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MARMARA UNIVERSITY
INSTUTUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

PREVIEW

DIASPORA AND THE HOMELAND:

TURKEY'S NEW DIASPORA POLICY

M.A Thesis

BETÜL YURTSEVER

İstanbul, 2019

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BETÜL YURTSEVER

SUPERVISOR: ASSOC. PROF. SUNA GÜLFER IHLAMUR ÖNER

İstanbul, 2019

T.C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

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SİYASET BİLİMİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER Anabilim Dalı ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER (İNGİLİZCE) Bilim Dalı TEZLİ YÜKSEK LİSANS öğrencisi BETÜL YURTSEVER'nın DIASPORA AND THE HOMELAND=TURKEY'S NEW DIASPORA POLICY adlı tez çalışması, Enstitümüz Yönetim Kurulunun 25.07.2019 tarih ve 2019-23/13 sayılı kararıyla oluşturulan jüri tarafından oy birliği / ~~oy çokluğu~~ ile Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

PREVIEW

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ABSTRACT

DIASPORA AND THE HOMELAND: TURKEY'S NEW DIASPORA POLICY

In its widest sense, diaspora is a term which is used to define a nation's population living abroad. While the term was used to refer only to the specific groups such as Jewish diaspora, today the concept has been extended, deepened and dispersed. In this light, states are also attracted by the idea of having their own diasporas and they established specific institutions and formulated policies to reach their populations abroad. With diaspora engagement policies, homelands can contribute to the integration of diaspora members into the host societies with the aim of improving their statuses; protect their rights in both the homelands and host-countries; develop mechanism to tap the diapora resources; build, strengthen and protect diaspora members' national belongings and national ties with the homeland. Turkey is also one of the countries that have established diaspora institutions and that formulate diaspora policies. After the 2000s, it has reformulated its relations with its citizens abroad and tried to develop closer relations with them. This thesis aims to examine Turkey's new diaspora policy within the framework of the concepts of diaspora, trans-nationalism and long-distance nationalism and the diaspora engagement policies that states develop. In this light, it is asked why Turkey has developed new policies; what are the institutions and characteristics of Turkey's new diaspora policy; does Turkey's diaspora policy lead to rise of long-distance nationalism among diaspora members.

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ÖZET

DİASPORA VE ANAVATAN: TÜRKİYE'NİN YENİ DİASPORA POLİTİKASI

En geniş tabiriyle diaspora kelimesi bir ulusun yurtdışında yaşayan vatandaşlarını tanımlar. Kavram bir zamanlar Yahudi diasporası gibi belli gruplar ile ilişkilendirilerek kullanılsa da, günümüzde diaspora kavramının kullanımı genişlenmiş ve yaygınlaşmıştır. Bu doğrultuda, kendi diasporalarına sahip olmak fikri devletlere de cazip gelmeye başlamış ve devletler yurtdışında yaşayan vatandaşlarına ulaşmak için diaspora kurumları kurmuş ve politikalar üretmeye başlamışlardır. Diaspora politikalarıyla devletler, diaspora üyelerinin yaşadıkları ülkedeki statülerini yükseltmek amacıyla onların entegrasyonunu destekleyebilir; diaspora üyelerinin haklarını hem anavatanda hem de ev sahibi ülkede koruyabilir; diasporanın sağlayacağı kaynaklardan faydalanmak için mekanizmalar geliştirebilir; diasporaların anavatanlarıyla olan aidiyetlerini ve bağlarını üretebilir, güçlendirebilir ve koruyabilir. Türkiye de diaspora kurumları kuran ve diaspora politikası geliştiren ülkelerden biridir. Türkiye, 2000'lerden sonra yurtdışında yaşayan vatandaşlarıyla olan ilişkilerini yeniden tanımlama yoluna gitmiş ve onlarla daha yakın ilişkiler kurmaya çalışmıştır. Bu tezin amacı; Türkiye'nin diaspora politikasını diaspora, ulus-aşırılık ve uzaktan milliyetçilik kavramları ve de devletlerin geliştirdiği diaspora angajman politikaları çerçevesinde incelemektir. Bu doğrultuda, Türkiye'nin neden diaspora politikası geliştirdiği, Türkiye'nin diaspora politikasının ne gibi özellikler taşıdığı ve hangi kurumların geliştirildiği, Türkiye'nin diaspora politikasının diaspora üyeleri arasında uzaktan milliyetçiliğin artmasına sebep olup olmadığı araştırılmaktadır.

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My family and friends have a significant role on the completion of this process. Their support, encouragement and patience mean a lot to me. Their support and love eased this long and difficult process. I am sincerely grateful to all of them.

Betül Yurtsever

İstanbul, 2019

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ABBREVIATIONS

AD-D	Union of German Democrats (Allianz Deutscher Demokraten)
ATIB	Union of Turkish-Islamic Cultural Associations in Europe
BITAF	British Institute of Turkish Affairs
EU	European Union
FETÖ	Gülenist Terrorist Organization
DEIK	Foreign Economic Relations Board
DITIB	Turkish-Islamic Union of the Religious Affairs
DİYANET	Directorate of Religious Affairs
DTIK	World Turkish Business Council
HTA	Hometown Association
IADD	Atatürk Society UK
IAKM Cemevi	Britain Alevi Culture Center and Cemevi
IGMG	Islamic Community Milli Görüş
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ITDV	Turkish Religious Foundation of the United Kingdom
JDP	Justice and Development Party
LDN	Long-Distance Nationalism
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MP	Member of Parliament
MUSIAD	Independent Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NMP	Nationalist Movement Party
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party
RPP	Republican People's Party
SETA	Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research
TİKA	Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency
The UK	United Kingdom

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TMF	Turkish Maarif Foundation
TRNC –KKTC	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
TSS	Transnational Social Space
UETD	Union of European Turkish Democrats
UID	Union of International Democrats
VFA	Voting From Abroad
YVDK	Turks Abroad Advisory Board
YEE	Yunus Emre Institute
YSK	Supreme Election Council of Turkey
YTB	Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities

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INTRODUCTION

Turkish emigration to the different regions of the world started in the 1960s and today Turkey's diaspora consists of 5.5 million people. However, Turkey started to develop comprehensive diaspora policies and established diaspora institiutions in the 2000s. In fact, these policies have gained pace in the last ten years. In this context, the state has reformulated its relations with its citizens abroad. While Turkish citizens abroad were called as "*gurbetçi*" when the labour migration started, now the term "diaspora" is used to refer citizens abroad. What has motivated Turkey to develop diaspora engagement policies and why Turkey has decided to reframe its citizens abroad as diaspora? How Turkey defines its diaspora and who are included in the Turkish diaspora? What kind of policies the Turkish state pursue in building or forming the diasporic identities, belongings and trans-national activies of citizens abroad? Could Turkey's policies be defined as long-distance nationalist or does the diaspora policy of the country lead to the rise of long-distance nationalism?

All of these questions stated above reqiure us to examine certain interrelated concepts which are diapora, trans-nationalism and long-distance nationalism. In this context, it is significant to know that how changing conceptions of diaspora is compatible with Turkey's new diaspora policy. Diaspora is an old term, the meaning of which has evolved. In time, the use of the term has changed, different meanings are atributed to the term diaspora and it started to lose its negative connotations. In its wider sense, it is used to desribe communities who are living outside of their nation-states. In this regard, having its own diaspora and producing diaspora engagement policies started to be important for the states. The other related term to this study is trans-nationalism. The concept "trans-natiolism" became popular in migration studies in the 1990s. Trans-nationalism studies also brought questions about the end of the nation-state. However, as it is also presented in the study, states can also reposition themselves within these trans-national ties and activities. This study also evaluates and examines how states shape and lead to trans-national activities of their diasporas. In the literature, it can be seen that these two concepts diaspora and trans-nationalism is used interchangably. While there is a connection between these two concepts, similarities and differences are also presented.

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Lastly, while formulating disapora policies, states may aim to strenghten sense of national belongings of their diaspora members and the diaspora policies can lead to the emergence or rise of long-distance nationalism among disapora members. Alongside the homeland policies, there are also other factors that can affect long-distance nationalism such as the host-country environment, reasons of migration etc. It is also possible for diaspora members to carry out their long-distance nationalist activities at a trans-national level. In this light, even if there are significant differences between these terms, they are also related to each other.

Since diasporas have become significant assets for their homelands, many states have developed different diaspora policies and institutions to govern their diasporas. There are various reasons encouraging states to engage their diasporas. Level of engagement of states also changes based on capacities, aims and the characteristics of homelands and their diasporas. As part of their dispora engagement strategy, homelands can develop different types of diaspora institutions, enable their diaspora to vote from abroad or extend their citizenship regulations, provide cultural and/or educational services to diaspora, organize homeland trips, grant scholarships to diaspora members, develop financial mechanisms to tap diaspora resources etc. In addition to this, host-country environment can affect the diaspora-homeland relations and dispora engagement policies of home-country as well. Citizenship regulations of both home and host country also become important since citizenship defines the relation between the states and people.

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Turkey has never been indifferent to its citizens abroad. However, its policies and level of engagement has changed in time. While before 2000s, Turkey's policies and institutions were relatively weak and concentrated on specific issues, when the Justice and Development Party (JDP) came to power, the relations with citizens abroad have started to be reformulated and changed. At first, for example, citizens abroad are considered as lobbying actors that facilitate Turkey's European Union (EU) membership process. After the 2010s, Turkey's diaspora policy gathered pace and Turkey established the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB), the body responsible for Turkish diaspora and Turkey's diaspora policies. Similarly, Yunus Emre Institutes are established in different regions of the world, which are reponsible for Turkey's cultural

diplomacy. In addition to this, existing institutions responsible for Turkish diaspora are also enhanced. Overall, it can be seen that Turkey has been trying to develop a comprehensive, institutionalized, sustainable and more engaged diaspora strategy/policies. In this context, it is argued that Turkey's policies try to shape Turkish diaspora, Turkish identity abroad; give missions, assign duties and responsibilities to its diaspora members; and encourage and contribute trans-natioal activities and mobilization of Turkish diaspora. In addition to this, it is argued that, Turkey's diaspora policy has implications for the rise of long-distance nationalism among its diaspora members abroad. Particularly, the failed coup attempt on July 15th, 2016 and other political and economic issues in Turkey and Turkey's relations with other countries have also played a role in the rise of long-distance nationalism. It must be highlighted that this study examines Turkish diaspora and the diaspora policies from the perspective of the state/homeland. Therefore, how Turkish diaspora members perceive the "diaspora", and what they actually think about the Turkish diaspora policy are beyond the scope of this research project and are not included/discussed in this study.

London is chosen as a case study to examine the Turkey's diaspora policy and its effects on citizens abroad. Since most of the studies on Turkish diaspora are generally based on the Turkish citizens living in Germany, France, Belgium etc., it is believed that London case will contribute to the debates on Turkish diaspora policy. In this sense, alongside the Turkey's diaspora policy in London, the thesis seeks to examine how Turkish-speaking communities are mobilized and affected by Turkey's policies. Another question that the study seeks to address is whether Turkey's diapora policy leads to long-distance nationalism in London. The examples of long-distance nationalism of Turks living in London are also presented.

In this study, exisiting literature on diaspora, trans-nationalism and long-distance nationalism are examined. Diaspora engagement policies and typologies of diaspora engagement are also evaluated. For this purpose, related books, journal articles, workshop reports, master's theses and PhD dissertations are reviwed. In the forth chapter, in which Turkey's diaspora policy is evalauted, the speeches of significant political figures in Turkey (such as member of parliaments, the president, the prime minister, minister of foreign affairs etc.), the speeches of Turkish NGO representatives and presidents of

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diaspora institutions, publications of diaspora institutions (such as *artıdoksan,.TR),* newspaper articles and news reports, proceedings of the parliaments, web sites of diaspora institutions (such as YTB, YEE, Minister of Foreign Affairs), statitical data taken from Supreme Election Council of Turkey (YSK) are used and referred to. Similarly, it is also utilized from the books, journal and newspaper articles and researches on Turkish diaspora and Turkish diaspora policy. For the same chapter, an interview conducted with an official from the YTB and the questions asked on the aims, policies and structure of the presidency. For the last chapter of the thesis, the websites and official facebook pages of the YEE-London, Turkish Embassy in London, Turkish Consulate General in London, Turkish NGOs in London (UETD/UID UK, Atatürk Society UK, London Branch of Republican People's Party -RPP UK-), Turkish Religious Foundation of the UK; the speeches of Turkish Ambassadors to London and Turkey's Consul General in London, representatives of Turkish NGOs are examined. It was also aimed to conduct interviews with the represantatives of Turkish NGOs and I contacted with the Atatürk Society of the UK, UID-UK, Britain Alevi Culture Center and Cemevi (IAKM Cemevi) and Islamic Community Milli Görüş-UK (ICMG-UK). However, while the Atatürk society of the UK and IAKM Cemevi refused to make an interview stating that they have a busy schedule, the others did not respond to the questions that I have sent via e-mail. Therefore, I had used other materials from where I can collect the necessary and relevant information such as the local newspapers of Turkish community in London (*LondraGazete*).

Here, I would like to highlight the limitations of the study. One of the biggest limitations of the study is that a field research could not be conducted. When examining the case of London, the observations I made during my stay in London in August-September 2016 for an internship program guided my research. These observations were vital, as they have made me to choose to focus on Turkish diaspora policies and particularly on the Turkish diaspora in London. Due to time limitations and lack of funding to conduct fieldwork in London, I tried to conduct interviews via e-mail with Turkish NGOs. However, I could not get any response to my questions. I believe a request for a face-to-face interview would have resulted differently. Because, people do not want to spare time to the written question or they do not give attention to a person they do not know in person. Therefore, when examining Turkish diaspora policy in general and in the

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UK, the web-based sources are mainly used. The research is restricted to the articles, speeches and activities that are published on the internet. However, here there are also certain limitations. Although the YTB and YEE is publishing their actitivities and programs online, some of the information is not open to public. Turkish NGOs and their projects that are funded by the YTB are not clear and open to public. Despite these limitations, the data available allows us to define basic contours of Turkish diaspora policy, analyze the interactions between Turkish diaspora and Turkish state and evaluate the agency of the diaspora and Turkish state.

THESIS OUTLINE

The thesis consists of four chapters and a concluding section. In **the first chapter** of the thesis, the terms related to this study, which are diaspora, trans-nationalism and long-distance nationalism, are debated. At first, the concept "diaspora" is examined. In this context, the diaspora literature reviewed on the basis of following questions: What are the categorizations regarding the diaspora studies? How researchers define "diaspora" and what are the differences between these definitions? How the usage of concept has changed? What are the elements that make a migrant group a diaspora? In the second section, the term "trans-nationalism" and the relation between state and "trans-nationalism" are examined. It is touched upon the different definitions of trans-nationalism, trans-national activities and trans-national communities. The states role in building or contributing to the trans-national spaces and trans-national activities is also underlined. The third concept examined in this chapter is "long-distance nationalism". In this section of the chapter, different definitons of long-distance nationalism presented. In addition, different motivations behind long distance nationalism and repertories of long-distance nationalist activities are examined. In the last section of the chapter, these three concepts are evaluated and the relation between the three concepts is highlighted.

Second chapter is built around the diaspora-homeland-hostland nexus. In this regard, diaspora engagement policies of home countries are investigated on the basis of following questions: What is a diaspora engagement policy? Why and when states develop diaspora engagement policies and what are these policies and institutions? In the subsequent section, diaspora-hostland relations, homeland-hostland relations and effects of host country environment on diasporas and diaspora engagement policies are

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evaluated. In the last section of the study, citizenship regulations, which are both related to home and host countries are also touched upon.

In third chapter, Turkey's diaspora policy is examined in the light of the typologies and policies provided in the second chapter. At first, Turkey's engagement with its citizens abroad discussed with a historical perspective. Then, diaspora engagement policies after the 2000s are examined. With this purpose, the use of the term diaspora in Turkish case and the reasons behind the diaspora engagement policies of Turkey are examined. Then, the different institutions and policies established for the diaspora engagement are presented. In this context, the chapter seeks to address the following questions: What makes a Turkey's diaspora policy new? What are the policies and institutions that Turkey has developed and what are the characteristics of them? Does Turkey's diaspora policy lead to rise of long-distance nationalism abroad? What are the other factors can affect rise of long-distance nationalism among diaspora members?

In the last chapter of the study, it is aimed to examine Turkish diaspora policy within a specific time and location. London, the UK is chosen as a case study. In this regard, the role of specific institutions of Turkish diaspora policy in London, their activities and discourses are examined to evaluate how Turkey's diaspora policy is affecting the communities in London, their long-distance nationalist and trans-natioal activities and ties.

PREVIEW

1. DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTUAL DEBATES

1.1 DIASPORA

In its basic meaning, diaspora is a term used to describe communities that are spread to the outside their nation-states. While the term historically has a negative meanings associated with exile, persecution etc., today it became more neutralized and started to be used in different study areas. While the term diaspora subject to many efforts of explanation and definition, writers have made different categorizations of diaspora studies. Before getting into the details of the term, I would like to touch upon how researchers categorize diaspora studies.

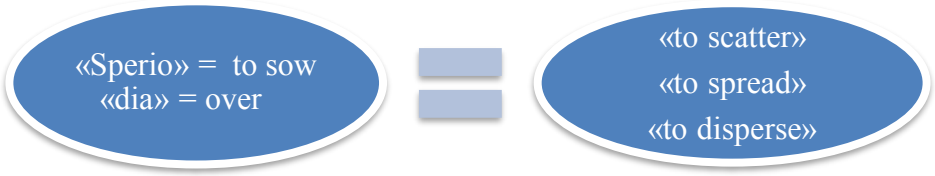
Robin Cohen outlines four phases in diaspora studies from historical perspective.[1] According to him, the first phase is "classical use" of diaspora referring to certain groups of people like Armenians, Jews and then expanded to other groups like Africans; during the second phase which coincides with the "1980s and onwards" we see the identification of "key features" and "categorizations", the third phase refers to mid-1990s in which we see the reflections of "post-modernist" approaches criticizing centrality of the "homeland" and "ethnic-religious community" in diaspora studies, the 2000s is categorized as phase four and in those years the "ideas of home and homeland" again has become important factor in the diaspora studies.[2]

Stephene Dufoix has pointed out two main trends in diaspora studies which are "modern, centred, territorial and political vision" as reflected in "Jewish case" and "post-modern, emancipatory, reterritorialized and cultural one" as is seen in "Black Diaspora".[3] In the Turkish edition of his book "Diasporas", Dufoix makes a different categorization. Along with the centred and decentred approaches, he points out a third one which encloses centred and decentred features. Centeredness comes from the fact that the link between the homeland and diaspora is maintained and since the idea of "return to homeland" is

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[1] Robin Cohen, **Global Diasporas: An Introduction,** 2. ed., London: Routledge, 2008, p.1.
[2] Ibid., p.1-2.
[3] Stéphane Dufoix, 'The Loss and the Link: A Short History of the Long-Term Word "Diaspora"', in **Diasporas Reimagined: Spaces, Practices and Belonging** (8-11), ed. Nando Sigona et al., Oxford: Oxford Diasporas Programme, 2015, p.10.

rejected, it is accepted as decentred. From this perspective, Turkey is considered as an example of the third one.[4]



The concept 'diaspora' has been associated with some specific –ethnic, religious- groups for many years such as Jews, Armenians etc., but, it takes its roots from ancient times and in today's world it involves many other groups living outside their homelands. The meaning of the word is coming from Greek as "*speiro* = to sow, *dia* = over"[5] which means "to scatter", "to spread" or "to disperse".[6] Simon Dubnov was the first who changed the religious and Jewish focus of the concept and in "1931 edition of the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences"[7], he defined the diaspora as "a Greek term for a nation or part of a nation separated from its own state or territory and dispersed among other nations but preserving its national culture"[8] but still, "the Jewish-centered definition prevailed from the second century until circa 1968".[9] Craven makes a very broad definition of diaspora inspired by Anderson's conception of imagined communities and she states that diaspora "encompasses all those individuals who imagine themselves" as part of nation or diasporic/transnational community "regardless of their place of birth, or intent to return".[10]

Today, clearly, the concept has been extended, deepened and dispersed. In Rogers Brubaker's famous article "The diaspora 'diaspora'", the dispersion of the term has been criticized as losing its distinctive characteristics and he argued that "the universalization

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[4] Stéphane Dufoix, **Diasporalar**, İstanbul: Uluslararası Hırant Dink Vakfı Yayınları, 2011, p.9.
[5] Gabriel Sheffer, **Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p.9.
[6] Martin Baumann, "Diaspora: Genealogies of Semantics and Transcultural Comparison", **Numen,** 47, no. 3 (2000), p. 315. Martin Baumann presents the roots of the concept by going back to its usage in b.c.e and then he underlines how it is used in Christianity and Judaism and how it is started to be applied African studies as well.
[7] Ibid., p. 320.
[8] Stéphane Dufoix, **Diasporas**, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008, p.17.
[9] Khachig Tölölyan, "Rethinking Diaspora(s): Stateless Power in the Transnational Moment", **Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies,** vol 5, no. 1 (1996), p.12.
[10] Catherine Craven, **Thinking About Governance Through Diasporas: Decentering the State and Challenging the External/Internal Binary**, SFB-Governance Working Paper Series, No. 76, Berlin, 2018, p. 6.

of diaspora, paradoxically, means the disappearance of diaspora."[11] As for Tölölyan, the problem with the change is that every "distinct term" such as immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest worker etc. used as synonym of diaspora.[12] While there is a tendency to associate "any dispersed group of people"[13] as diaspora, it should be stated that "not all dispersal lead to diasporas" even though "diasporas emerge out of dispersal".[14] Then, the question emerges what makes a "dispersed group" a "diaspora"? To answer this question writers have developed different approaches.

William Safran is one of the writers who indicate some conditions of being a 'diaspora' and his definition idealizes "Jewish diaspora" as one perfect type of diaspora. Accordingly, he compares other diaspora groups such as; Portuguese, Poles, Chinese, Indian, Turkish with Jewish one. Safran's six conditions include; 1) dispersion, 2) maintaining "collective memory, vision or myth about original homeland", 3) "partly" isolation from "host society", 4) considering "homeland as true, ideal home" and "myth of return" 5) believe in collective duty for the homeland 6) "ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity (diaspora consciousness).[15] In his study, it is stated that Turks in Germany have "highly developed diaspora consciousness" but since they are "not expelled", it does not have "the political obligation, or the moral burden, of reconstituting a lost homeland or maintaining an endangered culture". That is why, according to Safran, Turks in Germany "may be considered as diaspora".[16]

Clifford, while appreciating Safran's "comparative approach", criticizes identification of the Jewish diaspora as an "ideal type". His criticism is based on the fact that a diaspora can evolve and may lose its one or several distinctive characteristics which are at one time making it "ideal".[17] Therefore, rather than focusing on ideal type and

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[11] Rogers Brubaker, 'The "Diaspora" Diaspora', **Ethnic and Racial Studies** 28, no. 1 (January 2005), p.3.
[12] Tölölyan, 'Rethinking Diaspora(s)', p.10.
[13] Baumann, 'Diaspora: Genealogies of Semantics and Transcultural Comparison', p. 325.
[14] Ato Quayson and Girish Daswani, 'Introduction – Diaspora and Transnationalism: Scapes, Scales, and Scopes', in **A Companion to Diaspora and Transnationalism** (1-26), ed. Ato Quayson and Girish Daswani, Wiley&Blacwell, 2013, p.3.
[15] William Safran, 'Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return', **Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies,** Vol.1, No.1 (1991) p. 83-84..
[16] Ibid.,p.85-86.
[17] James Clifford, 'Diasporas', **Cultural Anthropology**, Vol.9, No.3 (1994), p.306.

necessary features, he suggests that, common characteristics of diasporas should be considered without essentializing them.[18] He states that;

> In the late 20th century, all most communities have diasporic dimensions (moments, tactics, practices, articulations). Some are more diasporic than others. I have suggested that it is not possible to define diaspora sharply, either by recourse to essential features or to privative oppositions. But it is possible to perceive a loosely coherent, adaptive constellation of responses to dwelling-in-displacement.[19]

In his study, he finds the importance given to a "specific origin" as overrated. Accordingly he states that; "decentred, lateral connections" and "a shared, ongoing history of displacement, suffering, adaptation, or resistance may be as important as the projection of a specific origin".[20]

"Constitutive elements of diaspora" are defined by **Tölölyan** as "coercion, delimited identity, actively maintaining collective memory, patrolling communal boundaries, contact with each other/kin, contact with the homeland".[21] "Maintaining communication with each other" is significant in the sense that they "view themselves as one nation that is spread across different states".[22] Regarding the "return to homeland" Tölölyan underlines that this classical notion about diaspora has also changed. With regard to this:

> -the orientation towards the homeland center can be symbolic, ritual, religious. It may manifest itself in philanthropic concern, in a desire to influence the development of politics and culture in the homeland, and—in the contemporary world—to influence the government of the hostland in favor of the homeland, or on behalf of one's needier kin in yet a third country, through lobbies and other forms of gift-giving.[23]

He finds Connor's definition -"that segment of a people living outside the homeland"- as too broad since, for example, it does not refer diasporic identity and cost of being a member of a diaspora. However, in practice it is expected that "membership in

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[18] Ibid.,p.306
[19] Ibid., p. 310
[20] Ibid., p. 306
[21] Tölölyan, 'Rethinking Diaspora(s)', p. 12-14.
[22] Ibid., p.14.
[23] Ibid., p.15.

a diasporic branch of the transnation must have a cost, a demonstration of loyalty that undertook the responsibility of sacrifice"[24]

Brubaker recognizes that while early examples of diaspora studies were oriented toward "paradigmatic cases" such as Jewish diaspora, the term has expanded and started to "embrace labour migrants who maintain (to some degree) emotional and social ties with a homeland".[25] In this context, he finds three common constitutive elements of diaspora which are "dispersion in space", "orientation to a homeland" and "boundary-maintenance".[26] Apart from this, he suggests to study diasporas as "an idiom, stance and claim"; as a "category of practice" which means to use the term "to make claims, to articulate projects, to formulate expectations, to mobilize energies, to appeal to loyalties".[27] In this way, it is possible to spot active members of diaspora since migrants can prefer to be diasporic or not.[28]

Similarly, **Butler** underlines common characteristics related to existing definitions of diaspora. Other than dispersal, diaspora consciousness and contact to -imagined- homeland, he states that diasporas should be "multi-generational" meaning that exist "over at least two generations".[29] He suggests that when studying diasporas it should be focused on "diasporization process" and accordingly he identifies five dimension of diaspora research as a framework of analysis which also enables comparative diaspora studies.[30] His framework of analysis suggests; looking at the reasons and conditions behind the dispersal; relationship with the homeland; relationship with the hostland; interrelationship with communities of diaspora; and comparative studies of different diasporas.[31] He states if a group covers "the first four dimensions" then it can be called as diaspora and then after a comparative study can be conducted.[32]

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[24] Ibid., p.15.
[25] Brubaker, 'The "Diaspora" Diaspora', p.2.
[26] Ibid., p.5. One significant point that he underlines with regard to "boundary-maintenance" is that it should be multi-generational in the face of assimilation. p.7.
[27] Ibid., p.12.
[28] Ibid., p.15
[29] Kim D. Butler, 'Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse', **Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies**, Vol.10, No.2 (2001), p.192.
[30] Ibid. p.93-194
[31] Ibid., p.195
[32] Ibid., p.195.

Shuval is another important writer who develops schematic framework to study diasporas with which researchers could avoid an 'ideal type' and limitations of descriptive study. According to Shuval, the difference between diaspora and other migration types is diasporas' "ongoing or re-awakened attachment and loyalty to their earlier culture and specifically to the homeland which they feel they have left behind".[33] In this context, her approach accepts that diasporic dimension of a community can change in time; as she puts, "a sense of diaspora can occur or re-occur after several generations".[34] This paradigm's three actors are specified as diaspora group itself, homeland and hostland and her paradigm can be used for the exploration of diaspora types with the ease of identifying the "similarities and differences" between them.[35]

Martin Sökefeld approaches diasporas as transnationally "imagined communities" and "social mobilization".[36] With taking his references from social movement theory, he asserts that diaspora formations can be examined on the basis of "political opportunities, mobilizing structures and practices and frames".[37] This approach enables the idea that "migrants do not necessarily form a diaspora but they may *become* a diaspora by developing a new imagination of community, even many years after the migration took place".[38] In this light, the question emerges what triggers the formation of a diaspora not in the beginning of migration but afterwards and in order to answer this question, he presents diasporas which are formed "as a response to critical events and specific developments" such as Kashmir, Sikh and Alevi diasporas.[39] Further he asserts that subsequent to "critical events and specific developments", there should be actors such as "individual members", "collective agents", who are going to shape discourses and

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[33] Judith T. Shuval, 'Diaspora Migration: Definitional Ambiguities and a Theoretical Paradigm', **International Migration**, Vol.38, No.5 (2000), p.46.
[34] Ibid., p.46.
[35] Ibid., p. 49. In her proposed scheme, possible characteristics of three constitutive actors of diasporas are indicated in detail and the diasporas subject to examination can be evaluated and compared on the basis of this characteristics. To see the template in detail; p. 50-53.
[36] Martin Sökefeld, 'Mobilizing in Transnational Space: A Social Movement Approach to the Formation of Diaspora', **Global Networks**, Vol.6, No.3 (July 2006), p.267-268.
[37] Ibid., p.270
[38] Ibid., p.267
[39] Ibid., p.272-274

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