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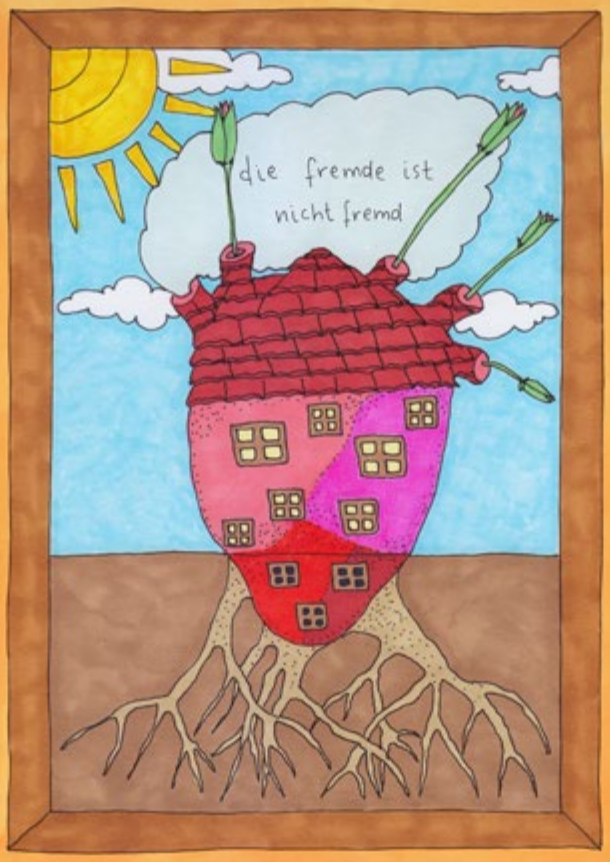
A Review on the Sixtieth Year of Labor Migration between Germany and Turkey:

"So glad we are here!"



HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG
ISTANBUL

A Review on the Sixtieth Year of Labor Migration between Germany and Turkey: “So glad we are here!”

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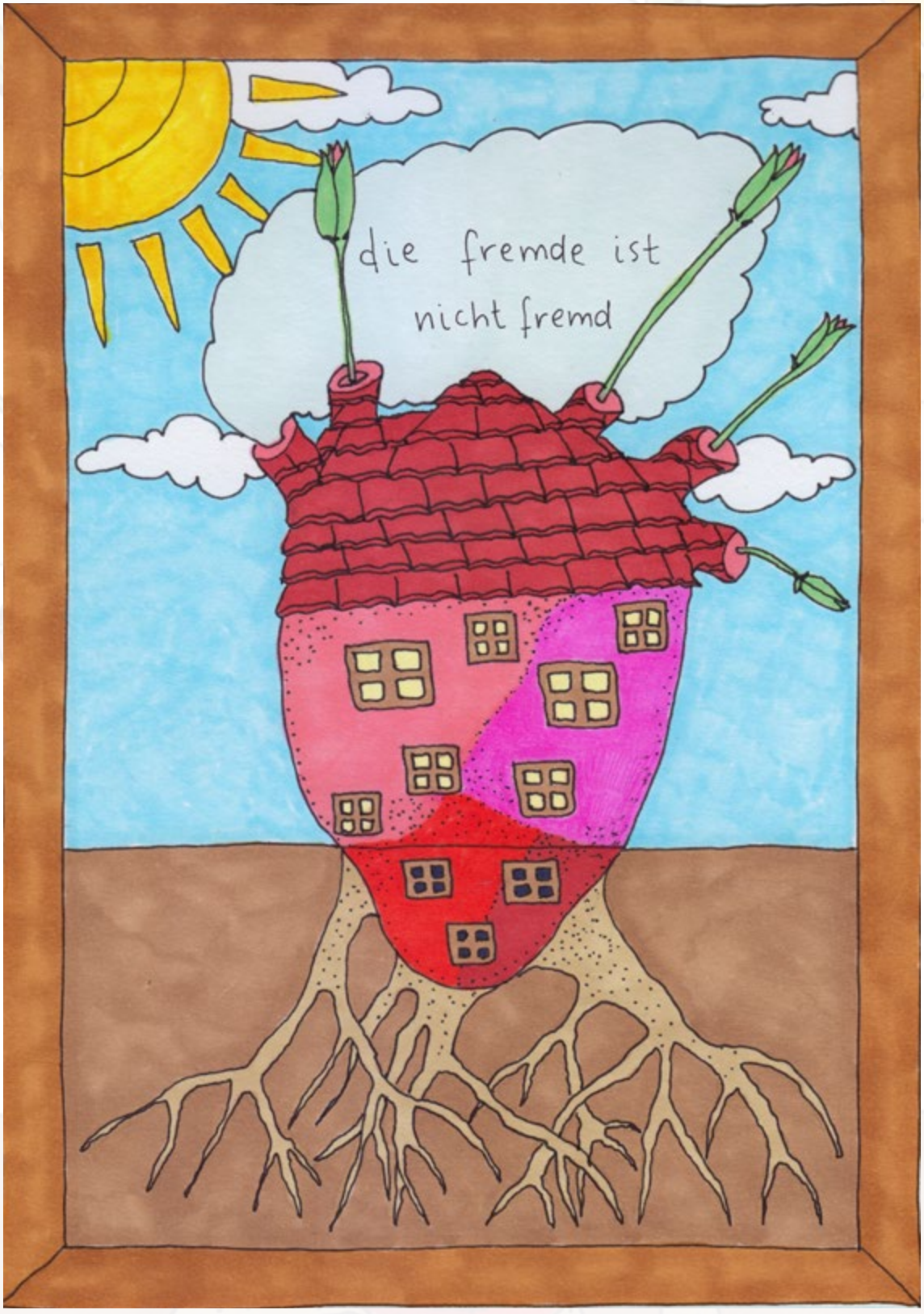

Illustration: Mercan Baş

Die Fremde ist Nich Fremd

(Gurbet Değil Artık)

A sample petition Emine wrote to the Turkish Consulate General in Berlin and Berlin Senator of the Interior:

Dear Sirs,
If my word is an excuse, forgive me my excuse,
But do take my word.
If I am registered in my father's passport, my father's destiny is my destiny
I, the one, he dragged all the way from the steppe;
All the way from -by a plane like that chatterbox of an uncle said-
That steppe when a bulldozer entered
and started to mix the soil in the late 1950s.

Time to go, exile started
Homeland was where the exile started
He called it "Alamanya".
I call it Turkey.

I was yet five years old when I came,
Since I've been here 10 years came to pass, all my siblings Berlin-born
Now where is my exile, and where is the homeland?
My father's exile is now homeland to me,
And my homeland is still the exile to my father
Please, erase me from my father's passport
Let my passport be in my pocket

Let me disclose this identity of mine to those who ask
With a bold face and without any reserve
Maybe even boasting a little
A product of this century I was born and bred in
Birth - 1963, Kayseri,
Place of residence - Berlin, Kreuzberg.
Emine

Aras Ören – Gurbet Değil Artık – 1980.

Yearning, When Longing Calls the Senses

And sometimes I promise myself,
I got reprimanded when my words are not understood,
And my Turkish has many accents,
Nevertheless, sprouting on solid roots.

That's why I stand at several places.
Between root and being,
Amid all the traditions,
Uniting my identities.

No compulsion to choose.
Yearning is always at my side,
And always stunning
For it means longing.

There is a place I'm always seeking for.
A scent unforgettable to me.
A song that connects me to something.
A flavor I like to taste.

A familiar sensation.
No space left for me.
And my roots know no borders.
But the yearning is Turkey.

Aylin Çelik - 2020

INTRODUCTION

Official migration mobility from Turkey to Germany started with the signing of the "Turkish Labor Agreement" on 31 October 1961. This first migration route has branched out in the sixty long years. The migration has taken on new forms leading to the formation of a large immigrant community that now reaches millions. The sixtieth year of migration gained a unique meaning both because of the ending of the sixteen-year Merkel era in Germany, the rising debates on integration after the new German citizenship law that came into effect in 2000, and the ongoing lawsuit regarding the NSU (National Socialist Underground) murders in the same period and under the shadow of the tension between Germany and Turkey because of events such as 2011 Syrian Civil War, 2013 Gezi and 2015 "Refugee Crisis."

Der Spiegel started this special year with an issue in which Özlem Türeci and Uğur Şahin are referred to as "saviors". In the elections held in Germany on September 26, 2021, eighteen members of parliament of Turkish origin elected from different parties entered the parliament and Cem Özdemir became the first Turkish origin minister of Germany. Journalist Maximilian Popp wrote an article in Turkish called "Teşekkürler!" (Thanks) for Der Spiegel. A wide range of events was held at the local and state levels in numerous German cities. While some of the activities were carried out by new generations born and raised in Germany and active in various cultural fields, another part was based on remembering forgotten documentation on the history of migration. For instance, photographs from Henning Christoph's1 long-term visit to immigrants in the Ruhr Region in 1977 and Ergun Çağatay's2 three-week trip to Germany in 1990 were coming to light for the first time as an exhibition. The things written in the notebook in Çağatay's exhibition made one feel the emotional weight of the sixtieth year:

"I humbly commemorate those who came to Germany to work in grim conditions. Their only aim was to take care of their families. Or they sacrificed themselves because they had different ideas. Now we live comfortably thanks to them. It was a rude awakening seeing them. Thank you."

The activities relating to the sixtieth anniversary of migration were not limited to Germany alone. Instead of the protocol activities of the previous years, the phenomenon of migration gained significant and positive visibility for the first time in Turkey, thanks to the events titled "The Sixtieth Anniversary of Labor Migration to Germany" organized by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality between 1-3 November 2021. According to the report "Turkish Diaspora in Europe: Integration, Migration, and Politics" published by the American Center for Progress at the end of 2020, Ekrem İmamoğlu, the most popular Turkish politician among the youth originating from Turkey in Europe, said in his speech that one of his uncles went to work in Germany and that this experience played a central role in the decisions of his family later. Çağatay's exhibition, which opened in the Ruhr Museum, also toured Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara supported by the Goethe Institute.

For this reason, we, as the Migration Research Association, decided to prepare an assessment focusing on the question of how we should think about this exceptional migration process between Germany and Turkey after a tumultuous decade for the whole world. In this scope, we asked ten questions to twenty people coming from different walks of life who have been a part of this history. The transcript of the interviews held in October and November produced a 127-page document amounting to 50 thousand words. Due to the page limit, we set for this study we decided to write the report as a review that would convey the framework drawn by what was said, rather than based on quotations. We would like to thank all the contributors who supported our study by sharing their opinions and experiences with us.

[1] Ruhr Museum: "Mustafa's Dream: Photographs by Henning Christoph on Turkish Life in Germany 1977-1981."
[2] Ruhr Museum: "We're from Here: Turkish-German Life in 1990."

A MIGRATION STORY: UNDERSTANDING AND MAKING SENSE OF IN-BETWEENNESS…

In this 60-year long adventure, gurbet, which means being apart and distant, being in a foreign land, foreignness, exile, has been the most significant concept in our memory. It is a concept that cracks open the door to thinking that those who stay away from home, who long for the homeland will become estranged (alienated) over time especially when one considers the word's semantic opposition to the word homeland, but its kinship with words strange *(garip)* and the West *(garp)*. On the one hand, keeping this unity of meaning in mind, when we look at the different stops in the history of migration studies and what remains of different migration experiences in the last two centuries, it can be said that migration is first and foremost an experience of in-betweenness. Immigrants ripped up from their roots came here from somewhere over there, but they still could not be fully here with all the baggage they carry with themselves. Thus, they remain "between two worlds". The migration-space that blossomed between two different social spheres separated by geographical movements, with borders drawn somehow, cannot be fully understood neither from there nor from here. Exile is a difficult place to see, standing at an angle in-between the statutes we assume to know, outside of what is taken for granted. Labor immigrants are disquieting, as they transcend and corrode our credos that establish a spatial or intellectual homeland by stitching together human societies, cultures, and geographies. It is possible to trace the historical trajectory of this disquiet about the immigrant, face overshadowed by the in-betweenness, from the assimilationist theories of the twentieth century to the multiculturalist approaches that dominated the 1980s and the integration inquiries of the post-2000s.

Then how are we to think and talk about this in-betweenness? The study of Znaniecki and Thomas titled The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, published in five thick volumes between 1918-1920, provides a significant starting point in this regard from two mutually exclusive perspectives. First of all, although the work was completed between the two world wars it was completely forgotten in the period of the global territorial regime based on national states that emerged after the second one. The similarity between the concept of super-territoriality proposed to make sense of the relations between Polish immigrants in America and Europe within the scope of this study and the transnational activities of immigrants between the nation-states and transnationalism that developed only in the late 1990s is striking. What happened that this perspective, developed at the beginning of the century to understand the experience of in-betweenness of immigrants was forgotten till the end of the century? This vital conceptual framework for in-betweenness remained in the trunk for many years due to some form of blindness, due to an intellectual problem that is based on comprehending the world through the category of the nation-state and which we can now identify as "methodological nationalism". Just like the photographs of Christoph and Çağatay…

Back to the photographs, let's look at the second central axis that the Polish Peasant study draws on the question of how to think about the immigrant experience of in-betweenness. For Znaniecki and Thomas, a central question is how Polish villagers were able to maintain their social integrity during the migration process. For them, hundreds of thousands of immigrants who came to the most developed, industrialized, and urbanized country of the time after a few months of sea voyage from rural Central Europe, offer a laboratory to understand how social integrity is built and preserved as one of the most fundamental questions of sociology. So where will the material for this study come from? Znaniecki and Thomas find that the correspondence between immigrants in America and their families left behind is an important piece of data. These human documents, formed by the accumulation of individual and private activities of

hundreds of thousands of people, seem to connect two geographies separated by a huge ocean with thick ropes. In the light of their research based on these letters, the Polish villagers living in America interpret it as the "fourth partition" of Pax Polonia, which was then divided into three partitions between Germany, Austria, and Russia. This conceptualization seems to precede today's discussions of extra-territorial nationalism or global nation-state. However, due to the dominant positivist approaches of the period, this material is found to be rather subjective and rejected as the basis of a scientific study. The Polish Peasant study was therefore heavily criticized and forgotten until the oral history method began to gain recognition in the 1980s.

It is seen that the *Polish Peasant* study, beyond its founding place in the history of migration studies, can explain why it is difficult to understand and make sense of the in-betweenness of migration-space. Undoubtedly, it requires another approach to go beyond conceptualizations based on nation-states that we take for granted to understand society, to establish a language that will not oblige immigrants to explain their own in-betweenness, to be able to hear what they say in a flow that is not interrupted by national borders. This review was not based on such an ambitious goal. But it was written with the awareness that seeing and hearing the foreign land as a place of in-betweenness has its special difficulties.

STAGES AND HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MIGRATION EXPERIENCED ON THE AXIS OF GERMANY AND TURKEY

This unique migration adventure finds its meaning not only in the sixty years we have left behind, but also in the three-hundred-year history of the Germany-Turkey axis. Migration is part of the "common fate" of Germany and Turkey, as is widely expressed at joint events. Both countries are heirs to an imperial history that was battered by the political fluctuations created by the French Revolution with claims to universality. They have gone through similar migration experiences with the geographical and economic contractions caused by being late in the industrialization process and in the colonialism it transformed. Both countries sent migrants to the new continent at the turn of this age, received immigrants from nearby geographies, entered the First World War as allies, and were defeated. Emerging from this process as nation-states were agonizing. At the end of the Second World War, they met on another plane as two countries with ethnic populations outside their borders, both trying to stand on their feet. While the start of modernization in agriculture in Turkey led to the accumulation of surplus employment, restructuring after the destruction of the war in Germany created an immense need for labor. The bilateral agreement signed in 1961 was molded by this history and brought the two countries together once again based on mutual benefit. Undoubtedly, while Germany establishes relations with countries such as Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia, and Greece to meet this need, Turkey diversifies its migration route by signing similar agreements with other Western European countries. But the Germany-Turkey axis will remain the main route for both countries.

The framework intended for immigrants going from Turkey to Germany is pretty straightforward on paper. Workers with certain qualifications will remain in Germany for two years under a contract, and they will return to Turkey at the end of the period. If the need continues, new workers will come on a rotational basis. Thus, while Germany will get the labor force it needs, Turkey will get a significant foreign exchange inflow and will gain the qualified workforce and business know-how needed for industrialization. "Workers Investment Partnerships" are established to direct the capital accumulated by workers in Germany to be invested in Turkey. The formation of co-operatives at the local level is supported. The aim is to establish industrial facilities with workers' remittances in the regions where the immigrants used to live. After the

final return, labor immigrants will start working in these new facilities. Thus, will support the balanced growth of Turkey. Later, residents of areas that experienced disasters such as floods or earthquakes were given priority in going to Germany as workers. The opening of the "gate to Germany" in a sense has turned into a tool for Turkey to fight poverty. This message can clearly be seen between the lines of the news about Europe in the newspapers of the day. Turkey is keen to send its surplus labor force abroad.

But the migration process begins to write its own history right at the beginning of this pre-defined framework. In a short time, it is understood that immigrants have the capacity to intervene with different strategies in the functioning of the laws and practices that have been enacted regarding them. People of rural origin who have no industrial work experience or people with different qualifications such as teachers or tailors follow the semi-skilled workers of the first years. Those who leave are no longer limited to the surplus labor force. The labor force that Turkey needs also starts leaving the country. Employers in Germany, on the other hand, complained about the rotation system that required workers who adapted to the order to return in a short time. The rotation practice was terminated in 1964.

On the other hand, the health exams carried out in the offices opened in Turkey to select workers who will go to Germany point to the social meaning of the migration process. Being able to go to Germany from Turkey means being selected. The biggest worry of the people coming to Istanbul from their villages to go to Germany is having to go back to their homes because of a negative health exam result. The migration process sets a threshold from this point forward. When those who can go to Germany return with material items -the symbolic signifier of this new rank- equipped with the charisma of "the man who trampled the European pavement" as chronicled in our literature, they demand that their position in their own community be renegotiated. For instance, the insistence of first-generation immigrants to later become *mukhtars* of their villages can be seen as a reflection of this renegotiation.

This is how the *"Alamancı"* (guest-worker in Germany) character, which is treated as a comedy element in popular culture but seen as a negative label by immigrants, is born. Considering Turkey's poverty in the period, going to Germany itself becomes a shortcut in terms of existing social status, with the introduction of certain consumer products such as radio-tape, car, television, chocolate, and cigarettes that are either unavailable in Turkey or inaccessible because they are prohibitively expensive. Thus, despite the limited economic crisis experienced in Europe in 1966, immigration continued and intensified into a new social cluster called labor immigrants. The period in which the departures were completely managed is soon left behind. Participation in the migration process itself becomes an industry by producing authentic intermediaries, such as arranging a false health report to circumvent the health exam, obtaining a personalized employment contract (invitation) through immigrant relatives, or traveling to Europe as a tourist and traveling through different countries until finding a job. In a sense, the attack on the European gates, where even the earth and stones were made of gold, has begun.

Until the 1970s, only the basic services that might be needed in a short visit were considered, as the return of migrant workers was expected. The common points of both countries were translation services to ensure communication with employers and supervisors, socialization in a way that does not allow the politicization of workers who are seen as mere guests, a Turkish newspaper published under control in order not to weaken ties with Turkey, and meeting the needs of worship that are still considered as individual needs. In this period, limited organizations such as "Turkish Workers' Union" or "Turkish Students' Union" emerged, which underlined the country of origin as the address, and came together mainly in events for homesickness in a foreign land or in religious and national holidays that saluted the homeland.

The debate on the ongoing migration process in the 1970s also includes the question of

whether there is still a need for a workforce. The 1973 Oil Crisis becomes a milestone towards the termination of the agreement. It is unwelcomed for this population, invited as labor force, to turn into a society when the German economic miracle (Wirtschaftswunder) comes to an end. Despite the tendency of employers to protect the gains made in this golden period, workers will meet in strike decisions by going beyond national and legal status limits and switch off "Germany's ignition". The resistance known as the "Turkish Strikes" started in the factories of the heavyweights of the automotive industry such as Ford in Cologne and Opel in Bochum and spread to other sectors in short order. Women workers, partners in this adventure with their labor since the beginning of the migration process, also take their place in this wave of workers' movement, rising from their own sectors with the demand of "One more Mark, equal pay for equal work".

The decision to halt the recruitment of foreign workers *(Anwerbestopp)* taken on 23 November 1973 has a bilateral effect in terms of the migration process. First of all, the expectation that migration will lead to an improvement in social and class status in a short time has become widespread, and being able to cross the border has also gained the meaning of salvation from the then economic situation in Turkey. Consequently, the expiry of the agreement creates a group that thinks that they will not have this opportunity again to quickly become involved in this process, while those who are already in Europe extend their stay with the thought that it will not be possible to come back. The practice of boys under sixteen staying with their migrant worker fathers is another migration strategy that emerged in this process. If a new adult family member cannot come abroad, boys are called to exile on the grounds that there is no one to take care of them in Turkey as is permitted by the relevant laws. The aim is to increase the savings to be made during the migration process, which is thought to be about to expire, by increasing the number of labor immigrant members of the family. On the other hand, when the stays are longer, the "family reunion period" begins with the arrival of the spouses and then the children.

In this second period, lasting from the mid-1970s to the end of the 1980s there is great uncertainty about the future despite enrooting of the idea of permanence. This is also reflected in the geographical mobility of the families of the immigrants. For instance, the father who migrated and left his family behind bought a house in the town center close to his village or in one of the big cities with his savings and settled his family in this new house so that his children could have a better education. In a sense, the savings built in Europe, albeit limited, enabled families to participate in the internal migration in Turkey. Due to the closing of the European gates after the 1973 Oil Crisis, the spouses also start to participate in the migration process to increase the family savings and leave the children behind. In these situations, since the children cannot live alone in the big cities, they go back to the family elders living in the villages. In other cases, the children joined their families with the prolongation of their stay but once they came of school-age they were first sent to their relatives in Turkey to receive education in their mother-tongue, but then they reunited with their families at high school age as the final return was constantly delayed.

As children grow up, we encounter the first examples of marriages that take place through the extended family, which today we refer to as "transnational marriages". These marriages, which continue till this day, albeit partially, can be seen as a "rescue strategy" for the children of relatives, who can no longer legally migrate to Europe. On the other hand, it reflects an expectation of younger generations born in Europe to preserve the culture of the homeland. It would not be right to try to understand this period, which vacillated between permanent stay and return, based only on the efforts of immigrants to increase their economic gains. Mistrust about the economic and political circumstances in Turkey, Germany's insistence not to recognize rights such as citizenship and political participation, and showing the migrants the door with practices such as the return promotion passed into law in 1983 make it difficult for immigrants

to decide between staying and returning. They also deepen the uncertainty as structural causes.

Another point to be emphasized regarding this period is that external migration to Europe reinforced the internal migration process in Turkey. Immigrant capital, which tends to invest in real estate in town centers or big cities (especially in shanty-towns), cracks the door to another opportunity for relatives who have yet to leave their villages. The fact that immigrants can only be in Turkey during the annual leave creates a time barrier in terms of investments made or planned. In such cases, a suitable member of the family takes the responsibility to follow up on these businesses and is often forced to immigrate themselves. For instance, s/he keeps track of the immigrant's business in Turkey while living in a flat in the building built by the immigrant in the township free of charge. While this corresponds to a kind of administrative position in family relations, it is institutionalized as local associations in village societies. The first projects that immigrants in Europe collaborate with are the repairing of the village cemetery and the purchasing of a vehicle for the town's hospital or municipality. The social remittance aspect of financial support provided at both family and regional levels will gain strength over time as these networks get stronger. Labor immigrants will play an important role in the organization of cultural village festivals that started in Turkey in the mid-1990s to "keep the culture alive".

Another issue that needs to be emphasized to understand the wave of family reunification in this period is that migration gained an implicit meaning of asylum in terms of communities that are suppressed in the context of ethnolinguistic, or religious identity in Turkey. Since the second half of the 1970s, the sharpening of political polarization in Turkey turned into violent conflicts over political identities in big cities, but more importantly, over ethnolinguistic, or religious differences in Anatolian cities. Immigrant families rush to bring especially high school age children, whom they have left in Turkey to study, to Europe because of the anxiety caused by this situation. For instance, what happened in Maraş in 1978 was a grave break for Alevis. The uneasiness felt by others since Alevis who migrated to Europe from the rural areas acquiring property in the towns and city centers over time was used as fodder for the political polarization in this period. Hundreds of people lost their lives in planned attacks, utilizing terrifying methods such as door markings. A great migration began from the aforementioned city. Due to similar conflicts in different regions of Turkey, Alevis postponed their decision to return and brought their children in Turkey to Europe as part of family reunification, as they started to become more permanent. This tendency will become stronger for the oppressed communities after the Military Coup of 12 September 1980. A refugee wave centering around the Kurdish issue, which has shifted to the axis of armed conflict, continued both to Germany and other European countries from the mid-1980s to the end of the 1990s.

A few more points need to be underlined before focusing on the processes in which immigration became politicized during this uncertain period from the early 1970s to the late 1980s. While migration is experienced individually in its early stages, it becomes socialized with family reunions. The immigrant, male or female, shifts from one who has left their family behind to a member of a community that has started to live in the migration-space with their relatives, family, and children. This socialization will also begin to create new institutions to meet their unique needs. There are two key actors of this institutionalization, which sometimes builds its own social space in some cases a neighborhood like Kreuzberg (Berlin) or sometimes a street like Keup (Cologne): (a) social entrepreneurs who set up associations to meet myriad of societal needs, such as funerals, translations or consultancy on many issues and (b) economic entrepreneurs who establish businesses to meet the distinctive consumption needs of immigrants. Both of these groups have kernels since the beginning of the migration, but their capacity for activity expands with the socialization of migration.

For instance, the economic entrepreneur toiling like the *çerçi* (peddlers), widely known in the Anatolian countryside, brings the souvenirs to be taken to Turkey in the annual leave in

a minibus to the workers who live alone in the heims first open export shops, travel agencies carried around in bags, and then immigrant markets. This character appears in the video and music cassette industry in the 1980s, which was extremely important for the popular culture of the period. In this period, they bought the first printing rights of certain films or cassettes six months in advance and delivered the cassettes or films of some artists to the labor immigrants even before Turkey. They continued with bridal shops when videotapes lost their place due to technological advancements such as satellite broadcasting and the internet towards the end of the 1990s.

A similar transformation is also observed in social entrepreneurs. This type of social entrepreneur volunteers to arrange a place for mass Eid prayers in the 1960s, and fight for it. They fret over what young single immigrants do in this foreign land. How to hold a funeral, for instance, becomes their agenda with the socialization of migration. They strive to find the actors needed to solve this problem, arrange the space and institutionalize this service. Their village in Turkey also becomes a part of this responsibility. The female social entrepreneur deals with the problems of young women who come by way of marriage. She strives to provide access to education for children whose families have not received an education. Social entrepreneurs dedicate themselves, organize campaigns and negotiate with various actors to find solutions to problems abroad and to maintain ties with the homeland. Of course, every neighborhood in Germany will have a *mukhtar*, just like in Turkey.

On the other hand, the Military Coup of 12 September 1980 creates an important split in terms of the uncertainty about the permanent stay from the 1970s to the end of the 1980s. As mentioned above, the escalating violence in Turkey towards the end of the 1970s had begun to create a never-before-seen ground for permanence for oppressed communities such as Alevis and Kurds. On the other hand, the September 12 Coup triggered a wave of asylum seekers that became more and more socialized due to human rights violations. In the course of this new immigration wave, spanning almost two decades, new immigration routes such as England, Sweden, and Switzerland are opened, while there is intense migration to existing routes such as Germany, France, and the Netherlands. It should be emphasized that political turmoil in Turkey has created a migration axis in every period. The waves that determine the political color of migration-space have continued until today as, for instance, it was forbidden to enter the university with a headscarf per the decision announced after the meeting of the National Security Council on February 28, 1997, the “new wave” of an exodus that started after the 2013 Gezi Park Protests that still continues to this day or members of the Gülen Movement who were purged after the coup attempt on 15 July 2016 and the dissidents who were fired from their jobs with presidential decrees had to go abroad.

For a better understanding of the politicization of migration-space, we need to go back to the 1970s. The core of a distinct group that we can now refer to as “political refugees” began to form with the 12 March 1971 Memorandum, when students with political identities who were already abroad extended their stay and people began to leave Turkey for political reasons. The political polarization in Turkey was also reflected abroad throughout the 1970s. “Overseas organizations” of various political organizations and parties began to appear. After the 12 September Coup in the socialization of immigration, political refugees turned into different but important actors than the social and economic entrepreneurs mentioned above. First of all, they played a valuable role in the formation of non-governmental organizations for immigrants, such as parents and women’s associations, since the mid-1970s. While associations and commercial enterprises fulfill important functions in meeting the unique social needs of immigrants, this new group worked effectively in the visibility and solution of problems of immigrant communities arising from being immigrants. They were able to deliver pivotal support to meet the socialized refugee waves that took place after September 12 and to help those who came to establish

a new life. In the multicultural climate of the 1980s and the rights struggles against the rising racism in the 1990s, they carried out a kind of patronage of the immigrant community. They built bridges between the "host" communities and immigrants. For instance, this unique cluster of immigrants made significant contributions to get the domestic violence experienced by women who came to the country via marriage -an important problem in Germany- on the agenda, and to overcome the barriers to the access of immigrant children to education.

Immigrants had turned into passive objects of conflicts between political parties, as the presence of immigrants started to come to the fore as a problem since the early 1980s when the transition to the post-industrial period began, and Germany did not officially recognize itself as a country of immigration. The climate created by practices such as the Heidelberg Manifesto, announced to the public by fifteen German academics in 1981 and warned the German society against over-foreignization, and the return promotion, passed into law in 1983, is reflected on the walls of immigrant neighborhoods as "Turks out" slogans. In 1989, the Berlin Wall collapsed and the two Germanys were united. This historical transformation brings special difficulties for immigrants originating from Turkey. Priorities for the economic integration of East German society deepen the unemployment problem experienced in the transition to the post-industrial period for immigrants. Rising anti-immigration sentiments and racism begin to be felt in all areas of life. Thus, immigrants find themselves in a very disconcerting climate: the wall has collapsed on them. Acts of violence, resulting in death in Mölln in 1992 and Solingen in 1993, followed mass demonstrations in big cities against the Law on Foreigners, enacted in 1991. All the weight of the period can be heard in the lyrics of the album Cartel released in 1995: "How should we work, how should we do, how should we live; We are strangers and they won't forget it." Thus, by the 1990s, we are faced with a period in which the possibility of return, due to various insecurities, preserves its place in daily discourses as a soothing idea, even though permanent stay has been implicitly finalized.

As the transition to a post-industrial society is mostly complete, yesterday's workers become today's ethnic entrepreneurs. *Doner,* which took its place in Germany as an affordable fast-food culture amongst the workers in the early 1970s, reaches a huge production and consumption volume and begins to turn into a globalized sector based in Germany. On the other hand, *doner*, a rare product pointing to multiculturalism in Germany, turns into a symbol of tolerance towards immigrants. A person who consumes doner is not be expected to be anti-immigrant. In this process, the Green Movement (GP), which emerged on the political scene in the early 1980s as a third and oppositional path out of the Union of Christian Democrats (CDU) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP), started to work closely with immigrants. Again, the consequences of this new relationship became visible in the first half of the 1990s and immigrants began to participate in German politics at different levels. While these were happening in Germany, Turkey the Motherland started to inch closer to the foreign land with the widespread use of satellite technology symbolized by the satellite dishes in Kreuzberg and the granting of the right to vote to immigrants at the border gates in 1995.

At the end of this long and multi-tiered period, the year 2000 was welcomed with a new constitution that defined citizenship by land *(jus soli)* ties rather than blood (jus sanguinis). Even though this significant step did not meet the expectations of dual citizenship, it was still a vital step in terms of Germany's recognition of the phenomenon of immigration and the presence of immigrants. The AKP led by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan came into power in 2002 in Turkey, and CDU led by Angela Merkel took power in 2005 in Germany. Immigrants from Turkey, living in Europe began to be referred to as "Euro-Turks" and to be seen as a positive value in Turkey's EU membership process during this period. Fatih Akın's film "Crossing the Bridge: The Sound of Istanbul" was released in 2005. This film was a splendid salute to Istanbul, the city which Sibel, the main character of the movie "Head-On", shot in 2004, came to escape from all the

confinement of living in a foreign land. This new movie was observed as a reflection of Turkey's positive confluence with Europe. The homeland which has gained momentum economically, or rather Istanbul has become a new center of attraction for the generations who were born and raised in Europe with degrees in higher education. Hence began a novel wave of immigration to Istanbul, which was conceived as a window to the world due to the narrowness of the immigrant neighborhoods they grew up in, despite being located in big European cities such as Berlin. This "return" migration encountered very limitedly after the racist attacks in the early 1990s, was felt more with the convenience provided by the transportation and communication technologies of the period. The distinctive adjacency between Kadıköy-Kreuzberg over hip-hop music was a small-scale but significant example of the confluence via immigrants between Turkey and Europe, but especially Germany. The houses that immigrants bought in Istanbul in the 1990s with the mandate of "maybe one day we will return" started to host the third generations.

By the 2010s, this atmosphere changed rapidly. First of all, it was palpable that the era of democratic expansion was over in Turkey. At the point where the opposition could not accommodate the demands of oppressed communities such as Alevis and Kurds, the debates on the new (and said to be more democratic) constitution, which were on the agenda in 2011, faded away on its own. Migration due to the Syrian Civil War that broke out in 2011 evolved into what is known as the "refugee crisis" in 2015. Turkey's hosting of refugees from the region began to create a new tense agenda in regards to its relations with Europe. On the other hand, the government's reaction to the Gezi Park Protests in 2013 provoked great suspicion about Turkey's steps towards democratization. *Der Spiegel* featured a photograph of a young woman holding a "Don't Obey" banner on the cover of one of its issues, published while the protests were still ongoing. It was the first time *Der Spiegel* published a dossier in Turkish as well as in German. In April 2014, the three-day visit of the then-German President Joachim Gauck to Turkey was quite tense. In his speech at the Middle East Technical University, Gauck's emphasis on democracy, saying that young people should be listened to, received a great reaction from government representatives, especially then-Prime Minister Erdogan. Erdogan accused Gauck of interfering in Turkey's internal affairs by using Alevis in Germany. Gauck had attended the Nowruz celebration held at the Anatolian Alevis Cultural Center in Berlin just before he visited Turkey.

During this period, Turkey developed new policies especially regarding immigrants in Europe. As the homeland, Turkey had developed various policies regarding its citizens abroad from the beginning of the migration process. This interest was economic within the framework of foreign currency remittances in the first period, but it evolved into a security approach with the waves of asylum seekers after 12 September. The Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs (DITIB), which was established in 1984 as an overseas organization of the Directorate of Religious Affairs, morphed into a gigantic organization in the 1990s and can be seen as the most tangible example of this security approach. Nevertheless, the new approach that developed in the 2010s seems interesting in that it coincides with a period when Turkey's need for immigrant remittances decreased tremendously. Immigrants were not expected to send remittances over here but to throw their political weight over there.

It is a new political paradigm called neo-Ottomanism that sets the framework for this new tendency. The AKP elite recalls the historical corpus that they believe Turkey should have inherited from the Ottoman Empire and redesigns the country's foreign policy according to this new imagination. Immigrants abroad are also perceived as a natural part of this new corpus that goes beyond the national borders as the "Turkish diaspora". The then-prime minister Erdogan gave the first cues of this new tendency strongly during his visits to Cologne in 2008 and Düsseldorf in 2011. In these rallies held in stadiums and attended by tens of thousands of immigrants, Erdoğan introduced a new approach that can be summarized as "adapt but don't

assimilate". He was criticized by the German press for doing "aggressive diaspora politics".

Significant steps are taken to institutionalize this approach. In some cases, it even required changes in the bureaucratic structure of Turkey. For instance, Yunus Emre Institute, known as the "Turkish Goethe Institute", was established as a foundation in 2009, and the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities was established in 2010 as a public institution. The people who have actively and voluntarily worked in immigrant organizations in Germany also contributed to the formation of both institutions. These actors had a significant impact on the drafting of the law on the right of immigrants who retained their citizenship to vote in their country of residence in 2012. The "right to vote abroad", which was reflected in the debates in the parliament as early as the 1960s, is the most significant development of this period.

The first ballot box is set up abroad for the 2014 Presidential elections. However, governments of countries such as Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands, where a high number of immigrants originating from Turkey live, react to this new situation on the grounds that it causes polarization over homeland politics. Political mobilization in European countries for the elections in Turkey, activation of various migrant associations in this direction, or encouragement of the establishment of new associations, and AKP politicians holding rallies in these countries are all controversial topics. The most palpable result of this friction is the deportation of Fatma Betül Sayan Kaya, the then-Minister of Family, as she was trying to travel from Germany to the Netherlands to attend a meeting on March 11, 2017, just before the referendum in Turkey. After 2014, ballot boxes are set up four more times: 2015 June and November General Elections, 2017 Referendum, and 2018 Presidential Elections. All these processes bring along the politicization of migration-space once again and in new forms.

RETHINKING IMMIGRATION OR MIGRATION ANEW IN THE LAST YEAR OF SIXTY YEARS…

The 2000s opened the doors of a period in which implied permanence was officially accepted and legalized with new citizenship laws. The changing political power in Turkey expressing goodwill towards democratization, taking some steps in this direction, and increasingly positive expectations about Turkey's EU membership were all perceived as developments that support the acceptance of immigrants. On the other hand, this period brought about new challenges for immigrants originating from Turkey. The validation of permanence triggered a new discourse of inquiry for immigrants: adaptation. An othering language has dominated these discussions due to issues like "honor killings" such as the murder of Hatun Aynur Sürücü by her brother in Kreuzberg in 2005, or the fact that immigrants originating from Turkey still sending the remains of their relatives for burial back to the homeland. In the studies of this period, "Turks" were referred to as a community crippled by "integration deficit". The fact that Berlin politician Thilo Sarrazin targeted Muslims in two books published in 2010 and 2018 with a language that offended even people in his own political line, including Merkel, caused deep concern. On the other hand, the bomb attack in Keup Street (Köln) in 2004 was speedily seen by the German authorities as an internal showdown between the Turks and the Kurds. But the bombing was a part of the planned and bloody activities carried out by the terrorist organization, later known as NSU, between 2000 and 2009. The dark shadows of this era stretch to this day.

The sixty-year-long migration adventure can be read as a period in which immigrants originating from Turkey were isolated in Europe. With the EU membership of Spain and Greece, immigrants originating from Turkey who were removed from the category of "guest worker" in a short time, began to be called "foreigners" in the 1970s. As racism's -sprouted in the 1980s and escalated to violent attacks in the 1990s- slogan "Turks out" indicates, the label of "foreigner" became a directly ethnic identity. In Germany, immigration was a "Turkish Issue". This isolation

of immigrants originating from Turkey deepened after the collapse of the wall and the Soviet Union and the integration of the East German population into United Germany, the arrival of aussieds (those who live outside Germany but are considered German by blood), and the new waves of refugees fleeing the conflicts in the Balkans. The terrorist attack on the Twin Towers in New York on September 11, 2001, was followed by similar attacks in Madrid, Paris, and London. The category of "foreigner" gained a Muslim identity in this period as immigration began to be seen as a security problem and was joined together with the rising Islamophobia globally. After Poland became a member of the EU in 2004, Bulgaria and Romania in 2007, citizens of these countries were out of the immigrant category, all clad in the blue flag. Although immigrants originating from Turkey were now legally approved, the debates on immigration that started again with the new refugee waves due to the Syrian Civil War in 2011 and Turkey's "aggressive" diaspora policies have caused historical pains about their permanence to recur.

The positive and negative aspects, the missing aspects as well as the gains, need to be evaluated together at the end of the Sixty Year. In a short conversation I had with a father born in Duisburg in 1978, whom I met at Ergun Çağatay's photography exhibition "We're From Here: Turkish-German Life 1990" at the Ruhr Museum, I asked whether Özlem Türeci and Uğur Şahin's appearances on the cover of Der Spiegel had a positive outcome for their children. He reminded me that in another issue of the same magazine published in July 2018, the cover was Mesut Özil with the headline "Alienation: The Özil Affair and the Problem with Integration". He summarized the point we have reached at the end of a long sixty-year process, "When it comes to success, they say 'German', including us. When there is a problem, they exclude us by saying 'Turk'". Immigrants originating from Turkey still resided in an in-betweenness assigned to them.

It is not possible to see the migration from Turkey to Europe as a completed process, despite the stratification and institutionalization of the current in-betweenness. As discussed above, each turbulent period in Turkey also created its wave of migration. The "new wave" of migration, which started especially after the 2013 Gezi Park Protests, has today turned to central German cities such as Berlin, Hamburg, Cologne, or Frankfurt, as well as to a wide European geography from Athens to Amsterdam, London to Oslo. Apart from academics, politicians, and journalists who had to leave the country for political reasons, a group of highly educated, upper-middle-class professionals in sectors such as health and software, or making strides in cultural fields, migrate with their families because they cannot see a future for themselves in Turkey. These new immigrants become new guests of historical immigrant neighborhoods with a series of day-to-day problems from enrolling their children in school to finding a house or phyllo. They, too, are added to stratified political debates about immigration.

AFTER SIXTY YEARS TODAY, HERE, TOGETHER...

The over-all framework drawn by the interviewees who have experienced this process from different angles and witnessed the developments as an insider; It is said that although this unique migration mobility, which is in its 60th anniversary, experienced in the Germany-Turkey axis offers a vital opportunity for both countries, it is too late to strengthen its positive aspects because it has not been understood properly. What is undeniable is that this history of migration, which is first and foremost a mutual learning process, has an empowering effect for both countries in the shifting global context. In contrast, the issue of integration, which is discussed via immigrants, cannot be seen as a one-sided phenomenon. The fact that immigrants could build culturally autonomous spaces based on the civil organizations they have established without much support from either of the countries and maintained their existence with their language and religion-based identities actually points to adaptation. For instance, an important achievement of this long sixty-year period is the development of a capacity to monitor and

report mosque attacks at the European level or to obtain new rights based on the recognition of Alevism as an independent faith community in different countries and states. Yet, since both countries do not perceive their migration history from this perspective, and because they do not regard them as gains the steps that need to be taken vis-à-vis the new problem areas brought on by the permanent migration have always been delayed, and they are delayed today.

Neither the fact that eighteen people with a Turkish immigration background have entered the German parliament nor that immigrants in Europe have gained the right to vote in Turkey's elections mean that people with a migration background are able to participate in politics. They need channels where they can be a party to the discussions with the demands that have developed in the face of their problems that have accumulated over the years. On the other hand, immigrants originating from Turkey find themselves in an endless questioning over who they are loyal to, whom they regard as prime minister, and their attitudes and preferences in their day-to-day lives, in the shadow of political tensions in the Germany-Turkey axis to an extent unexpected from any other community.

When we look at the interviews relating to this, it is seen that there is a consensus among the participants about the most important problems faced by the younger generations today. The over-all framework of this consensus is that barriers to accessing education pose a challenge in getting high-status professions, unemployment turning into a special problem in parallel with the seclusion in the category of "immigrant" and the sharp sense of futurelessness caused by the fact that different faces of racism specifically target immigrants originating from Turkey. Young generations, whose position in Germany has historically changed from guest worker to foreigner, from there to being labeled with an ethnic identity as "Turkish" and finally to a "Muslim", and thus a religious other, today, in the face of rising racism, experience voluntary withdrawal from German public life over faith-based identities and attitudes. The emergence of the Motherland Turkey with claims of being the savior in this course of isolation deepens this withdrawal by increasing the identity-based political polarization within the immigrant community originating from Turkey.

The enrooting of a broad social acceptance of people with a migration background from Turkey is underlined as a positive development despite these difficult observations concerning the current situation. The support of those who enter politics, even in the most conservative regions, is pointed out as a positive ground for the future. The new comradery immigrants originating in Turkey and new generations born in Germany have developed in this sixty-year period, both among themselves, with other immigrants, and with the German society, is perceived as an achievement. Immigrants who have immigrated from different parts of Turkey but established neighborhoods in the same localities in Germany now answer the question of where they are from by naming these locales. Or when they meet people from the same locality during their holidays in Turkey and a spontaneous affinity develops, the emphasis is "we are now the villagers of this place".

The responses of the interviewees to the question of what should be done today are also shared in this context. First of all, it is necessary to question the biases about immigrants originating from Turkey. It should be acknowledged that the migration process that is in its sixtieth year hasn't created a monolithic immigrant society. The historical, ethnolinguistic or religious differences transferred from Turkey have been transformed in parallel with the experiences in Motherland Turkey, have evolved according to the debates in countries and even states with political views that enlivened in accord to these differences, and the learning processes experienced on the axis of gender were articulated to these differences as the generations changed.

For this reason, immigrants originating from Turkey, whose numbers are as big as a small EU country, are a diverse community with significant differences in many aspects. However, they

share several issues shaped by the historical background discussed above. It is necessary both to perceive these issues from their experiences and to develop possible policies as solutions based on these experiences. For instance, when German language skills became a requirement for citizens of the Republic of Turkey who will immigrate to Germany via marriage, or for teachers or religious officials sent from Turkey to serve in Germany, this issue turned into an arm-wrestling competition between the two countries. However, the immigrant institutions, which have been operating these services for years, responded positively to this decision by pointing to the problems they face in day-to-day life.

A women's association established in Berlin in the mid-1970s with the foresight that the need for their services would fizzle out in decades, today on the one hand offers the new wave of female immigrants from Turkey a space in which they can feel they belong, on the other hand, continues to provide vital services to Turkish-speaking immigrants from the Balkans and refugees from the Middle East and North Africa. Although generations change, the needs and problems caused by the gender axis of the newly arrived women do not change. Can't the experience accumulated in these associations, which have been institutionalized in many European countries, make the lives of millions of refugees in Turkey easier? Can't this new country that immigrants originating from Turkey built in sixty years by encountering in different neighborhoods of the in-betweenness expand to become a home to hundreds of millions of immigrants? It seems that these questions will go unanswered as long as the dominant paradigms established within the framework of the nation-state for understanding migration do not change.

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE FROM THE SIXTIETH YEAR: TRANSCENDING THE IN-BETWEENNESS

Günter Wallraff, who lived among immigrants as a worker for two years starting in 1983 under the pseudonym "Levent Ali Sinirlioğlu", published a book titled "Lowest of the Low" (1986) accounting this experience. The book is quite striking in terms of seeing how the position of immigrants in the society was built on a structural imposition based on the discrimination that immigrants were exposed to in the labor market in Germany of the period. The book causes great controversy. But Wallraff witnesses an unexpected effect of the book years later. After reading this book, generations born and raised in Germany start realizing the reasons for some of the timid attitudes of their parents that have angered them for years and can begin talking to them. I remembered this effect of the book "Lowest of the Low" when I witnessed the two exhibitions hosted by the Ruhr Museum which had built a similar bridge in the sixtieth year of immigration and had thought about how crucial but also difficult it is to be able to develop a language to speak of, to overcome or to transcend the in-betweenness.

In line with this thought, the last question we asked the interviewees was what kind of photograph they would like to see in the centennial of the migration. The basic framework agreed on this issue was the dream of a world where they can contribute to the construction of common living ground all the while preserving cultural diversity. A world in which mother-tongue and the allegiances in their own histories in reference to Turkey preserved but on the other hand, where they can stand against the rising racism in the world, not only for themselves but for the peace of all societies, by relying on what has been learned over generations from the migration experience in Germany. At this point, we would like to leave the last word to some answers to this question, which we will quote anonymously from the interviews:

"In its centennial year, the phenomenon of immigration will be discussed with the question of 'Did we succeed?'. If we can live together on this planet without borders, without classes, with the conditions we want, then we have succeeded. Otherwise, everything will be just 'oh, well, better of two evils.'

“In short, I want a society in which our children and grandchildren don’t suffer any injustice or inequality by those using us as an excuse, that is, by using their past as an excuse, and where all people are equal. Of course, what we want from our children and grandchildren is that they participate actively in the social race that exists in every society, and strive to be successful.”

“Whenever – I say this in quotation marks again –white coats make a discovery or prove something, we say, ‘Look, how good the immigrants are, immigrants are not lazy people as you might think’. This is not sustainable at all. This is unjust towards immigrants. These are all valuable and worthy, of course. But nineteen-year-old Ayşe Kırat’s pursuit of her father’s profession and becoming the youngest train operator in the Netherlands is a success in itself if you ask me. If we define immigrants only based on the success of professionals, this will always tire us, it will not be sustainable and will collapse after a while.”

“Our differences will erode to a great extent; German society will also change to some extent. Turkish society will give up many things. The things that we think make us ‘Turks’ today will fade... Because no one wants to suffer intentionally. Nobody will say, ‘I am myself, no matter what happens, I will remain myself’. It goes against the fundamental will to exist, the will to survive. So, our differences, our colors will fade, and German society will become slightly more colorful.”

“In the fourth generation, there will be people who stand out in society among those with an immigrant background. There will be very successful people in certain fields: Uğur Şahin and Özlem Türeci are examples of this type of profile. There will be success stories like this in other fields as well -in politics, media, etc. We’re going to hear these kinds of stories more often because being bicultural, tricultural is an engine at this point. It allows you to travel with a faster engine. This will become more evident in the fourth and the fifth generation.”

“I dream of a colorful Germany where people originating from Turkey can also feel like they belong here, say ‘I am from here’, and feel safe here. Likewise, I want those people to be able to express themselves in every profession and every branch. A future in which fears will dwindle...”

“In truth, this is what I want most: I would like someone to thank me in this country even if I don’t invent a vaccine. After all, God bless them. There is our friend who built a billion-dollar company, our two scientists who invented a vaccine… But if we understand a minority only through success stories, in short, if it becomes a condition to the right to live in a society, it will tire us all… Let’s all do our best. Yet, I don’t want to argue that here we add color to life and that we enrich this life anymore. When someone gives me the right to live here, I want them to say ‘I’m glad you’re here’ rather than saying ‘but they have a contributed’. No strings attached. This I believe: so glad to be here. This society will say so in ten, twenty years. I dream of a majority society that does its internal reflection by saying ‘So glad you were here. You didn’t mind us. You didn’t take the things we said seriously. The hostile attitude we have developed against you was so wrong.’ Could also be my fantasies.

“I thought we solved this problem in 2010. Relations with Turkey were so good. German friends were coming and saying, ‘Let’s organize a trip to Istanbul’. We took a few groups like that to Turkey. Then suddenly the atmosphere turned upside down. Now, when I say I am going to Turkey, some say “really?”. We are in such a process now. It is difficult to say such things about the centennial from today, maybe even impossible. It’s hard to predict anything in this turmoil. The fact that new generations have grown up with immigrants in Germany, and the shifting of Germany’s immigration policy towards integration in the 2000s were significant in this respect. Before 2000, the discourse was ‘they are guests’. After 2000, the question of ‘they are permanent, but how much did they adapt’ arose. This led to a paradigm shift… In this context, my expectation from the Centenary is a democratic Germany where differences live together, just like Canada and America.”

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* Biographies of the participants are listed according to their first names.

Ahmet İyidirli

Berlin. In 1975, İyidirli came to Germany, where he worked as a member and director of the organizations Social Democratic Party of Germany (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands - SPD) and the Federation of Social Democratic People's Associations (Föderation der Volksvereine Türkische Sozialdemokraten in Europa). He currently serves as HDF Honorary President and SPD Kreuzberg Vice President.

Ali Eliş

Bremen. After working as a social services manager for thirty-six years in Germany, where he came as a student in 1973, Eliş retired. He currently heads the Bremen Center for Migrants and Intercultural Studies (Zentrum für Migranten und Interkulturelle Studien – ZIS).

Ayhan Kaya

Istanbul. Continuing his studies at the Department of International Relations at Istanbul Bilgi University, Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya is the founding director of the European Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University and the Jean Monnet Center of Excellence. His doctoral thesis on immigrant hip-hop culture in Germany was published in 2001 with the title "Sicher in Kreuzberg: Constructing Diasporas: Turkish Hip-Hop Youth in Berlin".

Cemal Bozoğlu

Augsburg. Bozoğlu was born in Istanbul. He has been in politics in the Alliance 90/The Greens since 1982. He has been a member of the Bavarian State Parliament (Bayerischen Landtages) since the state election in October 2018. He was also an honorary judge at the Augsburg Administrative Court (Verwaltungsgericht Augsburg) and the founding chairman of the local Alevi Cultural Center in Augsburg until 2018.

Düzgün Polat

Augsburg. He has been working as a diversity trainer since 2016 in the Augsburg-based integration project "Tür an Tür", which aims to live together. In the past, Polat took part in the organization of cultural and artistic activities such as theaters, concerts, festivals, which aimed to foster intercultural interaction.

Elif Zehra Kandemir

Cologne. Having completed her Bachelor of Sociology and Political Science at the University of Münster, Elif Zehra Kandemir continues her master's degree in Sociology at the University of Duisburg-Essen. At the same time, she is the editor of Perspective magazine published in Germany.

Gökçe Yurdakul

Berlin. Yurdakul is Professor of Sociology at the Institute of Social Sciences at Humboldt University. She has graduated from Boğaziçi University, Department of Sociology, and got her master's degree at Gender and Women's Studies from Middle East Technical University. She has published prominent books from her doctoral thesis titled "Mobilizing Kreuzberg: Political Representation, Immigrant Incorporation and Turkish Associations in Berlin", which she completed in 2006, and her subsequent research. She is currently conducting project research on the discrimination in German schools for the children of Turkish and Kurdish immigrants in Germany, and this research is financially supported by the German Center for Immigration and Integration.

Gökhan Duman

Ankara. Duman is the founder of DiasporaTürk, a civil and voluntary platform that carries out cultural and artistic studies on migration and immigration experiences. Duman's "Göçüp Kalanlar ", which includes photographs reflecting the first years of Turkish worker families living in Europe through the eyes of international photographers was published in 2016 and "11. Peron", which tells the stories of migration over half a century was published in 2018.

Hatice Turan

Bremen. In 1979, Turan moved to Bremen with her family. After completing her education in the Painting Department of the Faculty of Fine Arts, she worked in different social areas. Currently, she is in charge of the Virtual Migrants Museum at the Center for Migrants and Intercultural Studies (Zentrum für Migranten und Interkulturelle Studien – ZIS) in Bremen.

İsmail Kaplan

Hamburg. Kaplan came to Germany in the late 1970s to study for his doctorate. He worked as a Türk Danış in Rosenheim and Herten, then graduated from a second college in Bochum with good grades and became a social pedagogue in 1986. He took part in the Hamburg Alevi Culture Group, which organized the Alevi Culture Week on October 4-10, 1989. He took part in the management of the Hamburg Alevi Cultural Center and the Alevi Unions Federation. He published the book "Das Alevitentum", "Synopse - Alevism and Sunnism Comparison" and "MUREST Handbuch - Interfaith Dialogue Handbook". In 2009, he published the book "Alevice – Our Faith and Our Stances" in Turkish.

Mehmet Köse

Ankara. Köse was born in Berlin. He graduated from Istanbul University, Faculty of Political Sciences. After his work for citizens living abroad, he took part in the preparation of the founding law of the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) in 2009. Köse also served as YTB President until 2019.

Metin Ağaçgözgü

Berlin. Ağaçgözgü entered the Marmara University Faculty of Education and then left this department. Ağaçgözgü, who was a political prisoner between 1982 and 1984, came to Germany in 1989. He has been working as a bookstore operator in Berlin since 1994.

Mustafa Yeneroğlu

Ankara. Yeneroğlu settled in Cologne, Germany with his family in 1976. He graduated from the Faculty of Law at the University of Cologne. Since 1987, he has actively participated in civil society activities abroad. He served as a member of the Advisory Board of the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) and the founding chairman of the Association for Combating Discrimination and Racism (FAIR). Yeneroğlu directed Perspective and Sabah Ülkesi magazines. He served as the general secretary of the Islamic Community Milli Görüş (Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüş - IGMG). He stepped into politics as Justice and Development Party Istanbul Deputy in the 2015 Parliamentary General Elections. He served as the Chairman of the Board of the Migration Research Foundation between 2015-2017. After joining the DEVA Party, which was founded on March 9, 2020, as a founding member, he is still the President of the Party's Law and Justice Policies. Yeneroğlu is married and has three children.

Oğuz Üçüncü

Hamm. Üçüncü was born in Germany. After completing his primary, secondary and high school education in Hamm, he graduated from Dortmund High School as a Mechanical Engineer. He worked at various levels in the Islamic Community Millî Görüş (Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüş - IGMG) from a young age and served as the General Secretary of the institution between 2002-2014.

Saniye Açıkel

Berlin. Açıkel settled in Germany in 1981. After her university education, she received the title of Pedagogue and Systemic Family Therapist. She is currently working as a manager, education and family counselor in a family center.

Selami İnce

Ankara. After coming to Ankara for his higher education, İnce immigrated to Germany in 1994. He studied Social Services at Hacettepe University and Social Pedagogy and Social Work in Hannover. He graduated from Istanbul University, Institute of Social Sciences, Radio, Television and Cinema doctorate program. He worked as a reporter, editor and programmer in various newspapers, magazines and televisions in Germany and Turkey. After returning to Turkey, he held various administrative positions in the public sector and still works as a press and public relations manager in a public institution in Ankara.

Şemsi Bilgi

Berlin. In 1978 Bilgi moved to her family in Kreuzberg. After completing middle school and high school in Berlin, she graduated from the Technical University of Berlin (Technische Universität Berlin) and became a computer engineer. She still continues to work as a computer engineer. She is a volunteer of the Berlin Turkish Women's Union (Türkischer Frauenverein Berlin) since the 1980s.

Yekta Arman

Arman settled in Berlin in 1971. After completing the Department of Business Administration at the Technical University of Berlin (Technische Universität Berlin), he studied acting at the Berlin School of Fine Arts (Hochschule der Künste). He was among the founders of the Berlin Actors and the Berlin Turkish Assembly within the Berlin Schaubühne, and the TİYATROM, the first established professional Turkish theater in Germany in 1984. He took part in TV series such as "Lindenstrasse", "Tatort", "Liebling Kreuzberg" broadcasted on German television, and played in the movie "Polizei" with Kemal Sunal.

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GÖÇ
ARAŞTIRMALARI
DERNEĞİ

A Review on the Sixtieth Year of Labor Migration between Germany and Turkey:

“So glad we are here!”

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HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG
ISTANBUL