsal ve yapısal bağlarını koruma eğilimindedirler. Ancak yapılan çalışmalar ikinci jenerasyon göçmenlerin de ana dillerini bildiklerini ve ana vatanlarını ziyaret ettiklerini ve dolayısıyla da aslen geldikleri ülkelerle bağlarını sürdürdüklerini göstermektedir (Levitt & Schiller, 2006; Somerville, 2008; Wolf 1997).

Çoğunlukla etnografik yöntemlerle gerçekleştirilen çalışmalar ikinci jenerasyona ve kimlik olgusuna odaklanmaktadır. Bu çalışmalar genellikle ev sahibi toplum ve ana vatanının etkisi altında ortaya çıkmış ikili kimliğe odaklanmaktadır. Leichtman

2005; Levitt 2001; 2002) tarafından gerçekleştirilen çalışmalar göçmen ulusaşırıcılık kavrmının ilk jenerasyonla sınırlandırılamayacağını, ikinci ve daha sonraki jenerasyonlar için de geçerli olabileceğini ortaya koymaktadır. Dahası, ikini jenerasyon göçmenlerin başarılı bir şekilde entegre ya da asilime olmuş olmaları onların aslen geldikleri ülkelerine bağlı hissetmelerini sağlayacak ulusötesi/diaspora faaliyetlerinden ayrı kaldıkları anlamına gelmemektedir (Itzigsohn & Giorguli-Saucedo 2005). Öte yandan diaspora üzere geliştirilen diaspora çalışmaları ev sahibi toplumla güçlü bağlar geliştirilmesinin kendi ana vatanlarıyla ulusötesi bağlar geliştirmelerine engel olmadığını ortaya koymuştur. Bu bağlamda göçmenlerin etnik bir bağ oluşturabilmeleri için ana vatanlarını ziyaret etmelerine gerek olmadığı söylenebilir (Vickerman 2002).

King & Christou (2014) tarafından Yunanistan'a dönüş yapan 64 ikinci jenerasyon Yunan-Alman ve Yunan-Amerikalı üzerinde gerçekleştirilen çalışmada geri dönüş, ulusötecilik ve entegrasyon ilişkisi incelenmiştir. Katılımcıların dönüş sonrası tecrübelerine değinen çalışma, Yunanistan'daki yolsuzluk ve kaos, Yunan toplumundaki yabancı düşmanlığı gibi sebeplerden ikinci jenerasyonun dönüş sürecinin zorlu olduğunu bulmuştur. Çalışma ayrıca geri dönüş yapan ikinci jenerasyon Yunan göçmenlerin doğdukları ülkeye geri dönmeyi düşündüklerini ve doğdukları ülkeyle ulusötesi bağlara sahip olduklarını göstermiştir.

Dumon (1986) özellikle ikinci jenerasyon olmak üzere geri dönüş yapan göçmenlerin geri dönüş ve entegrasyon kapsamında yaşadıkları geri dönüş sonrası süreci ele almıştır. Çalışmanın sonuçlarına göre birinci jenerasyon göçmenlerin yaşadığı zorluklar zengin olarak etiketlenme, ev sahibi toplumda değişim yaşadıkları için kendi ülkelerinde sosyokültürel adaptasyonda zorlanma, dönüş yaptıkları ülkelerinde geri dönüş yapan göçmenler için sosyal programların olmayışı ve yeni arkadaş ve sosyal destek bulma konusunda zorluklardır. İkinci jenerasyon ise sosyal uyum, eğitim sistemine entegrasyon ve iş hayatına entegrasyon gibi konularda zorluk yaşamıştır. Dumon (1986)'nın da belirttiği gibi ev sahibi ülke ile ana vatandaki eğitim sistemleri arasındaki uyumsuzluk geri dönüş yapan bireylerin

dille alakalı sebeplerden ötürü eğitim sistemine uyum sağlamasında zorluklara yol açmaktadır.

Christou (2016) ikinci jenerasyon Yunan Amerikan göçmenlerin yaşadıkları dışlanma ve anavatanlarına döndükten sonra adaptasyon süreçlerinde hissettikleri ve geliştirdikleri aidiyet hissini incelemiştir. Katılımcılar Yunanistan'daki hayata ve Yunanlarla ilgili hayal kırıklığı yaşadıklarını, Yunanistan'daki hayatın ve insanların zihinlerinde canlandırdıkları gibi olmadığını belirtmişlerdir. Katılımcılar ayrıca Yunanların Amerikan kimliklerine karşı negatif algılara sahip olduklarını belirtmişlerdir.

Türk Göçmenler Üzerine Gerçekleştirilen Çalışmalar

Razum ve diğ., (2006) farklı dönemlerde Almanya'da yaşamış erkek Türk göçmenlerin sağlık, değer odaklı ve duygusal sebeplerle döndüklerini bulmuştur. Razum ve diğ., (2006) tarafından yapılan sınıflandırmaya göre sınıflandırılan göçmenlerin ilki ana vatanlarına karşı 'nostaljik' hissedip dönen, ikinci grup 'kültürel gelenekçi' olarak bilinen ve Türk kültürünün Alman kültüründen üstün olduğuna inandığı için Almanya'dan ülkesine geri dönen ve üçüncü grupsa 'iki sistem oyuncusu' olarak adlandırılan ve hem Almanya hem de Türkiye'de mutlu olan göçmen grupları mevcuttur.

Medya ve bireylere göre Türklerin Almanya'da maruz kaldığı ayrımcılık ve sosyal dışlanma ya da Alman kimliği ile özdeşleşememe Türklerin Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye geri dönmesindeki en önemli sebepler olarak görülmektedir. Bazı çalışmalar Türkler'in farklı iş, barınma ve eğitim sistemi gibi ortamlarda ayrımcılığa maruz kaldığını göstermektedir. Anca ayrımcılığa uğrayan Türklerin daha fazla dönme eğiliminde olduğunu gösteren güçlü kanıtlar mevcut değildir (Aydin, 2016).

Aydın (2016) tarafından gerçekleştirilen ve kalifiye göçmenlerin geri dönüş nedenlerini inceleyen bir çalışmada dört önemli geri dönüş sebebi bulunmuştur. Bu

sebepler 1) Türkiye'deki açık pozisyonlar sebebiyle iş odaklı geri dönüş, 2) Kültür, kimlik ve aidiyet, 3) Ailenin rolü (ebeveynlerle yakın yaşama), 4) Türkiye'de artan sayıda üniversiteden dolayı eğitim ve araştırma odaklı geri dönüştür.

Kunuroglu ve diğ., (2015) geri dönüş yapan Türk göçmenlerin geçirdikleri (yeniden) adaptasyon süreçlerini araştırmak amacıyla 'göçmen' kimliklerinin 'almancı' kimliklerine (Almanya'dan dönen Türk göçmenler için kullanılan aşağılayıcı bir terim) dönüşümü kapsamında Türk geri dönüş göçünün sonuçlarını analiz etmiştir. Ayrımcılık, anaakım Türklerden kültürel olarak farklı hissetme ve çocuklarla alakalı konular geri dönüş yapan Türklerin (yeniden) adaptasyonunu etkileyen en önemli konular olarak bulunmuştur. Çalışmada ayrıca yeniden adaptasyon zorlukları açısından nesillere göre ve geri dönenlerin sosyoekonomik durumlarına göre farklılıklar bulunmuştur.

En az 5 yıl yaşadıktan sonra Almanya'dan ve ABD'den dönen 40'ar kişi üzerinde Sener (2018) tarafından gerçekleştirilen çalışma geri dönüş sebeplerini saptamayı ve ayrımcılığının dönüş kararından etkili olup olmadığını belirlemeyi amaçlamıştır. Çalışma Almanya'dan dönüş yapan Türklerin dönüş kararları üzerinde ayrımcılığın önemli bir faktör olduğunu, ABD'den dönüş yapanlar açısındansa ayrımcılığın önemli bir faktör olmadığı bulunmuştur.

Şener (2018) tarafından Almanya'dan dönen Türkler üzerinde gerçekleştirilen benzer bir karşılaştırmalı çalışmada ise Türkler'in dönüş sebepleri, dönüş sonrası Türkiye'ye (yeniden) adaptasyon süreçleri, Almanya ve ABD ile devam eden bağları ve yeniden göç planları incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın sonuçları ekonomik ya da mesleki sebeplerden ziyade kültürel, ailevi ve duygusal konuların dönüş sebeplerinde etkili olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Çalışmanın önemli bir bulgusu Almanya'dan dönüşte ayrımcılığın önemli bir etken olduğu ancak Amerika'dan dönüşte ise ayrımcılığın önemli bir husus olmadığı ve geri dönüş yapan Türklerin ev sahibi toplumla olan bağlarının kişisel bağlantılarla sınırlı olduğu bulunmuştur. Yeniden göç planlarıyla alakalı olarak ise çalışmada Almanya'dan Türkiye'ye dönüş yapan Türklerin kalıcı olarak Türkiye'e bulundukları, Amerika'dan dönüş yapan Türklerin ise Amerika'ya yeniden göç etme niyetinde oldukları bulunmuştur.

Kunuroglu ve diğ., (2017) tarafından gerçekleştirilen ve Almanya, Hollanda ve Fransa'dan dönüş yapan farklı jenerasyondan Türk göçmenlerin dönüş sebeplerini inceleyen çalışma, Türk göçmenlerin yurtdışına göç etmeden önce dönüş düşüncesine sahip olduklarını ve yurtdışında yaşadıkları ayrımcılığın ve Türkiye ile olan güçlü bağlarının önemli dönüş sebeplerinden olduğunu ortaya koymuştur.

King & Kılınç (2013) Avrupa'da yaşayıp ergenlik ya da erken yetişkinlik döneminde Türkiye'ye dönüş yapan ikinci jenerasyon Türklere odaklanarak bu göçmenlerin ulusötesi tecrübelerini ve 'dönüş' eğilimlerini incelemiştir. Çalışma ana vatanlarına dönüşlerinin ardında yatan sebepleri ve ikinci jenerasyon Türk-Alman göçmenlerin 'dönüş sonrası' tecrübelerini incelemiştir. Çalışmanın sonuçları dönüşün aile kararının bir parçası olarak, travmatik bir olay sonucunda dönüş olarak, yeni bir başlangıç olarak, kendini gerçekleştirme olarak ve 'Türk yaşam biçimine' olan bağ sebebiyle gerçekleşen dönüş olarak gerçekleştiğini ortaya koymuştur.

Metodoloji

Bu çalışma geri dönüş göçünün dinamik ve karmaşık yapısı dikkate alınarak karma yöntemle gerçekleştirilmiştir. Çalışmanın amacı ikinci ve üçüncü jenerasyon geri dönüş yapan Türk-Alman göçmenlerin dönüş sebeplerini, Türk Alman kimlik algılarını ve dil tercihlerini nitel ve nicel veri analiz yöntemleriyle incelemektir. Anketin ilk bölümü katılımcıların demografik bilgilerini içermektedir. Anketin ikinci kısmında dönüş sebeplerine dair 20 madde yer almaktadır. Kimlik kısmı Türk ve Alman kimliği olmak üzere iki kısımdan oluşmaktadır. Anketin 3. Kısmı 30 adet Türk kimlik algısını saptamaya yönelik madde içermektedir. Anketin 4. Kısmı ise 29 adet Alman kimlik algısını saptamaya yönelik madde içermektedir. Anketin dil bölümü 3 kısımdan oluşmaktadır. Türk dil yeterlilik anketinde 15, Alman dil yeterlilik anketinde 13, Türkçe-Almanca dil tercih anketinde ise 16 adet madde yer almaktadır. Yarı yapılandırılmış yüz yüze görüşmeler gerçekleştirilerek çalışmanın nitel verileri toplanmıştır.

Çalışmaya toplam 93 katılımcı katılmıştır. Bu katılıcımalardan 16 tanesi çalışmanın nitel kısmına dahil edilmiştir.   Katılımcıların 26 (%28) tanesi erkek 67 tanesi kadındır (%72). Çalışmanın katılımcıları İstanbul'da bir devlet üniversitesinden seçilmiştir. Katılımcılar gönüllülük esasına   ve müsaitlik durumlarına göre çalışmada yer almışlardır. Katılımcıların tamamı Almanca Mütercim Tercümanlık bölümü öğrencisidir. Katılımcıların büyük çoğunluğu Almanya'dan İstanbul'a göç etmiştir. Bir kısmı ise önce başka bir şehre göç etmiş, daha sonra eğitim için İstanbul'a gelmiştir.

Katılımcıların 82 tanesi bekar (%88.2), 11 tanesi evlidir (%11.8). 87 katılımcı (%93.5) Almanya'da doğarken 6 tanesi (6.5%) Türkiye'de dünyaya gelmiştir. 20 katılımının (%21.5) annesi Almanya'da doğmuş, 73 tanesi (%78.5) Türkiye'de dünyaya gelmiştir. Benzer şekilde, katılımcılarının babalarının büyük çoğunluğu Türkiye'de dünyaya gelmişti. Yalnızca 7 (%7.5) katılımcının babasını Almanya'da dünyaya gelmiş, 84 (%90.3) katılımcının babası Türkiye'de, 1 katılımcının babası (%1.1) Makedonya'da, ve 1 tanesi (%1.1) Lübnan'da dünyaya gelmiştir. Katılımcıların büyük bir çoğunluğu üçüncü jenerasyon Türk göçmen sınıfında yer almaktaydı. 83 (%89.2) katılımcı üçüncü jenerasyon katılımcı iken, 10 (%10.8) tanesi ikinci jenerasyon katılımcı grubunda yer almaktadır. Almanya'ya ilk giden Türk göçmenlerin eş ve çocuklarını Türkiye'de bırakıp Almanya'ya gittikleri göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, ikinci jenerasyonun büyük çoğunluğunun Türkiye'de doğmuş olması muhtemeldir.

 "Kendimi Türk hissediyorum", "Kendimi Alman hissediyorum", "Kendimi Türk-Alman hissediyorum", ya da "Kendimi ne Türk ne de Alman hissediyorum" seçeneklerinden birini tercih etmeleri istendiğinde, 43 katılımcı (%46.2) "Kendimi Türk hissediyorum", 4 katılımcı (%4.3) "Kendimi Alman hissediyorum", 40 katılımcı (%43.0) "Kendimi Türk-Alman hissediyorum", 6 katılımcı (%6.5) "Kendimi ne Türk ne de Alman hissediyorum" seçeneklerini seçmiştir. Türkiye'ye geliş kararlarının mutlu olup olmadıkları sorulduğunda katılımcıların büyük bir kısmı Türkiye'ye gelmiş olmaktan mutlu olduklarını belirtmiştir. Katılımcıların % 72'si (N=67) Türkiye'ye geliş kararından memnun olduklarını, % 26.9'u (N=25) ise memnun olmadıklarını belirtmiştir. Katılımcıların %6.5'i (N=6) Türkiye'de

olmaktan mutlu olup olmadıkları konusunda kararsız olduklarını belirtmiştir. Benzer şekilde, Almanya'ya geri gidip gitmek istemedikleri sorulduğunda 35 katılımcı (%37.6) Almanya'ya geri gitmeyi düşündüğünü, 4 katılımcı (%4.3) gidip gitmeme konusunda kararsız olduğunu, 54 katılımcı ise (%58) Almanya'ya geri gitme niyetlerinin olmadığını belirtmiştir.

Sonuçlar ve Tartışma

Nicel araştırma verileri çalışmaya katılan ikinci ve üçüncü jenerasyon Türk-Alman göçmenlerin Türk kimliğiyle Alman kimliğine kıyasla istatistiksel olarak anlamlı derecede daha fazla özdeşleştiğini göstermiştir. Ayrıca, Türkçe ve Almanca dil yeterliliği arasında istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bir fark bulunamamıştır. Bu da katılımcıların dengeli çift dilli olduklarını göstermektedir. Ayrıca, katılımcılar Türkçe'yi Almanca'dan daha fazla kullansa da hala Almanca'yı kullanmaya devam etmektedirler. Nitel araştırma veri analizi sırasında ortaya çıkan temalar Almanya'ya entegrasyon, ev sahibi toplumda hissedilen ayrımcılık, ana vatanda dönüş sonrası yaşanılan tecrübeler (Türkiye'ye adaptasyon, hissedilen ayrımcılık), ve Türkçe'ye dair yaşanılan zorluklardır.

Çalışmanın ilk araştırma sorusu katılımcıların geri dönüş sebeplerini saptamaya yöneliktir. Nicel araştırma sonuçlarına bakıldığında, katılımcıların "Türkiye'de yaşamak istyiorum", "Türkiye ile güçlü bir duygusal bağım var", "Türkiye'de arkadaş çevrem ve tanıdıklarım var", "Türk kültür ve yaşam tarzını seviyorum", "Türklerle beraber yaşamak isiyorum" maddeleri en yüksek ortalama puanları elde etmiştir. Bu sonuçlar katılımcıların Türkiye'ye aidiyet hislerinin yüksek olduğunu göstermektedir. En düşük puanı elde eden maddelere bakıldığında "Almanya'da yaşarken Almaca ile ilgili sorunlar yaşıyordum", "Almanya'ya entegrasyonda sorun yaşıyordum", "Almanya'da iş imkanları sınırlıydı", "Almanya'da kişisel olarak kötü tecrübeler yaşadım", "Alman kültürünü ve yaşam tarzını sevmiyordum", "Türk azınlık olduğum için kendimi rahat hissetmiyordum", "Müslüman olduğum için kendimi rahat hissetmiyordum" maddelerinin olduğu görülmektedir. Bu sonuçlar

yorumlandığında katılımcıların ulusötesi bir davranışa sahip oldukları görülmektedir. Katılımcılar hem Türkiye'ye güçlü bir aidiyet hissine sahiptir hem de Alman toplumuna başarılı bir biçimde entegre olmuş durumdadır. Yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmelerle elde edilen nitel veri sonuçlarına bakıldığında dönüş sebepleri ailede var olan geri dönüş düşüncesi, evlilik, azınlık olma sebebiyle yaşaılan kimlik krizi, yeni bir tecrübe, Almanya'daki stresli eğitim sistemi, anne babanın boşanması, Türkiye'deki iş olanakları, ayrımcılığa maruz kalma, anne babanın emekliliği, aile bireylerinin vefatı, Türkiye'de daha saygın bir iş bulma düşüncesi olarak elde edilmiştir. Katılımcılar tarafından en fazla dile getirilen geri dönüş sebebi ailede var olan geri dönüş düşüncesidir.

Çalışmanın ikinci araştırma sorusu ulusötesicilik kavramı kapsamında Türk-Alman göçmenlerin kimlik algılarını belirlemeye yöneliktir. Betimleyici istatistik sonuçlarına göre katılımcıların % 46.2'si kendini Türk hissetmekte, % 43'ü kendini "Türk-Alman" hissetmekte ve %6.5'i kendini "ne Alman ne de Türk hissetmekte" ve % 4.3'ü kendini Alman hissetmektedir. Bu sonuçlar Türk Alman göçmenlerin öncelikli olarak kendilerini Türk olarak tanımladıklarını, daha sonra kendilerini Türk-Alman olarak tanımladıklarını göstermektedir. Kendini Alman olarak tanımlayan katılımcı sayısı ise oldukça düşüktür. Geri dönen ikinci ve üçüncü jenersyon Türk göçmenlerin Türk ve Alman kimlik algılarına dair elde edilen sonuçlar incelendiğinde, Türk hissetme, Türk değer ve gelenekleri, aidiyet hissi, Türk etnisite, Türkçe ile ilgili maddelerin yüksek skorlar elde ettiği görülmektedir. Ancak Alman hissetme, Alman toplumuna ait hissetme, Alman etnisitesi, Alman değerleri (örneğin Alman bayrağı, Alman milli marşı), Alman kültürü, Alman gelenekleri ile alakalı maddeler en düşük skorları elde eden maddeler arasında yer almaktadırlar. Bu sonuçlar Türklerin Türklük ve Almanlık kavramlarına farklı anlamlar yüklediklerini göstermektedir. Elde edilen sonuçlara göre Alman kimliği anketinde en yüksek ortalamaları elde eden maddelerin Alman kimliğinin bilincinde olma, Alman değerleri, Alman toplumunun bir parçası olma ve Alman dili hakkında bilgi sahibi olma, Almanca kitaplar okuma ve Almanca TV izleme, Almanya'da olup biteni takip etme olduğu görülmektedir.

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Bu sonuçlar Alman kimliği, değerleri ve gelenekleri hakkında bilgi sahibi ve farkındalık sahibi olmanın Alman hissetmek anlamına gelmeyeceğini göstermektedir. Türkler Türklüğü etnik kökenleri olarak gördükleri ve Türkiye'yi ana vatanları olarak kabul ettikleri için Türkiye ile güçlü bir duygusal bağa sahiptirler ancak Almanya'ya bağlılıkları Alman kimliğine dair hissettikleri aidiyet hissinden değil; Almanya doğup büyüdükleri ülke olduğundandır. Katılımcılar Almanya'yı orada doğmuş olmak, hayat tarzına alışkın olmak, sosyal ve eğitimsel olanakların bolluğu, ekonomik gelişmişlik, sosyal düzen, disiplin ve arkadaş çevresi gibi sebeplerle değerli görmektedir. Kendini Türk olarak tanımlayanlar için de Alman toplumuna ait değerler önemlidir çünkü katılımcılar Alman kural ve etiğinin çocukluktan beri karakterlerine işlemiş olduğunu belirtmiştir. Bir parçaları Almanya'ya ait olsa da ve Almanya'ya başarılı bir biçimde entegre olmuş olsalar da duygusal sebeplerle kendilerini Türk olarak tanımlamaktadırlar.

Çalışmanın son araştırma konusu katılımcıların ulusötesi davranış kapsamında dil yeterliliğini ve dil tercihlerini belirlemeye yöneliktir. Nicel araştırma sonuçlarına göre, katılımcıların Türkçe ve Almanca dil yeterlilikleri anlamlı olarak bir farklılık göstermemiştir.   Bu da Türk-Alman göçmenlerin iki dili de iyi derecede kullanabildiklerini ve çift dilli özelliklerine sahip olduklarını göstermektedir. Başka bir analiz ise farklı sosyal durumlarda katılımcıların hangi dili tercih ettiğine odaklanmıştır. Analiz sonuçları katılımcıların %38.7'sinin her iki dili de tercih ettiğini göstermiştir.

Başka önemli bir bulgu ise katılımcımlar uzun bir süredir Türkiye'de yaşıyor olmalarına rağmen Almanca'yı kullanmaya devam etmelidir. Katılımcılar ebeveyn ve akrabalarıyla Türkçe kullanmalarına rağmen, kardeşleriyle Almanca'yı tercih etmektedirler. Düşünürken, rüya görürken ve sayarken (bilişsel süreçler), yorgun olduklarında, stresli olduklarında, sinirli olduklarında ve tartışırken (duygusal süreçler), katılımcılar her iki dili de tercih etmektedirler. Çalışmanın sonuçları katılımcılarda ulusötesi tutumun gelişmiş olduğunu göstermektedir. Katılımcılar Almanya'dan dönmeden önce Alman toplumunun içinde yaşamış ve Almanya'da

okula gitmiş olduklarından, Almanca tercih etmeye devam etmeleri doğal bir sonuçtur.

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Bölümü / Department   : ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

<u>TEZİN ADI</u> / TITLE OF THE THESIS (Türkçe/**İngilizce**): AN INVESTIGATION OF THE RETURN MOTIVES, TURKISH AND GERMAN IDENTITY PERCEPTIONS AND LANGUAGE PREFERENCES OF SECOND AND THIRD-GENERATION TURKISH-GERMAN RETURNEES

<u>TEZİN TÜRÜ</u> / <u>DEGREE</u>: **Yüksek Lisans** / Master ■   **Doktora** / PhD ☐

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