

BUILDING TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL SPACE THROUGH REMITTANCE
SENDING: THE CASE OF BAHADIN TOWN

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ABSTRACT

BUILDING TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL SPACE THROUGH REMITTANCE SENDING: THE CASE OF BAHADIN TOWN

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Remittance practices are one of the most transparent ways of sustaining cross border engagements of transnational migrants. Especially in rural regions, it has become an important indicator for visibility of transnationality on societal level. In this context, this thesis focuses on a small town named as Bahadın, located at a remote corner of Central Anatolia and tries to understand how transnationality is embedded on societal level through migrant interactions in Bahadın. In order to track transnationality on societal level, different remittance practices of different transnational agents and their impacts on household and community level are analyzed.

This study was conducted as ethnographic field research between 2015 and 2018, which adopts qualitative analysis about transnational interactions in Bahadın town. The data have been collected through combination of unstructured interviews with 60-70 people as pre-liminary phase; in-depth interviews with 19 people; participant observation, document and social media analysis.

Based on empirical findings in Bahadın case, migrant remittances are categorized as family remittances and collective remittances, which are raised by different agents. The first type of remittance is practicing as family remittance which migrants sent

money or goods to family, kins, friends and relatives. The second type of remittance is practicing as collective remittances raised by individuals through philanthropic motivations and Hometown Associations (HTAs) of Bahadın for the benefit of the community. Among these agents, HTAs of Bahadın take the most important roles on institutionalization of remittances and community development process. The research results indicate that although the purposes, functions and motivations behind these different types of remittance show variety in Bahadın town, it is clearly seen that all of them take important roles on development of community and turn Bahadın town into a transnational hub in the Central Anatolia.

Keywords: Transnationality, Transnational Social Space, Remittance, Hometown Associations, Bahadın Town

ÖZ

GÖÇMEN DÖVİZ GÖNDERİLERİYLE ULUS-ÖTESİ TOPLUMSAL MEKAN İNŞASI: BAHADIN KASABASI ÖRNEĞİ

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Göçmen döviz gönderileri, ulus-ötesi göçmenlerin sınır ötesi etkileşimlerini sürdürmenin en şeffaf yollarından biridir. Özellikle kırsal bölgelerde, ulus-ötesiliğin, toplumsal düzeyde görünürlülüğü açısından önemli bir gösterge haline gelmiştir. Bu bağlamda, bu tez, Orta Anadolu'nun uzak bir köşesinde bulunan Bahadın adında küçük bir kasaba üzerine odaklanmakta ve Bahadın'daki ulus-ötesiliğin göçmen etkileşimleri yoluyla toplumsal düzeye nasıl yerleştirildiğini anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Ulus-ötesiliğin, toplumsal düzeyde izlenmesi için, farklı ulus-ötesi temsilcilerin farklı havale uygulamaları ve bunların hane halkı ve topluluk düzeyindeki etkileri incelenmektedir. Bu çalışma, 2015 ve 2018 yılları arasında Bahadın kasabasında ulus-ötesi etkileşimler hakkında nitel analizler yapan etnografik alan araştırması olarak yapılmıştır. Veriler, hazırlık aşamasında 60-70 kişiyle yapılandırılmamış mülakat; 19 kişiyle derinlemesine görüşme; katılımcı gözlem, belge ve sosyal medya analizi yöntemleriyle toplanmıştır. Bahadın vakasındaki ampirik bulgulara dayanarak, döviz gönderileri farklı temsilciler tarafından aktarılan, aile gönderileri ve kolektif gönderiler olarak kategorize edilmiştir. İlk gönderi türü, göçmenlerin ailelerine, akrabalarına veya arkadaşlarına para veya mal aktarımıyla gerçekleşmektedir. İkinci tür gönderi, bireylerin, hayırsever motivasyonları ve

Hemşehri Dernekleri aracılığıyla toplumun yararı için kullanılan kolektif gönderi türüdür. Bu temsilciler arasında, Bahadın Hemşehri Dernekleri, bu gönderilerin kurumsallaşmasında ve toplumun gelişim sürecinde en önemli rolü üstlenmektedir. Özetle, araştırma sonuçlarına göre, bu farklı döviz gönderi türlerinin ardındaki amaç, işlev ve motivasyonlar, Bahadın kasabasında çeşitlilik göstermesine rağmen, hepsinin toplumun gelişiminde önemli roller üstlendiği ve Bahadın kasabasını Orta Anadolu'da ulus-ötesi bir merkeze dönüştürdüğü açıkça görülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ulus-ötesilik, Ulus-ötesi Toplumsal Mekan, İşçi Döviz, Hemşehri Dernekleri, Bahadın Kasabası

To My Family & Friends

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-------|--|
| AKP | Justice and Development Party |
| CEPAL | Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Latin America) |
| CHP | Republican People's Party |
| CLO | Community Liaison Officer |
| DSP | Democratic Left Party |
| EBRD | European Bank for Reconstruction and Development |
| EIB | European Investment Bank |
| EU | European Union |
| HTA | Hometown Association |
| HTİB | Hollanda Türkiyeli İşçiler Birliği (The Netherlands Turkish Workers Union) |
| İİBK | İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu (The Employment Agency) |
| IFC | International Finance Corporation |
| IFI | Industrial Fasteners Institute |
| MHP | Nationalist Movement Party |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |
| SEGE | Sosyo Ekonomik Gelişmişlik Endeksi (Socio-economic Development Index) |
| TANAP | Trans Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline Project |
| TİP | Türkiye İşçi Partisi (Turkey's Worker Party) |
| TUIK | Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (Turkish Statistical Institute) |

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In August 2015, Bahadın – a small town in Central Anatolia – was introduced to me when a coworker brought me a bottle of local wine. In other words, she brought me the wine, as a gift, which was produced locally by the Bahadın women who were supported by the European Union grant program within the “Fertile Soils and Working Women Project. The Project aroused my interest in Bahadın and as I started chatting with the woman, she invited me to the 19th Bahadın Culture Festival, which would take place between August 1st and 2nd. As the construction site I worked at was only 20 minutes away from Bahadın, a group of friends and I decided to visit Bahadın which is located between Bağırçan Creek and Çomak Mountain and not quite visible from the main road. The city welcomed its visitors with the following saying: *Direnmek Yaşama Biçimimizdir* (Resisting is Our Way of Life).



Figure 1 A Banner Placed Entrance of the Town

While waiting for the performance of the play ‘Violence against Women’ in the amphitheater, it was interesting to notice that the audience was not constituted by typical villagers as they were dressed differently from the other locals around Yozgat. That is, instead of simple clothes and fewer accessories, this particular audience wore stylish brand clothes as well as exhibited tattoos on their bodies. Furthermore, they communicated in various other languages such as German and Dutch, for instance.

Another interesting fact that drew my attention was that when sightseeing and visiting the main attractions of the town, policemen were nowhere to be seen. A distinguishing feature when compared to other towns and villages between Sivas and Kırıkkale, places I had worked previously. Moreover, Bahadın had its roads asphalted, houses with shutters, buildings under construction, carefully paved sidewalks, a multi-purpose high school and even a street stand library next to the clock tower in the main square with the slogan: *Al Götür, Oku Getir* (Take it, Read it and Bring it) and book and toy boxes which offered not only books but also toys for its inhabitants.



Figure 2 A Street Library, Toy and Book Boxes

Different activities were taking place at the same time on that first day; some people were listening to the concert in the festival area, others were playing saz and singing folk songs while some other ones were having their drinks in Dely Pub. Surprisingly, even portraits of the Gezi Protests “martyrs” were displaced on the walls by the roads.



Figure 3 The Portraits of the Gezi Protests “Martyrs”

A little further ahead, there were a Cem House and a Mosque side by side. Then, I entered a restaurant named *Son Çare* (the Last Remedy), and I met the restaurant owner who is a returnee. And, that night I left that beautiful town.

The second day of the festival, I went back to town to watch the people who supported the campaigns organized by Bahadın Culture Association. Then, I attended a panel themed “Freedom, Equality, Justice” at Yusuf Ziya Bahadın Culture House. After attending the Zeynel Kaplan Sports Complex Groundbreaking Ceremony and Bahadın Elderly Care House Groundbreaking Ceremony, I was invited to Cem Ceremony which was organized by Bahadın Culture Association in the evening and watched the Semah Performance. I went back to the construction site afterwards.

The next time I went into town, I was introduced to the fact that “this festival was never going to end”. However, what was the difference of this town from other villages and other towns? How could people from all over the world be able to be so organized? Why was a returnee’s restaurant name *Son Çare* (the Last Remedy)? How could this small-town turn into a full cultural festival site? How did everyone seem to speak the same language, even though many different languages were

spoken at this time? Who were these *Bahadın Sevdalıları* (the Bahadın Lovers)? How were these investment campaigns organized? Although “they abandoned Bahadın, why didn't Bahadın abandon their dreams?” What lies at the root for these questions is transnational migration.

“Migration has never been one-way process of assimilation into a melted pot or a multicultural salad bowl but one in which migrants, to varying degrees, are simultaneously embedded in the multiple sites and layers of the transnational social field which they live. More and more aspects of social life take place across borders” (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007, p.130). New migration trends lead to paradigm shifting for scholars in last two decades and pave the way for necessity of ‘re-conceptualized’ and ‘re-thought’ the migration in order to understand ‘unbounded’, cross border activities of migrants (Glick Schiller, 1992; Faist, 2000a,b; Guarnizo, 1997; Itzigsohn, 1999; Mahler, 1998; Portes, 1999; Levitt, 2001).

As it can be seen on the anecdote stated above, the profile of Bahadın town shows that the impacts of transnational migration spread all over the public spaces and embed in whole social interactions within town. Therefore, this thesis will try to analyze how these cross-border interactions are sustained within this context and how a small town located at a remote corner of Central Anatolia turns into a hub for transnational social interactions. By adopting the transnational methodology, the Bahadın case will be studied by taking into consideration the economic, social, cultural and political elements of social life, which are transformed through cross-border interactions. Within this context, I will focus on remittance practices accompanied by individuals and collective organizations that directly affect community development, which are one of the most apparent cross border interactions of migrants with the households and the community.

1.1. Research Design and Methodology

1.1.1. Case Selection

In this thesis, I am going to analyze a small town, which is located in the Central Anatolia. The name of the village is Bahadın, which in Yozgat province that is one of the 81 provinces in Turkey. The reason why I chose this small town to study is to link my academic concern with my job. How I encountered Bahadın was a

completely coincidence. When I was a second-year graduate student in the Department of Sociology at METU, I started to work as a Community Liaison Officer in a transnational project, which was centered in Yozgat. The name of the Project is Trans Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline Project (TANAP Project).

As a part of Southern Gas Corridor, with the governmental agreements made between Turkey and Azerbaijan, TANAP Project aims to transfer the natural gas from Shahdeniz and Caspian Sea to Europe. This Project in Turkey starts in the Georgian border district of Ardahan Posof and ends in the Greece border district of Edirne İpsala. It is one of the biggest and most prestigious pipeline projects in Turkey, which is called “Silk Road of Energy”. The length of the pipeline is 1850 km in Turkey, 878 km from the west of Turkey (Edirne-İpsala) to Southern Italy and 772 km from Caspian Sea to the West of Turkey. The Trans-Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline initially carries natural gas of 16 billion cubic meters on an annual basis, which corresponds to the annual consumption of Tbilisi, Ankara, Athens, Tirana and Rome. Six billion cubic meters are used in Turkey while the remaining ten billion cubic meters are transmitted to Europe. The transmission capacity of the pipeline is capable to increase up to 24 billion cubic meters, and then to 31 billion cubic meters upon realization of additional investments (TANAP Web, 2018).



Figure 4 TANAP Project Route Map

According to TANAP Corporate Policies, Host Government Agreement; Turkey's Legal and Regulatory Requirements; creditors such as the World Bank and some international institutions like IFC, EBRD, IFI, EIB necessities; environment,

health, safety, and community are the most important priorities of the Project. Therefore, it has Social, Environment, Health, and Safety Departments.

As a sociologist, I worked in the Community Relations Department as a Community Liaison Officer (CLO) for 3 years in this Project. My job description was basically to carry out community relations activities in villages in order to establish reliable, transparent and uninterrupted relationships with the 3rd parties who were impacted by the project as a bridge between the project and the affected communities. Beside this, I was responsible for managing grievance mechanism by taking accurate and timely action on any complaints that were arisen by the Project and construction activities. In that sense, I was responsible for 4 cities: Sivas, Yozgat, Kırşehir, Kırıkkale, 9 districts and 90 villages which were within the scope of the TANAP Project. Due to my job description, I was always at field and keeping in touch with approximately 16.000 community members.

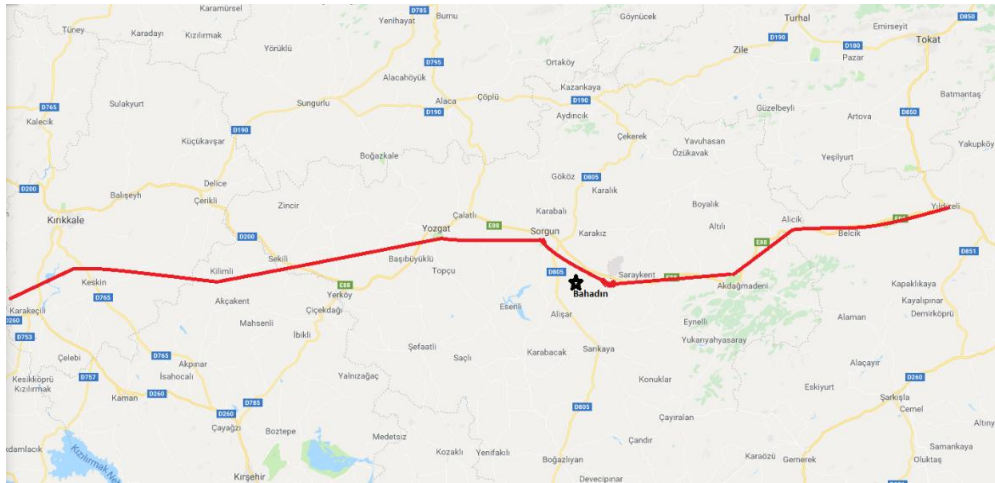


Figure 5 The Field between Sivas and Kırıkkale Provinces that I was Responsible for Therefore, my connection of the field is not only due to being a graduate sociology student, but also because of my job requirements by using social science reflexes.

Throughout those 3 years, from the last village of Sivas and last village of Kırıkkale, I spent lots of time in the villages for work. As a community liaison officer, I set lots of preconstruction village meetings, land entry meetings, consultation meetings as well as land exit meetings. Furthermore, apart from the meetings, in order to solve complaints about the Project, I always had to be in the villages and the construction site. Thus, I had quite strong interaction with the local people.

At first, I was not clear about my thesis subject; however, by performing my CLO duties in the region, I came to realize that internal and external migration waves were very influential to shape social and economic structure of this region. This fact was clear not only with the people's narratives but also with the items that people used in their houses like German coffee machine, the Netherlands Market nylon bag, a vehicle with foreign license plates, foreign sponsorships adds. However, the traces of the migration were much more powerful in Bahadın. It was clear that this small but peculiar town, which is different than one would expect to have in this part of Anatolia was exceptionally touched by migration in every sense, which helped me determine the thesis subject and research field for my master thesis.



Figure 6 An Example of Remittance on Public Space

There are some legitimate reasons why the Bahadın case was chosen as my research field. The first reason for choosing Bahadın as the main focus was the clear reflection of the impacts of the transnational migration on societal level. The item brands in the people houses, the structure of the houses, people's way of expressing themselves as well as their way of using the language and, last but not least, the fact that billboards were written in foreign language. The second reason, Bahadın was very close to where I stayed. I was living in the construction camp and it had some living standards. It was constructed on the Bozok highland and covered by the fences. There were two gates for the security officers to control all the entrances. The entrance of private vehicles was forbidden. 600 people were gathered into the construction camp and the whole life was organized over the work. The only choice

to go out was using the project vehicles, which were tracked by the vehicle tracking system. Bahadın was one of the places that could be reached by the project vehicles at the free times and it was the only place where all project employers could socialize in their free time. Therefore, the proximity of the village opened doors for interaction and entertainment away from the construction site.

It was also the only place for socialization due to its socio-cultural peculiarity. As a woman, it was not easy to enter community in Yozgat but not in Bahadın. Bahadın is an Alevi town. In other words, the importance of woman in the principles of Alevi sect and in social life is different from the Sunni principle as within Alevi culture, there is no gender segregation as a woman or man but they are all considered humans. It was easily seen in the daily life practices in Bahadın town. The influence and existence of women in the public space, in productivity and in business life made my research and job on Bahadın as a woman easier.



Figure 7 “There is no gender segregation as woman or man; we have human”

Another reason that I chose Bahadın was having a close native friend in that small town. She was one of the first local female employees of the TANAP project. Contrary to Bahadın, having no female employees around the region also raised my curiosity about Bahadın. Being a woman in a construction site consolidated my sharing and relationship with her. She opened doors for me into the community and by using her network I had the opportunity to have interviews with many people in town.

Therefore, because Bahadın is socially and physically accessible to me as a researcher and because of this strong relationship I decided to conduct ethnographic field research which adopted qualitative analysis about daily lives of the particular community for an extended period of time. In order to gain different types of information about the community, I was a participant observer in the field as a researcher, as a guest and as a community liaison officer. This straightforward access to the community was very helpful for me to talk with people; therefore, I was able to develop in-depth understanding of ‘transnational social space’.

This fieldwork was done between 2015 and 2018 through the TANAP Project and was conducted to contribute to the following topics: Social, Cultural and Economic effects of migration on a rural area; and Interpretation of these effects from transnational perspective.

During this research, sociological, geographical and physical structure of the region was discussed and its migration process was evaluated within the context. The reasons for choosing this town for research are:

- The high rate of external and internal migration in the region: After 1950s, through urbanization process, migration from rural to urban was accelerated because of pull factors of urban and push factors of rural. After the worker agreement between Germany and Turkey, international migration to Europe increased in Turkey. In that sense, Yozgat is one of the migrant-sending cities where internal and international migration flow is intense.
- Yozgat is an undeveloped region according to the criteria determined by the State Planning Organization: According to the Socio-Economic Development Ranking of the Provinces report, published in 2003, Yozgat is number 64 on the general development ranking of Turkey (81 provinces in general) and considered as the 15th least developed provinces in Turkey. The main indicators that determine the level of development are literacy rates, schooling rates, employment levels, lack of transportation and infrastructure, technological developments and demographic structure.
- The fact that the town of Bahadın immigrated to various European countries: Especially Germany and the Netherlands; France, Belgium and Switzerland are the

countries where Bahadın population are concentrated after international migration from Turkey to Europe.

- The fact that Bahadın Town is more developed than other migrant villages or towns in the region: the development of Bahadın is mainly related with impacts of remittances of the migrants. Different types of remittances contribute to various aspects of development in Bahadın town.

In this context, what makes Bahadın attractive in the eyes of the researcher is the uniqueness of Bahadın in the context of Yozgat and its development level compared to other emigrating districts or villages. Therefore, the central focus will be to explore the dynamics that make this difference and justify the level of development. The concept of development, which is a variable of the research should be explained.

According to Socio-Economic Development Index (SEGE) 2011 report published by Turkish Republic of Ministry of Development; development is a comprehensive concept which expresses economic, social and cultural progress of a country, institutional capacity, increasing the quality of human resources, developing environmental sensitivity and rise of individual welfare. It is a multi-dimensional phenomenon which includes economic growth, income distribution and social variables such as education level, health services, nutrition level, communication level and the status of women. By taking the reference of these criteria, Bahadın town can be shown as a developed society which will be legitimized in next chapters.

Migrants here are defined as the people who migrated from Bahadın to Ankara in the first phase of migration after 1950s, afterwards migrating to European countries, mostly Germany and the Netherlands after 1960s. They are the first generations who left their homeland in order to buy a tractor and return to their homeland but ended up staying with their children and grand-daughters. Household here is defined as families of migrants who stayed in Bahadın. Remittance is defined as the transfer of mostly money, goods, ideas, beliefs and investments by migrants to household or community.

1.1.2. Research Questions

Taking into consideration remittance discussion on literature, there are different types of remittances that are transferred into household and community by the

immigrant members. According to their types, usages and functions, the effects of remittances show differences. In that sense, the issue of remittances of migrants is an important indicator of transnationalism. This research was conducted to better explain how a small town located at a remote corner of Central Anatolia turns into a hub for transnational interactions. Therefore, by adopting transnational approach, this thesis focuses on the ways of migrant remittance practices, effects on the different types of remittance practices on household and community level. In that sense, the first research question is how does a small town located at a remote corner of Central Anatolia turn into a transnational hub with different types of remittance practices?

Regarding effects of remittance, transferring of remittance to town becomes more of an issue for community development. In that sense, the second research question of this thesis is how do these different types of remittances affect community development?

When “why some communities benefit substantially from remittance while others do not” (Paul & Gammage, 2004, p.7) is considered the discussion begins to focus on the existence of Hometown Associations (HTAs). Here, HTAs are seen as professional agents, which manage remittance mechanism of migrants considering the impacts of remittances in community level. Therefore, the third research question of this thesis is how do HTAs pave the way for institutionalization of the remittances of transnational migrants?

1.1.3. Flow of Research

The first access to town occurred through attending 19. Bahadın Cultural Festival in 2015 as a guest. By using a contact person Fatma (non-migrant, 31, Bahadın), liaison between non-migrants and migrants from different cities started. Being an ‘only place where social life could happen’ apart from working hours intensified my contact with Bahadın as a researcher. Moreover, within the scope of my job requirements, community relations were consolidated through site visits and village meetings. As a result of these intense relations, pre-liminary data was collected through unstructured interview with the Bahadın community. According to pre-liminary data, positive correlation between transnational migration and development of town was identified in Bahadın context.

In a subsequent period of the research, in order to better understand the difference between Bahadın from other sending villages, which experience international migration, the dynamics that lead to institutionalized development in small town were analyzed. In that sense, data about history of migration, effects of migrant's remittance on micro and macro level, history of *Bahadın Kültür Dernekleri* (Bahadın Culture Associations-HTAs of Bahadın) and roles and activities of HTAs in Bahadın were collected. A further step in this research was the conduction of in-depth interviews with 19 people.

1.1.4. Data Collection

In this thesis, data collection is based on qualitative research which focuses on 'words' about people's lives, stories, experiences, ideas and beliefs instead of mathematical dynamics and statistics which are adopted by quantitative research. Through interviews, document and social media analyses as well as observations, data were collected from Bahadın town.

- **Unstructured Interviews:**

Unstructured interviews were conducted with local people and migrants who came their home country, in order to get pre-liminary data. Site visiting and village meetings due to job requirements and town visiting to socialization as a guest created an environment where simultaneous conversations were carried out. These conversations were about the history of Bahadın, history of migration, first migrants' stories, unique Bahadın culture and existence of HTAs and effects of migration on Bahadın. Questions were not structured and conversations were flexible. The interviews of nearly 60 or 70 people took place in a two-year period. As a result of these unstructured interviews, the main focus of the research was detected and migrant and non-migrant profiles were specified.

- **Participant Observation:**

For ethnographic fieldwork, participant observation is the most common and proper data collection method. It is defined by Marshall and Rossman (1989), as "the systematic description of events, behaviors, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study" (p.79). It is the "process of enabling researchers to learn about the

activities of the people under study in the natural setting through observing and participating in those activities. It provides the context for development of sampling guidelines and interview guides” (Kawulich, 2005).

Therefore, by attending events like festivals, weddings, concerts, theatres, special days celebrations (8 March Women Day, Mother Days etc.), organizing company dinners or birthday celebrations in Bahadın pubs and restaurants made me an active participant observer. Participating in those activities paved the way for understanding natural social settings of town clearly and, as a consequence, learn more about its context. Moreover, participating in most of the town events made me well-known on the societal level, which facilitated the entire process.

- **Document Analysis:**

Bahadın is a society that has thought on its own history and produced many written documents. It has 48 writers, poets, thinker who verbalize the memories, missing and love homeland, most of them are published with Bahadın Culture Associations’ contributions. In that sense, the reflections of these writers, poets and thinkers are important tools to analyze the contextualization of Bahadın. Therefore, in addition to in-depth, analysis has been made on the documents as stated below:

- The Publications of HTAs of Bahadın
- The Publications of Bahadın Aging Foundation
- Book and Novel Collection of Yusuf Ziya Bahadınlı
- *Her Yönüyle Bahadın* - Arif Baş
- *Bahadınlı Şairler ve Yazarlar* - Haydar Eroğlu
- Newspaper articles about Bahadın
- State Planning Organization Reports
- World Bank’s latest Migration and Development Brief
- TUIK (Turkish Statistical Institute) Reports
- Public Speeches of Mayor and the Members of HTAs of Bahadın
- *Bir Ömür Bin Yıl* Documentary

- **Social Media Analysis:**

Through globalization process, digital media are playing an increasingly significant role in facilitating cross border relations of migrants. Especially, social media can be considered as a tool for maintaining transnational networks of migrants. In Bahadın's case, in recent years, Facebook became a junction for Bahadın people where any news about Bahadın, social and cultural activities of Bahadın Culture Associations, project and investment campaigns, individual campaigns had been published by Bahadın Culture Associations. By being member of these different Facebook groups, it was possible to reach data about transnational activities of groups.

- **In-depth Interview:**

In-depth interviewing is "a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation" (Boyce,2006, p.3). In-depth interview was used in this research for data collection in order to analyze remitting practices of transnational migrants, their effects on community level and household level, and the role of HTAs on remittance management process in regards to transnational approach. Interviews were conducted in Bahadın town between January 2017 and February 2018. In this period, 19 interviews were conducted which were carried out on a voluntary basis.

I divided my interviews into three categories:

- Interviewing with non-migrants who have stayed in Bahadın town
- Interviewing with migrants those are members of Bahadın Culture Associations
- Interviewing members of institutions, like academy, municipality, and a NGO.

Table 1 The Categorization of Interviewee Type

| No | Status | Gender | Home Country | Host Country | Membership of HTAs |
|----|--------------------------------------|--------|----------------|--------------------------|--|
| 1 | Migrant | Male | Bahadın-Yozgat | Den Haag-The Netherlands | Bahadın Culture Association-Den Haag |
| 2 | Migrant | Female | Bahadın-Yozgat | Den Haag-The Netherlands | Bahadın Culture Association-Den Haag |
| 3 | Migrant | Male | Bahadın-Yozgat | Den Haag-The Netherlands | Bahadın Culture Association-Den Haag |
| 4 | Migrant | Female | Bahadın-Yozgat | Den Haag-The Netherlands | Bahadın Culture Association-Den Haag |
| 5 | Migrant | Male | Bahadın-Yozgat | Mainz-Germany | Bahadın Culture Association-Mainz |
| 6 | Migrant | Male | Bahadın-Yozgat | Mainz-Germany | Bahadın Culture Association-Mainz |
| 7 | Migrant | Male | Bahadın-Yozgat | Berlin-Germany | Bahadın Culture Association-Berlin |
| 8 | Returnee | Male | Bahadın-Yozgat | Cologne-Berlin-Germany | Bahadın Culture Association-Berlin (Non-Active) |
| 9 | Non-Migrant | Male | Bahadın-Yozgat | - | Collaborators with four HTAs (Ankara, Den Haag, Mainz, Berlin) |
| 10 | Non-Migrant | Female | Bahadın-Yozgat | - | |
| 11 | Non-Migrant | Male | Bahadın-Yozgat | - | |
| 12 | Non-Migrant | Female | Bahadın-Yozgat | - | |
| 13 | Non-Migrant | Male | Bahadın-Yozgat | - | |
| 14 | Non-Migrant | Male | Bahadın-Yozgat | - | |
| 15 | Non-Migrant | Male | Bahadın-Yozgat | - | |
| 16 | Non-Migrant | Male | Bahadın-Yozgat | - | |
| 17 | Former Mayor of Bahadın Municipality | Male | Bahadın-Yozgat | - | Collaborator with four HTAs (Ankara, Den Haag, Mainz, Berlin) |
| 18 | Academician | Male | Bahadın-Yozgat | Den Haag-The Netherlands | Bahadın Culture Association-Den Haag Founder of 'Aging in Bahadın' Foundation |
| 19 | Member of a NGO about Elderly | Male | Ankara | - | Member of 'Aging in Bahadın' Foundation |

Questionnaire sets were prepared according to this division. By dividing my sampling into three categories, my strategy was to analyze impacts of remittance on development and roles of HTAs in remittance management process. First of all, I interviewed 8 non-migrants who are living in Bahadın town in order to understand how they perceived migration process and interpret impacts of remittance practices, and the dynamics behind peculiarities of Bahadın from other settlements around Bahadın. Those 8 non-migrants have close relations with migrants and receive remittances. The questionnaire for those who stayed had 15 open-ended questions. Secondly, I conducted 8 interviews with migrants who were also members of Bahadın Culture Associations in relevant cities (Mainz, Berlin, Lahey) and responsible for association administration. 2 of them are from Mainz, 4 of them are from Den Haag (Lahey) and 2 of them were from Berlin. The questionnaire for those migrants had 19 open-ended questions in order to learn about the history of Hometowns Associations, reasons to become member to those associations, motivations about remittance practices, amounts of remittance and dynamics behind discreteness of Bahadın from other settlements around. Interviews were conducted in Bahadın when migrants came back town for any reasons such as festival, visiting household, maintaining agricultural activities.

The last category of my sampling is 3 people from significant institutions within Bahadın setting. The first one was the former Mayor of Bahadın Municipality. The second one was from an NGO, which is working about elderly and has technical supportive role on Bahadın Elderly Project. The final interviewee was an academician who was studying the issue of Elderly. Here, the questionnaires also show adjustments according to institutions. The interview with the mayor was the most comprehensive one with 27 open-ended questions, which were prepared to better comprehend the general Bahadın migration history, history of emerging Bahadın Municipality and relationships with Bahadın Culture Associations, numeric data about migrants who are living abroad, the importance of Bahadın Culture Associations, projects and investments in Bahadın and so on. Other interviewees were asked about the project ‘Aging in Bahadın’ that will be considered in terms of remittance discussions in the theory and analysis chapters. This category is

constituted in order to understand how the close relationship between other institutions may affect the performance of HTAs.

Finally, the age and generations dynamics were not considered. However, little attention to gender differences was paid in order to understand men and women migration experiences differently.

1.2. Ethical Considerations

Within the scope of this field study, ethical considerations were taken into account at a higher level. Participation in this research was on a voluntary basis. Those who participated stated their pleasure to be involved with such work and they were satisfied when they were talking about Bahadın. They were asked to schedule time of interview and interviews were conducted in public sphere, participant's houses, pubs and restaurants. During the interviews, voice recording was used by taking permission from participants. Furthermore, to publish their statements in thesis, necessary permissions were taken.

1.3. Limitations of the Research

The main purpose of this research is to contribute for transnational migration literature with a rural case study in Turkey. In that sense, Bahadın town was chosen because of its transnational characters. In that sense, different agents who sent remittances for Bahadın were analyzed and there was an attempt to better perceive the role of HTAs of Bahadın in order to understand remittance management, which has considerable effects on community development. However, in terms of analyzing these associations, some limitations have occurred.

Although the interviewed migrants were members of associations and active in association management during pre-liminary interviews and within in-depth interviews, existing data might not have led to a broad analysis of data.

In this context, visiting the HTAs in their own localities and analyzing the differences of the 4 associations in the context of remittance management could have led to a better study for contextual analysis. However, visiting immigrant members of the community in their place of residences in Germany and the Netherlands.

Within three years, the project and investment institutionalized through HTAs were followed by the researcher. However, following sustainability of the project and roles

of HTAs in monitoring could not be finalized because of the ending of TANAP Project and the necessity of leaving Yozgat for another job.

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of 5 chapters. As an introduction chapter, the First Chapter mainly specifies how transnationality is embedded in a town through migration. In order to frame the story of research, the portrait of the researcher is drawn in the First Chapter in order to understand motivations behind the determination of case. Furthermore, it proceeds with research design, which elaborates research methods that were used for collecting and analyzing the data with transnational methodology.

The Second Chapter is structured as a theoretical chapter. Through transnational methodology, definition of remittance, the importance of remittance in historical process, the frameworks about the issue of remittance in literature and the place and the role of HTAs within these frameworks are elaborated.

The Third Chapter is designed as an informative chapter of migration process of Turkey. The analysis of migration process in Turkey is divided as internal migration after 1950s and international migration from Turkey to Europe. Then, it proceeds with the contextual analysis of Yozgat and Bahadın in terms of social, economic, demographic, cultural, religious and political dimensions. After doing this contextual analysis, history of migration of Bahadın is elaborated and perception of migration for Bahadın community is described.

According to theoretical and methodological framework, the Fourth Chapter proceeds with analysis of field study. As a result of the research, the ways of migrant remittance practices, effects on the different types of remittance practices on household and community level and the roles of HTAs on institutionalization of the remittance of transnational migrants are analyzed within the scope of Bahadın.

The conclusion chapter underlines main findings of the thesis and answers the research questions. It recaps how a small town turns into a transnational hub through remittance practices. Moreover, it specifies the effects of different types of remittances on community development, which proves the uniqueness and marginalization of Bahadın within the Yozgat context and analyzes the extensive roles of HTAs on institutionalization of the remittance in Bahadın.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter introduces the theoretical framework of the study in order to conceptualize the empirical findings of this research. In that sense, firstly, it analyzes the issue of remittance considering its different practices within the transnational migration discourse in global context. Secondly, it explores the role of Hometown Associations on remittance management and link between the Hometown Associations and community development in the global context. Lastly, this chapter tries to understand these conceptual tools within the Turkish context although the issue of remittance and its effects on Turkish society have been relatively under concern in Turkish literature (Çağlar, 2006, İçduygu, 2005a).

2.1. Migration and Remittance in Global Context

According to the World Bank's latest Migration and Development Brief, remittances to low and middle-income countries reached a record high in 2018. The bank states that official annual remittance flow to low-middle income countries has reached \$529 billion in 2018, with an increase of 9.6 percent over the previous record high of \$483 billion in 2017. On the other hand, global remittances, which include flows to high-income countries, reached \$689 billion in 2018, up from \$633 billion in 2017. According to the World Bank's brief, in 2019 remittance flows to low- and middle-income countries are expected to reach \$550 billion; as a result, to become their largest source of external financing. This statistic shows that within globalization process, remittance is an important financial resource for the non-developed societies. As a result of this trend, the issue of remittance has started to be primary focus for the migration researchers and remittance practices have been studied by different scholars within migration discourse. However, definitions of migration and remittance practices have changed in the last decades. As Glick Schiller suggested

“contemporary immigrants cannot be characterized as the uprooted” (1995, p.48) who have no relationships between their origins or homeland; or” acculturated”, “assimilated” or “integrated” in their new settlements. Instead, “Transnational migration is the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Glick Schiller, 1995, p.48). In this ongoing process, migrant practices can be analyzed within the scope of this new approach. In other words, practice of remitting is the perfect indicator of transnationalism and it is a clear proof that migrants and non-migrant ties are rather strong.

As far as the concept of remittance is concerned, there are different forms of remittances, which different scholars have been focusing on. One of them is social remittance; “are the ideas, behaviors, identities and social capital that flow from host to sending country communities”. Through this remitting practice of the migrants, the daily lives of the stay behind, understanding of democracy and gender relations are transforming (Levitt, 2001, p.55). In rural contexts, the impact of the social remittance is wider and more influential. It also depends on how much migrants interact with the people left behind (Portes and Zhou, 1993). This interaction can be clearly seen by visiting the home country or through letters or technological devices. Another form of remittance explained by Nichols (2002) is the transmission of knowledge, skills, and technology, which are carried by returned migrants called as technical or technological remittance. Political Remittance, in contrast changes on the political views, identities and practices with migration (Goldring, 2004, p.805).

On the other hand, economic remittance or financial remittance is the largest scope within the remittance discussion. It refers simply to the money or economic capital that migrants earn in the host countries and send back to their home countries. However, regarding the economic remittance and their respective functions, literature offers different types of economic remittance categories. For example, Jorge Durand (1988) explained the migrant-dollars according to their purpose of usage. The first one is called the family money or cash remittance, which is sent for supporting close relatives. The second one is related to the savings invested in houses or business. The third one is durable goods or products that a migrant brings back when they return to their homeland.

Additionally, it is also known that the well-established literature about remittance is mainly based on the analysis of two categories: individual-familial remittance and collective remittance. Individual-familial remittance is the category in which the migrant sends money or goods to their family and relatives and they are used for the primary needs of the families such as food, clothing, education and health expenditure and debt payment, for instance. It is basically used for the purpose of consumption (Bonciani, 2018). The transfer mechanism of individual-familial remittances may be realized either via official or non-official ways. The transferring of individual-familial remittances can be performed by migrants themselves when they bring money or goods to their household. Or, they may use relatives or friends as intermediaries to bring “migra-dollars” (Durand ve William, 1996) or remittances to their home country. Moreover, money transfer institutions such as central banks and private sectors are the official ways of this transfer mechanism. However, due to the high bank fees, migrants generally use non-official transfer mechanism via intermediaries who bring money to migrant’s family in order to be exempt from such fees. For this reason, it is not easy to detect the official amount of money that is sent by the migrants.

On the one hand, collective remittance is relatively a new discourse compared to individual-familial remittance. It is used for the investment in the home countries in social and productive projects (Bonciani, 2018). Its impacts are on macro level and it can transform the country of origin in terms of societal level. In terms of functions and amount of the remittance, it has important contributions local development (Durand and Willam, 1996; Goldring, 2004; Waller Meyers, 2002). These investments can be classified as infrastructural projects such as roads, houses, bridges, drainage channel, water channel, potable water, wells; public service infrastructure projects about education and health such as ambulance, community clinics, fire service, bus, etc.; social and cultural projects such as festivals, organizations, and other community projects such as, sport center, amphitheater, museums, religious institutions, etc. These investments are used for the benefit of the community and increase the local development as a primary resource of external financing. Community social networks play an important role as far as the transfer mechanism of collective remittances are concerned. For example, HTAs, migrant

organizations, local, state and federal governments and private sectors are the main mechanisms that channel the collective remittance to home countries in order to increase the level of development (Goldring, 2004, p.813). As a result, it can be said that both individual-familial remittances and collective remittances, which are organized by the migrants show a sense of belonging for the migrant and their origin.

In terms of the link between remittance and its development, there are two main perspectives in literature both as 'pessimistic' and 'optimistic'. The pessimistic analysis claims that individual-familial remittance has low scale contribution on local development and because it is widely spent on consumption and very little to productive projects (Delgado Wise, 2001). It meets immediate needs of the individual or family rather than long term needs of the community (Durand & William, 1996). Whereas in the optimistic analysis, individual remittances play a crucial role in local development and its impacts on household and community can be wider. It has a multiplier effect on community development through migrant savings (Paul & Gammage, 2004) and "on income, employment, and production in migrant sending country" (Taylor, 1999). Likewise, investment on healthcare and education increases human capital and knowledge leading consequently to social mobility (Waller Meyers, 2002, p.66). As aforementioned, the types of remittances and their impacts on household and community level have been overworked by different scholars. However, in this context, some questions have appeared within the literature: Why do some communities get benefit from remittance, why some communities do not? How do these remittances become institutionalized? What makes the link between community development and remittance sustainable?

2.2. HTAs and Management of Remittance Practices

Despite the wide literature on individual/familial remittance and economic development, literature has focused on the formation of Hometown Associations (HTAs) as the new transnational agent which should be deeply explored. In order to better understand HTAs, the historical context of the HTAs; the motivations of the migrants; impacts of the HTAs on community development and roles on transition and management of remittance practices must be investigated.

HTAs are organizations which are consisted of migrants who come from the same community. Their activities can be based on social, economic, political or philanthropic (Paul&Gammage, 2004, p.8). They can be formal and informal but generally starts as an informal status and is established through attempts of migrant who are from the same origin. Considering their emergence in the global context, “various studies have showed the existence of mutual aid societies based around a common hometown among Jewish immigrants in New York as early as 1880s” (Somerville, Durana, Terrazas, 2008). Through global migration, the number of HTAs in the world are increasing day by day, but it is not possible to state how many HTAs exist in reality. Research states that most of HTAs take place in United States, Europe and parts of East Asia. According to Orozco and Rouse (2007), “Mexican HTAs numbers are somewhere around 3,000, and Filipino groups may amount to 1,000, whereas there are about 500 Ghanaian organizations”.

The motivation for the emerging of HTAs is related to the sense of belonging to place of origin of the migrants. Those who want to sustain cultural identities; stay connected to people from home country and stick to cultural bonds of home country in the host society which as a consequence needs such an organization. Moreover, “HTAs create a sense of community among recent immigrants with similar backgrounds. And they act as catalysts for new migrants that need advice on employment, housing and other issues” (Bonciani, 2018, p.5). Therefore, all these dynamics can be explained as perfect incentives for the migrants to get involved in HTAs. As a result of these motivations, migrants strengthen transnational ties among themselves and their home country through these solid agents.

Apart from the HTAs’ sociological, psychological and pragmatic roles on migrant in host country, their economic roles are greatly extensive on community and these impacts mostly attract researchers’ attentions. As new actors of community development, HTAs try to increase well-being of the community (Bonciani, 2018; Alarcon, 2002). They focus on evolving relationship between community development and migration. They are important “transnational funding strategies within the collective remittance managements” (Bonciani, 2018). They perform this role by supporting the renovation or construction of infrastructure projects like schools, roads, bridges, parks, health care clinics, religious institutions.

Infrastructural projects are seen as the first remittance categories according to HTAs. Apart from the infrastructural projects, they may also support public service projects of the community. For example, ambulance, fire service, necessary of schools, necessary of religious associations.

Furthermore, in terms of community development, social investment projects within the hometown are other fields that are financially supported by HTAs. These social projects are not only supported financially but also closely sustained on the implementation and monitoring phase. Furthermore, they play an important role in transferring knowledge and skills about business management, organizations and financial practices (Bonciani, 2018, p.4). Through organization of local nights, local entertainment, picnics, concerts, local dinners and membership fee and private donations, HTAs increase their funds in United States (Alarcon, 2002, p.4).

In this investment and implementing process, HTAs interact actively with the state, national government, local government, NGOs, private sectors and businessmen. Especially, within the rural context, they may establish strong relationship with the local government. Sometimes, they take state's place in public works much more than local government. Sometimes, local government requires them to get involved in community development projects. As a result, this situation produces high power position for HTAs in home country.

Furthermore, being a member of HTAs leads to social mobility of the transnational migrants both in country of origin and country of settlement. While non-migrants have no decision role in community development projects, membership of HTAs and money and knowledge providers make members of HTAs more powerful in their hometown context which can then create, maintain and reinforce hierarchical structure (Paul&Gammage, 2004, p.16).

Furthermore, in terms of gender perspective, there are two main approaches in the literature concerning the gender roles in HTAs. While some literature asserts that, HTAs create a medium for the women who want to intervene in decision making mechanism upon social life of the country of origin (CEPAL 1998 report, as cited by Mahler 2000); other literature emphasizes that women's participations remain still

limited in the decision making phase as they are subordinates and only have supportive roles within the HTAs instead of leadership roles (Goldring, 2001).

In collective remittance process, HTAs create reliable ground for the transnational migrants who support infrastructural and social projects. Within the transnational sphere, migrants may need such an institution for remitting practices. Therefore, this reliable relationship makes migrants more enthusiastic to volunteer and to support these community development projects making HTAs more legitimate agents.

In conclusion, there are different types of remittances in existing literature and different typologies affect society in different ways. The ‘Pessimistic’ view takes into account the individual-familial remittance as it has low scale contribution on local development and because it is widely spent on consumption, very little to do with productive projects (Delgado Wise, 2001) and meets immediate needs of the individual or family rather than long-term needs of the community (Durand & William, 1996). On the other hand, it is argued that collective remittance is more beneficial in community development. Still, within the scope of this thesis, the individual and familial remittances will be conceptualized differently and will not be considered through its pessimistic framework due to its effect of being a multiplier on the society. Moreover, HTAs will be considered as important agents, which channel the collective remittance to institutional remittance. They are also effective channel for the migrants who need to connect with the country of origin, in order to sustain cultural identity and keep the homeland sense of belonging.

As above mentioned, extensive literature about the issue of remittances, their usage and functions in community and the roles of HTAs on remittance management and community development are coming from the HTAs in United States, which consist of Latino migrants from Mexico, Miraflores, El Salvador, Caribbean and Colombia. While considering the literature related to Turkish HTAs, remittance and community development, this issue has not been widely studied in Turkey although it is an emigration country (Kayaoglu, 2017). In order to meet the deficit in literature, Bahadın case becomes an important case study that focuses on the role of HTAs of Bahadın in terms of catalyzing the transnational interactions through remittance management. Yet before moving onto the analysis of the Bahadın case, it is

important to review the historical development of HTAs in Turkey within migration discourse.

2.3. Historical Development of HTAs in Turkey

Before going into detailed analysis about the Hometown Associations in Turkish context, it is important to state the Turkish translation of hometown associations that is *hemşehri dernekleri*. The term *hemşehri* refers “somebody who is from the same town; in everyday language it refers, broadly speaking, to roots of origin in the same region, county or village” (Hersant and Toumarkine, 2005). Thus, the *hemşehri* (hometown) associations represent the group of people who are from the same geographic origin and who are coming together for similar reasons.

The emergence of hometown associations in Turkey started around the 1940s through internal migration from rural to urban areas and urbanisation process, and their number rose rapidly during 1990s (Hersant and Toumarkine, 2005). According to the calculation of Kayaoglu (2017) using the data from Ministry of Internal Affairs' Directorate of Associations Statistics, 2016, by the year of 2017, there are 14,541 HTAs in Turkey, 98 of which are established by Turkish-origin immigrants from abroad. The majority of HTAs are based in metropolitan areas such as Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. The reasons for the increase in the number of HTAs in Turkey depend on various sociological, psychological, political and economic factors. The migrants who came to urban cities from rural areas and need for shelter or work showed tendency to find a *hemşehri* in the urban cities. On the basis of such a solidarity, in the first years of internal migration, hometown associations existed unofficially in the *kahvehane* or *kıraathane* (coffee house) in Turkey. The migrants who had poor economic conditions in urban regions and were trying to adapt to urban conditions started to consider these associations as “buffer mechanism” (Kıray,1982). As a result, the number of HTAs in urban settlements started to increase and unofficial units of these associations turned official coming as support units for migrants who wanted to come together with *hemşehris* and socialize in order to preserve cultural values and norms of their own hometowns.

Another explanation for the increased number of HTAs in urban settlements is related to the political context in Turkey. Hersant and Toumarkine (2005) restated the Nari's (1999) assumption as following:

The number of hometown associations grew considerably after 1983 and advances the hypothesis that prior to the coup d'Etat of 12th September 1980, the migrants by and large were present in political parties and trade unions. After this date, the very strong control and restrictions imposed upon political and trade union life would have paved the way for the creation of hometown associations.

However, bearing in mind the literature on Turkish HTAs, it is crystal clear that the most of the data of the studies is mainly focused in the same territorial areas (Kayaoglu, 2017) due to internal migration and urbanization such as Trabzon Hometown Associations in Ankara, Boyalı Hometown Association in Istanbul etc. Moreover, a large amount of Turkish literature about the issue of HTAs centers on the role of HTAs on urban consciousness and sense of urban belonging, the role of HTAs on adaptation or integration process into urban, and the effects of HTAs on local politics.

Having said that, some part of the Turkish literature concentrates on the Turkish HTAs that emerged abroad because of international migration. Most of them tend to address the role of Turkish HTAs on integration issues in host countries, the relations with the other ethnic groups in host countries, and institutionalization process of these associations.

Overall, a large amount of Turkish literature about HTAs has its central point on the associations that take place in the same national territory and mainly address the roles of HTAs on urbanization, urban consciousness, and integration or adaptation issues. Only few of them have been analyzed through transnational methodology although they are one of the strongest agents that catalyze transnationality and sustain cross-border interactions of Turkish migrants. Hence, there is a gap in Turkish literature in terms of analyzing Turkish HTAs through transnational methodology and the roles and actions of HTAs on sustaining transnationality.

Bearing all this in mind as well as to better meet the deficit in literature, I will focus on ways of migrant remittance practices, effects on these different types of remittance practices on household and community level and analyze the roles of

HTAs on institutionalization of the remittances of transnational migrants with the Bahadın case. However, it is not only vital the explanation of migration processes is Turkey but also the analyzes of the contextual and situational issues of the Bahadın case within the transnational migration disourse. Therefore, next chapter will consist of the historical analysis of migration in Turkey and contextualization of Bahadın town by focusing on the socio-economic, political, religious and demographic characteristics and history of migration of Bahadın.

CHAPTER 3

CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Historical Analysis of Migration Processes of Turkey

Migration has affected all societies and states directly or indirectly throughout the human history. It has cultural, economic, social, urban, structural and political impacts on societal level. Therefore, it has always been an essential issue for the social scientist to study it at both national and international levels. The most basic definition of migration is “crossing the boundary of a political or administrative unit for a certain period” (Boyle, 1998; Castles, 2000b). On the other hand, the United Nations Multilingual Demographic Dictionary (United Nations, 1956) defines migration “as a form of geographical mobility or special mobility between one geographical unit and another or a change in residence from the place of origin or the place of departure to the place of destination or place of arrival”. The main focus of this chapter is historical migration processes in Turkey since the foundation of the modern Republic in order to better contextualize migration from a small town in Anatolia and to understand how this community turns into a transnational hub with different types of remittance practices of different agents as well as effects of these different types of remittances on the community.

From a historical perspective, internal migration and international migration from Turkey to Europe are not independent processes form each other; therefore, such processes in Turkey since early 1950s must be concomitantly analyzed. Together with the foundation of Turkish Republic, Turkey has confronted with rapid modernization and industrialization process. Within this modernization and industrialization process, urbanization has appeared as a result of migration movements. First of all, Turkey has witnessed internal migration from rural to urban areas from early 1950s up to mid-1960s. In addition to internal migration, it experienced an international migration period due to macro-economic reasons. In

that sense, since 1960s, Turkey can be considered as migrant-sending country on global scale (İçduygu, Erder and Gençkaya, 2014). Therefore, it is inevitable fact that migration phenomenon is of the essence for Turkish society.

3.1.1. Internal Migration Process in Turkey

Bearing in mind that the Turkish internal migration history as a consequence of the modernization process started in the early 50s, it can be stated that the political and economic initiatives of the Democratic Party Period also began at the same period. After World War II, economic investments made by the developed countries to less developed countries increased and as a result of this investment Turkey's economy has become foreign-dependent. In 1948, after the Economic Cooperation Agreement between the U.S. and Turkey, by using Marshall Plan loans, important investments in agricultural sector were provided and agricultural mechanization process started. One of the key indicators of this rapid mechanization process is the increasing number of tractors in Turkey from 1000 to 40,000 between 1947 and 1955 with loans from the United States (Keyder, 1989). In addition, through investments made on highways, the western 'modernization' process started in Turkey.

The fact that labor in rural parts of the country lost its bonds with villages when it was substituted with machinery, the population increase in the villages, and the necessity of division of the land income of the small landowner after 1950s, forced the villagers to migrate to the cities for alternative job opportunities. This situation led to rapid loss of population in the villages and an intensive migration movement towards the cities. Considering the Urban and Rural population statistics in Turkey in between 1927-2016, it is seen that while the rural population is 75.78 % in 1927, it declines to 7.7 % in 2016 (TUIK, 2016).

Table 2 Rural and Urban Populations in Turkey (1927-2016)

| Year | Total Population | City Population | Rate % | Village Population | Rate% |
|-------------|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| 1927 | 13.648.270 | 3.305.879 | 24,22 | 10.342.391 | 75,78 |
| 1935 | 16.158.018 | 3.802.942 | 23,53 | 12.355.376 | 76,47 |
| 1940 | 17.820.950 | 4.396.249 | 24,39 | 13.474.701 | 75,61 |
| 1945 | 18.790.174 | 4.687.102 | 24,94 | 14.103.072 | 75,06 |
| 1950 | 20.947.188 | 5.244.377 | 25,04 | 15.702.851 | 75,0 |
| 1955 | 24.064.763 | 6.927.343 | 28,79 | 17.137.420 | 71,21 |
| 1960 | 27.754.820 | 8.859.731 | 31,92 | 18.895.089 | 68,08 |
| 1965 | 31.391.421 | 10.805.817 | 34,42 | 20.585.604 | 65,58 |
| 1970 | 35.605.176 | 13.691.101 | 38,45 | 21.914.075 | 61,55 |
| 1975 | 40.347.719 | 16.869.068 | 41,81 | 23.478.651 | 58,19 |
| 1980 | 44.736.957 | 19.645.007 | 43,91 | 25.091.950 | 56,09 |
| 1985 | 50.664.458 | 26.865.757 | 53,03 | 23.798.701 | 46,97 |
| 1990 | 56.473.035 | 33.326.351 | 59,01 | 23.146.684 | 40,99 |
| 2000 | 67.803.927 | 44.006.274 | 64,9 | 23.797.653 | 35,1 |
| 2007 | 70.586.256 | 49.747.859 | 70,5 | 20.838.397 | 29,5 |
| 2008 | 71.517.100 | 53.611.723 | 75,0 | 17.905.377 | 25,0 |
| 2009 | 72.561.312 | 54.807.219 | 75,5 | 17.754.093 | 24,0 |
| 2010 | 73.722.988 | 56.222.356 | 76,3 | 17.500.632 | 23,7 |
| 2011 | 74.274.269 | 57.385.706 | 76,8 | 17.338.563 | 23,2 |
| 2012 | 75.627.384 | 58.443.431 | 77,3 | 17.178.953 | 22,7 |
| 2013 | 76.667.864 | 70.034.413 | 91,3 | 6.633.451 | 8,7 |
| 2014 | 71.286.182 | 71.286.182 | 91,8 | 6.409.722 | 8,2 |
| 2015 | 78.741.053 | 72.523.134 | 92,1 | 6.217.919 | 7,9 |
| 2016 | 79.814.871 | 73.671.748 | 92,3 | 6.143.123 | 7,7 |

Resource: (TUIK, 2016).

These intensive migration waves from rural to urban areas of the country in this period have triggered inevitable changes in cities in terms of socio-spatial and socio-economic aspects. As a result of the urbanization process, squatter development started as a new phenomenon in the cities “Mass of migrations who are living in squatter settlements and who are earning their lives from the informal / secondary

economic sectors have become a predominant part of the urban population” (İçduygu, 2004).

In brief, while on the one hand, along with the modernization process, population growth in rural area, the mechanization process in agriculture and decrease in the economic income of landowners, low productivity in agriculture, lack of investment in rural in the field of industrialization, and unemployment constitute the ‘push’ factors of rural to urban migration. On the other hand, with the industrialization process, employment opportunities in cities and high standard of living, health and education facilities constitute the ‘pull’ factors of rural to urban migration. However, although the effects of modernization and industrialization process on those days were precisely evaluated with E. Lee’s ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors theory (1966) from a structuralist point of view, it was going to be criticized as incapable of explaining the actual and future movements. Therefore, instead of this static and descriptive model, the new migration theories and concepts have emerged in order to redefine the changing migration phenomenon, which will be elaborated below.

3.1.2. International Migration from Turkey to Europe

Considering internal and international migration from Turkey to Europe, the determinants of these two processes cannot be evaluated independently from each other. Surplus labor in rural areas that led to internal migration is claimed to be one of the main factors for international migration from Turkey to Europe. In 1960s, after emerging labor deficit in European countries starts to be supplied by developing countries, surplus labor in Turkey also begins to be sent to European countries. As a result of the historical affinity between the Turkish and European countries, international migration from Turkey to Europe started. Therefore, by focusing on the dynamics, which paved the way for international migration from Turkey to Europe, how surplus labor in Turkey met the European employers and accelerating migration flow after mid-1960s as well as decelerating from the beginning of 1970s will be clarified below. In that sense, international migration from Turkey to Europe will be analyzed in two periods according to internal dynamics of migration movements: 1960-1974 and 1974-2000.

- **1960-1974**

After World War II, Europe, which was exposed to major destruction, did not have enough labor capacity to reconstruct itself. Through intensification of post-war industrialization movements and the development of production, labor migration was the only alternative to increase capacity of labor. While providing high level education and superior qualifications for their labor resources, importing cheap labor from other countries would enable them to perform rapid economic development process. As a result, after the agreement with Italy, Greece and Spain, the Federal Republic of Germany and Turkey entered into an agreement about recruitment of Turkish workers on 30 October 1961 (Abadan-Unat, 1975; Ozbek, 2012; Icduygu; 2014).

At that time, in Turkey, several measures towards economic crisis and rising unemployment had to be taken, which emerged as a result of the unsuccessful implementations of the Democratic Party period. Thus, labor migration appeared as a ‘demographic solution’ to improve worse economic conditions in Turkey (Icduygu, 2014). In the First Five-Year Development Plan, which was prepared by the State Planning Organization (1962-1967), exporting of excessive labor force, migrant remittances, technical and language skills that migrants would gain in Europe were offered as solutions for economic crisis and unemployment in Turkey. In that sense, within the period of 1960-1974, the number of Turkish migrants reached 605 thousand in Germany.

Table 3 The Number of Turkish Citizens in Germany by Years (1960-1974)

| Year | Number of Turkish Citizen |
|-------------|----------------------------------|
| 1960 | 2.700 |
| 1961 | 6.700 |
| 1968-69 | 171.016 |
| 1970-71 | 373.000 |
| 1973-74 | 605.000 |

Resource: (Abadan-Unat, 2006; Perşembe, 2005)

3.1.3. Migration Methods

The international migration flow of *konuk* (guest) occurred through different ways; *bireysel girişimler* (individual initiatives), *özel aracılar* (private intermediaries), *özel temsilciler* (special representatives), and institutions (İçduygu, 2014, p.185). After the agreement signed with Germany on October 31, 1961, applications were received through the German Ministry of Labor, *İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu* (the Employment Agency - İİBK) and *Alman İrtibat Büroları* (the German Liaison Offices). Turkish citizens who wanted to go to Germany to work were registered to the Employment Agencies where they were located and the selected candidates were being referred to the German Liaison Offices for investigation of occupational competence and health checks (Ozbek, 2012). At the same time, through special representatives, which were sent to Turkey by the German companies, labor transfer was completed in benefit of the companies. In addition, the private intermediaries became important resources for the transfer of labor from Turkey to Germany. For example, the Turkish-German Economic Relations Research Institute requested workers to train in welder and electrician schools in Hamburg and Bremen (İçduygu, 2014, p.185). Furthermore, it is also indisputable that many citizens went to Europe through their own individual initiatives after 1950s and before the signing of bilateral agreements from Turkey. The formal labor force export process also had an informal process. The Turks, who went abroad with a tourist passport, continued to work for many years without permission or residence permits.

On the whole, between 1961 – 1974, 2.6 million people in total from Turkey, applied to work in Germany, the number of those recognized was 605 thousand (Perşembe 2005; Abadan-Unat, 2006). During those years, 78.99% of Turkish citizens who went to Europe went to Federal Germany, but this number declined to 60.08 % in 1974 because they might have decided to move to another country. In addition, although their labor contract had finished, they decided to go and stay in another European country instead of returning to Turkey (İçduygu, 2014, p.189).

Table 4 Country Distribution of Workers who are Sent to Foreign Countries (1961-1976)

| Countries | Stock | Rate % |
|-----------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Federal Republic of Germany | 651.998 | 78,99 |
| France | 55.974 | 6,78 |
| Austria | 37.858 | 4,59 |
| The Netherlands | 24.992 | 3,03 |
| Belgium | 15.995 | 1,94 |
| Switzerland | 7.640 | 0,93 |
| Australia | 6.546 | 0,79 |
| Denmark | 3.579 | 0,43 |
| United Kingdom | 2.175 | 0,26 |
| Other | 18.626 | 2,26 |
| Total | 825383 | 100,00 |

Resources: *İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu* (the Employment Agency)

- **1974-2000s**

The economic recession that began in Europe in the early 1970s caused Europe to implement a new immigration policy. Due to the economic crisis triggered by the oil crisis, German Government halted the labor imports in November 1973. After this period, living abroad could be possible only through family reunion and marriage. Since the discouragement of family unification by German government and the abolition of the financial support given to guest workers' children who were living abroad, workers in Germany started to bring families living in Turkey, known as chain migration. Therefore, as guests in Germany, the workers tended to settle permanently and their "guest worker" status turned into "foreign citizen" (Ozbek, 2012, p.17).

Despite Germany's migration prevention policy, the number of Turkish citizens in the country was increasing steadily. While the number of Turks in Europe was 605 thousand in 1972, it reached approximately 2 million in the 1980s and 2.9 million in the mid-1990s (İçduygu, 2014, p.197).

The political development in 1980s in Turkey paved the way for rapid increase of Turkish population in Germany. Along with the September 12 coup d'etat, a great number of political Turkish citizens who wanted to escape from repressive political regime in Turkey and tried to move to Germany with the asylum status. The average annual number of Turkish citizens migrating asylum in European countries was 10,000 in the early 1980s; 50,000 in the late 1980s, 35,000 at the end of the 1990s. On the other hand, at the beginning of the 2000s, it fell to 15,000 and by the end of the 2000s it decreased the level of 10,000 (İçduygu, 2014). Some Turkish citizens have even returned to their countries and some have preserved their returning alternatives.

However, these reductions and returns in the late 1990s did not change the fact that there were still about 2 million Turkish immigrants in Europe. 59,664 Turkish citizens passed to German citizenship in 1998. The increase in the number of Turks passing to German citizenship, the fact that Turks started buy estate in Germany, and the number of Turkish entrepreneurs reaching 47,000 in 1998 in Germany were accepted as an indication that the Turks were permanent in Germany (Ozbek, 2012, p.20).

In this context, by accepting that Germany is an immigration country, German Government has taken steps to develop an integration policy instead of foreign policy for immigrant citizens living in their countries.

Migration movements of Turkey, which started 60 years ago with internal migration and went on as international migration to Europe, have created a macro effect on social existence of both European countries and Turkey. As a result of the economic, political, socio-cultural and demographic effects created by migration, new social identities, new social forms and 'transnational social spaces' have emerged. Additionally, these new social identities, new social forms, and transnational social spaces have been a primary focus for the sociologists, social anthropologists, and political scientists.

After late 1980s, through migration flow from non-European countries to Turkey because of political and economic reasons, Turkey's position in migration system started to be re-conceptualized and discussed by the social scientist. "Through

increasing numbers of asylum seekers from Iran and Iraq, as well as other developing nations; a mass influx of almost half a million mostly Kurdish refugees from Iraq in 1988 and 1991; mass influxes of Albanians, Bosnian Muslims, Pomaks (Bulgarian-speaking Muslims), and Turks in 1989, 1992-1995, and 1999” (Kirişçi, 2003), there has been a radical transformation in the “volume and modes of migration” (Danış, Taraghi, Perouse, 2004) in Turkey.

From 2000s, especially together with the Syrian crisis in 2011, the number of asylum seekers and refugees in Turkey has almost reached the number of Turkish migrants in Europe. Although it is not the topic of this thesis, it is an important fact that Turkey is now not a country of emigration but a country of immigration and asylum (Kirişçi, 2003).

3.2. Migration Theories in Turkish Context and Historical Analysis of Turkish Migrant Remittance

The micro and macro effects of migration on the social level for both societies have been extensively studied by social scientists. Identity problems, integration problems, assimilation problems faced by Turks in Germany have been the focus of classical migration approaches for many years. In this context, Turkish immigrants were considered with negative concepts such as foreign in Germany; *gurbetçi* in Turkey, *iki arada* (straddled), and who are alienated to their own culture, lost ties with the place where they came from and are exposed to racism. Moreover, international migration is commonly perceived as a negative issue or problem or complexity and called with negative connotations (İçduygu, 2009, p.1). However, this approach was insufficient to understand the reality of migration and led to the emergence of a determinist approach over immigrants.

As a critical framework to the determinist approach, the concept of transnational migration emerged, and the phenomenon of migration started to be evaluated in a new methodological and conceptual perspective. At that point, migrants who had been characterized as ‘uprooted’ who had no relationships between their origins or homeland; or ‘acculturated’, ‘assimilated’ or ‘integrated’ in their new settlements; started to be considered as those “who have one foot in the host society, and one foot in the sending country” (Itzigshon and Saucedo, 2002, p.766). “Transnational

migration is the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Glick Schiller, 1995, p.48). These social relations can be formed as economic, political, religious and organizational connections, which create “transnational social spaces” (Faist, 2000a). The term “transnational social space’ is defined by Faist as “combinations of ties, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that reach across the borders of multiple states.” He proposed three types of resources as reciprocity, social exchange and solidarity which “allow individuals to cooperate in networks, groups and organizations” (2000b, p.192). “Sending remittance to home country is a typical example of an act of reciprocity among transnational kinship groups.” (Tharmalingam, 2011, p.167).

Within this transnational social space, remittance practices of Turkish immigrants and effects of these practices on the societal level are essential. In the context of the research question of this thesis, to analyze how remittance practices have been shaped within the Turkish migration history and social, economic and cultural impacts of remittance practices in micro and macro levels are required.

Although there are a great number of studies on Turkish migration, the issue of remittance and its effects on Turkish society has been relatively under concern (Çağlar, 2006, İçduygu, 2005a). Nevertheless, it is an inevitable fact that Turkish migrant remittances have extensive impacts on Turkish national economy and familial upward mobility. Firstly, the capital accumulation of workers in Europe has been an important resource for the Turkish national economy. The foreign currencies which were sent by the migrants as export inflow, played substantial roles in macro level in terms of narrowing the foreign trade deficit of Turkey. “While the export inflow was equal only 2% of export revenues in 1964, it reached 50% of exports revenues in 1970-71 and 90% in 1973” (İçduygu, 2014, p.145). These foreign currencies narrowed the Turkish foreign deficit in proportion of 40.1% in 1968, 76% in 1970 and 153.8% in 1973 (Van Renselaar and Van Zelzen, 1975, p.110).

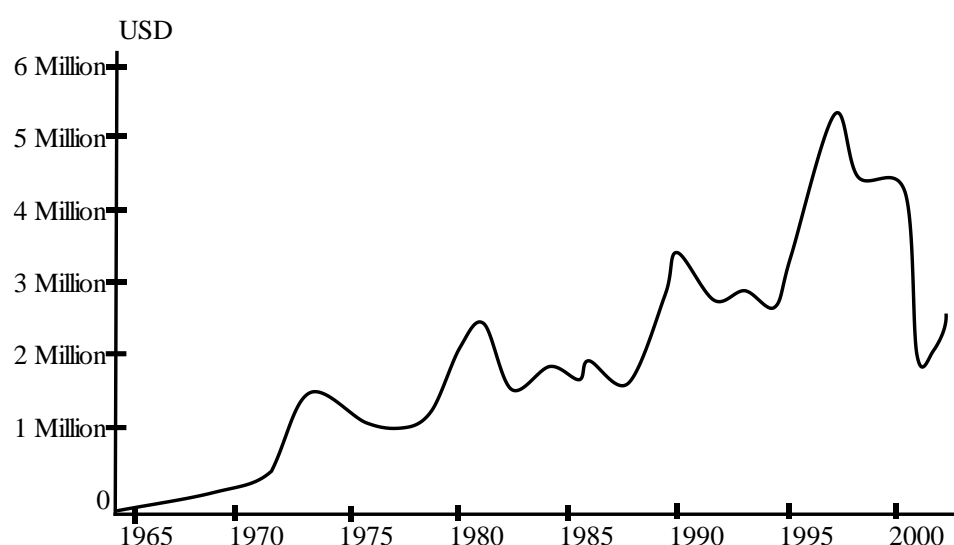
Table 5 Foreign Trade Deficit of Turkey (1968-1974) and Workers' Currencies

| | Million Dollars | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Year | Importation | Exportation | Trade Deficit | Workers' Currency | Compensation Rate % |
| 1968 | 763.7 | 496.4 | 267.3 | 107.3 | 40.1 |
| 1969 | 801.2 | 536.8 | 264.3 | 140.6 | 53.2 |
| 1970 | 947.6 | 588.5 | 359.1 | 273.1 | 76.0 |
| 1971 | 1,170.8 | 676.6 | 494.2 | 471.4 | 95.4 |
| 1972 | 1,562.6 | 885.0 | 677.5 | 740.2 | 109.2 |
| 1973 | 2,086.3 | 1,317.1 | 769.2 | 1,183.3 | 153.8 |
| 1974 | 3,777.6 | 1,532.6 | 2,245.4 | 1,426.2 | 63.5 |

Resource: Turkish Finance Ministry (Van Renselaar and Van Zelzen, 1975, p.110)

In addition to macro level impacts of foreign currencies of migrants; business establishment activities of migrant entrepreneurs in Turkey, the tractor, animal and machine acquisitions for agricultural activities continued in the villages and migrants' expenditures towards purchasing property in Turkey can be considered as economic impacts of migration.

Table 6 Worker's Remittance in Turkey (1964- 2003)



Resources: Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey (Karagöz, 2009, p.1896).

Table 6 shows remittance inflow between 1964 and 2003 in Turkey. Since mid-1960s, remittances have become substantial financial source for the Turkish Economy. In the early times of the international migration from Turkey to Europe, owing to the basic expenditure of the migrants in Europe, the amount of remittance flow stayed low. The dramatic increase appeared between 1970 and 1974 because of the consecutive devaluations of Turkish lira in this period. Later, due to worse economic conditions and oil crisis that emerged in European countries, it started to decrease after 1974. In between 1979 and 1982, an increase can be observed in remittance flow in Turkey as a result of the ‘multiplication of migrant’s destination countries such as Arab countries, liberalization of capital movements and the beginning of Turkish commercial banks’ representative offices abroad” (Karagöz, 2009, p.1897). Until 2000, remittance flow showed variety according to conjunctural development in Turkey, but from the beginning of 2000s, a dramatic decline in remittance flow in Turkey is seen. Karagöz (2009, p.1897) argues that the demographic change in Turkish emigrant’s sociological structure, their entrepreneurial skills in host countries and the idea of 3rd generations about remitting practices might be the economic and sociological reasons of this decline.

Therefore, in macro level, from 1960s, the migrant remittance flow was the substantial financial source for Turkish economy and development of the country. However, owing to economic and sociological reasons, it is hard to be an important source for economic development of Turkey after 2000s. In micro level; Yozgat and Bahadın should be considered as a link between migration, remittance and development.

Apart from the analysis of impacts of migration in macro level, micro level analysis is important to answer the research questions of this thesis. Within the scope of the focus of the thesis, it is important to analyze the city of Yozgat in terms of demographic structure, level of development, urbanization dynamics and how it is influenced by the migration process in Turkey. This sociological analysis is important for the readers in order to make clear connections therefore understanding between peculiarity in Bahadın and the importance of its remittance and development process.

3.3. Migration Dynamics: Yozgat province

Yozgat is a province with 14 districts located in the center of Anatolia and its population is 424,981 according to 2018 TUIK data. 60 % of the population lives in the city and 40 % lives in the villages. It is one of the most affected cities by Turkey's internal and international migration processes. After 1950s, with the urbanization process, internal migration in Yozgat was mostly experienced in big cities like Ankara and Istanbul. As it is seen in Figure 8, the number of inhabitants who register in Yozgat province but live in Ankara is 368.737, and 147.381 in İstanbul. In that sense, Yozgat is seen as a typical emigrant province within the scope of internal migration.



Figure 8 The Distribution of the Citizens Live in The Provinces who Registered in Yozgat Province (TUIK, 2018).

After 1960s, the population of the city decreased rapidly with the migration of workers to Europe. According to TUIK data, there is a significant decrease in birth rates in the city as the majority of the immigrant population is under 40 years old. This shows that Yozgat has been losing its young, dynamic and productive population year by year.

Table 7 Demographic Data in Yozgat Province and Turkey (1960-2007)

| Year | Turkey | Yozgat |
|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1960 | 27.754.820 | 402.400 |
| 1965 | 31.391.421 | 437.883 |
| 1970 | 35.605.176 | 464.410 |
| 1975 | 40.347.719 | 500.371 |
| 1980 | 44.736.957 | 504.433 |
| 1985 | 50.664.458 | 545.301 |
| 1990 | 56.473.035 | 579.150 |
| 1997 | 62.865.574 | 614.259 |
| 2000 | 67.803.927 | 682.919 |
| 2007 | 70.586.256 | 492.127 |
| 2008 | 71.517.100 | 484.206 |
| 2009 | 72.561.312 | 487.365 |

Resource: Yozgat Tourism and Social Infrastructure Sectoral Working Group Report (2011)

The intense migration movements can be evaluated as both the cause and the result of the level of development of Yozgat. Due to limited employment opportunities in the industrial and service sectors, its economy is mainly based on agriculture and animal farming. According to Yozgat Tourism and Social Infrastructure Sectoral Working Group (2011, May), with 56 % urbanization level, Yozgat remains well below Turkey's general urbanization level which is 76 %. In this context, it can be considered as a rural society rather than an urban society.

According to the State Planning Organization in 2003 published by the Socio-Economic Development Ranking of the Provinces report, the rank of Yozgat is 64 on the general development ranking of Turkey (81 provinces in general) and considered the 15th least developed province in Turkey. The main indicators that determine the level of development are literacy rates, schooling rates, employment levels, lack of transportation and infrastructure, technological developments, demographic structure so on. These indicators have great importance in the fact that Yozgat is a migrant-sending city. On the one hand, it is underdeveloped because it is also a migrant-

sending city. As a result, the fact that Yozgat is a less developed city seems to be both the cause and the result of the migration movements.

Table 8 Migration Statistics of Yozgat Province by Years (1975-2009)

| Years | Number of Yozgat City Migrations | Rate of Yozgat City Migration Flow |
|-----------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1975-1980 | -21.905 | -49,18 |
| 1980-1985 | -14.279 | -29,33 |
| 1985-1990 | -34.502 | -64,31 |
| 1995-200 | -26.275 | -41,88 |
| 2007-2008 | -14.765 | -30,04 |
| 2008-2009 | -7.841 | -0,016 |

Resource: Yozgat Tourism and Social Infrastructure Sectoral Working Group Report, (TUIK, 2011)

In the light of these factual data, the effects of migration generally create a negative context for Yozgat. It is regarded as non-developed, non-urbanized, conservative and unsuccessful to keep dynamic, young and productive population within the city.

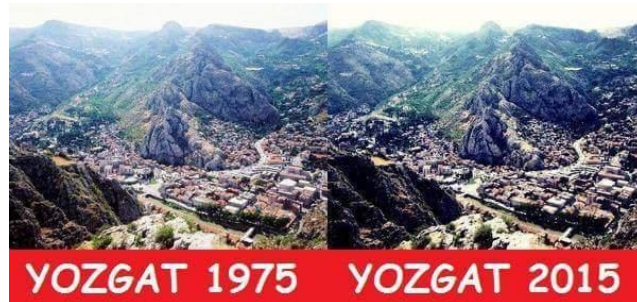


Figure 9 Urbanization Level of Yozgat from 1975-2015



Figure 10 Humorous Comparison between Italy and Yozgat

Therefore, within this context, the differences in the Bahadın case have become more apparent in the eyes of the researcher by considering its contextual structure. In that sense, in order to better understand these discrepancies, it is necessary to analyze Bahadın by focusing on its socio-economic, political, religious and demographic characteristics and to explore its migration processes.

3.4. Contextual Analysis of Bahadın

Adnan Gerger (2018, August 12), author of Evrensel Newspaper, describes Bahadın in his article as follows: “Modellenen bir ütopyanın gerçekliği” (the reality of a modeled utopia). To understand this utopic model which is stated by the author, it is important to analyze geographic structure and historical characteristics to be named as ‘Bahadın’; economic characteristics, not only based on agriculture and farming; religious characteristics as an Alevi town, political characteristic as a leftist society, and demographic characteristics which make Bahadın a transnational hub in the middle of Central Anatolian.

3.4.1. Geographical Characteristics and History

“Bahadın is a district of Sorgun town, Yozgat province, 21 kms away from Sorgun downtown, and 56 kms from Yozgat downtown. It is located 6 km southeast of Sorgun-Akdağmadeni road route. The district is connected with Ankara-Sivas highway through a 6-km road, and it is 11 kms away from Kayseri–Yozgat road” (Salı, 2016 p.361).

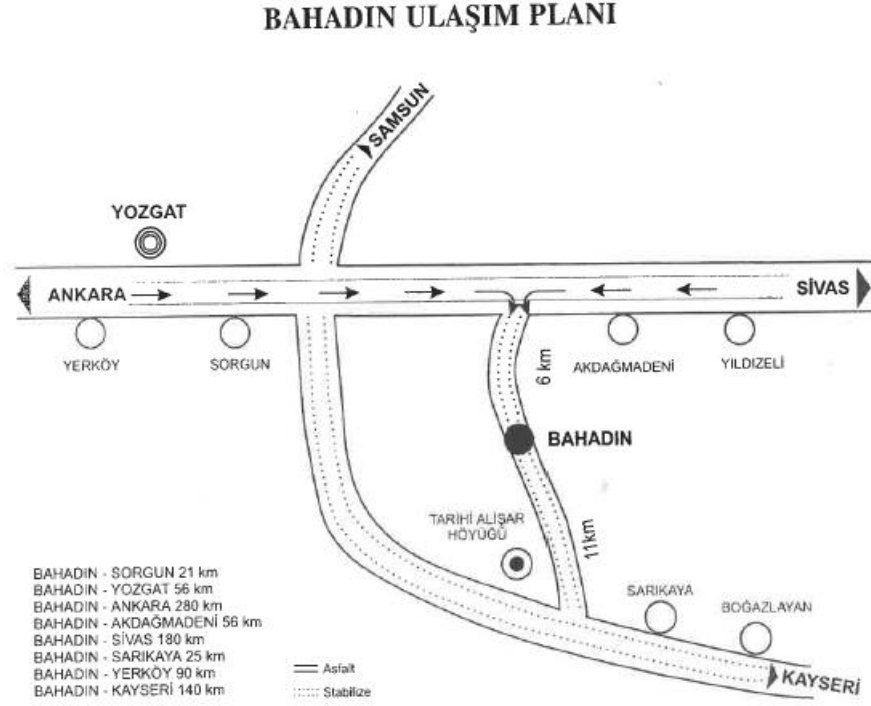


Figure 11 Bahadın Transportation Plan (Baş, 2002)

It is located in central Anatolia and covered with ‘Bağırgan’ valley and by ‘Çomak’ Mountain. ‘Alişar Mound’ which is an important settlement of Hitite civilization is located 11 km southeast of Bahadın. Salur Village to the east, Pöhrek and Sarıhamzalı Villages to the west, Sungur Village to the south, Sorgun Tatlısı, Göçyolu and Tekbağ to the North are located.

According to their own historical narrative, the first settlement in Bahadın started up during the 16th century by Turkomen who came to Yozgat region from Sivas, Tokat, Erzincan, Tunceli and Kars in order to suppress the Armenian rebellion. A young man named ‘Bahattin’ who played an important role in suppressing this rebellion, settled in *Sekiyurt* (old name of Bahadın). After that, other Turkomen those who learnt the fame of ‘Bahattin’ started to settle in Sekiyurt. They named the settlement as ‘Bahattin’, derived from Mongolian. In time, this word turned into ‘Bahadın’ while using in colloquial speech (Baş, 2002; Salı, retrieved from <http://www.bahadin.bel.tr/> 01.04.2016).

3.4.2. Economic Characteristics and Income Sources

Agricultural activities and animal breeding were the common income sources of Bahadın. Cereal, chickpeas, lentils, sugar beet, fruit and vegetables, especially grapes are the main harvests for agricultural activity. Cattle and poultry farming were another income source. However, after 1965s, agricultural activities and animal breeding have given way to foreign labor as income source. Almost each household in Bahadın has a migrant. As a result, migrant's individual and collective remittances become the main income source in Bahadın which is going to be detailed in the following analysis part.

3.4.3. Political Characteristics

In 1968, the first municipality was established in Bahadın and its population was over 2000. Süleyman Özcan was chosen as the first Mayor from the *Türkiye İşçi Partisi* (TİP) (Turkey's Worker Party). Throughout Turkey, Süleyman Özcan was the first chosen mayor from TİP. Besides, in 1965-1969, the first deputy (Yusuf Ziya Bahadınlı) came out from Worker's Party of Turkey (TİP) in Yozgat as well.

Bahadın is known as the only society in Yozgat context whose left view is dominant in societal level. Taking into consideration the political history of Bahadın, left parties have been the only alternative. Figure 12 shows the results of the 31 March 2019 local elections, that is, voting rates of the political parties on the basis of municipalities in Yozgat (Anatolian Agency, 2019). According to Figure 12, it is seen that except from Bahadın municipality, the Islamic conservative Justice and Development Party (AKP) and the ultranationalist electoral partner Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) got a high percentage of votes. Furthermore, 11 out of the 21 municipalities in Yozgat voted either for the Republican People's Party (CHP) or the Democratic Left Party (DSP) whose leftist representative view in Turkey is 0.00%. However, this view is totally the opposite in Bahadın as the combined voting rate of DSP and CHP is 98,68 %. The table shows that within a highly conservative and ultranationalist context where Sunni Islamism and rightist politics have been dominated throughout history, Bahadın can be considered as a marginal and utopic place where leftist parties are the only alternative.

| BELDELER | | AK PARTİ | CHP | MHP | İYİ PARTİ | HDP | BĞMSZ | DiĞER |
|------------|---|---|--------------|--------------------------------|-----------|-------|-------|--------|
| Araplı |  | %46,74 | %0,00 | %52,91 609 Adem Ertuğrul | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,35 |
| Bahadın | | %1,33 | %42,92 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %55,76 |
| Baydıgın |  | %47,12 899 Osman Uslu | %0,00 | %5,92 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %46,96 |
| Belekçahan |  | %85,79 489 | %0,00 | %14,21 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 |
| Çiğdemli |  | %38,87 | %0,30 | %60,29 791 Ahmet Sungur | %0,53 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 |
| Dedefakılı |  | %63,51 604 Haydar Coşkun | %0,00 | %34,91 | %1,16 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,42 |
| Doğankent |  | %71,72 624 Doğan Sungur | %6,09 | %21,03 | %0,92 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,23 |
| Eymir |  | %39,60 569 Çetin Mertoğlu | %0,00 | %24,36 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %36,05 |
| Gülşehri |  | %34,65 482 Ali Ünlü | %0,00 | %25,74 | %17,54 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %22,07 |
| Halıköy |  | %51,46 404 Zeki Simsek | %0,00 | %48,28 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,25 |
| Karayakup |  | %48,91 472 Ahmet Dursel Erdoğan | %0,41 | %2,07 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %48,60 |
| Konuklar |  | %43,37 350 Muammer Çetin | %0,00 | %23,42 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %33,21 |
| Oluközü |  | %43,00 | %0,00 | %49,71 341 Hasan Aydınsoy | %7,14 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,15 |
| Ovakent |  | %64,34 987 Yusuf Büyük | %0,98 | %34,49 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,20 |
| Ozan | | %22,63 | %0,00 | %30,24 | %0,33 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %46,80 |
| Özükavak |  | %32,66 291 Oğuz Ünal | %0,11 | %11,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %56,23 |
| Sırçalı |  | %52,86 397 Ferit Kocayigit | %0,93 | %46,21 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 |
| Umutlu |  | %58,05 685 Turan Koç | %0,00 | %41,10 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,85 |
| Uzunlu |  | %47,59 | %49,16 470 | %2,62 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,63 |
| Yamaçlı |  | %44,86 807 Şaban Altıntaş | %1,17 | %20,68 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %33,30 |
| Yenipazar |  | %43,08 | %3,43 | %53,08 759 Menderes Baran | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,00 | %0,42 |

Figure 12 Results of the 2019 Local Elections in Municipalities in Yozgat Resources:
(Anatolian Agency, 2019)

3.4.4. Religious Characteristics

Another significant characteristic of this “utopian” town is their belief system. Bahadın is an Alevi town where Anatolian Alevism comes to life in the middle of Anatolia. What Anatolian Alevism is the synthesis of Anatolian Sufis culture, pre-Islamic belief systems and the impact of social life, which is peculiar to Anatolian. According to Haydar Eroglu “Anatolian Alevism is a worldview that has adopted the principle of brotherhood, equality, fair division, love, peace, tolerance and opposition to all kinds of injustice, scientific thinking and adaptation to the requirements of contemporary life.” In that sense, it has become an egalitarian culture and way of life rather than a religious sect. However, without a doubt, Alevism does not refer to

positive connotations within the Turkish context where Sunni Islam is majority in Turkey. Throughout history, “under Sunni Ottoman rule, they were denounced as ‘heretics’ of dubious loyalty and faced waves of persecution” (Karakaya-Stump, 2018, p.54). Despite their support for the secularization process in Turkey at the beginning of foundation of Turkish Republic, “popular prejudice and institutionalized discrimination against them did not cease under the Republic, which, although formally secular, continued to promote Sunni Hanafî Islam as normative through the well-funded Directorate of Religious Affairs” (Karakaya-Stump, 2018, p.54).

Alevi Bakış Açısıyla Türkiyede Ayrımcılık (Discrimination in Turkey from the Alevi Point of View) report (2010), which was studied in 14 cities in Turkey and conducted by Alevi Culture Associations, Middle East Technical University, Department of Sociology, Alevi Institutions and Hacı Bektaş Veli Anatolian Culture Foundation, Alevi citizens and small Alevi towns are exposed to depicted discriminations in Turkey. According to this report, Alevi citizens are exposed to prejudices in daily lives, education and schools, before Ramadan and during Ramadan, in business life, military service and institutions (Erdemir, Beşpınar, Erdem, Karaçalı, Korkmaz, and Weitzhofer, 2010). Although Bahadın was not included within scope of this study, the results of the analysis show parallelism with realm of existence of Bahadın in Yozgat which made them ‘other’, ‘marginal’, ‘irreligious’ and ‘separatist’ within a geography where the Sunni conservatism has dominated all areas of social life. However, despite everything, Bahadın has maintained its existence and opposition throughout history. For this reason, as a settlement it is located on a plateau, outside the city center and away from the main roads that is difficult to be reached. Therefore, this remoteness has made Bahadın a closed society in the region, and this closeness attached them more to their own unique culture.

3.4.5. Demographic Characteristics

In 1968, the first municipality was established in Bahadın Town and its population consisted of 2002 inhabitants. In 2018, the number of people living in Bahadın is still 2529. The reason why the population has remained the same between these two dates

is migration. Bahadın population started to decline as a consequence of the internal migration after 1950s as well as the international migration to Europe after 1960s.

Besides the migration waves, aging of the population and decreasing fertility are the other dynamics which pave the way for this decline. However, in order not to fall below the population limit of being a municipality, Bahadın Municipality and Bahadın Culture Associations have taken active roles for protecting the existing population.

Table 9 Population Changes in Bahadın (1990-2018)

| Year | Total | Female | Male |
|-------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|
| 2018 | 2.529 | - | - |
| 2017 | 2.138 | - | - |
| 2016 | 2.038 | - | - |
| 2015 | 2.082 | 1.034 | 1.048 |
| 2014 | 2.310 | 1.146 | 1.164 |
| 2013 | 2.328 | 1.145 | 1.183 |
| 2012 | 2.311 | 1.124 | 1.187 |
| 2011 | 2.509 | 1.217 | 1.292 |
| 2010 | 2.780 | 1.367 | 1.413 |
| 2009 | 3.112 | 1.521 | 1.591 |
| 2008 | 2.017 | - | - |
| 2007 | 3.586 | - | - |
| 2000 | 5.093 | - | - |
| 1990 | 3.517 | - | - |

Resources: TUIK (2018)

3.5. Migration History of Bahadın

In this part, migration story of Bahadın will be detailed through demographic data and narratives of the interviewees and local people. In the scope of modernization process in Turkey, rural to urban migration started after 1950s. Through combinations of pull factors of urban and push factors of rural, people have started to leave rural areas in search for new social contexts. On the remote corner of central

Anatolia, Bahadın was one of the rural towns which was exposed to an internal migration wave. As push factors; economic difficulties, mechanization of agriculture, land sharing were the main dynamics of the starting point of the migration. Moreover, owing to political and religious identities of Bahadın, they have always been deprived of governmental investment and support, which is another reason for the lack of employment opportunities in the town. Due to proximity, mostly Ankara and Istanbul were the most attractive cities for Bahadın people who wanted to earn money. Therefore, there were two types of migration from Bahadın to cities. The first one was the periodic job-based migrations, which is generally described as the leaving of men from Bahadın for a certain period of time in order to find temporary jobs in the construction sector. The other one was the permanent migrations, which occur with the participation of families as a result of finding relatively permanent jobs in the cities such as being a doorman and stallholder or porter in bazaars.

In 1960's with the Labor Recruitment Agreement between Turkey and Germany, migration flow started from all over the regions of Turkey. Although in the early times of the European Migration, Bahadın people refrained from migration, after 1965, migration movement from both Bahadın and Ankara to Europe had its acceleration period. One of my interviewees, who is the first person to migrate from Bahadın to Germany (1962), played a major role in accelerating the migration flow in town and stated his migration experiences as follow:

In 1962, I went to Germany with great difficulty. People told me not to go, but I went anyway. Then I wrote letters to the people and called them to Germany by advising to sell the houses and fields that they have. And after 1965, they have poured to Germany. Now in each family in Bahadın, there is at least one migrant in the households. Otherwise, the condition of this town was miserable... I have leading role in migration flow (migrant, Mainz, 1930).

One does not normally leave a place like Bahadın, but it was compulsory. They went for the *ekmek davası* (to bring home the bread) and the stability of the children and their family (non-migrant, Bahadın, 1966).

We went to Germany in order to purchase a tractor and two or three cows, and then we would like to return home. Our aim was to pick up where we left off... Thanks to this dream, we multiplied our field acreage from 2 to 4... However, they could not return because they took their wife and children (returnee, Bahadın, 1962).

As it is stated by the interviewees, the early period of international migration to Europe was generally based on economic reasons in Bahadın town. The first stage, the dream to return home after purchasing a tractor and few animals, led up to a different outcome than they dreamed because of socio-economic and political developments in Turkey and living conditions in Europe.

After 1980s, increased immigration movements in Bahadın town can be explained by political conjuncture of Turkey. With the September 12 coup, oppressive implementations of the political regime on Bahadın, well-known as a leftist and Alevi town, accelerated migration to Europe. From this date on, migrations from Bahadın to Europe began to occur through family unification and marriage.

From 1980s, men who saved money in Europe started to take their family from Bahadın to Europe. Migration was held like a chain. Some of those who stayed in Bahadın sent his/her daughter or son to get married with migrants. Each family in Bahadın have utilized from this migration phenomenon (non-migrant, Bahadın, 1963).

As stated by my interviewee, with the 1974 immigration official halt, the majority of newcomers arrived in Europe through family unification and marriage. In some case, marriage could be seen as a strategy, which open the doors of Europe. “Both ways of entering to Europe are also called chain migration. Chain migration applied exclusively to women and children who joined their husbands/fathers who were already in Europe as guest workers” (Timmerman, 2008, p.586). Therefore, through chain migration, Bahadın population started to increase in Europe.

While the population of Bahadın in Europe is mostly concentrated in Germany and the Netherlands, Belgium, Austria and France are other countries where Bahadın people live. Today, the number households from Bahadın is approximately 200 in Berlin and 80 in households. Population rates are lower in the other countries. The cities where Bahadın people are concentrated in Europe are Berlin, Mainz, Frankfurt, Cologne in Germany, and Lahey (Den Haag) in the Netherlands.

The Bahadın people who emigrated to Europe started to organize through associations in order to decrease “financial and psychological costs” (VanWey, 2007, p.136) of the chain migration. The first association was established in 1991 in Ankara where the population of Bahadın is concentrated, under the name of ‘Association for the Protection and Beautification of Bahadın. The second

association was established in Berlin in 1993 and other associations started to be organized in Den Haag and Mainz. By using this transnational social network, finding employment and finding accommodation became easier not only for spouses or children but also for nuclear family and relatives from Bahadın. Additionally, these associations can be seen as perfect social networks, which decrease homesickness of the migrants and fulfill some of the desire of the migrants to be helpful to their homeland through remittance practices. In that sense, these transnational social networks, which is used to decrease financial and psychological cost have become institutionalized through hometown associations in the host societies. In conclusion, in order to understand the transnational interactions of the migrants, analyzing the roles of hometown associations is important. Within this scope, remittance practices of the migrants and their impacts on the community level and the roles of HTAs of Bahadın within this interaction will be elaborated in next chapters by transnational methodology.

CHAPTER 4

TRACKING TRANSNATIONALITY FROM REMITTANCE PRACTICES

The economic conditions of Ercan and his family led him to migrate from Bahadın. As a consequence, the stories about Germany that had been told by the migrants made Germany the most attractive and the most beautiful place in the world in his eyes. He left Bahadın looking forward to newly high expectations and went to Ankara in order to learn the language. His father had migrated to Germany in 1969 and after the bilateral agreements between Germany and Turkey had been called off, Ercan went to Germany through family unification in 1979. However, his migration story started with internal migration. He stated, “to go to Ankara at first was highly beneficial as I learned the language and ‘modernity’. I learned the brands of wine, cheese, everything related to modernity.” Then, he moved to Germany in order to earn money and continue his education. It was a great relief to have his father there. While working in three shift jobs, he finished his vocational high school. Ercan went to a battery factory in Cologne in order to look for a job and while waiting for his interview, he realized expired batteries were thrown away in a waste bin’

When I learned that the batteries would be discarded, I wanted to take the batteries, and they gave them to me. I used batteries and noticed that they did not run out. Then I started to sell batteries cheaply on the streets. Too many people started to purchase 30-40 pieces without looking at the deadline. Then I went to the cutlery factory and took the cutlery that passed the deadlines and started selling it in the market. In the end, I earned lots of money with these kinds of works, I bought a Mercedes, I bought a house in Germany. I started smoking and drinking alcohol (Ercan, Bahadın, 1962).

By earning his living through informal jobs in Cologne, he started to accumulate capital and settled in a house in the same city. He would like to marry a Turkish Sunni woman; however, her father did not give permission for his daughter to marry an Alevi guy. In the end, he eloped with the girl without permission of the girl’s family. Yet, their marriage did not take long and he married an Alevi woman who is

from Bahadın. After receiving German citizenship for his family and himself, he felt highly comfortable and mobilized. When his business initiatives failed in Germany, he decided to return to Turkey. While he sent his family to Bahadın, he went to Alanya, which is a tourist place to organize yachting trips for tourists in order to provide for his family. However, he again failed in this too. Then, he returned to Bahadın and opened a restaurant under name of *Son Çare* (the Last Remedy) in order to provide financial aid for his household.

The migration story of Remzi started in 1961 with internal migration to Ankara when he was one-year-old. His family members were working as doormen in Ankara until 1968, when his mother was accepted to Germany as a worker. After his mother left, Remzi and his siblings turned to Bahadın with his father. After 4 months, his father moved to Germany. Then by 1970, Remzi and his siblings joined their parents. Before leaving, Remzi had small businesses such as bike rental shop, goose farming and even a Turkish coffee house (kahvehane) in Bahadın. When in Germany, he kept his small activities. He opened a *bakkal* (grocery store) for his father and he was working in the bazaar in Berlin. Then, he entered the Döner sector, which would be called the King of Döner worldwide. The Döner initiative, which started with a bazaar car, expanded with the opening of factories in Berlin in 1990, the Netherlands in 1994, and Hamburg in 1996. Remzi Kaplan has become one of the most well-known Turkish businessmen in Europe with the awards received from the German Ministry of Agriculture. Kaplan Production has become a Kaplan Group by continuing its growth in the Middle East, Europe and the domestic market. This growth in the business world has led Remzi Kaplan to be the president of the Turkish-German Businessmen Association, Berlin Turkem Spor and the European Chicken Döner Union.

By stating his international businessman identity as a result of long success stories, he identifies himself as a *Bahadın Sevdalısı* (the Lover of Bahadın). He lives in Berlin with his family but he never ends the relations with Bahadın; therefore, comes to Bahadın at various times each year. Thanks to his international businessman identity, he promotes Bahadın abroad in various environments and organizes various events and organizations to bring the overseas Bahadın people together in order to keep Bahadın culture alive. He is a member of the management team of the Bahadın

Cultural Association in Berlin. Moreover, he is one of the biggest supporters of both financial and moral funding in all organizations and investments related to Bahadın. Remzi Kaplan is an important investment agent in Bahadın both individually and in cooperation with the association. In addition to his individual philanthropic investments, he states that the HTAs of Bahadın have an integrative and merging power on migrants and that associations are an important institution providing credibility in the organization of these investments. In this context, Remzi can be considered as an individual who is always open to cooperation with the Association and the Municipality.

Transnationalism describes the whole social, cultural, economic and political processes that extend borders of nation states as it is analyzed in theory chapter. However, the discussion of transnationalism is quite extensive in literature. In that sense, this thesis does not focus on the whole aspects of the transnationalism but on the ways of migrant remittance practices, effects on the different types of remittance practices on household and societal level and the roles of HTAs on institutionalization of the remittance of transnational migrants.

As aforementioned, in the historical process of migration, some agents put forward the protection of the transnational ties with the community. Remittances, which are supporting the transnational identity of the community are mobilized through these agents. By having the stories of two remittance agents stated at the beginning of this chapter, it becomes clear how a transnational town may frame the remittance practices in Bahadın. In the context of remittance typology in Bahadın case, while the first agent; Ercan, appears as an individual who mainly provides financial support to his own family and kinship in Bahadın; the second agent, Remzi, prefers financial supports for the community development projects in Bahadın. By having strong relationship between HTAs and the Municipality, he initiated the collective remittance strategy, which makes him a strong transnational agent. As a result, within the discourse of this thesis, Ercan as a representative of family remittance and Remzi, as a representative of collective remittance are two singular agents of different types of remittances.

In addition to those agents' profiles that are mobilizing the remittances in the community, HTAs also take an important role in the protection of the transnational ties with the community as strong institutions. Thanks to their organizational and professional structure, their impacts on building transnational social spaces get ahead of individual migrants.

4.1. Migration and Remittance in Bahadın

One of the most important things that makes Bahadın itself is the European Migration. The people who left it, didn't forget it. He made a great contribution to the development of this town. If there were no departures, it would be different from other villages (non-migrant, Bahadın, 55).

The other non-migrant (Bahadın, 79) stated that if migration has not been experienced in Bahadın, Bahadın would not have developed. They wouldn't have done anything here anyway... If they didn't exist, our toilets would be outside, our houses would be adobe, our roads would be mud.

Another non-migrant (Bahadın, 61) stated that if these people had not gone, how would capital accumulate here, we would have died of pain here, 5 brothers would split a field, the money which is earned would be few per man. Luckily, they left. But they didn't forget here, they transferred capital to Bahadın.

Within the migration discourse, transnationalism refers broadly to the multiple ties and inter-relationships, which link together people and/or institutions across borders and nation-states (Petree and Baruah, 2007). In the scope of this broad interrelationship, the most visible dynamic is remittance in Bahadın context, which creates transnational ties between migrants and the country of origin. According to the result of my field research, migrant remittances play an extensive role in all areas of social lives in Bahadın such as the increasing income level of households; decreasing poverty; the productive investment in community development projects; and “changing ideas, beliefs, identities and social capital” (Levitt, 2001, p.55) of community people. In that sense, it is important to understand the uniqueness and distinctiveness of Bahadın town within non-developed and conservative Yozgat context as far as the remittance practices are concerned. To follow the effects of migrant remittance on the basis of household and community level in Bahadın context, I proposed two general types of remittance with specific examples of each type from Bahadın.

The debate about remittance, which was stated in the theory chapter show variety in transnational hometowns. Additionally, literature presents multi-dimensional analysis about migrant remittances according to their logic, use, purpose and impact on household and community level. Past research about remittance has focused on remittance practices of temporary migrants to their wives, children and parents in their home countries in the 1970s and 1980s (VanWey, 2007, p.123). These kinds of remittances are called individual or family remittances, which were raised from an individual migrant, and according to their effects on home country considered by various scholars. They are mostly considered by pessimistic view which is used only primary needs of the family, largely used for consumption, has no contribution to economic development of the community and “actually serves to maintain (if not increase) the very conditions of underdevelopment, underemployment and unequal distribution of capital resources that make migration necessary in the first place” (Reichert, 1981, p.64). In 1990s and 2000s, the new way of remittance practicing, collective remittances, came into use to define money, goods, or ideas raised by a group, are used to benefit for a group or community (Goldring, 2004, p.808). They lead to development of the society with different social, infrastructural and cultural project and investments.

However, this research has challenged the pessimistic analysis of individual remittance and traditional definition of collective remittances and their effects on household and community level. In other words, according to results of the research, I will propose a different perspective on remittance practices by redefining the terms and analyzing their effects on household and community regarding the Bahadın context. According to results of this research, there are two main types of remittances; family remittances and collective remittances. Moreover, I will divide collective remittance into two; the first one is Individual Philanthropic Remittances and the second one is HTA Initiated Remittances.

4.2. Family Remittances

4.2.1. Logics

In the early times of the migration process of Bahadın, the practice of remitting mostly comprehended in family remittance. Family remittance is the category that

migrants send money or goods to family, kins, friends and relatives. The senders of this type of remittances are individuals or people and mostly male migrants who are expected to provide money for their families in the home countries. In that sense, the motivations of these remittance practices of migrants come from cultural gender roles and norms of the home country. Indeed, it is somehow “a social obligation to affirm their ongoing role as members of a family or social network” (Goldring, 2004, p.820). One of the non-migrants interviewee stated the interaction with his migrant father in the early period of migration as following:

My father was staying in a container in Germany, he did not want to hire an apartment in order to save money. He was sending his all money to us. According to him, the only and the most important reason that they stayed in Germany was the bread and butter. He had always warned his friends to send their money to children and make them comfortable there. Afterwards, although he might purchase an apartment in Ankara, he purchased a field in Bahadın and wanted me to deal with the fields. Then he sent a tractor to increase the agricultural activity. He was an adorable man (non-migrant, Bahadın, 61).

4.2.2. Transfer Mechanism

The transfer mechanism of the family remittances in Bahadın can be held officially and unofficially. In other words, migrants officially send money to their families through banks; however, because of the high fees banks charge, generally migrants use unofficial transfer mechanism via intermediaries who bring money to migrant's families in their home countries. In some cases, migrants themselves bring money or goods to their families. One of the non-migrants explained how they were used to receive remittance from her migrant father s following:

Before my father went to Germany, he had nothing in here. When he got there he saved up money. In total, he stayed there for 10 years. All we have is gained from the money that my father sent us. However, he could not come frequently and sent money or products with his friends or our relatives. He did not want to use the banks due to high fees (non-migrant, Bahadın, 51).

Therefore, considering the transfer mechanism of remitting practices of migrants, it is not easy to determine the official amount of money that is sent by the migrants. Still, it is possible to understand how they are used from the interviewees' narratives.

4.2.3. Uses and Purposes

Family remittances are generally considered as money or income, which is sent by the migrants who left their family, friends and relatives in their home country. They are used for the primary needs of the households such as food, clothing, education, health expenditure and/ or debt payment in order to sustain or increase the standard of living of the family. One of the migrants (Mainz, 57) gave an example for uses of family remittance as following:

My father is the first person who went to Germany in 1961 from Bahadın. 3-4 years after he left, he started to send most of his income to his relatives, family and friends. In that times, there was no proper electricity in town. My father provided gas for the people. He was helping the people in need.

Addition to usage of primary needs of family or relatives, “they might be spent on the conspicuous consumption and also serve as a form of social insurance (unemployment, medical, old-age, social security and crop and production insurance)” (Goldring, 2004, p.819).

Almost each household had a migrant in Bahadın until 1970s before chain migration from Turkey to Europe through family unification and marriage. Generally, men who left behind their families and kins, sent cash money for the purpose of covering the expenses and decreasing the poverty of their families and relatives. As a society that gives high importance to education and literacy, high amount of money was directed to educational expenses of the children. Furthermore, as an agricultural society, most of money was directed to agricultural activities.

Apart from the money or cash remittance used for basic needs of the families, migrant’s savings were transferred to houses in Bahadın. Those who had saved money in Europe started to build new ‘modern’ houses in town for their families and themselves once they returned home one day. Then, these new modern houses led to non-migrants to reconstruct their houses in European style, which changed the appearance of the town. The first beton house was made in Bahadın by migrant Mustafa Eser.

The modern houses were built here in the 1970s while surrounding villages are still undeveloped. While the toilets of the surrounding villages are still outside, all of them here were inside with the septic tanks. Garden arrangement and floristry were our first initiatives. Moreover, the forest was

occured with supports from Europe. The cemetery is another example of the modernity. These are all the contributions of migrants from Europe and Ankara (non-migrant, Bahadın, 61).

Moreover, migrants brought products and goods when they came back to home country. It was easily seen the German or the Netherlands products and goods in public sphere and in Bahadın houses. When it is considered that each house sent at least one migrant to Europe, these kinds of remittances were common in Bahadın.

We used to invite them for dinner in order that they would bring lots of precious things to us like shirts, chainse, jeans etc. If we did not invite them for dinner, we would not feel comfortable (non-migrant, Bahadın, 77).

Nescafe, chocolate, wall clocks, Coffee machine, white products and electronic instruments were German brands. It shows that how transnationality is embedded in material practices of making home and consumption behaviors (Savaş, 2010). Besides, products and goods remittance could be seen in agricultural activities in Bahadın. Premium agricultural machines and tractors were sent by migrant in order to improve agricultural activities in Bahadın.

As a result, family remittance practices go beyond the economic aspect, which are used for the primary needs of the families, but also, they maintain transnational relationships and connections with home and host societies (Orozco, Lowell, Bump, Fedewa, 2005, p.5). Although they are not considered by some pessimistic scholars (Delgado Wise, 2001, Durand and William, 1996) as saving or large scale investment which are transferred to productive and community development projects, in Bahadın case, they have a ‘multiplier effect’ on community development through migrant savings (Paul&Gammage,2004; Bradford, Turnell and Vicary, 2008, p.2). Moreover, investment on healthcare and education increases human capital and knowledge and leads to social mobility (Waller Meyers, 2002, p.66). However, focusing on only family remittance as a transnational engagement is not sufficient to understand the effects of remittance in Bahadın town.

At later periods of the migration, remittance practices were turned into something different with the migration of the core family members to Europe. The money sent for the family consumption needs started to be sent for the community development. Transnational migrants, who call themselves the Bahadın Lovers, have accumulated

capital abroad and sent money individually through philanthropic motivations and via some of the Bahadın Associations in Ankara and Europe.

4.3. Collective Remittances

Collective Remittance is the second type of the remittance in Bahadın case which paves the way for “transnational coproduction process” (Duquette-Rury, 2014) through migrant’s cross border engagements. It is considered by De Haas (2010, p.22), as “an expression of strong transnational social bonds and of the wish to improve the lives of those left behind” which creates an extensive transnational social space.

Unlike family remittances, the term collective remittance is considered as “money raised by a group that is used to benefit a group or community with which is affiliated” (Goldring, 2004, p.808). Most of literature considers the collective remittance as a type of remittances, which are organized through migrant organizations (HTAs) to support community development with social projects and investments. (Orozco, 2000; Bonciani, 2018; Paul&Gammage, 2004; Alarcon, 2002). However, in the case of Bahadın, it is a clear fact that they are not only sent by a group or migrant organizations but also sent by individual migrants for philanthropic reasons. In that sense, the explanations and the logic behind these remittances, and uses and purposes will be analyzed under the two types of collective remittances.

4.3.1. Individual Philanthropic Remittances

4.3.1.1. Logics

Philanthropy is “voluntary action for the common good” according to Payton’s (1988) definition; and “private initiatives for the public goods, focusing on quality of life” according to McCully’s definition (2008, p.13) which is different from government initiatives. Philanthropic remittance, in that sense, is a type of remittance practice of transnational migrants for the purpose of community development. By taking the reference of these definitions, in this thesis, individual philanthropic remittance refers to financial, social, cultural and infrastructural investments of the individual migrants in community which are initiated voluntarily. According to interviewee, the motivations behind this type of remittance practices basically come from ‘the incorrigible love of Bahadın’, ‘the notion of ‘Bahadınlılık’, if

sociologically explained; come from the sense of belonging to Bahadın, and the desire to maintain their attachment to their home country. They remit on town in order to improve living standards of the community. Besides, the research shows that remitting home country leads to increase social status of the migrant individuals and paves the way for mobilizing among the migrant and non-migrant community members of Bahadın. Remittances of the migrants can also be seen as a symbolic power that causes migrants to experience their own existence in their homeland.

4.3.1.2. Uses and Purposes

Individual philanthropic remittances are sent by the individuals for the purposes of improving living standards of the community and financial support for the community development. These remittances generally aim to eliminate the basic infrastructural needs of the town which serves for cultural, social and religious necessities and educational and health needs of the community which can be evaluated as the first step of the community development. Instead of usability for the community, they can also form symbols and can be considered as social status indicators of the individuals. My research in Bahadın provides good examples for this type of remittances.

As it is specifically explained at the beginning of the chapter, Remzi (migrant, Berlin, 59) and the profiles like Remzi are important agents of this type of remittance who have accumulated capital in receiving countries (Ankara, İstanbul and Europe) and define themselves as the Bahadın Lovers. Moreover, those who are non-migrant defined these Bahadın Lovers as following:

They are the lovers of the Bahadın. They grew up in our bosom, they grew up in our hands. They aimed to reunite our town. God bless those children! They are well-loved here. We owe lots of thanks to them for their devotions for this town (non-migrant, Bahadın,77).

The remittances sent by these individuals fall under four categories in the Bahadın case: (1) Infrastructural–Symbolic Remittances; (2) Culture and Art Remittances; (3) Individual Remittances about Belief; (4) Other Individual Philanthropic Remittances

(1) Infrastructural-Symbolic Remittances: This type of remittance can be considered as infrastructural-symbolic remittance that is constructed by the transnational migrant who wants to increase social status within the community. The clock tower on the

square of the town which is one of the important symbols of the Bahadın, was constructed by the first migrant of Bahadın in the early years of the international migration.



Figure 13 Bahadın Clock Tower

Parks and gardens are one of the most common examples of infrastructural-symbolic remittance of migrants in their home countries. By giving the family names to these symbols, individual migrants are catalyzing the transnationality with their origins. The Gülbibi Park is one of the good examples of this type of remittances, which was built by a migrant in 2010 in memory of his mother.



Figure 14 The Gülbibi Park

Moreover, the restoration of the local mosque, the building of the marble fountain in the cemetery and the statue of Pir Sultan are other instances of the individual philanthropic remittances in Bahadın case.

(2) Culture and Art Remittances by Individuals: Bahadın is a town which is affluent in terms of having iconic names who are largely interested in the existence and sustainability of its cultural values. One of them is Yusuf Ziya Bahadınlı who is an important figure for the present of Bahadın culture. He is a politician, educator and writer who has lots of publications about the history and culture of Bahadın. As an internal and international migrant, he sent money (130 thousand TL) for the construction of Yusuf Ziya Bahadınlı Culture House in 2012, which serves as the art and cultural organizations of the community and it is also used as a public library. These types of remitting practices were interpreted by a non-migrant citizen as following:

There is no migration in this town because those who migrated did not break off with Bahadın. The businessman who went Europe saved up his money and came here to invest. Now, even if the one is a professor in Istanbul, they built a house in Bahadın. However, they did not only spend money on a pile of concrete. They are also developing social and cultural projects. Yusuf Ziya Bahadınlı, for example, in his last days, he had 30-40 thousand TL in his pocket and built the Bahadın Cultural House. He invested in humanity and Bahadın culture. Although he lives in Istanbul, it is clear that he could not have left Bahadın (non-migrant, Bahadın, 61).



Figure 15 Yusuf Ziya Bahadınlı Culture House

Arif Bař is another important figure for Bahadın as a writer and educator who builds the first and only open-air museum in Bahadın within the district of Yozgat. This museum, which consists of 150 folkloric and cultural artifacts from Bahadın, has been considered as a cultural heritage and transfer of living culture of Bahadın.



Figure 16 The views from Arif Bař Open Air Museum

Hacı Turan Demirel Amphitheatre is another individual philanthropic remittance which was built by the Sultan Demirel and her children in the memory of her husband. Sultan Demirel who is a migrant businesswoman sent money (160 thousand TL) for the construction expenses of this Amphitheatre. The 500-seat amphitheater constructed in 2014 has become the center of many cultural and artistic events in Bahadın.



Figure 17 Hacı Turan Demirel Amphitheatre

(3) Individual Remittances about Belief: Although there is a mosque in Bahadın, they had no Cem Houses as an Alevi society. Bahadın had continued their worships in the basements of the houses for a long time. The need for a Cem House came out for the purpose of desiring to revive their worships. In that sense, Eyüp Aktürk Cem House

was constructed in 2007 by Eyüp Aktürk's migrant family and dedicated to memory of Eyüp Aktürk who is an important figure in town with his thoughts and literary identity and who died in fire in Berlin.



Figure 18 Eyüp Aktürk Culture House and Bahadın Cem House

(4) Other Individual Philanthropic Remittances: In addition to infrastructural, symbolic, cultural and artistic and religious remittances, individual migrants also support the community development by remitting on health and education. One of the key agents of this individual philanthropic remitting practices, Remzi sent a full-fledged ambulance and fire service to Bahadın in 1998. The other investment of Remzi, which can be considered as collective remittance, is the local bus stations. He also constructed a sport complex in 2015 on behalf of his father. Moreover, like Remzi, there are some other individual migrants who sent books, computers, clothes for the students in Bahadın as a form of collective remittance. One of my interviewees explained how a construction of sport complex turned into a social remittance as following:

I don't know if you've seen the football field and the sport complex at the festival times. They are chirping! The Bahadın youngsters from all over the world are coming together, playing football or doing sports. Those sport complex and football field have become a place where social interactions are highly seen. My grandson, for example, have met METU and Hacettepe University Students during these activities and have been highly motivated by those youngsters in terms of getting into those top rank universities in Turkey. This is the biggest influence of these lovers of Bahadın who have created these kinds of medium by investing on Bahadın (migrant, Mainz, 57).

In conclusion, contrary to pessimistic view about the functionality of individual remittance in respect to community development, there are many examples on collective remittances in Bahadın case which are sent by individuals for the benefit

of the community. Different sets of philanthropic motivations; sense of belonging, desire to maintain the connection with their homeland or improving social status between migrant and non-migrant; increase the transnational engagements of the individual migrants with home country. However, within this social process, they are not generally acting independently from Bahadın Municipality and Bahadın Culture Associations. Mostly, they can be agents which are directed by local government and Bahadın Culture Associations.

4.3.2. HTA Initiated Remittances

4.3.2.1. Logics

In addition to individual philanthropic remittance which is used for the purpose of basic needs of the community, HTA initiated remittance is the second type of collective remittance which is raised by Hometown Associations and used for the benefit of a group or its community. Among the typologies of remittances, which are proposed in this thesis, HTA initiated remittances are the most organized, professional and institutionalized type within this transnational process. As a junction point of the whole social, cultural, economic and political dynamics of migration, HTAs take an important role on maintaining transnational processes through remittances and lead to institutionalization of remittances of transnational migrants.

Thus, the existing of Bahadın HTAs answers the following statements: Why some communities get high benefit from remittance, why some communities do not. Which factors lead to institutionalization of remittance in Bahadın town.

“Community projects financed through collective remittance have taken place in rural localities” (Goldring,2004, p.823) like Bahadın town. Within this scope, HTAs, as transnational agents, take over an important role on community development and institutionalization of the remittance in Bahadın. In order to better understand the role of HTAs on the institutionalization process of remittance and the effects of this type of remittance on societal level, history and organizational structure of HTAs in Bahadın should be explained.

4.3.2.2. Historical Context of Emerging of Associations

Before migration process, Bahadın can be analyzed as a closed society because of its socio-cultural, political and denominational differences. Owing to its left-wing political beliefs and Alevi identity, Bahadın has been considered as marginal in their geography throughout history. This marginalization makes them closely attached to their identities. Therefore, the desire to prevent the degeneration of socio-cultural and political identity has affected the sense of belonging. Due to their political and socio-cultural identities, Bahadın has always had a high degree of organizational consciousness and has experienced the practical benefits of acting together. In this context, associations have emerged as a form of integration for the Bahadın community. One of the migrants interpreted this organizational consciousness as following:

Organizations and associations are strength for the societies. I have believed in it for a lifetime. That's why having Bahadın Culture Associations is important for us. For example, I know they would look after me if I get in trouble. I discuss and convey my social and cultural identity and common values with Bahadın people there. Therefore, belonging to associations makes me comfortable and increases my sense of belonging to Bahadın (migrant, Berlin, 59).

After the immigration process, this intense Bahadın identity was preserved in Europe as well, and it was tried not to be assimilated. Moreover, the motivation for the migrants to be a member of HTAs consequently engaged in remitting practices of HTAs are similar to previous types of remittances; which are basically the desire to maintain membership in home country, sense of belonging to own culture and desire to sustain unique culture of Bahadın. As an additional motivation of transnational engagement of Bahadın HTAs, which are stated by the interviewees is that HTAs are strong institutions, which create a reliable setting for philanthropic initiatives of transnational migrants.

The establishment of associations has changed in people's investment habits and created a secure setting for investments. In the early periods of migration, migrants were more anxious when money was collected by an individual for the community. However, people started to be more generous in investments after the establishment of associations. Besides, if any institution exists more than 25 years, there is confidence there (migrant, Berlin, 59).

Hence, associations appear as strong transnational agents to keep *Bahadınlılık* notion alive for the migrants who want to have one foot in the Europe and one foot in the Bahadın Town (Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002, p.766).

The gathering of associations in Bahadın has a long and consistent history. The first initiatives to establish an association started in 1970s with its political background. Due to Bahadın's left oriented political view, leftist organizations played an active role in the first phase. They started to politicize the society in community centers then, they negotiated with political associations in Ankara. However, after 1980s, through the change in the social and political dynamics in Turkey, political associations were replaced by both religious and hometown associations, which were established by the migrants. As an Alevi community, mostly first generation started to be included Alevi Associations in Germany and the Netherlands in the first phase of the migration in order to sustain socio-cultural identity in host country. One of the interviewees who is a migrant stated that to involve in Alevi Association was a strategy for the migrants who need to establish their own network in host country. However, after the effects of establishment of Bahadın Culture Association in Ankara and through increasing number of Bahadın people in the host countries, city-based hometown associations were emerged in Europe and consolidated rather than religious association.

After 12 September 1984, hometown associations started to appear both in the Europe and Turkey. Due to politic conjuncture in Turkey, any political initiative or organization could not be possible. Then, we had nowhere to go. There were two options which served a sense of belonging: religious-based associations or hometown associations. Hence, we started to be organized under the hometown associations (migrant, Den Haag, 58).

4.3.2.3. Characteristics of Bahadın HTAs

After 1950s, internal migration flow from Bahadın to Ankara was the first step. Hence, Ankara can be considered as the first station in the migration process for the Bahadın community. It has a large number of migrants from Bahadın; indeed, it could be evaluated as the first leg of the European migration. Thus, the first hometown association was established in Ankara in 1991 as Bahadın Culture Association. Within the scope of this association, there are approximately 470 members. As Özden Atakul who is the Head of the Bahadın Culture Association

stated, it was attached great importance to a broad representation. For this reason, it was ensured that one person from each family took place in the management of the association. Afterwards, in 1993, Berlin Der was established under the name of Bahadın Solidarity Association. It had approximately 90 members but it is the most active organization. Then, the Netherlands Bahadın Culture Association and Mainz-Bahadın Culture Association followed Berlin Der. The Netherlands Bahadın Culture Association had approximately 200 members and located in Den Haag (Harleem). Mainz Bahadın Culture Association consisted of 3-4 families and was located in the city of Mainz in Germany. Although these four associations are located in different places, they cooperate with each other for each organizations and development projects in Bahadın. They do not largely work independently from each other but their efforts on remittance flow show variations. The most influential ones are Berlin Der and Ankara Der in the activities and investment projects. On the other hand, according to interviews, the less influential in projects one is the Netherlands Der. They are mostly inward-oriented and focus on Bahadın people in the Netherlands rather than the Bahadın town in Turkey. Still, overall, their supports to community development cannot be disregarded. Their financial sources mainly are attained from membership fees and donations based on campaigns and community projects. Apart from their financial sources, what makes HTAs of Bahadın successful in this remittance management and community development process is the collaboration of the four associations in cooperation with other institutions such as Bahadın Municipality, Domestic and International Municipality and Associations, Universities and academicians and business men. As a result of this collaboration, HTAs may overcome some technical and financial limitations.

4.3.2.4. Uses and Purposes

HTAs of Bahadın make substantial economic, cultural, social and political contributions in their home countries. They are strong agents to channel collective remittance to specific development projects and investments, to compensate for the lack of local government in town (Paul and Gammage, 2004, p.20). Sometimes, they direct philanthropic investments of individuals into more professional investment projects, and always co-associate with the Bahadın Municipality to generate

community-based project and investments. One of migrant interviewees explained roles of HTAs of Bahadın in remittance management process as following:

Before the associations, individual investments were at the forefront. For example, my father used to provide gas for people, someone constructed a fountain, someone built bridge on behalf of his mother. However, Bahadın Culture Associations have enabled people to direct these investment motivations into big investments. Besides, the relations between associations and the municipality are also very important. Without the associations, perhaps the municipality could not have sustained its existence (migrant, Mainz, 57).

Furthermore, they contact strong relationships with the local governments of their host countries and international NGOs within their voluntary organizations that make them a transnational agent.

In the case of Bahadın, collective remittances initiated by HTAs fall under five categories: (1) Educational Investments; (2) Charitable Investments; (3) Culture and Art Investments; (4) Socio-economic Investments; (5) Public Service Investment. What distinguishes these investments from familial remittances is the “collective benefit or good they provide” rather than “private use or benefit” (Goldring, 2004, p.824). Likewise, although they focus on the same target, it also distinguishes from the type of individual philanthropic remittances in terms of practice of remittance management. Within Bahadın context, HTAs play an important role in terms of institutionalization of remittance meaning that the decision of remittance is rising from a formal organization instead of being dependent to individuals. This organization takes the society as a unity and identifies the necessities of the society through common sense rather than remittance decisions, which are based on personal desires and wishes of individual migrants. Moreover, these investments, arising from this professional collaboration, serve as a total institution, which meets the social, economic, cultural, educational, political and religious needs of the community and pave the way for community development. Besides, being organized regularly, turning into traditions, and most importantly being monitored and inspected and their sustainability, become a key factor on institutionalization of HTA initiated remittances in Bahadın. For this reason, HTAs of Bahadın have significant impacts on the institutionalization of collective remittance.

(1) Educational Investments of HTAs: On the remote corner of Central Anatolian, Bahadın society is known for giving high importance to education as the literacy rate in town is approximately 97-98 % (Baş, 2002, p.37). It is said that schooling in the Yozgat region started primarily in Bahadın. The fastest and best adaptation to Atatürk's language revolution took place in Bahadın. After the education had started in the village rooms in 1928, Bahadın constructed a primary school building in 1933. After that, the secondary school building was built in 1968 through the villagers' solidarity work, the first high school was opened in 1979 in Bahadın. However, as nearby village students started to attend the local school, its premises began to become inadequate and a new high school building was needed. As a result, a new Multi-Purpose High School was constructed in 1998 with the participation of Bahadın Cultural Associations (Berlin, Mainz, Den Haag) (1,500,000 TL). On later periods, Bahadın HTAs have maintained their support by providing the school with books, computers and high-tech equipment which helped increase the standards of the high school. The Mayor Dilaver Özcan stated the facilities of the High School as following:



Figure 19 Multi-Purpose High School

Our high school here has high facilities even many private schools do not have. These were all had through investments of HTAs of Bahadın. The Smart boards, videos, visuality, the digital world... Whatever you can think of, all of them have been provided by Europeans. Our children are educated at a European standard school so that they can get into best universities.

One of the most important educational investment of Bahadın HTAs is providing training fund for the students. Thanks to specific organizations and events in Bahadın or host countries, HTAs raise money monthly for the students in need as well as successful students from Bahadın.

Al Götür, Oku Getir (Street Library) and *Kitap Kumbarası* (Book Box) are peculiar projects which were initiated by HTAs and Bahadın Municipality.



Figure 20 A street library, Toy and Book Boxes

(2) Charitable Investments of HTAs: Through direction of municipality or opinion leaders of the community, Bahadın HTAs raise funding to poor and town people in need. In order to raise money for these charities, HTAs organize specific organizations in their neighborhoods or direct some of the members of the HTAs to provide money for those people.

The migrants always help poor or needy people who can't work, have no job or are old. Those people come together and complete their unfinished works. For example, last year a shepherd died with high debt. In order to help his family, Bahadın Der launched a charity campaign and paid off the debts of the family. This is fascinating (non-migrant, Bahadın, 37).

To announce these type of charity campaigns, HTAs use social media. However, it is not easy to detect the figures/ quantities of this type of investment because privacy is kept.

(3) Social, Cultural and Art Investments of HTAs: Within the Yozgat context, Bahadın always stands out for its contextual difference thanks to its social, cultural and art investments. Most of these social cultural and artistic investments are organized and maintained by Bahadın HTAs in order to protect cultural identity of the community and enrich their social, cultural, literary and artistic values. A non-migrant interviewee described this situation as following:

Our HTAs have brought something to Bahadın just like the bees which bring pollen from each flower going 20-30 km to make honey. I associated those people with the bees. They are bringing lots of different values, modernity, good manners that enrich our cultures (non-migrant, Bahadın, 39)

Due to its cultural and religious structure, Bahadın gives high importance and value to women. This value is reflected in the role of women in public space and has spread to daily life practices. Besides, internal and international migrations have led to the development of women's freedom, productivity and literacy, and transferred to Bahadın as “social remittance” (Levitt, 2001, p.55), which can be easily adapted due to its sociological structure. Therefore, in this context, with the participation of immigrants in Europe and in other cities in Turkey March 8 International Women's Day began to be celebrated regularly and this organization has been institutionalized thanks to the contribution of HTAs in Bahadın. Moreover, due to its political structure, Bahadın May 1 Workers Day is also celebrated every year with the organization of its HTAs.

Traditional Rice Festival is another celebration, which sustains the spirit of Bahadın based on sharing and living together. The Traditional Rice Festival, the first of which was held in 1990, began to be celebrated by Bahadın youth to end a political separation emerged in the 1980s among the people in town. The 27th Rice Festival organized in 2019 by Bahadın Youth Branches and Bahadın Culture Associations on Çomak Mountain, is considered as a good reason for foreign migrants to come together.

Furthermore, concerts, cinema shows and Bahadın Nights organized at certain periods of the year are among the social investments of HTAs in Bahadın. Additionally, organizing Semah performances and courses in Cem House and saz courses are other cultural and art investments of its HTAs.

Fundamentally, Bahadın is a society that has much to be written and said about. Until this time, approximately 50 writers and poets from Bahadın who deal with history and culture of Bahadın and migration stories. Many of these writers and poets' works have been published through Bahadın Culture Association. Apart from this investment, Bahadın magazines, published every year in July by Bahadın Culture Association, are strong examples of institutionalization of these remittances in the scope of culture and art.

Lastly, Bahadın Culture Festival is the most institutionalized remittance organized by its own HTAs which includes original socio-cultural values and politic aspect of Bahadın and is developed and sustained through social remittances of migrants as well. However, the way it is institutionalized depends on political and historical dimensions. The background of the festival is explained by Festival Committee of Bahadın Culture Associations as followed:

Everything started with the degeneration of culture. As a result of this degeneration, the love that was at the core of Anatolia was replaced by hate, peace replaced by war, brotherhood replaced by hostility, tolerance was replaced by hatred, sharing was replaced peculation and depredation. We resist this mentality that strives to leave us poor, without school, without roads. We want to live our culture, knowingly, willingly and steadfastly. Culture is a serious act and the real owners of the culture are the people. For this reason, this festival is a way of our expression towards everything. In that sense, it will never end, despite everyone, everything, and everything (Festival Committee, 1997).

Owing to the reasons aforementioned the Bahadın Culture Festival was firstly organized by Bahadın Culture Associations in 1993. Although they could not be held every year due to political reasons, the 21st festival was organized in 2018. It is the biggest cultural event in central Anatolia which takes place in the first week of August.

The most beautiful aspect of the Bahadın Festival is the gathering of enthusiastic people who live thousands of kilometers away from Bahadın in various countries of

Europe and to make the memories of the festival fresh when they return. When returning to their host countries, those migrants remember as well as retell those experiences lived in Bahadın, causing further admiration and even excitement.

The love of Bahadın cannot be described but only experienced. We fulfill our longing for Bahadın in festival but we are not satisfied at all. That's why we carried Bahadın and our festivals onto different platforms in Europe such as Alevi Associations, Democratic Associations or any platform that is interested in Bahadın. Seeing the well reactions of people to Bahadın makes us very happy. This is how we live Bahadın in abroad (migrant, Berlin, 59).

In his opening speech at the 20th Bahadın Culture Festival, former Mayor Dilaver Özcan mentioned the following:

Actually, this festival is not the 20th Festival but the 25th Festival. Because we could not do every year due to political reasons, we call the 20th Bahadın Culture Festival and at the last festival, we received the international title with the approval of the Ministry of Culture. The fact that this is being done for the 20th time is an indication that this is the right job. Everyone who grows with this culture should believe that it is a given gift. We are trying to keep all the beautiful human values such as solidarity, coexistence, production, tolerance, humility and so on. This festival is very important channel for carrying these values to the future. People, friends, neighbors who have not seen each other for years take a chance to get united. In addition, since the 90s Bahadın festivals, nearly 20 couples met and married at these festivals. We are trying to make sure that next generations should not forget Bahadın and transferred next generations. This festival will never end.

As the former Mayor pointed out, the fact that the Bahadın Culture Festival has been held internationally for its 20st time and its increasingly unifying power is an important dynamic in the context of assessing migration through a transnational framework. In this context, cultural and social remittance have played an important role in the development of the town.

By having theater performances, *köy seyirlik oyunları* (village theater shows) poem performances, conversations, concerts, exhibitions, panels, football tournaments, chess, backgammon and billiard tournaments, Cem ceremonies, festival parades, women's assemblies, Semah Performances and open-air cinema exhibitions, the Culture Festival becomes a field where the Bahadın culture is intensified. Besides, Bahadın Culture Festival should also be evaluated as an economic remittance as well as social and cultural remittance because those who come to Bahadın from domestic and overseas destinations to attend the Festival, spend a large amount of capital in

the town. At the same time, donations campaigns made by Bahadın Culture Association can be considered as economic investment.

Therefore, Bahadın Culture Festival is an area where economic, social and cultural remittances are intertwined and organized together. Another aspect which is worth mentioning is the fact that it is sustainable as it is organized regularly by professional organizations. Hence, it should be considered as institutional remittance. In this context, it would be appropriate to evaluate this festival through transnational methodology. The organizing power of Bahadın Culture Festival is based on transnational Bahadın people, Bahadın Municipality and Bahadın Culture Associations (Ankara, Berlin, the Netherlands, Mainz) and it is an undoubted fact that HTAs in Bahadın are critical agents that catalyze transnationalism through institutional remittances.



Figure 21 Festival March in 2017



Figure 22 The Signboard of 19th Bahadın Culture Festival



Figure 23 Views from Festival Area

(4) Socio-Economic Investments of HTAs: Bahadın Incorporated Company can be given as an example of another institutional remittance type on the basis of socio-economic investment. In 2017, 230 people from Bahadın founded the now so-called Bahadın Market where *Bahadın Kadın Eli Derneği* (Bahadın Women's Handcraft Association) products are sold providing not only income but also employment for the local people. Through initiatives of HTAs of Bahadın, new branches are planned to be opened in Ankara and Germany in the future. Besides, it can be seen on the anecdote of the interviewee below which refers how transnationality is embedded in initiatives of HTAs:

Investments here are now commercialized with the Bahadın Market Project. We may open the 2nd Market in Ankara or in Bahadın depending on the revenue of the Bahadın Market. One of my friends from Bahadın who lives in Ankara states that he would purchase all his needs from Bahadın Market and brought to Ankara. Thus, the impacts of Bahadın Market Project is highly important for all the citizens of Bahadın (non-migrant, Bahadın, 45).

Moreover, *Bahadın'da Verimli Topraklar, Çalışan Kadınlar Projesi* (Vertile Lands in Bahadın and Working Women Project) which is supported by the European Union (EU) with 140.000 Euro is another socio-economic investment which comes from the cooperation between HTAs of Bahadın, Ankara University Faculty of Agriculture and Bahadın Municipality. Domestic wine production and the increase in the varieties of grapes for wine was the main aim of this project. Moreover, the HTAs also support the project by constructing wine and molasses factories. As a positive outcome of this project, 120 women have been educated in wine and molasses processes as well as their by products. Consequently, many women in Bahadın

started to produce wine and molasses, and these products also started to be sold in Bahadın Market. This project created employment for productive Bahadın women.

(5) Public Service Investments of HTAs: Due to marginal social and political characteristics, the government has provided very little financial and infrastructural support to Bahadın. As a result, the HTAs of Bahadın function as a substitute in public service where Bahadın Municipality is financially insufficient.

The first contributions of the HTAs in terms of public service were an official car for the municipality, a bus and a lorry for the community. Then, another investment was the construction of the town health clinic, which was done together with the assistance of the Bahadın Municipality. Another public service of the HTAs is to organize and conduct whole funeral ceremonies in town. In other words, the HTAs constructed a morgue in 1996 to keep the dead body until migrant families and relatives come to town.

Formerly, we could not find a place to keep our dead bodies while waiting for the owner of the funerals who are living abroad. Thanks to investment of associations, we have morgue here. They fund-raised as four associations and constructed a morgue next to health center in case people can catch the funeral ceremony. Otherwise, the dead bodies would be down (non-migrant, Bahadın, 61).

Moreover, 16.000 Euro organized by Berlin Bahadın Der, the Netherlands Bahadın Der and municipality was granted by the European migrants to fix and clean up the local cemetery.

It's very important to claim the past. Our associations are doing lots of things for the cemetery. They planted lots of beautiful flowers on graveyards. They are providing cleaning services for cemetery. Take a look at our graveyards. It is sparkling. They have learned lots of things from Europe and remitted on Bahadın (non-migrant, Bahadın, 61).

The construction of the morgue, the organization of funeral ceremonies and repair of the cemetery are important services of the HTAs of Bahadın to understand transnational practices of Alevi migrants beyond mortuary (Zirh, 2012). Furthermore, construction of parks in Bahadın and regular tree planting campaigns in Çomak Mountain are other public service investments of HTAs in Bahadın.

However, along with the successful community development projects, HTAs can sometimes encounter some obstacles which can limit their efforts. The lack of

financial resources is one of the most important limitations. The money that they collect from cultural activities and other events might be insufficient for some community development projects. Moreover, lack of organizational and technical skills in specific fields are other restrictions that lead to a decrease in the efficiency of local HTAs. As HTAs may need some organizational and technical support to implement community development projects it is vital that they co-work with institutional counterparts, universities, academicians, private sectors and municipalities both in country of origin and host country (Bonciani, 2018, p.8). As a result of the partnership with these strong institutions, more sustainable projects emerge within the home countries. One of my migrant interviewees as a businessman explained this co-work as following:

I am in dialogue with all associations. I forgot the word 'no'. If my friends from associations want me anything for Bahadın, I do my best. For example, yesterday, in the ribbon cutting ceremony of Bahadın Elderly Care Center, I sold 9 shears for 1.400 TL in 15 minutes and donated to associations. What I did and what I want to do is only for this society (migrant, Mainz, 57).

The Elderly Care Center in Bahadın is one of the best examples of this cooperative work. According to Dr. Ibrahim Yerden who is one of the founders of the project; the idea of the 'Elderly Care Center' in Bahadın was born with the migration process that brought together an increase in the elderly population of the town after the young population went to big cities and Europe due to various reasons (such as job opportunities, family reunification and education). As a result, the elders could not practically meet their care needs. By observing the changes and developments in the town, studies started in 2011 questioning what kind of senile services were required in Bahadın. Then, a research report called 'Aging in Bahadın' was prepared with the University of Amsterdam. The project was developed by Bahadın people who live in Turkey and Europe. In this context, the studies were carried out with Bahadın Municipality, Ankara Bahadın Culture Association, Berlin Bahadın Der, Mainz Bahadın Der and the Netherlands

Bahadın Der. Moreover, developments about project were transferred to Bahadın people living in Belgium and France through the establishment of special relations. My interviewee who is one of the founders of Aging in Bahadın Project explained the development process of the project as following:

While we were basing the Aging in Bahadın Project, we decided to work with with the municipality. We also worked with the Alevi Associations, *Hollanda Türkiyeli İşçiler Birliği* (The Netherlands Turkish Employers Association - HTİB), *Sivaslılar* Association, and Bozok University in terms of different aspects. They all provided technical, theoretical and emotional supports for this project. Bozok University teachers said that they would send a doctor to Elderly Care Center and run health checks of the elderlies. Some of them wanted to write article about this project on magazine. Some of them wanted to be volunteer for caring. We wanted to stay in touch with these institutions and this unity of power is really important (migrant, Den Haag, 58).

A working committee was set up for the preparation and development of the project. Prof. Dr. Hans Becker who studies on elderliness and some other sociologists from Europe, were involved in the project. Thus, the theoretical knowledge of European institutions was transferred to Bahadın. In order to translate this theoretical knowledge into practice, legal structuring was needed. As a result in 2014 in the founders meeting in Mainz it was agreed on the establishment of the Bahadın Aging Foundation in Netherlands. As the Bahadın Aging Foundation, good relations were created with the institutions and organizations focusing on elderliness in Europe, then, practical and theoretical experiences on aging were transferred to Bahadın.



Figure 24 Views from Bahadın Elderly Care Center Groundbreaking Ceremony

In January 2015, financial support studies for the project started and different forms of help were received from different institutions. HTAs donated a certain amount to the foundations thanks to the organization of charitable dinners, sports and cultural activities in their locals. The Netherlands Bahadın Der donated 5000 Euros; Mainz Bahadın Der donated 15.000 Euros. The Netherlands Turkish Employers Association (HTİB) and Harleem Alevi Association organized a variety of events and campaigns

under the name of ‘Bir Tuğla da Sen Koy’ and donated the contributions to the foundation. The Berlin Der organized a great charity night with 700 people in Berlin and donations from the night were gifted to Bahadın Aging Foundation. Furthermore, individual donations also provided financial support to the foundation. The Mayor of Bahadın Municipality, Özcan (2017) stated that “they would like to be out of this project in order to exclude political content from such a large social content and make sure that it is owned by everybody”. However, they provided equipment and personnel support during the construction phase.

In this Project, HTAs also co-worked with an NGO which is studying on elderly. Within the scope of this Project, they took technical support and consultation from the NGO for sustainability of the Project. In the ground breaking ceremony, the NGO explained their role on the Project as follows:

Today, we have seen a completely different success story. We will support the project in order to be sustainable. In Ankara, we will undertake all the trainings of nurses, doctors and sociologists. We want to show the success story of Bahadın to world. Our main task is to enlarge this institution and to ensure its sustainability. This is the wellness house, living center... Here, people will also produce and have quality aging. This is the success story, and you've already made it. We are the ones will try to provide sustainability with the Bahadın Culture Associations.

According to Yaylagül (2016), “*Bahadın’da Yaşlanmak* (Aging in Bahadın) Project is an important model to offer people the chance to stay and live in their hometown and their village even if they are not at home.”

Women want to take over the kitchen part of the restaurant. Women will even take care of the elderly. They have already taken elderly care course in Bahadın. They all have certificates. As a result, our women will become more active in working life (Özcan, Bahadın)

This social project that arises as a result of investments of associations and relations of associations with other institutions is the first model in the rural areas in Turkey. This model clearly reveals the necessity of evaluating the relationship between collective remittance and development on the basis of transnationalism. At this point, it becomes clear that the hometown associations are important institutions that catalyze the transnationality of Bahadın town and pave the way for institutionalization of remittance of transnational migrants.

To conclude, in the historical process of migration of Bahadın town, remittance practices are the most transparent ways for the protection of the transnational identity of Bahadın community. Regarding the remitting practices of the transnational migrants, different agents and different types of remittances were observed in this particular case which support the transnational ties. The first type of remittance is the practice as family remittance in which migrants send money or goods to family, kins, friends and relatives for the needs of the households such as food, clothing, education and health expenditure and debt payment and sustain or increase the standard of living of the family. The second type of remittances is sent by the individuals through philanthropic motivations and HTAs for the benefit of a group or community, which increase the socio-economic level of the community through investments and projects. By analyzing the impacts of these different types of remittance, it can be easily considered that HTA initiated remittances are the most visible and common transnational interactions which lead to community development in different aspects. Considering their educational, charitable, cultural and artistic, socio-economic and public service investments in Bahadın, it is seen that HTAs of Bahadın take a critical role on institutionalization of remittances. Although the level of the outcome and impact of these types of remittances (sent and organized by various agents according to time, purpose and objectives) may differ, it is clearly seen that all of them play vital roles in the development of Bahadın. Therefore, all of these cross-border engagements of migrants turn Bahadın town into a transnational hub in the Central Anatolia.

Table 10 Types of Remittances in Bahadın

| TYPES OF REMITTANCES IN BAHADIN | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|---|--|
| | Family Remittances | Individual Philanthropic Remittances | HTA Initiated Remittances | |
| Senders | Individuals or people; mostly male migrant who are expected to provide money for families in home country. | Individuals or families | Hometown Associations of Bahadın | |
| Receiver(s)/ Beneficiary(ies) | Families (household), kins, relatives, friends | Community or target group within community | The whole community or target group within community | |
| Logic | Mostly realized in the early times of migration process of Bahadın; Money or goods are sent to receivers who are living in Bahadın; | The first type of collective remittance in Bahadın context; Symbolic power which lead to existence of migrants in community; First step of the community development; Based on personal desires and wishes of individual migrants | The second type of collective remittance in Bahadın context; The most organized, professional and institutionalized type among the remittance practices; Has important role on maintaining transnational interactions; The most visible and common transnational interactions which lead to community development; Based on common mind rather than personal desires or wishes. Generally appear through co-work with municipality; business man; academicians and other institutions. | |
| Motivations behind | Cultural gender roles and norms of the home country | Logic of Philanthropy; "voluntary action for the common good" Sense of belonging to Bahadın; Desire to maintain membership in home country "the incorrigible love of Bahadın"; keep the notion of "Bahadınlılık" alive; Increase social status within home and host country. | Desire to increase community development; Sense of belonging to own culture; Desire to maintain membership in home country; "the incorrigible love of Bahadın"; keep the notion of "Bahadınlılık" alive; Having a high degree of organizational consciousness; Increase social status within home and host country; Provide sustainability, auditability, regularity and functionality for investments and lead to institutionalization of these remittances. | |

Table 10 (Continued)

| Transfer Mechanism | Officially, through banks; Unofficially, through intermediaries (friends or relatives who come to Bahadin) | Through individual investments | Through four HTAs take place in Ankara, Berlin, Den Haag, Mainz. |
|----------------------|--|---|---|
| Uses and Purposes | Used for the primary needs of the households such as food, clothing, education, health expenditure, debt payment; Sometimes spent on conspicuous consumption. | Financially support community development; Improve living standards of the community; Eliminate basic infrastructural needs of the community; Serves for cultural, social, religious, educational and health necessities of the community; Sometimes formed as symbols to increase social status of migrant in the community. | The most visible and common transnational interactions which lead to community development; Serves for cultural, social, religious, educational and health necessities of the community through investment and projects; Compensate the lack of local government in town; Provide public services (official car, bus, vehicle, The Elderly Care Center) Create an employment for the community through some projects; Provide funding for needy or poor people through charitable investments; Protect cultural-social values of the community through social, cultural and art investment; (Bahadin Culture Festival, special day celebrations, traditional and social events); Increase the level of education of community through investments (student funding program, constructing a high school or library). |
| Forms of Development | Increase human capital (education); Increase living standards of the family; Decrease poverty of family and relatives; Increase community development through migrant savings (multiplier effect). | Social development through small or medium infrastructural or symbolic investments | General development in social, cultural, economic, politic aspects through medium and large projects and investment; Increase living standards of the community. |

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This research focused on a small town located at a remote corner of Central Anatolia by considering its contextual differences from the other settlements around it. The contextual differences come from its unique socio-cultural, politic, and religious characteristics. As an Alevi and leftist society, they have been always marginalized and otherized within Yozgat context which makes them a closed society; and this closeness made them even more attached to their own unique culture. However, the main difference comes from its migration history which makes Bahadın a transnational town.

As a rural town, the story of migration started with internal migration after 1950s and continued with international migration to Europe. This almost seventy years of migration history makes Bahadın a salient case where transnationality is catalyzed through migrant interactions.

Although the term ‘transnationality’ is considered in terms of many different aspects in literature, this thesis focused on the remittance practices of the transnational migrants which are the most visible impact of the transnational migration on community level. By doing so, it drew together the main theoretical and empirical findings of the research.

Regarding the remitting practices of these transnational migrants, different agents and different types of remittances were taken into consideration. In Bahadın case, the first type of remittance is practicing as family remittance; that is migrants sending money or goods to family, kins, friends and relatives. The senders of this type of remittances are individuals or people and mostly male migrants who are expected to provide money for their families in the home countries in order to affirm their ongoing gender role as members of a family.

The second type of remittance in Bahadın case is collective remittances “an expression of strong transnational social bonds and of the wish to improve the lives of those left behind” (De Haas, 2010, p.22). It is sent for the benefit of a group or community with which is affiliated. Although it is mostly taken into account in literature as a type of remittance which is organized by a group or migrant organization, this thesis proposed a different categorization for collective remittances based on empirical findings. It is an inevitable fact that the visibility of collective remittances in Bahadın case is extremely high and the agents that channel this type of remittance go into division as Individual Philanthropic Remittances and HTA Initiated Remittances.

Contrary to theoretical approach, it is seen that the collective remittances are not only raised by HTAs, but also philanthropic motivations of individuals migrants in Bahadın case. The motivations behind these philanthropic actions come from the sense of belonging to Bahadın, and the desire to maintain their relationship in their home country as well as the desire to increase the social status that pave the way for mobilization among the migrant and non-migrant community members of Bahadın.

The collective remittances are also channeled by HTAs which take important roles on maintaining transnational ties through remittances practices. Owing to their organized, determined and professional characters, and HTAs of Bahadın are seen as strong transnational agents and a junction point which pave the way for institutionalization of remittances in Bahadın case by providing many social, cultural and economic needs of the society.

Hence, family remittances, individual philanthropic remittances and HTA initiated remittances create a transnational social space where migrants are linked with their home country, maintain their social ties and interactions and sustain their attachment within the community. Bahadın town turned into a transnational hub located at a remote corner of Central Anatolia as a result of these different types of remittance raised by different transnational agents.

Considering these different remittance practices as transparent ways of cross border engagements of transnational migrants, this thesis also elaborated the effects of such different remittance practices in Bahadın. Family remittances that are sent in the

early times of migration are used for the needs of the households such as food, clothing, education and health expenditure and debt payment and sustain or increase the standard of living of the family. They can be also transferred as savings to the construction of modern European houses or transferred as goods or products to improve the standards of livings of non-migrants. Although they are not considered by some pessimistic scholars (Delgado Wise, 2001, Durand and William, 1996) as savings or large-scale investments which are transferred to productive and community development projects, the empirical findings draw an optimistic approach about family remittances and show that they have a ‘multiplier effect’ on community development by increasing the human capital and knowledge of Bahadın people who are also differed from the other people in region in terms of educational, economic and cultural aspects.

Individual Philanthropic Remittances in Bahadın case which are based on voluntary actions of individuals are used for improving the living standards of the community and eliminating the basic infrastructural needs of the town which serves for cultural, social, religious, educational and health dynamics. In that sense, they can be evaluated as the first step of the community development. In addition to their functions in community development, they can be considered as a symbolic remittance, which is raised by the individual migrant who desires to increase his/her social status in Bahadın thus maintaining his/ her transnational relations with the community.

Among the types of remittances that are encountered in Bahadın, HTA initiated remittances are the most visible and common transnational interactions which lead to community development in different aspects. The HTAs, named as Bahadın Culture Associations and placed in different locations (Ankara, Berlin, Den Haag, and Mainz) are the most important transnational agents to channel collective remittance to specific development projects and investments in Bahadın. By doing so, they compensate the lack of governmental financial support to Bahadın which is considered in the Yozgat context as ‘marginal’ due to its unique culture and different political views and ‘irreligious’ as it is an Alevi society.

Considering their educational, charitable, cultural and artistic, socio-economic and public service investments in Bahadın, it is seen that the HTAs of Bahadın take a critical role in institutionalization of remittances. In addition to sustainability, auditability, regularity and functionality of investments (Bahadın Culture Festival, Elderly Care Project, Bahadın Market Project), the projects that provide employment for local people or fund for students and other cultural, educational, and public service investments make all these remittances institutionalized in Bahadın.

Although four associations do not show equal interests in Bahadın, within this remittance management process, they collaborate with each other for the community development. Besides, they are also in cooperation with other institutions such as Bahadın Municipality, Domestic and International Municipality and Associations, Universities; and academicians and business men, which overcome their technical and financial limitations.

Even though the level of impact of these different types of remittances, which are sent and organized by different agents, vary according to time, purposes and their functionality, it is clearly seen that all of them take important roles in the development of Bahadın. Therefore, all of these cross-border engagements of migrants turn Bahadın town into a transnational hub in the Central Anatolia.

To conclude this thesis, it is important to understand impacts on transnational migration in the rural region of Turkey, which has not been widely focused on, thus balancing the lack of field studies on remittance, development and transnationality link as a case study. In that sense, the case of Bahadın, with its marginal culture and transnational character can be a good representation for the further case studies that might be conducted in different contexts. Or, with its Culture Festivals, Elderly Care Centers, Amphitheatre, Culture Houses, Open Air Museum, Libraries, Schools, and other all dynamics, it might be again a field for future research in return migration.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

GMEN DVİZ GNDERİLERİYLE ULUS-TESİ TOPLUMSAL MEKAN İNŞASI: BAHADIN KASABASI RNEĐİ

Yeni g eĐilimleri, son yirmi yıl boyunca arařtırmacıların g yeni bir paradigma ile ele almasına ve gmenlerin ulus-tesi hareketlerinin yeniden deĐerlendirilmesine ve kavramsallařtırılmasına neden olmuřtur. Bu baĐlamda, ulus-tesilik kavramı kreselleřen ve deĐiřen dnyadaki insan odaklı hareketleri aıklayabilmek adına kullanılması gereken bir mercek olarak ortaya ıkmıřtır. Bu kavram, insanların sosyal, kltrel, ekonomik ve politik alanlarda birden ok yer ile girmiř oldukları iliřkilerin ve kurulan eřitli baĐların anlařılmasını kolaylařtırmıřtır. Ulus-tesilik, ulus devletlerin sınırlarını geniřleten btn sosyal, kltrel, ekonomik ve politik sreleri aıklaması sebebiyle (Glick Schiller, 1995, p.48), sosyal bilimciler tarafından literatrde olduka geniř bir kapsamda tartıřılmıřtır. Ancak bu tez, ulus-tesiliĐin btn ynlerine odaklanmamakta olup, Orta Anadolu'nun uzak bir křesinde bulunan Bahadın adında kk bir kasaba zerine odaklanmakta ve Bahadın'daki ulus-tesiliĐin gmen etkileřimleri yoluyla toplumsal dzeye nasıl yerleřtirildiĐini anlamaya alıřmaktadır. Bu baĐlamda, ulus-tesilik kavramı, Bahadın kasabasındaki gmenlerin farklı dviz gnderilerini, bu gnderilerin hane halkı ve toplumsal dzeydeki farklı etkilerine ve Hemřehri Dernekleri'nin bu aktarımların kurumsallařmasındaki rollerine odaklanmaktadır. Bu anlamda, bu arařtırma ilk olarak, Orta Anadolu'nun uzak bir křesinde yer alan kk bir kasabanın gmenlerin farklı dviz gnderileriyle nasıl uluslararası bir merkeze dnřtĐn sormaktadır.

Göçmen döviz gönderilerinin sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik etkileri ele alındığında bu gönderilerin özellikle kırsal toplumların gelişmelerinde önemli bir rol oynadığı görülmektedir. Bu anlamda, bu tezin ikinci araştırma sorusu, göçmenlerin bu farklı döviz gönderileri türlerinin Bahadın kasabasının gelişimde nasıl rol oynadığıdır.

Bazı topluluklar göçmen döviz gönderilerinden sosyo-kültürel ve ekonomik anlamda büyük ölçüde yararlanmalarına rağmen, bazı toplumların yararlanmadığı görülmektedir (Paul & Gammage, 2004, p.7). Bu durum sosyal bilimciler tarafından değerlendirilmiş, ve literatür Hemşehri Dernekleri'nin varlığına odaklanmaya başlamıştır. Bahadın kasabası'ndaki göçmenlerin toplum düzeyindeki etkileri dikkate alındığında Hemşehri Dernekleri'nin göçmen dövizlerinin yönetilmesinde önemli bir kurum olduğu görülmektedir. Bu nedenle, bu tezin üçüncü araştırma sorusu, Hemşehri Derneklerinin ulus-ötesi göçmenlerin döviz gönderilerinin kurumsallaşmasında nasıl bir rol üstlendiğine odaklanacaktır.

Bu kasabanın araştırma vakası olarak seçilmesinde birden fazla neden bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan ilki ve en önemlisi, araştırmacının 2015 ve 2018 yılları arasında bu bölgede inşaatı devam eden TANAP Projesinde Halkla İlişkiler Uzmanı olarak görev almasıdır. TANAP Projesi kapsamında, araştırmacının Halkla İlişkiler Uzmanı olarak görev tanımı temel olarak proje ile projeden etkilenen 3. şahıslar arasında bir köprü görevi görerek, kesintisiz, güvenilir ve şeffaf ilişkiler kurmaktır. Bunun yanı sıra, proje ve inşaat faaliyetlerinden kaynaklanan şikayetler konusunda doğru ve zamanında aksiyonlar alarak şikayet mekanizmasını yönetmektir. Bu bağlamda, araştırmacı TANAP Projesinden etkilenen Sivas, Yozgat, Kırşehir, Kırıkkale olmak üzere 4 ilden, bu illere bağlı 9 ilçeden ve 90 köyden sorumlu olmuş ve bu süreçte görev tanımı nedeniyle yaklaşık olarak 16.000 topluluk üyesi ile irtibat halinde olunmuştur. Dolayısıyla, araştırmacının sahadaki çalışmaları yalnızca yüksek lisans öğrencisi olarak devam etmemiş ayrıca beşeri bilimler reflekslerinin de kullanılmasıyla birlikte projedeki görev tanımının yerine getirilmesiyle vuku bulmuştur. Ön araştırma olarak, bölge kapsamında iç ve dış göçün oldukça yoğun olduğu ve bölgenin sosyo-kültürel, ekonomik ve demografik yapısında oldukça önemli bir dinamik olduğu gözlemlenmiştir.

90 köy arasında Bahadın kasabasının seçilmesinin sebebi ise ulus-ötesi göçün kasabadaki sosyal, kültürel, ekonomik, politik etkilerinin daha yoğun olarak görülmesidir. Bu gözlemler yalnızca insanların anlatılarıyla değil, ayrıca bu etkilerin toplumsal alandaki görünürlülüğü sonucu olarak da ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu gözlemler sonucu Bahadın kasabası bölgedeki diğer yerleşim yerlerine göre daha marjinal ve gelişmiş bir alan olarak belirmiştir. Gelişmişlik seviyesi ve Bahadın kasabasının farklılığı ulus-ötesi göç sonucu göçmenlerin döviz gönderileriyle katalize olmuştur. Bu bağlamda, Bahadın kasabasının bölgedeki diğer yerleşim yerlerine göre gösterdiği bu farklılık Bahadın'ı araştırmacının gözünde çekici kılmıştır.

Bahadın kasabasının araştırma sahası olarak seçilmesinin bir diğer sebebi, kasabanın araştırmacının yaşadığı ve aynı zamanda çalıştığı yere yakın olmasıdır. Bu fiziksel yakınlık ve kolay erişilebilirlik, araştırmacının sahadaki sürekli varlığını mümkün kılmıştır.

Bu fiziksel yakınlığa ek olarak, Bahadın kasabasının sosyo-kültürel altyapısı, araştırmacının Bahadın'ı bölge içerisinde tek sosyalleşebilecek alan olarak görmesine sebep olmuş ve Bahadın toplumuyla iş dışındaki zamanlarda kuvvetli ilişkiler kurmasını sağlamıştır. Alevi kasabası olması ve eğitime önem veren bir toplum olması, kasabayla, bir kadın olarak iş ilişkileri dışında akademik sebeplerle ilişki kuran araştırmacı için oldukça konforlu bir ortam hazırlamıştır. Tezin araştırma konusu kapsamındaki yapılan gözlem ve görüşmeler, kurulan bu sosyal ilişkiler sayesinde kolaylıkla organize edilmiştir.

Bahadın kasabasının araştırma sahası olarak seçilmesine neden olan bu etkenler sonucu, bu çalışma, ulus-ötesi etkileşimler hakkında nitel analizler yapan bir etnografik alan araştırması olarak nitelendirilebilir. 2015 ile 2018 yılları arasında gerçekleştirilen araştırma safhasındaki veriler birden fazla metodla toplanılmaya çalışılmıştır. Araştırmanın ilk safhasında veriler, önceden tanımlanmış aşama olarak 60-70 kişiyle yapılandırılmamış mülakatların birleştirilmesiyle toplanmıştır. Katılımcı gözlem, belge, kitap ve sosyal medya analizi ile araştırma desteklenmiştir. Araştırmanın bu safhasından çıkan veriler doğrultusunda, 19 kişiyle derinlemesine görüşme yapılmış ve bu görüşmeler, 8'i göçmen ve Bahadın Hemşehri Derneklerinin üyelerinden; 8'i göçmen olmayıp, Bahadın kasabasında yaşayan kişilerden ve 3'ü de

Bahadın'la ilişkili kurumlardaki insanlardan oluşmuştur. Bu çok yöntemli araştırma metodu aracılığıyla Bahadın kasabındaki farklı temsilcilerin farklı gönderi şekilleri, bu gönderilerin kasaba üzerindeki etkisi ve Bahadın hemşehri derneklerin bu gönderi şekillerinin yönetilmesindeki rolü anlaşılmak istenmiştir.

Göçmen döviz gönderileri, çalışmak için başka bir ülkeye giden göçmenlerin kendi ülkelerine gönderdikleri para olarak tanımlanabilir. Dünya Bankası'nın en son yayınladığı Göç ve Gelişmişlik raporuna göre, 2018'de düşük ve orta gelirli ülkelere olan göçmen döviz girdilerinin rekor bir seviyeye ulaştığı görülmektedir. Dünya Bankası, düşük ve orta gelirli ülkelere olan resmi yıllık döviz akışının bir önceki seneye göre %9,6 artışla, 2018'de 529 milyar dolara ulaştığını belirtmiştir. Öte yandan yüksek gelirli ülkelere giren göçmen küresel döviz girdileri 2017 yılında 633 milyar dolar'a, 2018'de 689 milyar dolara ulaşmıştır. Dünya Bankası'nın raporuna göre, 2019'da göçmen döviz gönderileri düşük ve orta gelirli ülkelerinde 550 milyar dolara ulaşarak en büyük dış finansman kaynağı olacağı tahmin edilmektedir. Bu istatistiki veriler, küreselleşme sürecinde, göçmen döviz gönderilerinin gelişmemiş toplumlar için önemli bir finansal kaynak olduğunu göstermektedir. Bunun sonucu olarak göçmen döviz gönderileri göç araştırmacıları için birincil odak olmaya başlamış ve göçmen döviz gönderileri göç çalışmaları kapsamında farklı araştırmacılar tarafından incelenmiştir. Bununla birlikte, son yıllarda göç tanımları ve göçmen döviz gönderilerinin ele alınma biçimleri değişiklik göstermiştir. Glick Schiller'in önerdiği gibi "çağdaş göçmenler kökenleri ile anavatanları arasında hiçbir ilişkileri olmayan" (1995, s.48) veya yeni yerleşim yerlerinde "asimile edilmiş" veya yeni yerleşim yerlerine "entegre veya adapte olmuş" kimseler olarak nitelendirilemez. Dolayısıyla, giderek küreselleşen bir dünyada göçmenlerin ilişki ağlarını inceleyen araştırmacılar 1990'lı yıllardan itibaren bu ağların etkinliği ve "ulus-ötesi" boyutu üzerinde durmaya başlamıştır (Faist, 2000; Portes v.d., 1999; Portes, 1997; Smith ve Guarnizo, 1998). Göçmenlerden artık "transgöçmen" olarak bahsedilmeye başlanmış ve transgöçmenler "ekonomik, sosyal, kurumsal, dini ve siyasi alanlarda ulusal sınırların ötesine geçen ilişkiler kuran kişiler" olarak adlandırılmıştır (Basch, 1994, p.7). Ayrıca, "göçmenlerin çeşitli coğrafyalar arasında kurdukları ağların ulus devletlerin sınırlarını aşan/aşındıran öğeler içerdiğini" işaret eden (Faist, 2000), "ulus-ötesi sosyal mekanlar" kavramı ile göç literatürüne önemli

katkılar sağlamış ve göçmen uygulamaları bu yeni yaklaşım ile analiz edilmeye başlanmıştır. Göçmen döviz gönderi pratikleri, ulus-ötesi göçmenlerin ulus-ötesi etkileşimlerini sürdürmenin en şeffaf yollarından biridir. Özellikle kırsal bölgelerde, ulus-ötesiliğin, toplumsal düzeyde görünürlülüğü açısından önemli bir gösterge haline gelmiş, göçmenlerin anavatanlarıyla olan bağlarının çok güçlü olduğunun kanıtı olmuştur.

Literatürde farklı araştırmacılar tarafından teorize edilen birden çok göçmen döviz gönderi biçimleri bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan bir tanesi, Peggy Levitt (2001) tarafından üzerinde durulan sosyal gönderi biçimidir. “Sosyal gönderiler” misafir ülkeden anavatana göçmenler aracılığıyla aktarılan davranışlar, fikirler, kimlikler ve sosyal sermaye olarak tanımlanmıştır. Başka bir gönderi biçimi, ulus-ötesi göçmenler tarafından taşınan bilgi, beceri ve teknolojinin aktarılmasıdır. Bu gönderi biçimi Nichols (2002) tarafından “teknik veya teknolojik gönderiler” olarak adlandırılmıştır. Öte yandan, “politik gönderiler” (Goldring, 2004, s.805) ulus-ötesilik aracılığıyla aktarılan siyasi görüşleri, değişen kimlikleri ve politik uygulamaları tanımlamaktadır. Ekonomik gönderiler veya finansal gönderiler, göçmen döviz gönderileri tartışmasındaki geniş kapsamlardan biridir ve göçmenlerin ev sahibi ülkelerde kazandığı ve kendi ülkelerine gönderdiği para veya ekonomik sermayeyi ifade eder.

Bunların yanı sıra literatürün büyük bir kısmı esas olarak Bireysel-Aile gönderileri ve Kolektif gönderiler olmak üzere iki kategorinin analizine dayanmaktadır. Bireysel-Aile gönderileri, göçmenlerin ailelerine ve akrabalarına yiyecek, giyecek, eğitim ve sağlık harcamaları ve borç ödemesi gibi birincil ihtiyaçların karşılanması amacıyla gönderdikleri para veya mal olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Temel olarak tüketim amacıyla kullanılmaktadır (Bonciani, 2018). Kolektif gönderiler, ise Bireysel-Aile gönderileri ile karşılaştırıldığında literatürde nispeten yeni bir söylem olarak belirmektedir. Ulus-ötesi göçmenler tarafından sosyal ve üretken projelere yatırım yapmak için kullanılır (Bonciani, 2018). Etkileri makro düzeydedir; etkilediği toplumu sosyal ve ekonomik anlamda dönüştürebilir. (Durand ve Willam, 1996; Goldring, 2004; Waller Meyers, 2002). Bu yatırımlara, altyapı projeleri (yollar, evler, köprüler, drenaj kanalı, su kanalı, içme suyu, kuyu vb) kamu hizmeti projeleri, (ambulans, toplum klinikleri, itfaiye, otobüs, eğitim ve sağlık) ve sosyal ve kültürel projeler (festivaller, organizasyonlar ve spor merkezi, amfiteyatros, müzeler,

dini kurumlar vb.) örnek olarak verilebilir. Bu yatırımlar toplumun gelişmesi amacıyla kullanılır ve yerel kalkınma için birincil dış kaynak olarak değerlendirilebilir.

Literatürde pesimistik yaklaşım, bireysel-aile gönderilerinin toplumun uzun vadeli ihtiyaçlarından ziyade bireyin veya ailenin acil ihtiyaçlarını karşıladığını (Durand ve William, 1996) ve toplumun gelişimi için üretilecek projelere çok az katkı sağladığını savunurken (Delgado Wise, 2001), optimistik yaklaşım; bireysel-aile gönderilerinin, “çarpan etkisi” (Paul&Gammage, 2004) sebebiyle toplumun gelişimi için uzun vadede etkili olduğunu savunmaktadır. Bu tez ise bu iki tip gönderi şekillerinin toplumun gelişiminde uzun ve kısa vadede önemli pozitif etkileri olduğunu önermekte ve optimistik bakış açısını benimsemektedir. Ancak, bazı toplumlar göçmen döviz gönderilerinden yararlanamazken, bazı toplumların neden yüksek oranda yararlanabildiği, göçmen gönderilerinin toplumun gelişmesi kapsamında yönetilerek nasıl sürdürülebilir kılındığı ve bu göçmen gönderilerinin nasıl kurumsallaştığı soruları bu tezde Hemşehri Dernekleri’nin bu süreçteki rollerinin önemiyle açıklanacaktır.

Hemşehri Derneklerinin göçün tarihsel sürecindeki gelişen önemi sosyal bilimciler tarafından farkedilmiş ve Hemşehri Dernekleri’nin ulus-ötesi sosyal mekanların oluşmasında çok önemli bir katalizör olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Ancak, Hemşehri Dernekleri’nin göçmen döviz gönderi meselesi ile olan ilişkisi, bunların toplumdaki kullanımları ve işlevleri, bu gönderilerin yönetimi ve toplumun gelişimi üzerine etkileri hakkındaki geniş literatür Amerika Birleşik Devletleri’ndeki Hemşehri Dernekleri çalışmalarından gelmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra, Türkiye’de Hemşehri Dernekleri ile ilgili olan çalışmaların yalnızca bir kısmı ulus-ötesilik bağlamında ele alınmıştır. Literatürdeki bu eksikliğin giderilmesi için ulus-ötesilik bağlamında, Bahadın’daki göçmen döviz gönderi şekilleri, bunların kasaba üzerine etkileri ve Bahadın Derneklerinin göçmen döviz gönderilerinin yönetilmesinde ve kurumsallaşmasındaki rolünün araştırılması önemlidir. Ancak, bu analizlerden önce Bahadın kasabasının göç tarihi ve sosyal, demografik, ekonomik, coğrafik, politik ve dini yapısı analiz edilmelidir.

Bahadın'daki ilk yerleşim 16. yüzyılda Ermeni isyanını bastırmak için Sivas, Tokat, Erzincan, Tunceli ve Kars'tan Yozgat bölgesine gelen Türkmenler'in buraya yerleşmesiyle başlamıştır. Lokasyon olarak ana yoldan oldukça uzakta olup, Bağırğan vadisi içinde kalmış ve etrafı Çomak Dağı çevrilmiştir. Alevi bir toplum olması, Yozgat gibi sunni-muhafazakarlığın baskın olduğu bir coğrafyada Bahadın'ın böyle kapalı bir lokasyonda yer edinebilmesine sebep olmuştur. Ayrıca, Bahadın, Yozgat gibi aşırı milliyetçi bir toplum içerisinde sol partilerin iktidar olduğu tek şehirdir. 1968'de ilk milletvekili (Yusuf Ziya Bahadınlı) Yozgat'taki Türkiye İşçi Partisi'nden (TİP) de çıkmıştır. Dolayısıyla, Bahadın'a ait bu sosyo-mekansal bağlam, Bahadın'ın bölge içerisinde kapalı, azınlık ve marjinal bir toplum olarak yaşamasını neden olmuştur. Bu durum da 'Bahadınlılık' denilen bölgedeki 'eşsiz' kültürün yaşamasını ve Bahadın toplumunun bu kültüre daha çok tutunmasını sağlamıştır. Tarım ve hayvancılık Bahadın'ın geçim kaynaklarından biridir. Ancak, Bahadın'ın geçim kaynağı olan tarım ve hayvancılık, 1965'lerden sonra göçle birlikte yerini yabancı göçmen sermayesine bırakmaya başlamıştır. Sonuç olarak, Bahadın kasabasının sosyal, ekonomik, kültürel, politik ve dini karakteristiği, Bahadın'ı bölge içerisinde kapalı bir toplum olmaya ve kendi özgün kimliklerinin korunmasına sebep olmuştur. Bu nedenle, ulus-ötesi bağlar böylesi bir bağlam içerisinde canlılığını korumuştur.

Kasaban'ın göç tarihi, Türkiye'nin göç tarihiyle paralel bir eğilim göstermiştir. Türkiye'deki modernleşme süreci ile birlikte 1950'lerden sonra kırdan kente başlayan iç göç, Bahadın kasabasında da benzer şekilde seyretmiştir. Kentin çekici faktörleriyle birlikte, tarımda makinalaşma süreci, topraktan elde edilen gelirin aile içinde paylaşılması gerekliliği ve bunun sonucu olarak gelir kaynaklarının yetersizliği sebebiyle, Bahadın da diğer kırsal yerleşimler gibi, iç göç dalgasına maruz kalmıştır. Buna ek olarak, Bahadın'ın sosyo-kültürel yapısı ve politik ve dini kimliği sebebiyle kamu yatırımlarından ve yerel hizmetlerden az miktarda yararlanıyor olması, kasabanın ekonomik sıkıntılar çekmesine ve sonuç olarak da insanların yeni sosyal bağlam arayışı içerisinde kırsalı terk etmesine sebep olmuştur. Bu bağlamda, coğrafi yakınlık sebebiyle özellikle Ankara ve İstanbul Bahadınlıların tercih ettikleri şehirlerden olmuştur.

1960'tan sonra, Türkiye ile Almanya arasındaki İşe Alım Anlaşması'nın imzalanmasıyla birlikte, tüm bölgelerden Avrupa başlayan göç hareketi, Bahadın'da da hızlanmıştır. İlk zamanlar, bir traktör ve iki-üç hayvan alma hayaliyle Avrupa'ya giden ve tekrar geri dönmeyi düşünen Bahadınlı göçmenler, Türkiye'deki sosyo-ekonomik ve politik gelişmeler ve Avrupa'daki rahat yaşam koşulları sebebiyle geri dönmemiş/dönememiştir. Özellikle, 12 Eylül darbesiyle birlikte siyasi rejimin, sol görüşlü ve Alevi olarak bilinen Bahadın'a uyguladığı baskılar, Avrupa'ya göçün hızlanmasına neden olmuştur. Aile birleşimi ve evlilik gibi uygulamalar zincir göçü hızlandırmış ve Bahadın nüfusu Avrupa'da özellikle Almanya ve Hollanda'da artış göstermiştir.

Avrupa'ya göç eden Bahadın halkı, zincir göçün “finansal ve psikolojik maliyetlerini” (VanWey, 2007, s.136) azaltmak için dernekler aracılığıyla örgütlenmeye başlamıştır. İlk dernek 1991 yılında Bahadın'ı Koruma ve Güzelleştirme Derneği adı altında, Bahadın nüfusunun yoğunlaştığı Ankara'da kurulmuştur. İkinci dernek 1993 yılında Berlin'de kurulmuş ve ardından Den Haag ve Mainz'de diğer dernekler kurulmuştur. Dernekler, göçmenlerin Avrupa'da kendi kültürel kimliklerini korumalarında ve Avrupa'daki yaşam koşullarına ayak uydurmalarında etkili bir rol oynamıştır. Öte yandan, bu dernekler, göçmenlerin vatan özlemini azaltan ve döviz gönderileriyle anavatanlarına faydalı olma isteklerini gerçekleştirmesini sağlayacak mükemmel bir sosyal ağ olarak görülmüştür. Bu anlamda, finansal ve psikolojik maliyetleri düşürmek için kullanılan bu ulus-ötesi sosyal ağlar, Bahadın hemşehri dernekleri aracılığıyla kurumsallaşmıştır. Sonuç olarak, göçmenlerin bu ulus-ötesi etkileşimlerini anlamak için hemşehri derneklerinin rollerini analiz etmek önemlidir. Bu kapsamda, göçmenlerin döviz gönderi pratikleri, bunların toplum düzeyindeki etkileri ve bu etkileşimin içindeki Bahadın hemşehri derneklerinin rolleri, ulus-ötesi metodoloji ele alınmalıdır.

Bu tez kapsamında, ampirik bulgular sonucu, Bahadın'daki ulus-ötesi göçmenlerin döviz gönderileriyle ilgili olarak, farklı temsilciler ve farklı gönderi şekilleri dikkate alınmıştır. Bahadın özelindeki, birinci tür gönderi şekli, göçmenlerin ailelerine, akrabalarına, arkadaşlarına ve yakınlarına gönderdikleri para ya da mal olarak nitelendirilen Aile gönderileridir. Bu türün göndericileri bireylerden oluşmaktadır. Bu bireyler çoğunlukla, aile içi cinsiyet rollerini sürdürmeye çalışan ve

anavatanlarındaki ailelerin ekonomik ihtiyalarını karřılaması beklenen erkek gmenlerdir. Dolayısıyla, bu gnderi pratiğinin arkasındaki motivasyon aile ii kltrel cinsiyet rollerinin devam ettirilmesi ile birlikte anavatanlarıyla iliřkilerini koparmama arzusu olarak belirtilebilir (Goldring, 2004, p.820). Bahadın zelindeki ikinci tr gnderi řekli, “gl bir ulus-tesi sosyal baėların ifadesi ve geride kalanların hayatlarını iyileřtirme arzusunun bir ifadesi” olan Kolektif gnderilerdir (De Haas, 2010, s.22). Bu gnderiler, baėlı olduėu bir grubun veya topluluėun yararı iin gnderilmektedir. Literatrde oėunlukla bir grup ya da gmen rgt tarafından organize edilen gnderi tr olarak deėerlendirilmesine raėmen, bu tez kolektif gnderiler iin ampirik bulgulara dayanan farklı bir sınıflandırma nermektedir. Bahadın zelinde kolektif gnderilerin grnrlėnn fazla olduėu ve bu gnderi trn ynlendiren iki tr temsilci olduėu tespit edilmiřtir. Bunlar; Bireysel-Hayırsever gnderi řekilleri ve Hemřehri Derneklerinin gnderileri řekilleridir.

Bahadın’daki Kolektif gnderi řekilleri, gmen gnderi pratikleri vesilesiyle ulus-tesi baėların korunmasında nemli roller alan Bahadın Hemřehri Dernekleri tarafından ynlendirilmektedir. Organize, kararlı ve profesyonel karakterleri ve toplumun sosyal, kltrel ve ekonomik birok ihtiyaına cevap vermeleri nedeniyle, Bahadın Dernekleri, Bahadın vakasında gmen dviz girdilerinin kurumsallařmasına neden olan bir kesiřim noktası ve gl bir ulus-tesi temsilcisi olarak grlmřtr.

Literatrde yer alan teorik yaklařımın aksine, Bahadın vakasında kolektif gnderi řekillerinin yalnızca Hemřehri Dernekleri aracılıėıyla deėil, aynı zamanda gmenlerin hayırsever motivasyonları aracılıėıyla da gerekleřtiėi grlmřtr. Bu hayırsever eylemlerin ardındaki motivasyonlar, gmelerin Bahadın’a duyduėu aidiyet hissiyatları ve anavatanlarıyla sosyal, kltrel ve ekonomik baėlarını srdrme arzularıdır. Ayrıca, bu eylemler aynı zamanda, gmen bireylerin hem misafir lkede hem de kendi anavatanlarındaki sosyal statlerini arttırmaya ynelik arzuları ile de aıklanabilir.

Bu nedenle, Aile gnderileri, Bireysel-Hayırsever gnderiler ve Hemřehri Derneklerinin gnderileri, gmenlerin anavatanlarına baėlı oldukları, sosyal

bağlarını ve etkileşimlerini korudukları ve topluluk içindeki varlığını sürdürdüğü ulus-ötesi bir sosyal alan yaratmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, farklı ulus-ötesi temsilciler tarafından organize olan bu farklı gönderi türleri, Orta Anadolu'nun uzak bir köşesinde bulunan Bahadın kasabasını, ulus-ötesi bir merkeze dönüştürmüştür.

Bu farklı döviz gönderi pratiklerinin, göçmenler için ulus-ötesi bağlantılarının korunmasındaki en şeffaf yollardan biri olduğu göz önüne alındığında, bu tez aynı zamanda bu farklı döviz gönderilerinin Bahadın kasabası üzerindeki etkilerini de analiz etmiştir. Göçün ilk zamanlarında iletilen Aile gönderileri hanelerin yiyecek, giyim, eğitim ve sağlık harcamaları ve borç ödemesi gibi ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak amaçlı kullanılmış ve göçmen ailelerinin yaşam standartlarını arttırmıştır. Bu gönderiler, modern Avrupa evlerini inşa etmek için kullanıldığı gibi aynı zamanda ailelerin ve göçmen yakınların ileriki yaşam standartlarını iyileştirmek için göçmenler tarafından biriktirilmiştir. Bu gönderiler, bazı pesimist bilim adamları tarafından (Delgado Wise, 2001, Durand ve William, 1996) üretken ve toplumun gelişmesi için tasarlanan projelere aktarılan büyük ölçekli yatırımlar olarak değerlendirilmese de ampirik bulgular Aile gönderileri hakkında iyimser bir yaklaşım sergilemektedir. Hane üyelerinin veya yakınların eğitimi veya sağlık harcamaları için kullanılması sebebiyle Bahadın halkının insan sermayesini ve bilgisini artırarak toplum gelişimi üzerinde bir çarpan etki yarattığı görülmektedir (Paul&Gammage, 2004).

Kolektif gönderilerin bir türü olan ve bireylerin gönüllülük eylemlerine dayanan Bireysel-Hayırsever gönderiler, toplumun yaşam standartlarını iyileştirmek, kasabanın kültürel, sosyal, dini, eğitim ve sağlık standartlarının iyileştirilmesi için hizmet veren yatırımlar için ve kasabanın temel altyapı ihtiyaçlarını ortadan kaldırmak için kullanılmaktadır. Bu anlamda, toplumun kalkınmasının ilk adımı olarak değerlendirilebilirler. Toplumun gelişimindeki işlevlerine ek olarak, göçmen bireylerin sosyal statülerini artırmak ve anavatanlarıyla olan ulus-ötesi ilişkilerini sürdürmek için aktarılan sembolik gönderi olarak da kabul edilebilirler.

Bahadın özelinde karşılaşılan göçmen gönderi türleri arasında, Hemşehri Dernekleri tarafından aktarılan gönderiler, toplumun gelişimine farklı açılardan yol açan, en görünür ve en yaygın ulus-ötesi etkileşim türüdür. Farklı şehirlerde yer alan ve

Bahadın Kltr Derneęi olarak adlandırılan bu dernekler (Ankara, Berlin, Den Haag ve Mainz), kalkınma projelerinin gelişmesini ve bu gönderilerin toplum yararı için yönetilmesini sağlayan en önemli ulus-ötesi temsilcidir. Aynı zamanda, bu dernekler, Yozgat bağlamında benzersiz kltr ve farklı siyasi görüşleri nedeniyle “marjinal” olarak kabul edilen ve bir Alevi toplumu olması sebebiyle “dinsiz” olarak kabul edilen Bahadın'a, yapılması gerekli devlet ve yerel yönetim yatırımlarının eksikliğini de telafi etmektedir.

Bahadın kasabasında dernekler tarafından organize edilip aktarılan, eğitim, kltr, sanat ve dini alanlarda yapılan hayırsever ve sosyo-ekonomik yatırımlar ve kamu hizmeti yatırımları göz önüne alındığında, Bahadın Dernekleri'nin bu gönderilerin kurumsallaşmasında kritik bir rol oynadığı görlmektedir. Bahadın Kltr Festivali, Yaşlı Bakım Projesi, Bahadın Market Projesi, yerel halk için istihdam sağlayan projelerin ya da öğrenciler için verilen bursların ve diğer kltrel, eğitim ve kamu hizmetleri için ayrılan fonlar gibi yatırımların sürdürülebilirliğini, denetlenebilirliğini, düzenliliğini ve işlevselliğini sağlamasıyla birlikte, kişisel arzulara dayanmayan profesyonel bir organizasyon kimliği taşıması, derneklerin tüm bu gönderilerin kurumsallaşmasında önemli bir rol oynadığının göstergesidir.

Göçmen gönderilerin yönetilmesi sürecinde dört Bahadın Derneęi eşit miktarda katkı sağlamamasına rağmen, toplumun gelişmesi için birçok projede birbirleriyle iş birliği yaparlar. Ayrıca, projelerin gelişmesi sürecindeki teknik ve mali eksikliklerin üstesinden gelmek amacıyla Bahadın Dernekleri, Bahadın Belediye'siyle, yerel ve yabancı Belediye ve Derneklerle, üniversiteler ve akademisyenlerle ve iş adamlarıyla iş birliği içindedir.

Her ne kadar farklı temsilciler tarafından iletilen ve organize edilen bu farklı gönderi türlerinin etkileri zamana, amaçlara ve işlevselliklerine göre çeşitlilik gösterse de bunların hepsinin Bahadın'ın toplumsal gelişiminde önemli roller üstlendięi açıkça görlmektedir. Bu nedenle, tüm bu göçmen girişimleri, Bahadın kasabasını ulus-ötesi bir merkez haline getirmiştir.

Sonuç olarak, bu tez, ulus-ötesi göçün Türkiye'de kırsal bir bölge üzerindeki etkilerinin anlaşılması için çok önemlidir ve Türkiye bağlamı için literatürde eksikliği görlen göçmen döviz gönderileri, gelişmişlik ve ulus-ötesilik ilişkilerini

ele alan saha alıřmalarının eksiklięini telafi edecektir. Bu anlamda, Bahadın vakası, marjinal kltr ve ulus-tesi karakteri ile, farklı baęlamlarda gerekleřtirilebilecek daha ileri vaka alıřmaları iin iyi bir ilham kaynaęı olabilir. Veya Kltr Festivalleri, Yařlı Bakım Merkezleri, Amfi-tiyatro, Kltr Evleri, Aık Hava Mzesi, Ktphaneler, Okullar ve dięer tm dinamikleriyle birlikte, gelecekte geri dnř g hakkında alıřmak isteyen arařtırmacılar iin yine bir alan olabilir.

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