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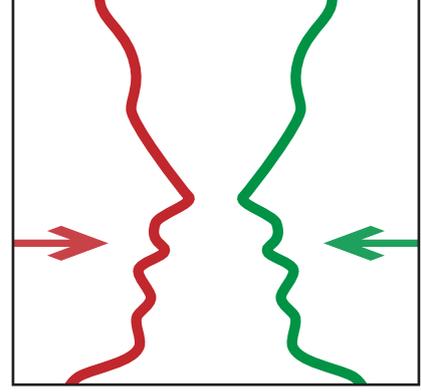
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University Student Austrian-Turks And Their Perceptions of Homeland vs. Hostland: Is Roots Migration Possible?

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**University Student Austrian-Turks And Their Perceptions of Homeland vs. Hostland: Is Roots Migration Possible?\***

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**ÖZET**

*Bu çalışmada, Avusturya'da yaşayan Türkiye kökenli göçmenler ile göçmenlerin profilleri, memleket ve gurbet algıları incelenmiştir. İncelediğim profillerin, memleket ve gurbet algıları sayesinde, göçmenlerin Türkiye dönebilme olasılıklarını hakkında detaylı veri elde ettim. Hedef kitlem ise Avusturya'da yaşayan ikinci/üçüncü kuşağa dâhil olan üniversite öğrencisi Türkiyeli göçmenler ve onların Türkiye'ye geri dönme ihtimalleridir. Hedef kitlemi, Viyana/Avusturya'da öğrenim gören ikinci/üçüncü kuşak Türkiyeli göçmenlerle sınırladım ve görünürlüğü Türkiye'de giderek artan roots-migration (kök-göç) çerçevesinde inceledim.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler: İkinci/Üçüncü Kuşak Göçmenler, Tersine Göç, Roots-Migration (Kök-Göç)**

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## **ABSTRACT**

*In this study, I focused on Turkish-Austrians and their profiles, homeland and hostland perceptions. Their profiles and perceptions can help me to understand their return possibility to Turkey. My target group is second/third generation of university student Turkish immigrants who have potential to return back to Turkey. I examine this focus group as a significant part in the roots migration process because the rates of roots migration which is from receiving countries to Turkey increases. I focus on the purpose to return among second/third generation Turkish immigrants who study for a degree in Vienna/Austria.*

**Keywords:** *Second/Third Generation, Return Migration, Roots-Migration*

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## INTRODUCTION

In this study, Turkish-Austrians who study for a degree in Vienna/Austria and their profiles, homeland and hostland perceptions are determined. Their profiles and perceptions can help to understand their return possibility to Turkey. The target group is second/third generation of university student Turkish immigrants who have potential to return back to Turkey. This focus group is a significant part in the roots migration process because the rates of roots migration from receiving countries to Turkey have increased.

Return migration is a part of migration process which contains voluntary return of migrants to their homelands. Turkish-Austrians who were born and grew up in Austria consider moving to Turkey permanently or for a long time period. I would like to use the term of ‘roots migration’, instead of return migration. Roots-migrants attribute a new meaning to culture, identity and homeland. Susanne Wessendorf determines the concept of roots migration to describe the migration to a place where members of the second generation originate from, but they have never lived. She also underlines that migration to the parents’ country of origin has been largely understudied in research on the second generation (Wessendorf, 2007: 1084). In migration literature, return migration generally explains that the first generation’s return aims to their homeland and roots migration tries to focus on the second/third generation’s homeland perception and their possibility to live in their country of origin.

The aim of the study is displaying if university student Turkish-Austrians really consider re-emigrating to Turkey in near future and the study is examined in three major steps; profile of sample, perception of Turkey and perception of Austria

### **Roots Migration**

As mentioned above, Susanne Wessendorf (Wessendorf, 2007: 1084) determines the concept of roots migration to describe the migration to a place where members of the second generation originate from, but they have never lived. She also underlines that migration to the parents’ country of origin has been largely understudied in research on the second generation.

Only recently have there been some studies focusing on the children of transatlantic migrants such as Greeks from North America (Christou 2006<sup>1</sup>, Panagakos 2004<sup>2</sup>) or Caribbeans from Britain (Potter 2005)<sup>3</sup> who ‘return’ to their parents’ homeland. (Wessendorf, 2007: 1084). It is also important to respecify that in the migration literature, the concept of return migration also examines the second generation and their perception of their return possibility to their parents’ homeland.

The roots-migration of second-generation is a new and compounded field to research which involves trans-local and transnational practices. Additionally, a small group of second-generation migrants consider returning to the homeland. This situation contains unique characteristics and is interesting to analyze.

### **The Second/Third Generation**

In European context, the second generation refers to the children of immigrant families whose families came from ex-colonies or were employed as a guest-worker. The majority - but not entire amount of them- was originally from rural regions and less educated.

The integration process of second generation is a key point and there are several aspects about the integration process. As Thomson and Crul (Thomson & Crul, 2007) explain how young people integrate into society. Whereas through education and, to a lesser extent, in the workplace, there is the potential for ‘formal acculturation’ of the second generation into the mainstream, their more informal experiences outside school or work can be more significant, especially if they have been left disillusioned by poor schooling or low-paid and low-status employment. The values that we often assume are a prerequisite to integration, such as upward mobility through a good education and hard work may not be highly prized by some members of the second generation. This situation can bring conflict within households if parental expectations of their children are not fulfilled or are opposed, and especially when immigrant parents

1 Christou, A. (2006) ‘American dreams and European nightmares: experiences and polemics of second-generation Greek-American returning migrants’, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32(5): 831\_45.

2 Panagakos, A.N. (2004) ‘Recycled odyssey: creating transnational families in the Greek diaspora’, *Global Networks*, 4(3): 299\_311.

3 Potter, R.B. (2005) ‘Young, gifted and back’: second-generation transnational return migrants to the Caribbean’, *Progress in Development Studies*, 5(3): 213\_36.

are unable, due to poor language skills and limited knowledge of the new culture, to control how their children are integrating -a process which has been described as ‘dissonant acculturation’ (Thomson & Crul, 2007).

### **Roots Migration in the Turkish Second-Generation Concept**

The return behaviors of second-generation have created attention. Roots-migrants attribute a new meaning to culture, identity and homeland. Unfortunately, studies on roots-migrants are very limited. In addition, return migration of first generation is also not thoroughly examined, under the both political and social concept. There are only a few studies which concern Turkish return migration from Europe.

Besides second-generation has significant education problems, although they have better education level than their parents. Moreover, a small minority of second-generation migrants, whose family came from Turkey, have individual success to get higher educational degree. It is obvious that second-generation migrants had less life experience in Turkey because they had spent limited time there. In this situation, returning to Turkey depends on marriage, education and job/entrepreneurial opportunity. Additionally, the family decision of permanent return is significant for second-generation so this family decision also orients some second-generations to live in Turkey. On the other hand, some others may decide to return while their families continue to stay in Europe. Basically, return migration has been discussed in relation

to its consequences and impacts for the sending as well as the receiving countries, (re) integration constituted the main theme of investigation and analysis. Taking into consideration a number of studies dealing with this issue, it seems possible to provide a set of different answers. It can be stated that return decisions are influenced by economic, social, cultural, political as well as psychological factors (Tılıç-Rittersberger, Celik & Özen, 2011).

To sum up, the image of ‘returning home’ might be not definitely perceived as living there forever for second generation who was raised in Austria. They will want to ensure for a possible future return to Austria. Especially, potential returnees, who return with individual de-

cision, will live in Turkey more temporarily. In other words, Austria certainly might not be the only country they would like to live; they spend some time in Turkey to work, study then will turn back to Austria whenever they want.

### **PROFILE OF SAMPLE**

Approximately 350,000 people who have Turkish descent live in Austria. Interviewees of the research live in Vienna and they are all students who study there. Interviewees study at the University of Vienna, WU (Vienna University of Economics and Business) and TU Wien (Vienna University of Technology).

The age dispersion of interviews is determined under three age categories. First category comprises the age distribution between 20 and 25; the second category, the age distribution between 26 and 30 and the last category represents the age distribution over 30 years old.

Interviewees were born in both Austria and Turkey but only few of them were born in Turkey. Turkey-born interviewees migrated to Austria at relative early ages and some of them attended school in Turkey before their migration process. On the one hand, interviewees who attended school in Turkey, specify that they have better Turkish skills than other second/third generation friends because they had chance to learn Turkish in Turkey, On the other hand, they do not think that they have any lack of German language.

In generation respective, interviewees are member of both second and third generation. All of their parents and grandparents migrated to Austria to work. Mostly, they have several relatives in Austria or in other European countries. Interviewees reported that relatives are one of the most important pull factors for immigration. Besides economical deficiency, some interviewees also express that domestic politics of Turkey is another push factor to immigrate; especially for families who have Kurdish descent.

About marital status, only three of interviewees are married, others are still single or engaged. Married interviewees have Turkish spouses and one interviewee has a child.

Additionally, interviewees reported that they do not disagree with intermarriages in theory, but some of them consider their parent's negative reaction.

*Of course, intermarriage is so normal in today's world but I cannot do that because my family is extremely against intermarriage. I know, it is inane and insularity perspective but they would not change their mind and I do not want to offend against my family. Nothing is more important than my family, even falling in love (Rana, 26).*

*I am not against intermarriage but I do not support it either. And now, you are thinking why I am so narrow-minded about this, right? Well, I believe that a person should protect his/her native culture and hand it on next generations; intermarriage would not allow this (Rabia, 24).*

## **Language**

The second generation and third generation still live in their host countries and lack of German language is a significant problem for Turkish immigrant population. In Austria, all generations persist to speak their native language; especially at home. Unlike first generation, second and third generation can speak German fluently; however they have some deficiency about German language.

Interviewees reported several ideas about German language deficiency of second and third generation. Speaking Turkish at home and in basic environment is one of popular answers. They also stress that school classes have not ethnically homogeneous structure so children continue to speak Turkish at school too and there is no effective Turkish classes in schools. Because they cannot learn their native language clearly, they also are not able to learn perfect German.

*They do not want to speak German clearly, they just want to show that they are the 'others' and like to have a different sociolect (Deniz, 22).*

*They can speak neither a good Turkish nor a good German; it is just like our identities, we are not totally Austrian, we are not totally Turkish, we are stuck in an identity-limbo (Muazzez, 23).*

*I think Turkish children in Austria should not watch Turkish TV channels for a*

*long time because they are addicted to watch Turkish TV series desperately. Unfortunately, they cannot contradistinguish in Turkey and their reality in Austria (Sinan, 29).*

When asked about their first language (the language they can speak best), most of interviewees inform that German is their first language. Few of them say that Turkish is their first language or both Turkish and German are their first language.

In their perspective, interviewees have no problem with German language in speaking/ understanding and reading/writing levels; they have proficiency in every level of German. In case of Turkish, they give different answers. Mostly, they do not have significant problems to speak or understand Turkish. In writing/reading level, they are not so confident with their Turkish knowledge. They generally say that they did not attend any Turkish classes so they have deficiencies about grammar and literature. They have been improving their Turkish in writing/ reading level individually.

*I always have dreams in Turkish; I speak Turkish automatically when I am happy, upset and angry. Maybe I have some problems about Turkish grammar but not necessarily, all my reactions are at first in Turkish (Ozan, 28).*

*Honestly, my Turkish had not been that good before I met my Turkish friends who came to Austria to study. Thanks to them, my Turkish is much better now (Rana, 26).*

*In intellectual level, I prefer to use German because I have difficulties to read or write comprehensive texts in Turkish. Unfortunately, I did not have chance to attend Turkish classes. However I cannot understand people who grew up in Austria and still have German language problems. Such a pity, they wasted their school time, learnt everything in minimum (Umur, 27).*

Interviewees, who have Kurdish descent, reported they have limited Kurdish knowledge and they do not feel confident to speak Kurdish language. Additionally, all interviewees speak English as foreign language. Some of them can speak other European languages too.

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*I am ethnically Kurdish but I cannot speak Kurdish because my family did not teach me; we speak Turkish at home. Isn't it ironic? I can speak several languages; German, Turkish, English and French; except Kurdish (Gokhan, 22).*

## **Education**

Interviewees are involved in higher academic educations and they have had steady success during their schooling period. When asked about their current field of studies, they gave different answers. As a second/third generation migrants, interviewees tend to study academic programmes which have public prestige. Interviewees study law, business administration, economics, and pedagogy, architecture, engineering and information systems.

Interviewees mostly chose their academic programmes of their own will but they were influenced by their parents widely. They express that they have not been able to make a good decision for their academic future because interviewees state that they had deficient information about universities, academic programmes and their abilities. They did not get any help to supply their deficiency. They also stress that there were no one who could be role model for them.

*I am the first person who attends university in my family; I mean the Austrian part of my family otherwise my cousins in Turkey have already held higher education degrees. I do not know why Turks in Austria are much more conservative than Turks in Turkey, same for my family. I really fought with my parents to continue my education, literally I fought. They are pleasant now that their daughter will get university degree but it was really hard to convince them. In Turkey, families support their children so much to go to any university but in Austria, Turks find higher education unnecessary because they are sure that their children will be employed anyhow. Maybe, parents in Turkey think that holding university diploma helps to get a good job and go up into higher social class in Turkey but in Austria, you will always be a Turkish, and even when you have a PhD degree (Seniha, 31).*

On one hand, all interviewees agree that there is a big educational gap between Turkish migrant back-grounded children and other children in Austria. When I asked the reason of this educational lack, they mainly gave same answers. Their answer can be collected in three main groups. Firstly, Turkish families generally have an inadequate educational history; they came to

Austria with low human capital level because of their rural background. Secondly, there are several parent-based educational problems about Austrian educational system. Turkish children attend school at age 6 thus they start to learn German. But they cannot be able to have enough German knowledge to be successful in formal education system. In addition, Turkish parents cannot help their children for their school assignments because they do not have fluent German to understand and read and they rarely follow parent's meeting so Turkish parents and teachers cannot work together.

*Some parents cannot realize that kids must go to kindergarten to gain skills for primary school. Parents still think kindergartens are some kind of play lots, have no idea about preschool education. And yes, there is also a German deficiency. Turkish children should improve their German before then they can study properly (Muazzez, 23).*

Thirdly, Turkish children generally attend a class which is composed of other Turkish children basically; that is why Turkish children cannot improve their German skills in expected level and communicate other students in school. Because of lack of German language, Turkish children are pushed to attend mainly German classes then they do not have a chance to get other classes.

*Turkish students always have to attend German classes first, but education means not only German. If a student gets mostly German classes, how can he/she find the time for other lessons? (Narin, 29)*

### **Identity Description**

Biculturalism of second/third generation in Austria causes several social conflicts because of gap between two different cultures, but they do not have identity crisis. Despite they grew up in bicultural society, they often tend to stand for their native culture. During interviews, only one interviewee accepted Austrian identity with underlining his bicultural situation. Others reported that they do not define their selves as Austrians. Most of them say that they only have 'citizenship tie' with Austria, they are not Austrians.

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*I do not agree with others. I am not % 100 Turkish, I cannot be. I grew up in Austria and I speak German as a native speaker. I cannot reject influence of Austrian culture, nobody can. On the other hand, of course I am Turkish. It is the reality; I am both Austrian and Turkish. (Umur, 27)*

*Despite I like to live in Austria, I cannot see myself as an Austrian. I am Turkish who lives in Austria; there is no other explanation for me (Ozan, 28).*

*I am really sick of this identity crisis and labeling people because of their ethnicities. Everybody talks about globalization and also stress importance of ethnicities and local cultures, such a dilemma. I am world citizen, an easy way to express my feelings (Seniha, 31)*

Islam is, by and large, considered and represented as a threat to the European way of life in the West. It is frequently believed that Islamic fundamentalism is the source of the xenophobic, racist and violent attitudes present. If so, then in order to tackle such constraints, discourse on culture, identity, religion, ethnicity, traditions and the past becomes essential for minorities in general and migrant groups in particular. This is actually a form of politics generated by outsider groups (Kaya & Kentel, 2005: 60). As Will Herberg suggested (Herberg, 1955), second-generation immigrants would be less religious than their parents, and by the third generation individuals would return to their religion as a way of distinguishing themselves from others. In this perspective, interviewees have second generation characteristics. Despite interviewees are not as religious as their parents, they still care about their religion and nobody rejects importance of religion. Interviewees report that all of them define themselves as Muslim.

About politics, interviewees do not show any special reaction. They have political views but do not have strong political consistency. Interviewees define their selves as social-democrat, democrat, leftist, or liberal and few interviewees are not sure about their political views. When I asked how they get their political orientation, they mostly reported that they share almost same political view with their families. Additionally, their political orientation is based on Turkish political tradition because they are interested in Turkish politics more than Austrian politics and they specify Turkish political terms better. Particularly, interviewees with Kurdish descent

have deeper concern for politics in Turkey because of their family's political conflicts against Turkish Republic. About Austrian politics, interviewees basically distinguish between racist parties and others.

### **Being Migrant and Being Second/Third Generation**

Interviewees explain they no longer perceive their country of origin as a final destination for permanent return. Instead of this, they want to derive benefits both from Austria and Turkey. Their identities are more transnational, active, urbanite and flexible now. They do not want to be described as foreigners in Austria and they request the approval of their biculturalism.

Despite their expressions, most of them feel more affiliated with Turkey. Others report that they are equally close both to Austria and Turkey or feel more affiliated with Austria.

*Definitely, I am more affiliated with Turkey because I feel Turkish. It does not mean that I do not like to live in Austria but I belong to Turkey (Narin, 29).*

*It is hard to answer...I grew up in Austria and I speak German better than Turkish. It seems my whole life is in Austria. In other side, I have a Turkish identity which I cannot ignore. Well, both of them are my countries (Seniha, 31).*

*Turkey is my country of origin but my life in here, the answer is Austria (Rana, 26).*

As interviewees report, integration is the greatest dilemma for Turkish migrant community in Austria. Interviewees state several problems that they face in Austria as a Turkish migrant. They think that Austrian mainstream society does not know their culture in a good way and there is a huge prejudice for their community. They also complain that there are limitations for their culture, particularly about Islam. Some interviewees imply Turkish community tends to ignore mainstream society and live in their neighborhoods because they can be blamed for anything easily. Additionally, some Turks do not want to communicate with main stream society because they abstain to lose their Turkishness or Islamic faith.

*Okay, lots of Turks do bad things; drugs, violence etc...But not all of us! Of course, we are not pleased either because of their attitudes. In Austria, many Turks have their own business and good careers, why do not want to see this reality? (Rabia, 24)*

*Somebody bombed Twin Towers in USA; sorry for that but it is not my guilt. I do not want to be judged by others because I am Muslim. What they expect, am I supposed to change my belief because of some Arabic terrorists? (Narin, 29)*

*I cannot understand some Turkish guys. They have non-Turkish girlfriends, but they want to marry Turkish girl because their future children must be % 100 Turkish, ridiculous (Ozan, 28)*

About discrimination, they have different opinions. Some of them have never faced any discrimination personally but they know other Turkish people had bad experiences about discrimination. Some interviewees faced discrimination in school, at work place. During schooling period, they had some difficulties with their teachers. I stress that lack of German language is still significant problem for Turkish community. Despite Turkish migrants can speak German, most of them still have difficulties to use German language clearly.

*I had some bad experiences with a teacher at school. She was intolerant for Turkish student. I have been a successful student, still I am. Once I had a bad exam result, just an exam and teacher insisted to imply that I am not good enough to attend university and suggested that I get a job in short, instead of studying. I did not consider her recommendations so I am at university now (Eda, 22).*

*I have not faced a real discrimination personally. Yes, I have experienced in some improper behaviors or statements but they were general. You know, old people look at you in a bad way because you have foreign appearances or somebody says something like foreigners should return. It is childish to expect everybody's approval or love; there are always opponent ideas for other groups (Rana, 26).*

Interviewees can be quite objective when they are talking about negative impacts of Turkish people on the mainstream Austrian society. They also underline that they are not satisfied with unacceptable attitudes. They have several example and stories of negative attitudes of some of Turkish people. According to interviewees, Turkish community tends to isolate their

selves from other Austrians. Because of this isolation, they are up against various integration problems. Eight interviewees reported that integration problem is the most negative problem of Turks.

*We, Turks, have still been dreaming about same thing: making lots of money, as much as we can and having properties, apartments in Turkey; this is the same plan since 1960s -70s so we do not care anything in Austria. Actually, nobody needs to be integrated. Why do they make an effort? They can reach everything through Turkish network; it is easier, isn't it? (Sinan, 29)*

*In the past, only lack of German language was seen as integration problem, because first generation was a foreign population who just communicated with Austrians in train stations, work places as workers and cleaners so this invisible 'guest' population needed only German to be integrated. Nobody could recognize that the problem is bigger than language. Today, second/third generation can speak German but integration problem is still so lively. I think the real integration problem has started with second generation; Turkish population became visible with second generation. Turks are permanent citizens and everywhere now; at school, in parks, in cafes etc. with their non-integrated Turkishness (Narin, 29)*

Beside integration problems, some of Turkish people insist on not adapting to local values. Five of interviewees complain about this problem. Especially, teenagers and young Turkish men have significant problems to accept the values.

*It is simple; they are showing their social inequality in this way. They know that they will always be seen as children of guest workers. They hate this social class, want to go up into a higher social class but they cannot; they do not have enough qualifications so they show their anger to reject social values. (Gokhan, 22)*

*Some Turks act like crazy. They freak out about keeping their religious belief or traditions. They avoid any personal contact with non-Muslims, except obligatory contacts. All strangers are potential enemy for their religion or Turkishness in their perspective so they consciously put gaps between their community and others. I guess increasing Islamophobia after 9/11 attacks help them to be isolated (Deniz, 22).*

Additionally, one interviewee mentions that some Turks avoid working fairly and abuse

social security system consistently. And another interviewee thinks that Turks have no negative impacts to Austrian society.

*In some case, I agree with Austrians...You know, nobody can say we (Turks) are ideal citizens for Austria. Some families have many children unpleasantly to get money (family assistance or maternity leave payments) from Austrian state, some women have literally 'full-time mom' job. (Pelin, 21)*

*I do not think Turks have exact negative impacts for Austrian culture. There are always some in a community who tends to commit an illegal act or behave badly. Turkish community has that kind of people like Austrians or other immigrant groups, not a big deal (Ercan, 26).*

Besides negative impacts of Turkish community, Turks have also positive impacts. Interestingly, interviewees report many negative impacts but they give only two main answers for positive effects. For nine of them, Turkish labor force is the most important impact of

Turkish migrant community. They stress that Austria owe a great deal to Turkish migrants for economic boom.

*Yes, our parents and grandparents came to Austria to work, make money and get better life but they worked hard, they had worse jobs which are unwanted by Austrians and they stayed in bad living areas. Nobody appreciates their endeavor to just get better life. (Ozan, 28).*

*Austrians should accept this; they are rich today because our grandparents worked for them very hard, they are not the only holder of today's welfare and richness. (Harun, 23).*

*Why does not anybody appreciate Turkish people who do good things? For example, Turkish entrepreneurs make successful investments. Or Turkish football players are good at their jobs. This situation is not supportive for Turkish community at all (Sinan, 29).*

Others, six of interviewees, reported that Turkish migrant population adds a value of cultural diversity and richness into Austrian culture. They explain several examples and their examples can be determined as acculturation.

*Today, everybody eats döner and kebab, does grocery shopping from Turkish markets. In Germany, the amount of regular markets and Turkish markets is nearly same; not only we (Turks) like Turkish goods, everybody likes. It is also a good thing for European culture. (Ercan, 26).*

*At least, Austria has met another religious belief via Turks. Austria had not contained a Muslim population historically; there are some mosques in Austria now (Rabia, 24).*

Second/third generation grew up in a striking transnational environment. According to interviewees, being children of guest workers/migrants is important for them because their identities were also shaped by this reality.

*When I was child, I wanted to be like others; it was so inconvenient to have migration background or to be different. By time, I understand that it is my richness then I made it up my differences. (Rana, 26).*

*Before we were naturalized, our Turkish passports were listed as 'isci cocugu' (children of workers). Of course, my parents' social statuses were important for us both in Austria and Turkey (Seniha, 31).*

*I belong to a country which is idealized by my parents and I know that Turkey is not better than Austria but I feel I would have a better life in there. (Narin, 29).*

*In Austria, I have everything and I am proud of my migration background. If my family did not immigrate to Austria, I would not be able to have a standard of life in this level. (Seda, 22).*

*It is a sort of tricky situation. Immigrant background can be hard to hold because of discrimination or homesickness but there are also advantages. Simply, I grew up as a bilingual person or I can compare my culture and other culture (Deniz, 22).*

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Interviewees are mostly satisfied with their current economic and social conditions.

They report that they are luckier than their grandparents or/and their parents.

*It is so meaningless to compare our generation's conditions with previous generation's conditions. Obviously, every condition is better for us. I guess they have felt as aliens in a foreign country for a really long time (Harun, 23).*

*They were poor from rural Anatolia without enough education. They have suffered so much in a foreign country. Okay, our generation still has several problems but our conditions cannot be compared to their conditions (Rana, 26).*

When interviewees compare their current conditions with their previous conditions, most of them decide that their current conditions are better now.

*It was harder when I was a child. Our family had to save money strictly. Nowadays, all conditions are better (Seda, 23).*

*For me, all conditions are same. I was a child whose family has migrant background; now, I am a person who has migration background (Deniz, 22)*

Susan Wessendorf proposes the term of 'roots-migration' as relocation of second generation. For her, 'roots-migration' has nostalgic characteristic because second generation feel a similar nostalgia for the country of origin as their parents, and despite harsh economic and structural conditions in native land, they see life in its villages as attractive alternative to their lives in the host-land (Wessendorf 2007a).

When asked about returning back to Turkey, they gave two different perception of roots-migration. First perception is existed by idealized images of Turkey and possible difficulties of integration after the migration, related to political and socio-economic difficulties.

*In Austria, we will always be strangers, non-Austrians and Muslims. I like to live in Austria but something is missing in here. If a person has a chance to live in his/her native country, he/she should live in there because he/she belongs to his/her roots. (Muazzez, 23).*

*In Turkey, I find everything better; its nature, social relations, and foods...everything...I know that life is not that easy in there but more meaningful and lively, for sure. (Eda, 22).*

The second perception is shaped by more realistic images of Turkey and relatively satisfying integration in Turkey.

*Turkey is developing rapidly; nobody can reject this reality. There are enormous business opportunities in there if man has good relations with European culture. Indeed, life is much more attractive in Turkey for a person who has money (Sinan, 29).*

*Okay, Turkey is such a nice country with several natural beauty, sun, sea etc. Turkey can fascinate anybody during holidays but living in there is a totally different issue. Life is beautiful in there, but not better. In some points, Turkey is exhausting to live. For example, health system cannot be compared with Austria, it should be improved (Pelin, 21).*

*I feel good when I am in Turkey; seeing relatives and friends and being in holiday. Yet I begin to be angry after a while; people may be so rude in there or small, bothersome problems can exist. (Seda, 23).*

When asked for returning back to Turkey in the future, most interviewees give positive answer, some of them say no or they report that they are not sure. Interviewees, who give positive answer, consider returning back in any case; no matter which social, economic and political conditions Turkey has.

*I would like to return back to Turkey in any conditions. I believe that I will be happier there. My grandparents came to Austria because there were not enough job opportunities in our hometown in that time. It was hard to find job in Turkey as an unqualified person so they moved abroad. Everything is different for me; I am educated and have a specific profession so I have a chance. I would like to live in a big city in Turkey like Istanbul or Izmir (Rabia, 24).*

*After graduation, I would like to move to Turkey when I find a good job. My sister returned two years ago and she is happy there. For sure, conditions would be better or worse, in any situation, I have a chance to keep living in Austria (Ozan, 28).*

Furthermore, interviewees report they would consider returning back to Turkey if Turkey has stabilized economic and political conditions because they particularly do not trust political atmosphere in regard of Kurdish problem and these four interviewees also have Kurdish roots.

*I would like to return back to Turkey if nobody discriminates my people because of their Kurdish identity otherwise I would stay in Austria, at least I feel safe in here as a Kurdish. (Seda 23)*

*I do not know, I cannot answer this question right now because I am still a student and my future is not clear enough. To return back to Turkey, I will have to find a good job and I have no prediction for my future husband's opinion about Turkey (laughs). But I would like to live in Istanbul, such a gorgeous city (Eda, 22)*

## **PERCEPTION of TURKEY**

Interviewees of this study have a different situation from other Turkish migrants in Austria, Austrians in Austria and Turks in Turkey. In other words, they do not shape for stereotypical persons constituted by Austrian and Turkish societies. Interviewees of this study who have wider world view than their parents and they have better education background. Since they grew up in a transnational social environment, they are bicultural and distinguish from Austrians. They cannot be same as Turks in Turkey because they have migration background in a receiving country.

For interviewees, Turkey is not perceived as a last destination of return but it is still the nostalgic country of ancestors. Interviewees reported that all of them have already integrated into mainstream Austrian society but they still feel more affiliated with Turkey generally. They also stress that they should be reconsidered by Austria and Turkey, their differences should be understood better.

Interviewees specify that they are acquainted with the facts in Turkey, if they are interested in or not. Interviewees have a general knowledge about circumstances in Turkey, at least.

About politics, they have different ideas and political views.

*I do not want to be so into Turkish politics because it makes me sick. There is always bad news, although I am informed in some way (Rana, 26).*

*I am interested in Turkish politics very much so because I would like to understand all circumstances in there. (Sinan, 29).*

*It is not possible to be away from Turkish politics because everybody talks about politics around me, particularly Turkish politics. We watch Turkish news every night at home and I also read news from internet. (Rabia, 24).*

Interviewees are affiliated to different political parties in Turkey. Interviewees present almost same political trends in Turkey; conservatives support AKP (Justice and Development Party), seculars support CHP (Republican People's Party). As might have been expected, interviewees with Kurdish descent are affiliated BDP (Peace Democracy Party) because of their Kurdish roots.

*I would vote for AKP if I had Turkish citizenship. I follow their policies closely and find their decisions quite affirmative. Their political road map provides economic stability which I appreciate most (Sinan, 29).*

*CHP is our family tradition. Frankly, I cannot see a better alternative to be affiliated (Ozan, 28).*

*I am Kurdish so BDP would be my decision, if I had a chance to vote in Turkey. Well, I believe that BDP is the only democratic party in Turkish politics (Deniz, 22).*

For interviewees, there are some important problems in Turkey. In total, several different answers are collected. The most popular problems are the Kurdish question which is stated by several interviewees; then lack of education, ignorance, unemployment and economic-social instability follow up. Also democracy and human rights, administrative problems, health care and social security, woman's rights were mentioned.

*Turkey has lots problems because it is a big country but Kurdish problem must be priority. There has been a war since 30 years and thousands of people died for their freedom. I am not sure after this war, Turks and Kurds can live together peacefully but first, Kurds must get their rights against cruel Turkish state. (Seda, 23).*

*For me, Turkish health care and social security system is a nightmare. You know the situation in there... Everything is deficient; doctors, nurses, equipments etc. and health officials are so rude to everybody. I know there are really good doctors in Turkey but hospitals are very chaotic. (Rana, 26).*

*I do not know what your other interviewees mentioned but woman's rights. Yes, I know that women are equal to men legally in Turkey and there is no discrimination against women by laws. But the situation is different in social reality. I am really sick of news about women murders or violence against women. NGOs, which advocate women's rights, are powerful and active but not enough to prevent crime against women. (Narin, 29).*

Interviewees have different opinions about Turkey's current situation. They find Turkey's current situation better than previous years or much better than previous years.

*It is obvious that there are huge positive differences in Turkey. When I was a child, I could see that Turkey was a poor country. Today, I do not see that certain poverty. Everything is better in there and I am proud of this. Some European countries do not want to realize this reality; Turkey is more developed than many other European countries. The problem is Turkey is a big country so the prosperity cannot be shared by all regions equally (Eda, 22).*

*I cannot ignore the recent development of Turkey about infrastructure and construction, urbanism etc. But political atmosphere is still repressive for Kurdish minority. The government continues to kill Kurdish civilians and guerillas. BDP (Kurdish political party) is threatened, even Kurdish parliamentarians. Without political liberties, Turkey cannot be good enough for me. Kurdish problem must be solved peacefully (Harun, 23).*

Despite Turkey's deep-rooted problems, most of interviewees report that they are quite optimistic about Turkey's future. They state that the country has enormous domestic dynamics

which provide supportive power for Turkey and they really believe that Turkey will be a stronger country in near future.

*I agree with some political observer who claims Turkey will be the super power of its region. We have economic power, a young population and great army force. I am quite optimistic about Turkey, everthing will be better in near future (Narin, 29).*

## **PERCEPTION of AUSTRIA**

The interviewees of this study are members of Austrian society. They are fluent in German and have social and economic networks with Austrian people. Despite most of them are affiliated more with Turkey, they consider Austria as their home and that is why they do not want to be seen as a strangers or guest population.

It is a common opinion that Turkish migrants in Austria are not keen on Austrian politics, they often focus on Turkish politics. As interviewees of this research report, this opinion is not true. It is based on a common prejudice.

*Sure, I live in this country. As a citizen, I want to have a command of political circumstances and I must know personal rights to protect myself (Gokhan , 22).*

In addition to interest in Austrian politics, interviewees tend to vote regularly. They are more affiliated with SPÖ (Social Democratic Party of Austria) and ÖVP (Austrian People's Party). According to interviewees, they really do not support the politics which they indicated. They vote for this parties because there are not any better alternative to support.

*I do not trust any political party in Austria but I vote because I do not let FPÖ (Freedom Party of Austria) to become stronger in Austria. To vote just for preventing FPÖ. (Deniz, 22).*

*In Austria, Turkish people mainly (both left and right wings) support SPÖ and GRÜNE because of their political approaches to migrants and they hate FPÖ. No problem for leftists, it is funny for right wings people, such a dilemma...They support*

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*MHP (Nationalist Action Party) or AKP (Justice and Development Party) in Turkey and they became leftists in Austria because of SPÖ or GRÜNE, ridiculous! (Pelin, 21)*

Towards politics, when asked about the most important problem in Austria, interviewees give eight different answers. Unsurprisingly, integration is the most popular problem in their perception. Then administrative problems of Austria, unemployment is an increasing problem, discrimination, lack of education, social complexity, narrow perspective, xenophobia are mentioned.

*For me, the most important problem of Austria is xenophobia. I guess I should be more specific because Austria has only Turkophobia. For other countries, Austria is more flexible but Turkophobia is a rising problem. (Harun, 23).*

*They want to see only bad side of Turkish population, their perspective is really narrow and they cannot recognize this problem, sadly... (Sinan, 29).*

Almost all interviewees are Austrian citizen. They express that naturalization is quite important to live in Austria comfortably but they would like to hold dual citizenship in the future.

*I am pleasant to be an Austrian citizen but it is so pity that I am not able to hold dual citizenship. Hope to a new legal arrangement which lets to get dual citizenship (Rabia, 24).*

About civil society organizations, interviewees do not tend to be member of any organization. If they have membership, the organizations are Turkish/Kurdish ethnic or religious associations. In this case, it shows that interviewees are not interested in NGOs or CSOs such as Turks in Turkey, their memberships are mainly to organizations which are related to their ethnic or religious background.

Interviewees have deep concerns about Austria's current situation compared to previous years.

*For me, Austria is doing badly day by day because of economic problems. I am*

*not sure if it is a current problem or not. Unemployment rates and taxes are so high. There is also Xenophobia which bothers me personally (Muazzez, 23).*

*Austria has a good geopolitical condition and I do not think that Austria's stability can change easily, this country has a strong administrative system (Sinan, 29).*

According to economic conditions, there is a big deal of pessimism among most interviewees about the future of Austria.

*The last enlargement of European Union damaged Austria. As a relatively rich country, Austria has overmuch responsibility. European financial crisis is another obstacle for the country (Pelin, 21).*

*Austria is a rich European country which can survive from economic recessions. Current problems will not steer future conditions so much (Sinan, 29).*

## **CONCLUSION**

This study has discovered several findings which are related to university student Turkish-Austrians as they considered a return to their country of origin. These highly educated young Turkish-Austrians have created bicultural and reflexive identities, in a line which provides to the reform of being Austrian and Turkish. As a member of the second/third generation, they constitute several types of social relationships. Some of their social relationships are constituted by life in Austria which mostly covers all relationships with formal and public authorities in there and others are constituted by Turkish culture so they have steady, powerful relationships with Turkish ethnic peer groups. Highly educated young Turkish-Austrians are affiliated with other Turkish migrants not just because of what they represent as the common Turkish 'mentality', but also because of their common interest in consumer culture, Turkish music and Turkish appearances. Additionally, the practicability in Austria in terms of socio-economic upward mobility allows for keeping their fondness to Austria where they grew up.

In today's global world, when many people have in common with the cultural situations of being uprooted, Turkish-Austrians living in transnational space cannot be perceived as iso-

lated, rigid or unchangeable. Contrary to common thought, I sense that their unique situation supplies interrelationships between two cultures. It is obvious that they have several problems about being migrant, integration or their identities because they live in a space which could be described a cultural limbo. Literally, Turkish and Austrian cultures (or civilizations) are quite different from each other so they always face various incoherencies and obstacles when they try to combine these two cultures in their life. Despite these incoherencies and obstacles, I believe that they have created some hybrid cultural areas, as a mixture of Austrian and Turkish culture.

Highly educated young Turkish-Austrians have structured their cultural, political and social perception under the influence of their ethnicities but this situation does not let them hold themselves separate from Austrian culture or being Austrian. Willingly or otherwise, a part of their identities have become Austrian. Beside their strong Turkish mentality, they also possess an Austrian mentality. Their Austrian mentality comes out especially in some professional areas; academic studies, business carrier. In general, they have strict self-discipline, work ethic and community consciousness which cannot be described as a part of Turkish mentality.

As I observed, some interviewees, who stand aloof from living in Turkey, has weaker personal relationships with non-Turkish people and tend to follow native traditions. For example, the two interviewees, who express that they do not have any, close Austrian friends, also reported that they would hardly consider returning back to Turkey. As far as I understood, these two might represent a kind of 'integration paradox'. They underline their cultural distinction from Austrian culture conversely; they want to continue to live in the country without any real return idea. They also have the more aggressive and pessimistic opinions, statements and comments about both countries.

During the studies, I have also realized that interviewees with Kurdish roots show sensitivity to human rights and democracy patterns. They are quite interested in these areas because descendants have experienced unfortunate political and social discriminations in Turkey. Interviewees with Kurdish roots stress generally that the urgent problems of Turkey are mostly about Kurdish question. Besides the deficiency of Kurdish rights, they do not have any prior obstacle

to live in Turkey. Additionally, interviewees with Kurdish roots cannot speak their native language fluently but their Turkish skills are as good as other interviewees with Turkish roots.

In language case, I did not have any problems in making interviews in Turkish. Although some of them expressed that they have problems about Turkish language, mostly all of them had proficiency in Turkish for me. It is important to point to prove how Turkish migrants have strong relations with Turkey. In general, third generation of migrants tend to lose their native language skills but Turkish-Austrians still continue to speak Turkish widely.

There are also several success stories of second/third generation who returned to Turkey. Especially, in artistic fields, some Euro-Turks became phenomenon in Turkey with their different styles and perspectives. This group of Euro-Turks will be role-model for other young generations. So far, success stories in economic and academic areas are not so popular but it began to come out slowly.

Return idea has complex structure; there are several push and pull factors to encourage or discourage. I think; these factors will not stay static by time. Highly educated young Turkish-Austrians take account of several points in order to decide to re-emigrate or stay, including social, familial, political and economic factors. For example, economic factors can be both pull and push at the same time; economic stagnation in Europe is a push factor for Turkish-Austrians today contrary to this economic boom in Turkey is also pull factor.

There is another reality that highly educated young Turkish-Austrians might be trans-migrants who can easily travel back and forth between their homelands and host-lands. In near future, many Turkish-Austrians will suit into this category under the circumstances of their homelands and host-lands. In this case, roots-migration might turn into a transnational reversible social mobility.

The aim of this study is to display potential roots migration possibilities through highly educated Turkish-Austrian's profile and their perception of homeland and hostland. From past

to the present, the migration realities shifts from a blue-collar migration of unqualified labor towards a highly skilled white-collars. The roots-migration of highly educated professionals is going to be critical and significant for development and prosperity of countries in this century.

Europe was very attractive for unqualified or semi-qualified workers from rural Anatolia because of various economic benefits, but today, according to new economic, social and political circumstances a new kind of social mobility grows which can be described as a brain gain. In the case of Turkish second/third generation, roots migration processes will be successful only if highly educated Turks do not change their considerations because of conditions of Turkey which can be head over heels. Additionally, the Turkish policy makers, economic leaders and academic interest groups should understand that highly skilled second/third generations will support economic growth but they will also change their considerations with a few unpleasant experiences.

## ÖZET

Avrupa’da yaşayan ikinci/üçüncü kuşak Türkiyeli göçmenlerin ‘anavatana’ dönme eğilimleri son yıllarda giderek artmaktadır. Türkiye’nin son yıllarda yakaladığı ekonomik ve politik gelişim ivmesinin de tetiklediği bu durum, yakın gelecekte önemli sosyal fenomen olarak daha çok incelenmeye başlayacaktır. Avrupa genelinde olduğu gibi Türkiye kökenli göçmen çocuklarının yüksek öğrenime katılma oranı ülke ortalamalarının altında seyretmektedir ancak kendi çabalarıyla yüksek öğrenim hakkını elde etmiş azımsanmayacak bir grup da mevcuttur. Avusturya’da ikamet eden Türkiye kökenli ikinci/üçüncü kuşak göçmenler, Batı Avrupa’nın diğer ülkelerinde yaşayan Türkiyeli göçmenlerle, genel çerçevede benzer özellikler göstermektedir. Avusturya’nın başkenti Viyana’da yaşayan ikinci/üçüncü kuşak, üniversiteye giden Türkiye kökenli göçmenler bu çalışmanın inceleme alanını oluşturmaktadır. Türkiye kökenli göçmen öğrencileri üç başlık altında toplayan bu çalışmada; öğrencilerin genel profilleri, Türkiye ve Avusturya algıları kalitatif mülakatlar ışığında araştırılmıştır.

Teorik yapısı, Susan Wessendorf’un ortaya attığı roots-migration (kök-göç) çerçevesinde çizilen çalışma, tersine göçün bir alt başlığı olarak da göz önüne alınabilir. Avrupa’daki ekonomik durgunluğun tetiklediği işsizliğin ve sosyal uyum problemlerinin itici gücünün aksine; Türkiye’nin son yıllarda birçok alanda yakaladığı başarı ivmesinin yarattığı çekim gücü Türkiye kökenli, yüksek öğrenimli göçmenlerin roots-migration (kök-göç) eğilimlerini arttırmaktadır. Türkiye’nin nitelikli iş gücü kazanacağı bu tersine göç dalgasının getirileri yakın gelecekte daha çok hissedilecek ve birçok araştırmacının bu konuya yönelmesine neden olacaktır.

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