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"Walls", The Ancient Issue of Humanity: Challenge of Social Work With "The Other"

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Abstract

The settled one marginalizes the newcomer and defines the existing problem through them. The first reaction against the other is to set boundaries by building a wall. In the second stage, reached after the walls are formed, there is now the inside and outside of the wall. Then, for the settled, the inside is identified with the good, and the outside with the bad. The starting point of this study is the settled society building walls between newcomers and themselves, and through this, othering them. Therefore, this study aims to show the processes and forms of othering of refugees and immigrants in Turkey. In line with the aforementioned purpose, the phenomenon of othering is examined through the (immigrant) "Natashas" and (refugee) Syrians. In this context, for a two-way practice, it is emphasized that the social worker should not only have a strong social inclusion policy for immigrants, but also raise the awareness of the settled society about othering.

Introduction

The other has been the subject of numerous scientific studies in different contexts within social sciences. This study includes the concepts of 'other' and 'othering', based on two social examples, one of which has been experienced recently and the other is still ongoing. The existence and the negative characterization of the other and their social inclusion are discussed. The first of these examples is the 'Natasha' crisis in the Black Sea region, and the second is the 'Syrians'. Both examples are handled with processes and forms of othering.

In the examples we mentioned, although the experience with the Natashas has ended, the attitude developed towards the other has become a generalized and habitual attitude and there is a possibility that it will be applied to another 'other' as well. For this reason, when the place where the settled is accepted as correct and superior when defining the problem, similar problems can arise with another 'other' at different times. As a mat-

ter of fact, similar reactions emerged with the arrival of Syrians. Whether the subject is immigrants like in the example of Natashas or refugees like in the example of Syrians, the process of othering does not pose a problem as an approach on its own. However, this approach is the first cause of other wide-ranging problems in terms of its indicators and results, and therefore, the problem of othering is the subject of this study. After all, these processes are not only mental processes, but also active processes that direct the enactment of immigration law and other related laws, the legitimation of violence, and the determination of foreign policy (Said, 2008, p. 347).

In this article, the role assigned to social work and social workers as a "bridge architecture" is inspired by using Deniz Ülke Arıboğan's book, *Duvar: Tarih Geri Dönüyor* (2018, p. 27). The term is discussed in a different context in the book mentioned, but it is used in this study as it fits the role assigned to social work. Just as bridges connect two sides, social workers also need to adopt a two-sided working method for both residents and newcomers. In this context, social work; as a requirement of the role assigned to it, should include the elimination of the existing prejudice of the resident against the 'other', into its field of work. Otherwise, persistent prejudices pose a danger with of the possibility of negatively affecting the relationships between the settled person with different 'others' that they may encounter.

In this study, we aim to make othering, which is not obvious at first glance, visible by examining the examples of Natashas and Syrians. In addition, other aims of this study are to emphasize the need for a deeper understanding of the dynamics of othering and the resulting ostracism, and also the need to "interpret the ones who exclude" (Dedeoğlu & Gökmen, 2011). In studies on refugees and/or immigrants within the scope of social work, the problems caused by refugees and/or immigrants are generally emphasized (Akbaş, 2019). However, the issue needs to be evaluated by looking at both sides - the residents and the newcomers.

The Other and Its History

It can be said that 'the other' consists of all persons and objects other than the subject and is created through the perspective of 'I'. Self-awareness, which can be considered the beginning of being human, is actually possible with the existence of another or the other. In fact, it has been related to self-consciousness since the beginning of the existence of humanity (Şengül, 2007, p. 98). As Hegel said, "First of all (in an individual) self-consciousness must emerge, and in order for self-consciousness to emerge, man must confront the other in terms of nature and other individuals." (Ozcan, 2016, p. 255). It is only possible to talk about sociality and social relationships when the other is encountered (Gasset, 2014). The distinction between the native self and the foreign other strengthens the identity of the 'me' (Koçyiğit, 2017).

Although the tale of 'me' and 'the other' started with one affirming the existence of the other, then the other ceased to be another or nature. In this case, it is possible to talk about the existence of a symbolic other. Instead of 'me and the other', there is now 'us and the other' as an element that also constitutes society, and differences begin to emerge according to 'us', not according to 'me'. After the individual accepts themselves as a part of society, the idea of the 'other' is formed in their mind and their personal 'I' disappears in the social self. Afterwards, individuals construct differences not based on themselves, but according to the society they live in (Şengül, 2007, p. 98). In other words, othering stems from the social (we) and psychological (I) need for an outsider (Morrison, 2019).

The native or the resident starts to define themselves through the 'foreigner', that is, the symbolic other. In this process, everything that is unfamiliar is subjected to othering. Thus, the dominant power or the settled, who defines the 'other', will "try to define a set of differences as inherently bad, irrational, abnormal, insane, sick, primitive, monstrous, dangerous—that is, the other." (Selçuk, 2012, p. 81). It can also be added that 'others' are threatening, incomprehensible and immoral to this list, which characterizes these hierarchical differences (Morrison, 2019). The stranger is seen as unpredictable and frightening by the resident precisely because they are unknown, unlike the familiar people with whom they interact. These are the concerns that occur because "strangers are among us" so that the fiction of me and the other can produce spurious fears (Bauman, 2018).

The sense of self and us is formed by what the 'other' has and contains. In other words, the construction of the other is essentially the construction of 'I' and 'us'. Thus, the differences are determined according to the 'other' (Şengül, 2007, p. 98). As a result, although the other varies according to time, othering can be encountered everywhere people exist. Differences, on the other hand, are stated on the basis of negative features and include prejudices. It can be said that in this two-sided construction process, there is not only description but also domination (Said, 2008, p. 346). Even the descriptions of othering include classification in terms of value and status (Morrison, 2019). The border between me/us and the other, which has been defined and thus determined, has been indubitably drawn (Ünal, 2014).

In ancient Greece, the foreigner was called "barbarian". The Greeks gave this name to those who did not speak their language; the outsiders, that is, 'the other', and this name included everyone who was not Greek. The concept of barbarians, in addition to being an intermediary for the national identity and solidarity of Greeks, also provided the legitimization of slavery (Yalazı, 2020). The name "Acem" (Persian) is also in the same line and refers to all others who are not Arabs. Just like the Greeks, the 'others' of the Arabs were their neighbors, and these two words included all the people they came into contact with except themselves. Because Acem (TDVIA, 1988) generally refers to everyone who is not Arab, and specifically means Persian, the neighbors of Arabs, it also implies a reference to

the cultural and political superiority of Arabs.

In summary, otherness is not just about being different. "As soon as differences begin to make one claim superiority over another" (Şengül, 2007, p. 113), the otherness and othering come into play with all its negativity. In addition, othering does not remain an abstract attitude, it is only a matter of time before it turns into marginalization and concrete behaviors (Ünal, 2014). Thus, categories that directly affect the practice such as "us and those who have a right to benefit from welfare and those who don't", "accepted immigrants or not accepted immigrants", "immigrant worker, foreign worker" (Atasü-Topçuoğlu, 2019), and "guest worker" used for Turkish employees in Germany, are formed.

For example, in Germany, where the most Turkish in Europe live, words such as *ausländer* (foreigner) and *fremde* (stranger), which contain the fear of the unknown, are used. There are more than twenty words describing foreigners in the German language, among which the words ausländer and fremde (foreign) do not refer to Europeans, but mostly to "Turkish people, Muslims, Middle Easterners, or people of African descent". In addition, the words used are not neutral with their etymological meanings. Fremde is derived from the identifier, *fram* and it has an opposite meaning to what is known and trusted, in relation to distance and leaving a place (Gedik, 2010). In the cultural context, the representation of Muslim or Turkish women in literature, cinema and social sciences becomes the embodiment of the other, the opposite of the free Western woman. In this way, the woman becomes the other as an object, waiting to be rescued as a victim crushed by her own culture (Ewing, 2006). The enslaved barbarians (Yalazı, 2020) created a cheap labor force, as they were the economic powerhouse of Greek-Hellenic cities. Although there are many mechanisms that lead to othering in a society, economy and culture are the leading ones (Dursun, 2014).

What is fixed in othering, or in other words, what is determinant and descriptive, corresponds to the settled and becomes obvious with the instinct to preserve the status quo, that is, the current situation and power, and it is assumed that there is a social homogeneity (Habermas, 2015). As a result, by focusing on the different one, these differences are equated with deficiency, and moreover, with worthlessness. Thus, the groundwork is prepared for normalizing all kinds of behavior towards the other. "The normalization here is the emergence of a structure in which all kinds of behaviors and injustices to be applied to the marginalized individual are accepted as normal" (Bolgün, 2016, p. 220).

The Wall as a Boundary Line

The border is sociological in both territorial and sociopolitical aspects and derives its importance and function from the people it favors. As a matter of fact, it becomes the main tool of almost every kind of social, political, ideological, etc., categorization. Demarcation has been done since ancient times. Individuals, communities, and political

organizations have drawn various boundaries to define themselves (Tekin, 2012, p. 158). Therefore, drawing boundaries means defining 'us' on the one hand and 'other' on the other.

The first fences and walls that people built were to create shelter. Another reason for the invention of walls was the need for protection from both natural conditions and other inhabitants of nature, animals and other people. The wall has formed the boundary line between people and 'the other', which threatens the 'self' and 'us'. In this context, the other can be nature, another person, another community, or lifestyle. Individuals can give names to these communities as part of a larger collective unit, and they can build boundaries and walls. The boundaries are drawn sometimes for a city and sometimes for a community (Patel & Moore, 2019).

Borders and their more concrete forms, border-walls, are perceived as the access point for various threats to 'us', especially those embodied in the figure of the dangerous outsider. Therefore, dichotomous expressions such as inside/outside, trust/fear, friend/enemy, us/them or us/stranger reinforce the boundaries in social perception more. It is seen that the borders and walls play an important role in building the sense of 'us' rather than ownership and security (Tekin, 2020, p. 95). The wall is an element that defines the boundaries of the property. In this context, according to Rousseau (Günay, 2010, p. 67), a person's evaluation of his own situation occurs in a neighborhood relationship. The presence of the neighbor or the other necessitates the protection of the property and therefore the need for a wall. Along with walls and boundaries drawn for protection, a legal and political system is created to protect property. The system in question benefits the property owners, in other words, those who build the wall.

In Islamic civilization, the wall has functioned to define and protect privacy. The high walls built around the households in different parts of the Islamic world, especially in Anatolia, ensured that the residents of the house could move freely in the courtyard without concerns about their privacy being violated. After the invention of walls for individual purposes that ensured the protection of the privacy of households, fortress walls began to be built to protect larger communities. As the communities grew, a need for city walls emerged. The wall was a substitute for an armed sentry to keep out possible attacks (Mumford, 2007). With this function, the wall created a collective structure that contributed to non-cooperation, and moreover, hostility.

The perception of borders that develops with the wall manifests itself as state borders between countries. While the walls provided the control over entrances and exits in times of peace, they had a defensive function in times of war. The Great Wall of China, which can be easily seen from space, is the most well-known of the defensive walls. City or castle walls are examples of walls that allow controlled entrances and exits. The Berlin Wall, on the other hand, has a symbolic importance as a wall separating the two worlds after World

War II. The Berlin Wall, which separated West Germany and East Germany, declared the end of the Cold War period with its collapse in 1990. This wall, which is an inner border and a wall of shame, has been described as the Anti-Fascist Protection Rampart. Although there have been different manifestations of domination over another community in history, the Berlin Wall has been a concrete example of this (Yıldırım, 2020). With this phenomenon, which started right after the fall of the Berlin Wall and continued increasingly at the beginning of the third millennium, we are witnessing nation-states building walls on their borders in many parts of the world. W. Brown explains this exclusionary policy as follows:

> Aiming to protect societies that are officially deemed free, legitimate, and secular from intrusion, exploitation, or attacks, these walls are constructed by suspending the law and they inevitably produce a defensive, narrow-minded, nationalist, and militarized collective ethos and subjectivity. Instead of an open society they aim to defend, these walls create an increasingly closed and restrained collective identity. This is why the new walls not only fail to resurrect the eroded nation-state sovereignty, which is the reason that gave rise to them, they also contribute to the emergence of new xenophobia and parochialism in a post national age (Brown, 2011, p. 49-50).

However, at the current stage, besides concrete walls it is necessary to also talk about abstract walls that cannot be seen, but whose effects can be felt. Cyber walls, sanction walls, walls against democracy, visa walls, and customs walls (Arıboğan, 2018) are some of the examples of these new generation walls. Compared to visible concrete walls, these postmodern walls have the potential to deeply affect many areas such as daily life, inflation, employment, production, travel, education, and politics. In this context, with reference to the new generation walls, even the communication itself "turns into a communication wall, leading people to defend themselves and turn to themselves rather than opening up to the outside world" in some cases, and this situation actually causes "everyone to withdraw into themselves, on what creates their difference, that is, their own unique identity" (Selçuk, 2012, p. 94).

Even though the wall has fulfilled the functions of keeping the other out and protecting the ones inside throughout history, it is an undeniable fact that "walls were also being built against a despised culture and civilization. Some of the factors that determine the psychology of locals are exclusion and contempt (Arıboğan, 2018, p. 79) as well as fear.

The Other's Immorality or Evil

The other can exist through different criteria of the dominant. First of all, in the most evident area, it became possible to construct 'the other' through race. In America and Europe, there is black versus white, and the other in terms of gender is women versus men. Religions have become the other for each other, the East against the West, the East has become the other in the face of the West, and the rural has become the other in the face of the urban. In these dualities, there is a hierarchy between the one who defines the other and the defined other, and the one who defines is the superior one. Moreover, all hierarchies are fictitious; they exist not because they are there, but because they are seen as such (Harari, 2016). In this part of the study, the acceptance of the settled and the dominant as moral or good, the outsider and the other as immoral or bad is based on two main examples.

In fact, revealing the difference between us and the other through the concept of morality is not a new phenomenon. All communities have created derogatory discourses along with othering, and they have attempted to impose their own truth on others (Morrison, 2019). In the dichotomy of good man-bad man in ancient times, bad features were attributed to all other non-Hellenic/non-Greek societies through the concept of barbarians, which represents the other of the Greek (Yalazı, 2020). It can be said that the image of otherness contains a deficiency (Ersöz & Uslu, 2012).

The aim of moral sentences is to co-ordinate the behavior of the parties in a binding manner. What is meant by binding is that individuals are part of a community where they know their obligations and know what they expect from each other. Moral sentences/norms can be persuasive when they can be justified. These justifications are interpretations that give persuasive powers to moral norms, and they also control public action. Apart from determining how individuals will behave in society, these norms can also contain reasons for consensus and alliance in any conflict, in situations that are thought to damage the solidarity of society (Habermas, 2015), or about the immorality of those who are considered outsiders, that is, the others.

For Easterners, the West has always remained an example whose technique can be pursued but whose morality or immorality cannot be followed. What supporters of progress agree on is that the technology and scientific progress of the West can be imitated, but its culture and religion should not be taken as an example (Başdemir, 2014). The only issue that the parties cannot be sure of is the morals of Western society. In this context, we can also talk about a West that the East has created to present itself to the world (Koçyiğit, 2017).

From the perspective of the West, it is possible to talk about a similar prejudice about the East. Edward Said's book on Orientalism describes the subject in strong language. The image of the East in the West includes a list of complex sets of ideas about the Orient

(Oriental tyranny, glamor, cruelty, lust). It is seen in the book that the image of the Western in the minds of the Easterners is similar to the image of the Eastern in the mind of the Westerners. It is understood that Orientalism (Ersöz & Uslu, 2012) functions as the West's policy of marginalizing the East and justifying their superiority against the East that they have created. The situation is clearly illustrated by Edward Said's excerpts from Harold W. Glidden's article:

> It is a notable fact that while the Arab value system demands absolute solidarity within the group, it at the same time encourages among its members a kind of rivalry that is destructive of that very solidarity"; in Arab society only "success counts" and "the end justifies the means"… "the art of subterfuge is highly developed in Arab life, as well as in Islam itself"; … if "Westerners consider peace to be high on the scale of values", this is not true of Arabs. "In fact," we are told, "in Arab tribal society (where Arab values originated), strife, not peace, was the normal state of affairs because raiding was one of the two main supports of the economy (Said, 2008, p. 14).

What is written in the above passage, which has been shortened due to its length, is very familiar. Because, if we replace the word "Arabs" with the word "Westerners" in the text, the image of Western in the mind of the East is described. Therefore, constructing and vilifying the other appears to be a reciprocal psychosocial process. In other words, "The discussions about the concepts of 'us and the other' show the existential crises of the East and the West" (Koçyiğit, 2017, p. 155). People who are marginalized are put in the category of evil, dangerous or weak, by being assumed to lack any good attributes. Thus, the stranger that we encounter cease to be a healthy person in our minds and become a tainted, disregarded, in short, disgraced individual. Because of all this, othering is also a form of stigmatization (Goffman, 2014, p. 31).

The stigmatized people, who are not seen as acceptable from this perspective, are subjected to various discrimination by the normal ones, and this makes their lives difficult. In particular, the forms of stigmatization towards refugees, immigrants and outsiders are closely related to the moral codes of the settled. Because morality is defined by legislators and the ones who keep the order. Being exposed to distorted, prejudiced expectations and humiliating behaviors is the result of othering and stigmatization (Özmen & Erdem, 2018).

The types of othering can be summarized as social exclusion, dehumanization-degradation, attributing negative features, political labeling, comparison between groups, exaggerating the quantitative importance of the outgroup, leaving the group to fend for itself, ignoring the basic characteristics and customs of the dominant group, isolating the outgroup, and showing them as alone and weak (Polat & Kaya, 2017).

"Natasha, the Unfaithful Woman"

The 1990s, when the USSR collapsed, was the period when Turkey's place in migration traffic changed and started to become a receiving country from being a sending country. While conducting studies on the quantity of migration to Turkey, the experiences of immigrants and their relationship with society have not been given much attention. The issue of social exclusion in Turkey has been discussed in the context of issues related to poverty. However, it has been determined that social exclusion is based on factors other than poverty, and one of them is religious beliefs. For this reason, while social exclusion based on poverty can be understood within the processes of redistribution, people can also be excluded due to social prejudices other than their economic situation. Social exclusion is a multidimensional and dynamic process, which is why it is not only related to the immigration regimes in the countries, but also to local society's perception of the foreigner. In other words, it is needed to interpret the stories of those who exclude, as well as those who are excluded (Dedeoğlu & Ekiz Gökmen, 2011).

If we continue with the examples in Turkey, the discourse that non-Muslim women have a different understanding of morality than Muslim women has been exaggerated and the other has been painted as immoral. The clearest example of this was experienced in the case of the Natashas.

Due to the economic crises experienced after the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), many Russians started to work abroad. One of the countries they migrated to is Turkey, one of Russia's closest neighbors. The trade that emerged as a result of bringing and taking commercial goods from Russia to Turkey and vice versa is called "suitcase trade", in terms of frequency of the movement, it is called "shuttle migration". The main participants of this trade are Russian women, and Russian markets had begun to be established in the cities they settled in (Deniz, 2018). In time, Russian women were called "Natasha". This word, which refers to "imported" prostitution, has become synonymous with prostitution. As a result, it has become common to stigmatize every foreign blonde Slavic woman as "Natasha" (Dilli & Özmen, 2017) even though it contradicts the facts. However, (Üstübici, 2009) statistical data on the nationalities of women deported for prostitution proves the opposite of the popularly accepted 'Russian Natasha' generalization. In spite of this, women immigrants who come from Russia are exposed to harassment because they are stigmatized even if they work in other jobs.

Russian women's -who entered the country through the Sarp Border Gate- attempts at trade later changed in size. Marriages and relationships between men and women have caused social trauma in the Black Sea region. These traumas, which destroyed hundreds of families, left everlasting effects on the people of the region. Orhan Tekeoğlu, who made a movie about the Natashas called İfakat, told about his observations in an interview about the movie with Yeni Asır newspaper. He added that during the filming they could not

find a Russian woman to act in the film even as extras in the Black Sea region, and that according to his findings, until the mid-2000s, great efforts have been made to bring Russian women abroad, especially from the Black Sea region (Tekeoğlu, 2014a).

As expressed in the verses of musician Erkan Ocaklı's song "Natasha", "Oh Natasha Natasha/ You put us on fire /Led us astray /Natasha, daughter of the infidel", Natashas were seen as tempting (Beller-Hann, 1995) and the settled one has not questioned his own sense of honor and his view of women, especially non-Muslim women, whose appearance and clothing styles are different. This negative image of Russian women, which is built on their sexuality, the fact that they are stigmatized with the name "Natasha", the emergence of an expression such as "visiting a Russian" shows that they are perceived as immoral (Deniz, 2018). These words of an old man; "The Russians occupied Trabzon twice in history. First by soldiers in 1916, then by women 80 years later. Soldiers ruined our city, and women corrupted our chemistry," (Tekeoğlu, 2014b, p. 6) reflects the general view of the public. However, othering through this labeling and stigmatization does not remain abstract, it gives birth to other problems. The lives and freedoms of people who are stigmatized are affected, which causes human rights violations by imprisoning them within the boundaries in which they are defined (Dilli & Özmen, 2017).

The "immoral" and "deviant" outsider women were blamed as the sole reason of all the negativities experienced as a result of migration, and the morality and honor of the men in the Black Sea region who had relationships with the Natashas were never questioned. The impact of migration on local society has produced a number of conflicts; men/women, foreigners/native people, Muslims/Christians, morality/immorality. Even local women saw themselves as victims of foreign women's actions (Beller-Hann, 1995). In a study investigating the problems of women working abroad, one of the issues they face is sexual harassment. In this study, carried out in Turkey, China, and Japan, only one Russian female participant in Turkey expressed her negative experiences about the subject. She stated that Turkish men sometimes treat her as a "Natasha", which is used as a nickname for prostitutes, and she added that for women of other nationalities, sexual harassment was not a cause for concern (Napier & Taylor, 2002). Studies also point out that the perception of Natasha about these women pushes them into prostitution (Coşkun, 2014).

Generalizations about Russian women create more extreme and broader prejudices, also serve to confirm the widespread view of the local people that Christians and Westerners are immoral. In this emerging situation, women were classified into two categories; natives and foreigners, and morality was attributed to the former and immorality to the latter. Turkish female singers who do the same job - such as singing in a place where alcohol is served - can be seen as artists who only do their job and are considered different from easy foreign women. In addition to these situations, the othering also helped

strengthen the Muslim-Turkish identity in the region (Beller-Hann, 1995). It should be added that the problems experienced by immigrant women are also problems arising from social gender inequality (Kartal & Başçı, 2014). Through the context of Russian women, age-old moral codes and traditional gender relations in society have been reshaped (Beller-Hann, 1995). This situation results in expecting certain behavioral patterns from women. Thus, those who act against the defined roles can be marginalized and stigmatized much more easily.

The outcomes of what was experienced became clearer after these women had abandoned the region. What remains of them are broken families and destroyed homes. However, it was not only the locals who were harmed by this situation. As Tekeoğlu underlined, "Russian women have suffered the most. Tragic situations inevitably occurred when the lives of these women, who had higher education and could speak more than one language, coincided with those of low-educated and mostly married Turkish men." (Tekeoglu, 2014a). Although the reason women prefer transnational marriages is assumed to be for self-empowerment, Russian women marrying Turkish men can be evaluated in a different way, and it can be interpreted as a social protection behavior aiming to change the image of Russian immigrant women due to the "Natasha" label and prevent the possibility of sexual harassment and rape (Deniz, 2018).

Arab Spring Turning into Winter

The Arab Spring refers to the anti-regime protests that took place in many Middle Eastern countries. The protests in the Syrian branch of the Arab Spring turned into a civil war and after a while and millions of Syrians had to migrate from their country. Refugee entry into Turkey from Syria, Turkey's border neighbor, started in April 2011. Incoming refugees were placed in camps, but when the camps were not sufficient, options other than camps emerged. Syrian refugees and settled residents living in different cities started to develop negative perceptions about each other. Despite the religious unity between them, cultural differences were apparent. There are opinions among the settled people that Syrian immigrants are beggars and prone to crime, and that the marriage of refugee women with Turkish men poses a danger to Turkish families. Regarding such judgments from settled residents, Oyman (2016), who cites Mazlumder's Report on Syrian Women Refugees Living Out of the Camps, states that "they are also despised by the society for the fear among the settled women that their husbands will be stolen by 'Syrian women'" (p. 113). Syrian women are accused by settled women of taking their husbands away from them, are exposed to othering, and are described as "evil women '' (Sevlü, 2020). However, the fact that most of the Syrian brides in these marriages are at a young age indicates child abuse (ORSAM, 2015). In summary, these marriages victimize not only local women, but also the refugee women.

In addition, Syrian refugees are generally held responsible for rent increases (Sevlü, 2020). However, the moral aspect of settled landlords using this crisis for their own benefit is not discussed. Rental increases (ORSAM, 2015) provide a gain for the settled landlords. Those who are negatively affected are the ones with low incomes among the settled population.

Although the public and NGO services for Syrians living in Turkey under temporary protection are praised by the international community, social exclusion, the subject of this study, has been detected in various field studies. For example, Güneş-Aslan and Güngör's (2019) study on the problems faced by Syrian refugees living in Istanbul focused on related issues. In addition to problems such as not speaking Turkish, facing some obstacles during official procedures, having problems with subsistence, shelter, health, education, adapting, and not being able to receive social support, 18% of the participants complained about ill-treatment from society and 29% of them complained about exclusionary behaviors from society (p. 1613). It is seen that the problem of Syrian refugees in Turkey is primarily a matter of social adaptation (ORSAM, 2015). In addition, prejudice in society that the immigrants are prone to committing crimes creates stigmatizing stereotypes and false representations reinforce the prejudices (Özdemir, 2017).

In the context of othering, which cannot be considered separately from the economic context, there is a widespread belief that the high unemployment rate, along with the cheap labor force of the Syrians, reduces the chances of settled people finding a job with a livable wage. This situation causes negative attitudes towards Syrians" (Polat & Kaya, 2017, p. 46). Although the general perception is that Syrians take away job opportunities from settled residents, in reality, Syrians have both positive and negative effects on the economy (ORSAM, 2015). When problems such as unemployment are associated with immigrants or refugees, there is a misconception that economic problems will end by excluding the 'other' (Güneş, 2013).

In another study, Syrian men are marginalized in the context of masculinity and nationalism. As the study puts it, "it has been determined that binary oppositions are created on the basis of nationalism and masculinity, and hierarchy is created through interpretations." In the same study, while "we, men" were idealized on the basis of masculinity and placed at the top of the hierarchy, "the other men" were marginalized and excluded from the normative definition of masculinity and placed at the bottom of the hierarchy "because they ran away." (Güney & Konak, 2016, p. 505). In this way, native men have set a symbolic border between themselves and the refugee men, idealized their own masculinity, and marginalized refugees by constructing the idea of masculinity through their own perspectives. As a result nationalism is one of the ways to define others. Because nationalism includes the notion of a homogeneous society and the exclusion of those who do not conform to this affinity (Güney & Konak, 2016). Othering can also be done

through existing political discourse or the media.

The media strengthens the othering process in social perception with news reports, the way they describe the events and the language they use, even if their source is real events (Alp, 2018). Labels such as "Syrian thief, Syrian beggar, Syrian neighborhood" in the news about Syrian refugees make it easier to associate negative characteristics with Syrians and legitimizes labeling Syrians as 'the other' (Polat & Kaya, 2017, p. 46). In another study, it was observed that the language of the news in the media caused refugees to be seen as a threat (Bulgurcuoğlu & Aykutalp, 2021). The belief that refugees will cause social problems strengthens the perception of them as a threat (Ersoy & Ala, 2019). Making references to the migration crisis and immigrants in television programs, news, and newspaper headlines (Bauman, 2018) creates the image of the other. The image of the other drawn with these lines shows that the settled is convinced of the immorality of the outsider. This conviction sees this ill-treatment of the other as a justified reaction.

Refugees and Migrants as the Other in the Context of Social Work and Social Inclusion

The other is sometimes at an intersection of disadvantages. Combinations like the other and the poor, the other women and poverty contain an intersectionality that reinforces the negative circumstances of the other. In this context, intersectionality (Erbektaş, 2020) presents the interaction between factors such as patriarchal codes, religion, poverty, and gender in society and helps to reveal the discriminations experienced by the other. This situation results in the outsider –refugee or immigrant– having to experience both their own problems and the problems of the country and society they live in at the same time.

Being not familiar with the language and culture of the place they migrated to, the devaluation of the jobs they have, and the fact that the settled see them as rivals to their livelihoods, spouses, and jobs marginalizes the outsiders, and it causes them not to want them in their country or city and makes them hostile towards the other in the next stage. Outsiders are stuck between the present inadequate social programs and the settled society that does not want immigrants/refugees to stay or to receive services (Sheafor & Horejsi 2014, p. 613). The "bridge architecture", which is the role assigned to social work within the scope of this article, not only mediates the social inclusion of the other, but also includes an application that contains studies to be carried out on the settled residents.

Calling immigrants 'foreigners' emphasizes that they are different from the existing 'We', that is, they are the 'Other' and presents them as a problem. This situation leads to negative attitudes towards immigrants and to see them as a cause of moral degradation and increased crimes in society. Robert Miles, in his work called Racism, emphasizing that the 'other' and othering are the result of an interaction based on migration, and describing migration as a situation that is caused by production, trade, and war and that

brings different people together sheds light on the subject from another point of view (as cited in "Ersöz & Uslu, 2012).

Turkey used to be an emigrant country until recently, but it has become a receiving country and a transit point for immigrants. This situation has gradually increased the number of immigrants (Ünal, 2014). In terms of immigrants or refugees, in addition to the experience Turkey has gained throughout history due to its geostrategic location, the immigration practices of the Islamic civilization that emerged in Anatolia are good examples of social inclusion. The successful social services provided to those who came from Syria have been repeatedly praised by the presidents of different countries and by the UNHCR inspection committees at the UN plenary meetings. Foreigners and International Protection Law (FIPL) no. 6458 which entered into force on 04.11.2013, adopting a migration policy that focuses on harmony and supporting this policy with its legislations and institutions, Turkey has presented a solid example of the bridge architecture discourse. However, the problems about othering and exclusion became more evident when refugees started to leave the camps and take part in society.

Social inclusion emerges as a result of social exclusion. Social exclusion, in the simplest sense, is the obstacles the others encounter in society, and it is the situation of being cast out of society due to these obstacles. The concept of social exclusion is a dynamic concept and "Failure to meet the needs in economic, social, cultural and other areas makes it difficult for others to participate in these areas in society or even completely prevents them... Being deprived in any area paves the way for the exclusion of others from society, starting from that area" (Çakır, 2002, p. 83). Although the main factors that lead to social exclusion are poverty, disability, and old age, it is also necessary to talk about more complex factors. In fact, since these factors interact with each other, it is necessary to take into account that a few of them, such as religion, language, gender, citizenship status, and race intersect with each other. Social exclusion, with its non-stationarity structure, shapes the institutional, social, economic, and political processes, and as a phenomenon affected by these factors helps to recognize and reinforce the dominant position of the settled society (Sevlü, 2020).

Social inclusion is defined as "integrating individuals or groups who are faced with social exclusion with the society by removing the factors that may prevent them from taking part in socioeconomic life and by bringing their quality of life to a decent level in the society" (Genç & Çat, 2013, p. 365). However, this concept is perceived in a narrower framework as bringing disadvantaged individuals to the business life as a labor force, in other words, solving their unemployment and ensuring their integration (Erdoğdu & Gökbayrak, 2006). However, it is necessary to take this concept out of this narrow framework and to handle it on different levels such as ideological, social, and institutional. The first step to social inclusion is tolerating differences. Tolerance, as the first and

simplest principle of social inclusion, provides a proper basis for diverse, rich, flexible, and variable social rules. However, tolerance implies a hierarchical superiority for the tolerant and does not put any responsibility on them. For this reason, it is an insufficient and incomplete step for social inclusion. The next step goes beyond tolerance and holds social inclusion responsible for protecting human dignity. This honor cannot be harmed by differences and creates an ethic of social inclusion for this responsibility. In this context, the general framework of these ethics consists of principles of respect for individuals, human characteristics, diversity in society, responsibility for the social inclusion of the others, and endorsement of social justice (Bullock et al., 2015, p. 2-9).

The priority of social inclusion, which is protecting human dignity, is also one of the core values of social work. When social work is considered in terms of individuals and groups in its field of interest, both academically and professionally, it is closely related to people who have been excluded from society for various reasons, in short, the others. The social work profession has a duty in line with the definition of social inclusion, such as, to combat the othering of these groups and reshape the situation in which they are trapped in as a result of exclusion. For this reason, it is important to evaluate social exclusion from a social work point of view (Cılga, 2009). Because social work is now being defined as a profession that has developed its own unique concepts and practices regarding all forms of social exclusion. Migration is one of the fundamental phenomena that creates the need for social work. The main goal in the process that started with the settlement house movement is the adaptation and acculturation of immigrants. The increasing labor migration to Europe has changed the direction of these adaptation policies and practices from assimilation to integration, from acculturation to cultural exchange. In the 2000s, social inclusion gained importance (Akbaş, 2019).

The migration branch of social work consists of four themes. These are demography, service delivery, physical and mental health, and macro level systemic problems. In the literature, there is a vast knowledge covering various topics in the field of migration. Although it is a positive development to focus on the sociological aspects of migration in addition to approaching it in its political context, the studies that include cultural context should be more widespread. Otherwise, a holistic assessment of immigrants and refugees cannot be made. In addition, the lack of cultural factors affects both the education and practice of social work (Shier et al., 2011). Social workers who carry out the practices must have a good grasp of the cultures of both the settled people and the outsiders. When there is no cultural competence that helps to know the culture and semantic world of the individuals who are provided with social services, prejudices may intervene during the practice. For this reason, cultural competence is one of the responsibilities of social workers towards service recipients (Aslan, 2018). It can be said that a new paradigm that makes room for different cultures in social work (Akbaş, 2019) and sees the other as a potentiality rather than a problem, should gain importance.

Conclusion and Suggestions

The issue of refugees and immigrants, which is discussed through the feature of otherness, should not be perceived as an approach that sees only those who come from outside -refugees and immigrants- as a problem, and that claims that it is only outsiders who need to adapt and change. On the contrary, social work for outsiders necessitates a two-sided approach that considers outsiders on one side and settled society on the other.

It is necessary to diversify the work to be carried out with the settled society, such as organizing activities and projects in which the public can participate directly or indirectly, mediating between state and civil society, mobilizing non-governmental organizations, shaping the attitudes and views of the settled society towards immigrants, and analyzing the socio-cultural structure.

Policies regarding the discourse of hospitality evaluate actions understood as benevolence and lead the society to fall into the error of expecting gratitude from the other/immigrant/refugee. For this reason, there is a need to develop a perspective on immigrants/refugees, because immigrants and refugees can be exposed to social exclusion, discrimination, and racism. As a result, they face problems such as poverty and unregistered employment (Ünal, 2014). Also, it has been understood that the perception of hospitality, temporariness, and temporary protection status do not help the integration of Syrians with the native people in Turkey. The states' aim of social adaptation, which reinforces the perception of temporariness, is shaped from the moment the immigrants enter the country. Not to mention the fact that it increases the importance of the multidimensional and mutual integration process, which concerns both the immigrant and the receiving society. It should also be possible to state by looking at the settled that the immigrants increase cultural richness by creating cultural diversity with the aspect that concerns the settled (Koçan & Kırlıoğlu, 2020). Based on the view that diversity is richness, the still existent standardizing practices should be filtered critically.

The medical paradigm has a problem-oriented approach to the issue of migration and immigrants. However, this paradigm prevents seeing the fact that immigrants can contribute to the society they live in. For this reason, there is a need for a solution-oriented approach rather than a problem-oriented one (Akbaş, 2019).

In the context of social work, social inclusion continues through the argument of the individual's adaptation to society. This situation leads to the suppression of the excluded other's culture and the group in question to remain silent and to hide their identities by pretending to be from the society they live in. This, in fact, is a preferred outcome for the government in power, which wants others to be in line with the majority that is defined as normal, and to be controlled (Alp, 2018, p. 25).

In social work, activities with refugees and immigrants can be carried out at micro, mezzo, and macro levels. One of the studies carried out at the micro level in particular consists of increasing the participatory behavior of refugees and immigrants (Akbaş, 2019). However, changing the social perception seems more efficient than trying to adapt the individuals to the society one by one.

Social work should resort to "planning the social services with a perspective and understanding that views the differences in culture, values, and social norms as richness" (Oyman, 2016, p. 133), away from generalizations at the level of intervention, and at the stage of academic knowledge production. In this way, understanding the other and learning from them begins with allowing the other to speak first. At this stage, the duty of social work to be a tool for the other to express themselves and to be understood more accurately by the settled society comes into play. Thus, increasing communication and interaction is an effective tool in eliminating the mutual prejudices.

There is also the fight against demagogy within a set of actions that social workers can take. The unfair labeling of all groups of people can be fought with social media posts, letters to newspapers, speaking to public officers, and giving speeches in public spaces, and personal interactions (Healy, 2017). The social inclusion discourse of social work must include the removal of walls, in addition to the adaptation of those outside the wall. For this reason, instead of assimilation policies, policies of mutual harmony and social inclusion should be applied to refugees and immigrants (Akbaş, 2019).

Like social exclusion, social inclusion also expresses a similar process. Thus, it does not seem possible to achieve social inclusion with short-term solutions. Political arrangements made in this direction are a long but possible process that can be achieved gradually with projects to increase the awareness of society.

The increase in contact between the settled and the outsider will help them to get to know each other. It is also important to promote projects and social inclusion campaigns that engage immigrants and refugees (Healy, 2017) in participatory efforts along with their neighbors. Such projects will reduce fear and help create an inclusive society.

Social workers also have a responsibility to be aware of the underlying meanings of the expressions they use that might empower the power groups even more, and not to reproduce othering/exclusionary concepts. It is of great importance to take care that the language used in the identification, description, and solutions to problems are not a language that reproduces othering. When looked at carefully, othering is also a label, a fact that cannot be ignored. Because language determines the normal, the abnormal, and marginalizes and stigmatizes those who are not in the majority due to their differences (Cankurtaran & Beydili, 2016).

The state of being immoral provides a space for the descriptor that can be filled with negativity. In addition, it also takes on the mission of legitimizing the labeling of the other and the mistreatment of outsider/immigrant. This legitimation of othering turns it into "mechanisms that make these people vulnerable to labor exploitation and abuse," as in the example of Russian women (Deniz, 2018). It is necessary to realize and show that othering gives birth to stigmatization and along with it, some negative attitudes and behaviors.

Social work should be careful not to become an instrument of such negative legitimation by being mindful of the language it uses. This duty of being mindful is of great importance not only for the other, the refugee, but also for the professional ethics and ontology of social work.

Since the mainstream approaches within social work were insufficient to solve the problems of people who were marginalized due to their differences, different solutions were needed, and this situation created the anti-discrimination practice. Anti-discrimination practices should be considered as an option for social work in migration studies, in understanding and preventing othering and discrimination, which are common in daily life but not noticed straight away (Cankurtaran & Beydili, 2016). Because direct or indirect discrimination can show itself in social work practices in which differences are ignored.

The reflection of othering on social work takes place in the form of social injustice. In social work, discrimination of the marginalized other can turn into a problem that causes human rights violations. It should be noted that the challenge of promoting just, humane, and hospitable refugee and immigration policies is a global problem for social work (Healy, 2017), but not a problem specific to Turkey.

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Being a Syrian Student in Northern Cyprus: An Ethnographic Study

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Being a Syrian Student in Northern Cyprus: An Ethnographic Study

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Abstract

This ethnographic study aims to examine Syrian students' various experiences with belonging and identity while studying at Eastern Mediterranean University. The main objective of this study, which consists of the experiences of a sample group of students, is to examine in detail the subject of belonging and identity. The model of the study is ethnographic research, one of the qualitative research methods. Ten Syrian students participated in the fieldwork. The interviews were analyzed with a thematic analysis approach. As a result of the study, we see that Syrian students emphasize the similarities between the TRNC and Syria, such as food and climatic structure. However, in addition to this positive similarity, we found that differences in language and culture stressed the students. The relationship between Syrian culture and some of the variables, about both belonging and identity, is examined in detail and the results are given in the light of the literature as a result of this study.

Introduction

Currently, people move across borders and their activities are more effective in multinational states. It is possible to explain this effect with the concept of globalization in general (Sutton, 2005). Globalization is a term widely used to characterize the profound changes taking place in the world and to describe the growing interdependence of world economies, cultures, and populations caused by cross-border trade of goods and services, technology and investment, people, and information flow (Teeple, 2000). In this study, how globalization affects Syrian students living in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is examined. As a result of face-to-face interviews developed during the research phase, more realistic information was obtained from the people at the center of the question. The blending of the information obtained from the study with the literature prepares the environment for different research, than what has been seen previous studies.

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This study is important in terms of identifying possible problems that foreign students may encounter and presenting solution proposals in an ethnographic framework. It is also expected to contribute to making regulations for solutions to potential problems. This ethnographic research aims to examine Syrian students' various experiences of belonging and identity while studying at Eastern Mediterranean University (EMU) in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). For this purpose, answers to the following questions are sought:

1. After the war, there was immigration to various countries. Did families send students to avoid the effects of the war or to get them a better education?

2. Do Syrian students experience cultural problems in TRNC?

3. What problems do Syrian students experience related to cultural conflict, discrimination, or prejudice?

4. What are their feelings of belonging to TRNC, and how do they express it?

5. Do they think they will return after the war is over? Why is that?

Conceptual Approach

Cavanagh (2012) explained that globalization affects people and human communities by providing a basis for internalization competence in universities. Lukosius and Festervand (2013) emphasized that reduced transportation and communication costs increase the mobility of students and enable the expansion of university education abroad. According to Dwyer and Peters (2004), some students decide to study abroad for their personal, professional, and academic development. Phang (2013) claimed that the increase in the number of students abroad for university education, indicates a change in the direction of the university, in order gain an international dimension. Also, according to Tarrant, Rubin, and Stoner (2015), studying abroad offers better opportunities to develop a more globalized sense of responsibility and provides cultural experiences. Students studying in different countries contribute positively to the education process by contributing to the transfer and development of knowledge. However, there are some socio-cultural and educational problems obsticals that foreign students face. Baklashova and Kazakov (2016) and Lu (2001) explain that students' struggles are: cultural adaptations, finding equality between different tastes and unusual living conditions, suggestions, language, financial problems, studies, and study time. According to Alavi and Mansor (2011), foreign students trying to adapt to a new education system and social environment face various adaptation problems. According to Talebloo and Baki (2013), students' adaptation process and the stress they experience could be harmful to their mental health and well-being. For this reason, it is thought that foreign students struggle individually with adaption.

Although globalization has brought with it developments in technology, communication, and transportation, it has also invited an adaptation problem for immigrants (Geschiere and Meyer, 1998). The number of students leaving their home country for educational purposes is increasing. These students, who changed their country, aim to get a better education and get to know different cultures and environments. Language barriers that may occur during the establishment of compulsory relations, education, accommodation, transportation, and government institutions can be some of the most significant difficulties in this process. Even if these obstacles disappear, another dramatic challenge is the adaptation process for foreign students (Usta et al., 2017). In parallel, the concept of harmony accommodates the conflicts in the society in which the individual lives positively and fairly (Eraslan, 2015). At this point, belonging is an experience of identification with a group where the individual can develop relationships with loyalty and dependency. Living alone is excluded from this experience. In addition, the motivation to live together, which arises from the needs of individuals for each other, is one of the issues discussed in the field of psychology and sociology. Living together means the continuity of social relationships that individuals establish with others, and this continuity is the reason for the individual's interdependence (Alptekin, 2011). However, learning some norms and values that make it possible for the individual to live together and regulate themselves develops in the process of socialization. It is imperative to examine the basic needs of individuals, since primitive society belongs in this respect (Greenwood et al. 2013). Belonging can be associated with a conscious state in the process of identity construction, as well as being understood as an important need and emotion developed in the individual's self.

Regardless of whether the individual is willing or unwilling to join a community, group, or social category, they still come together under a common identity and act with this awareness in partnership. Individuals who are aware of the whole are inevitably extensive to each other, the slower the trust and solidarity they build for each other, the stronger the sense of belonging between them (Fund, 2010). It is possible to talk about an abstract contract based on the interactions of trust, solidarity, and emotional togetherness, including the concerns of mutual responsibility between the individual and society. This statement says that it acts in harmony with society's expectations and society must function in a way that exceeds the trust of all institutions and practices of individuals. In addition, the possibility of developing social elements such as common consciousness skills, meaning production, values, norms, and identity of people coexisting, necessitates a sense of belonging as a prerequisite (Barrett et al. 2014). Involvement is a type of emotion that people need. It emerges in direct and indirect relationships in life, established by the social environment in which individuals present concrete examples (Clark, 2007). It creates a sense of belonging directly to individuals in the social environment. People who can keep up with the social structure act with a sense of belonging. Therefore, the conditions of belonging may depend on the social environment that develops and normalizes

with birth, or it may have the effect of being updated and diversified by an individual's conscious choices (Costa-Font & Cowell, 2015).

Identity is seen as a part of belonging (Mendoza Alvarez, 2017). The phenomenon of identity is based on interdisciplinary collaboration (McAdams & Cox, 2010). All individuals establish social relationships and maintain their lives (Gökçe, 2003). From past to present, individuals have always needed others. The desire to live together helps people paint a stronger image. Individuals' sense of belonging consists of collective belonging that occurs at the level of social awareness and participation in various social groups. Alptekin (2011) draws attention to two different individual-power interactions, in which each individual in their social life experiences a family, a nationality, a cultural identity, and different belonging preferences depending on their own will. Pinto (2006) explained that the vital importance of belonging to a group triggers the formation of an effective internal mechanism in in-group control and ensures that inter-individual relationships are maintained harmoniously and systematically in these communities. Alptekin (2011) states how difficult and painful the struggle for life can be when the individual is not affiliated with any group or community. He also talked about the awareness of how easy it would be to connect to the group or community and how happy he would be. It can be stated that the internal mechanism emphasized in this awareness directs the actions of the individuals in the communities and ensures their welfare and security. By referring to Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs theory, Kuşat (2003) states that one of the most important needs of the individual, is identity and therefore status and loyalty, belonging and higher self needs, that come at the beginning of the adolescence period. Belonging can be defined as individual acceptance, recognition, value, and importance given by others.

According to Gao, Lai, and Halse (2018), there are currently serious problems with the increasing global influx of refugees and migrants on one hand, and the resurgence of xenophobia and fearful hostility towards minorities on the other. For this purpose, it is essential to ensure the individual acceptance of immigrants. It is also important to ensure integration in this process (Balcı, 2017). Cultural transition is necessary, which creates stress and the coping skills that are used in this process. Although immigrants, international students, and employees have different factors that affect the cultural process, these groups go through a similar adaptation process (Berry, 1997).

The psychological process of culture consists of five stages. The first stage is experiencing inter-cultural contact. In this process, people have interactions in their social life. The second stage is the perception of lived experiences. At this stage, life experiences are reviewed and evaluated. The experiences of the third stage are understood and different coping methods are used. The fourth stage is the initial response to the stress experienced. The stress level varies depending on the meaning of the experiment. The final stage is adaptation. Individuals begin to be affected by factors such as age, gender, reasons

for contact with different cultures, personality traits, education level, other statuses, and intercultural similarities. In the acculturation process, factors such as new cultural contact time, social support, coping skills, attitudes, and perceived discrimination affect the adaptation process (Kağnıcı, 2017).

Displacement is a dynamic process that shapes the demographic, cultural, socio-economic structure, and development in societies. For a country and society, the issue of displacement is not just about social, political, cultural, economic, administrative, and legal aspects. The interaction of individuals from different cultures may cause cultural adaptation problems (Akıncı, et al., 2015). Baier (2005) claims that individuals who have difficulty adapting to another culture find a place for themselves in that culture, and their reactions to problems, crises, and 'culture shock' are expressed. Psychosocial variables such as self-esteem, life satisfaction, and social support play a crucial role in overcoming culture shock. It is an important issue for people to live and adapt to other cultures without leaving their own culture (Algan et al., 2012). For this reason, it is necessary to create an infrastructure to ensure correct integration in the country of immigration.

Core Components of Syrian Culture

Syria has been home to many different cultures for thousands of years, including Islamic societies, Crusaders, Iranian traders, prehistoric tribes such as the Abbasids and the Ottoman Empire (Hitti, 1959). In addition to the Arab majority, which makes up 90% of Syrians, there are other ethnic origins in the region (Uzun & Sevinç, 2015). The most common of these ethnic cultures are the Kurdish and Armenian populations. The official language of Syria is Arabic, but the Syrian people also speak their own regional language. On the other hand, educated Syrians speak French or English fluently. 75% of the population is Muslim, and the rest is predominantly Christian. The population is about 20 million (Al-Fattal, 2010). Bhasin Consulting Inc. (2016) explains the Syrian clothing culture as a modest way of dressing. Some Muslim women wear headscarves that cover their arms and collarbones. However, this way of dressing is more common after the age of 65.

Family ties are very important for Syrians. In particular, the father figure emerges as a concept that should be respected. This shows the patriarchal structure of the country. Patriarchy is a widespread system throughout the world, especially in monotheistic religions (Erdem & Sayılgan, 2011). Syrian parents, who think that their children will take care of them in the future, can give birth to many children. However, there are gender-based differences among these children, and girls are discriminated against (Wofford & Tibi 2018; Sirin & Rogers-Sirin, 2015). Syrians often use gestures and facial expressions (Doerre, 2001; Hann & Dunn, 1996). Reynolds (2016) revealed that Syrians situate themselves close to each other in the social environment, speak very loudly (not a sign of anger), and show their reactions with gestures and hands. Meals are delicious flavors that include some types of vegetables such as tabouli and fattoush. They also consume various meat

dishes such as shish kebab, kafta, and kibbeh. There is a halal diet that excludes pork, alcohol, and some animal products. Syrians usually drink tea or coffee and use only their right hand to eat food when eating with their hands.

Syria in the Civil War Period

The protests, known as the Arab Spring in North Africa and the Middle East, affected Tunisia in 2010 and spread to other regions (Ateş & Bektaş, 2017). Ethnic and religious differences are important triggers of the Civil War (Miş, 2011). The civil war in Syria started in 2011 with protests and demonstrations against Syrian President, Bashar Assad, and his government (Silva, 2017). Additionally, the Civil War was caused by other factors. According to Kaya (2017), socio-political, environmental, and unemployment. Drought, stress, and poverty in the water supply can be seen as factors that increase the risk of civil war. In addition, Fisseha (2017) explained that the Civil War led to conflicts and difficulties in the leadership of the Assad government and the opposition to the Syrian administration. Ergin (2016) emphasized that these conflicts and difficulties did not end.

Syria has six important United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) cultural and natural heritage sites. These are the Ancient City of Damascus, the Ancient City of Bosra, the Palmira Region, the Ancient City of Aleppo, Crac des Chevaliers and Qal'at Salah Al-Din, and Northern Syria, which was the first settlement in Syria. These places are under threat from the war (UNESCO, 2014). The international dimension of the war also has the characteristics of an external war rather than a civil war. Groups such as the Assad Regime, the opposition, and PYD-YPG-PKK-ISID are at war, and countries such as Russia, Turkey, the USA, and Iran are also involved in the war (Ateş & Bektaş, 2017).

The problems faced by young people during their university period differ from their previous life periods (Tremblay et al., 2012). In this study, it is seen that the reason students left their country was the civil war in Syria. In this process, in which the students were relocated, situations arose. During this period, students get used to living conditions. The process of gaining a new ego, personality, and body is a tumultuous and difficult process for students who have just started university. Yurtsever (2009) stated that university students have responsibilities including solving problems such as housing, nutrition, academic success, dating, family, health, personality, and creating identity integrity. According to Güçlü (1996), foreign students may encounter adaptation barriers such as a new social environment and a new education system, social identity, in seeking help, experiences in romantic and sexual relationships, in seeking a job, changing the home environment and language. According to Levent and Karaevli (2013), the rate of foreign students applying to municipal services is low, and students do not receive sufficient support from university services. In this context, it is thought that foreign students would need these services more to strengthen and support the integration process, because the

current civil war in Syria has put students' education at risk. Students who were deprived of their right to education began to receive education in various countries. One of these countries is the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

Methodology

In this study, ethnographic research was used as a qualitative research method to examine Syrian students' experiences with belonging and identity. Mason (2002) referred to the importance of qualitative research to explore perspectives in the social world. Atieno (2009) claims that qualitative research provides an environment for researchers to conduct in-depth research. Creswell (1998) emphasized that the concept of 'culture' is central to ethnography. This study aims to examine Syrian students' various experiences while studying at EMU in terms of belonging and identity. For this purpose, ethnographic research, one of the qualitative research methods, was chosen as the study design. One of the effective ways to understand these processes and experiences is to make social and process assessments (Reeves et al., 2013). Qualitative research methods were used in the study because it allows examination from a broad perspective and context, taking into account the environmental conditions in which students live. Therefore, it is possible to say that the ethnographic research design was used in this study.

Gentles, Charles, Ploeg, and McKibbon (2015) state that purposive sampling methods are used to identify participants in ethnographic research. In the purposive sampling method, the researcher selects the groups that will provide the most appropriate and rich data source for the research topic (Palys, 2008; Palys, 2008). In this research, we decided to create a sample using the 'snowball sampling' method. Trotter (2012) defined this as a common sampling technique, and it begins with an individual identified as having the characteristics required by the research design and asking this person to nominate a participant with common characteristics. These participants are the second wave of data collection, and they want the second wave to continue the third wave. In this research, the first Syrian student was asked, "Do you have any Syrian friends here?" We asked a question like this, and we expanded the sample group.

Owing to our close contacts in the fieldwork, we accessed a lot of data. The researchers took note of the information obtained with the answers given. Observing the participant, which is a part of ethnographic research, was also included in this study. In the data analysis, the opinions of Syrian students at EMU regarding their experiences of belonging and identity were examined with thematic analysis. In addition, to increase accuracy, the triangulation method, based on multiple perspectives, allowed the use of two or more information sources in data collection. The information gained by researchers through observation is important for the discipline of ethnography (Reeves, Kuper et al. 2008). In this study, the data obtained from the observations are examined along with the interview

data and the behaviors associated with the statements of the participants. In our research, we had the opportunity to work in-depth with a total of 10 Syrian students.

Findings

Connection to TRNC

Concerning the interviewee's family, was the student sent in order to not be affected by war conditions or for a better education?

> Participant 1 - My family sent to me in here for not being affected by the war.

> Participant 2 - There was also a risk incurred by students getting affected either physically or emotionally causing them to discontinue their study periods. Their safety is the more important reason and the main concern of course.

> Participant 4 - The main reason is to keep them as far as possible from the civil war in Syria and to guarantee a good place for them to start their life if the war doesn't end until then.

> Participant 6 - Obviously answer can be not being affected by the war and its environment. Syria is not the same as old.

> Participant 9 - None of us wanted to study abroad due to war in our country. We may take better education conditions here in TRNC, but I preferred to study in my country with my native language and feel my family behind me during all education periods. So, I can say directly for not being affected by Civil War.

Otherwise, for Participant 7 the idea was for a better education and claimed:

> In my point of view, they sent for a better future. When you graduate from TRNC, your diploma is already recognized by Turkey. So you are halfway to start your job there and manage your life in a safe country.

On the other hand, 5 participants said both factors about their families send them to TRNC. As examples:

> Participant 3 - For not being affected by the war and education quality can be both reasons this question for me. The suitable alternative and the universities in TRNC have provided the best one concerning the quality of education.

Participant 5 - I can say for both reasons because the war has deep effects on the education in Syria. Many well-known instructors have left the country which aided the drop in education levels nevertheless many schools got attacked heavily. So many people won't just throw their children there.

Participant 8 - I can say better education and not affected by the war.

Participant 10 - Most students here came for better education and not being in the war environment. The war did cause more students to study abroad and naturally, TRNC was one of the available good economic places.

Cultural Challenge/s in TRNC

The interviewees were asked if they faced any cultural conflict and/or problems in TRNC. According to their answers, they said mostly general attitudes toward themselves, foods and language, relationships, and traffic problems.

According to the responses from participants, issues such as cultural problems were shown in Participant 1 and Participant 10 had some opinion about the attitudes of other people.

Participant 1 - I think the hardest problem I suffered here was the lack of confidence of the citizens with Syrian people by Turkish people, not Cypriots. This led sometimes to make difficulties with every simple transaction that expatriate people need to do here. Also, when I did not feel I am welcome in the host society led me to prefer to be isolated and restricted to the Syrian community which made it difficult to be mixed up with people in different nations.

Participant 10 - It was between the Turkish students. Their attitudes as remaining distant came to me weird.

Furthermore, food problems were related by some of the participants. The examples of them are: Participant 1 - "In my first times, foods came to be different. Our foods are so spicy; in here they were so much lighter than Syrian foods" and Participant 9 - "I have felt cultural problems when I came here first because culture and traditions are very different than my country. For example, foods' tastes were different than ours."

Another issue for Participant 1 and Participant 6 was the language. Participant 1 reflected his idea about language as "Also the Turkish language was so hard to understand. There is no relation with Arabic," along with Participant 6 who described, "When I came, I had some struggle with the language. Turkish was so hard, and people were talking

to me Turkish in the first conversation because they thought I am Turkish." Although some of the participants mentioned other cultural problems in TRNC. Participant 6 and Participant 9 provided viewpoints that differed from those of other participants. Participant 6 told, "The example can be said relationships in here. For example, couples can live together in the same home before marriage. Syrian culture is definitely against this subject. Maybe I can say these examples of cultural differences between Syria and TRNC" conversely Participant 9 asserted "The traffic lane is in left in TRNC. It was so hard to get used to for me."

Identity Problem/s in School as a Syrian Student

The interviewees were asked if they faced an identity problem, conflict, discrimination, or prejudice and what kind of problem/s have they experienced.

According to the responses from participants, issues such as identity problems were detailed. The participants had problems with the adaptation process and with students who came from different backgrounds, while it was related to the lifestyle system. Some of the participants had identity problem/s in TRNC as Syrian students. Participant 1 and Participant 10 described the adaptation process, especially with people from different backgrounds. Participant 1 said,

> There are a few Cypriot students in our class. There was not any conflict or discrimination against each of us. Because TRNC is a multi-cultural society and there are many students here from abroad. But me and some of my friends had some problems with students who come from Turkey. They discriminate against us as Syrians because of events in Turkey. They have really big prejudice.

Participant 10 claimed,

> As any nation that went through a war and had its people displaced there would be cases of discrimination and cultural conflict against that nation's people. Syrians aren't a few people, there are hundreds of thousands of Syrian students who had to study abroad, and they come from all different kinds of backgrounds.

Unlike the others, Participant 8 asserted a different view about the lifestyle system, "I have faced many cultural problems. For example, Syrian people sleep very late, but Turks don't". Most of the participants had no identity problems in TRNC as Syrian students. They had common ideas.

> Participant 3 - Syrians were always the favorites for both Cypriots among

other foreign nationalities in TRNC. They were treated with much sympathy especially in the first years of Syrian students' presence in 2013.

Participant 4 - It is expected from any country that is hosting millions of people from another nation that speaks a different language to have problems in discrimination and prejudice, putting TRNC as an exception here because of all the foreigners in TRNC.

Participant 6 - My department has many foreign students, and all students are so helpful and tolerating. TRNC is also in harmony with different cultures. So, I can say that I am happy with this issue.

Participant 7 - The country is used to foreigner students and as all Syrians here are students, there are no such problems.

Belonging

The interviewees were asked questions concerning their feelings of belonging in TRNC. According to the responses, most of the participants have not developed any feelings of belonging to TRNC because of limited opportunities like residence limitation, and most of the students said that government does not give rights to international students for living in TRNC after graduation. Moreover, some of the participants also have no belonging feelings to TRNC because of adaptation the new environment. However, Participant 2 and Participant 4 feel belonging in TRNC.

Participant 2 - The citizens of TRNC are warm and welcoming. Provided, having lots of Syrians now residing there has helped build and strengthen, or in other words, deepen this sense of belonging. They have come together to form a Syrian society for instance, which created a homely atmosphere for students.

Participant 4 - Syrian students didn't get a cultural shock here in TRNC, again due to its similar cultural and the fact that it's mostly a climate with lots of different international students.

On the contrary, most other participants' (P 1,5,6,7,8,9) responses differ.

Participant 1 - After graduation, the government gives us only 40 days to go out of the country. So, I feel like the passenger in here.

Participant 5 - The feeling of belonging is impossible. Because of after graduation, we must go from TRNC.

Participant 6 - I get used to TRNC's atmosphere. But I can't say I have

the feel of belonging. Because the limited process does not give us to the feeling of belonging anywhere.

Participant 7 - I cannot say belonging. Because we are students, we will not and cannot stay here forever. If we can live here without any limitation as residence time, we feel belonging to TRNC.

Participant 8 - For me and most of the people; we don't and will not belong to TRNC. Because they don't let us stay in the country after graduation.

Participant 9 - At the end of the day, we are students in TRNC and this process will end one day. I have lived in here so amazing days, but this is not enough for the feeling of belonging toward TRNC.

Nevertheless, two of the participants provided viewpoints on the adaptation process that differed from the other participants about belonging. Participant 3 indicated, "I do not think Syrian students feel like they belong to TRNC as a home country, yet they have developed many feelings towards TRNC as a second home and as a country," and Participant 10 mentioned, "Some feel that this country is empty and that there is nothing other than the university. Other students like this country and see it as a quiet, clean, safe place to live in."

Opinions on Returning to the Motherland

The interviewees were asked if they think of returning to Syria after the war is over, and why. Many of the interviewees stated that they do not want to return to Syria, even if the war is over. Most students who do not want to return to Syria used common statements like:

Participant 3 - Syrian students do not consider staying in Syria either way if the war ends or not. It is collapsed and I think it is not like before.

Participant 5 - Actually I do not think we will go back. Education in Syria needs time to get where it was. I don't want to return after university.

Participant 6 - That can be the hardest question. Because I have no idea about if it will be over or continue like this. But if it is over completely, I am not sure whether I will return or not. Syria had problems and internal conflicts before the war had even started. The war started and expanded. I think Syria will not be like old Syria. I don't want to take my life into others' hands. If Syria changes totally in each area, we may return our country, but it comes to me so hard.

Participant 7 - I don't think these new graduate students will return immediately after the war is over. The country is destroyed. No infrastructure,

no electricity or water. It would be very hard to get used to these conditions again, but maybe in 10 or 20 years some of the Syrians might go back but most of them unfortunately not. We must arrange our life another place, but it is not in Syria unfortunately!

Participant 9 - Syria's situation is getting worse and worse each day. I cannot imagine how will it be or won't be. I don't want to lose my hope, but all news breaks my hope. I want to live in my country without any limitations or problems of course. But I don't want to return in these conditions.

Participant 10 - I have no hope that it will be like before Syria. Some students believe that they will go back. Other students think that here in the future and opened business. But I don't want to return to Syria. Also, most of the families of the Syrian students are already living outside of Syria.

On the other hand, the rest of the Syrian students want to return to Syria.

Participant 1 - I want to return to my country after the war is over. But this depends on who will be president. This war ruined Syria, I have no idea how the situation will change back.

Participant 2 - There is still hope that someday Syria will stand up on its feet again. For the sake of rebuilding the country, those graduates and Syrian youth should consider returning and contributing rather than becoming exploited resources for other nationalities. Thus, it is likely that anyone who shares this view would want to return.

Participant 4 - Most people would return if the war ended, and the country is safe again.

Participant 8 - If it is possible for them mostly students will go back, like me.

When the analysis is reviewed in general, the TRNC, whose climate and social life is compared to Syria by the participants, creates a moderate impression of its people. The fact that the TRNC is already multicultural may have created positive attitudes towards Syrian refugees. While Syrian students were satisfied with TRNC citizens, they stated that they had problems with Turkish citizens. In our observations, we observed that Syrian students are friendly and extroverted people. In addition, we noticed that students' adaptation problems negatively affect their academic lives. The fact that Syrian students did not want to return to Syria even after the war was over showed that they were satisfied with the environment they were in.

Conclusion

Foreign students have an important place in education marketing that has grown with globalization. Foreign students receive their education in different countries, contributing to their academic career and meeting new cultures. However, this can cause problems in some places. Specifically, communication problems can cause obstacles on a universal scale. This study examines the various experiences of Syrian students studying at EMU in terms of belonging and identity. Research data was collected through a field study and ten Syrian students participated in the research. Interview and observation forms of qualitative data collection methods were used in the study. By analyzing research data with the thematic analysis method, findings of the belonging and identity experiences of Syrian students were reached.

In the data obtained, it was seen that most Syrian students were affected by the war and came to receive an education. In addition, students were sent to the TRNC by their families to receive a good education, although they were not affected by the war, were also included in the study. Most of the participants stated that they were not discriminated against in the TRNC, but in general, they mentioned communication problems arising from language and cultural differences. Most of the participants stated that they did not want to return to their countries even if the war was over and said that this created hopelessness in them.

In the light of the data obtained, we can make recommendations for practices and further research. This study was conducted with university students and is based on the opinions of university students. The inclusion of students at different levels of study may benefit the research topic. The processes are related to many psychological dimensions, and it is understood from the interviews. Therefore, planning studies on how psychologists and psychological counsellors play an important role in the institution/university adaptation process can provide meaningful results. Some orientation activities such as social activities, excursions, sports activities, and cultural activities can increase student's adaptation to the university and the region, and their regular organization will contribute positively to both the institutional, regional, and the subjective and psychological well-being of the students. Syrian students should be provided with quality education and students should be motivated. Implementing orientation programs for all foreign students can prevent problems with belonging and identity. Syrian students' adaption problems could be decreased by awareness studies and training about identity and belonging issues.

At the point of removing traces of Syrian students' traumatic experiences before and during migration, attempts can be made to encourage psychologists and/or psychological counsellors in institutions to assist students. In addition to mental health professionals, steps can be taken that will contribute to social welfare and integration in the long run by building a bridge between other education stakeholders. Addition to training in mig-

ration psychology, crisis counselling, and culturally sensitive psychological counselling skills in institutions as an elective course, especially during the undergraduate education period, may contribute to the professional and individual benefit, in order for all students to gain multicultural perspectives and foresight. Various informative trainings on immigration, multiculturalism, and Syrian society should be organized for students, and academic and administrative staff on discrimination and exclusion. On the other hand, it is important to open language courses in continuing education centers (SEM) for Syrian students to maintain their academic competence and social life easily in the education process. Activities should be carried out on campuses and outside the campus to increase socialization and interaction between groups through joint activities with clubs within the university, and to eliminate prejudices.

It is very important to follow dynamic and multidimensional policies that ensure understanding between both communities for the desired level of social acceptance and harmony and its sustainability. International human rights standards should be reached regarding immigrants, and services should be provided as a right, not as possibilities, by obtaining the consent of the local people. At this point, non-governmental organizations can make a meaningful contribution to the development of the culture of living together by participating in projects and activities involving both segments of society. Subsequently, it would be beneficial to implement the process of social cohesion and belonging simultaneously with policies that complement and support each other. It is important to create platforms to get the ideas of the students and ensure their participation while making arrangements on this subject. For the social and cultural adaptation process to get healthy results, students and their families can be given a sense of confidence that no assimilation aims are pursued. All Syrian students who come to the TRNC for education should be registered, their attendance and progress in higher education institutions should be followed realistically. A long-term and productive education program for Syrian students should be prepared by collecting up-to-date and realistic data with the cooperation of the relevant ministries.

Some of the suggestions for future research are a more comprehensive study can be conducted including different variables related to Syrian students. Examining the students' sense of belonging both for the institution they are in and in a more general perspective can provide a double benefit and increase their level of belonging to the place. This study, using the qualitative research method, will enrich the subject with quantitative research and mixed research methods. In addition, in-depth analysis of different variables and research groups is very important in terms of providing opportunities for Syrian students and making meaningful contributions to the literature. Studies can be conducted to examine students' views on adaptation problems and educational status. Investigations can be made on how Syrian students overcome problems. At this point, insights into problems and problem-solving skills can contribute to the analysis of psychological needs.

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Building the Bonds: A Comparison of Diaspora Engagement Policies in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan

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Abstract

Diaspora are thought to have political, economic, and social potential in both home and host countries. They are a source of economic investments and remittances for home countries, which can account for a significant portion of a country's GDP in some cases. The diaspora's expertise, knowledge, and skills can help social and cultural development in the country of origin. To gain access to these economic, social, and political resources, countries of origin develop diaspora engagement policies and incorporate the diaspora into national political discourse. Central Asian countries are developing relationships with diasporas and compatriot communities, as well as implementing state diaspora engagement policies, while taking diaspora capacity and migration outflow into account. However, the historical, political, economic, and social characteristics of the region's countries have an impact on policy content and implementation. This paper investigates and compares the main characteristics of Central Asian countries' diaspora policies, as well as seeks to comprehend and reveal the nature of the state governance system's impact on diaspora relations. Two Central Asian countries, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, have been chosen as case studies to examine with document analysis methodology from 2016 to the present, as this period coincides with policy activation in both countries.

Introduction

In recent decades, the diaspora has piqued the interest of academics as a subject of study, and has also piqued the interest of states and politicians as a resource and a tool for the country's development and foreign policy implementation. Alan Gamlen (2019) observes an increase in the number of countries with specialized state institutions for dealing with diaspora in his study. While only about a dozen countries had such institutions in

1980, by 2015, more than half of the world's countries, about 143, had such institutions. The intensification of migration, the formation of transnational communities, and the unification of migrants into diasporas, which are characterized by the presence of dual loyalty and belonging, both to the country of origin and the host country (McSweeney & Nakamura, 2020), creates a unique picture of the world with both positive and negative consequences.

Diasporas have a high potential for development in their home countries because they amass financial, political, social, informational, and knowledge resources. In order to gain access to these resources, countries of origin attempt to maintain and preserve contact and ties with their diaspora, as well as develop diaspora engagement policies. According to Francesco Ragazzi (2014), the country of origin's diaspora policy may include several aspects: The presence of diaspora in a national narrative provides a symbolic direction; a bureaucratic system of state institutions dealing with diaspora; legal and social systems facilitating the preservation or access to citizenship, creating para-citizenship, ethnic cards, and more; informal diplomatic engagement through relations with diaspora organizations, or creation of an umbrella organization; and economic creation and support of skilled workers networks and co-development strategies.

Central Asian countries are attempting to participate in this global trend. During the Soviet Union period, Central Asian countries had virtually no ties with their diasporas because both foreign and domestic policies were determined from the center, Moscow. Since gaining independence in 1991, the issue of establishing relations with numerous co-ethnics living in other countries has arisen. From the 1990s to the 2010s, Central Asian countries' diaspora policies experienced ups and downs, with periods of activation followed by periods of decline.

In this regard, the purpose of this paper is to investigate and compare the main characteristics of Central Asian countries' diaspora engagement policies, as well as to comprehend and disclose the nature of the state governance system's impact on diaspora relations. To address these issues, two Central Asian countries, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, have been chosen as case studies. The comparison of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan's diaspora engagement policies aims to cover several key areas, including legislation, institutions, policy objectives, and policy implementation measures. The time frame of the study is from 2016 to the present. This period is indicated in connection with the activation of policies in both states. The structure of the work is presented with the conceptual background and literature review on the diaspora policies of these two Central Asian countries and is followed by an empirical analysis that presents the policy comparison, and finally, a conclusion that summarizes the study.

Conceptual Background

The term diaspora has grown in popularity over the last few decades. According to Robin Cohen (2008), as interest in the phenomenon has grown, the concept has become hazier. Today, the term is widely used to describe a vast variety of different groups and is interpreted quite loosely, which is due in part to a lack of a unified approach to understanding the concept. Initially, the term was associated with the Jewish diaspora and its experiences of dispersion. In this regard, diaspora included such components as violent exile, genocide, and cataclysms that led to migration and dispersion of some parts of the ethnos, with this determined 'victimization' as one key characteristic of the diaspora (Cohen, 2008). Eventually, the Jewish diaspora began to be perceived as an archetype, a classical diaspora, and some scholars tended to develop the concept based on this particular history and archetype. William Safran (1991) expanded the context of the term by focusing on further components such as homeland or the myth of homeland and return, collective consciousness, and solidarity. Cohen (2008) further elaborated Safran's ideas, taking into account new trends in diaspora development, including the growth of labor migration and the rise of the concept of pluralism. In particular, he included job search, trade, and colonial ambitions as causes of increased dispersion, as well as migration idealization of the homeland, frequent development of a return movement to the homeland, a sense of empathy and co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement, and the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism.

Another group of scholars determines diaspora as an ethnic community that shares a common identity and proclaims itself as a diaspora. Martin Sökefeld identifies diaspora as "imagined transnational communities that unite segments of people that live in territorially separated locations" (2006, p. 280). Some consider institutionalization as key element of defining the diaspora as such. Thus, in order to be labelled as diaspora a group should not only imagine itself as community but also be united group of some kind of associations or institutes that act on behalf of the whole community in the host country, as well as on relations with country of origin. James Clifford, (1994) by emphasizing the transnational nature of the diaspora, associates it with its contradictions. He highlights the nature of separatism and entanglement in the diaspora, which manifests through the existence in a certain territory and the desire for another one at the same time. He also underlines the border position of the diaspora, which is physically located in one place, but spiritually in another. Still other scholars who also develop the idea of diaspora's contradictions, identify it as a group that is influenced by transnationalism and globalization. Pnina Werbner (2015) emphasizes that in the modern world, diasporas are affected by multi-centers, a variety of ideologies, migration, kinship, and diplomacy. Therefore, a member of the diaspora is necessarily part of a variety of communities at the same time. As can be seen, the concept of diaspora is expanding its scope of application due to the

impact of various global political, economic, and social factors, such as international migration, transnationalism, identity issues, and trans-border interactions. Its understanding varies according to the subjectivity of the scholar, the case context as well as the main aspect of the phenomenon on which the scholar bases their definition.

There is a practical application of the concept, in which states organize and implement their diaspora engagement policies, in addition to the academic and theoretical understanding of the concept. The main feature for state recognition of an individual as a member of the diaspora, in this context, is their connection with the historical homeland, whether ethnic, civil-territorial, historical, religious, or other ties. The most important, however, is the benefit to the state. As a result, this paper examines the diaspora through the lens of homeland-diaspora relations and is based on the definition of the diaspora as defined by the country of origin.

Literature on Central Asia Countries' Diaspora Policies

Comparative studies on the diaspora policies of Central Asian countries are underrepresented in academic literature. These types of studies are primarily conducted within the context of the study of migration from Central Asian countries, as well as country profiles of the region conducted under the umbrella of various international organizations. The paper by Olivier Ferrando (2009), which is devoted to the study of the relationship between Central Asian countries and their ethnic minorities primarily in the region, as well as Russia, China, and Mongolia, is almost the only study that investigates diaspora policies in the countries of the region. The author emphasizes the dynamics of the relationships in Brubaker's well-known triadic model: the historical homeland, the ethnic minority in the host state, and the host country itself in his study. According to this, three main directions of the relations can be observed in the triadic nexus. First, the ethnic homeland and the way it engages in the construction of diasporic policies towards its co-ethnics abroad (a top-down process). Second, the kin-minority abroad and how it influences state policies (a bottom-up process), and finally, the host-state and the way it allows or limits the expression of diasporic identities within its citizenry (Ferrando, 2009, p. 14). Analyzing these directions, the author concludes that there are three models of interaction with Central Asian diasporas, or ethnic minorities. Uzbekistan relies on the civil-territorial concept of the nation, effectively severing all ties with its co-ethnics living outside the country. Tajikistan uses diaspora rhetoric to strengthen and develop the state, but progress is slow. Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan focus on repatriation as a format for interaction with their diaspora.

Muzaffar Olimov et al. (2020) examine Central Asian countries' migration policies with the goal of transforming brain drain into brain circulation. The authors investigate diaspora policies that are still in the process of development within the framework of the study. In institutional and organizational terms, each country's interactions with its

diasporas varies. The authors also highlight the underrepresentation of studies on Central Asian diasporas and diaspora engagement policy analysis. The Migration and Remittances Peer Assisted Learning (MIRPAL) discussion series (Heleniak, 2011), in the analytical report titled "Harnessing the Diaspora for Development in Europe and Central Asia," provides a brief analysis of diaspora engagement policies for each Central Asian country. According to the report, Kazakhstan's diaspora policy is less concerned with obtaining some benefits from the diaspora and more concerned with repatriation. It is, however, inferior to labor migration to the country. Despite a large outflow of labor migrants from the country, Kyrgyzstan has virtually no diaspora policy. Turkmenistan is uninterested in the diaspora because the leadership is afraid of outside influence. Uzbekistan also largely ignores Uzbeks living in other countries. Tajikistan is interested in supporting labor migration from the country, and the government has a department for dealing with Tajiks, as well as various non-governmental organizations that operate in the countries of destination to assist Tajik migrants.

F. Tittel-Mosser's study for the European Union Global Fund for Diaspora (EUDiF) (2021) presents various practices for the involvement of diasporas in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. The author identifies a number of issues that impede the development of diaspora policies in the region, including a wide range of terms used by authorities, a lack of legislative regulations on diaspora relations, the inadequacy of political frameworks, limited knowledge about the diaspora, diaspora polarization, and building trust between migrants and the government. Furthermore, political insecurity undermines diaspora participation in program implementation, as well as confidence in long-term program implementation. There is also the possibility that diaspora engagement policies and programs will be politicized by governments or diasporas. Overall, not only is there a scarcity of relevant literature on these issues, but the majority of existing studies on Central Asian countries' diaspora policies cover the period from the 1990s to the 2010s, making the issue of updating data especially important, given that certain changes in the countries have affected their diaspora policies. In this regard, the purpose of this paper is to fill a gap.

Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan Diaspora Engagement Policies Comparison

Background

The dissolution of the Soviet Union, as well as Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan's independence, necessitated the establishment of their own foreign relations policies with numerous world actors and diasporas. The diasporas from Central Asian countries, on the other hand, greeted the independence of their historical homelands with euphoria and were inspired by this fact, as well as determined to cooperate with them. With the exception of Tajikistan, which was in a state of civil war in the early 1990s, almost all countries in the

region held World Diaspora Congresses to discuss possible ways of interactions. The diaspora and relations with diasporas were especially important in the newly formed states' international recognition of independence (Kuscu, 2012).

Kazakhstan, in the early 1990s, was in a position where the titular ethnic group, the Kazakhs, were a minority and appealing to the diaspora meant an opportunity to attract Kazakhs from outside to return to their historical homeland, thereby ensuring its statehood. The Kazakhstani authorities appear to have been heavily influenced by the Soviet legacy of understanding the nation as "one *nationalnost* (nationality – ethnic group) – one state," and thus linked the newly formed state's sustainability to the politically and legally entrenched positions of the titular ethnic group, Kazakhs (Laruelle, 2021). In Uzbekistan, the diaspora was seen as a tool for gaining international recognition, but as Karimov's regime grew stronger and its borders were closed, the idea of maintaining relations with the diaspora faded (Vielmini, 2021). The 2005 Andijan events were crucial because the regime began to minimize interaction with external players, including representatives of the Uzbek diaspora, claiming them as potential agents of instability. Furthermore, in the nation-building process, state national rhetoric shifted toward a more inclusive, civic notion of the nation (Ferrando, 2009).

Central Asian countries' diaspora policies faced challenges from the 1990s to the 2010s. Kazakhstan's policy was centered on the repatriation program, with little emphasis on interaction and involvement of the diaspora. The main focus of the state-diaspora relationship was on cultural and linguistic preservation. As a result, between the late 1990s and 2005, Kazakh cultural centers opened in a number of countries. However, following the end of the state program for diaspora support in 2005, authorities made no further efforts to reactivate diaspora policy, and all achievements, institutions, and contacts were nearly destroyed. As previously stated, Uzbekistan effectively cut all ties with its diaspora. Nonetheless, authorities in both countries turned to their diasporas in 2016-2017, resulting in significant progress in diaspora engagement policies. Uzbekistan's new president announced a new policy of liberalization, openness, and building ties with the diaspora and with migrant communities playing an important role. In Kazakhstan, former President N. Nazarbayev emphasized the importance of interaction and engagement with the diaspora, and in order to do so, he initiated the establishment of a new institution and a plan of action. This shift in both countries was motivated by a recognition of the diaspora's potential in economic, social, political, and cultural terms, in addition to the importance of diaspora policy itself.

Legislation

There is no specific law that governs relations between the homeland and diaspora in any of the countries in question. In Kazakhstan, a law, "On state support of the Kazakh diaspora," was drafted in 2018-2019 as a logical continuation of the state's activation

towards the diaspora and was actively discussed by stakeholders and experts (Серик, 2019). It was not, however, submitted for consideration and adoption. On one hand, this reflects the effect of personalization in the public administration system, as well as a lack of a systematic approach to policy implementation, which is also reflected in the insecurity of Kazakhstan's diaspora policy, which has consistently characterized the country over the past 30 years. On the other hand, the delay in enacting the law may reflect a lack of agreement among political circles on a more comprehensive expansion of interaction with the diaspora, as well as the persistence of doubts about the potential influence of diaspora members on domestic politics.

In general, Uzbekistan's relevant legislation that is somewhat related to the diaspora is much more aimed at regulating external labor and return migration. Interaction with compatriots and the Uzbek diaspora is one of the measures of state migration policy implementation in migration legislation. For example, the President's resolution titled, "On Measures to Introduce a System of Safe, Orderly, and Legal Labor Migration," includes a measure aimed at developing international cooperation in the field of external labor migration, as well as strengthening ties with organizations of compatriots and the Uzbek diaspora abroad (LexUZ on-line, 2020). Furthermore, in 2018, the resolution on measures to further improve state policy in cooperation with compatriots living abroad was adopted, which included two documents: The Concept on cooperation with compatriots working and living abroad, and the Program on further developing cooperation with compatriots living abroad. These two documents foreshadow the state's policy implementation directions and demonstrate the state's interest in establishing and maintaining contact with compatriots, including the diaspora.

It is important to note that both countries have different terms for their co-ethnics who live in other countries. Only the law "On Languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan" elaborates on the diaspora in Kazakhstan which says, "diaspora is a part of the people (ethnic community) living outside the country of its historical origin" (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 1997). An ethnic Kazakh is defined as a foreigner or stateless person of Kazakh nationality who resides permanently abroad (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2011a). As a result, regardless of the historical reasons for resettlement and stay on the territory of another state, the state recognizes all ethnic Kazakhs living abroad as a diaspora. Another important term that is often used in government documents is the concept of compatriot. This refers to a person who was born or previously held the citizenship in the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic or the Republic of Kazakhstan and permanently resides abroad (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2011a). The two concepts of compatriot and diaspora are often used interchangeably and as synonyms. However, their meaning and the scope of communities that they cover are totally different and leads to misunderstanding and confusion in policy development and implementation.

The term *Kazakh communities* is used to determine one of the Republic of Kazakhstan's foreign policy priorities for 2020-2030, which is to support the development of the Kazakh language and culture, as well as to maintain ties with their historical homeland, but there is no definition of the term. Because one of the goals of state diaspora policy is to encourage ethnic return migration, the term *oralman* was coined to refer to ethnic returnees (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2011a). However, due to the negative perception of returnees and the term, the President initiated a change it to *kandas*, which translates as "blood brother."

Compatriots and the Uzbek diaspora are also terms used in Uzbekistan. The term compatriot is used in the concept of state policy in the field of cooperation with compatriots living abroad, which includes both former citizens of Uzbekistan and citizens permanently or temporarily residing outside the country, as well as foreign citizens, stateless people who identify as Uzbeks and Karakalpaks based on ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and historical affiliation (CIS-legislation, 2018). While the term is used, the legal acts do not provide a direct definition of the Uzbek diaspora.

Institutions

In Kazakhstan, the institutional organization of diaspora policies entails a broad network of organizations responsible for policy implementation. The Ministry of Culture and Sports, for example, is in charge of promoting and developing Kazakh language and culture. It shares the responsibility with the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan[1]. The Ministry of Education and Science provides support in the direction of ensuring the possibility of preserving and developing the Kazakh language by providing textbooks, as well as educational and methodological support to compatriots studying in foreign schools. The Ministry of Labor and Social Protection of the Population and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, are responsible for the repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs to their historical homeland, as well as accompanying them in this process and providing integration and adaptation services. The Ministry of Information and Social Development is in charge of coordinating diaspora policy. It includes the Office for Interaction with Compatriots and Diaspora, which is part of the Committee for the Development of Interethnic Relations and whose main goal is to develop and implement state policy in the fields of interethnic relations, diaspora policy, and relations with compatriots (Ministry of Information and Social Development of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2020). In addition, the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan established an interdepartmental commission for the development of cultural and humanitarian ties with compatriots abroad, headed by the

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[1] According to the Assembly regulations, one of the organization's objectives is to "organize activities to support the Kazakh diaspora in foreign countries to preserve and develop its native language, culture and national traditions, strengthen its links with historical homeland, and promote links of other ethnic groups of Kazakhstan with their historical homeland" (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2011b).

Deputy Prime Minister. However, the commission is inactive and only had one meeting in the last two years.

Nonetheless, in practice, state support measures and mechanisms for establishing communication with the diaspora are carried out through public associations established on the initiative of the first president, N. Nazarbayev, including the *Otandastar* Foundation and the World Kazakh Association (WKA). The WKA was founded in 1992 and served as the primary policy implementation organization until 2017, when its inactivity and loss of trust among the diaspora necessitated the formation of a new organization. The WKA's main goal now is to establish ties with ethnic Kazakhs all over the world and to unite the Kazakh diaspora through membership (Qazaq-alemi, n.d.). In recent years, the *Otandastar* Foundation has been active in the field of collaboration with competent government departments, as well as the creation and implementation of diaspora projects and programs. Its competencies also include international cooperation with Kazakh diaspora associations, project implementation aimed at maintaining, preserving, and developing Kazakh culture and language, the promotion of Kazakhstan and opportunities for cooperation, holding Qurultays of Kazakhs (Congress), business meetings, and other activities. The Foundation is in charge of assisting ethnic returnees with adaptation and integration, which is one of the organization's main goals (Otandastar Qory, n.d.). Contact with the Kazakh diaspora are carried out by these two organizations through different types of meetings (small qurultays), business forums, and functioning cultural centers (e.g. Kazakh House, Abai House).

Diplomatic missions of Kazakhstan also play a crucial role in maintaining the ties and cooperation with local Kazakh diaspora communities. Kazakhstan has established a wide range of diaspora policy networks of institutions over the last 30 years, but one of the main issues is the lack of a systematic approach to policy implementation and initiation, as evidenced by policy continuity fluctuation. Following the termination of the state program for diaspora support in 2005, there was no systematic interaction with the diaspora, resulting in the closure of several cultural centers established under the program. This has had an impact on policy consistency, continuity, and long-term viability.

Uzbekistan is on the verge of establishing a new network of institutions to implement diaspora policy. It used some of Kazakhstan's experience, establishing the *Vatandoshlar* Foundation, a state-affiliated organization for diaspora engagement. Its functions are similar to those of Kazakhstan, but there are some differences. One of its goals is to assist in the protection of the rights and freedoms of compatriots living abroad, and to provide material and social support to compatriots in difficult life situations abroad, as well as information and legal assistance. Furthermore, the institute is in charge of involving compatriots in entrepreneurship in Uzbekistan, as well as knowledge and expertise sharing (LexUZ on-line, 2021). This can be seen as a meeting of authorities with Uzbekistan's

diplomatic institutions, which also provide assistance and support to compatriots abroad. However, diplomatic missions' sphere of responsibility only includes Uzbek citizens, whereas the Foundation covers a broader concept of compatriots that includes both citizens and non-citizens.

Overall, the organizational framework in Uzbekistan is set out in the following structure: the state policy in the field of cooperation with compatriots is determined by the President, who determines the state policy in the field of cooperation with compatriots; the Cabinet of Ministers is responsible for its implementation; the coordination of quality and timely implementation of the state concept, and programs on cooperation with compatriots is carried out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (LexUZ on-line, 2021). The status of the departments entrusted with implementing projects and interacting with compatriots living abroad is a significant difference between the two countries in the institutional component of diaspora policy.

In Kazakhstan, these responsibilities are delegated to a non-governmental organization that rely on state bodies to coordinate the main directions of activities, projects, and initiatives, as well as to provide financial support. The organizations' areas of activity correspond to the authorities of the state bodies. Through government orders and grants, the latter delegate the tasks of implementing cooperation and supporting the diaspora to public organizations. Uzbekistan, on the other hand, employs state-affiliated public organizations, as well as an institute under the jurisdiction of the Cabinet of Ministers, which elevates its status and simplifies the process of coordinating and initiating diaspora projects. Furthermore, Uzbekistan has established a clear structure for policy formulation and implementation. In Kazakhstan, on the other hand, there is a vast network of institutions dealing with policy, which complicates the coordination process and reduces efficiency.

Policy Framework

Both countries updated their intentions in the field of diaspora engagement by the adoption of state documents. The current policy documents covering the issues of interaction and support ties between the historical homeland and the diaspora are in Kazakhstan, the Action Plan to support ethnic Kazakhs abroad for 2018-2022 (Decree of the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2018) and in Uzbekistan, the Concept of the state policy of the Republic of Uzbekistan in the field of cooperation with compatriots living abroad (CIS-legislation, 2018). The latter is a more comprehensive document that presents a general system of views, objectives, directions, and state policy mechanisms in this area. While the Plan is more of a list of state and public organization measures and activities aimed at supporting ethnic Kazakhs and compatriots. The documents use various concepts to define the subjects covered by their scope. The term "compatriots" is used in the Concept to refer to both former Uzbek citizens and citizens permanently or temporarily residing outside the country, as well as ethnic Uzbeks and Karakalpaks who identify

as such. As a result, the concept of the Uzbek diaspora is not mentioned in the document.

Given the large volume of labor migration from Uzbekistan[2], the country's authorities place a high priority on maintaining contacts and providing assistance to labor migrants within the framework of migration and diaspora policies. In this regard, the broader concept of compatriots is used because it can cover a broader range of population, allowing for more flexible use of the opportunities available to citizens living abroad. On the other hand, it calls the effectiveness of policy measures into question because they cover different communities, including migrants and diaspora, each of which has different needs and interests in terms of support from the country of origin. Overall, the Concept emphasizes gaining potential benefits from compatriots, such as investments, knowledge, and expertise transfers. Compatriots are recognized as the country's soft power in terms of international cooperation and image-building. Thus, Uzbekistan sees great potential in its citizens and invites them to participate, in exchange for its support in the protection of rights and freedoms, assistance in difficult situations, cultural development and preservation, and support for business initiatives.

On the contrary, both the concepts of the Kazakh diaspora and ethnic Kazakhs living abroad, as well as compatriots, including former citizens of Kazakhstan or the Kazakh SSR, permanently residing abroad, are mentioned in the Kazakhstani Plan. However, there is no distinction between measures that target compatriots and those that target diaspora members, raising concerns about the policy's adequacy. Although these communities are similar, their needs and expectations from their homeland differ. Kazakhstan, according to the Plan, focuses more on maintaining humanitarian and cultural ties with its diaspora, as well as repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs. The main goal of its policies and projects is to strengthen ties between the country and the Kazakh diaspora, but there are no clear goals for such relationships in terms of action-benefit relationships. For example, only two of the 29 overall support measures consider engaging diaspora members in homeland activities by promotion of Kazakh language and opportunities for starting a business in Kazakhstan.

Conclusion

Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan have similar and dissimilar diaspora policies. In terms of time, Kazakhstan has developed a diaspora policy since gaining independence, whereas Uzbekistan has canceled the process of engagement due to internal political reasons. On one hand, this has an impact on the degree to which ties with the diaspora have developed. Kazakhstan, with 30 years of policy implementation experience, has strengthened

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[2] According to official statistic data, in 2021 1.7 million Uzbekistanis were out of country as labor migrant mostly in Russia, and Kazakhstan. It should be noted that the COVID-19 pandemic affected the number of labor migrants. In 2019 it was reported that 2.5 million citizens of Uzbekistan were labor migrants (Abdullaeva, 2021)

ties with the diaspora to a greater extent. While Uzbekistan is still in the process of establishing a relationship. Uzbekistan, on the other hand, is in the early stages of policy formation, allowing it to create a unified and clear institutional system for policy implementation. While in Kazakhstan, the institutional system has become muddled as a result of numerous innovations and changes, affecting the effectiveness of the policy. Furthermore, both countries' political regimes are characterized by super-presidential power and personalized governance at all levels. Personalization has had a negative impact on diaspora policy implementation at some points because it is entirely dependent on one person's decisions, there are no bottom-up initiatives, and this affects the policy's effectiveness. The authoritarian nature of the political regimes in both countries affects the diaspora's use of its full potential and limits engagement due to the authorities' and political elites' fears of the diaspora's influence on domestic politics and becoming an opposition to main power.

Despite its new round of development, Kazakhstan's diaspora policy remains focused on cultural support, as well as the inclusion of the diaspora as a whole in its sphere of influence through ideological projects and repatriation. Political and economic interaction areas are practically non-existent. As Uzbekistani policy focuses more on migrant and compatriot communities, it attempts to protect and support its citizens, compatriots, and co-ethnics living abroad in order to ensure the flow of financial, social, and economic resources. Thus, as Gevorkyan (2021) noted in his study that is applicable in the cases of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, "From the home country's perspective, the connection with its diaspora requires consistency and appreciation of diaspora's significance in a more systemic development view."

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The Development of the Turkish Minority's Social Challenges in Denmark from 1970 to 2021, for the Purpose of Integration

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The Development of the Turkish Minority's Social Challenges in Denmark from 1970 to 2021, for the Purpose of Integration

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Abstract

Beginning in the 1960's, Denmark recruited Turkish guest workers. Today, the Turkish minority is Denmark's largest minority group from non-western countries. This article examines the social challenges of the Turkish minority in Denmark from 1970 to 2021, and their integration during this period. This study uses several methods to obtain insight into the integration process of Turkish immigrants over three generations in Denmark and the challenges they faced and continue to face. In addition to the source criticism and a comprehensive literature review, this study uses qualitative and quantitative methods to understand Turkish immigrants' immigration processes. Qualitative and quantitative analysis in the field of Danish historical research, specifically the area concerning the Turkish minority are not adequately covered by the existing literature. This study finds that all three generations of the Turkish minority in Denmark experienced social challenges in several areas that are related to each other, and these social challenges have an effect on their integration status. Some social challenges have decreased over generations but specifically discrimination and racism have not.

Introduction

Migrants who leave their home country take their cultural background with them, which leads to an acculturation in the recipient country. They have to integrate, to some degree, into the new society by learning its language, culture, norms, and values. When diving deeper into the history of the Turkish people, migration has been a way of life for them. For millennia, Turkish people have migrated to and from different places for various reasons.

Starting from the guest worker period in the 1960s, the Turkish minority became a significant factor in Denmark's immigration history. After World War II (1939-1945), many Western European countries, including Denmark, were hit by an economic boom,

which necessitated the recruitment of guest workers. Turkey sent several Turkish workers to these Western European countries, including Denmark. Like other Western European countries, Denmark recruited guest workers to develop the economy in the country. Turkey saw this situation as an advantage and sent many Turkish guest workers. The acceptance of guest workers to solve the worker shortage problem during the boom led to the still current debate among the elites: immigrants and integration. After arrival, Turkish immigrants faced some challenges. Several generations have passed, but the question remains about whether or not they still have the same social challenges, or do they face some new ones now. This article examines the social challenges of the Turkish minority in Denmark between 1970 and 2021. Social challenges can affect many areas, but this study discusses whether or not the social challenges faced by the Turkish minority affects their integration process.

Data and Methods

In addition to the source criticism from primary and secondary sources, this study is based on qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitative and quantitative methods are important because there are not many sources about the social challenges and integration of the Turkish minority in Denmark. In the qualitative method, a total of six Turkish people were interviewed. Three of them are from first generation, two from second generation, and one from third generation. The purpose of the interview was to gain a more detailed understanding of the Turkish immigrants' social challenges and integration. As there are relatively few interviewees, it must be emphasized that the interview survey does not represent the entire Turkish minority in Denmark. However, it can provide an overview of Turkish immigrants' social challenges and integration, as supplementary empirical data with the help of the study's questionnaire survey and other sources. For the quantitative method, a questionnaire, open from April 9 to May 3, 2021, was prepared using the SurveyXact analysis tool. The questionnaire was published in Danish-Turkish groups on social media and in total there were 203 respondents. This may be the reason that the majority of respondents are from the third generation. In the questionnaire, it is made clear that the participants must also answer for their parents and grandparents. From the 203 participants, 8% completed the questionnaire for another person. This may mean that 8% of the participants could not speak Danish or there were other reasons that prevented them from answering the questionnaire without someone's help (for example difficulty using the technology). The questionnaire did not ask to which generation the respondents belonged because the respondents may have different perceptions of the concepts. Therefore, the respondents born in the 1950s and 1960s in this study are considered to be the first generation. Those born in the 1970s and 1980s are considered to be the second generation and those born in the 1990s and 2000s are considered to be the third generation.

Conceptual Background

A simple definition of the term culture can be described as "a lifestyle shared by a group of people" (Lee & Tse, 1994, p. 59), which means that culture can separate a group of people from other groups. When these people with different cultures live in the same society, there is an integration process. According to John Berry and David L. Sam there is an "acculturation" process and they present a model with 4 strategies (Sam & Berry, 2010). The acculturation model is the most commonly used model when researching immigrants from different cultures in a society. The four acculturation strategies are *assimilation*, *integration*, *separation,* and *marginalization*. Assimilation means that individuals do not want to preserve their original cultural identity and thus move closer to other cultures. In the separation strategy, instead, individuals stick to their original culture and avoid interacting with people in the new society in which they are living. With the integration strategy, individuals maintain their original culture while having daily interactions with other groups of society. The marginalization strategy is defined by a lack of interest in cultural maintenance and the intake of other cultures. According to Berry and Sam, this is often due to exclusion or discrimination (Sam & Berry, 2010, p. 476).

Individuals' positions in this model may change depending on situational factors. An example is the Muhammad cartoon crisis in 2005 and how it affected Muslims causing them to have to renegotiate their identities. Berry's study shows, among other things, that 40.3% of Turkish participants prefer the separation strategy over the other 3 strategies (Sam & Berry, 2010, p. 477). Whether or not this applies to the Turkish minority in the various generations in Denmark is investigated in this study. The acculturation theory by Berry and Sam is used to investigate how Turkish immigrants' social challenges have an impact on where they belong in the acculturation model.

A remarkable and classic migration theory in sociology is the Push and Pull Theory. In this theory, push factors are defined by the causes from the place of origin that repel people from their current habitat. Pull factors, on the other hand, are defined by the reasons that attract people to another place. The Push and Pull Theory is used to understand factors that pushed Turkish people out of their country and factors that pulled them to Denmark.

Towards Europe and Denmark

There were various push factors that caused the Turkish people to migrate to Denmark. Population growth was enormous in the latter half of the 20th century, the economy was poor, and the Turkish currency lost its value. In addition, the CHP (Republican People's Party) took strict measures, such as *Milli Koruma Kanunu* (National Protection Law). This law damaged society's sense of justice and the harsh economic measures put a lot of pressure on the people (Aydin, 2019). Following the DP's (Democrat Party) takeover of power from the CHP on May 15, 1950, there were positive democratic approaches.

Among other things, the DP promised to improve working and living conditions, and to reduce unemployment. The DP's program, in article 5, promised employment to any unemployed citizen who wanted to work. Work was therefore launched in various areas, but because there was a shortage of labor in Europe, Turkey's focus was particularly on Western European countries. The dispatch of Turkish workers abroad had the purpose of developing the country economically, politically, and sociologically (Kanca, 2012). One of the main reasons for Turkish migration abroad to work was primarily economic, unemployment, and the risk of unemployment in Turkey (Demirbaş, 1997). According to the Turkish government, this Turkish migration was an opportunity to tackle unemployment and it was an economic advantage because the Turkish guest workers, among other things, would send foreign currency to Turkey. There were also some cases where Turkish people migrated to Europe because of political reasons. This was particularly due to the prolonged political unrest, which ended in two coups, one on May 27, 1960 and the other on September 12, 1980. However, this push factor only covers a small proportion of Turkish migration to Europe and Denmark compared to labor migration.

After World War II in the early 1950s, Western Europe experienced an economic boom. The economic growth created a demand for manual labor in certain jobs, which led many Western European countries to recruit foreign workers. Guest workers consisted mainly of young unskilled men, and they were often given dangerous, dirty, low-security, and low-paying jobs. Typically, these people migrated with the help of family members and friends, meaning this selectivity happened among male acquaintances. It was important to have a social network that could initiate chain migration. The boom reached Denmark in the late 1950s, but it was not until the mid-1960s that guest workers appeared. Although Danish women and unskilled workers in the agriculture field became more visible in Danish industry, there was still a demand for work (Skaksen & et al., 2016, p. 27). The largest group of guest workers who arrived in Denmark were from Yugoslavia, Pakistan, and Turkey.

West Germany was the first country that Turkish people migrated to as guest workers. West Germany needed unskilled labor from abroad to rebuild the country after the devastation of World War II. They did so on the basis of agreements, including with Turkey. It started with twelve Turkish artisans migrating to West Germany as trainees and on October 31, 1961. Then, Turkey signed an agreement with Germany to send more Turkish workers.

The discussions about whether Denmark should use foreign labor started in the early 1960s. The Minister of Trade, Hilmar Baunsgaard, made two suggestions about how Denmark could solve the labor shortage, "…either to limit the scope of production to the performance of the existing labor force, or to procure more labor from abroad, which in

other countries such as Germany and Sweden had created greater prosperity"[1] (Emerek, Ibsen, & Kold, 2000, p. 8). Baunsgaard believed that procuring foreign labor could stabilize progress at a higher level, rather than limiting the volume of production. The Danish Minister of Economy, Kjeld Philip, agreed with Baunsgaard that Denmark should consider the use of foreign labor and added, "Even if we opened today, we would hardly get any immigration in the coming months." (Coleman & et al., 1999, p. 288), which was wrong. Denmark became a new destination for guest workers and in the following years immigration increased markedly.

Access for foreigners in the 1960s was regulated by the Aliens Act from 1952. This meant that Turkish guest workers, like all other foreigners, could travel freely into Denmark as tourists and then get a job. Even though guest workers traveled to Denmark to find work, the border police could not do anything if they said they were tourists. After finding a job and obtaining a work permit, they were free to live in Denmark, after the local labor market authorities were consulted (Skaksen & et al., 2016, p. 29). After they found a job, they could bring their acquaintances to Denmark as tourists and then find a job for them. The Aliens Act of 1952, which did not contain detailed rules for issuing residence and work permits, contributed to the increasing number of immigrants in Denmark. In other cases, Turkish guest workers could show fake letters of employment. For example, in 1969 a Danish company issued false letters of appointment to Turkish guest workers, and others received them in West Germany (Demokraten, 1969, p. 8).

This may mean that there were more Turkish people who migrated to Denmark than the formal statistics show. Technically, they first had to find a job to get a work and residence permit. Guest worker immigration was organized in several countries, but there was also unorganized, spontaneous and illegal immigration seen in Denmark. Denmark had not entered into an agreement with other countries, including Turkey, and therefore many Turkish people entered the country in these ways. The chain migration of Turkish people therefore provoked criminalized migration. It was also normal for many Turkish people to be cheated. They would be lured both by Danish employers and their own countrymen. An example is when on May 9, 1970, a Turkish guest worker named Hanefi Cosar, gave 6200 kroner to his farmer to assign him a job in Denmark, a job that did not exist (Eba, 1970, p. 2-3).

Although Denmark had not entered into an agreement with countries to recruit foreign labor, Danish employers and politicians invited them. According to the employers, foreign labor was a solution to their shortage of labor and to keep the level of production up. The need for Turkish guest workers in Danish workplaces was exemplified in that the workers were specialized, had the necessary qualifications for dirty and dangerous jobs, as well as lower than normal salary requirements. This could be seen in the 1960s when

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[1]   All Danish quotes have been translated by the author.

construction of the Schell refinery began and required welding work. There was a need for skilled welders and Turkish workers possessed these skills. Turkish welders were recruited and started working in 1965. In general, Turkish guest workers came from villages and were accustomed to hard and dirty work. They accepted low-paid work because it corresponded to a higher wage compared to what they earned in Turkey. This led employers to prefer cheap foreign labor.

The temporary recruitment of guest workers in Denmark created internal unrest. The trade union movement believed that the recruitment of foreign labor could create unemployment for Denmark's own unskilled workers and be the reason for wages to be reduced. Foreign labor was a short-term solution, whereas the trade union movement wanted a long-term solution (Jønsson, 2018, p. 5). Under pressure from the trade union movement, a temporary halt was introduced for the issuance of first-time permits starting on January 1, 1970. The trade union movement wanted to control foreign labor imports and to be ensured that guest workers had the same pay and working conditions as Danish citizens.

On October 6, 1973, the Yom Kippur War broke out and countries in the Middle East reduced their oil production, quadrupling oil prices (Farbøl & et al., 2018) and cutting 25% of deliveries to the countries that supported Israel (Aarhus University, 2011, p. 399). Western European countries were hit by the oil crisis. The oil crisis caused rising unemployment, which immigrants, in particular, felt but still many chose to remain. Denmark responded immediately by stopping the issuance of new work and residence permits to persons from third countries. In return, the guest workers who were in the country received a permanent residence permit. There was now a permanent halt to immigration in Denmark, which meant that Turkish people could not enter Denmark for the purpose of working or staying. However, the immigration halt did not lead to a real stop to immigration. Turkish guest workers who were already in the country were given the opportunity to bring their families. Family reunification was an important access route to Denmark, and it resulted in a large number of Turkish people arriving.

Turkish guest workers who migrated to Denmark did not know the country or its language. This led to difficulties for them and their family with coping in the new society in which they found themselves. After Turkish guest workers brought their families and settled in Denmark, like the other guest workers, the question of new immigrants' social rights became relevant. Debate about social problems became visible both in *The Folketing* and in the media. Following the arrival of guest workers and an increase in immigrants and refugees, Denmark made efforts for integration by, for example, adopting the Aliens Act or integration law. However, still today Denmark lags with integration, even though it has improved compared to the first period of guest workers who became immigrants.

It was clear that Denmark was unprepared for the arrival of guest workers because these guest workers experienced immediate problems. The use of foreign labor made the Danish government realize that there was the lack of a foreign worker policy and a foreign integration policy. The Danish Employers' Association had the view that "the expected shortage of labor cannot be solved by a massive immigration of foreign labor" (Hjarnø & et al., 1973, p. 75). After discussions with the Ministry of Labor and The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (LO), the employers' association expressed that a Foreign Workers Policy should be organized.

Denmark, as country without a foreign worker policy, integration policy, and its lack of preparation, contributed to Turkish immigrants' socially challenging experiences. In this article, Turkish immigrants' social challenges in Denmark between 1970 and 2021 are examined with an inquiry into whether or not social challenges have changed or disappeared with the development of the integration process.

The Turkish Minority's Social Challenges

First, it is important to describe what is meant by social challenges in this article. Social challenges are factors that might affect the integration of Turkish people. Social challenges include education, employment, racism and discrimination, language skills, housing situations, social networks, adaptation and identity problems, and cultural differences. The Presidency of the Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) published a report in 2011 about the problems Turkish immigrants experienced in Europe. Interviews were conducted with Turkish immigrants from various European countries, including Denmark. The problems were divided into hostility towards foreigners, unemployment, language problems, children's education, gender equality, generational conflict, use of alcohol and drugs, lack of organization, and other (YTB, 2011, p. 34). The survey showed that the largest problem (54.1%) based on the participants' answers, was hostility towards foreigners, including Turkish immigrants in Denmark. The interviewees from Denmark even thought that hostility towards foreigners had increased in the last few years (YTB, 2011, p. 44). They believed that unemployment (63%) and Islamophobia (74.1%) contributed to the increasing hostility towards foreigners.

Two main primary sources were used to examine the social challenges faced by the first generation. The first one was the feature "Velkommen Mustafa," written in 1970 by the director of the Danish Employers' Association, Jens Fisker. The feature is about the benefits that immigration and the introduction of an immigration policy can bring. It was published in the magazine, *Arbejdsgiveren*, and other Danish newspapers. It also warned that a large influx of immigrants could lead to major social and cultural problems. In the feature, Fisker introduces a list of ways to solve the problems that the Danish government was facing, in which the social challenges of guest workers are tracked. On the list, there

is a point where Fisker believed that, "All the social obligations and rights that a Dane has, the guest should also have. First and foremost, the same pay for the same work" (Fisker, 1970). He later writes in the article, "... but the crucial thing is that we keep in mind that guest workers are not lousy supplicants that we can treat as if we were a master people. On the contrary, we must acknowledge that the guest helps us more than we help him" (Fisker, 1970). In these sentences, it can be understood that the Danish people treated guest workers as slaves and as if they were the master people. This can also be seen in Danish newspapers, when employers and homeowners exploited guest workers. In addition, he believed that the guest workers must be taught the Danish language and culture on the same terms as Danish people, because they did not know Danish or anything about Denmark when they arrived.

The other source was "Samme Vilkår" by The Danish Workers' and Special Workers' Union (DASF) published in 1970. DASF was a Danish trade union for unskilled and a few skilled workers, as well as specialist workers. In the report, the committee presents various proposals with the intention of solving the foreign worker problem. An important area they present in the proposals is the guest workers' wage, work, and terms of employment. The solutions show that the Turkish guest workers did not have good pay or working and employment conditions, including not being able to register with the unemployment fund and health insurance (Andersen & et al., 1970, p. 10). It can be seen that during the guest worker period, Turkish immigrants fought for their human rights. According to a news article written by the nationwide newspaper, *Aktuelt*, on February 6, 1974 (Sønderjyden Aktuelt, 1974, p. 15), a Turkish guest worker described that they were treated like animals at Gørlev Iron Foundry and that a Turkish worker was not allowed to go to the hospital from his workplace after an occupational injury. The incident at Gørlev Iron Foundry led to the first guest workers' strike, which consisted of 38 Turkish guest workers (Jh., 1974, p. 15).

This incident about poor working conditions and the safety of guest workers is just one example out of many. First and foremost, it was not only workers who came to Denmark, but humans. The lack of a foreign worker policy was therefore a problem when it came to the rights of guest workers. A question still remains as to why Turkish guest workers did not go on strike until 1974. Many Turkish guest workers feared being fired because they did not have the ability to change jobs. In addition to that, they came to Denmark with a debt to acquaintances in Turkey. Employers who exploited guest workers could therefore threaten dismissal when the workers demanded better working conditions. Also, many of the first generation of Turkish guest workers had a weak labor market position due to their low level of education and a lack of Danish skills.

There were also housing problems, where exploitation of the Turkish people occurred because of their ignorance of Danish society and what a rent normally costs. They had

language problems as well and did not know their rights. Turkish guest workers lived with several people in a single room or in a basement room. It was not allowed for them to live with Danish workers in the dormitories, even if there was space. DASF believed that the lack of information among the Turkish workers led to discrimination, conflict, and misunderstandings.

DASF mentions problems with the guest workers' leisure time. Turkish guest workers had difficulty getting time off for activities other than work. K.r. informs in *Demokraten* on December 13, 1971, about guest workers' leisure problems (K.r., 1971, pp. 1-2). The Turkish people in Aarhus said that many of them were religious, but they had challenges practicing their religion because they did not have a mosque to go and pray. Turkish culture houses and mosques were established in the following years, but there was still a shortage of second-generation Turkish people in Danish leisure and youth clubs.

A study from 1999 showed that a large proportion of Turkish immigrants (16-70 years) had neither vocational training nor higher education (Rockwool Fonden, 1999, p. 4). The highest completed education for Turkish immigrants who came to Denmark was mainly primary school (91.1%). Denmark wanted and needed unskilled labor in the late 1960s. This may explain why there were primarily unskilled Turkish guest workers with low levels of education. Therefore, it is also not surprising that a study from 1995 shows that Turkish immigrants were less educated (Seeberg, 2002, p. 7). It seems that the third generation started to be able to become more educated.

Turkish immigrants experienced discrimination and hate as soon as they arrived in Denmark. In Denmark, hostility towards Turkish people had already begun to be visible in the media in the late 1960s, although these were few, compared to recent years. On May 12, 1969, the newspaper *Sønderjyden* wrote about a group of Danish citizens who were charged with vandalism, aggravated violence, and violation against Turkish immigrants (Sønderjyden, 1969, p. 1). Turkish guest workers experienced hatred because they took the Danish peoples' "girls and work", but today the hatred is primarily because of their religion and culture. In a survey, about 550 Turkish immigrants were interviewed and they believed they were being discriminated because of their ethnicity and religion (Frøslev, 2009). Turkish immigrants are discriminated and excluded from society and this can be the reason they are pushed out of the community, which can affect their affiliation and integration status.

The Social Challenges of Turkish Immigrants, Based on the Study's Interview and Questionnaire Survey

There were, in all, 203 who participated the questionnaire survey, but two of them were deleted because they were not a part of the Turkish minority. 143 of the respondents were women and 60 were men, and most of them were from third generation. When it

came to education most of the participants had either recently completed or were in high school (33%), in second place was primary school / 10th grade (18%), and in third place was long-term higher education (17%). The study showed that the majority of the first generation had completed primary school / 10th grade. Already in the second generation, a change in the level of education was seen. The majority of the second generation had completed or were in long-term higher education (10 people), and 8 people were in the process or had completed medium-term higher education. In contrast, the majority of the third generation were still students (101 people). 58 people had completed or were in high school, 24 people in long-term higher education, and 21 people in medium-term higher education. In addition, it was seen that the gender difference had diminished because girls had begun to receive an education. They also started participating in leisure activities and youth clubs. For example, an interviewee from the third generation went to different sports activities and worked in her spare time. 66% of the participants had Turkish neighbors and 36% of the participants spoke most often with their Turkish neighbors (see Figure 1). The results showed that the first and third generation mainly spoke with their Turkish neighbors, whereas the second generation spoke with their Danish neighbors. Among them, 63% of the participants preferred to speak a mixture of Danish and Turkish with their Turkish neighbors. This is seen especially in the second and third generation. However, the proportion of participants who only preferred to speak Danish with their Turkish neighbors was a small proportion (6%) compared to those who preferred to speak only Turkish (30%).
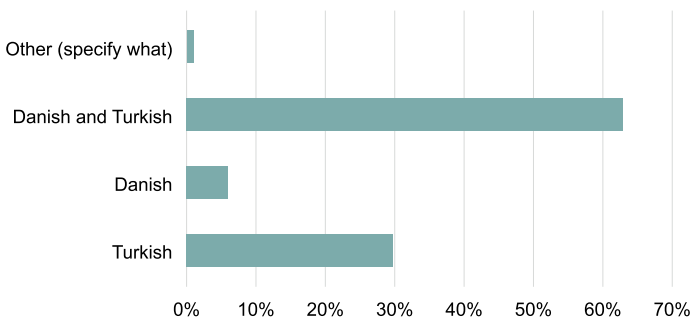
Figure 1. Which language do you prefer to speak with Turkish people?

In all 3 generations, the respondents were mainly with their Turkish friends in their spare time. Two of the interviewees from first generation said that they only met with their Turkish friends in their spare time, and this is obvious because they could not speak Danish. 64% of the participants lived close to a Turkish culture house or mosque, and the majority of first generation and second generation visited a Turkish culture house or mosque more than 5 times a month. The majority of the third generation visited 1-10 times a year. This may mean that both the first and second generation were more attached to Turkish culture houses and mosques. This can have many reasons, for example, the first

generation generally had poor Danish skills and therefore they meet with other Turkish people in culture houses or mosques. This indicates that the first generation of Turkish immigrants are still using the separation strategy in the acculturation model.

For the question of what social challenges the respondents experienced, they could choose between several answer options. "Discrimination and racism" were the leading category with 69.2%. Both women (56 responses) and men (18 responses) experienced discrimination and racism as the leading social challenge (see Table 1). Turkish immigrants from the first and third generation experienced the most social challenges. However, it is necessary to look at what kind of social challenges are involved in the different generations.

Table 1. What social challenges have you experienced?

	Respondents	Precent
Language Problem	46	43%
Discrimination and racism	74	69,20%
Unemployment	23	21,50%
Affilliation problem	39	36,40%
Identity problem/Identity crisis	33	30,80%
Homelessness	1	0,90%
Lack of social network	11	10,30%
Poor economy	12	11,20%
Crime	2	1,90%
Other (specify what)	2	1,90%
In total	107	100%

The generations' experiences of social challenges were more or less the same. The first generation mainly experienced (in order) language problems, and discrimination and racism as social challenges. The second generation mainly experienced discrimination and racism, and language problems. The third generation, on the other hand, mainly experienced discrimination and racism, and affiliation problems (see Table 2).

Table 2.

	1st Generation	2nd Generation	3rd Generation
Language Problem	7	8	31
Discrimination and racism	6	10	57
Unemployment	2	7	10
Affilliation problem	2	2	34
Identity problem/Identity crisis	2	2	29
Homelessness	1	0	0
Lack of social network	0	5	6
Poor economy	2	2	7
Crime	0	0	2
Other (specify what)	1	0	1
In total	8	17	81

Jeppesen's study from 1989 showed that there was still a large gender difference in the second generation of Turkish immigrants, because men were far more integrated when it came to schooling, Danish knowledge, work, sports, and contact with Danish people (Jeppesen, 1989). However, the gender difference was drastically reduced in the third generation. There were various factors for why women in the second generation were less integrated than women in the third generation. First, their parents from first generation did not allow them to get an education or play sports and they married at a young age. This could mean that women from the second generation did not have Danish skills, which made it harder for them to find a job. Today possessing an education is an important area for immigrants. A study showed that every other immigrant parent wanted their child to be an academic (Jessen, 2017).

In terms of housing, about 70% of Turkish immigrants were more disadvantaged than Danish young people and two-thirds of them were still living with their parents. 73% of men and 75% of women watched TV news every day. There was also a large number who read Danish newspapers almost every day or every week. However, there were only 17% of men and 11% of women who read Turkish newspapers. Limited media access can have an effect on their choice of newspapers. Living in two cultures allowed the second generation to have affiliation and identity problems, like the third generation. Compared to the other ethnic groups in the study, Turkish immigrants had poorer living conditions, rarely had contact with Danish people, were less fluent in Danish, thrived less in Denmark, often spoke Turkish with their family members, and performed poorly in the Danish education system. The study assumed, that the second generation would still have a poor

Danish knowledge after 20 years. However, this study's methods showed that it was very different. Which means, there were Turkish immigrants from second generation that were actually knowledgeable of Danish in recent times.

According to the majority of the second generation, discrimination had increased, and it did so in both the first and third generation in 2021. One of the interviewees from the third generation believed that racism against immigrants increased after the Covid-19 pandemic. This suggests that Covid-19 is not only a contagious virus, but more or less also about immigrants and racism or the Turkish immigrants' perception of how the government and ethnic Danish people handled the pandemic. The fact that a person would not want to be vaccinated by a certain religious person could even be a racist act. Politician, Martin Henriksen, from the Danish People's Party did not want to be vaccinated by a "headscarf- dressed Muslim" (Weichardt, 2021).

Discussion on Turkish Immigrants' Integration in Denmark

This section examines Turkish immigrants' social challenges, and their effect on immigrants integration in Denmark and their place in the acculturation model. Social challenges can reveal different levels of integration in the host country. However, the level of integration can change continuously because there may be a shift in Turkish immigrants' social challenges over time.

Peter Seeberg believed that it is impossible to define the concept of integration precisely and that there are different perceptions of integration. This is a correct assessment of the concept because it is "a movable fence post that continuously draws the divide between 'us' and 'them', majority and minority, Danes and foreigners" (Rytter, 2018, p. 6), as the Danish anthropologist, Mikkel Rytter, wrote in his book *Integration* in 2018. Rytter referred to the French anthropologist, Marcel Mauss' essay from 1924 on gifts and their logic: give, receive, and reciprocate (Rytter, 2018, p. 44). Rytter compared this with the situation of the immigrants. The Danish welfare state had, for example, given them the opportunity to be educated as a gift and so they must work in return. Integration is, therefore, only possible if the immigrants contribute to the community. Education and language have an impact on the opportunities that Turkish people have in the labor market. The lack of language meant that the first generation, in particular, had difficulty finding work. Claus Larsen confirmed that Turkish immigrants from the first generation mainly did not have an education. 80% of Turkish immigrants (16-70 years), from an interview survey by Statistics Denmark, had at most completed primary school in their home country. At the end of 1997, there were relatively few Turkish immigrants who had an education above the primary school level in Denmark. Judith Davison believed that the second generation should not become a lost generation and therefore Denmark should know about the problems immigrants experience and try to solve them, in order

for them to do well, like ethnic Danes, and contribute to the Danish community (Hjarnø & et al., 1973, p. 190). This included the immigrants' participation in the labor market and education is an important part of integration.

According to Peter Nannestad, the goal of the integration process is: "by integration is meant a process if the result is that ethnic minorities are economically and socially equal to the majority population" (Seeberg, 2006, p. 102). Peter Seeberg believes that research on integration has begun to move away from multiculturalism. He believes that there should be a greater integration effort, "where the right of minorities to maintain special forms of social or cultural behavior is supported by the authorities of the majority society" (Seeberg, 2006, p. 104). Seeberg had a point here because the Turkish minority faced particular discrimination and racism, no matter how much they wanted to be integrated, and this could affect their integration process. The authorities in the majority society should make a special effort in this area if integration is to succeed. This means that if integration is to succeed, the concept of integration must be understood as a mutual adaptation between the majority and the minority. Rytter compared immigrants and the concept of integration with Sisyphus from Greek mythology, who was doomed to roll a stone up a mountain (Rytter, 2018). The stone rolled down the mountain every single time and Sisyphus would have to roll it up again. He believed that no matter how hard the immigrants tried in terms of integration, it was never enough. This is reminiscent of one of the interviewees' statements on the question of whether immigrants would always be strangers no matter how integrated they become: "Exactly! Even though I was born and raised in Denmark ... even though my colleagues say, 'you are Danish, you were born and raised here, you are one of us,' I can still have a little trouble finding out where I belong". From this statement, it can also be understood that this interviewee still had affiliation problems.

Studies show that immigrants were portrayed as a burden to society, and they were associated with negative issues such as crime, illegality, forced marriage, and oppression. Turkish immigrants are dissatisfied with the way Danish news presents immigrants and Muslims. When asked what Danish media should do to meet their needs, most answered that Danish media should be neutral and not present immigrants and Islam negatively because it influences the population's attitudes about immigrants and Islam and also prevents positive development in the integration process.

A study by Hussain, et al. (1997) showed that minorities are largely mentioned negatively in the news, which fills much of the consciousness of media consumers (p. 259). This makes it difficult for minorities to trust Danish media and creates social distance between the minorities and the majority. They believe that the media's negative coverage of minorities does not promote integration (Hussain et al., 1997, p. 260). At the same time, the media portrays a society between "us" and "them" and Danish news presents and

repeats negative stories about immigrants and specifically Muslims.

This study's questionnaire survey shows that 65 of the respondents watch Danish television and 42 do not. When divided into the different categories for social challenges and whether the respondents watched Danish television, the figures showed that the Turkish peoples' social challenges do not repel them from watching Danish television (see Table 3). It must be emphasized that the Turkish peoples' consumption of and opinions about Danish television are very different topics. Their distrust of Danish news does not mean that they opt out of Danish news, but it can risk repelling them and negatively affect integration.

Table 3. What social challenges have you experienced?

Do you watch Danish TV?	Yes	No	In total
Language Problems	29	17	43%
Discrimination and racism	42	32	69,20%
Unemployment	13	10	21,50%
Affilliation problem	22	17	36,40%
Identity problem/Identity crisis	24	9	30,80%
Homelessness	0	1	0,90%
Lack of social network	6	5	10,30%
Poor economy	7	5	11,20%
Crime	1	1	1,90%
Other (specify what)	1	1	1,90%
In total	65	42	107

Rockwool Fondens Forskningsenhed's 2013 study shows that second generation immigrants had come a long way in their integration compared to the first generation immigrants in Denmark (Rockwool Fondens Forskningsenhed, 2013). When looking at the qualitative and quantitative methods in this study, integration is even better in the third generation than in the previous generations, however, all participants from all three generations experienced discrimination and racism, to varying degrees.

In their free time, Turkish immigrants were most often with their Turkish friends (72.9%), while a small proportion were with their Danish friends (3%). When compared with the other answers in the questionnaire, there are possibly different reasons. The majority felt more Turkish than Danish, and they experienced discrimination and racism (69.2%) as the largest social challenge. Language problems were the second most experienced social challenge for Turkish immigrants, with 43%. This shows that even though Turkish people have social challenges, there is a slow but positive development in their integration status, which puts them in the integration strategy category in the acculturation model,

not the separation strategy category as shown in Berry's 2010 study.

Conclusion

During World War II and the in following years, there were difficulties economically, politically, and sociologically in Turkey, all of which more or less affected Turkish migration to Europe. Western Europe became Turkish peoples' main destination for external migration in the mid-20th century. This was mainly due to pull factors, such as good wages and safe living conditions in Western Europe, including Denmark. Turkish peoples' spontaneous immigration to Denmark and Denmark's lack of preparation resulted in Turkish immigrants experiencing problems both in the short and long term. Turkish immigrants' social challenges are not concentrated in a single area, but in several areas. The level of difficulty in individual areas changes in relation to the generation in question. Studies show that the first-generation experienced housing, work, cultural and religious, leisure, and language challenges as well as discrimination, racism, and adaptation problems. The degree of the challenges changes over time, though. Immigrants have experienced language challenges both before and still in recent times. Sam and Berry's (2010) study shows that 40.3% of Turkish participants prefer the separation strategy of acculturation over the other 3 strategies, but this study concludes that the Turkish minority in Denmark prefer the integration strategy of acculturation. Although the development of integration points to a slow but positive approach in recent generations, discrimination and racism have not diminished. Turkish immigrants feel that the Danish media contributes to discrimination and racism, and because of negative news about Muslims and immigrants. They also believe that this plays a large role in how Turkish people feel unaccepted in Danish society.

It's difficult to analyze exactly how much their social challenges, as push factors, prevent integration, but the study shows that the focus should not only be on the Turkish minority. It is also necessary for the majority society to put in effort for integration, especially in the areas of discrimination and racism. This should also happen through media. Even though Turkish people want to integrate, there is a risk of repelling them from the majority community because of discrimination and racism. It is not surprising that they spend most of their free time with their Turkish friends because they feel more accepted.

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Book Review

Meryem Özdemir

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Book Review

Kutlay Yağmur, **Intergenerational Language Use and Acculturation of Turkish Speakers in Four Immigration Contexts**, Peter Lang, Frunkfurt am Main, 2016, pp. 340, $61.90 (Hardcover), ISBN 9783631663707

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Acculturation processes of migrants remain an interesting topic in academic studies since European nation-states have been challenged by increasing diversity due to ongoing immigration. However, integration is not a one-sided process. The host society and its institutions do have a determinant role in facilitating this process as well.

In his book "Intergenerational Language Use and Acculturation of Turkish Speakers in Four Immigration Contexts" that was published in 2016, Professor Yağmur examines the possible impact of integration policies of Australia, France, Germany and the Netherlands on the adaptation of Turkish immigrants. The relationship between language behavior and acculturation patterns has been investigated. All of the countries mentioned above, have the common feature that in the 1960s labour recruitment agreements for attracting guest workers were signed with Turkey, which have resulted today in significantly large Turkish populations in the host countries.

The book consists of 8 chapters. The first chapter is an introduction in which the conceptualization of integration in the European context and the public discourse on immigrant minority groups is outlined. In chapter 2 literature on acculturation orientations is discussed. It explores the framework of language behavior, patterns of identity formation and change, intergenerational differences in language use and studies on ethnolinguistic vitality. Chapter 3 clarifies the research design and research questions. Between chapter 4 and 7 the research outcomes in respectively the Australian, French, German and the Dutch context are presented. Chapter 8 makes comparisons between the countries and presents the discussion and conclusions.

Data is collected through large-scale surveys, in-depth interviews and document analysis. A cross-sectional design is used. Although a longitudinal design might offer a better distinction in the effects of age, generation, cohort and time, which is also discussed by Yağmur himself (p. 314). A total of 1.086 respondents were examined. The data is not collected in a random way, therefore generalization of the results need some caution. However, significant results allow us to make conclusions about the researched group.

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The language behavior of Turkish immigrants in Europe is presented as an interesting case in the book. Yağmur indicates that according to previous research, Turkish immigrants maintain their language better across generations in comparison to other ethnic groups than predicted by scientific models and that the Turkish language is viewed as a core marker of identity among Turkish immigrants in Western Europe, which is not the case with for example Moroccan immigrants (p.34). Yağmur also clarifies that for the Turkish group, language interacts strongly with other core values of identity like religion and historical consciousness. Professor Yağmur indicates in his book that despite this fact, the language aspect has not been sufficiently involved in many acculturation studies so far. However, language change cannot be separated from cultural change.

Furthermore, according to Yağmur; the relative weights of the mainstream language and the heritage language in expressing socio-cultural identity, in conveying communicative value in different social domains and in constituting symbolic meaning need to be understand. He gives in another study (2017) an example of the reflection of language policies in the field of education, namely that teachers who ignore the linguistic resources of children who grow up in multilingual families and who regard their competences in the dominant (legitimate) school language as flawed or even incompetent, produce power differences among students and contribute to the feeling that being monolingual means feeling superior. Or rather, appreciation of multilingualism is applied selectively. As Demirel (2019) stated, German plus English or French is highly valued, German plus Turkish is not always valued. This shows that language has an important symbolic meaning in social identity construction.

Hereby, Yağmur takes a critical look at policymakers by pointing out their shortcomings in developing an effective integration policy. According to Yağmur, the notion that heritage language in some countries is seen as a deficiency that would have a negative effect on integration, is more an ideological orientation rather than academically. Demirel (2019) confirmed this statement later too, by demonstrating that Turkish immigrant students' Turkish reading proficiency strongly predicts mainstream reading achievement. Children who use more Turkish, benefit from their Turkish vocabulary skills in the development of the mainstream language.

In the book Australia is presented as a country with a pluralistic model, France as a country that opt for integration and linguistic assimilation of immigrants because of the strong nation-state ideology, The Netherlands as a country whose approach is currently identified as assimilationist after a long period of integration and Germany as a typical ethnic nation encouraging monolingualism among the people in its territory. It is expected that in countries with the least pluralistic climate (France and Germany) immigrants would show the lowest level of sociocultural adjustment and the highest level of ethnic orientation and language use, the opposite was expected in Australia, and the Netherlands

would have an intermediate position.

The predictions were largely confirmed. The largest cross-cultural differences were found between Australia and Germany. It was intriguing that the immigrants in France combined the strongest Turkish identity of all groups with the lowest preference for using Turkish. In other words, speaking French does not necessarily mean feeling French. Speaking the mainstream language more frequently is presumed as a consequence of the French language assimilation policy, but apparently a similar assimilation effect on domains other than language could not be assumed. Another interesting finding of the French group in comparison to other immigrant groups is that more educated informants spoke the mainstream language more than immigrants with similar levels of education in other countries. Overall, education is positively related to adjustment and negatively to cultural maintenance. The negative correlations between the Turkish identity and mainstream identity were weaker in the Australian and Dutch samples than in the French and German samples.

Intergenerational comparisons are also described. According to the study, second-generation immigrants are bilingual and bicultural in many respects. Compared to other national contexts, the level of attachment to the host society is the highest among second generation Turkish-Australians and the lowest in the French context. The Turkish-French second generation is on the field of mainstream language use the most assimilated compared to other groups. Both the first and second generation informants hold onto religious values the most in the French context, which is interesting because of the strict laicism in France. Differences between generations are the lowest in the German context, which is attributed by Yağmur - referring to Alba's findings in 2005 - to bright boundaries between the Germans and Turkish immigrants that would lower the acculturation level of Turkish immigrants. In the Dutch context, the Turkish second generation has the highest attachment to Turkish identity in contrast to other national contexts. Yağmur claims that increasing restrictive policies after 9/11 and also the abolition of Turkish language teaching could be a reason. The Netherlands is the only country in this study that does not offer immigrant language education facilities at schools since 2004.

Overall, it has proven in this study that countries with pluralistic policies have better integration outcomes. Another interesting finding, in the case of France, is that linguistic assimilation does not necessarily lead to more adjustment, which means that outcomes of language policies do not always match the intended purpose of integration policies. It might also be interesting in further research to examine the role of NGO's in language behavior and their needs about mother tongue education, which was partly examined by Sözeri (2019, 2021) in her studies about Turkish mosque education. Besides, comparing Turkish immigrants with other immigrant groups in different national contexts, could offer interesting insights into more specific factors that distinguish groups from each other.

A side note is that, although it is mentioned in the book (p. 214), Germany that is a highly decentralized country with 16 different federal states with differing education and language policies, the federal states have not been examined separately. Küppers, Şimşek and Schröder (2015) notes that for example in states like Hamburg, Bremen and North Rhine-Westphalia Turkish is provided together with other heritage languages in the school program, whereas in Berlin and Schleswig-Holstein Turkish lessons are provided through extracurricular associations which are not a part of school lessons. That is why indicators of migrant policies in relation to multiculturalism and multilingualism could be set more specific in the book, with the aim to make comparisons that are more accurate between countries and between federal states in Germany. After all, this book offers meaningful insights to academicians, professionals and policymakers in the field of language and acculturation processes of Turkish immigrants in different countries.

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Book Review

Sevket Hylton Akyildiz

Book Review

Suketu Mehta, **This Land Is Our Land: An Immigrant's Manifesto**,
Vintage, London, 2021, pp. 304, $27.14 (Hardcover), ISBN 9781529112955

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This Land is Our Land: An Immigrant's Manifesto is a timely and topical book that makes the case that migrants from the Global South, for several reasons, will continue to arrive in the Global North in numbers and provide much needed, affordable, and quality labor. At the same time, populists, right-wingers, and nationalists will continue with their fear-mongering and scapegoating of immigrants and refugees in the receiving countries. To analyze this and investigate the critical political, economic, social, and environmental factors that motivate the migrants to uproot and move abroad requires a balanced researcher to understand and explain the historical and colonial influence on human migration and a researcher who is sympathetic to the immigrants and the receiving societies.

Suketu Mehta's heritage is (Kenyan) Indian. His family migrated to England and New York, United States; therefore, he comes to the debate with the lived experience of someone who knows about the rural to urban drift. His academic career makes his analytical writing informed, while his observations about the lived reality of immigrants, and the contrast between the 'rich North' and the Global South are thought-provoking. Mehta's preface says: "This is a book about people leaving their homes and moving across the planet: why they move, why they're feared, and why they should be welcomed" (p. 1).

The book's structure contains four parts and eighteen chapters. "Part I: The Migrants Are Coming" begins by saying that "These days, a great many people in the rich countries complain loudly about migration from the poor ones" (p. 3)—and barriers and policies in Hungary, Israel, India, and the United States aim to stop migrants and refugees (p. 9). However, migrants continue to journey and are motivated by external factors out of their control—for instance, colonial legacy, corrupt post-colonial political elites, unemployment, crime, gangs, and climate change. In light of this, the key to understanding the migrant's mentality is employment and family security (p. 8). Today, almost a "quarter of a billion people" live "in a country other than the one they were born in" (p. 4).

Mehta discusses the contemporary movement of immigrants across borders and traces events in a global context. Also, the author narrows down the study to local cases and personal stories recorded during his research. The local sites explored include the

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Mexican-United States border crossing for South Americans looking for employment 'up North'; and the North African- Mediterranean Europe crossing point between Morocco and Spain. A sea-crossing mainly for Africans seeking to enter Europe and begin new lives. Their struggles and challenges, sacrifices and dreams – considering the family security they have left behind – make them in Mehta's reporting "ordinary, everyday heroes" (p. 29). He emphasizes a humane approach to migration: "I am not calling for open borders. I am calling for open hearts" (p. 29).

"Part II: Why They're Coming" addresses four motivating factors for migrants. Firstly, the author outlines the history of Western colonialism and its political, economic, cultural, and psychological impact on Asian, African, Middle Eastern, and First Nation American societies. Then, neo-colonialism is reviewed in the guise of multinational corporations, government officials, and bribe-taking. Arguably, foreign control of national resources and their extraction continued after independence, masked as international business and trade. Thirdly, the effect of war on society and, consequently, refugee crises (in Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, and Central America) to describe why people uproot and relocate abroad. Fourthly, climate change (water shortage, desertification, the effect on livelihoods, and the spread of disease) is another reason for migration in the present and future.

In "Part III: Why They're Feared", the author highlights negative and racist stereotyping by European and North American right-wingers towards immigrants and refugees. The evidence that immigrants work hard, pay taxes, and commit no more crimes proportionally than the host community are deliberately ignored by right-wing- politicians, journalists, and disaffected citizens seeking to blame their societal problems on the Other/Them. The more authentic picture of a generally industrious and entrepreneurial immigrant community is ignored; instead, they are falsely portrayed as a threat to the receiving society.

In "Part IV: Why They Should Be Welcomed", the author makes the case, supported by evidence, for the economic, social, and cultural benefits of immigration. Mehta contends that benefits are overwhelmingly positive. Moreover, the declining birth rate and aging populations in North America, Europe, and Russia will inevitably mean that young migrants from the Global South will provide the much-needed paid labor in the service, building, and care sectors and technically-skilled jobs. Today, their remittances 'home' are nearly $600 billion yearly (p. 195). Furthermore, the migrants' taxes and welfare insurance payments will help finance the pensions of the receiving society. The immigrant workers, from all social and class backgrounds, will increase the productivity of the receiving country and make them competitive in terms of Gross National Product and quality of life. Examples of multicultural success stories are the United States and Canada and cities like London.

The significant difference between British and United States citizenship is that the former requests immigrants to integrate into its multicultural society, while the latter advocates their assimilation into a nation of immigrants. However, in reality, immigrants establish and participate in community networks, traveling between their new homeland and their ancestral homeland. To explain this, Mehta says migrants are in "continuous transit between two or places, not nation-states. Let's look at migration as not an arrow but a circle" (p. 211).

Given the above, Mehta should not underestimate the challenges faced by the receiving societies when their working and middle classes are experiencing unemployment and underemployment, the high expense of buying or renting a home, and an increasing cost of living. Some younger adults sense that their career and material futures will be less advantageous than the previous post-1960s generations. How will these influence attitudes about immigration, national identity, and cosmopolitan identity?

The social and demographic changes discussed by Mehta are far-reaching but are not explored thoroughly in this book. For instance, his vision of social change requires a revised citizenship model to support positive inclusiveness, equality, and increasing cultural diversity. It includes eradicating the problem of institutional racism in employment, health, and housing that immigrants encounter.

Lastly, while Mehta effectively questions the double standards of Western colonialism and immigration policies, he might also have been more critical of the far right-wing governments of Myanmar and India and their colonial-like attitude towards the Rohingya and Kashmiris, respectively. Likewise, he rightly points out the negative impact of nineteenth-century Western colonialism on Imperial China, but he fails to investigate Communist China as a rising superpower with possible colonial-like tendencies. The treatment of minorities in these three countries – some of whom become political refugees and immigrants – is not analyzed.

Nevertheless, Mehta makes a strong case and clarifies why humans migrate, why the politics of fear is wrong, and how immigrants offer an economical and cultural renaissance to their receiving societies and new shared homelands. The book is recommended for students and researchers of immigration, government policy, racism, and early twenty-first-century world history.

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Book Review

Jahidul Islam Sarker

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Book Review

Kirsten Forkert, Federico Oliveri, Gargi Bhattacharyya and Janna Graham,
How media and conflicts make migrants, Manchester University Press,
2020, pp. 224, £80.00, ISBN: 978-1-5261-3811-8

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Migration is one of the most severe global concerns of the twenty-first century. Thousands of refugees have been mistreated in European countries since Arab Spring. Despite extensive research on many aspects of the refugee crisis, the western media's role in this problem has been less in focus. *How Media and Conflicts Influence Migrants* sheds light on this vague area. The book is the outcome of extensive research on how media shapes Europeans' perceptions of migration. This book develops a model outlining the subtle process of displaced persons becoming migrants. Among other factors, the book discusses the media's involvement in "migrantification." *How Media and Conflicts Make Migrants*, by Kirsten Forkert, Federico Oliveri, Gargi Bhattacharyya and Janna Graham, examines how global conflict has been constructed through media representations. The book focuses on the United Kingdom and Italy, two countries that have been hit by a wave of refugees and whose citizens are wary of European institutions. The book is the outcome of an AHRC-funded research project entitled, *Conflict, Memory, and Displacement.*

Following the Arab Spring, massive migrations of people from the Middle East, Asia, and Africa arrived in Europe. The humanitarian crisis was dubbed a "Migration Crisis" by the western media and was projected as a threat to Europe. The mainstream media and European states together made the displaced people "migrants" who do not deserve the natural rights of a regular citizen. The authors used Media analysis, surveys, semi-structured interviews, and ethnography of citizen solidarity initiatives to reveal the process of how media and states make displaced people "migrant."

Being made into migrants by the state is a central theme throughout the book. The book develops the concept of *migrantification*, in which people are made into migrants by the state, the media, and members of society, based on workshops and interviews with refugees in both countries. This means that the term migrant is actively constructed to erode other identities and create a new social identity that is devalued and constrained by official processes. The core of this identity is a sense of being other, illegitimate, and undeserving.

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The book first published in 2020, consists of five chapters. These chapters are, respectively, "Introduction: conflict, media and displacement in the twenty-first century," "1- How postcolonial innocence and white amnesia shape our understanding of global conflicts," "2-War narratives: making sense of conflict," "3- Social media, mutual aid and solidarity movements as a response to institutional breakdown," "4- The processes of migrantification: how displaced people are made into 'migrants'," 5- Refusing the demand for sad stories," and "Conclusion: unsettling dominant narratives about migration in a time of flux." The authors presented two theoretical perspectives of European society in the first chapter: postcolonial innocence and white amnesia. The authors argue that most regional conflicts in Africa or the Middle East relate to Europe's colonial past. By reviewing past literature on western media, authors claim that the mainstream media of European countries only present day-to-day conflict news but avoid presenting the background of the conflict. The media intentionally avoid the causes of conflict. The book focuses on mainstream media's role in cultivating collective amnesia about Europe's history in connection to other regions of the world, a condition the authors refer to as postcolonial innocence.

The authors raise questions about the crisis frame of the media. They argued that the mainstream media, linked with the state, presented the refugee influx as a crisis. The media branded refugee issues as a refugee crisis, a humanitarian crisis, a migrant crisis, a EU governance crisis, a solidarity crisis, a crisis of European values and principles, a crisis of humanity, and a crisis of asylum law. (p. 19) This type of representation created anxiety about refugees among European people. According to the authors, media portrayals of the European refugee crisis, especially the framing of the crisis as a threat to Europe, is misleading. An essential role in postcolonial representations of migration is played in official and popular attitudes toward migrants, notably, demands for tighter border controls. In a recent poll, roughly 60% of Italians believed it was right to close their ports to African migrants, and 68% said former Minister Matteo Salvini was right to challenge the EU on the matter (p. 51).

In the second chapter, the authors revisit portrayals of conflict and war and their impact on common understandings of war. The authors refer to the second Iraq War (2003); for example, many people of the UK thought the Iraq War was a just war, as mainstream media exemplified attempts to justify British military incursions, especially using counter-terrorism justifications (p.68). The third chapter considers alternative media, notably by migrants and people interested in developing solidarity with migrants. Additionally, this chapter discusses social media as a medium for organizing solidarity acts and establishing new zones of political affinity. In contrast, in some cases, refugees are more cautious about discussing political issues on social media. In this context, the authors presented opinions of an Afghan refugee in Italy and a Kurdish refugee in the UK (p.105). Additionally, the authors examine how anti-immigrant groups have used social media platforms.

The notion of migrantification is developed in the fourth chapter, referring to a process in which people are produced as migrants by governmental institutions, the media, and members of society. These mechanisms elevate the migrant identity above other components of a person's personality and experience. Interviews and discussions with asylum seekers and refugees in Birmingham, London, Nottingham, Pisa, and Bologna, Italy, are examined in this section. Participants are asked to decide how they have been produced as migrants, using Frigga Haug's critical memory work methodology. The stereotype idea about migrants is that migrant is poor and they should be poor. If any migrant drives a BMW car, police may suspect him as a drug dealer (p.159). Discrimination, stigmatization and isolation are explored as part of the asylum system and the hostile environment.

The authors of the last chapter present the results of collaborative work with theater practitioners and workshops with participants, in which migrantification questions were used to develop performances. They criticize the ongoing demand that migrants convey their sad stories and discuss the strategies that can come from critically and imaginatively thinking about performance. In conclusion, the authors emphasize that a worldwide network of solidarity is needed to combat white amnesia and assumed European innocence, especially when prominent public officials and media commentators downplay Western responsibility for global conflicts and link it to populist grievances.

Overall, the book is one of the few books that shed light on the role of media during the Migration crisis in Europe. Although the authors present enough evidence for their concept of making migrants by media, the research focused on only two countries in Europe. The research could present more insight if the author could include countries like Germany and Turkey.

Finally, the book contributes to media studies and migration studies. This book will surely open readers' eyes to a new reality, in which they will see how the media has been working behind the scenes to make displaced people migrate. Academic and nonacademic readers can enjoy the lucid language of this book.

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Book Review

Süleyman Furkan Çobankara

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Book Review

Ayse Guveli, Harry Ganzeboom, Lucinda Platt, Bernhard Nauck, Helen Baykara-Krumme, Sebnem Eroglu, Sait Bayrakdar, Efe K. Sözeri, and Niels Spierings, **Intergenerational Consequences of Migration: Socio-economic, Family and Cultural Patterns of Stability and Change in Turkey and Europe**, Springer, 2016, pp. 297, $90.56 (Hardcover), ISBN-10 1137501413

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Migration is one of the oldest acts in the universe, and some even ironically argue that Adam and Eve were the first migrants. Despite its long history, what is new is that migration is accepted as a scientific concept and is the subject of research. Although migration is multidimensional as a modern and scientific concept, when concrete examples are taken into account, specific aspects of some migration cases take precedence over other aspects due to scientific or other rational reasons and can be accepted as the primary factor accordingly. To give a specific example, the Turkish migration to Europe, between the 1960s and the early 1970s, is acknowledged as a labor migration mostly for economical motivations. This is examined thoroughly by the book entitled, *Intergenerational Consequences of Migration: Socio-economic, Family and Cultural Patterns of Stability and Change in Turkey and Europe.* The book consists of four parts and 14 chapters respectively, "Part I: Introduction: The Origins of Migration, Research Design and Data, The Five Regions of Origin in Turkey, Migration and Return Migration," "Part II: Educational Attainment, Occupational Status Attainment, Self-Employment," "Part III: Marriage, Fertility, Friends and Social Networks," "Part IV: Religiosity, Attitudes towards Gender Equality, Identities," and in the end, "Part V: Conclusion." The book is based on the *2000 Families: Migration Histories of Turks in Europe* project's data, which is the first survey study in Europe that collects data on three generations of immigrant families.

Although the book begins with a novel-like immigration story of Osman Bey, *gastarbeiter* (guest worker in German) in Germany, it is a social scientific study with a unique design called by authors origin-oriented, multi-site, and multi-generational research (p.17) that tries to reveal the intergenerational consequences of migration, as can be obviously understood by the name of the book. The core of the study provides the perspective that clearly demonstrates the consequences of migration by examining all three groups of people who have migrated to Europe and stayed at least five years, have migrated and

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returned, and also the stayers, people who never migrated or have been to Europe less than five years (less than a year in the pilot study, however, it was increased to five years to exhibit the result of migration more explicitly). The authors describe the study as origin-oriented because it focuses on immigrants and their descendants. They also call the study multi-site due to the concentration in five distinct origin regions, which are Akçaabat (Trabzon), Acıpayam (Denizli), Şarkışla (Sivas), Emirdağ (Afyon), and Kulu (Konya) (p.18), as well as nine main European destination countries: Germany, France, Netherlands, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. There are several criteria for the selection of regions in Turkey according to the writers, such as the region should have sufficient emigrants, they also should represent most of Turkey's population and the minorities in Turkey, for instance, Kurds and Alevis. Finally and most importantly, they define the study as multi-generational becuase they examine the traces over generations, starting with the first generation, who were born between 1920 and 1945 and migrated to Europe between 1961 and 1974. Naturally, they tried to follow the first generation's lineages, no matter where they are, for interviews and surveys because of the multi-generationional claim of the study. What's more, the writers justifiably claim that they made a huge contribution to the literature by integrating country of origin into multi-generational perspectives.

The first part contains four chapters where they made the presentation of the book, by explaining the research design and methods, and also give details about the data they use, even though they make a specific explaination for each chapter. In the first chapter, a piece of general information and an introduction illustrating the state of the literature is made. Furthermore, the writers emphasize the difference between dissimilation and assimilation. Dissimilation is making the minorities alter from their origin, while assimilation, forces minorities to adopt the mainstream culture wholly and thus makes the minorities indistinguishable from the majority. Dissimilation strengthens the differences between cultures in other societies whereas, assimilation means the digestion of minority culture by the host society's culture (p.10). According to the book, dissimilation has such forms, including dissimilation toward assimilation, globalization, and revitalization, and each of them has a different direction. The last chapter of Part I, entitled "Migration and Return Migration," is about deliberating the evolution of Turkish migration to Europe and what factors are essential triggers, such as family and kinship changes over generations. The second part of the book has three chapters respectively, "Educational Attainment," "Occupational Status Attainment," and "Self Employment." To put it briefly, the results that emerged, as expected by the authors, indicate that the intergenerational transmission of educational, vocational, and socio-economic status examined in the second part had weakened. In other words, the impact of migration intergenerational social mobility is tremendous for the first generation, however differences between migrants and non-migrants largely disappear by the third generation. Part III comprises three chapters between

8 and 10 that have topics about the social attitudes (such as marriage, fertility, friendship, and social networks) of migrants and their descendants and have immensely complicated results. Since there are so many variables in the analyzed findings, it is not easy to find a clear correlation in the topics of the third part. For example, it can be said that the results can be misleading due to the level of education having a huge impact on fertility. Despite its complexity, the outlines of each chapter in this part may be summarized as immigrants tend to be less prone to arranged marriages, the educational impact might suggest more effect than the migration effect when it comes to fertility, and non-migrants' networks are greater and provide higher educational resources than migrants, respectively. The first two chapters of the fourth part explore the intergenerational transmission of religiosity and gender equality attitudes among those in Turkey and Europe. The first chapter points out that in religious contexts in Europe and Turkey, which are distinct, rates of prayer are declining to some degree in both contexts but rates of institutional and subjective religiosity remain high. The last chapter in this part is about the identity of the migrants to both in Turkey and the destination country, and the strength of their connection to Turkey, for both migrants and stayers, is also discussed in the chapter. The summary of outputs in the chapter is that Migrant Turks, though becoming more attached to destination countries over generations remain closely linked to Turkey in a range of effective and behavioral ways. Overall, however, there is a trend towards less identification with their origins as they spent more time away from Turkey, a finding in line with the destination country based migration literature. In the last part, the summary of the outputs in the study are portrayed separately for each chapter, and the writers displayed the contribution to the research.

The main aim and the key feature of the book is the exhibition of multigenerational effects of Turkish migration to Europe, and researchers provided more accuracy to the design than other studies, by concentrating not only on immigrants but also on the stayers and the returners. Nevertheless, the *2000 Families* data used in this research has some limitations, such as the lack of demonstrating the impact of Turkish families who had completely left the region. Furthermore, having more than one destination country in the study may cause a problem in that different countries mean different variables, which can make the outputs controversial. In spite of the fact that the research design was limited, field workers in the project still tried to reach those families through their relatives, according to the authors. Oppositely, the design and the data have also numerous strengths, like being origin country based and contributing to finding outputs of migration and return migration on immigrants. Also, having multiple destination countries differentiates the study. Both the proxy and the personal questionnaires were used by the field workers.

Finally, this book is an essential source for academics and researchers studying migration and its impact on generations, with a particular focus on immigrants, especially those who are minorities in Europe. In addition, the book not only makes a strong contribution

to the literature but also plays a pioneering role by including stayers or non-immigrants in migration studies. Those who are interested in Turkish migration may create a study that includes those who migrated from the village to the city in their future studies and compares the effects of internal migration with external migration, even if it may require a serious budget.

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Book Review

Medine Derya Canpolat

Book Review

Nermin Abadan-Unat, **Bitmeyen Göç: Konuk İşçilikten Ulus-Ötesi Yurttaşlığa** (Unending Migration: from Guest-worker to Transnational Citizen), İstanbul Bilgi University Press, İstanbul, 2017, pp. 488, ₺55.51 (Hardcover), ISBN 9789756857472

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Migration has been an indispensable part of human life and one of the most important social phenomena that constantly changes and gains new forms. Written by Nermin Abadan-Unat, one of the most prominent and well-known scholars in the field of migration, the book entitled *Unending Migration: From Guest-Worker to Transnational Citizenship* contributes to this phenomenon. This revised and updated 3rd edition is an output of the author's academic studies published with the target of not only examining theoretical discussions and empirical research on the history of Turkey's migration experiences for 50 years, but also explaining the new forms, concepts, and theories of international migration in the face of the globalization (p. 4). In this evaluation, the fundamental claims of the author are presented and discussed in the content of the book.

Abadan-Unat constructs her book with eight chapters, in addition to an introduction. In the introductory chapter, she claims that migration widely emerged in Turkey after the 1960 coup, as a demographic solution to eliminate issues such as unemployment and foreign exchange shortage, and it was approached as a state policy (p.1-2). Additionally, she delineates concepts such as identity, globalization, migration, multiculturalism, and transnationalism that form the analytical framework of her book. In chapter 1, she evaluates the current issues of Turkey's migration experienced in the 21st century. Initially, she discusses the changes experienced by Turkey as a country of emigration. In this context, she both presents the legal transformations initiated by Turkey that give Turkish citizens the right to vote abroad and the German migration policies applied to Turkish immigrants. According to her claim, Islamophobia and xenophobia are crucial issues for Turks living in European countries, particularly Germany. Subsequently, she discusses the changes experienced by Turkey as a country of immigration. In this context, she presents the Readmission Agreement between Turkey and the European Union (EU) and gives statistics about asylum seekers who applied for asylum in Turkey. According to her assertion, migration has become the main topic of national and international policies in all developed and developing countries, and it will remain on the agenda for a long time

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(p. 48). In chapter 2, she elucidates and interprets the theories of international migration, such as neoclassical economics theories and migration systems theory. She claims that segmented labor-market theory manifests itself in interstate bilateral agreements, as in the case of Turkey and Germany (p. 68).

In chapter 3, the author details the processes of Turkish emigration from guest labor to transnational citizenship through five phases: the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and the 1990s. She asserts that the migration processes of Turkish citizens started with individual attempts, afterward it evolved into labor migration, family reunification, and the desire for asylum, then finally gained a transnational identity. Moreover, she underlines the radical changes that migration movements have brought about in Turkey's social structure. To her, deprivation of a qualified workforce, stratification in the socio-economic structure, and the formation of a new type of people, like the German (Almanyalı), epitomize the radical changes (p. 117-119). In chapter 4, she dwells on two fieldwork studies conducted in Federal Germany in 1963 that scrutinize the problems faced by Turkish workers, and Boğazlıyan/Turkey in 1975, which investigates the impacts of international labor migration. Regarding the first study, she claims that the major problems faced by Turkish workers stem from the lack of information about issues, such as the legal rights they have in Germany, lack of efforts for family reunification, and the absence of social workers to guide them (p. 152-154). Concerning the second study, she asserts that neither did Turkish workers contribute to Turkey's industrialization while they were abroad, nor created conditions that facilitated industrialization when they returned (p. 169). In chapter 5, she initially focuses on Turkish migrant women and maintains that migration mobility has affected both the family structure, as it causes the fragmentation of family and the emancipation of women, as it introduces the different societies in which men and women have equal rights. According to her belief, the degree of emancipation of women may increase with the duration of stay abroad and the adoption of a different civic identity (p. 181-182). In addition, she analyzes the issues faced by the Turkish migrants associated with education, language, and integration. According to her claim, Turkish migrants have endeavored to protect their national identity while struggling to achieve economic integration (p. 206). Finally, she deals with the transformation of paradigms in academic studies. To her, researchers widely approached migration with economic theories in the 1960s, with concepts of assimilation and integration in the 1970s, and with ethnic identity and non-governmental organizations established by Turks abroad after the 1980s (p. 236).

In chapter 6, the author deals with international migration and adds that globalization and immigrants' quest for identity have impacted the emergence of transnational communities. While arguing that as several countries encounter the phenomenon of migration, the possibility of maintaining the idea of a nation-state based on ethnic homogeneity is gradually weakening, she addresses how immigrants can be integrated into receiving countries (p. 315). In chapter 7, she details the impacts of globalization

on nation-states and migration. Firstly, she discusses the contradictions between concepts, like insertion and exclusion. In this context, she claims that the policies pursued by both sending and receiving countries towards immigrants, the quest for identity, and immigrants' social relations of cause constant conflicts (p. 334). Secondly, she points out the legal categorizations that identify the status and rights of immigrants, such as asylum seekers, highly skilled migrants, and refugees (p. 339). Lastly, she briefly mentions multiculturalism policies applied by Western countries and claims that solving the identity problem with democratic methods would bring social peace (p. 346). In chapter 8, she addresses developments in international migration after the 2000s. To begin with, she points out the new categorizations of international migration, including the feminization of migration and climate migration. In addition, she clarifies the radical changes in migration policies applied by countries such as Austria, Denmark, and Germany. Furthermore, she highlights the problems faced by immigrant women. She claims that migrant women are deprived of gender equality, and exposed to domestic violence, illegal employment, honor killings, and sex trade. In conclusion, she discusses the status and future of Turkish immigrants in Europe and suggests that Turkey should produce an outward-looking policy that embraces Turkish people outside its national borders (p. 394).

Perhaps, the best aspect of the book is that it contributes a comprehensive and fruitful analysis of migration. Not only does it provide a considerable explanation for how Turkey's migration experience has gained new forms, but it also supplies valuable information on how migration typologies have changed through globalization. It enables the reader to understand typologies, theories, concepts of migration, and non-governmental organizations established abroad. Apart from this, it exemplifies the issues addressed by other studies in the field of migration (i.e., p. 33, p. 47, p. 321, and p. 326). These examples shed light on the status, problems, and expectations of Turkish immigrants in Europe, and their views of the EU. They also reveal the problems that arise from the Readmission Agreement. What distinguishes this book from similar studies in the literature is that it analyzes migration through a wide variety of dimensions. It classifies Turkey's migration experience and addresses the 50-year process by not only referring to various concepts used in migration literature, such as multiculturalism (p. 11 and 233), transnationalism (p. 8), xenophobia (p. 102 and 283), and diaspora (p. 293-295), but also new typologies of migration (p. 352-354) and theories of migration (p. 53-68). To demonstrate the dynamic changes and forms in migration, the applications of these concepts are enlightening. However, as in every study, this study is also open to criticism. For instance, in the first chapter, the migration movements towards Turkey are not adequately addressed compared to the migration movements from Turkey. In the third chapter, while Turkish migration to Europe is explained in detail, Turkish migration to the Middle East is only briefly mentioned. Moreover, instead of detailing the processes of Turkish migration from guest worker to transnational citizenship in five stages, it would be beneficial to

evaluate all processes in six stages, including the 2000s. These shortcomings overshadow the comprehensive nature of the book. Apart from this and since the book was published five years ago, it differs from current figures showing migration movements to and from Turkey. Therefore, the statistical information needs to be updated.

In a nutshell, the book makes a distinct contribution to the literature as it examines the changes in migration tendency and intergenerational differences that occur as a result of this change, and it is a pioneering reference source for academics, experts, and students who are interested in migration studies.

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Book Review

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Book Review

F. Büşra Süverdem, **Yurt Dışında Türkçe Ana Dili Öğretimi**, GAVPerspektif Yayınları, 2021, ss. 431, ₺72 (Mat Kuşe), ISBN 978-605-74986-7-0

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Siyasal ve sosyal alanlarda ele alındığında diasporalar dil araştırmalarında zengin bir malzeme sunmaktadır. Bunun temel sebeplerinden biri dilin kimlik taşıyıcısı olmasıdır. Diasporaların ana vatan ile ilişkisi temelde ana dilleri ile kurulmaktadır. Öte yandan mesken ülke penceresinden de diaspora sakinlerinin mesken ülke dilini öğrenmesi sosyal entegrasyon için önemlidir. Dolayısıyla diasporalar için geliştirilen dil politikaları ve buna bağlı olarak ana dili eğitimi imkânları önem arz etmektedir. Söz konusu politikaların ve imkânların sonuçları daha geniş perspektifte çift dillilik, dil ilişkileri, kültür ve dil aktarımı konularında önemli araştırma soruları doğurmaktadır. Sözgelimi Türk diasporası özelinde düşünüldüğünde çeşitli ülkelerde varlığını sürdüren Türk diasporasına mesken ülke tarafından uygulanan politikaların ne tür sonuçlar doğurduğu veya doğuracağı önemli sorulardan biridir. Bu bağlamda literatürde çeşitli çalışmalar bulunmaktadır. Söz konusu çalışmalar çoğunlukla müstakil olarak bir ülkeyi ele almakta veya diasporada çiftdillilik, dil değişimini gibi tek bir konuya odaklanmaktadır. Büşra Süverdem'in editörlüğünde hazırlanan *Yurt Dışında Türkçe Ana Dili Öğretimi* ise on bir farklı ülkedeki Türkçe öğretiminin güncel durumu ele alması nedeniyle dikkat çekici bir çalışmadır. Çalışma, hem Türkiye'de hem de yurtdışında Türkçe öğretimi alanında akademik çalışmalar yürüten çeşitli araştırmacıların makalelerinden oluşmaktadır. Çalışmada on bir farklı ülkeye dair dil politikaları, Türkçe eğitimi uygulamaları, mesken ülkedeki Türk nüfusunun özellikleri, göç tarihi gibi çeşitli konular ele alınmaktadır. Söz konusu ülkeler alfabetik olarak sıralanmaktadır. Bu ülkeler sırasıyla Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, Avusturalya, Belçika, Birleşik Krallık, Danimarka, Federal Almanya, Fransa, İsveç, Kanada, Kuzey Makedonya ve Yunanistan'dır. Çalışma on bir farklı ülkedeki Türkçe ana dili öğretimine dair güncel bir portre de çizmektedir.

Süverdem, çalışmanın önsözünde kitabın "Türkçe öğretiminin güncel sorularını tartışmak ve çözümler sunmak amacıyla" (s. 3) hazırlandığını belirtmektedir. Bu amaç çerçevesinde kitabın bölümlerini yakından incelemek gerekmektedir. On bir ülkeye dair incelemelerin yer aldığı her bölümün *Sonuç ve Değerlendirme* kısımlarında bahsi geçen ülkedeki Türkçe öğretiminin sorunları hakkında bilgiler yer almaktadır. Bu sorunların yanında her bölüm yazarı çeşitli öneriler de sunmaktadır. Örneğin *Danimarka'da Türkçe Ana Dili*

Öğretimi bölümünde yazarın sunduğu önerilerden biri şöyledir; "Danimarka'daki Türkçe öğretimi Türk göçmenlerin en temel özelliği olan iki dillilik temelinde şekillenmelidir." (s. 166). Söz konusu önerinin pek çok yazarın ele aldığı farklı ülkelerdeki durum için de geçerli olduğu kitapta takip edilebilmektedir. Bununla birlikte her bölümün birincil amacının mesken ülkedeki Türk göçmenlerin durumunu, Türkçenin mesken ülkedeki eğitim sistemi içerisinde öğretimi meselesini betimlemek olduğu açıktır. Daha geniş bir ifadeyle sürecin mesken ülke bağlamındaki tarihi daha geniş bir yer tutmaktadır. Bu aynı zamanda çalışmanın betimleyici bir araştırma olduğunu da göstermektedir. Tüm bunlara ek olarak on bir farklı ülkedeki Türkçe öğretimine dair sorunlar ve bu sorunların çözümlerine ilişkin bilgilerin tek bir kaynakta toplanmış olması alan yazın bağlamında önemlidir. Kitap bölümlerinde işlenen çeşitli konulardan bazıları; mesken ülkenin eğitim sistemi, mesken ülkenin göçmenlere yönelik dil politikaları gibi yurt dışında Türkçenin eğitimi ve öğretiminde karşılaşılan zorlukları açıklamaya yardımcı konulardır. Tüm bunlar kitapta yer alan çalışmaların önsözünde belirtilen amaca uygun olduğunu göstermektedir.

Çalışmada teorik arka plan ve terimlerle ilgili bilgiler dağınık olarak yer almaktadır. Örneğin ana dili ve iki dillilik kavramı, çalışmanın üçüncü bölümünü oluşturan *Belçika'da Türkçe Ana Dili Öğretimi* bölümünün yazarı tarafından ele alınmaktadır. Söz konusu bölümde de konunun ana teması gereğince terimlere dair tartışmalara yer verilmemektedir. Diğer bir deyişle okuyucu üçüncü bölüme gelinceye dek kavramsal çerçeve ile ilgili bilgi edinememektedir. Oysa kitabın başlığında yer alan kavramlar başta olmak üzere konuyla ilişkili ve kritik önem taşıyan kavramsal çerçeveye dair tartışmalar ve açıklamaların tüm bölümlerden önce verilmesi beklenirdi. Kavramsal çerçevenin ele alınışı hitap edilen kitle ve çalışmanın amacı ile ilişkilidir. Süverdem'in editörlüğünde hazırlanan çalışmada ele alınan ülkelerdeki Türk nüfusu literatürde 'Türk diasporası' olarak adlandırılmaktadır. Fakat çalışmada dil-diaspora ilişkisine dair bir kavramsal tartışmaya da yer verilmemiştir. Diasporada ana dili öğretimi noktasında önem arz eden bu kavramsal çerçeve her ülke için yapılan çözüm önerilerinin okuyucular için daha anlaşılır olmasını sağlayabilirdi.

Çalışmada on bir farklı ülkede Türkçe öğretiminin yanı sıra söz konusu ülkelerin dil politikalarına ve eğitim sistemlerine dair bilgiler de yer almaktadır. Örneğin *Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde Türkçe Ana Dili Öğretimi* başlıklı bölümde Amerikan eğitim sisteminde izlenen genel dil politikasının İngilizce eğitime ağırlık veren bir görüntü sergilediği belirtilmektedir (s. 16). Söz konusu asimilasyonist dil politikası göçmenlerin ana dillerini aktarmak veya ana dili eğitimini şekillendirmede önem arz etmektedir. Başka bir deyişle mesken ülkelerin dil politikaları göçmen dillerinin geleceği ile ilgili kritik bir öneme sahiptir. Çalışmada farklı ülkenin dil politikalarına dair bilgilerin yer alması yalnızca yurt dışında Türkçe öğretimi alanında çalışan araştırmacılara değil dil araştırmalarının farklı alanlarındaki araştırmacılara da hitap ettiğini göstermektedir.

Süverdem'in editörlüğünde hazırlanan çalışmada ülkelerin dil politikalarının yanı sıra mesken ülkeye yapılan göçün hikâyesi ve tarihçesi de bulunmaktadır. Göç hikâyesi ana dilin kuşaklar arasındaki durumunu tespit etmek amacıyla önemlidir. Çalışmada on bir ülkenin yalnızca birine dair göç hikâyesi bulunmamaktadır. Söz konusu ülke Fransa'dır. Fransa'nın yanında ülkelerin alfabetik sıra ile verilmesi nedeniyle Almanya'ya dair göç hikâyesi Almanya'ya ayrılan iki bölümünden ikincisinde yer almaktadır. Almanya'ya ayrılan bölümlerden ilki Bavyera eyaleti ile ilgili bölümdür. İkinci kısım ise Kuzey Ren-Vestfalya ve Hessen Eyaletine ait bölümüdür. Almanya'ya göçün tarihçesi Kuzey Ren-Vestfalya ve Hessen Eyaleti'ne ayrılan bölümde yer almaktadır. Okuyucu ilk bölümde göç hikâyesi ile ilgili bilgiyi edinememektedir. Dolayısıyla Almanya'da göçün tarihçesinin eyaletler bağlamında değişip değişmediğini sorusuna cevap alınamamaktadır.

Çalışmada Kuzey Makedonya ve Yunanistan'daki Türkçe eğitimi ve öğretiminin de yer alması dikkat çekicidir. Süverdem önsözde bu seçimi şöyle açıklamaktadır; 'Her ne kadar Balkan ülkelerindeki Türkçe öğretimi bazı konularda, Türklerin göçmen topluluklar olarak yaşadığı ülkelerdekinden ayrışsa da sorunlar ve olası çözümler benzer olacağından Kuzey Makedonya ve Yunanistan örnekleri de bu kitaba dâhil edilmiştir.' (s. 3). Süverdem'in belirttiği noktayı takiben Yunanistan ve Kuzey Makedonya'daki sorunların öğretmen yetersizliği, materyal eksikliği, ailelerin bilinçli davranamaması gibi noktalarda olduğu ve bunun Türklerin göçmen olarak yaşamakta olduğu ülkelerle benzerlik gösterdiği bilgisine ulaşılabilmektedir. Başka bir deyişle çalışma farklı tarihsel süreçlerden geçmiş olan Türk diasporalarını karşılaştırma fırsatı vermektedir. Bununla birlikte çalışmada Hollanda, İsviçre gibi dikkat çekici yoğunlukta Türk diasporasına sahip olan ülkeler yer almamaktadır.

Özetle GAVPerspektif Yayınları'ndan okuyucuya ulaşan *Yurt D*ışında Türkçe Ana Dili Öğretimi çalışması on bir farklı ülkedeki Türkçe eğitimi, öğretimi, göç tarihi, mesken ülkelerin eğitim sistemleri, dil politikaları, mesken ülkelerin Türkçe eğitimi uygulamaları gibi oldukça çeşitli konularını ele almakta, sorun tespiti ve çözüm önerileri sunmaktadır. Çalışmanın hedef kitlesi ise başta yurtdışında Türkçe öğretimi üzerine çalışan araştırmacılar, akademisyenler ve öğrenciler olmak üzere dilbilim ve diaspora üzerine çalışmalar yürüten araştırmacılar ve öğrencilerdir.

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