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INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION: THE FORMATION OF THE IMAGE OF TURKEY AND TURKS IN THE USA

Melih GÖRGÜN[*]

ABSTRACT

The individuals choose to migrate in order to find better living conditions and life standards. Migration processes may be inevitable, voluntary, permanent, or temporary. The individuals may be considered different in the location, to which they have migrated. The perception of the citizens in the target country is an important dynamic constituting migrants' image in the country, in which they emmigrated.

Another important aspect is how the migrants perceive their new lives. The image of migrants in the receiving country is closely related with their culture, educational status, knowledge, skills, and many other characteristics. There are also different perspectives in the nature of migration. In other words, migration movements are highly related with different disciplines as economy, culture, security, society and so on. In other words, especially in the perspective of international migration movements, different cultures and structures meet in the same geography.

In the international relations, the internal dynamics of the term "image" include different ingredients as the relationship and the tension between the states, treaties, politically or economically historical backgrounds, the quality of the migrants in the terms of education, knowledge, skills etc. and the perception of both citizens about different cultures.

In the present study, the image of Turkey and Turks in the USA will be analyzed and how the individuals, who have migrated from Turkey to

[*] Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Yeditepe Üniversitesi Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler, El-mek: gorgunmelih@gmail.com

the USA, have created their image in their new environments will be discussed from a historical aspect.

STRUCTURED ABSTRACT

Any kind of migration movement includes so many different dynamics. The essential roots of these dynamics consist of various levels. These levels can be explained by different disciplines as: economy, culture, society, politics, law, security, education or health. In other words, if the case is about any movement of individuals, these disciplines can take an important place to understand the cause and effects or results of the process.

The keypoint of the migration process is the idea and expectation about better living standarts. With the substantial impacts of globalization, the world is smaller when compared with the previous centuries. Globalization also speeds up the world with the new systems and technologies of transportation and communication. It also intensified the dependence of people on each other as migration, investment and flows of trade. (Held&McGrew, 2000) With the fruitful properties of the globalization process, people become aware of different regions of the world and evaluate miscellaneous alternatives of their migration movements.

If the case is about international movement of people, in other words, international migration, the process can be more complicated. This is the case of complex calculations and multi-faceted evaluations. In international migration, the structure is composed of different cultures, different societies, different historical backgrounds and different social norms and legal rights.

In the historical perspective, USA generally has been a major center of attraction for individuals. Due to its positions during the two world wars, its economic consequences, various opportunities for different jobs, technologic advantages etc. people have tried to gain advantage from this geogarph. Foreign students tried to engage with the education system of the USA, business people tried to seek new opportunities, and also some states seek different ways to be allied with or gain an important position in the polarized nature of the international relations. USA also is aware of the importance of the multicultural education systems which is based on the differentiation of learning environments in order to ensure that students welcome other individuals from different cultures. (Polat and Akcan, 2017: 476)

The initial relations and dialogues between Turkey and the USA have started in the late 19th century. These were the last periods of the Ottoman Empire. In the following periods new rebuplic and the USA developed important relations in different dimensions. Due to the fluid structure of the international system, there is certainly no absolute hostilities and coalitions in the international reations. Turkey and the USA sometimes experienced tensions and sometimes experienced friendly relations in the historical perspective. In this perspective, the USA generally served as an attractive region to the society in Turkey, who decided to start their migration journey.

When an individual decides to move to a different geography, this action does not only refer the movement of the physical body of the individual, but also the movement of his/her abilities, skills, culture, values and customs. In this new journey, with all of the properties that the migrant has, he/she also starts to generate an image in the targeted country. In this generation process, perceptions of both sides (citizens of the host country and origin), cultures, biases and the relations of the two countries take an important place.

So, with the beneficial and useful properties of a globalized system (communication, social networks, transportation, internet, tv etc.), the individual will probably try to minimize all the risks about his/her journey by investigating the realities about the targeted country. First of all, will seek the optimal economic and social benefit from the migration process. And also, if possible, will try to use his/her social connections in the targeted region. Especially in the international migration studies, these connections are called, social networks of migrants. With the help of these networks, the migrant will practically learn how to behave and used to the customs and written rules of the new region.

The overall formation process of "image" is generted by different dynamics. The historical background and the cold/moderate periods between the two countries can be considered as the important ingredients of dynamics. However, one of the most important factor is the reflection of current Turkish culture to the USA and the education level of the Turkish migrant population there. Majority of the migrants, who have migrated in the 20th and 21st centuries, can be identified as brain drain.

The culture is an important dynamic that should be analyzed by the government and societies of both countries. The more the governments' and societies' abilities to empathize are advanced, the higher the level of different societies' abilities of understanding each other becomes.

The current and future image of Turks in the USA is closely related to the migrants' obtaining practical and legal information about the new society and public order, to which they will migrate, prior to the migration. In conclusion, if the individuals who migrate have more information about the receiving country, then the integration will be problem-free and the society of receiving country will be more inclusive for the new members of society.

In this research, first of all the important facts about migration will be evaluated and then the historical perspective of the relations between Turkey and the USA will be overviewed. Aftermath, the migrants who emigrated from Turkey and their specifications will be analysed. The overall aim will be the case about the image of the Turks in the USA. In other words, the dynamics of the image formation process will be analysed.

Keywords: International Migration, Image, Turkey, USA, Migrant

ULUSLARARASI GÖÇ: AMERİKA'DAKİ TÜRİYE VE TÜRK İMAJININ OLUŞUMU

ÖZET

Bireylerin göç hareketlerinin en önemli sebeplerinden biri, şüphesiz daha kaliteli bir yaşam sürdürebilme isteğidir. Göç hareketleri çeşitli şekillerde gerçekleşebilir. Ulus içi, uluslararası, kısa süreli, uzun süreli, kalıcı, geçici, mevsimlik gibi birçok alt kategori, göç hareketlerinin doğasını anlamakta bizlere yardımcı olabilir. Bireylerin göç ettikleri coğrafyadaki toplum ve bu toplumun algısı, göçmenlerin bu coğrafyada oluşturacakları imaj ile yakından ilgilidir.

Bu imaj aynı zamanda göç eden bireylerin o zamana kadar yaşadığı hayat, değerleri, gelenekleri, kültürleri, bilgileri, eğitim seviyeleri ile de yakından ilgilidir. Özellikle uluslararası göç hareketleri, ekonomi, toplum, güvenlik, sağlık ve toplum gibi farklı disiplinlerle de ilişki halinde olduğundan konunun içeriği biraz daha karmaşık görülebilir. Bir başka söylemle, uluslararası göç hareketleri, farklı toplumları, farklı kültürleri ve farklı dünya görüşlerini aynı coğrafyada birleştiren bir yapıda olmaktadırlar.

Uluslararası ilişkiler perspektifinden ele alındığında, "imaj" kavramı birçok farklı dinamiği de içinde barındırır. Ülkeler arası ilişkiler, gerilimler, antlaşmalar, ekonomik ya da siyasi açıdan tarihsel altyapı, göç eden bireylerin eğitim kalitesi, bilgi ya da yetenek seviyeleri ve şüphesiz her iki ülkeye mensup bireylerin algı seviyeleri bu dinamiklerden sadece bazılarıdır.

Bu çalışmada Türkiye'den Amerika'ye göç etmiş bireylerin, zaman içerisinde oluşturduğu imajın nasıl şekillendiği ve hangi dinamiklerden etkilendiği, tarihsel perspektifte incelenecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Uluslararası Göç, İmaj, Türkiye, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, Göçmen

Introduction

The main idea laying the foundation of migration movements is the idea that of having a better and high-quality life and it has been the trigger of short and long-distance journeys for centuries. In other words, the migration movements are related with the alternatives offered by different locations. The individuals make their decisions about migration based on these different alternatives. It should be noted that migration is a process that is shaped by and based on the opportunities offered by different locations.

These alternatives incorporate priorities that are sometimes related to economy, safety, education, or sometimes career opportunities. The migration movements sometimes occur in voluntary manner. However, they may sometimes be inevitable because of the conditions. the migration process, which is also an important type of mobilization (Schwartz, 1971:193), has started to be more intensely experienced as a result of the advances in technology and transportation, especially in the 20th and 21st centuries. Castles and Miller defined five main trends of migration movements in the 21st century as follows:

1. Globalization of migration: The tendency for more and more countries to be affected by migratory movements at the same time. Moreover, the diversity of the areas of origin is also increasing, so that most immigration countries have entrants from a broad spectrum of economic, social and cultural backgrounds.
2. The acceleration of migration: The fact that migrations are growing in volume in all major regions at the present time,
3. The differentiation of migration: Most countries do not simply have one type of immigration, such as labor migration, refugee or permanent settlement, but a whole range of types at once,
4. Feminization of migration: Women play an increasing role in all regions and all types of migration,
5. Growing politicization of migration: Domestic politics, bilateral and regional relationships and national security policies of states around the world are increasingly affected by international migration. (Castles and Miller, 1998:9)

The individuals taking part in migration processes in terms of the aforementioned phenomena have different priorities and expectations.

1. Migration and General Definitions

Migration literally means to move from one region to another and the root of the word "migra" comes from the Latin and is also found in the closely related words immigration (to enter or in-migration), emigration (to depart, or out-migration), and remigration (to return or return migration). (Dickenson, 2017) The migration movements can be discussed from economic, cultural, social, psychological, or individual aspects. The international migration movements can be examined generally under below-mentioned points:

- Different demographical characteristics between the countries,
- Periodical crises of capitalism,
- Income differences between the regions,
- Economies forcing the global reconstruction (Güllüpınar, 2012: 56)

Advances in the fields of technology, science and communication during the 20th and 21st centuries have made globalization possible, but have also enabled the globalization of problems and like the economy, terrorism or security, migration has also been affected by globalization. (Görgün, 2018: 91) The persons, who are identified as migrants and whose lives are under risk because of war, conflict or pressure, constitute the majority of international migration movements. Also any kind of human rights violations take a substantial position in these kind of movements. (Tatar, 2016: 569) Environmental and climate conditions can also be the pushing factors to a migrant about deciding to start his/her journey. (Ekşi, 2016) The segment other than these compulsory conditions migrates generally for better job opportunities, higher wages, or better educational prospects.

Every person entering into migration process has significant effects on both the society, from which he/she migrates, and the society, to which he/she migrates. The individuals taking part in the migration movement have the potential of affecting the location, to which they migrate, negatively or positively from the aspects of their characteristics, skills, education, and capabilities. It should be noted that, while shaping the receiving society, the migrant himself/herself also changes. The change mentioned here occurs in the new culture, in which the migrant will live, as well as the life style.

The efforts for understanding and explaining the migration movements generally focus on the determinants and consequences of migration process. Castles and Miller specified that the questions below should be answered in order to understand almost all of the dynamics of this process:

1. Which economic, social, demographical, environmental or political changes lead the individuals to feel that they need to leave their area of origin?
2. Which factors provide advantages to the migrants in receiving country?
3. How do the social networks and other connections – means of travel, possibility of entry, and providing information – occur between two countries?
4. What are the present and future legal, economic, and social structures and practices aiming to regulate the migration and settlement?
5. How do the migrants become resident and why does it lead to discrimination, conflict and racism in some cases but to a pluralist and multicultural society in other cases?
6. What are the effects of settlement on the national identity, culture, and social structure of societies receiving the migration?
7. How does the migration affect the sending country?
8. What kind of new connections do the migrations create between the sending and receiving societies? (Castles and Miller, 2008: 39)

The first studies on the theoretical foundation of migration movements started in the last quarter of the 19th century. The career opportunities and new transportation networks developed and diversified together with the industrialization directed the individuals to inner Europe and North America. (Çağlayan, 2006: 69)

2. A Historical View of Turks Migrating to the USA

Undoubtedly, the image of Turks and Turkey in the USA has largely been shaped by the relationship between the two countries. Domestic migrations in the 19th Century took an important place in the Ottoman Empire. (Gül, 2015:95) However, during the last decades of the 19th century, international migration movements had started across the Empire. Since the first years of its independence, the United States of America has had a relationship with the Ottoman Empire. The initial relationships have been established within the scope of bilateral trade agreements. The first trade agreement, which has been signed in 1830, is the first official text between the two countries. (Armaoğlu, 199: 11) Even though the aforementioned relationships have started in the late 19th century, the remarkable migration movements to the USA have started in the last quarter of the 19th century. (Kaya, 2006: 3)

Roderick Davison identified the some of the reasons behind the negative image of the Turks in western world from a historical aspect as follows:

1. Given the traditional social structure and administration type of Ottoman Empire, the participation to modernization process of West was late;
2. Falling partly behind the Western world from the commercial and technological aspects;
3. The independence movements in Ottoman Empire in 19th century have actually been consisted of anti-Turk opinions and Western world has generally approached these revolts positively;
4. Ottoman Empire has gone to war at the same side with Germany during the process into World War I. (Davison, 1981: 2)

Since its establishment, the USA has always been the leading country constantly receiving migration. The emigrations from Turkey to the USA can be discussed within the context of three waves. The first wave is the one starting in the first half of the 19th century and incorporating the Ottoman villagers having low income and education levels, whereas the second wave is the one starting in the second half of the 20th century and incorporating the individuals of the Republic period having high education levels. (Kaya, 2006: 3) The last wave is the one incorporating the cosmopolite group including different social and economic groups coming to the USA in the late 1980s. (Kaya, 2006: 3)

Grabowski emphasized the relationship between the first wave immigrants to USA and Americans with the following remarks:

> *"What is clear from the research done on this topic to date is the need for bi-national cooperation among scholars and students in the United States and Turkey. This cooperation is dictated in large part by the special linguistic skills that Turkish scholars can bring to bear on the topic and by the familiarity of scholars in either country with the sources particular to that county. Additionally, Turkish scholars have the best ability to de scribe the history of the push factors and millet relationships in the late nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire while Americans are probably in a better position to consider the issues of industrialization and urbanization that are at the core of the pull factors and the spatial world that affected the Turks along with other Ottoman immigrants…"* (Grabowski, 2005: 94)

International students also take an important place in the formation process of the "image". Today, USA is tho most attractive region which attracks the attention of the students. These students generally aim to develop their abilities and want to try their chances in this huge and economically and technologically advanced state. The USA is the largest single destination with more than one million overseas students, and also there are approximately 12.000 Turkish students according to the statistics of the year 2017. (Statista, 2018)

In 1924, the government of USA has made large amendments to the immigration law and significant limitations have been imposed to the potential migrants that might enter into the country. Then, through a new regulation enacted in 1965, the immigration law has achieved a more liberalist structure. The number of persons migrating from Turkey to the USA between 1951 and 1960 was 3,500, whereas this number increased by 3 times between 1961 and 1970 and reached 10,142 persons. (DHS, 2000) One of the reasons for professionals' (engineers, physicians, architects, etc.) interest in the USA is that the education system in the USA is a utilitarian one and it prioritizes practicality. Most of the individuals who have migrated from Turkey to the USA after 1950 were male and they were generally academicians, architects, engineers, and physicists. (Kaya, 2009: 619) Besides, the obligatory service in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia regions set by the Menderes Government was an important factor that played a role in brain drain from Turkey to the USA. (Kaya, 2006: 7)

Turks, who have migrated to the USA before 1950, are called "first generation migrants". The individuals in this group tried to overcome the issues of cultural existence and foreign language problems. The long-term objectives of individuals from this group were to have business, education or life experience and then to return to Turkey. (Kaya, 2009: 620)

The migration of skilled, educated, and experienced individuals from the underdeveloped regions to developed ones and the use of their potentials in different locations are defined as the brain drain. Since the second half of the 20th century, the brain drain has become a very important type of migration. Since 1970s, the USA has received this kind of migration from both Turkey and other regions of the world. Such migration movement has undoubtedly significant effects on both the receiving and sending countries. Moreover, the other important factors playing role in migration movements from Turkey to the USA during these years are the increase in the rate of unemployment in Turkey during these years and the saturation of labor market in Europe. (Bostancı, 2014: 111)

The other important factors of brain drain are the displeasure of migrants regarding the government, economy, or legal procedures in their own countries. Jaafari (1973) described this phenomenon as "a better professional environment".

As the brain drain-based movements from Turkey to the USA increased, especially since the1980s, the image of Turks in the USA started to change. The educated and skilled young individuals who have migrated abroad have been employed in many industries, especially in finance and technology, and the factor "Turks" became more prominent in professional world.

4. The Image of Turkey and Turks in the USA

The presence and image of Turks in the USA can be related to the associations and institutions, in which they take part, or to the environments, in which they exist. At this point, the statement of Kaya should be carefully depicted:

> *"Turkish American identity-construction spaces are those in which Turkish Americanness is formed, celebrated and promoted in which the values of the community are transmitted to the next generations. Turkish American spaces are examined in five categories: cultural spaces, labor-market spaces, residential spaces, institutional spaces and organizational/political spaces. These spaces are not interdependent of one another, for they all function in an interrelated manner to preserve Turkish American identities and to increase the power of the Turkish American community in American sociopolitical space." (Kaya, 2005: 429)*

Another milestone that should not be forgotten is the increase in the number of the Turks migrating to the USA after Turkey became a member of NATO in 1952. During this era, Turkey wanted to maintain its position as an ally of America. (Baytal, 2017:4)

Turkey, which was included in the first expansion wave of NATO, has preferred to strengthen its relationships with Western world and especially with the USA because of the increasing Soviet threat. (Larrabee and Lesser, 2003: 162) The foundations of today's Turkish associations in the USA have been laid by the educated generation that has migrated to the USA after 1950. Today, there are approximately 385 Turkish associations and these associations were gathered under the shelter of three main federations: Assembly of Turkish American Associations, Federation of Turkish American Associations and Assembly of Turkic American Federations. (Bostancı, 2014: 112)

This process was successfully managed in the USA and the importance of migrant social networks emerged as three main forms as emphasized before. The Turks living throughout the USA have established these associations in order to solve their problems, achieve unity, meet their needs, increasing awareness on legal rights, and protect the vested rights, as well as the solidarity. (Yavuzer, 2009: 179) Another important role of these associations is to promote Turkey and the Turks accurately throughout the USA, and to reflect the priorities and capabilities of its citizens and country.

Economic openness is an important concept and it can also be added to the structure of this research. Economic openness refers to a country's integration into the world market through international trade and capital flows. According to Coster (2007), the most often used indicators of economic integration are trade openness, international trade measured as imports and exports relative to the gross domestic product of countries and the multinationalization of production through Foreign Direct Investment. In the second half of the 20th century, Turkey started to achive the initial steps of economic openness in the perspective of integrating with different economies and multinational corporations of the world. This structure caused Turkish citizens to search and explore different beneficial regions of the world. New business lines and opportunities took place in the process. And there was no doubyt that the USA was again an important attraction point for all of those.

Molding public opinion in favor of Turkey and the Turks is one of the priorities of such associations. The cooperation between these associations would have significant contributions to the image of Turkey and the Turks in the USA. (Yavuzer, 2009: 198)

As Petersen (1978) mentioned, the most fundamental division between internal and international migration, is based on an implicit assumption that a nation is a homogeneous cultural unit, with fewer and less significant internal differences than any set it off from other nation. So,

homogeneous cultural structure is an important determinant of local (with small distances) migration movements.

The adaptation of individuals, who have migrated from Turkey to the USA, is also very important for their image. The two important points to consider here are migration and culture. The presence of different cultures in the same location at the same time has never been trouble-free, since the communication of individuals from different societies, the different norms and values would be experienced. A successful intercultural communication would undoubtedly start with the good will of the parties. (Novinger 2001: 23) From this aspect, the more the individuals from both countries stay away from conflicts, the higher the level of harmony will be.

The positivity of the "Turk" image, which has been created in the USA over the course of time, is closely related to obtaining information about the culture and life styles of the target country, with which the individuals migrating from Turkey to the USA will face, prior to migrating. The well-educated individuals, having strong perception, obtain information about the new culture and society long before actually starting the migration process. Thus, many potential problems or extraordinary scenarios may be prevented at the prior to the migration, the possible solution opportunities can be created in advance and the problems can be prevented before they emerge.

The life style, food culture, legal procedures, and traditions of the target society may create very complex barriers for the individual experiencing the migration process. These factors can be described as the potential problems for migrant(s). In such integration process, the most important issue for the receiving country's government is to implement the multicultural policy successfully.

The multiculturalism was designed as the project of fairly promoting the different cultures in public area. (Doytcheva, 2005: 12) The multiculturalist policies were successfully implemented in the USA and the USA's multicultural ethnic structure made the adaptation of many Turks easier. (Bostancı, 2014: 106)

The network of relationships with the persons, with whom the migrants have connections and who have experienced the migration procedures before them, plays an important role in the creation of the "Turk" image in the USA. The individuals, who have experienced these procedures before, have guided the migrants, who migrated to the USA after them. This phenomenon discussed under the title of migrant social network has significant advantages for the persons, who would experience the migration process, from various aspects. Having a common migration experience and similar problems during this process strengthen the cooperation between migrants. (Görgün, 2017)

From this aspect, it would be necessary to mention the USA's education policies that have been further liberalized since the 1970s. In 1987, Stanford University introduced programs emphasizing the multiplicity of values and cultures instead of the course of "Western Culture" and then the other universities followed it. (Doytcheva, 2005: 63) Thus, the migrants had the opportunity of having a smooth and easy integration process without alienating from their national identities. Today, a Turkish course is offered as an optional course in many universities in the USA and some of the universities offer these coursesas "Ottoman Turkish". (Kaya, 2014: 142) Such incentives are very useful, but they could not reach sufficient levels. In order for the Turkish culture to become more common and inclusive in the USA, the following measures would be beneficial:

1. The Turkish population living in the USA should be strictly determined by Turkey;
2. The studies should be carried out on the stages of current Turkish language and Turkish culture educations in the USA;
3. The cooperation between all the Turkish associations in the USA should be ensured by means of the consulates and embassies. (Kaya, 2014: 146)

As stressed in previous sections, the image established in a foreign country is closely related to the concept of "culture". If the individuals from different countries have knowledge about the cultural values of each other, then the opinion of a society about the other society could be clearer and more inclusive.

5. Conclusion

The globalizing international order makes the migration process easier for the individuals and it also increases the migration alternatives. The individuals take part in the migration process in order to achieve better living standards. Especially the subject of international migration is closely related to economy, law, sociology, security, terror, politics, and demography.

The concept of "migration", which is in relationship with many disciplines, creates cooperation between the countries, but it sometimes leads to conflicts under certain circumstances. As the intensity of migration between the countries increases, the lives of different societies being together in the same geography start gaining more importance.

The migration movements from the Ottoman Empire to the USA, especially since the second half of the 19th century, gradually intensified over the course of time. The American dream, which is very attracting for all potential migrant candidates, has been very important for the Turks, who would be migrating to this location in the 20th and 21st centuries. As the migration from Turkey to the USA increased, the image of Turks in this geography started to take shape.

The formation process of aforementioned image has been shaped by different dynamics. The historical friendship and the tension periods between the two countries can be considered as the important dynamics. However, the determinant factor is the reflection of current Turkish culture to the USA and the education level of the Turkish migrant population there. Majority of the migrants, who have migrated in the 20th and 21st centuries, can be identified as brain drain. The culture is an important dynamic that should be analyzed by the government and societies of both countries. The more the governments' and societies' abilities to empathize are advanced, the higher the level of different societies' abilities of understanding each other becomes.

The current and future image of Turks in the USA is closely related to the migrants' obtaining information about the new society and public order, to which they will migrate, prior to the migration. In conclusion, if the individuals who migrate have more information about the receiving country, then the integration will be problem-free and the society of receiving country will be more inclusive for the new members of society.

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