



## From Home country to Home country?

### The Emigration of Highly Qualified German Citizens of Turkish Descent to Turkey

The fall of 2011 was marked by the 50th anniversary of the agreement on the recruitment of Turkish workers (*Gastarbeiter* or “guest workers”) by the Federal Republic of Germany. The study focused in this connection on the migratory movements from Turkey to Germany which began with the signing of the recruitment agreement on October 30, 1961 and continued even after the recruitment stop in 1973. Considerably less attention has been paid, on the other hand, to the migration which has taken place in the opposite direction. Currently, more people are in fact migrating from Germany to Turkey than the other way around. In 2010 the Federal Republic recorded a negative migration balance vis-à-vis Turkey of 5,862 individuals. A total influx of 30,171 people from Turkey into Germany contrasted with a total of 36,033 people emigrating to Turkey.<sup>1</sup> This trend has been evident since 2006, when for the first time since 1985 a negative German migration balance (of 1,780 individuals) vis-à-vis Turkey was recorded. Since then, the migration loss has increased. At the same time, this involves not only Turkish citizens who are turning their back on Germany. The percentage of German citizens taking part in this emigration to Turkey has also increased in recent years. From the migration statistics it is not clear, however, whether we are dealing with autochthonous Germans or with naturalized German citizens.<sup>2</sup>

Increasing attention has been paid recently to emigration from Germany to Turkey, particularly as it involves the phenomenon of highly qualified<sup>3</sup> people of the second generation of Turkish immigrants in Germany emigrating to Turkey. The present policy brief, which, above all, inquires into the motives behind this emigration of highly qualified people of Turkish descent, addresses this issue. Following an introduction to the topic, the policy brief focuses on the economic and emotional motives for such emigration. Afterwards, the basic conditions underlying this immigration and the integration of the immigrants in Turkey are examined. Finally, aspects of identification and instances of (ethnic) self-attribution of people of Turkish descent are discussed and the issue of whether the phenomenon of second-generation Turkish immigrants migrating from Germany to Turkey ought to be subsumed under the category “emigration” or “return migration” is addressed.

#### Context

The issue of highly qualified people of Turkish descent emigrating from Germany has until now mainly been the subject of media discussions, and especially the negative repercussions of this emigration on the German economy under the heading brain drain – against the backdrop of demographic transformation and the imminent or already existing lack of skilled workers in some employment sectors – have been at issue. The use of the phrase “exodus of model migrants”<sup>4</sup> is a reflection of the fundamental issue that seems to be at stake in the emigration of highly qualified people of Turkish origin: Why are precisely those people leaving Germany whose integration into German (majority) society has succeeded? At the same time, the concept “exodus” suggests that this current mobility is in fact a mass phenomenon.<sup>5</sup> The scale of the emigration of highly qualified people of Turkish origin from Germany has, however, up to now not been clearly captured. In the first place, there is a lack of clarity as to how many university graduates of Turkish descent there are in Germany.<sup>6</sup> In the second place, emigration from the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany is recorded by a cancellation of a person’s registration with the local residents’ registration office, without note being taken of that person’s level of qualifications. In addition, the move abroad is often not properly reported, which means that it does not even turn up in the migration statistics. Thus, while the actual number of highly qualified emigrants of Turkish descent remains unclear, there are indications of a high general level of willingness to emigrate among academics of Turkish descent. The study on Turkish Academics and University Students in Germany (abbreviated as: T ASD study), published by the Krefeld “Futureorg” Institute in 2008–2009 under the direction of Sezer/Dağlar, has concluded that among 36 percent of the approximately 250 academics and students of Turkish origin surveyed in a quantitative online study there exists a willingness on a short, medium or long-term basis to emigrate to Turkey – which in this case is usually the home country of their parents, since they themselves were born and raised in Germany. It was the publication of this finding which gave decisive impetus to the discussion concerning the migration of highly qualified people of Turkish descent.<sup>7</sup> Recently, the Liljeberg Institute and the Independent Opinion Research In-

stitute INFO Co. came to similar conclusions concerning the willingness to emigrate in a “Representative Study of the Integration Behavior of Turks in Germany.” In a telephone survey conducted in early 2011, a total of 1,003 people (674 of whom were not German citizens and 329 of whom were German citizens) were interviewed. In response to the question “Are you planning or intending to return to Turkey?,” 4 percent answered “yes, in the next two years,” 12 percent answered “yes, in the next ten years,” and 30 percent answered “yes, but only later.” Altogether the willingness to emigrate of the surveyed group stands at 46 percent. At the same time, however, there is a clear difference between those interviewees who are not German nationals and those who are. Thus, 48 percent of the study’s participants who are not of German citizenship reported planning to emigrate or “return” – to use the vocabulary used in the question – to Turkey. In the group consisting of people of German citizenship, the figure was, by contrast, only 39 percent.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, the findings of the study provide no information as to the specific willingness to emigrate within the group of academics of Turkish origin. It should also be noted that a basic willingness to emigrate in no way inevitably results in the individual in question actually emigrating from Germany. Survey studies of this type have in the past repeatedly ascertained a high level of willingness to emigrate. By contrast, the scale of actual migration lagged very clearly behind. A good example of the fact that plans to return are often not translated into action or are postponed to older ages is provided by the first generation of Turkish immigrants. Many “guest workers” intended to stay only temporarily in Germany and to return to their home country a few years later. The temporary stay, however, ended up becoming a permanent relocation of the center of one’s life to Germany.

## Motives

In the study conducted by the Liljeberg and the INFO institutes, no explicit questions were asked concerning the participants’ reasons for planning a return to Turkey. The interviewees were simply asked to indicate their opinion of the following statement: “In Turkey I would have good possibilities for obtaining a well-paid job.” The findings of the study, which are broken down according to level of education/level of training, show that especially those individuals who have at least completed the university entrance qualification or *Abitur* or have obtained a university degree agree with this statement. Fifty-two percent of those in this group answered yes to this statement and thus see good professional opportunities for themselves in Turkey.<sup>9</sup>

This result according to which people of Turkish descent with higher education qualifications show a more marked willingness to relocate than less(er) qualified people correlates with data from studies on the general link between education and mobility behavior. According to this, people with an academic degree are more mobile than the comparison group of those who lack a university degree.<sup>10</sup> With respect to emigrating German citizens, Sauer/Ette have shown that they represent a positively selected group: 49 percent have a uni-

versity degree as compared with 29 percent in the non-mobile German population.<sup>11</sup> The migration behavior of people of Turkish origin in Germany thus matches in its trend that of people without an immigrant background and does not, as a result, stand out at first sight, particularly since cross-border mobility is already a part of their family history and hence also of their own biography. The question therefore arises as to the motives for leaving Germany and the choice of Turkey as a migration destination. While the Liljeberg/INFO study only examines the reasons for emigration indirectly and, in doing so, mainly addresses the aspect of a well-paid job in Turkey, the T ASD study emphasizes especially those factors in the country of origin, Germany, which encourage emigration.

As reasons for emigration the T ASD study mainly emphasizes “the lack of a sense of home in Germany,” “professional reasons,” and “economic reasons.”<sup>12</sup> Subsumed under the last two reasons are, among others, assumptions of the interviewees concerning better career prospects and better prospects for rapid promotion in Turkey. According to the authors, the results of the study thus raise the question of the discrimination of people of Turkish descent in the German labor market. This idea takes up the issues posed by studies on the discrimination of job seekers of Turkish origin in Germany. Kaas/Manger (2010) found that applicants with Turkish-sounding names, despite having German as their mother tongue and despite their being German citizens, had poorer chances of being invited to job interviews than those with German names. Studies by the OECD (2007/2010) reached the conclusion that academics from immigrant families in Germany are more often affected by unemployment than academics without an immigrant history. These findings were explained by reference to ethnic discrimination in the labor market. The actual scale of this discrimination can, however, only be gauged with difficulty, since it is veiled by significant structural disadvantages experienced by the second generation of immigrants because of their lower levels of education, which result in limited access to the labor market.<sup>13</sup> Overall low rates of employment and hence limited access to the labor market can be seen especially among women of Turkish origin.<sup>14</sup> It is fair to assume that (Turkish) women immigrants are exposed to double discrimination, since they are disadvantaged in the labor market both because of their origins (ethnic discrimination) and because of their gender. This could also explain the findings of the T ASD study, according to which the women interviewees indicated a greater willingness to emigrate than male participants in the study.<sup>15</sup> In addition, graduates of Turkish descent, who usually come from working-class families – that is, non-academic backgrounds – do not have access to networks enabling them to enter into academic employment sectors, which can be seen as an additional reason for their discrimination in the German labor market.

Findings of Sievers et al. indicate that the performance levels achieved by people of Turkish origin in Germany striving to climb the educational ladder do not always receive due recognition. The authors suggest that a lack of recognition of both the person as such and of their achievements may account for their emigration from Germany.<sup>16</sup> By recognition

they understand the “experience of belonging and respect.”<sup>17</sup> According to Honneth’s and Stojanov’s argumentation, such recognition is “essential for a person’s social existence and their integration into society.”<sup>18</sup> This insight is also reflected in demands for a “culture of recognition” or for a “welcoming culture” that is inherent to, for example, concepts of the “intercultural opening” (of administrative bodies, etc.) – a currently much discussed concept in Germany to better integrate people of foreign descent into the labor market.

### Economic Reasons for Emigrating

Findings from qualitative studies by Aydın/Pusch (not yet concluded) and Hanewinkel (2010, unpublished) on the emigration of highly qualified people of Turkish origin do not confirm the TASD study’s statement according to which unfavorable occupational prospects in Germany constitute a critical factor behind the interviewees’ decision to emigrate. Rather, the majority of the interviewees were well integrated into the German labor market before their emigration to Turkey. Nonetheless, professional as well as economic (career) considerations did play an important role in the decision to emigrate. This is especially emphasized by Aydın/Pusch. Among the economic reasons for emigrating are aspects such as the improved prospects for promotion in the target country, a more attractive job, or an improvement in the person’s financial situation. Theoretically, these reasons for emigrating are taken up above all in the neo-classical push-pull models of migration. The focus of this approach is on a profit-maximizing individual (homo oeconomicus) who, making use of rational points of view and weighing the economic pros and cons of two countries, decides in favor of emigration, provided that this promises an improvement in the individual’s own financial situation. These models have been criticized in that they fail to take into account individual (emotional) motives for emigrating as well the impact of social networks (family, relatives, friends and acquaintances, etc.) on the decision to emigrate.

In the case of highly qualified individuals of Turkish origin, it can be seen that geographic mobility not infrequently is aimed at professional and social advancement.<sup>19</sup> The increasing presence of German companies in Turkey enables emigration through job placement in the in-house labor market. Academics of Turkish descent are wanted for key positions in the Turkish branches of these firms because of their socialization in Turkish and German society as well as because of their knowledge of both languages.

The continued high level of economic growth in Turkey in recent years also appears attractive. Following an economic downturn during the economic crisis of 2008–2009, the country quickly recovered. In 2010 already, the Turkish economy again experienced significant growth amounting to 8.9 percent. The upward trend continued. In the first six months of 2011, the Turkish economy with an average increase of 10.2 percent achieved the highest rate of growth worldwide,<sup>20</sup> resulting in Turkey being called a “new China.”<sup>21</sup> By contrast, the German economy showed substantially less dynamics. In 2011 it recorded growth amounting to a relatively low 2.6 percent.<sup>22</sup>

Western Turkey in particular is the big winner in the country’s economic development. In this way, a substantial structural divide has developed between the economically booming western part of Turkey and the agricultural east of Turkey. The search for improved living and working conditions draws large segments of the rural population into the cities. For years now, Istanbul in particular has been one of the principal regions of destination for these rural-urban migrations.

Western Turkey is also the main destination of highly qualified people of Turkish origin emigrating from Germany. The majority end up in cities such as Izmir or Istanbul, which are considered modern, cosmopolitan, and progressive and promise Western lifestyles and the prospect of a European standard of living. Female emigrants in particular prefer these destinations.<sup>23</sup> Highly qualified women of Turkish descent, as Hanewinkel (2010) has found out, also hope, by relocating the center of their lives to Turkey, to obtain better opportunities for advancement, since more female staff can be found in management positions in Turkey than in Germany.

*“So I was absolutely sure that with the qualifications I have I would go further in Turkey than in Germany. Here there are more women at the top than in Germany. I don’t know if everyone knows this but it is really a very important reason for me...something one simply has to take into account.”<sup>24</sup>*

This judgment confirms the findings of a study from 2010 done by the international business consulting firm Hay Group. According to this, in Germany there are fewer women represented both in lower (percentage of women: approx. 20 percent) and in top management positions (percentage of women: approx. 7 percent) than in Turkey (lower management positions: approx. 30 percent; top management positions: approx. 12 percent).<sup>25</sup> The opportunities for women are especially good in the Turkish banking sector: at the middle management level, 75 percent of the positions are held by women.<sup>26</sup> These figures stand in marked contrast to the general rate of employment among women in Turkey, which at a mere 24 percent in the OECD comparison (approx. 58 percent) is extremely low.<sup>27</sup>

Qualifications acquired in Germany are given due recognition in Turkey. Highly qualified interviewees of Turkish origin in Istanbul indicated that a degree obtained at a German university is highly regarded in Turkey. In the same way, they profited from their knowledge of foreign languages acquired there and from their work experiences in a German or international firm.<sup>28</sup>

Whereas Sievers et al., Aydın/Pusch as well as the TASD study for their part stress the importance of economic reasons in the decision to emigrate, the findings of Hanewinkel (2010) concerning female emigrants of Turkish origin point to the fact that these reasons play a somewhat subordinate role in the decision to emigrate. Her interviewees indicated that they had come to Turkey primarily for emotional reasons (see below). The desire to try out for once what it feels like to live

in Turkey becomes an essential part of one's own ideas of self-actualization:

*“Turkey was ALWAYS in the background, in other words, that at some point I want to return, or just want to try out if it works. In other words, not because I absolutely want to return to Turkey but rather because I asked myself whether I would feel comfortable in Istanbul. [...] But like I said, for many years I always had it at the back of my mind, that is, like a kind of back door which I always held open for myself.”<sup>29</sup>*

This wish can only be realized and translated into action, however, under the condition that one is occupationally integrated into the Turkish labor market. Internships during one's studies – often completed in the Turkish branch of a German firm – introduce the individual to the Turkish labor market. The field of study chosen is in the case of some interviewees directly aimed at the (presumed) needs of the Turkish economy.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, while the reason for emigrating may be an emotional one, the translation of the migration project into action often takes an economic form. At the same time, it should be noted that decisions to emigrate are usually not taken for a single reason alone but rather that different motives accumulate, which contributes to making the study of migration decisions complex.

Although financial factors may play an entirely subordinate role *before* emigration and do not necessarily tip the scales in favor of the decision to emigrate, they take on increasing significance *after* emigration according to Hanewinkel's findings, since the interviewees do not wish to forego the living standard they are accustomed to in Germany. In the short term and directly related to the change in country of residence, financial losses are indeed accepted. In the long term, however, all interviewees aspire to a living standard similar to or higher than that they had in Germany. This can only succeed when the emigrants successfully position themselves in the Turkish labor market and find employment appropriate to the qualifications they acquired in Germany, with corresponding levels of compensation. Especially in cities such as Istanbul in which, according to surveys, currently the cost of living in part exceeds that in big German cities,<sup>31</sup> the consequence is that the accumulation of financial resources also has a decisive impact on the length of stay in Turkey. The findings of Hanewinkel (2010) suggest that a return to Germany or the move to another country then becomes likely when definite long-lasting losses in the living standard emerge. On the whole then, emigration to Turkey can be interpreted as an open-ended process.

### Emotional Reasons for Emigrating

Among the non-financial reasons for emigrating are varied aspects of personal “plans for self-actualization,” which cannot be discussed here in detail. As a result, only a few points of emphasis can be indicated here, which are intended to

show the range of these motives. The impulse behind the emigration of highly qualified people of Turkish descent is often provided by relationships with family and relatives (networks) in Turkey, which have been cultivated since childhood through family vacations in Turkey. In this way, the feeling also evolves that one is already familiar with life in Turkey. This is also strengthened in part through study visits to Turkey (semester abroad). With this, findings of more recent migration research are confirmed according to which networks, that is, social contacts in the target country as well as previous experiences abroad, for example in the form of study visits, further the decision to emigrate.<sup>32</sup>

The feeling of already being familiar with life in Turkey also evolves because of the fact that many emigrants do not consider Turkey to be a foreign country but instead feel as at home in Turkey as in Germany. In contrast to the T ASD study, which singles out the “lack of a sense of home in Germany” as one of the main reasons for emigrating, the studies of Aydın/Pusch, Hanewinkel, and Sievers et al. point to a double orientation of highly qualified emigrants of Turkish origin. According to them, the interviewees do not regard *either* Germany *or* Turkey as their home country but instead consider both countries to be such. Through social networks and the media but also through physical movement itself (vacations, study visits, etc.), relationships are cultivated in both countries. Their connection with Turkey is also reinforced through their parents, who in many cases came to Germany as “guest workers.” The majority of the female emigrants of Turkish descent interviewed by Hanewinkel report being marked in their childhood and youth by the desire of their parents to return to Turkey. According to them, this desire became noticeable because the family symbolically always lived “on the go”:

*“At home we only watched Turkish television. We only read Turkish newspapers [...]. All my parents' plans had to do with Turkey. In Germany we led a very spartan life. We never bought new furniture, for example. Always used furniture, because we wanted to leave. Things were that way for 30 years. For 30 years we wanted to leave and didn't buy any furniture.”<sup>33</sup>*

For one interviewee the purchase of one's own home symbolizes the admission that the “dream of returning” has “collapsed.” As the eldest daughter, she sees herself as bearing special responsibility for transforming her parents' dream into reality, a dream which over time has also become her own.

Whether and to what extent the remigration of former “guest workers,” which often takes place in retirement age, has an impact on the emigration of their descendants to Turkey and to what extent the emigration of the second generation of immigrants may also contribute to the return of their parents to the home country, remains unclear. Hanewinkel's studies suggest that an impact in both directions is conceivable. One of her interviewees relocated the center of her life to Turkey, since her parents had returned there after a stay of many years in Germany. Another interviewee de-



scribed how her own emigration to Turkey prompted her parents to carry out their long-held plans to return to Turkey. Since their children live in Germany and in Turkey, they now commute back and forth between these two countries.

Alongside family ties in Turkey, a partnership or marriage with a person living in Turkey can also lead to emigration from Germany, provided that the relationship because of the employment of the partner in Turkey, for example, appears to be more easily achieved there than in Germany.<sup>34</sup>

The appeal of Istanbul with its varied lifestyles is a further emotional reason for the emigration of highly qualified people of Turkish origin to Turkey. Many-faceted cultural and entertainment offerings, the “cultural” diversity of the population, but also the mood of new economic beginnings in the Bosphorus metropolis, exert an attraction.<sup>35</sup> The primary focus among emigrants is not necessarily on the desire for a life in their parents’ home country Turkey, but expressly on the own desire to live in Istanbul:

*“Istanbul has always been a dream city for me. [...] So it was more the city, that is, Turkey not now necessarily the focus, it was first Istanbul and THEN Turkey maybe, in other words, Turkey in brackets.”<sup>36</sup>*

## Prerequisites for Immigration and Integration in Turkey

The immigration of highly qualified people of Turkish descent is made legally possible mainly by the option available to former Turkish citizens or their descendants of applying for a so-called Mavi Kart (blue card). This grants them extensive rights, such as the right to reside in Turkey and to practice a profession or the right to purchase real estate, without the restrictions that apply to foreigners. Holders of the Mavi Kart are thus as far as possible on an equal footing with Turkish citizens. Restrictions exist solely with respect to the right to vote and the right to hold public office. These rights are exclusively reserved for Turkish citizens.<sup>37</sup> The Mavi Kart and German citizenship facilitate a transnational lifestyle, because they enable unrestricted commuting between Germany and Turkey.

The Mavi Kart regulations facilitate (structural<sup>38</sup>) integration in Turkey but they by no means guarantee it. Thus, for example, the recognition of certain qualifications acquired abroad is not guaranteed. The recognition of such qualifications is the responsibility of the Turkish Council of Higher Education (YÖK = Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu), which makes the recognition of educational degrees which were not obtained at a Turkish university subject to certain conditions and can, for example, demand a post qualification in the form of a compensatory program of study at a Turkish university or the passing of an equivalency examination. Highly qualified people of Turkish origin with a diploma from a German university are thus basically subjected to the same risk of having their educational qualifications rejected as immigrants who are not

of Turkish origin. Findings from migration research point to the fact that the non-recognition of qualifications obtained in the home country results in highly qualified individuals in the country of immigration frequently landing in non-skilled employment situations.<sup>39</sup> The recognition of institutional “cultural capital” (Bourdieu) that has been obtained is thus a critical aspect of migration upon which subsequent integration processes depend, since they determine the possibilities of placement in the labor market of the target country. Highly qualified people of Turkish descent develop strategies for avoiding the devaluation of the educational qualifications they obtained in Germany and for positioning themselves successfully in the Turkish labor market. The majority of the twelve highly qualified female (re)migrants interviewed by Hanewinkel practice professions in which they can put especially their knowledge of German to full advantage. They work in German cultural and educational institutions in Istanbul, such as the Goethe Institute and the German School, are employed in the Turkish branch of a German firm, or work in close contact with such entities. Here they can successfully contribute their German university degrees, their knowledge of the German and the Turkish language as well as their socialization in two “cultures.” At the same time, they indicate that in the German firms they also encounter the “German attitude to work.” Compared with this, especially settling into a Turkish firm is often not easy. The adaptation to new work flows and operating procedures demands time and energy. There are complaints about the strongly developed hierarchies as well as about the competitive thinking among female and male colleagues. The interviewees of Aydın/Pusch (2011) and Hanewinkel (2010) also miss (stereotypical) “German virtues” such as punctuality, order, and well-defined structures. Some of the interviewees feel like strangers in Turkey. Frequently they come to experience that they are not, as indicated in numerous media reports,<sup>40</sup> welcomed with open arms.<sup>41</sup> The salaries, spheres of activity or the working hours often do not meet the interviewees’ expectations. Idealized images of Turkey from childhood and youth do not hold up to reality. Migrants from Germany of Turkish origin are named *almanclar* (Deutschländer) in Turkey, a term that has a rather negative connotation and suggests prejudice.<sup>42</sup>

All of these factors can mean that the stay in Turkey is only temporary and that a return to Germany or migration to another country occurs. It has already been suggested here that in the case of emigration of highly qualified people of Turkish origin from Germany we are not necessarily dealing with a brain drain – as the media reporting has repeatedly suggested.<sup>43</sup> Rather, the general willingness to return or the actually completed return to Germany points to the phenomenon of brain circulation. The fact too that many of the emigrants work in German firms or organizations in Turkey suggests that they continue to be available to the German economy. Generally it is striking that the emigrants continue to cultivate active contact with Germany – through friendship networks, regular family visits, through their job, or also through German-Turkish exchange platforms such as the “regulars’ table (Stammtisch) of returnees” in Istanbul. Once a month this meeting brings together (highly qualified) emi-

grants of Turkish descent from Germany, who all share the experience of having spent a good part of their lives in Germany.

## Identification and (Ethnic) Self-Attribution

The experience of two different social horizons of reference also raises the question concerning definitions of one's own identity and "ethnic-cultural" self-attribution. Both the findings of the quantitative TASD study by Sezer/Dağlar (2009) and the qualitative studies of Pusch/Aydın (2011), Hanewinkel (2010), and Sievers et al. (2010) point to individually very different, many-faceted patterns of identification, which, however, suggest the conclusion of a trend toward "hybrid" identities. Thus, the emigrants interviewed call themselves, for example, "German Turks," "Germans with Turkish roots," "Germans with Turkish language skills,"<sup>44</sup> "a Turkish woman with a German passport,"<sup>45</sup> or – leaving behind nation-state frameworks – "Europeans."<sup>46</sup> These self-attributions are not static but rather change situationally. One of Hanewinkel's interviewees impressively demonstrates this very playful attitude toward one's own identity:

*"When I now get worked up about something Turkish, suddenly I am the absolute German, speak only German then and get worked up in German. The same thing happens in Germany [...], then I am suddenly a Turkish woman: 'So you don't want us at all!' [laughs] [...] I am also really happy about doing as I want, and when I want to, can change sides. [...] In other words, I actually like this back and forth."<sup>47</sup>*

It becomes clear that one's identity is constantly being actively (and in part rationally and deliberately) "manufactured." Common to many interviewees is that they have discovered their "Germanness" only after moving to Turkey.<sup>48</sup>

## Last but not least: Emigration or Return?

In the case of the migration of highly qualified people of Turkish origin, are we dealing with emigration or with a "return" to Turkey? Because the interviewees in the various studies belong to the second generation of Turkish immigrants, i.e., were born in Germany or have spent the greater part of their lives there after their immigration in childhood, it is not possible in the strict sense to speak of a return to the country of origin. The migration of this group is thus largely to be assigned to the category of the "emigration" of highly qualified German citizens.<sup>49</sup>

The subjective view of things held by the interviewees may, however, deviate completely from such a categorization. While the interviewees in Pusch's/Aydın's study (2011) regard their migration to Turkey entirely as emigration and only understand the relocation of the center of their lives back to Germany to be a "return," another picture altogether

emerges in the study by Hanewinkel (2010). The majority of the highly qualified women interviewees of Turkish origin in this study consider themselves to be "returnees." The author sees an explanation for this (rhetorical) self-image first in the adoption of this term in line with the self-definition "regulars' table of returnees" in Istanbul. In addition, the term serves to highlight the emotional-native soil bond with the country of origin of one's parents, to which contact has always been maintained through vacations and networks of relationships with one's relatives. Turkey is seen as one's (second?!) home country.<sup>50</sup> And one does not emigrate to one's home country. One returns to it.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> BAMF (2012, p. 20).
- <sup>2</sup> BAMF (2011, p. 144)
- <sup>3</sup> By highly qualified are meant people with a university degree.
- <sup>4</sup> Jacobsen (2009).
- <sup>5</sup> "Exodus" in the Old Testament refers to the departure of the Israelites from Egypt (Second Book of Moses) and hence to the emigration of an entire people who suffered under ill treatment by the Pharaoh. If Germany is identified figuratively with Old Testament Egypt, the question then arises concerning the experiences of discrimination undergone by people of Turkish origin in Germany and the question of how things stand with the "welcoming culture" in Germany.
- <sup>6</sup> The TASD study by the Futureorg Institute estimates the number of academics of Turkish origin living in Germany to be 45,000–70,000 (Aydın 2010b, p. 7).
- <sup>7</sup> Cf. for example Dernbach/Schlicht (2009), Jacobsen (2009), Wierth (2009), Geiges (2011).
- <sup>8</sup> Liljeberg/INFO (2011, p. 26). In comparison with the two studies, a look at the willingness to emigrate of Germany's population as a whole is important. The findings of a study by the Institute for Demoscopy Allensbach from 2007 thus show that 20 percent of Germans over the age of 16 toy with the idea of emigrating from Germany. Among those under the age of 30, the figure is even 33 percent. Another survey by the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) shows that indeed roughly one-quarter of those over the age of 16 entertain thoughts of emigrating but that concrete plans are only rarely made (Diehl et al. 2008, p. 51). The desire to emigrate, in other words, does not necessarily translate into actual emigration.
- <sup>9</sup> Liljeberg/INFO (2011, p. 33).
- <sup>10</sup> Cf. also Rebeggiani (2011).
- <sup>11</sup> Ette/Sauer (2011). The authors nevertheless point out that more highly qualified Germans return from abroad than emigrants who lack an academic degree (Ette/Sauer 2010a, p. 8). Therefore, academics are overall more mobile than people who lack a university degree.
- <sup>12</sup> Sezer/Dağlar (2009, p. 17).
- <sup>13</sup> OECD (2005, p. 52 f.).
- <sup>14</sup> Cf. OECD (2005, p. 22).
- <sup>15</sup> Sezer/Dağlar (2009, p. 7).
- <sup>16</sup> Sievers et al. (2010, p. 65).
- <sup>17</sup> Sievers et al. (2010, p. 71).

- <sup>18</sup> Honneth/Stojanov (2006).
- <sup>19</sup> Cf. Pusch/Aydın (2011), Hanewinkel (2010).
- <sup>20</sup> [http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/Laender/Laenderinfos/Tuerkei/Wirtschaft\\_node.html](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/Laender/Laenderinfos/Tuerkei/Wirtschaft_node.html) (accessed: 12-28-2011).
- <sup>21</sup> [http://www.focus.de/finanzen/news/konjunktur/wirtschaftswachstum-tuerkei-ist-das-neue-china\\_aid\\_664402.html](http://www.focus.de/finanzen/news/konjunktur/wirtschaftswachstum-tuerkei-ist-das-neue-china_aid_664402.html) (accessed: 12-28-2011).
- <sup>22</sup> [http://www.focus.de/finanzen/finanz-news/deutschland-wirtschaftswachstum-geht-weiter-0-5-prozent-im-letzten-quantal\\_aid\\_684474.html](http://www.focus.de/finanzen/finanz-news/deutschland-wirtschaftswachstum-geht-weiter-0-5-prozent-im-letzten-quantal_aid_684474.html) (accessed: 12-28-2011).
- <sup>23</sup> Sezer/Dağlar (2009, p. 21).
- <sup>24</sup> Interview extract, Hanewinkel (2010).
- <sup>25</sup> [http://www.presseportal.de/pm/66526/1580155/hay\\_group](http://www.presseportal.de/pm/66526/1580155/hay_group) (accessed: 12-28-2011).
- <sup>26</sup> <http://www.euractiv.de/druck-version/artikel/bankensektor-mit-top-chancen-fr-trkinnen-003806> (accessed: 02-15-2012).
- <sup>27</sup> Böhm et al. (2011, p. 1) and [http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/Laender/Laenderinfos/Tuerkei/Wirtschaft\\_node.html](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/Laender/Laenderinfos/Tuerkei/Wirtschaft_node.html) (accessed: 12-28-2011).
- <sup>28</sup> Hanewinkel (2010).
- <sup>29</sup> Interview extract, Hanewinkel (2010).
- <sup>30</sup> Hanewinkel (2010).
- <sup>31</sup> Cost of Living Survey 2011 by the Mercer consulting agency: <http://www.mercer.com/press-releases/1420615> (accessed: 1-4-2012): in a worldwide comparison of cities, Istanbul ranks 70th (in the previous year: 44th) in the list of the world's most expensive cities. Frankfurt am Main managed to rank as the highest placed German city at 73rd and thus ranks behind the Bosphorus metropolis.
- <sup>32</sup> For example, in 2007 two special surveys for the longitudinal study Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) on Germans' willingness to emigrate vs. their actual emigration demonstrated that approximately two-thirds of the interviewees with serious thoughts of emigrating/plans to emigrate regularly cultivate contacts in the potential target country for their emigration. Previous experiences with foreign stays, for example during one's studies, increase the willingness to emigrate and contribute to the development of social networks outside Germany (Diehl et al. 2008).
- <sup>33</sup> Interview extract, Hanewinkel (2010).
- <sup>34</sup> Sievers et al. (2010), Hanewinkel (2010).
- <sup>35</sup> Aydın/Pusch (2011), Hanewinkel (2010), Sievers et al. (2010).
- <sup>36</sup> Interview extract, Hanewinkel (2010).
- <sup>37</sup> German Embassy Ankara: <http://www.ankara.diplo.de> (accessed: 2-1-2012).
- <sup>38</sup> Structural integration is understood here to mean placement in the labor market.
- <sup>39</sup> Cf. Nohl et al. (2006).
- <sup>40</sup> Cf. for example Gottschlich (2010), Jacobsen (2009), Steinvorth (2010).
- <sup>41</sup> Aydın/Pusch (2011, p. 34).
- <sup>42</sup> Experiences of foreignness and the lack of belonging find expression in the saying: *Almanya'da yabancı, Türkiye'de almancı* = In Germany a foreigner, in Turkey a *Deutschländer* (German-like).
- <sup>43</sup> Cf. for example Goessmann (2008), Wierth (2009).
- <sup>44</sup> Pusch/Aydın (2011).
- <sup>45</sup> Hanewinkel (2010).
- <sup>46</sup> Sievers et al. (2010).
- <sup>47</sup> Interview extract, Hanewinkel (2010).
- <sup>48</sup> Pusch/Aydın (2011), Hanewinkel (2010), Tirier (2010).
- <sup>49</sup> In 2005 the largest number of German emigrants was recorded since 1954. For the first time since the 1960s, more German citizens left the country than there were people immigrating to Germany from abroad during the same period. In 2008, the net migration loss, even when taking into consideration the influx of *Spätaussiedler* [people of German origin emigrating from Eastern Europe after 1980], stood at 66,428 people with a German passport (Ette/Sauer 2010 b, p. 11; BAMF 2010, p. 170).
- <sup>50</sup> Sievers et al. (2010, p. 100) also note a multiple localization of the "transmigrants" interviewed by them. The participants in their study also speak of "returning" to Turkey. On the concept and construction of the term *Heimat* among people of Turkish origin of the first to third generation, see also Bozkurt (2009).

The author:

**Vera Hanewinkel** is research assistant at the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies of the University of Osnabrueck (IMIS) and member of the editorial staff of focus Migration.

E-mail: vera.hanewinkel@uni-osnabrueck.de

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