



**SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN
SOCIAL SCIENCES**

SEYLAN İMRE

**“SOCIO-CULTURAL ADAPTATION OF SOMALI IMMIGRANTS
IN ANKARA AND ISTANBUL”**

**MASTER THESIS
NOVEMBER 2020**



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THESIS SUPERVISOR
ASST. PROF. DR. K. ONUR UNUTULMAZ

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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all materials and results that are not original to this work. I declare that this thesis is written according to the writing rules of Social Sciences University of Ankara, Institute of Social Sciences.

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ABSTRACT

“SOCIO-CULTURAL ADAPTATION OF SOMALI IMMIGRANTS IN ANKARA AND ISTANBUL”

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Turkey is one of the countries of preference of immigration for Somali people who leave their country due to security issues, political instability, and economic difficulties arising out of the ongoing civil war and conflicts since the 1990s, as well as drought and concern for the future. After the then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and the accompanying important delegation's visit to Somalia on 19 August 2011, a new period of closer relations started between the two countries. Although there are studies in the relevant academic literature that focus on the Somali people around the themes of civil war, security, terrorism, education, and religion, there is only a few to no studies that investigate the adaptation processes of Somali people particularly regarding their perceptions and experiences in social life. The relevant literature lacks any study that focuses on the opinions and perceptions of Somali immigrants who willingly go to Ankara and Istanbul through official channels and maintain their lives in Turkey. This study is important since it is the first scholarly endeavor on the subject topic.

In this study, the perceptions of the Somali immigrants, who live in Ankara and Istanbul, on their socio-cultural adaptation and the characteristics that they consider to be similar to and different from the characteristics of the Turkish society are examined by

employing in-depth interviews and qualitative methods. At the same time, this study has inquired what importance religious and social values, cultural norms, historical ties, education, age, social capital, and networks have on the Somali immigrants' adaption to the host country. In this context, this study draws both on an analytical assessment of scholarly works on the subject and on findings obtained through in-depth interviews and participant observation as part of the fieldwork. In the fieldwork stage of the study, in-depth interviews were held with 2 high-level diplomatic representatives, who had detailed information and experience on the subject, and 35 Somali immigrants. In the fieldwork conducted, examples were identified based on the Somali participants opinions and life experiences. In this regard, various social policy implications are recommended concerning the shortcomings and issues identified, through a select sample of cases, in the socio-cultural adaptation process to the Turkish society.

Keywords: Somali immigrants, Ankara-Istanbul provinces, socio-cultural adaptation, perception, migration.

ÖZET

“ANKARA VE İSTANBUL’DAKİ SOMALİLİ GÖÇMENLERİN SOSYO-KÜLTÜREL ADAPTASYONU”

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1990’lardan itibaren Somali’de devam eden iç savaş ve çatışmalardan kaynaklı güvenlik problemleri, siyasi istikrarsızlık, ekonomik sorunlar, kuraklık ve gelecek kaygısı gibi sebeplerden ötürü ülkelerinden göç eden Somalililerin tercih ettiği ülkelerden biri de Türkiye’dir. Dönemin başbakanı Recep Tayyip Erdoğan ve beraberindeki önemli bir heyetin 19 Ağustos 2011 tarihinde Somali’ye gerçekleştirdiği ziyaretten sonra iki ülke arasındaki ilişkilerin yakınlaştığı bir süreç başlamıştır. Akademik literatürde Somalililere yönelik iç savaş, güvenlik, terör, eğitim ve din temalı araştırmalar yapılıyor olmasına rağmen, Somalililerin uyum süreçlerine odaklanan özellikle sosyal hayatta onların algılarını ve yaşam tecrübelerini incelemeye yönelik yapılan çalışmalar yok denecek kadar azdır. Ankara ve İstanbul’a resmi kanallarla ve kendi istekleri ile gelen ve yaşamlarını Türkiye’de devam ettiren Somalili göçmenlerin düşünce ve fikirleri bu bağlamda daha önce hiç incelenmemiştir. Çalışmanın bu konuda ilk olması önem arz etmektedir.

Bu çalışmada, Türkiye’nin Ankara ve İstanbul şehirlerinde yaşayan Somalili göçmenlerin sosyo-kültürel adaptasyon sürecine yönelik algıları ve zorlandıkları konular, Türk toplumu ile benzer ve farklı gördükleri özellikler derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılarak nitel yöntemlerle incelenmiştir. Aynı zamanda çalışmada, dini ve toplumsal değerlerin,

kültürel normların, tarihsel bağların, eğitimin, yaşı, sosyal sermayenin ve ağların Somalili göçmenlerin misafir eden topluma uyum sağlamasında nasıl bir önemi olduğu araştırılmıştır. Bu bağlamda söz konusu çalışma, konu ile ilgili hem akademik çalışmaların analitik değerlendirilmesine hem de derinlemesine mülakat ve gözleme dayanan saha çalışmasından elde edilen bulgulara dayanmaktadır. Çalışmanın sahasında, bu konuda detaylı bilgi ve tecrübe sahibi üst düzey 2 diplomatik temsilci ve 35 Somalili göçmen ile derinlemesine mülakatlar yapılmıştır. Yapılan saha çalışmalarında, Somalili katılımcıların görüşlerinden ve yaşam tecrübelerinden örnekler tespit edilmiştir. Bu doğrultuda, tespit edilen örnekler üzerinden Türk toplumu ile sosyal ve kültürel yaşamda uyumu sağlayabilmek amacıyla eksik görülen konular ve sorunlar için çeşitli sosyal politika önerilerinde bulunulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Somalili göçmenler, Ankara-İstanbul kentleri, sosyo-kültürel uyum, algı ve göç.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU	Africa Union
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
DGMM	Directorate of General Migration Management, Republic of Turkey
Diyanet	Presidency of Religious Affairs
EF EPI	Education First English Proficiency Index
EU	European Union
IOM	International Organization of Migration
IDPs	Internally Displaced People
MiReKoc	Migration Research Center at Koc University
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
SCAS-R	The Socio-cultural Adaptation Scale-Revised
TIKA	Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency
TL	Turkish lira (currency)
TRC	Turkish Red Crescent
TurkStat	Turkish Statistical Institute
UN DESA	The Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioners for Refugees
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar
YOK	Council of Higher Education
YTB	Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“That’s migration. You get on the trail with great hopes- of a better life away from war- to the lands of freedom, where you never go to bed on an empty stomach. One is fleeing from hunger and misery, the other from servitude, from repression, from prison. Some academicians will classify those are fleeing. They will say that these are refugees and those are migrants, that this is all brain drain. But all are following their hopes. They began a journey that might end one day or might never end. One day they will be stranded somewhere.” (Şimşek & Sayman, 2018)

The main aim of this study is to analyze the socio-cultural adaptation of Somali immigrants living in Turkey, which affects their perceptions, attitudes, life, and experiences. In this context, this thesis tries to understand how similarities, differences, and difficulties affect the processes of their adaptation into Turkish society. There are five main parts of this thesis. The first part explains the conceptual framework including the research questions and purposes of the study, which are highlighted as both the descriptive and exploratory stages of the research.

In the second part of the thesis, an analytical background and literature review have been presented to highlight the important issues that will be useful in understanding the adaptation of Somalis in Turkey. The literature review discusses the relations between Turkey and Somalia, the migration and adaptation processes, and, in particular, socio-cultural adaptation.

In the third part, the research methodology of the study is described. The target populations, the fieldwork, the study design and sampling technique, participant observation, interviews, and the study challenges are explained in detail. In order to focus on the significance of the considered variables, the qualitative research and the specificity of the research including in-depth interviews with Somali immigrants are discussed. The

questionnaire that is the main data collection instrument of this study is conducted on a sample of female and male immigrants. For analytical as well as logistical purposes, the sample is limited to those Somali immigrants who live in Ankara and Istanbul, the two most important cosmopolitan cities for immigrants in Turkey. Istanbul is the biggest city in Turkey. It has the biggest economy and also the largest number of Somali immigrants and students. Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, has a lot of students. The Embassy of Somalia is in Ankara. Hence, the findings of the study are not meant to be generalized to the universe. Also, the research data are analyzed by using the primary resources from the field and qualitative analysis technique.

The fourth part which is the backbone of this thesis presents the fieldwork findings. This part contributes to the literature with comprehensive primary information obtained mostly from the in-depth interviews with Somali immigrants. The findings of the research are concentrated on the perception of immigrants regarding the similarities and challenges between Turkey and Somalia and their specific life experiences and encounters with the Turkish society. Additionally, the perception of Somali Diaspora is discussed and presented here.

Finally, in the fifth part, the conclusion and policy recommendations of the research will be given. The policy recommendations propose alternative solutions to challenges faced by Somali immigrants in Turkey in order to fulfill their adaptation easily in the future. Policy recommendations are not only aimed at bettering the lives of Somalis, they are also related to Turkey, now a country of immigration, concerning how the Somalis produce more effective policies for all immigrants in particular. Furthermore, Somalis have a particular importance in terms of rapprochement with Africa and the potential to attract more African immigrants in the future. The variables and their effects that affect the socio-cultural adaptation process of Somali immigrants are explained in this section.

1.1. Conceptual Framework

This part examines the main concepts related to migration and more specifically to migration from Africa. All definitions are also included in order to avoid conceptual confusion.

According to the Glossary on Migration (IOM, 2011), migration is defined as “*the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition, and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification*”.

Generally, migration can be divided into two categories: **International** (e.g. move across state borders) and **internal** (e.g. move in the same country such as rural to urban, urban to rural, internal tourism, and so on). International migration can further be classified as voluntary migration and forced migration:

Voluntary migration can be defined as a migratory movement in which the free will of the person or people are influenced by some factors: political, social, and economic factors (financial, job, educational or social opportunities, better life conditions, family reunification, etc.) On the other hand, **forced migration** can be defined as “a migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes (e.g., movements of refugees and internally displaced persons as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects)” (IOM, 2011). The dichotomy between voluntary and forced migrants can be summarized as illustrated in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Types of International Migration

Voluntary migrants	Forced migrants
Labor migrants Family reunification Foreign students Illegal (irregular) migrants	Refugees Asylum seekers Displaced persons Environmental migrants <i>Trafficking</i> <i>Human smuggling</i>

Source: Based on the categorization of international migrants proposed by the 2000 World Migration Report (IOM 1999, 2000); illustration by Harttgen and Klasen, 2009.

Distinguishing the features between these migrants are practically not an easy task while trying to be conceptually clear. This is because any harmful situations which can be considered a "push factor" or determinant/trigger factor, can also set off voluntary migration such as lack of jobs, poor quality of life, drought, hunger, natural disasters, etc. This thesis focuses on the socio-cultural adaptation of Somali immigrants living in Turkey; therefore, the research will only discuss international and voluntary migration literature. This type of migration is "the willing crossing of a cultural, geographic, or political boundary (Messias, 1997) with the intention of a substantial or permanent stay (Hull,1979)" (Lassetter & Callister, 2009, p. 93). Socio-cultural boundaries and relationships are also related to the main theme of this thesis. However, brief information about forced migration will also be provided in this study. To provide a clear understanding of the concepts related to migration issues and eliminate any conceptual ambiguity throughout the study, below are given some definitions. According to the Glossary on Migration of IOM, these concepts and their definitions are as follows:

Refugee is a person who “owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinions, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country” (IOM, 2011).

Asylum seeker is a person who “is seeking international protection. In countries with individualized procedures, an asylum seeker is someone whose claim has not yet been finally decided on by the country in which he or she has submitted it. Not every asylum seeker will ultimately be recognized as a refugee, but every recognized refugee is initially an asylum seeker” (IOM, 2019).

These two concepts, refugee and asylum seeker are often confused with each other. Therefore, the clarification of the definitions is so important to understand the differences between the two concepts. Other concepts to be used in my thesis are as follows: Displaced person, immigrant, economic migrant, and illegal migration.

Displaced persons are “persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, either across an international border or within a State, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters” (IOM, 2019).

Immigrant is “from the perspective of the country of arrival, a person who moves into a country other than that of his or her nationality or usual residence, so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence” (IOM, 2019).

Economic migrant is “the term is sometimes used to refer to any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State, solely or primarily motivated by economic opportunities” (IOM, 2019).

Illegal (irregular) migration is a “movement of persons that takes place outside the laws, regulations, or international agreements governing the entry into or exit from the State of origin, transit or destination” (IOM, 2019).

Lastly, I try to understand Somalis living in Turkey from the perspective of the country of arrival. For this reason, I will use the “Somali immigrant” concept as the terminology in my thesis.

1.2. Purpose of the Study

The main purposes of this study are:

1. To define Somali immigrants’ facilitators and challenges of the adaptation in the Turkish society.
2. To describe the social and cultural life of Somali immigrants in Turkey and how important their social networks are in their migration to Turkey.
3. To learn about their specific life experiences and encounters with Turkish society.
4. To analyze the impact and influences of religion and other historical and cultural issues on the adaptation of Somali people who migrated to Turkey as a Muslim-majority country.
5. To define some distinct features of Somali Diaspora and to recognize their bilateral relations with Turkey.
6. To define self-image or self-perception of participants about the most essential characteristics of Somali people.

This thesis aims to add a multi-directional perspective to the socio-cultural adaptation that is a two-way process for not only the migrant communities but also the host society in the context of an increasing number of Somali and other immigrants to Turkey in terms of international relations.

1.3. Justification of the Study

This study aims to present an original, timely, and useful contribution to the literature because:

1. It focuses on an understudied subject. While there are many studies on different immigrant groups, mostly Syrian, there are very few studies on African communities, particularly Somalis.
2. Somalia and Somali immigrants in Turkey are important because in recent years there have been converging and strengthening relations in foreign policy between the two countries.
3. Turkey is becoming a very diverse immigration country and therefore it needs to produce more data and knowledge on immigrant groups, their adaptation processes, and particularly the challenges on their way.
4. In the future, Turkey aims to be a more active actor in the international scene. A part of this is possible through enhancing relations with Africa, for which Turkey has important historical and cultural advantages. In this context, this study is useful to understand how Somali people regard the Somali-Turkish relations.
5. There is an international competition over skilled immigrants, and Turkey wants to attract more qualified, younger immigrants who could be helpful within or outside Turkey as voluntary ambassadors of public diplomacy.

CHAPTER II

ANALYTICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides a detailed yet selective review of the literature on migration studies and socio-cultural adaptation underlying the study. This literature review focuses on a sample group of research with a deductive technique.

2.1. Turkey-Somalia Relations in Historical Perspective and Today

This part will be important to discover the basics of the relations established between the two countries and to gain an insight into the idea of their reflections on the current state of affairs. In order to understand the Turkey-Somalia relations better, it is possible to give some background and general information about Somalia, especially its geopolitical and political situation and history.

Somalia is located in the Horn of Africa at the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. It borders Ethiopia in the east and Kenya in the south. Somalia's estimated population is 15.9 million (World Population Review, 2020) inhabitants, although projecting exact numbers remains difficult due to a part of the population's nomadic lifestyle. Somalia, which gained its independence on July 1, 1960, had been a colony of England, Italy, and France for many years. In its modern history, the country has been marked by over two decades of warfare and political instability following President Siad Barre's overthrow in 1991. In Somalia, external interventions of both regional (neighboring countries), and international (organizations and countries) actors have played a role in the ongoing conflict since the collapse of the Somali state.

Somalia consists of seven (7) geographic, administrative, and economic regional/states. These are from north to south, Somaliland, Puntland, Galmudug, Hiiraan and Middle Shebelle, Mogadishu (Banadir), South-West State, and Jubaland (Somali National Development Plan (2017-2019), p. 164). The autonomous and semi-autonomous regional

governments such as in Somaliland and Puntland are more secure places rather than southern Somalia that includes the capital city Mogadishu because Al-Shabaab, an armed Islamist fundamentalist group, is a serious internal and regional threat on mainly southern and central Somalia (Hogendoorn, 2013).

In addition to this, there are six (6) clans/tribes in the country. These are Hawiye, Darod, Isaaq, Dir, Digil Rahanweyn, and Mirifle Rahanweyn. The clan of Hawiye, predominant in Southern and Central Somalia, and the capital Mogadishu, as well as the main towns of Merka and Kismayo, is believed to be the largest clan in the country, by population. According to historic evidence, they are the descendants of the Arab migrants and a brother-clan to the Dir ethnic group ruling Djibouti. There is a political influence of the Hawiyes in Mogadishu. On the other hand, Puntland is composed primarily of Darods, and Somaliland is composed of Isaaqs clan (Muse, 2019).

The larger of these clans are dominated by powerful warlords who have played key roles in the conflicts that have rocked Somalia for decades. Besides, the prime minister and the presidents came out of these main clans. For example, “the president can be from Darood, the prime minister from Hawiye, the speaker of the national assembly from Rahanweyn and the deputy from a speaker from the Dir clan” (Muse, 2019, p. 34). There is a huge influence of clan structures on political and management systems in Somalia. Knowing about the social structure and the influential power of clans within the Somali government may be effective in taking constructive steps in Turkey and Somalia relationship. Moreover, these administrative people, including clans’ leaders, have conducted negotiations with the Turkish government to obtain the peacebuilding of Somali for a decade.

Turkey and Somalia have political connections as well as close historical and cultural ties. The relations between Turkey and Somalia started from the Ottoman Empire period. In the 16th century, East Africa (Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan, and Ethiopia) was a significant region for Ottoman Empire in terms of sea and trade routes and also some Holy places (Siradag, 2016). The Ottoman State had a good trade and military relations with Muslim Sultanates in the region, including the Adal Sultanate and the Ajuran Sultanate or

Empire. At that time, the Ajuran Empire was an important power over Somalia, Eritrea, Djibouti, and Ethiopia. When the Portuguese attacked Somalia, the Ottomans sent troops to Somalia for support. Thus, these attacks of the Portuguese were repulsed (Freeman-Grenville, 1963).

The Ottoman Empire, advancing to East Africa, progressed to Somaliland (the north of Somalia), and some mosques, hospitals, and administration buildings in there were built during the Ottoman period (Kavas, 2001). Somali people are aware of the traces of the Ottoman Empire, and these traces can still be seen in many places on the shores of Somalia. With the Ottoman arrival in Somalia, there were Somali and Turkish intermarriages, especially in Zeila and Berbera. The island of Zeila, which is a military as well as a commercial center in Somaliland, used to be an Ottoman island. The ports of Berbera and Zeila were known as the strategic places that connect the Indian Ocean with the Red Sea (Akalin, 2014).

The relations with Somalia were weakened with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Somali-Turkish relations remained quiet until the 20th century because the Republic of Turkey, which was at the establishment phase, focused on the main domestic problems (Siradag, 2016, p. 91). In 1979, a Turkish Embassy was opened in the capital city Mogadishu for the first time, but it was closed in 1991 because of civil war. After decades of civil war and state collapse, Somalia is making rapid progress towards peace, stability, and prosperity. However, internal and regional security in Somalia is still a problematic issue.

On the other hand, the Turkish Embassy in Somalia was reopened on November 1, 2011 (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019). Turkey's engagement in Somalia has grown following the visit of the then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan in August 2011, according to some Turkish commentators, constituted a turning point in the history of Somalia (Ozkan & Orakci, 2015). This visit drew interest from the international community to the great drought disaster in Somalia.

It was followed by a nationwide campaign that collected donations close to 500 million Turkish Liras (around 300 million USD, in 2011) for Somali people (Turkish

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019). In 2011, this Turkish relief operation including both food and cash aids in Somalia began as a response to the humanitarian crisis involving not only drought disasters but also famine problems. After this event, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), the Directorate for Religious Affairs (Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi), The Turkish Red Crescent (Kizilay), and Turkish non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been actively engaging and supporting Turkey-Somalia relations.

Turkish humanitarian and development aids to Somalia amassed 1 billion USD from 2011 to 2019 (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019). Many development projects in different areas, such as education, health, agriculture, municipal services, security, infrastructure, and water management, have been implemented in the reconstruction process of Somalia.

Erdogan's historic visit was "the first visit to Mogadishu by a head of state or government from outside Africa in almost 20 years" (Ozkan & Orakci, 2015, p. 343). At the same time, this official visit to Somalia is considered by many Turkish diplomats one of the main political steps for strengthening Turkish-African relations. Following this positive step, the number of African Embassies in Ankara has grown in recent years (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019).

In 2015 and 2016, Turkish President Erdogan's visits continued to Somalia. Again, according to the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey's largest Embassy Complex in the world was inaugurated officially in Mogadishu during his visit in 2016. Furthermore, Turkey's contribution to Somalia has also been in the security and military aspects. An important project, which is to rebuild Somali National Security Forces and National Army for battling the terrorist group Al-Shabaab (allied to Al-Qaeda in 2012) in Somalia, is the "Turkey-Somali Military Training Center". In 2017, Turkey's largest overseas military training center was opened in Mogadishu (Bilgiç, 2019).

In addition, some constructive initiatives between the two countries have been taken to satisfy the educational needs of Somali students. More than a thousand Somali students have been able to follow up on their education by receiving a Turkish higher education

scholarship since 1992 (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019). Turkey continues to provide scholarships for the Somali students through different state institutions, including the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB), the Directorate for Religious Affairs, and the Ministry of Education.

Turkey's efforts in Somalia are more likely to generate international coordination and cooperation, rather than creating conflict and turmoil. It can be stated that Turkey has the risks to manage technical and development projects on the country with serious internal security problems for supporting sustainable peace. Besides, Turkey and Turkish institutions continue to make significant efforts in rebuilding the country's major source of revenues (Billow, 2014). "While Turkey's trade relations with Somalia was 6 million USD in 2010" (Siradag, 2016), the total value of Turkish investments in Somalia has reached 100 million USD in 2019 (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019).

According to Saferworld and Istanbul Policy Center Report (2015), Turkey has become "a more visible global actor" in the rebuilding process of Somalia over the past decade as historical ties and religious affinity place Somalia higher in Turkey's list of priority countries with which Turkey seeks to enhance relations. In other words, that Somalia is one of the countries in need of assistance the most and that it is a Muslim country have played an important role in this. Almost all projects Turkey realized for sustainable peace and development of Somalia contribute to the socio-economic development and restructure of the country. Turkey's positive steps taken to Somalia would bring along a strategic partnership for two countries in terms of bilateral relations.

"Turkey's positive reputation and on-the-ground presence in Somalia put both its official and civil society aid agencies in a strong position to leverage aid to support longer-term peace or, at the very least, manage the risks that it might fuel conflict" (Saferworld, 2015).

2.2. Foreigners, Africans, and Somalis in Turkey

In order to better understand Somalis in Turkey, first, foreign nationals and then Africans living in Turkey need to be explained with a deductive method. For this reason, identifying the general Somali population is important to clarify the explanation and understand the subject specific group deeply. This issue, which has very broad meanings, is explained within the framework of migration studies. As a matter of fact, the number of African immigrants living in Turkey is not exactly known. Particularly, with the immigration waves in the 2000s, the increase in the number of immigrants is worth noting. After these immigrations, the number of African migrants in Turkey has increased because of the growing trade relations and cooperation between African countries and Turkey since 2005 (Şimsek, 2019).

Similarly, the number of Somali migrants in Turkey has increased in the past decade. According to a research about “Socio-economic Profiling of Asylum Seekers Residing in Satellite Cities in Turkey” (2017) of Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, there is a significant increase especially in the international protection applications of Somalis in Turkey. However, it was not possible to obtain current and detailed socio-economic data on Somali immigrants in Turkey since the number of studies related to Somalis in Turkey is quite limited.

2.2.1. Foreigners in Turkey

Turkey, which is traditionally a ‘transit’ and ‘source’ country for migration, has also become a ‘destination’ country due to its the geographic location and being bridging Europe to Asia. Also, political and economic instabilities in its neighboring regions pose a significant challenge for the Turkish migration policy (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020). Currently, Turkey has become the country hosting the largest refugee population in the world with millions of Syrian refugees (MiReKoc, 2020).

The current population of Turkey is 84,011,993 in February 2020, based on the Worldometer elaboration of the latest United Nations data. Today, Turkey is home to some

5.1 million foreigners who come from different cultures and ethnic communities from 192 countries, according to an official migration office. This number includes international and temporary protection and residence permits (DGMM, 2020). Of these, around 3.6 million registered refugees are Syrians in Turkey (UNHCR, 2019). They are followed by Afghans, Iraqis, Iranians, and Somalis (see Figure 2.1).

Turkey currently hosts over 365,000 persons of concern from other nationalities. Somalia with its fifth place in Figure 2.1 below has 5.700 people in 2019. In this Figure, we see Somalia, the only African country as an ethnic identity. The figure also presents that the largest African population in Turkey is Somalis. More detailed information regarding Africans and Somalis will be presented in the next section. Although the ‘foreigner population in Turkey’ topic is quite a big issue, it is only focused on foreigners with a residence permit in this part.

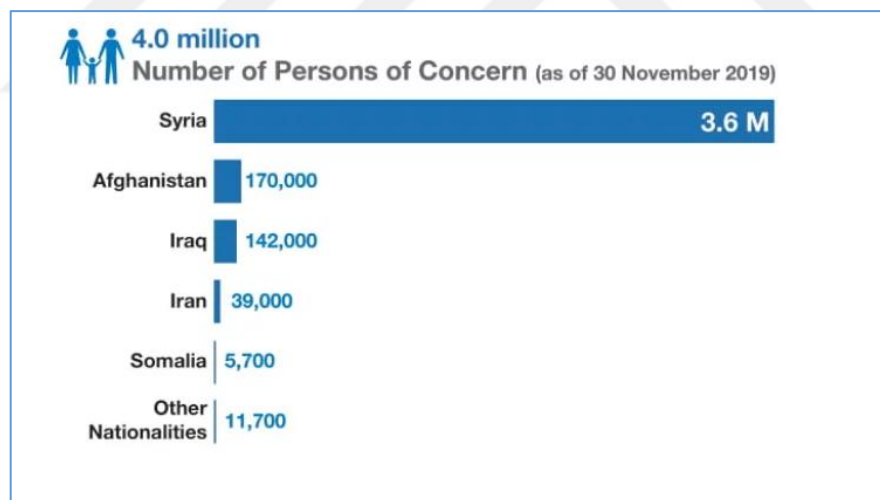


Figure 2.1: Number of Persons of Concern in Turkey

Source: Generated using data dated November 2019 sourced by UNCHR (2019)

According to the distribution of foreigners with a residence permit by the provinces, there are three important cities in Turkey. The first city is Istanbul. According to the Turkish Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) data (as of 13.02.2020), the number of foreigners with a residence permit in Istanbul is 571.714. Istanbul is the most preferred

destination. The second city is the capital Ankara with 116.092 people, followed by the Mediterranean city of Antalya with 95.316 immigrants residing in the city in 2020. According to the same data, a total of 1.124.336 foreigners have received a residence permit in Turkey to date. It should not be wrong to say that almost half of this total foreigner's population lives in Istanbul.

Table 2.1: Foreigners with a residence permit by the provinces in 2020

(Top Three Cities)

Range	City	Year:2020
1	Istanbul	571.714
2	Ankara	116.092
3	Antalya	95.316
Turkey Total: 1.124.336		

In Figure 2.2, there is a serious increase in the number of foreigners with a residence permit from 2005 to 2020. The rationale for choosing the year 2005 is that 2005 was proclaimed the year of Africa in Turkey within the framework of Turkey's opening to Africa. In addition, it can be said that the Syrian population and Turkey's open-door policy for Syrians have an important role in this increase as well; however, the number of Syrians with a residence permit in Turkey is just 93.478 (DGMM, 2020), which shows that only a small minority of Syrians live with a residence permit in Turkey.

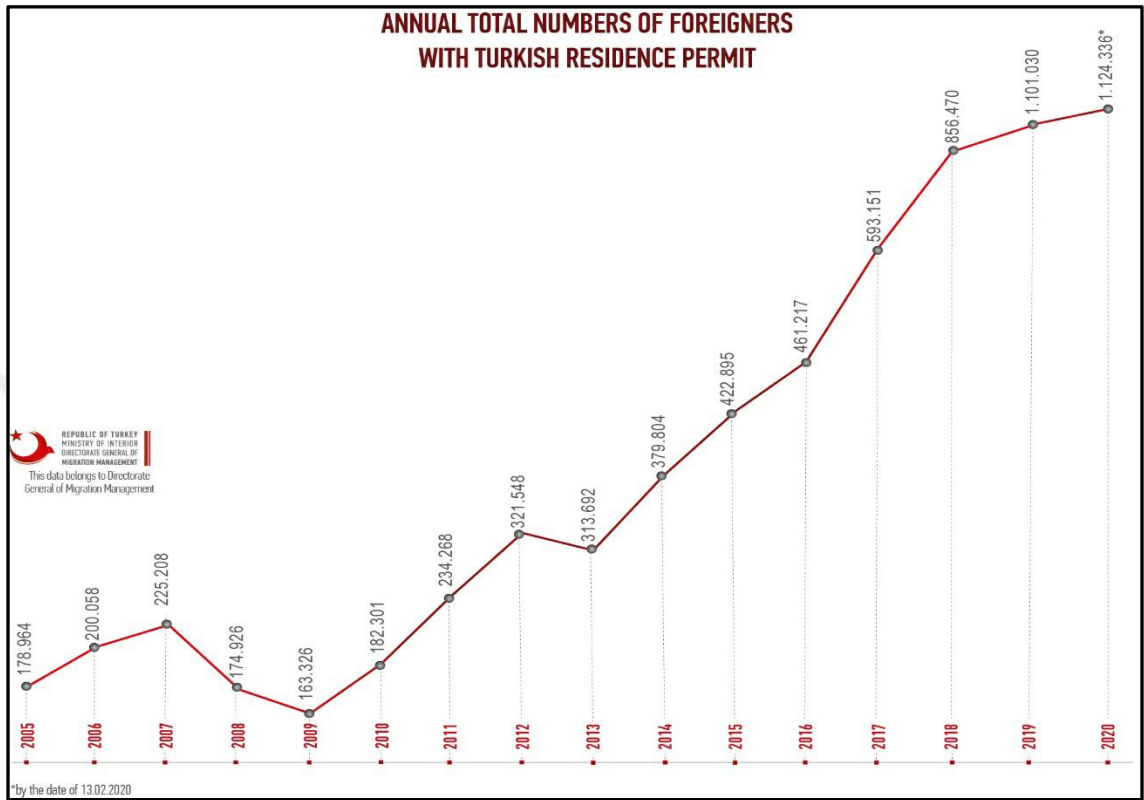


Figure 2.2: Annual Total Numbers of Foreigners with Turkish Residence Permit between 2005 to 2020

Source: Generated using data dated February 2020 sourced by DGMM (2020)

Being a migration sending, receiving, and transit country reveals the triple role of Turkey within migration regimes (İçduygu, Erder, & Gençkaya, 2014). However, with a large Syrian population in recent years, Turkey has become a migration-receiving country to open to conflicts continuing in neighboring and other nationalities. Departing from the conclusions drawn in this study as well as Turkey's enterprising and humanitarian foreign policy, it looks like Turkey will continue to host a great number of refugees, many of whom are likely to be displaced people around the world because of ongoing violence, conflict, and persecution. Somalis in Turkey are one of these sensitive communities. For this reason, this study aims to understand the socio-cultural adaptation of Africans in Turkey's evolving migration identity, particularly from Somalis' perspective.

2.2.2. Africans in Turkey

Turkey's opening policy to Africa dates back to the Action Plan adopted in 1998 (Özkan, 2010). According to the Plan, political, economic and cultural cooperation with Africa was called since the relations with Africa were neglected and the rebuilding of relations were needed both politically and economically for many years. At the same time, Turkey's emerging multi-dimensional foreign policy vision including Turkey's growing interest in Africa began in 2000s. "In March 2005, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan visited Ethiopia and South Africa – the first official visit by a Turkish prime minister to a country south of the equator" (Özkan, 2010, p.533). Moreover, the year 2005 was declared as the "Year of Africa" by the Turkish Government and Turkey was accorded observer status by the Africa Union (AU) the same year. The year 2008 had special importance in the development of Turkish-African relations. In that year, AU declared Turkey as a "strategic partner" and the "Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit" was held with the participation of 49 African countries in Istanbul.

After that, Partnership Summits, High-Level Meetings, Forums, and Conferences were held in Turkey. Turkey accelerated the bilateral relations and brought a new vision for African countries under the AKP administration (Özkan, 2010). Therefore, there was a growing mutual interest between Turkey and Africa. Both sides set out by taking positive steps on creating mutual goodwill, solidarity, and cooperation:

"African nations may find Turkey a reliable partner and a more benign state to be collaborated within their efforts to create a just, peaceful, and more equal international environment for their economic development. Turkey seems to have well recognized African countries' expectations for getting their voice heard on international platforms" (Özkan, 2010, p. 543)

The economic, political, and social needs and expectations of both sides would have come from this close relationship. Migration and asylum-seeking between both parties with this close relationship appear to be an expected implication. Although studies on African migrants in Turkey are scarce, some studies are available showing that Africans began to

come to Turkey as irregular migrants and asylum seekers since the 1990s (Frantz, 2003). Today, migration from Africa through Turkey can be attributed to various reasons. First, poverty, economic collapse, or difficulties, and the struggle for survival in many countries may cause migration. Second, political instability, internal and ethnic conflict, violence, and war may trigger refugee flows and internal displacement (Brewer & Yüksek, 2006). Third, educational needs, commercial cooperation desire, and better life aspirations bring about migration to the developed countries.

Furthermore, in the migration debates on Turkish-African relations, some African people consider Turkey as their main destination country while others see a transition point to final destinations (İçduygu, 2011) in Europe. It is needed to be known that the position of Turkey in the European migration system in terms of migration control is described as “transit zones” or “buffer zones” (Yüksek & Brewer, 2011) to understand the purpose of the arrival of African immigrants in Turkey. Due to its geopolitical location, Turkey is one of the significant transit points on migration networks in the world through Asian and African continents towards Europe. Many previous studies have remarked that there were several thousand African migrants from different countries who entered Turkey through regular or irregular channels. Some of them are “transit migrants who have been diverted to Turkey while trying to reach EU countries” (Yüksek & Brewer, 2011). In general, it is assumed that the causes of Africans’ transit migration from Turkey to the EU are the will to become a European citizen and to have a socioeconomically better life expectancy.

It appears that economic reasons trigger the migration of Africans because they want to reach prosperous and comfortable life. For migrants who could not go to Europe and stayed in Turkey, it is estimated that a large number of African people work in the informal sector. They run their restaurants, hair salons, cafes, or work without any social security at the textile workshops. Another source of livelihood for these people is described as informal “suitcase trade” or “cargo business”, in which they buy textile products from Turkey and sell them to their countries (Şimşek & Sayman, 2018). Their cafes and restaurants are places not only to earn their living but also to maintain their social networks and cultural practices.

The migrants in Turkey who come from different parts of Africa differ in terms of many aspects. The Western and Central Africans who come because of economic reasons should not be confused with the Eastern Africans who are mostly refugees. Migrants from West African countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal, and Central African countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo are mostly known as economic migrants. They mostly deal with the suitcase trade in Turkey (Danış & Özdil, 2019). On the other hand, migrants from Eastern African countries such as Somalia, Rwanda, Eritrea, and Ethiopia are mainly asylum seekers. In general, migrants in this group establish tighter social and cultural ties with each other (Danış & Özdil, 2019).

Another reason of migration for African migrants in Turkey is access to educational opportunities. African students in Turkey who do not take any scholarship receive education cheaper than in Europe. At the same time, it is estimated that many of the African students receiving higher education in Turkey have received scholarships from related Turkish institutions (Gözler, 2019). Thus, it is seen that Turkey is a favorable country to get an education, especially after the beginning of Turkey's African Opening Policy. According to YOK (Council of Higher Education) Data (2019), the number of foreign students in Turkey was 154.505 in the 2018-2019 academic year. It is known that the majority of this number consists of Asian and African students (Gözler, 2019). As the number of African students in Turkey was 4.532 in 2013, this number reached 11.378 in 2018 (Baydemir, 2020, p. 56).

Table 2.2 below presents the country distribution of African students in Turkey from 33 countries, in the 2018-2019 academic year. Those countries are selected in terms of the intensity of students coming to Turkey. Somalis constitute the largest group of students (3.764) coming to Turkey from African countries for educational purposes. It is understood that most of the Somali immigrants are students. In this list, Egypt (2.910), Libya (1.756), Nigeria (1.562), and Morocco (1.071) follow Somalia.

Table 2.2: Country Distribution of Selected African Students in Turkey in the 2018-2019 Academic Year.

COUNTRY	NUMBER	COUNTRY	NUMBER	COUNTRY	NUMBER
SOMALI	3764	BENIN	115	NIGER	219
EGYPT	2910	BURKINA FASO	192	MAURITANIA	247
LIBYA	1756	IVORY COAST	194	MALAWI	115
NIGERIA	1562	GABON	40	RWANDA	167
MOROCCO	1071	GHANA	379	SENEGAL	167
CHAD	989	GAMBIA	169	SOUTH AFRICA	312
SUDAN	735	GUINEA	495	TANZANIA	377
ALGERIA	588	GUINEA-BISSAU	137	TUNISIA	396
CAMEROON	583	COMOROS	161	UGANDA	293
DJIBOUTI	535	KENYA	464	ZAMBIA	195
ETHIOPIA	507	CONGO	181	ZIMBABWE	100

Source: <https://istatistik.yok.gov.tr/> (last accessed on 16 April 2020), illustration by the researcher.

In addition to that, African students can be described as regular migrants, alongside migrants with a residence and work permit (self-employed, engaged in trade (taxpayer) or working in a legal company, institution, etc.). In general, regular migrants do not get in contact with illegal migrants because they have a job, regular life, and a family and they think that irregular migrants can bring problems to their lives (Danış & Özdil, 2019). The most often encountered difficulty the regular migrants face is a work permit (Danış & Özdil, 2019).

To sum up, this thesis only focuses on the regular African immigrants in Turkey in the literature although there are different frameworks and concepts in migration studies. With the largest population among African immigrants in Turkey, Somali immigrants will be studied. It is noteworthy that Somalis ranked first among the African immigrant population

in Turkey for a few years. Although the population of Somali immigrants in Turkey is smaller in number compared to other immigrant populations in Turkey, it is not invisible. Their number is also increasing every year. For this reason, it would be beneficial to conduct a study on the cultural world of Somalis and their relations with Turkish society and their socio-cultural adaptation. In brief, the purpose of this thesis is to look at the lives of select Somalis through socio-cultural lens, and thus contribute to the migration and peace conflict studies from this aspect.

2.2.3. Somalis in Turkey

Political and ethnic violence, ongoing conflicts, and peacebuilding process have affected most countries of Eastern Africa in the displacement of millions. There were 8.1 million internally displaced people (IDPs) and 3.5 million refugees and asylum-seekers by mid-2019, in the East and Horn of Africa region (IOM, 2019). Somalia is one of these countries. In 2019, there were a total of 2.6 million IDPs in Somalia (IOM, 2019). They were forcibly displaced because of drought, food shortages, insecurity, and intractable conflicts.

According to UNHCR's Global Trends Report (2019), there are nearly 900.000 Somali refugees living abroad due to such conflicts. The majority of the refugees have stayed in Kenya (34.7%), Yemen (34%), and Ethiopia (26.4%). Despite the ongoing conflict in Yemen, the second largest Somali refugee population with 247.200 continued to live there (UNHCR, 2019). Moreover, 6 percent of Somali refugees are hosted by other countries. Somalia is the fifth-largest refugee population in the world as of 2018 (see Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3: Number of Refugees by Top 5 countries of origin as of 2018 (millions)

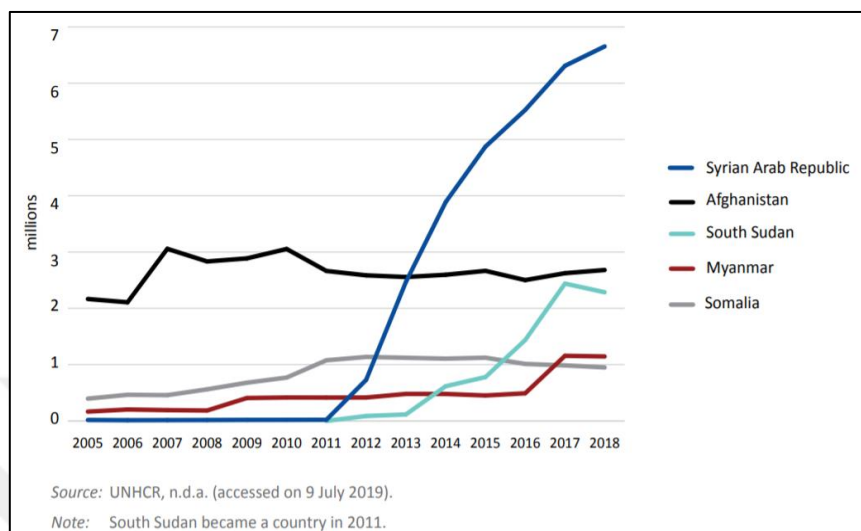
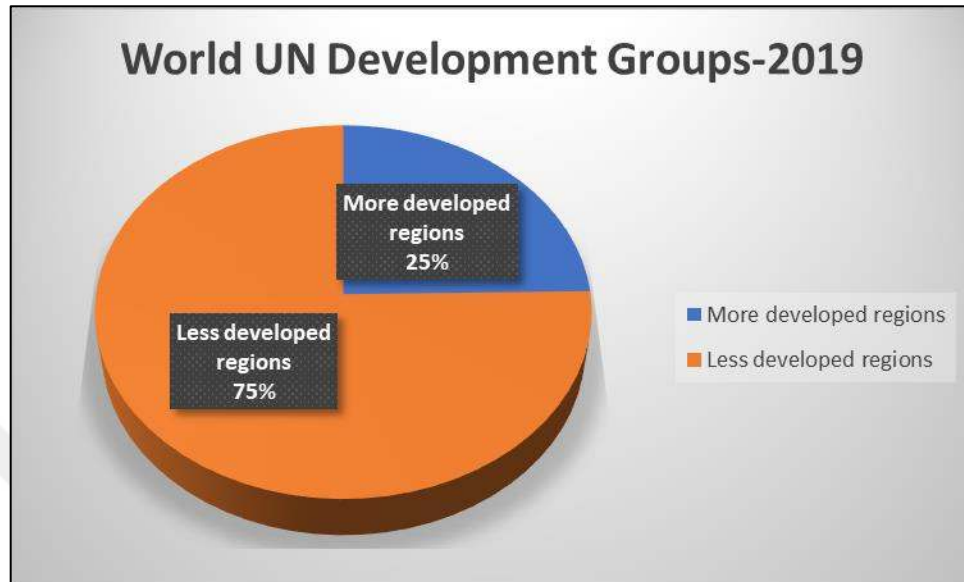


Figure 2.3 shows that the Syrian Arab Republic, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar, and Somalia are the top five countries of origin in terms of refugee numbers. They constitute over two-thirds of the world refugee populations (IOM, 2020).

Figure 2.4 indicates the total Somali migrants' stock in mid-2019 by World Development Groups in which these data have been prepared by the Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations (UN DESA). Somali migrants have lived in less developed regions, with a population of about 75% in the world.

Figure 2.4: World UN Development Groups in Somalia, 2019

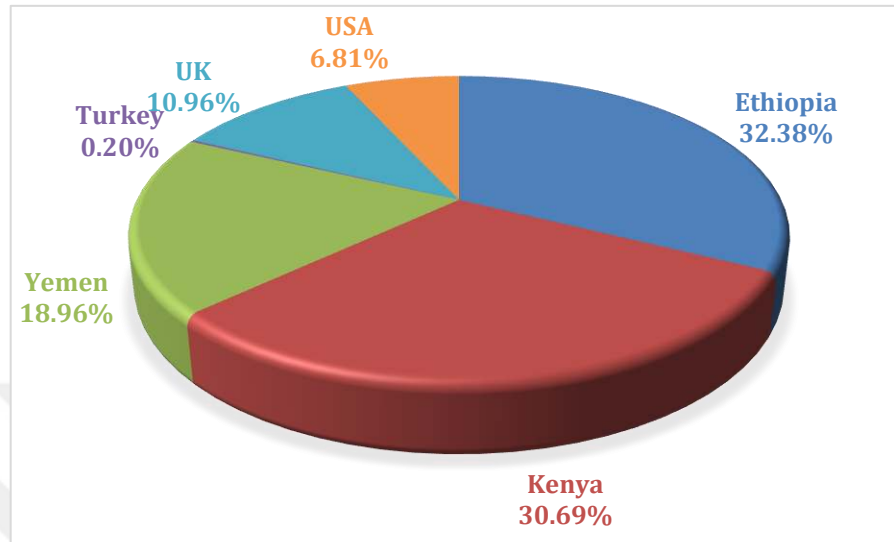


Source: UN DESA, 2019, illustration by the researcher.

Additionally, it will be useful to mention immigration from Somalia after generally looking at the place of the Somali immigrant population in the world. The United Nations Trends in International Migrant Stock points out a stock of over 2 million Somali migrants in 2019. The main countries of destination include neighboring Ethiopia and Kenya, other African countries, as well as European countries, particularly the United Kingdom (UK), the United States of America (USA), Yemen, and Turkey (see Figure 2.5). The top three countries that the majority of Somali migrants lived in the world are Ethiopia (32.38%), Kenya (30.69%), and Yemen (18.96 %) (UN DESA, 2019). Besides, it appears that there is a significant Somali population in England (10.96%) and the USA (6.81%). The target population of this thesis, which is the number of Somali immigrants in Turkey can be seen as quite a few in this chart.

However, the countries with the largest population of Somali immigrants are selected, but the comparison of Turkey with those countries may not be descriptive.

Figure 2.5: Destination of Migrants from Somalia, 2019



Source: UN DESA, 2019; illustration by the researcher.

Furthermore, Somali immigrants in Turkey are defined as asylum seekers or refugees, a group requiring humanitarian and international protection from Turkey within the migration reports of IOM (2019). Although Somalis in Turkey are relatively few compared to some other countries in the world, the population of Somali immigrants in Turkey ranks fifth after Syrian, Afghan, Iraqi, and Iranian people (UNHCR, 2019).

Unfortunately, the current socio-demographic information (such as education, gender, occupation, cities inhabited, etc.) of the general Somali population living in Turkey was not available during this research. Besides, publications on specific Somali issues remain limited in number. The only reliable information on Somalis in Turkey comes from YOK sources related to Somali students in the country.

According to the Council of Higher Education in Turkey (2019), there were 3,764 Somali students in Turkey. While this number was 1,566 in the 2016-2017 academic year, it was 2,157 in the 2017-2018 year. The number of Somali students has steadily increased over the years. Moreover, the number of male students was significantly more than that of female students in all these years (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Gender and Year Distribution of Somali Students in Turkey

Students		2016-2017	2017-2018	2018-2019
Female	#	378	598	1.085
	%	24.1	27.7	28.8
Male	#	1.188	1.559	2.679
	%	75.9	72.3	71.2
Total	#	1.566	2.157	3.764

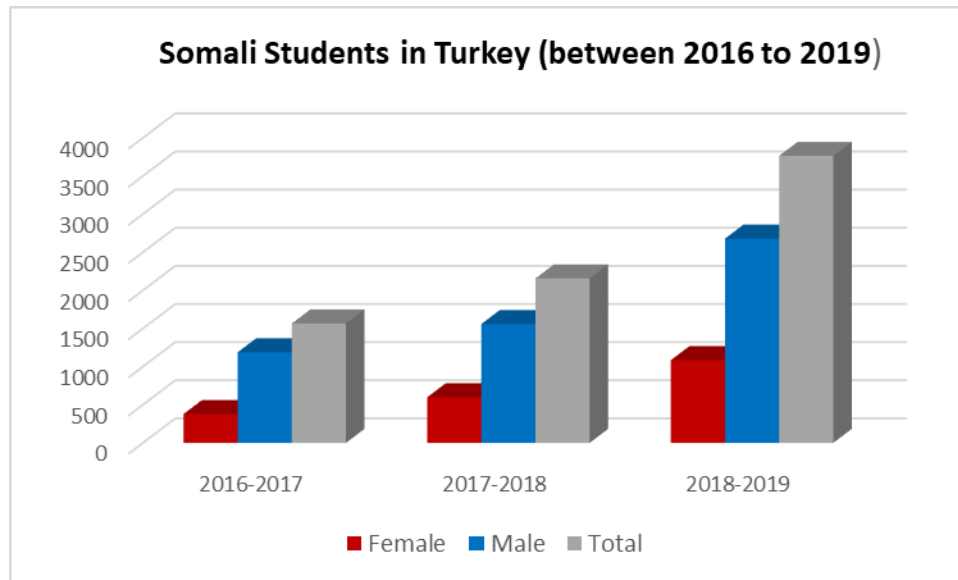


Figure 2.6: Gender and Year Distribution (between 2016 to 2019) of Somali Students in Turkey

Source: <https://istatistik.yok.gov.tr/> (last accessed on 16 April 2020); illustration by the researcher.

In light of these data, it can be suggested that a large part of the Somali population in Turkey (5.700) is made up of students (3.764). This is reflected in the sample of this study where the number of students is high. Particularly during the field study in Istanbul, more Somali students were interviewed compared to Ankara because the number of Somali students in Istanbul is higher. At the same time, it is necessary to say that the immigrant

population in Istanbul, a metropolitan and cosmopolitan city, is more intense than cities. Besides, detailed information about the sample of the research will be given in the methodology chapter.

Despite weak sources, however, studies on Somalis in Turkey have made progress and have been evolved since 2011. Although the majority of the African population in Turkey are Somalis, there is little known about their integration or adaptation. This research is to examine perceptions, attitudes, life, and experiences of Somali immigrants and the contribution of these differences to socio-cultural life. Therefore, the next section will provide a background on the issue of socio-cultural adaptation as it is conceptualized in this study.

2.3. Socio-Cultural Adaptation

Since one of the most important objectives of this study is to understand and analyze the socio-cultural adaptation patterns of Somali migrants in Turkey and these concepts have been in use in social sciences with competing understandings as well as agenda, it is necessary to first define these concepts. A good starting point would be the concept of culture. Culture is an extensive term that includes traditions, beliefs, values, attitudes, behaviors, and language. It is also intervened with practices by connecting groups and individuals to institutionalized hierarchies (Swartz, 1997). Culture affects how people behave and the meanings of these behaviors (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). Adaptation is an important concept related to culture.

The first sociologist who used the term *adaptation* is Herbert Spencer (1961). The idea was that individuals and organizations must adjust themselves to the social environment was defined as a social adaptation by Spencer in his book 'The Study of Sociology' (Shen, Xue, Chen, & Li, 2018). Although there are different types of adaptations, such as socio-cultural, psychological, and intercultural (Berry, 2017), the subject of this study is *socio-cultural adaptation*. It is defined as the ability to engage in everyday life problems within a new cultural context and to get along with the new society (Tatarko, Berry, & Choi, 2020).

Socio-cultural adaptation is related to behavioral competence, which is mainly affected by culture learning paradigm or social skills.

Social adaptation becomes increasingly significant when the social change affects important aspects of life over comparatively short periods. Migration is also an important social change in a person's life. Social and cultural learning skills of people (adapting to the new food, climate, environment, and living conditions, making new friends, communicating effectively, coping skills with language difficulties, etc.) are factors that facilitate the adaptation (Ward & Kennedy, 1999) to the host culture. There is a positive strategy in adaptation. Newcomers to society preserve their cultural values and local characteristics while complying with the cultural norms and values in the society they live in. Thus, migrants can achieve adaptation by synthesizing the two cultures.

Although it is not a concrete concept, some studies claim it to be a valid and reliable scale on socio-cultural adaptation. The Socio-cultural Adaptation Scale was first used by Searle and Ward (1990) to develop a measure of socio-cultural adaptation (Wilson, Ward, & Fischer, 2013, p. 901). In 1999, this Scale was developed by Ward and Kennedy, and in 2013 revised by Jessie Wilson. While the Scale of Ward and Kennedy (1999) consisted of 16 cross-sectional and 4 longitudinal samples, the Socio-cultural Adaptation Scale-Revised (SCAS-R) of Wilson (2013) consisted of 21 items and a 5-point Likert-type scale (Wilson J., 2013). The following are the five dimensions of this scale (SCAS-R): 1) Interpersonal communication, 2) academic/work performance, 3) personal interest and community involvement, 4) ecological adaptation and 5) language proficiency (Wilson J., 2013).

This scale aims to understand the difficulties and troubles in the daily life of immigrants coming to a new country. At the same time, the scale measures establishing a meaningful relationship with host community members, migrants' degree of adaptation, and understanding of cultural values in the target country (Yalçın, 2018). While preparing the thesis research questions, the questions of this scale were benefited from. The scale could not directly be used in this study since there is not a study on the transcreation, validity, and

suitability of this scale for Somali culture. Therefore, participants were asked open-ended questions similar to the scale themes, as this is thought to be suitable for Somali culture.

Moreover, cultural distance or cultural similarity, the amount of interaction with host nationals, language fluency, length of residence in the new culture, age, and hospitality of the host country are prominent features that influence socio-cultural adaptation. The differences, difficulties, and similarities between the two communities are factors that affect the degree of social adaptation. The greater the cultural distance and differences, the more likely it is that individuals will have difficulty in socio-cultural adaptation (Karaman, 2018, p. 29). It was found that cultural or ethnic similarity led to a better sociocultural adaptation in the re-examination study in which Ward and Kennedy (1999) examined 16 studies involving the effects of cultural distance on the difficulty in adaptation (Karaman, 2018, p. 29). Some studies have found that the difficulties in socio-cultural adaptation decreased after the first six months (Ward & Kennedy, 1999). Besides, it has been found that language skills and communication skills also affect the socio-cultural adaptation positively (Karaman, 2018). Age is another factor that affects socio-cultural adaptation. It is easier for young people to adapt to a new culture and environment. As age increases, resistance to socio-cultural adaptation increases as well (Poyrazlı, Arbona, Bullington, & Pisecco, 2001).

Some academic studies suggest that the socio-cultural adaptation in a new culture may be easier in more developed or modern countries (Ward & Kennedy, 1999). The socialization opportunities and the variety of cultural activities can be effective in this. Since humans can find many options or alternatives, socio-cultural adaptation appears to be easy in developed countries. While the immigrant society can adapt more easily in societies close to its own culture and with similar norms, the adaptation period in host societies with different and opposite features extends, and individual flexibility and openness to change become important in these cases. For this reason, the socio-cultural adaptation of Somali immigrants in this study is analyzed in terms of their perceived challenges, differences, and similarities in Turkish society.

Another important issue is that social capital, “defined as the different resources available to individuals or groups through their social connections” (Kawachi, 2010) of migrants, which is known to be a strong factor in their successful adaptation (Tatarko, Berry, & Choi, 2020). For migrants’ socio-cultural adaptation, bonding, and bridging social capital is necessary because this is an essential social resource for their adaptation to host society. While the term *bonding social capital* refers to “social capital when the source is a member of the migrant’s ethnic group” the term *bridging social capital* is used “when the source is a member of another group or the larger society” (Tatarko, Berry, & Choi, 2020, p. 1). According to many authors, the bonding social capital is related to the economical adaptation of immigrants. On the other hand, the bridging social capital is based on immigrants’ sociocultural adaptation due to its supplies with social resources necessary for them to collaborate with other people in society and to adapt to a new environment (Tatarko, Berry, & Choi, 2020, p. 2). Also, both types of social capital are important for the adaptation of immigrants in the host culture. The result of some studies indicates that immigrants with high social capital have a better adaptation to society. It is noted that social capital may be a facilitator element of migrants’ adaptation to the new culture or environment (Du, Li, & Lin, 2014). Besides, their social network and social capital may play a significant role in reconstructing social relationships and solving their problems.

Consequently, this research examines the attitudes, specific experiences, main difficulties or problems, essential similarities, cultural learning skills, and briefly the socio-cultural adaptation of a group of Somali immigrants in Turkey. There are other equally important aspects of the adaptation such as political, psychological, economic, and educational ones, which this study did not explore in detail. Therefore, the questionnaire of the research included context for assessing individual social capital, socio-cultural adaptation, and the immigrants’ perceptions of Turkey and Turkish society.

2.4. Adaptation of Somalis in Turkey

The Somali society is ethnically as well as religiously a homogenous one. “Somali” is the dominant ethnic group within Somalia. It is 85% of Somalia’s population. The rest of

the population is Bantu and other non-Somali 15% (including 30,000 Arabs) (CIA FactBook, 2020). The majority of Somalis are Muslim. Their native and common language is Somali and the second most commonly spoken language is Arabic (Isack, 2018). Therefore, it can be expected that they are also culturally much more homogenous than the Turkish society, which is composed of a higher number of ethnic and religious communities.

After arrival in Turkey, Somalis try to rebuild their lives in the host country and re-establish themselves in this new environment like all immigrants. Intercultural challenges for Somalis' adaptation are related to all aspects of their new life. These include **1) Physical environment:** adjustment to a colder climate because of coming from a very warm climate, new types of housing in multicultural neighborhoods, new life in the metropolis, different transportation systems; population diversity, and density; **2) Social structure, cultural aspects, and system:** new family types (nuclear family), marriage style, social and welfare system, educational system, international social environment, multicultural or global institutions, and technology, secular life in society, new languages, new tastes, cuisine, values, norms, in contrast to the same religious identity; **3) Economic aspects:** new forms of employment, different occupations, and a different currency unit; and **4) Political aspects:** new political rules and law, secular constitution, new legal sanctions, and institutionalized governmental system.

These factors and divergences can create difficulties for immigrants in the adaptation to a new society. If there are discrimination, racism, and prejudice against immigrants from the public or other institutions and local people, these can intensify the alienation experiences of the immigrants. The people at risk of alienation may be destitute of community support and successful and positive social adaptation process in the host culture. However, several attitudes and behaviors of the host society can also positively affect the social adaptation process of these people. Social attitudes, institutional receptivity, and political culture towards immigrants help or prevent levels of adaptation of them (Mohamed, 2001).

In addition, cultural awareness is important for both sides (immigrants and host society) to understand each other's different stereotypes and specific social characteristics within the adaptation process. The ability and essential values of immigrants to adapt effectively characterized by cultural awareness and diversity draw attention to this topic.

Some variables (such as age, education, length of stay, religion, etc.) of immigrants affect the degree of their adaptation. For instance, the adaptation level of the Somali younger generation and adults may be different from each other. As in other European, Canadian societies, the younger generation of Somalis tends to adapt to cultural symbols such as language, food habits, dress, technological system, and social lifestyle to fit in the new society (Mohamed, 2001). As it will be elaborated later, the young Somalis quickly learn a new language (Turkish or English) than the older generation. Therefore, it can be said that young people are more advantaged about adaptation. In general, the younger the age of immigration, the higher is the level of adaptation to the host culture (Steffen & Merrill, 2011).

Education is one of the most important factors that facilitate the adaptation process between immigrants and the host culture (Saygin & Hasta, 2018, p. 325). The adaptation of Somali immigrants who have a high level of education in Turkey is expected to be easier. The adaptation process of Somalis who have a low level of education and do not speak a foreign language will also be difficult.

Adaptation, especially socio-cultural adaptation, is also related to the length of stay in the immigration country. As the length of stay in the host country increases, the level of socio-cultural adaptation increases (Saygin & Hasta, 2018, p. 322). The adaptation of Somalis living in Turkey for a long time is considered easier. Somali immigrants can understand how Turkish social and cultural systems work and the essential values in them. To know country-level essential values and cultural system are useful to provide socio-cultural adaptation of immigrants. Also, Somalis come to Turkey and the Turkish culture with the different socio-cultural characteristics that have little or no resemblance. For the host society, Somalis in Turkey are an ethno-racial-cultural minority group, which means that they are subordinate or have a small population in Turkish society in terms of skin color,

country of origin, and cultural background. Thus, the same trouble is valid for the host country. To understand the characteristic behavior of people in different societies, people need to focus on their cultural values, norms, and appropriate behaviors. For this reason, the two communities need to spend time together.

This perception of identity is so important to understand Somalis' vision to social and cultural structures because Somalia's identity is closely related to Muslim identity (Mohamed, 2001). The experience of the Somalis in Turkey fits this opinion. Therefore, there is a need for both sides to adapt to each other. The different religions between minority and mainstream societies complicate the adaptation process (Ward & Kennedy 1992, Berry 1997, Berry 2006, Masgoret & Ward 2006). Religious solidarity or sharing the same religious identity is able to play an important unifying power for socio-cultural adaptation between the two communities. It can be expected that all Somali people's having a Muslim identity a positive impact on their adaptation process in Turkey. Besides, sharing the same religious beliefs may create a "common ground of meaning" (Morris, 2013) to facilitate the socio-cultural adaptation of immigrants.

In conclusion, adaptation is not a one-way phenomenon. Both Somalis and Turks can achieve this socio-cultural adaptation based on mutual understanding and empathy and fulfilling their responsibilities. If the immigrants did not successfully adapt to their destination countries, it means that the migratory movement would fail to be completed. Since the individuals, families, and groups of people are not able to adapt there, they want to migrate to another country and have the potential of being a migrant again (Akıncı, Ahmet, & Gedik, 2015, p. 67).

2.5. The Concept of Diaspora

The topics of ethnic relations and international migration need the concept of the diaspora to understand the immigrants' relationships between their homelands and the hostland (Cohen, 2001). Can we see Somalis in Turkey as part of a Somali Diaspora? This question is so important to understand the Somali immigrants' mobility, movement, and continuing dialogue with Somalis in the homeland and also in Turkey within the framework

of the concept of diaspora. At the same time, this question will help to answer the following question of the research. What do the participants think about the Somali Diaspora and their relations with Turkey?

In this thesis, the reason for the questions was also to understand whether or not Somali immigrants living in Turkey can be called as a Somali Diaspora. Another aim of these questions is to understand their thoughts and perceptions about the Somali Diaspora and Turkey's relations. Participants' Somali Diaspora perception will be discussed in more detail in the analysis chapter.

Before all these, there is a need for a definition of the concept of diaspora. *Diaspora* as a term originates from the Greek verb *diaspeirō*, meaning “to scatter of seeds” or “to spread about (Longley 2019, Cohen 2008). Diaspora members live outside of their homeland owing to immigration or dispersal. The concept of “diaspora” at the sociological and cultural anthropological terminology includes both immigrants and their descendants. Group identity and public consciousness are very important among them.

The existence of a communal and social organizational framework is the best indicator that individual immigrants join a community (Grossman, 2018). The diaspora communities involve religious, cultural, and educational associations, hometown societies, social and cultural clubs, youth movements, fundraising bodies, self-defense organizations, and political lobbies (Grossman, 2018, p. 8). While some diaspora members can communicate strongly with these groups, some of them may have weak networks. Their ethno-communal or diasporic consciousness and solidarity are significant for sustaining common history and fate in a foreign society.

In this regard, according to one of the postmodern thinkers and reputable scholar of this term, William Safran listed out six characteristics that were to be used as an ‘ideal type’ of diaspora:

“The concept of diaspora be applied to expatriate minority communities whose members share several of the following characteristics:

- 1) they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original "center" to two or more "peripheral," or foreign, regions;
- 2) they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland — its physical location, history, and achievements;
- 3) they believe that they are not — and perhaps cannot be — fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it;
- 4) they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return — when conditions are appropriate;
- 5) they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and its safety and prosperity; and
- 6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship.” (Safran, 1991, pp. 83-84)

Safran’s criteria underlined the idealization of the real or imagined ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety, and prosperity. At the same time, these communities reject to grow in their host country; besides, their desire for a return to the homeland increases. Robin Cohen¹’s (2008) diaspora discourse is much more inclusive than Safran because Cohen’s list has detailed points. The crucial common feature of the diaspora is a sense of empathy and co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement even where the home has become more vestigial (Cohen, 2008). To Cohen, the final common feature of the diaspora is the possibility of a distinctive creative and enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism.

¹ Robin Cohen is a social scientist working in the fields of globalization, migration, and diaspora studies. He is Emeritus Professor of Development Studies and former Director of the International Migration Institute, University of Oxford.

2.6. Somali Diaspora

Diaspora mobilization among Somalis has continued worldwide not only at individual level but also at collective level because of the prolonged instability in Somalia (Pirkkalainen, 2013, p. 9). According to UNDP estimates, the Somali Diaspora lives in three main areas: Yemen and the Horn of Africa; the Gulf States; and North America and Western Europe. Kenya, Ethiopia, and Yemen have the most Somali refugees (UNHCR's Global Trends Report, 2019). The UK (a favorable destination), the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Germany, and Italy are countries with the largest Somali communities in Europe and also the US and Canada have big Somali populations (Sheikh & Healy, 2009, p. 4). Also, according to UNDP Reports (2019), Australia, the Arabian Peninsula, South Africa, and Malaysia are other countries with a dense population of the Somali Diaspora. Although there is no sufficient information about the Somali Diaspora in Turkey. It is quite a new issue.

The activities of the Somali Diaspora in the social, political, and economic areas have supportive effects on Somalis and the Diaspora network. Besides, "the Somali Diaspora makes a major contribution to the Somali economy and livelihoods through remittances, humanitarian assistance and participation in recovery and reconstruction efforts" (Sheikh & Healy, 2009, p. 4). The main goal for the Somali Diaspora is to support and help their families (Hassan, 2016, p. 5). While this is sometimes the people who need help in the city Somalis live in in the host country, some other times some parents or relatives disadvantaged in Somalia.

In the social sphere, clans or sub-clans are very important for the protection, power, and insurance of its members in Somali culture due to the absence of central authority (Omar, 2009, p. 55). Therefore, the Somali Diaspora tend to focus on the integration of the clan's structure and solidarity. Although the clan identity is important and of priority in Somali culture, the benefit of society, in general, is also considered important. Furthermore, the diaspora gives systematic support to involve paying salaries for health workers and teachers and also supports orphanages in the short and long term (Sheikh & Healy, 2009, p. 5). The diaspora plays a role in contributing to service delivery and development by local institutions

in the clan, home region, or district. For example, the Somali Diaspora provides technical support and educational tools (such as computers, photocopying machines, relevant books, and video resources) to Somali students who need them in their educational life.

In political life, the diaspora has become highly visible in government institutions of Somalia including senior leadership positions of the political parties, state, cabinet, and public service since 2000 (Sheikh & Healy, 2009). The political and social participation of the Somali Diaspora has been dominated in public society (Armila, Kananen, & Sotkasiira, 2018). The diaspora is very active in the state-building and the restructuring of the political system of Somalia (Sheikh & Healy, 2009). It happens that the Somali Diaspora intervenes in the political agenda in order to create a democratic environment in Somalia. Since 2000, at least 60-70% of cabinet ministers and Somali parliament have been from the Somali Diaspora for former and current governments in Somalia (Hassan, 2016). Additionally, financial donations contributed by the Somali Diaspora to the local governments and politicians are significant so that they can reach their aims.

Lastly, the major contribution of the Somali Diaspora to Somalia is financial through remittances to family members, participation in recovery efforts, and humanitarian assistance in the country. Without these supports, the Somali economy would have collapsed a long time ago (Sheikh & Healy, 2009, p. 6). Thus, the supports and aids are very crucial, especially remittances contribution to the household economy, including in education, health, and property investments. According to the 2019 Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) Report, the remittances to Somalia makes 27% of the whole GDP of Somalia.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This methodology part concentrates on the methods of data collection, sample, research questions, study design and challenges as well as fieldwork. In this thesis, the findings and data were obtained as using a qualitative methodology. The aim of qualitative research results is not intended to generalize. However, the findings obtained as a result of the research are important in terms of providing perspective on the topic (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2008).

3.1. The Target Population (Research Universe)

The target population or research universe is “the entire set of individuals or elements meeting the sampling criteria” (Gray, Grove, & Sutherland, 2017, p. 330). The target population is the entire population, universe, or group that a researcher is interested in researching and analyzing. In other words, the purpose of the researcher is to understand and evaluate this population. In most social science research, since it is not possible to conduct a study on the entire target population, a section of the population, i.e. the sample, is selected. The below Figure 3.1 shows the relationship between the element (participant), sample, accessible population, target population, and population in research.

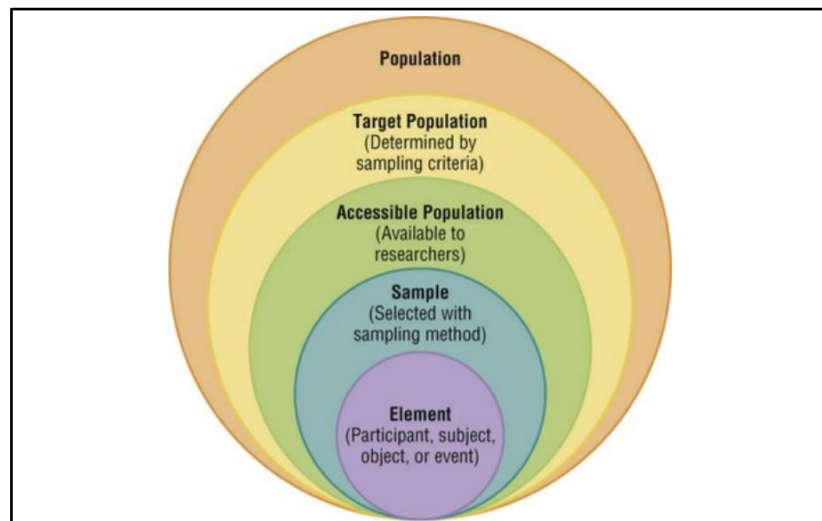


Figure 3.1: Linking Population (Gray, Grove, & Sutherland, 2017)

All Somali people living in Turkey constitute the target population of this research. However, a sample of 35 Somali individuals living in Istanbul and Ankara was selected in this study for logistical and analytical reasons. Logistically, it was not considered possible, or necessary, to identify and reach all Somali immigrants in Turkey. Analytically, the two largest metropolitans in Turkey, Istanbul, and Ankara, were chosen, as there is no clear data on how many Somali immigrants live in which city in Turkey. Istanbul is the largest populated city in Turkey, and it is also the commercial hub of Turkey. Ankara is the capital and the second-largest populated city in Turkey. At the same time, all the embassies and Somali Embassy in Turkey are located in Ankara. Hence, the locations of the study were chosen to be Ankara and Istanbul provinces of Turkey and they are considered within the sample of the study.

According to the World Population Review, Istanbul had approximately 15.19 million inhabitants in 2019 (World Population Review, 2020). This city, located between Asia and Europe, is considered the economic, historical, and cultural center of the country. Istanbul is a transcontinental city as it is located on the Bosphorus waterway in northwest Turkey between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara. It is also the commercial center of the country. Ankara is also the second-largest city by population. Ankara's 2020 population is now estimated at 5,117,603 (World Population Review, 2020). According to all available data, it seems safe to assume that these two cities host the largest number of Somali immigrants in the country.

Besides, samples in qualitative research tend to be small to support the depth of case-oriented analysis. Therefore, for this study, a large sample was not required. The sample of this study is 35 Somali people living in Ankara and Istanbul. Data from these individuals were collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews.

According to the available data and as confirmed by the information obtained from the participants, Somali people mostly reside in Fatih (Aksaray), Esenyurt, Basaksehir, and Avcilar districts in Istanbul whereas in Kecioren, Mamak and Cankaya districts in Ankara.

Generally, Fatih district in Istanbul and Kizilay neighbourhood in Ankara have been designated as meeting points to reach the target population.

For instance, Kumkapi located in the district of Fatih in Istanbul is known for having lots of refugees with different ethnicities and religious identities from African countries (such as Somalia, Congo, Nigeria, Senegal, Cameroon, Ethiopia, and Eritrea). Katip Kasim Mosque Street of Kumkapi, also known as “Somalia Street” or “Black Street” is just one of the signs that show this importance (Altintas, 2016). Each interview respondent was asked to provide contacts for further interviews. Therefore, a so-called snowball strategy was also employed to access a wider and more diverse sample.

3.2. Somali Population in Turkey

The up-to-date statistics are hard to find on this issue. However, there are precise statistics on the number of registered Somali population data in Turkey between 2016 to 2018. The Somali population in Turkey is growing both in absolute terms and as a percentage of the Turkish population. According to the Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat) data, in Turkey, there were 701 Somali immigrants in 2016. This figure has more than doubled in 2017 (1.452) and it was tripled to reach 4.534 in 2018 (TurkStat, 2020). Officially, 2019 data is not yet available; however, it would be sensible to expect that the rising trend has continued (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Immigration to Turkey from Somalia (for years 2016- 2018)

Year	Total	Male	Female
2018	4.534	2.281	2.253
2017	1.452	817	635
2016	701	380	321

Source: TurkStat Data (accessed in March 2020)

According to Tepealti (2019), African immigrants such as Nigerian, Somali and Congolese use Turkey as a bridge on their way to Europe. These migrations are generally realized through the unauthorized entry to and exit from Turkey and they also include visa

violations. It is known that most of these migrants are engaged in the informal economy without official permits and documents during their stay in the country. Moreover, there is a significant increase in the number of irregular migrants from various African countries such as Somalia and Congo (Tepealti, 2019).

Regular migration comprises immigrants and their family members who arrive in Turkey for employment, educational or other purposes and possess the necessary residence and work permits (İçduygu & Aksel, 2012). This is because, for instance, official permission is required to receive education in the host country. Furthermore, the Somali people who migrated to Turkey through regular channels do it so for mostly educational purposes. Many Somali students prefer coming to Turkey because Turkey has a highly developed education system. It can also be said that some Muslim African countries consider Turkey as more desirable or familiar due to religious reasons.

The religious affinity factor, especially since the coming to power of President Erdogan, may also have acted as an incentive for Muslim students from Somalia to come to Turkey. Erdogan paid a visit to Somalia during his tenure as Prime Minister on August 19, 2012, and he gave a promise to ensure scholarships for more than 1,200 Somali students (Ozkan, 2014). These scholarships for Somali students were provided by the Turkish government agencies, YTB and Diyanet in that time (Ozkan, 2014). Today, many scholarships are still given to Somali students living in Turkey.

It was reflected in this study that students constitute the majority of and occupied a predominant place in the Somali migrant community in Turkey. More than half of the Somali participants are students. It is learned from this research's participants that a majority of the Somalis living in Istanbul are students. The high number of universities in Istanbul is thought to be effective in this choice.

Finally, the statistical data of the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) also supports this view. The Somali population is in the top ten country list of foreigners who have been in Turkey with a student residence permit (see Table 3.2). However, it is not in the top ten countries within the other residence permit types (short term,

work and family residence permit) according to official migration data. The Table 3.2 below shows the relevant data in 2019. The seventh row has the number of Somalis who have been in Turkey with a student residence permit. It is 3.504 people.

Table 3.2: Foreigners who have been in Turkey with a student residence permit in 2019 (Top Ten Countries)

Rank	Country of Origin	Number of Students
1	Azerbaijan	14.292
2	Turkmenistan	12.751
3	Iran	5.410
4	Iraq	5.234
5	Afghanistan	4.812
6	Syria	4.133
7	Somali	3.504
8	Jordan	2.993
9	Yemen	2.650
10	Egypt	2.282

Source: <https://en.goc.gov.tr/residence-permits> (DGMM, accessed on 19.03.2020)

3.3. The Fieldwork

To answer this thesis's main questions, the research project employed several qualitative research tools mostly in the framework of 5 months of fieldwork in Ankara and 3 months in Istanbul. The Ankara fieldwork was conducted between April and August 2019 and the Istanbul fieldwork took place between September and November 2019.

Somali Sofrasi Restaurant in Kizilay (see Figure 3.2) and the Somali Ankara Embassy were the two important places where interviews were held in Ankara. Their employees have had a great deal of support in finding participants and conducting interviews. After phone calls and emails, the fieldwork was conducted on March 4, 2019, for the first time. The first interview was held with a diplomat, who formerly served as Turkey's Ambassador to Somalia. The interview, which lasted about 1 hour and took place at the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs in Ankara, was a good starting point because it provided a good general introduction to Turkey-Somalia relations from someone who lived in Somalia for a significant length time.

Another valuable meeting with a diplomat was with the Cultural Attaché who worked at the Embassy of Somalia in Ankara. It was thought to be helpful to start by talking to people who have lived in both countries and experienced the relationship between Turkey and Somalia. Besides, their direction to other people and institutions in terms of the fieldwork was quite beneficial. The details and contents of these two significant interviews will be provided in the analysis section of this research.

In Ankara, interviews were made with Somali families and women at home, but the request for an interview was often not responded positively, given that female participants exhibited a timid and reluctant behavior. Besides, the Embassy of Somalia in Ankara could not convince Somali families to interview in their homes. Thus, the targeted number of female participants could not be reached in Ankara. It has been learned that the Somali women live more at home and that they do not even come to the Somali Sofrasi Restaurant as much, which is a primary social meeting point in Ankara for Somali people.



Figure 3.2: Somali Sofrasi Restaurant, Kizilay district in Ankara dated 2019

Africa Restaurant, another meeting place for Somali immigrants, was opened in Kecioren district in Ankara on June 29, 2019. Traditional dishes of Somalia, Ethiopia, and Yemen are served in this restaurant. Although the registered Somali population in Kecioren is unknown, an estimated 1.300 Somali people live in and around Kecioren according to a Somali immigrant who came to the opening of the restaurant. This restaurant has been a beautiful place where Somalis socialized with each other. They see this place as an opportunity to both socialize with other Somali people and come together again as they could not see each other for a long time. In short, the newly opened restaurant became another significant social meeting point of Somalis in Ankara.

In the Istanbul part of the research, interviews were held in workplaces, universities, cafés, and hotel lobbies according to the participants' requests. Unlike the fieldwork in Ankara where help from various institutions and individuals could be used, the fieldwork in Istanbul had to rely entirely on my personal efforts and contacts. The Istanbul Provincial Migration Management stated that they could not support me in finding participants. However, they stated that my fieldwork in Istanbul was subject to permission. For this reason, an approval was received from the Ethics Committee to meet Somali immigrants, and no ethical problems were identified upon review of the interview questions by the Harmonization Department of the above authority.

For this research, a technique of face to face and in-depth interviews with Somali immigrants in Turkey was chosen because this technique can best reveal their complex thoughts and interpretations. The study has used secondary sources as well as the fieldwork. The fieldwork included interviews with 35 Somali people in Turkey living in Ankara and Istanbul; in-depth fieldwork in Ankara with 18 people and in Istanbul with 17 people. Interviews were mostly in English. Some participants preferred to use Turkish.

3.4. Research Questions

This study endeavors to answer the following questions:

1. Why do Somali immigrants migrate to Turkey?

2. How do Somali immigrants adapt to Turkey's socio-cultural life?
3. What is the main factor(s) that make it easy for Somali immigrants with socio-cultural adaptation to Turkish society?
4. About the social cohesion or social conflict topic, what is the most challenging issue for Somali immigrants in Turkey?
5. Is the security problem and conflict in Somalia triggering their migration?
6. What kind of policy recommendations can be implemented about the Somali immigrants in Turkey for the next couple of years?

These questions are highly crucial. The reason why is that; the study guides us both to understand the social structure, life experiences, and perceptions of Somali immigrants and mutual similarities or differences between Turkey and Somalia. Somalia, one of Africa's most unfortunate countries, is a very important country for Turkey. This research analyzes Turkey's Efforts' in Somali Peacebuilding in order to provide a deep understanding of the migration and socio-cultural adaptation aspects and Somali Case Study.

3.5. Study Design

The study of the socio-cultural adaptation of Somali immigrants in Ankara and Istanbul provinces of Turkey is relatively a very new topic to explore academically, and, therefore, qualitative research methods were considered to be more appropriate for this study. This study can be categorized as having a sociological and cultural or ethnographic gaze within a migration context from a peace and conflict perspective.

Two ethnographic techniques were utilized to collect data. They are individual interviews and participant observation. Participant observation has been used in a variety of disciplines as a tool for collecting data about people, processes, and cultures in qualitative research (Kawulich, 2005). It was considered to be helpful to have a better understanding of the participants' behaviors and activities within the context of the study.

Even if there was not a scheduled or planned interview with a specific participant with Somali immigrants, Somali restaurants have been visited for months. On these occasions, informal conversations were held with them just to get to know Somali people. All these field observations were added to the researcher notes to enrich the data collection process.

All data collection aims to obtain quality evidence that allows data analysis. This research examined primary and secondary resources to collect data. The primary resources are in-depth investigation, field data, interviews, and participant observations. The secondary resources are books, journals, articles, reports, government publications, and open source libraries. In this paper, the main topics sought were related migration, socio-cultural adaptation, peace, harmony, social conflict, Somalia, Somali immigrants in living Ankara and Istanbul, and also Somali Diaspora in Turkey.

3.5.1. Sampling Technique

Sampling can be used to infer about a population or to generalize the current theory and it must be representative of the population (Taherdoost, 2016). A researcher needs to understand and analyze the target population and also the sample. At the same time, there is a need for a type of sampling technique or method in the thesis to answer the research questions. Thus, it is important for the researcher to choose the most appropriate sampling technique to determine the desired sample to be representative of the target population.

In research methodology, sampling techniques can be generally divided into two parts:

1. Probability or random sampling
2. Non- probability or non- random sampling

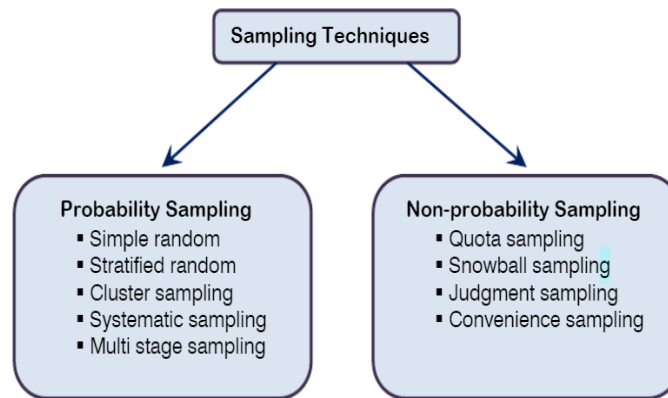


Figure 3.3: Sampling Techniques (Taherdoost, 2016, p. 20)

The various types of sampling techniques are illustrated in the above Figure 3.3. After the researcher selects the sampling technique, s/he should decide to select the subtype as well.

In this study, the non-probability sampling technique was used. This technique is mostly related to qualitative research and case study research design (Taherdoost, 2016). It can be said that this thesis study corresponds to the technique exactly as a subject and content. Another important issue is the sampling technique of the research. The interviewees are gathered through snowball sampling. The snowball sampling technique is a non-probability sampling method used when characteristics to be possessed by samples are rare and difficult to find (Research Methodology, 2020). This technique is used in various social sciences, including sociology, political science, anthropology and human geography (Kirchherr & Charles, 2018). It is the best choice of sampling strategy when the population people are interested in studying is hidden or hard-to-reach.

Somali immigrants in Turkey were asked to identify other members of this rare population in this research. The snowball sampling may also be called “chain method” or “chain referral”. The researcher asks the first few samples, who are usually selected via convenience sampling if they know anybody with similar criteria to take part in the research (Naderifar, Goli, & Ghaljane, 2017). The potential disadvantage of snowball sampling is that participants may have many common features, thus not representing the larger population of the Somali community (Huraibi, 2014).

In the research, the participants, from the starting participant to the last, were selected to include different gender, age groups, educational and economic backgrounds to overcome this potential disadvantage or limitation. The maximum effort was given for diversifying the data to contain as much variance as possible.

For many years, the researcher worked as a Somali expert both in Turkish General Staff and TIKA that are two important public institutions in Turkey. Indeed, the researcher being a Somali expert and having an effective social network has been very beneficial in this study. It also needs to be added that, considering its objectives, this study did not aim to collect information from a representative sample. Rather, it aimed to obtain in-depth and qualitative information from its participants to shed some light on this understudied immigrant group.

As stated previously, all the interviewees were Somali nationals. The study group was only ethnically homogeneous. On the contrary, there was great heterogeneity in terms of their migration stories, educational status, professional experience, and socioeconomic status. In terms of the socio-demographic profile of the participants, 23 male and 12 female individuals participated in the study. In other words, almost two-thirds of the interviewees were men while one-third were women. The reason for the low number of female participants is that some of them do not want to be interviewed and also the male participants are generally recommended by the male participants. Therefore, the desired number of female participants could not be reached. The female participants who warmly welcomed and immediately accepted the interview were mostly students.

Furthermore, there are 15 participants between ages 19 and 25, 15 participants between ages 26 and 30, and 5 participants over 31 ages in this research. The age value range of the study is minimum 19 to maximum 67 years. According to the educational attainment levels of the participants, there are 18 students and 17 graduates. Students are divided into three levels: bachelor's (undergraduate level), graduate level and doctoral (Ph.D. level). There are 11 undergraduate level, 3 graduate level and 4 Ph.D. level students in this research. Moreover, there are 2 high school graduates, 8 university graduates, 6 master's degree and 1

doctoral graduate. It can be seen these values in the table of Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents Table 3.3:

Table 3.3: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

VARIABLE	N=SAMPLE	(%) PERCENT
GENDER		
Male	23	65.71
Female	12	34.29
TOTAL	35	100.0
AGE		
19 - 25	15	42.85
26 – 30	15	42.85
>31	5	14.30
TOTAL	35	100.0
CITY		
Ankara	18	51.43
Istanbul	17	48.57
TOTAL	35	100.0
EDUCATION LEVEL		
High School-Graduate	2	5.71
University-Graduate	8	22.86
Master and PhD-Graduate	7	20
Total Graduate	17	48.57
Student	18	51.43
TOTAL	35	100.0
LENGTH OF STAY IN TURKEY		
3 Months	2	5.71
4 Months	1	2.86
1 Year	2	5.71
2-5 Years	16	45.72
6-11 Years	14	40
TOTAL	35	100.0

From a holistic approach, the education levels of the participants are high. As can be seen in Table 3.3, more than half of the participants are students. Also, there are 16 respondents between 2-5 years and 14 respondents between 6-11 years in terms of length of stay in Turkey. The participants whose duration of stay in Turkey were 3 or 4 months found it difficult to respond to some of the questions because of their new arrival in the country. On the other side, it has been noticed that those participants who had lived in Turkey for several years displayed a higher level of adaptation to the country compared to others.

3.5.2. Participant Observation

“Participant observation involves the researcher's involvement in a variety of activities over an extended period of time that enables him/her to observe the cultural members in their daily lives and to participate in their activities to facilitate a better understanding of those behaviors and activities” (Kawulich, 2005)

‘Participant observation’ has been used as an important tool or a data collection method in anthropological studies, especially in ethnographic studies for over a century (Kawulich, 2005). Moreover, sociological studies also use this method to obtain data for understanding various cultures or ethnic communities. It is a useful method to understand others by observing them. It can be used to help answer descriptive research questions, to build theory, or to generate or test hypotheses (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). Using this technique, researchers may collect information on their subjects of analysis from an unbiased viewpoint as possible.

There are some limitations to participant observation. Researcher bias is one of these. This may be called as a kind of response bias. The researcher bias may occur when the interviewer unintentionally affects the participants’ responses. For example, her body language and her voice or some words might act as a facilitator for an interviewee to form, or accordingly avoid, certain opinions attitudes in favor of or against the researcher’s purpose of obtaining unbiased responses. Researchers may be blind to their prejudices and may not anticipate problems with them (Chenail, 2011). Of course, all researchers want to avoid these

biases. They should always have an independent academic specialist to check the work and receive feedback.

Sometimes, community members can use a language that is foreign to the researcher. They may refuse to answer certain questions and also may change the subject when the researcher arrives. All these factors may cause the collected data to be biased. At this point, the researcher may misunderstand their behaviors and culture.

On the other hand, if such a research or data bias can occur, the researcher should direct questions to the community, to which concerned, to clarify the suspicion from within. To avoid such bias, participant observation and previous field experiences can be helpful. In this study, participant observation was used to recognize and understand the participants on a more personal level. Participant observation allowed a better understanding of what is happening in the Somali culture and the dynamics underlying their "behaviors, intentions, and situations while talking to each other.

Field and observation notes were taken and recorded immediately after interviews and social meetings. For the researcher, these were also useful and helpful when generating the data of the thesis. Using voice recordings during the interviews is not considered as an ethical problem, as long as the interviewee has given permission. However, voice recording was not used in this research to prevent the interviewees from being anxious or making them feel disturbed. In other words, the goal was to get their sincere opinions.

3.5.3. Interviews

The interviews of research were conducted voluntarily. As the interviews took a long time, some participants stopped the interview without answering all the questions. All interviews of voluntary participants were included in this study. The duration of each interview lasted for between 35 minutes and 1 hour.

The questionnaire consists of open-ended questions. The interview questions were divided into several general sub-topics which include religion and external and internal

factors of socio-cultural adaptation, such as historical background, culture, food, language barrier, social networks, bilateral relations, and the ‘Somali Diaspora’.

In addition, personal data of respondents such as their name, surname, contact information, religion, sect, and legal status were never asked or no such information was received. In this research, the confidentiality of the information and the highest ethical rules and procedures were complied with. There has been great sensitivity to the privacy of personal information. All participants were flexible to give their own experiences and perspectives within their narratives in the research.

However, some personal information (age, education level, occupation, and living period of time in Turkey) was obtained spontaneously from the participants during the interview on their migration story. In other words, sociodemographic data of respondents were also collected in the interviews. But, this spontaneously gathered information is anonymized in this thesis. At the beginning of each interview, the personal data of the researcher was shared with the participants. For example, the profession, the educational background, the motive of the research and the reason why the researcher is interested in this topic was shared. The researcher tried to ensure a trustable environment for the interviewees to provide objective information.

On the other hand, photographs were taken with the special permission of the participants as visual material. The aim of taking photographs was to have a good memory, and to gather information and observations from the field. The special permission of the participants was taken for both photographs (see Figure 3.4 and Figure 3.5).



Figure 3.4: This photo was taken during interviews in Istanbul on 15 November 2019.



Figure 3.5: This photo was taken during interviews in Ankara on 4 May 2019.

In general, Somali women were very sensitive to taking and sharing their photos as Somali society does not want photographs of women and small girls, wearing especially hijab, to be taken by foreigners. They are uncomfortable about this.

3.6. Study Challenges

The main goal of this study is to comprehend the presence of Somali immigrants in Ankara and Istanbul through an analysis of reasons for their migration to Turkey, their cultural adaptation, as well as the social relations they have and challenges and conflicts they face in Turkish society. The study aims to learn and understand the lifestyles, cultures, social norms, attitudes, feelings, thoughts, priorities of these people whose continent and race are different from Turkish people but have many common features such as religion and historic bonds.

On the other hand, there is a limited number of studies that have been conducted to investigate the nature and scope of this subject. In the available relevant literature, most of the studies have been conducted on Syrian refugees or Afghan migrants. After this point, I want to convey my personal experiences:

“I could not find any studies, theses or dissertations in the context of Somali immigrants living in Turkey, or in other words ‘Somali Diaspora’, and socio-cultural adaptation from the perspective of peace and conflict studies. The Migration Management officials stated that there was no similar work on this subject when I went to get information from the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management. Thus, it has been a challenge for me to not have existing literature on this topic.

At the beginning of my interviews, when I had one-to-one and face to face conversation with a married Somali man, I felt that they were not comfortable. When I explained this situation to a close Somali friend, he stated that they were sensitive about talking to a married woman alone. Some Somali men shied away from talking with a married Turkish woman alone and face to face even in a social and crowded environment. For this reason, they wanted to end the meeting immediately. After that, I found a way out to go with

my husband to meet with a Somali man like this. Somali men could be comfortable and continue our conversations even if my husband just sat near us at the time of the interview. I realized that traditional family and community values and also gender roles are still constant for some Somali immigrants.

The other challenge was to coordinate Somali people to interview as a modern Turkish woman in the field. I had observed that some elder Somali men behaved in a biased manner because I do not wear a headscarf. They expressed this prejudice with their glare and later with their words. They believe that a Muslim woman should wear a hijab. “Part of covering clothes is the Muslim women’s headscarf, commonly referred to as *the hijab*” (Huraibi, 2014). They think that if I am a Muslim, I must cover my hair. It was difficult to coordinate these meetings, correspond and make decisions with the interview for me.”

Despite these challenges, this study is a scientific endeavor and can serve as an example for the development of new academic studies on a similar subject. One of the purposes of this thesis is to fill the gap in the field, as it is the first research on the subject and will hopefully contribute to guiding academics and politicians internationally.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY I: PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES OF SOMALI IMMIGRANTS

This section contains an analysis of the data collected in this research. It also includes a discussion of findings that helps to draw conclusions and offer recommendations. The research used field data and general information from the host country (Turkey) and the country of origin (Somalia). I analyze these data and knowledge from the perspective of perceived similarities, differences, and difficulties between Turkey and Somalia. Under two main themes, a detailed analysis is conducted on the basis of some sub-headings and topics such as cultural and historical background, humanity, charity, hospitality, sense of trust, religious lifestyle, rules and practices, language barrier, Turkish cuisine, social and cultural life, and harmony, among others.

The objective is to show the findings of the research in order to understand the Somali immigrants' level of social adaptation. In the light of the findings obtained from the questionnaire, issues related to the cultural and social adaptation of the Somalis living in Turkey were examined in terms of the variables such as religion, gender, education, race (African-Somali), and length of stay in Turkey. Moreover, I try to explain the perception of profiles and the significance of Turkey for Somali Diaspora in this section.

4.1. SIMILARITIES

Development cooperation and bilateral relations between Turkey and Somalia include social, cultural, economic, military, and political partnerships. Their multidimensional relationship, ongoing connections, and networks between Turkey and Somalia are increasing day by day. While the two countries are becoming closer through increasing political, economic, and humanitarian affairs, it is important to investigate whether the individuals consider Turkey and Somalia as similar countries.

This would be an important indicator concerning the potential sense of cultural affinity, sense of belonging, and integration prospects of the Somali immigrants in Turkey. Therefore, the participants were first asked to evaluate the perceived similarities between the two countries and their respective cultures. According to the answers of participants, there are three main important similarities between Somalia and Turkey. The similarity of religion comes first, followed by historical and cultural background, and lastly humanity, and charity. Apart from these, there are some answers about the main cultural similarities including particularly in marriage ceremony, hospitality, friendship, tolerance, and respect to elder people in society.

In order to understand the perceived similarities of the participants, the following question was asked: *Do you think that there are any similarities between Somalia and Turkey? If so, what are these similarities?* The common answer from most of the participants was religion. They stated that both societies are predominantly Muslims and they believe in the same religion. In this regard, they also mentioned some differences in practice between two communities while practising the religion of Islam. Besides, common/shared historical and cultural background and good relations with the Ottoman Empire were emphasized. They suggested that both communities had similar cultural heritage and traditions.

In my thesis study, I had personal interviews and asked similar questions to them before the start of the fieldwork. The topics they saw similarities between the two cultures are quite parallel to the responses of the participants. During my meeting with Turkey's former Ambassador to Somalia, his opinions on this issue were very similar to those of the participants in the study:

“Religion and history are similar between the two communities. Both communities are Muslims. Certainly, it is a very important thing between two countries that they are both Muslims. However, there are Sharia rules in Somalia. Not too strict, but the Al-Shabab applies strict rules of Sharia. Also, they have a similar and common history.” **(Ankara, March 2019)**

The similarity of religion and history takes first place within these personal interviews. Moreover, another important similarity and the common feature of both countries is humanity and charity values. Interviewees in the research said that helping those who had difficult times and situations brought the two countries closer. Additionally, what distinguishes Turkey from other Muslim-majority countries is the fact that Turkey could be there for the Somalis at the right time. At the same time, the interviewee in the Somali Embassy in Ankara stated that Turkey is Somalis “Big Brother”. For the people of Somalia, the symbol of Big Brother means a protective power created by Turks. The interviewee emphasized that while both countries give priority to humanity and charity values and events, they do not hesitate to be there for help even in dangerous regions where there are ongoing conflicts.

“Somali and Turkish people believe the same things. There are one religion and one culture in both countries. Of course, Islam religion is not the only common phenomenon among them. If it were, we would be close to all Muslim countries such as Arabian countries, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, etc. Turkey is our “Big Brother”. Turkey is very different from other Muslim countries. When Somalia needed help so much, Turks were in the right place and at the right time. As you know, our brothers from Turkey have a unique place in our hearts. Another thing is that there are cultural and historical similarities between the two countries. Both nations are brave, they are not afraid to take risks. They are not afraid to go into conflict areas.” (Ankara, March 2019)

Also, one of the cultural similarities that are important for the adaptation of Somali immigrants is hospitality. It has been a focus of some concepts such as generosity, friendship, kinship, and social interaction between hosts and guests (Molz & Gibson, 2007). There is a close connection between hospitality and the sharing of resources in the perceptions of the participants. Resources available, in both Somali and Turkish cultures, are shared with guests and served to them during weddings, special days, important Islamic days such as Eid al-Fitr (The Somali Kitchen, 2020) and also in daily life, which shows there are similar traditions and customs in both cultures. In this study, Somali immigrants see themselves as a guest of Turkey.

To sum up, people want to have similar sensibilities and habits in a new environment. Sharing similar and common traditions and values in the socio-cultural life of the host culture is very important for Somali participants. It is thought that these similarities between the two countries, despite differences in culture as will be discussed in the following section, have positive effects on their social lives in Turkey. Thanks to the similarities, it is assumed that Somali immigrants can experience the adaptation process comfortably. All similarities expressed by the participants will be analyzed and evaluated separately in this section.

4.2. DIFFERENCES AND DIFFICULTIES

Every country sees itself as unique (Reed, 1986). This situation has led to the need to understand the socio-cultural differences of immigrant populations as ethnic minorities in a multicultural country like Turkey. Somali people in Turkey are one of them. In the study, analyzing and understanding these differences between the two countries is so important to pay attention to this minor culture. According to the answers of participants, there are too many differences among them. Religious lifestyle, rules, and practices, language, food culture, dressing styles of women, social and cultural lifestyle and weather conditions are different and difficult for them.

The first difference between Turkey and Somalia in the research results are the rules and practices in religious life. In Somalia, Islam is the religion of the state, Islamic sharia governs the country's legal system. This is different from Turkey because there is not any religion officially attributed to and representative of the Turkish state. In Somali society, Sufism is also very popular. Nag (2018) explains that a small population of Shia Muslims also live in Somalia.

Similar previous research on this issue has also been analyzed to get enough information. According to Nur's (2019) master thesis findings, 90 % of Somali people adopt the Shafi sect in terms of fiqh. In the last 20 years, Somali students who went to Saudi Arabia for education have been influenced by the beliefs and sects there. After their return to Somalia, they reflected this effect in their country. For this reason, some people in Somalia are included in the Wahhabi movement, believing in the ideology of Wahhabism, and thus

adopting the Salafi religious view and Hanbali sect (Nur, 2019). There is a difference in this regard as there are many different sects in Turkey. On the contrary to Somalia, there are more Sunni Muslims or Sunni sects in Turkish society. The reflection of these differences is seen in religious rules and practices of two societies.

The second difficulty comes as the language barrier, as it may create barriers when people migrate to a new country. According to the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) report (2018) on this matter, speaking the language at home, which is different from the host country language, has an important effect on the sense of belonging or adaptation especially on students with an immigrant background. Not only students but also all humans having language problems may feel completely foreign in the host country. Therefore, the language issue is so crucial in the life of the immigrant.

In general, people will not be able to communicate with the citizens of the host country if they do not know the language of the host country or even one of the languages spoken internationally. The majority of Somali participants stated that Somali immigrants in Turkey have a hard time understanding what is happening in social and cultural life because of the language barrier. It is common to use languages such as Turkish (native language), English, and French in Turkish nationals while Somalis can communicate in Somali (native language), Arabic, and English. Thereby, Somalis in Turkey who do not speak Turkish go to Turkish language courses in the first year they migrate to Turkey.

Food culture is the third most challenging issue in Turkey for Somali immigrants. According to my research, there are differences between the Somali participants' perceptions of the host country's food culture, their food choices, and current food habits. Participants claimed that although there are very some similarities between two cultures in cuisine, their differences come to the forefront. In addition to these participants, the opinion of the interviewee in the Somali Embassy in Ankara about Somalis having difficulties in Turkish food culture is as follows: *“Food is definitely a problem for us in Turkey. We do not like Kebab like Turks. Our food culture is very different.”*

In the fourth aspect, there is a difference between women's clothes and dressing styles in applying and interpreting Islamic gender ideology between Somalia and Turkey. The interviewees in the study interpreted that the styles of hijab Muslim women wear are very different in both countries. Strict gender segregation and proper Islamic dress both in private and public life keep on being preserved for Somali women (Roberts, 2007) since they are rigorously depending on the Sharia Laws. Somali women often wear the jilbab within a colorful and patterned style (see Figure 4.1) instead of a black or plain one like in Arab and Persian culture.



Figure 4.1: Somali women dressed in colorful, in Somalia (Trigo-Arana & Padilla, 2013)

Notwithstanding that Turkish women are more secular about social, personal, and economic life both within and outside the family. For example, in Istanbul people will see Turkish “women covered with headscarves but also office workers in miniskirts” (Taylor & Williams, 2017, p. 302). Along with Turkish “Clothing Revolution” (Ataturk’s Reform, including both men and women between 1925 to 1934), the Turkish woman's style of clothing changed to a European style or secular fashion (meaning uncovered heads, short-sleeved shirt or dress, and short skirt) during the Republic. The image of the urban woman had completely changed in that time. However, traditional Islamic clothing and conservative

dressings style have continued both in urban and rural life although it was not in its original shape. Currently, Turkey is a good case in adopting the interaction of both modern and conservative women's styles between secularism and Islam.

Fifth, the changes in social and cultural life can be seen for every society and nation. The privileged situation of men in comparison with women, parental and familial relationships (Taylor & Williams, 2017), the stereotype of family life and forms of marriage have been also affected in the process of change in this social and cultural life. These differences are also valid for Somalia and Turkey. For instance, one issue is polygyny, which involves a man marrying more than one woman and which is allowed in the Islamic tradition. It appears that this practice is quite common in Somalia rather than in Turkey. Participants in this study also expressed their views on this subject. During my meeting with Turkey's former Ambassador to Somalia, his opinions on this matter summarize the situation:

“Men can marry four wives, and this is very normal for Somalis. The type of marriage in Somali is a religious marriage. Somali women also accept this polygyny. Divorce can also be easy. Somali man can say I want to leave because I am bored in this marriage. A divorced woman can easily marry another man. Her ex-husband and society also say nothing to the divorced woman in this situation. There is no bias against a divorced woman because it is a normal thing for society. As in our society, there is no perception that marriages should last long in Somalia.” (Ankara, March 2019)

In different historical periods, secularization, political and religious reforms in a country will influence their social life. Although there are official divorces and informal marriages in Turkey, “this type of easy divorce is not an easy option in Turkish society” (Baderin, 2016). Polygyny is illegal and hence much rarer in Turkey. This practice is more widespread in Africa than it is in any other continent because of sociological and demographic reasons. Accordingly, this sociological fact arises because in Africa men seem to feel the need to maximize fertility and to obtain large households containing many young dependent males as the workforce to support the household economy (White & Burton, 1988, p. 4). This labor force is particularly very important within traditional families engaged in agriculture.

Finally, the weather conditions and climate orders of both countries are very different from each other. There is no such seasonal variation in Somalia's climate because of its proximity to the equator (Wikipedia, 2020). It has tropical weather. In Somalia, weather conditions are usually dry and hot all year and snow is not a phenomenon known to Somalis. Semi-desert or desert climate prevails in vast areas of the country. In many reports on climate change prepared by United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the World Bank, drought is very common in the country. However, sometimes very unpredictable, and irregular rainfalls may occur. The amount of rain is also very low. Therefore, Somali participants coming to Turkey have difficulty in living with cold weather. All differences expressed by the participants will be analyzed and evaluated separately in this section.

4.3. PERCEPTIONS OF PROFILE

The socio-cultural adaptation of Somali immigrants living in Turkey is the focus of the study. Their perception of social and cultural life is also discussed in this part. Somalis have a long history that interacts and communicates with people from other cultures and nations (Akou, 2011). In cultural life, Somalis belong to clan organizations and sub-clans. Their clans combine forces for political and economic power, good land, and access to water (World Relief Global, 2018). Their clan system is unstable and complex because of being "characterized by changing alliances and temporary coalitions" (World Relief Global, 2018). For Somali society, the opinions, and perceptions of their clans affect their lives and preferences. Some participants mentioned that they continue their communication with their clan even after they migrate to Turkey. They often meet with the other members of their clan. This study finds that while there appears to be an influential perception of the clans over the Somali society in terms of cultural life, there are also common perceptions concerning women and young people in Somali culture.

Women also play an active role in social and economic life although men dominate within Somali culture. Several women interviewees reported that Somali women are very social and friendly in cultural and economic life. They usually make spontaneous visits to their friends and neighbors. Many of the participants stated that we can see Somali women

working in restaurants, markets, bazaar, and farms. Somali women who lost their husbands in the civil war continue their lives as household heads. Thus, they had to take part in business life. Moreover, Somali women give great importance to their girls' education. They have a perception that educated Somali girls will have a good job.

Even if their societies and countries change, Somali women's clothing or dressing style and the female body is a more emphasized perception. Somali participants in the research believed that dressing styles or codes of women may reflect their religion, personality, age, nation, political and cultural norm. Their main focus is usually on Islamic religious norms about this issue. A common perception among the participants of the study was that the dressing styles of Turkish women are more European and secular. To express the perception on this matter with a good quote:

“A woman's body is, in many instances, the property of her nation. She symbolically represents her nation and its political, religious, and cultural ideologies. She becomes an ambassador on duty for her nation.” -Fagheh Shirazi, *Islamic Religion, and Women's Dress Code*, 2004- (Akou, 2011).

While culturally Somali women have a distinctive perception, Somali youth have also prominent features in themselves. For instance, a large part of the interviewees thought that Somali youth can quickly and easily adapt to a new environment and new language. Participants said that 3 or 4 months are enough for Somali youth to learn a new language. The young generations are educated and very open-minded to all innovations in Turkey.

“Somalis especially young and educated generations can quickly adapt to innovations, new environments, new languages, new air conditions. They learn immediately because they are very curious. They can reach all the innovations very easily in Turkey. I think that a minimum of six months and one year is necessary for adaptation. Young Somalis can learn a new language easily. Some of them can speak 4 languages (English, Arabic, Somali, and Turkish).” (Male, 21, University Student)

As the Somali youth participant stated above, many young participants who came to Turkey for educational purposes have had the opportunity to closely follow new technological developments in Turkey. Somali people know several foreign languages. This situation is normal for them because Somalis have been exposed to the invasion of foreign countries for many years (Şahin, 2019, p. 37). Hence, they were forced to learn several foreign languages. Thus, the language learning skills of Somali youth have improved. I think it is an expected result that Somali youth, as members of a nomadic society, who can survive with the most difficult living conditions, can adapt to new positive developments in Turkey.

Another positive perception of the Somalis is that they are generous and trustworthy. In Somali culture, generosity is one of the core values. (Somali Culture, 2019). Being hospitable, helpful, and charitable to other people with everything (money, time, food, and personal connections, etc.) are very significant for Somalis. Many interviewees reported that they may receive financial, social, and psychological support from not only their community (clans or sub-clans) but also their broader Somali community when they are in a difficult situation. The opinions of the participants on this issue will be analyzed under a separate heading.

Furthermore, trustworthiness is directly related to the moral connotation along the lines of honesty, quality of connection, and consistency. Participant responses were evaluated that there is not usually a perception about insecurity, lack of confidence, and anxiety in terms of the mental, physical, and emotional aspects between Somalis and Turks. Just like the participants, the Former Turkish Ambassador who also knows and experiences Somali culture closely also shared the view that Somali people in Turkey generally have no criminal records. In other words, it can be considered that Somali immigrants appear to build the perception of trust in Turkey.

“The Turks have a sense of commiseration in their subconscious to Somalis. They also show sympathy for Africans. When they see an African baby on the street, they want to show their affinity. Moreover, Somali people do not beg like Syrian refugees in Turkey. They never get involved in crime. If you go to the police station, you will see that the Somalis have no criminal records.” **(Male, Former Turkish Ambassador to Somalia)**

4.3.1. The Most Apparent or Specific Feature of the Somali People

The loyalty of an individual to his nation and the view of society on its reality is so important to know oneself. The process of characterizing and recognizing his society begins with awareness. Thus, I wondered how the Somalis described themselves from sociological, physical, cultural, or psychological aspects and how they perceive themselves. I also wondered how much Somali immigrants are aware of their characteristics. For this purpose, I asked a question in general and clear: *What do you think is the most apparent or specific feature (characteristic) of the Somali people?* I realized that they could look at them objectively and very few of them could criticize their societies and nations. As a consequence of research five specific features (characteristic) of the Somali people have emerged:

Rank	Answers of Participants	Score
1st	Honest, helpful, hospitable, and kind people	10
2nd	Conservative society	8
2nd	Brave and resilient people	8
3rd	Talkative and social people	5
4th	Thin body and tall	3

Source: Research Data (2019)

4.3.1.1 Honest, Helpful, Hospitable and Kind People

According to participants in the study, **the most specific feature** (characteristic) of the Somali people is that *“Somalis are honest, helpful, hospitable and kind people.”* I received this answer 10 times in the responses of the participants.

“Somali people are very kind and very honest people. They help each other despite all the difficulties and obstacles in their country. Since they have been struggling with difficulties for many years, they can understand each other. Somalis always speak the truth.” **(Male, 49, Botanical Doctor)**

“Somalis are very helpful and hospitable people. Even if you go to the shepherd on the mountain in Somali, he will share everything with you. They never want to hurt anyone, and they act as objectively as possible” **(Male, 28, Researcher)**

Somali participants asserted that their society always behaves kindly to those in a difficult situation and in need. The respondents described their nation that they can empathize because they had a very hard time for nearly three decades. The most prominent characteristic of Somalis as a society is that they think that their human aspects are very strong. Honesty is another important feature of the Somalis who evaluate their society. Participants claimed that Somalis are honest people who are always speaking the truth. Moreover, in general, honest people do not lie, do not steal and slander, etc. I have found in my thesis work within institutional meetings that Somali immigrants in Turkey are committing no crime. This finding may be a true expression of human personality for Somali people and proof of the honesty and reliability of the Somalis.

Another important point is that the fact of hospitality was mentioned. Participants thought that these characteristics are like those of the Turks. They also noticed that the Turkish people are quite hospitable like them.

“Helpful and hospitality. They love to welcome guests. There is no respect for this welcome guest in Europe. Hospitality is very important for both Somalia and Turkey. The two countries are very similar in this regard. The Turkish people have hosted us in their country. They are nice and helpful.” **(Male, 22, University Student)**

Hospitality and helpfulness can be defined as an important characteristic of host countries (Cetin & Okumus, 2018). The hospitable country may offer some features to immigrants such as welcoming guests, safety, care, friendly action, and respect. These features appear to be effective for immigrants to not feel themselves like a stranger. Somali

immigrants in Turkey may face some difficulties such as housing, education, employment, realizing legal rights, etc. Besides, it is so significant to recognize the interviewees' positive feelings and comfort living in Turkey due to the perceived hospitality of Turkish people and cultural or religious similarities (Rottmann, 2019). Thus, it is thought that the local Turkish hospitality may have positive effects on the adaptation process of Somali immigrants into society. On the other hand, some participants stated that hospitality is not available in Europe. I think the Somalis who give great importance to human values and helping feel close to Turkish people.

“Somali people are very helpful. They like to help other people. In our society, there is a solidarity culture.” (Male, 26, Administrative Assistant)

“We always help our friends who need financial aid or emotional support. Sometimes we even collect money between us and help each other for needs.” (Female, 21, University Student)

The helpfulness towards people who need assistance is a special characteristic of Somali people. The participants expressed that this help is mostly provided to their friends and compatriots in Turkey. It can be said that they have problem-solving abilities in helping behavior. If they have a problem, they immediately solve it through collective work. Their solidarity culture may play a role in integrating immigrants.

4.3.1.2. Conservative Society

Somali immigrants in Turkey have the opinion that Somali people are very conservative. This is **the second apparent** feature of Somali society according to my research. Eight of the participants answered it. They believed that their conservatism is influenced by religion and culture.

“Somali people are mainly culturally oriented. Religion is a phenomenon at the center of their lives, not only private life but also public life.” (Female, 27, Ph.D. Student)

“Somali people are not open to liberal and secular ideas. They are culturally conservative society. Their religious identity is so important in this issue.” **(Male, 26, Master Student)**

“Somalis are very religious people. They are a conservative nation and all of them believe God. Religion is very sensitive in Somali society. Similarly, their culture is very important to them.” **(Male, 28, Entrepreneur)**

Somali society is very dependent on its traditions, customs, and religion. According to respondents, their religious identity is shown in the cultural conservatism of society. Respondents also thought that Somali people are not open to liberal and secular ideas and there is a sensitive and solidarity culture in Somali society. They believed that the reason why the people of Somalia are so conservative is that religion is at the center of their private and public life.

“Somalis are proud. They are more conservative. The source of the problem for Somali is Somali. Somalia must solve its problems in itself. Somalis are not very open to innovation or new order.” **(Male, 23, Law Student)**

By conservatism, in this participant’s statement, I understand the affiliation to old orders as opposed to new. It interpreted that they are a conservative nation that resists opening and adaptation to the new world order. It can be stated that the conservative approach of the participant is equal to the understanding of protecting Somalia from external influences. Moreover, conservatism is a kind of ideology. “It is a state of mind, a type of character, a way of looking at the civil social order.” (Kirk, 2020). It can be thought that a conservative society like Somalia may want to protect social behaviors, religion, traditional morality, and cultural values by opposing what they see as radical activities and considerations.

4.3.1.3 Brave and Resilient People

Some of the Somali respondents stated that Somali people are brave hearts and resilient. They claimed that the Somali nation is overcoming all difficult things in their life. I would like to give you responses of some participants on this topic:

“Somali people are brave hearts and proud. They do not give up in vain. They struggle with everything. Somalis have struggled with Al-Shabab, drought, and civil wars for years and continue. They will not give up in no sense.” **(Male, 25, University Student)**

“Somali people are brave people. Because they are overcoming very difficult things in life. We are dealing with famine, poverty, disease, and security problems in our country.” **(Male, 27, Master Student)**

Despite the relentless violence of the Al-Shabab terrorist group, coupled with devastating cycles of deadly drought, and mass displacement, the resilience of the Somali people is remarkable. They have been struggling with civil war for many years. I think that Somali people remain fearless, going shopping, to the mosque, to school, to work every single day although there is a great internal security problem in Somalia. Their courage for the continuation of social life stems from this.

“They are the brave heart and all of them believe in God. They have been struggling with civil war for years. They are resilient. They cannot change many crucial problems in Somalia, but they can improve resistance to living with these.” **(Male, 36, Teacher)**

“They are very resilient people!” **(Female, 23, University Student)**

Moreover, it is very noteworthy that Somali participants have realized the perception of common meaning in terms of peacebuilding. They believed that they could achieve long term resistance to living with their many vital problems. “A resilient person accepts that life at times can be a challenge but these challenges are tolerable, bearable and they can be defeated” (Woodworth, 2016). From the viewpoint of participants, Somali people appear to develop a flexible and adaptable attitude because of this resilient character. According to me, “patience, faith and adaptability” are hidden in their courage and resilience.

4.3.1.4. Talkative and Social People

According to my interviewees, another important apparent feature of the Somali nation is that they are talkative and social.

“Somali people are very social and talkative. When Somalis first came to Turkey, in the social sphere such as in buses, in apartments, or the restaurant, they saw groove by loudly speaking Somalis that the Turks are disturbed. After then they take care not to speak out loud” **(Female, 33, Unemployed)**

“They are very talkative people. They can shout whenever they want in their detached houses and homeland but in Turkey, they cannot. Turkish neighbors in our apartment are still quite uncomfortable with our noise. We speak very loudly. It is a normal thing for us.” **(Male, 19, Unemployed)**

To Somali participants, the talkative characteristic feature of them can be a trouble in Turkey because the Somalis like to speak loudly. This situation depends on their social lifestyles and their behavioral symptoms because they do not live in an apartment in Somalia like Turkey. Their Turkish neighbors in the apartment are quite uncomfortable with their noise. Somali society, which is accustomed to speaking loudly in detached houses, needs to adapt to the new order for a peaceful life in Turkey. On the other hand, there are also pros of being talkative and social people:

“Somali people talk a lot, and they like to help everyone. They can chat with people long hours. Also, they can make friends very easily. Somalis are social people.” **(Male, 21, University Student)**

On the other hand, being a social and talkative person appears to be a quite positive feature in social and cultural adaptation to a new place if the tone of voice can be adjusted properly. With this feature of Somali immigrants, new friends and social circles can be made. Social cohesion in a new society can be achieved more easily. Thus, Somali immigrants can easily connect with other people. As a result, it can become an important feature for social adaptation in the host society.

4.3.1.5. Their Physical Appearance

Three Somali participants stated that they have apparent characteristics from the physical aspect. To have a thin and tall body is one of the specific features of Somalis:

“The physical features of the Somalis are tall and thin people. Their faces are mostly beautiful. They are warriors and nomadic people. Inhabitants living near water and river are calmer while other people are prone to violence.” **(Male, 28, Ph.D. Student)**

“As for physical appearance, they have usually a very thin body. They are also creative and generous people.” **(Male, 26, Master Student)**

“Somalis are nomadic and tall people. They have a slim fit body and run fast. They are generally not overweight. These physical characteristics can be distinguished from other Africans. Somalis are like Hispanic people (a mixture of white and black). They are also mixture of both African and Arabic” **(Male, 21, University Student)**

In this study, Somali interviewees thought that Somalis have generally tall and thin body. It could not be expected to be overweight from a society that has been fighting drought and famine for many years. According to studies of the World Health Organization (WHO), Somalia continues to suffer high malnutrition problems because of internal displacement, health problems, food insecurity, poor feeding practices, and drought. Their thin bodies may be related to these troubles. It is a fact that welfare, modern and comfortable life, and physical inactivity provide weight gain. Physical exercise and activity that have been considered as a strategy to burn calories (Chaput, et al., 2011) can also cause the thin and slim body of Somalis as a result of the requirement of nomadic life. In addition to their physical appearance, one of the participants believed that Somali people have unique skin color:

“Their unique skin color is Gold Brown. It is wonderful. Their skin color is a mixture of African and Arabic. It is a kind of color-based racialization according to Somalis. Their face is also so beautiful, especially women.” **(Female, 28, Ph.D. Student)**

These two participants said that the origin of the Somali race is a mixture of Black African and Arabs or non- African people. Therefore, their skin color and general appearance may be different from only African origin people. In the physical image of Somali women, they expressed an opinion that their faces are so beautiful. There are very similar findings on this subject. Researcher C.P. Rigby also mentioned in his article that “*The Somali women are generally tall and well-formed; when young, they are very good looking*” (Rigby, 1867).

In conclusion, I want to give you extra information about esthetics and body image of the Somali race. The world's first hijab model is Halima Aden (born September 19, 1997) of Somali origin. She is a Somali-American fashion model. She is noted for being the first woman to wear a hijab in the Miss Minnesota USA pageant, where she was a semi-finalist (Udorie, 2018). This has attracted considerable attention from the press and fashion world, especially Hollywood life. Thus, the beauty of Somali women was recognized and revealed.



Halima Aden, Somali-American Top Model

4.4. THE PERCEPTION OF SOMALI DIASPORA BY SOMALI IMMIGRANTS IN TURKEY

To understand the thoughts and perceptions of the interviewees on Somali Diaspora they were asked the questions: “*What do you think about the Somali Diaspora? What do you think about their relations with Turkey?*” In general, the participants stated that there is a positive relation between Somali Diaspora and Turkey. They also expressed that the Somali

Diaspora usually help the Somali people and country. Most respondents appear to aim to take responsibility for Somalia's state-building and peacebuilding processes. Some interviewees underlined a desire to return to their homeland because of these aims. It was highlighted in the comments of a respondent:

“First of all, I want to complete my education here. Then, I want to return to my country for service to all Somali people. My only dream is to go back to the homeland. I want to help my country. Somalia's state-building process is so important to me. When I return to my country, I will probably work in the ministry of foreign affairs.” **(Male, 26, Master Student)**

This return may contribute to personal or social ties with the homeland. I would like to indicate that while sometimes they may actually return to their homeland, other times their desire to return does not go beyond a dream. In addition to state-building, some of the participants demonstrated a desire to return to their homeland for service to all Somali people. They thought that Somalia and Somali people need a qualified labor force. Within this scope, Somali participants emphasized that there are constructive negotiations enriching their bilateral cooperation between the Somali Diaspora and Turkey.

“Somali Diaspora has good relations enhanced by humanitarian activities with Turkey. They always trust Turkey. Turkey makes lots of projects and aids such as building hospitals, schools, and military training centers in Somali. For the first time, the Global Somali Diaspora was established in Istanbul, Turkey. Therefore, their relations are very strong and rank high in priority list.” **(Male, 26, Administrative Assistant)**

“I think that Somalia has the most influential diaspora in Africa. It has effective power everywhere such as the US, Canada, England, and the Middle East, etc. They are coming to Turkey with the hope of receiving Turkish citizenship. The Middle East countries do not give citizenship to foreign citizens in their countries. I have a Somali friend who has Turkish citizenship. I applied for Turkish citizenship. Nowadays everything is fine. Somali Diaspora has a key role to play in Somalia's peacebuilding future. International Global Somali Diaspora Conference (IGSDC) was organized by Global Somalia Diaspora (GSD) and Yunus Emre Institute in Istanbul a few months ago.” **(Male, 28 Researcher)**

The participants mentioned the Somali Diaspora with praise and pride. They stated that there are increasingly positive developments in strengthening bilateral relations between Turkey and the Somali Diaspora. They thought that the International Global Somali Diaspora Conference in Turkey was the best indication that both countries give priority to one another. Furthermore, some Somali participants argued that one of the reasons why Somali Diaspora chooses Turkey is the opportunity of Turkish citizenship in certain circumstances.

Turkey contributes to the social and economic “reconstruction of Somalia through the Somali Diaspora” (Özkan, 2017, p. 70). GSD was established in Istanbul in 2014. The 3rd IGSDC was held again in Istanbul by GSD and the Somali Culture Association, in cooperation with Turkey's Yunus Emre Institute and Istanbul Kultur A.S. in 2019 (Daily Sabah, 2019). It aims to enhance the contact of Somalis living in the diaspora, collaborates to solve common problems, create potential cooperation and various opportunities as well as contribute to developing their homeland.



Figure 4.2 : International Global Somali Diaspora Conference

Source: Yunus Emre Institute (accessed on 18 June 2019)

Through these conferences, the issues such as Somali youth efforts, the diaspora's perspective, the role of Somali business world and industry in the rebuilding of Somalia, challenges, and opportunities in reshaping of Somalia were discussed multi-dimensionally. The conferences with thematic issues for Somalia are held every year. Maintaining social networks and cultural ties is important for the Somali people in homeland and therefore the Somali Diaspora attaches great importance to it in hostland as well. The words of Turkey's former Ambassador to Somalia, who were interviewed in the study, on this matter are important:

“Somali Diaspora is a very rich community. They have been migrating abroad since 1984. They go to live in America, Canada, Kenya, Dubai, Jeddah, Sweden, and England. 2 million Somali people are living abroad. Nearly 300,000 Somalis live in England. Approximately 2 billion Dollars is coming in Somalia from the diaspora per year. The tribal elders are constantly helping the Somalis or those in need in the diaspora's countries. They even pay their rent here. They follow an expansionist policy. Their verbal communication and memories in society are very strong. The relatives of all sub-clans know who lives where. Their relations with Turks are always positive.” **(Ankara, March 2019)**

According to the declaration of IGSDC (2019), since the collapse of the Somali government in 1991, the Somali Diaspora has grown substantially. Between 1990 and 2015, the number of people born in Somalia but living abroad more than doubled. The exact number of the Somali Diaspora in the world is unknown but it is estimated to be between 2 and 3 million people. The largest numbers of Somali Diaspora have lived in the neighboring countries Kenya and Ethiopia. As most participants said, the Somali Diaspora has a strong network in itself. This diaspora is in a relationship “through several mechanisms – through the nuclear family, relatives, charitable associations, clan networks, and transnational business partnerships” (UNDP 2009 in Shandy & Das, 2016, p.7). It also provides economic support to Somalia annually. Somali remittances are estimated approximately at US\$1 to 3 billion each year (Sheikh and Healy 2009; Hammond 2014 in Shandy & Das, 2016).

All the interviewees in the research acknowledged that Somali Diaspora refers to Somalis in Europe, the United States, Canada, Australia, Kenya, Ethiopia, and the Middle East countries, such as Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates (UAE). The reason why this is so is largely because following the civil war in 1990s it was these countries Somali people migrated to, while their migration to Turkey has taken place in relatively more recent years. As a consequence of not being able to have strong networks and high number of compatriots similar to those in the above countries where they are not minorities, Somali people in Turkey may not be considering themselves as a Somali Diaspora.

Furthermore, it can be further stated that Turkey is an attractive destination for the Somali Diaspora because a) they are able to buy a house there, b) do/run business, c) invest, d) make a wedding or honeymoon in Turkey, e) go on a summer holiday in Turkey, and f) visit their children who are receiving education in Turkey. These results were obtained from the responses of the interviewees who participated in the study. The interviewees defined the Somali Diaspora as consisting mostly of those Somali people living in Europe and the USA and said that the diaspora considered life in Turkey to be cheap because of the foreign currency in which they receive salary. They are rich people. For this reason, participants argued that they can easily perform these purposes in Turkey. One of the interviewees thought that Somali youth who came to Turkey for education purposes in 2012 constituted the current Somali Diaspora in Turkey because these young people have created new trade areas and investments in Turkey after their graduation. But she was not seen as a priority as all Somali Diaspora living in Turkey.

“Somali Diaspora is coming here for the job and touristic purposes. Some of them come here for the summer holiday. Some Somalis come to Turkey to make a wedding. These people are the rich or upper class of Somalia. After 2016, the relationship between Turkey and Somalia has improved a lot. The rich Somalis visit Turkey for a honeymoon rather than Dubai. Moreover, in recent years, trade relations between Turkey and Somalia have improved a lot. There is real estate trading between the two countries. Businessmen export furniture, appliances, and clothes to Somalia from Turkey. Somali students who came to study in 2012 graduated. Now, these businessmen have become ambassadors doing business between Turkey

and Somalia. I believe that bilateral relations should translate into more trade and prosperity in line with a win-win strategy.

On the other side, the Somali Diaspora has come here for Global Conference. Somali clergy, doctors, and merchants are coming to this conference. They love Turkey.” **(Female, 21, University Student)**

Consequently, as global entrepreneurs, Somalis think that Turkey has many developed product markets such as textiles, furniture, food, and clothing (Obsiye, 2019). For both sides, this idea creates an excellent business opportunity. Although most of the Somali Diaspora in Turkey are concentrated in Istanbul, the commercial center, many others settle in Ankara because living and buying a house is cheaper in Ankara. “Today, Istanbul has five Somali restaurants and this is a sign of not just investment, but an intention to settle and integrate the Somali people, who are traditionally nomadic” (Obsiye, 2019). From this perspective, Somali Diaspora is an example of ethnic entrepreneurs and trade diasporas.

4.1.1. Perceived Similarities Between Turkey and Somalia

In order to better understand the adaptation process of Somali immigrants, the interviewees were asked whether they thought that there were similarities between Somalia and Turkey. Those who responded that there were similarities were further probed to explain what the similarities are as well as to identify the facilitating factors and the priority issues in the similarity perceptions.

4.1.1.1 Culture and Cultural Background

As described in the analytical chapter, for the Somali immigrants who come from an ethnically and culturally homogenous society, culture is a very significant issue. Thirteen of the Somali respondents answered that culture, cultural and historical background are similar for both countries. Some attitudes, beliefs and values are perceived to be similar. Examples include hospitality and respect to guests:

“Hospitality, xenophilia, friendship, religion and neighborhood relations all cultural things are similar. For example, hospitality and neighborhood relations are weak in Europe. However, both are very significant for Turkey and Somalia. Guests are valuable in Turkey. Turks love foreign guests. We have never been treated badly here. For us, guests are also very important.” **(Male, 29, Entrepreneur)**

“Somalis are very helpful and hospitable people. Even if you go to the shepherd on the mountain in Somalia, he will share everything with you. Because the guest who came is a guest of God. They are also a very brave heart. Turkey is also a hospitable country. Cultural background, the lifestyle of families and respect to the elders are similar for both countries.” **(Male, 28, Researcher)**

In the study, the participants viewed both Somalia and Turkey to be very similar in terms of hospitality, which is a very similar cultural attitude for both countries. Respect to the guest is an important phenomenon in Somali culture. *“Other values and beliefs are “Marti Soor” which means respect for guests. This culture is common in all eastern cultures and it is an equally well-respected culture in all regions of Somalia”* (Isack, 2018, p. 16).

Additionally, Turkey is a hospitable country hosting many foreign guests. The perception of Somali immigrants in Turkey is that Turkish people are xenophilic (loving what is foreign). Both communities love to host and serve guests. People in two countries believe that guests come with abundance of spiritual blessings. Neighborhood relations as a product of social and cultural ties, for example, can be considered to reflect the solidarity and friendship between the two countries. There is a common expression of “guest of God” in both cultures. They are happy to share what they have with their guests. Therefore, the Turks consider the Somali people as guests, which is another point that explains the good relations between the two countries. I will explain the hospitality issue in another section in this chapter.

“Culture, historical background, and social aspects are similar for both countries. They behave carefully and trust each other. Respect for elderly people is similar in both countries. For instance, young people give seats to the elderly on the bus or subway in Turkey. They respect them. This behavior is very similar to that in Somalia. Elder people guide us with their knowledge and experience.” **(Male, 26, Master Student)**

Another similar issue is that high respect for elderly people in both societies is very similar. As treating the elderly with care means to respect their fortitude, wisdom, knowledge, and experience, both nations view their elders as decision-makers in generally extended and traditional families. This behavior may be related to traditional socio-cultural norms and hierarchical structure in two societies.

“Cultural background, marriage types, and hospitality are similar. Wedding culture and the religious marriage ceremony is similar between the two societies. In general, the marriage ceremony is so important in both countries.” **(Male, 21, University Student)**

According to Somali participants, weddings are so significant traditional and communal occasions for both societies. Although the official marriage is obligatory for couples in Turkey, still a religious marriage ceremony is done at the same time for Muslim couples. Likewise, religious marriage ceremonies are done in a similar way in Somalia. This ceremony is normally officiated by an imam, who is a Muslim religious leader particularly tasked with leading prayers in a mosque, just like a priest leads rituals in a church. Wedding ceremonies and celebrations are part of the cultures of both communities.

Interestingly, I found that educated and male participants gave similar answers about culture. It can be seen that the explanatory answers given for this subject are given by male and well-educated participants in the above quotations. No detailed response was received from female participants in this regard. Male respondents claimed that not only the religion but also the cultural background is similar in the two countries.

Another point worth noting based on my analysis is that the number of Somali male participants in this study is higher than that of Somali female participants. This has its reasons. An overarching reason is that Somali women are preoccupied with economic, cultural, and social barriers, such as early marriage, financial problems, patriarchal structure, and lack of female role models (Jama & Barre, 2019). Thus, the general Somali female population in Turkey, regardless of their status as employee or student, is small, and this is evident also in this study. They try to overcome gender stereotypes and biases. Cultural issues may not have priority for Somali women. The female participants in the study did not think

of cultural similarity or culture to be an issue they are interested in, depending on their intellectual needs. For this reason, male participants, especially educated male participants would give similar answer as, I think, culture and education have a profound impact on each other. It can be said that there is a positive correlation between the two variables. When the level of education increases, interest in cultural issues, which is a kind of intellectual need for a person, increases as well.

4.1.1.2 Religion

As mentioned above, both Somalia and Turkey have predominantly Muslim societies. In my research, I tried to understand to what extent Somali immigrants see the religious beliefs, interpretations, and practices of Islam to be similar in these two countries. In particular, my questions included: What do the Somalis think about religion? Do they consider Somalia and Turkey to be similar to each other only concerning religion?

Seven of the participants answered that *religion is the only similar thing between the two countries*. With this opinion, Islam is a significant power that brings together two countries and makes them brothers. An important part of the Somalis participating in the study believes that the perception of religion brings Turks and Somalis together on the same and common ground. They said that in terms of similarity Islam came first to their mind between Somalia and Turkey. Some answers given in this part are as follows:

“Religion is one of the most important things that connect the two countries. When I thought of similarity, firstly religion, Islam identity came to my mind, but Turks’ Muslim mind is different from us. Humanity is also very important for Turks. I did not see and feel any racist thought or behavior in the Turks against us.” **(Male, 36, Teacher)**

Somali people saw Turkish nationals as coreligionists. They stated that the identity of Islam has common points for two societies. Somalis think that the Turks will not hurt them. It can be said that Somalis have a positive perception of Muslim Turks because they share the same religion and beliefs with them. As explained in the analytical background, the Islamic identity of Somali people is a very significant and primary factor to identify

themselves with. Somalis attach great importance to Islam and Muslims. Therefore, they appear to also give importance to the Turks who are similar in this regard.

“Only religious perception. Apart from this, there is no common connection for both countries.” **(Male, 29, Entrepreneur)**

“Yes, for two countries the most important common point is to be Muslims. Religion is the only similar thing”. **(Male, 27, Ph.D. Student)**

Some participants have not expressed any other opinion on this matter. They think that this is the only similarity. They did not want to make any other explanations about this question. In this response of the participants, it can be said that the concepts of cultural distance or strangeness with reference to their different characteristics between the two countries are in the background.

“Perception of religion is the single common point that brings the two countries together. We believe in the same things. Turkey is not Christian like Europe. The best friend of a Muslim is another Muslim. A Muslim country will understand and support another Muslim country in the best way possible. Turkish people also support us.” **(Male, 21, University Student)**

“Religion is similar. I think that both countries are tolerant because they are Muslim. Because Islam is a religion of tolerance. A Muslim is the brother of another Muslim.” **Male, 22, University Student)**

I think that religion appears to be a source of unity for Somalis and Turks owing to Islam, being a common point of them. A best friend is a close friend who understands and listens to you. The best friends are the ones who support you. Again, people trust their best friends the most. According to Somalis, tremendous significance is placed on Islamic friendship. It is understood from participants’ answers above that Muslim Turkish society is perceived to be one of the best friends of Somalis. I would like to say that religion is the pillar of this trust and the close relationship between the two countries.

In a related manner, European countries such as Italy, Great Britain and Portugal are colonial powers for Somali people for many years. Somalis perceived colonial powers as a threat to their religion (Ahmed, 2018). Turkey is not perceived as a colonial power because

it is not, and it was not a colonial power. Before Somali people come to Turkey, it is considered that they had a positive perception of Turkey in Somalia because Turkey is a Muslim country. Besides, Somali participants thought that both Muslim countries are tolerant. In the light of these comments, it may be analyzed that Turkey is a tolerant country, where differences are respected and outsiders are welcomed, to Somali immigrants living in Turkey.

4.1.1.3 Historical Background

In addition to a similar cultural background, some of the respondents suggested that Turkey and Somalia shared a similar historical background. As explained in the analytical background chapter, there is a historical link between Turkey and Somalia. They believed that the historical similarity originated from the Ottoman Empire rule.

In this study, Somali immigrants reported that the Turkish people were the grandchildren and successors of the Ottomans. Herewith, they constantly emphasized this historical unity, similarity, and common past because they did not forget those days. Some responses of the participants are as follows:

“There are the historical and cultural similarities such as ancestors, Ottoman Empire.” **(Male, 67, Diplomat)**

“A long time ago, when the Portuguese attacked Somalia, the Ottomans sent Turkish soldiers to help us. For this reason, there is a historical link and common history between the two countries.” **(Female, 27, Public Relations in Hospital)**

“There is a strong historical background from the Ottoman Empire time between the two countries. Somalis see that Turkey is a big brother for them. There is a nice connection between them. Whenever Somalis have a difficult situation Turkey has always rushed to their aid. Thus, it was not started since 2011. It started in the Ottoman period.” **(Male, 26, Master Student)**

Somali participants saw that there was a relationship between Turks and Somali because of common Ottoman history and heritage. In sum, according to the respondents,

historical similarities brought the two countries together because there was a cooperation of Ottoman-Somalia against Portuguese in history. They said that the friendship of Turks and Somalis dated back to very old times.

“I think that culture brings the two communities together. Turkey is a Muslim country that always helped us. You are very precious because you are Ottoman grandchildren. After the Prophet, the Ottoman Empire is respected by Somalia for spreading Islam. With the arrival of the Ottomans in Somalia, there were Somali and Turkish intermarriages. Now you can even see the children who came out of these marriages in Berbera and Zeila.” **(Female, 21, University Student)**

“Historical background is similar, Zeila and Berbera regions, especially in Somaliland. It is known that these sacred places and mosques were left from the Ottoman Empire.” **(Male, 49, Botanical Doctor)**

Somali immigrants have good historical memories about and respect for the Ottoman Empire. They thought that Turkey, the successor of the Ottoman Empire, was the continuation of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, they also respect for and feel close to the Turks.

4.1.1.4 Humanity and Charity

Some participants stated that humanitarian support and charity were the most important issues that brought the two countries closer. According to the research data, 7 of the participants answered that *dimension of humanity, charity, and common fraternity or brotherhood ties are similar in these countries*. Furthermore, the perception of humanity, charity, and helpfulness appears to keep them together. Turkey was accepted as a volunteer for this mission without rejecting Somali authorities' demands. It is explained that Somali people believe that Turkish people will never harm them because Turkey gives all these supports and aids without any expectations of reciprocity. The 33-year-old female Somali participant said the following about the charity and humanity of the Turks:

“Religion is not the only phenomenon that holds the Turks and the Somalis together. Turkey and the Turkish people help Somalia. There is a dimension of charity and humanity. This sense of solidarity has brought the two countries closer.” **(Female, 33, Unemployed)**

Not only Islamic identities but humanity and charity principles are also important factors that keep these two countries together. In addition, two participants also stated that they took Turkey as a model:

“Somalia needs a professional leader and model. This is Turkey for Somalia. Somali people and the government are learning from Turkey how to use their sources efficiently. Humanity and charity principles are very important for Turkey and Turkish people” **(Female, 26, Master Student)**

“Turkey has a more powerful economy. Therefore, it is a good model for us. They help us. Turkey is a peaceful country. I like this country. Turkey is a big country that provided the most humanitarian aid to Somalia.” **(Male, 26, Intern)**

According to the Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2018, Turkey is listed as the leading country with 8.07 billion USD worth of humanitarian assistance (Turkish Foreign Affairs, 2019). In this respect, Turkey is a strong country in terms of providing humanitarian aid. Somalia is one of the leading countries that have received Turkey's humanitarian aid. Somali participants in this study are aware of Turkey's support and humanitarian assistance in this regard. They praised Turkey. The role of Turkey in the process of peace and development in Somalia appears to be a kind of advisor or mentor, which, as can be seen, is admired by Somali people.

“Fraternity, brotherhood, being tied together with common ties... We do not feel ourselves like strangers while we live here. I think the Turks love us. Turkish people can feel empathy for us.” **(Male, 25, University Student)**

Somali immigrants have an opinion that people living in a difficult situation or suffering understand the person who is upset, suffering from poverty. They can easily empathize. At this point, it can be said that the brotherhood link between the two countries has a role in these empathetic behaviors. Finally, in this research, the people of Somalia made strong references to Turkey's leading role in humanitarian activities and responsibilities.

4.2.1. Perceived Differences Between Two Countries and Difficulties of Living in Turkey

The interviewees were asked whether they thought that there were differences between Somalia and Turkey and the difficulties of living in Turkey. Those who suggested that there were differences and difficulties were further probed to explain what they are.

4.2.1.1. Religious Lifestyle, Rules, and Practices

In general, many Somali immigrants who participated in this research believed that although there was the commonality of Islam in both countries as the predominant religion in society, its interpretation and practice were perceived to be quite different. Within my study, eight of the participants answered that *religious lifestyle, rules and practices are very different between the two countries*.

“Religion phenomenon is different in Turkey. Somali is more conservative and stricter in this issue. The old generation of Somalia is Sufis; however, some of them are radical Islamists.” **(Male, 27, Master Student)**

“Their religious lifestyle is very different. Turkish Muslim people mostly believe in cultural religion. Religious beliefs are very different. I mean the way of religious life. There are sectarian differences between Turkey and Somalia. All the Somalis believe in the Shafi sect.” **(Female, 25, University Student)**

“Religion and cultural life are similar in both countries. But nearly all of Somalis are in the Shafi sect. Turks believe in many different sects. Turkey is officially a secular country with no official religion. There are more people who believe in the Hanafi or Sunni sect. I can say that most Turkish people in Istanbul follow the Sunni sect. Some Somalis live in Istanbul according to the Hanafi sect. Because it is very difficult to live in accordance with the Shafi sect. Our ablutions are easily deteriorating in Istanbul because public transport is quite crowded here. It is impossible to live a Shafi life in Istanbul. Customs and local practices of Shafi lifestyles are very difficult in Istanbul. But when we return to Mogadishu, we return to the Shafi sect.” **(Female, 21, University Student)**

According to my research data, the mentality in Turkey is perceived to be liberal and secular while reportedly this is not the case in Somalia. Respondents believe that Somalis are more sensitive and stricter on religious issues. Although both societies are predominantly Muslim, the way that they practice religion in private and public areas is quite different.

The existence of sectarian differences between two societies also appears to be effective on this distinction. Participants claimed that almost all Somali people believe in the Shafi sect; on the contrary, there are very different sects in Turkey such as Hanafi, Sunni, Alevi, and Shafi, etc. Somalis appear to feel that they are forced to go through some religious adaptation process while living in Turkey.

Moreover, one participant, a Ph.D. student, stated that Turkish people are **Cultural Muslims**. This is a Western understanding of the Muslim mentality that has formed.

“In Somali, religion and culture are interrelated to each other while in Turkey they are not. We can say that Muslims in Turkey are Cultural Muslims. I mean that they are a kind of Muslim because their personal experiences, family background and cultural or social environment belong to Muslim Culture. They say that they are Muslims without praying and fasting. They are different from us. There is a liberal and secular mentality in Turkey. Religion and politics are evaluated separately. Do not get me wrong, I am not saying it is a bad thing. Your founding leader Ataturk was also a modern and secular man. Ataturk was educated in Europe. I think he was impressed by the Western mind.” (**Female, 27, Ph.D. Student**)

The concept refers to the members of the Muslim community who are non-practicing but continue to have an attachment to elements and factors of Islamic culture (Milani, 2014). The concept of a Cultural Muslim - someone defined as Muslim but not religiously - is not always accepted in conservative Islamic communities (Blake, 2003). This answer of the respondent in my research is quite remarkable. She said that cultural Muslims did not perform obligatory prayers in the religious system, but they still defined themselves as Muslims. Muslims in Turkey have practiced religion as a cultural habit while Muslims in Somalia implement more stringent rules and customs. She stated that this secular idea came from Ataturk who is Turkey's founding leader. According to Somalis, the Muslim identity in Turkey is a product of modernization and secularization. I consider that their views on secular

life and Muslims who believe in this lifestyle do not match up with their religious life. I think some Somalis who participated in the research criticize generally Turkish nations' understanding of Islam.

4.2.1.2. Food Culture

“Food is central to individual identity, and cultures are highly selective in what they define as food. No food is appropriate for everyone, at all times, in all circumstances and quantities.” (Garnweidner, L. M., Terragni, L., Pettersen, K. S., & Mosdøl, A., 2012, p. 335)

Food culture varies from region to region, culture to culture, and country to country. Somali cuisine is a mixture of Arabic, Somali, Italian, Turkish, Persian, Ethiopian, Eritrean, Pakistani and Indian influences (Somali Cuisine, 2020). On the other hand, Turkish food culture is a synthesis of the cuisines of the Central Asia, Seljuk, Ottoman Empire and Republican eras (Batu & Batu, 2018, p. 76). The cuisines of both countries have their unique features. Somali food, a kind of African food, is completely different from Turkish food due to taste, palate, preparation and cooking technique, etc.

In my research, food culture comes to the second perceived differences in Turkey for Somali immigrants. Thirteen respondents explained that Turkish cuisine is very different from Somali cuisine. There are differences between the Somali participants' perceptions of the host country's food culture, their food choices, and current food habits.

“In the first year I came to Turkey, food and food culture were difficult for me. I was a stranger to Turkish food. But now I am used to it easily. Turkish kitchen is wonderful.” **(Male, 24, Civil Engineer)**

“In Turkey, foods were very different when we came from Somalia. But after 7 or 8 months, I got used to the food. It is a necessary period of time to live in Turkey and must get used to the food. Now, I do not eat Somali food. Turkish cuisine is wonderful and very rich in variety. It has a long history.” **(Male, 25, University Student)**

It goes without saying that different people have different tastes. When it comes to immigrants in a host country, it is only natural that a certain length of time (for example, 7 or 8 months as referred to in the interviews held for this study) has to pass for them to get accustomed to the new food culture. This is also evident in this study, according to the interviewees' responses. Some of the participants stated that Turkish cuisine is magnificent and has wide variety. The journey of Turkish food culture has been developing and succeeding from Central Asia, Seljuk, Ottoman Empire to Republican era (Batu & Batu, 2018). Having this long historical process makes Turkish cuisine rich and diverse. On the other hand, some respondents answered as follows:

“I had trouble with Turkish foods. I still do not like yogurt, ayran, and eggplant. As far as I know, most Somali people do not like eggplant and do not eat. But I like Turkish white beans and rice. Now, I am getting used to Turkish foods because I have been living in Turkey for many years.”
(Female, 21, University Student)

“It also took time to get used to Turkish cuisine. But now I love Turkish food. They are simpler and less spicy than Somali traditional dishes.”
(Female, 23, University Student)

Even though some participants lived in Turkey for many years, there are some dishes and food habits that they still are not accustomed to. Every person has unique dislikes and likes concerning palate. Personal preferences, social and cultural habits, social values, family customs, relations with other countries, economy, and religion largely affect people's food culture. According to many sources, Somali culinary culture is influenced by East African, Arab, Turkish, Indian, and Italian cuisine. Thus, traces of Turkish cuisine can also be seen in Somali cuisine. It can be said that the traditional dishes of Somali are spicier than Turkish cuisine for respondents. However, in general, they stated that they like Turkish cuisine and adapt to it with the passage of time.

Apart from the food itself, there appears to be some significant differences regarding the culture of eating. For instance, some Somalis said that they mostly eat foods with their fingers. Probably they may be eating according to learned behaviors. Many Somali people still practice their traditional eating habits of sitting on the ground and eating from the same

plate. Participants have realized that Turkish people use spoons, forks, and knives in Turkish restaurants, and this is an obligation. In this case, they have difficulty with it in Turkey because they are afraid to eat food with their hands. Learned behaviors in food culture are part of the culture.

“I had a hard time adjusting to Turkish cuisine. But now I am used to it. Somalis are eating foods with their fingers. You cannot eat foods with fingers in a Turkish restaurant. And also, you have to use a fork and a spoon here. So, most Somalis are going to Somali restaurant for eating traditional foods like this way.” **(Male, 21, University Student)**

In conclusion, the traditions, customs, and learned behaviors brought by the population that migrated from different cultures affect the food culture of immigrants in the host country. As a result, a synthesis emerges.

4.2.1.3. Dressing Styles of Women

The religious, cultural, and political ideologies in a country are very significant factors to determine the dressing style of women, and their freedom or diversity. Somali and Turkish women have been also affected by these circumstances.

In this study, some interviewees indicated that all Muslim women cover their heads in Somalia; on the contrary, Muslim Turkish women do not.

“Religion and Islamic culture are similar in both countries. Lifestyles are different. Women's clothing styles are also very different from each other. All women in Somalia cover their heads. But such is not in Turkey. There are women without headscarves in Turkey. The way women cover their hair is very different here than in Somalia. In public life, the number of women wearing headscarves in Turkey is less than others.” **(Male, 27, Ph.D. Student)**

“In Turkey, women are wearing pants. In Somalia, women in pants are seen as inappropriate. However, Somali women are beginning to wear long and large trousers in Turkey. This is a cultural interaction.” **(Female, 22, Waiter)**

These interviewees interpreted that women's clothes and dressing styles are quite different in Turkey. The dressing styles of Somali women may be so partly owing to the country's position, proximity to the Arabian Peninsula, and its international trade route (Africa Facts, 2020). For instance, Some Somali immigrants in my research believed that *jilbab and hijab* (traditional or religious attire for Muslim women) came to Somalia from Arab and Yemen culture. In general, they said that conservative Somali women mostly wear *a jilbab* which covers the entire body, except for head and hands.

According to respondents, a Turkish Muslim woman usually lives without any headscarf or turban in public life. This is very unusual for Somali culture. Turkish women may wear western dress styles like trousers or jeans. In Somali society, pants wearing by women is generally seen as inappropriate since they are considered men's clothes. However, some Somali women in Turkey have been influenced by this cosmopolitan social structure of Turkey and they are beginning to wear long and large trousers in Turkey. Likewise, cultural interaction occurs with Somali immigrants and Turkish women. Similarly, I think that the interactions will be effective in shaping the political and cultural identities of Somali women's dressing style.

“Way of dressing, especially the dressing style of woman, for Somali women is a very difficult adaptation in Turkey. The dressing styles of Somali women are seen quite differently by Turks on the street. They wear long and colorful jilbab. I think that they draw attention in Turkey.”
(Female, 28 Ph.D. Student)

Dressing style is a more cultural and social product for women rather than men. Socio-cultural norms and expectations are directly related to their appearance and style. Moreover, Somali society believes that there are rules for Muslim women's attire in a public and private field in reference to Qur'an and Islamic revealed text and traditions (*hadith*) of the Prophet Mohammad (Huraibi, 2014). For this reason, Somali immigrants' dress habits are closely related to their religious traditions and beliefs. It can be estimated that time is necessary for their adaptation in this matter.

4.2.1.4. Weather Conditions

People are able to adapt to changing social and geographical environments, cultural norms, and climatic conditions. Weather and climate patterns affect human behavior and adaptation as well (Liu, Kostakos, & Li, 2015). The weather conditions and climate orders of Somalia and Turkey are very different from each other.

Some participants in the research (5 people) explained that climate and cold weather conditions of Turkey are a big problem for adaptation to the country for them because, in Somalia, the weather is always hot in every season of the year. Somali people generally love the hot weather they are used to. This research was conducted in the cities of Istanbul and Ankara in Turkey. Both cities have generally cold weather conditions (and even harsher winter conditions) as Istanbul is one of Turkey's northernmost cities and Ankara is located in Central Anatolia, farther from the sea.

“Weather conditions in Turkey are very difficult for us. Cold weather is very foreign and new for us. We get stressed when there is cold weather.”
(Male, 67, Diplomat)

“Cold weather conditions of Turkey are a big problem for adaptation to the country because, in Somalia, the weather is always hot in every season of the year.” **(Male, 28, Computer Engineer)**

“It took me a long time to get used to the cold weather. Because I always love hot weather.” **(Male, 28, Ph.D. Student)**

It is not surprising that weather conditions do play an important role in people's psychological and physical wellbeing. It is also understandable that Somali people, who are accustomed to hot weather conditions in their homeland, go through difficulties getting used to markedly colder weather conditions in Turkey, which is referred to in the interviews as "causing stress" for them.

“Climate and air conditions are difficult for me in Turkey. For instance, Kayseri was a very cold city for me. It also took time to get used to the climatic conditions of Turkey. I experienced snowfall here for the first time

in my life. My Somali friends are just like me. It is very difficult to adapt to winter clothes.” **(Male, 23, University Student)**

In Somalia, weather conditions are usually dry and hot all year, and snow is unknown. On the contrary, Turkey can experience all four seasons. The weather across most of Turkey in winter, particularly in Istanbul and Ankara, is very cold and snowy. Therefore, Somali respondents who live in the inner regions of Anatolia where there are snow and cold may have more difficulty in this regard. They explained that many of them have seen “the snow and snowball” for the first time in their lives when they arrived in Turkey. Cold weather conditions affected the clothing styles of Somalis. Thus, they need to wear cold-weather clothing such as a bruise, boot, coat, sweater, etc. to protect from cold. It is stated that their adaptation process to cold weather conditions takes time.

4.2.1.5. Smoking in Public Place

Many regulations of varying scale (state, regional, national level, etc.) are being put into force around the world concerning smoking ban in enclosed public spaces (Ashcroft, 2011). The smoking prohibition applies similarly to Turkey. In my research, three participants underlined smoking as a bad habit just like alcohol for them. This is because they thought that this situation is quite unusual and bad for Somali culture.

“I am disturbed by cigarette smoke. Turkish people smoke on the street. Nobody smokes in Somalia. Smoking is a bad habit just like alcohol. Somali people have hookahs but do not smoke.” **(Male, 21, University Student)**

They are uncomfortable with smoking and cigarette smoke in open public places. Moreover, they claimed that nobody smokes in Somalia. Smoking is a harmful habit that is not socially accepted by Somali participants. The responses of interviewees on smoking included:

“Turkish culture is more secular and liberal than Somali. Smoking and drinking alcohol are forbidden in our country but in Turkey they are not. They can even smoke on the street. It is a normal behavior in Turkey; however, in Somali it is not. Somali families fear that their children will start these bad habits in Turkey. Even women can use these bad habits. This

situation is quite unusual and bad for us. It is very harmful and wrongful to health.” **(Female, 27, Ph.D. Student)**

“Females’ smoking and their dresses are very interesting to me. I think that the behavior of women smoking on the street is not appropriate. I do not like Turkish smokers/smokes women. I never smoke.” **(Male, 49, Botanical Doctor)**

Some interviewees believed that Somali families are afraid that their children will be affected by this (i.e. modeling learning behavior) and start smoking. It can be said that these perceived social norms appear to be an effective factor in smoking (Giuliani, et al., 2012). In Turkey, women’s smoking in public places is not seen as culturally appropriate behavior by some Somali participants. It can be said that there would be a social stigma related to women smokers in the Somali community. I think that there were gender stereotypes and gender bias in Somali participants' minds. Women’s smoking behavior in public areas may be linked to not only their psychosocial needs or pleasure but also their position on gender equality in society. Gender in relation to smoking is related to feminist or woman-centered stance that includes gender equality (Bottorff, et al., 2014)

Somali interviewees evaluated that Turkish women tend to behave more freely in the public area since Turkish society is secular and liberal. They see women’s smoking in public spaces as a symbol of secular life. They emphasized that Turkish women's smoking habit in public areas is an unapproved behavior from the Somali perspective. It is a kind of attempt controlling the public behavior of women that were attractive and independent (Hassett-Walker, 2018). In short, Somalis saw smoking as a harmful and wrongful activity both socially and health-wise in Turkey, especially for women.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY II: LIVES AND EXPERIENCES OF SOMALI IMMIGRANTS

This section contains an analysis of the data and knowledge from the perspective of lives and experiences of Somali immigrants in Ankara and Istanbul provinces of Turkey. Under two main themes, a detailed analysis is conducted on the basis of some sub-headings and topics such as socio-cultural life, peace and harmony, social and migrant network, sense of trust and reasons for migration to Turkey.

The objective is to show the findings of the research in order to understand the Somali immigrants' level of socio-cultural adaptation. Moreover, it also includes a discussion of findings that helps to draw conclusions and offer recommendations.

5.1. Socio-Cultural Adaptation of Somali Immigrants

This subsection shall provide that socio-cultural adaptation was one of the most central issues throughout this research. It also briefs the social and cultural life, language barrier, peace and social harmony, and social and migrant network of Somali immigrants in Turkey.

5.1.1. Social and Cultural Life

In this section, the participants' involvement and engagement in socio-cultural activities in their leisure time are inquired. According to Spaaij and Broerse (2018), sports activities facilitate better engagement in the wider social life, and this also holds true in this study, according to my respondents, as football ranks first among Somali men's hobbies and leisure time activities. The opinions of the participants in this regard are as follows:

“The young generation of Somalis are more modern than the older generation. The older generation loves to sit and talk to each other. Men play football; especially young men or students like to play football here.”
(Female, 27, Ph.D. Student)

“Somali students, especially Somali young men, love to play football in Turkey.” (Male, 25, University Student)

“Somali men like to play football as a social activity. Football matches are enjoyable activities that bring people together in this life.” (Male, 36, Teacher)

Based on the number of games played and events held, football is generally accepted as a worldwide sport. This general view is also compatible with the research finding that football is the most popular sport in the cultural life of Somalis, and young men usually play football. Football offers young people the opportunity to be healthy, durable, and young (Liban Obsiye & Dahir, 2019). Somali people have played this game both amateurishly and professionally since the 19th century when colonial powers (Italy, Britain, and France) introduced the football game to Somalia for the first time (Farah, 2009). Somali immigrants in Turkey thought that football competitions play an important role to bring people together as a sociocultural aspect.

In Unutulmaz’s (2013) doctoral dissertation, football is referred to as a means for inter-communal interaction as well as an integration tool for immigrant communities. Strong football culture both in Somalia and Turkey may help the adaptation and socialization of Somali immigrants. I think that football may be a socio-cultural adaptation tool to create a hybrid negotiation.

“*Chatting with their fellow citizens*” was found as another significant social activity of the Somalis in this research. They love talking and chatting with other Somali people. In daily life, this socialization pattern and oral culture have an important place for the social sharing of Somalis (Mohamed, 2001). The social environments where they socialize, and chat are usually cafes and restaurants in Turkey.

Furthermore, one of the participants in my study mentioned that Somalis like *fadi kudirir* in their leisure times. It is a traditional cultural activity for Somali people that keeps the society together and help spend a pleasant time. In Somali culture, while Somalis are sitting *fadi kudirir*, which means debating conversation or duetting with one another, is so

popular (Koranda, 2017). All kinds of topics, politics, culture, daily life, everything may be spoken in this ceremony. The participants' statements are as follows:

“Somali people love *fadi kudirir*. It is similar to the Turkish “*aşık atışması*” or call-and-response duet in Turkish society and so popular in Somali culture. *Fadi kudirir* is an important cultural activity that binds us socially and culturally. All kinds of conversations, politics, daily life, culture, everything is spoken.” (Male, 29, Entrepreneur)

“*Traveling, seeing new places, watching movies, listening to music, and reading books*” are other social activities of Somali immigrants that they love. In general, the participants in Istanbul said that they experienced the opportunity to engage in cultural activities and visit new places here:

“Turkey, especially Istanbul, has been the capital of many different civilizations. Here you can see a very beautiful and different historical structure. We want to see these historical places. I like traveling and seeing new places. Moreover, Turkish food is very delicious.” (Male, 26, Master Student)

“I used to read a lot of books. Nowadays I prefer to chat with my girlfriends at university and sightseeing. I do not like sitting at home. Therefore, I like visiting new places in Istanbul. I also like watching movies and listening to music.” (Female, 21, University Student)

Although some participants said that they have no hobbies like European people, they organize sports activities, traveling, watching series, and listening to music in their leisure time. They thought that European countries were the pioneers of artistic and cultural activities such as going to the cinema and theater. Therefore, they believed that these two activities do not belong to Somali culture:

“Somalis have no hobbies like European people. We do not go to the cinema and theatre. These hobbies belong to European culture, not us. But our adults are interested in politics. They read the newspaper. Young people play football and play sports. Somali girls watch series at home. Somali people love Turkish soap operas. We all love traveling, seeing new places, and listening to music in leisure times.” (Male, 22, University Student)

They stated that particularly Somali women love to read books, watch Turkish soap operas, and go to the Qur'an courses. Some women interviewees expressed that they mostly socialized in their homes with their close friends. It can be said that they have traditional gender roles and mindset about the cultural activities of Somali females. Women are expected to stay at home and do their hobbies at home:

“They like to talk about political topics and clans’ news with each other. I think that this is their social hobby or activity. Women learn Qur'an in social life. They are mainly at home.” **(Female, 33, Unemployed)**

Finally, even if some Somali participants said that they love going to the cinema and theater in their leisure time, they went to the theater in Turkey for the first time in their lives. Moreover, some Somalis are members of Somali associations and engage in voluntary social activities in their spare time. Thus, thanks to these institutions, they also find the opportunity to socialize.

“I read a lot of books. I went to the cinema in Ankara. I never go to the theater in Istanbul. I do volunteer studies. I am a member of the Somali Students Association.” **(Female, 22, University Student)**

5.1.2. Language Barrier

Language encompasses thoughts, values, feelings, perceptions, and represents the ethnicity of a group and social identity (Mohamed, 2001). There is an important link between language and cultural adaptation. Language is a key factor for adaptation and cultural learning in society (Beaven & Spencer-Oatey, 2016). Moreover, people migrating to a new country may often encounter a language barrier. The experiences people have concerning the language spoken in the host country pressure them to adapt to the new reality of life there. (Mohamed, 2001). In this study, participants stated that the language barrier in Turkey is the first and most difficult issue for Somali immigrants. Somali immigrants who cannot speak Turkish want to speak English or Arabic in Turkey. They say that “...*we do not expect Turks to speak the Somali language, but we expect them to speak English as a common language*”.

Besides, one of the participants made a statement that was unfortunate for Turkish society but summed up the problem in-depth:

“Language is a big barrier in Turkey. Public officials and even doctors cannot speak English or other languages very well. Therefore, we found it difficult to communicate when we came to Turkey for the first time. We cannot adapt without solving the language problem. However, communication is easy after learning Turkish well. We learn the Turkish language quickly, but unfortunately, Turks do not have language ability.”
(Male, 36, Teacher)

The participants explain that the language barrier is the main obstacle in the process of social adaptation in Turkish society for immigrants because a correct and proper communication cannot be achieved between the two nations that are both the sending and the receiving societies. They need to use a common foreign language for communication. The English language is an international auxiliary language or familiar language to ensure mutual communication between Somali and Turkish people. The interviewees suggested that even educated people (such as doctors) and public officials in Turkey have limited proficiency in the English language.

To solve the language problem one or both parties must learn a new language, especially the common language. Somali immigrants claimed that Turkish people do not have language abilities. Thus, they believed that they solve the language barrier singly because Somalis can quickly learn the Turkish language. Participants criticize Turks on this issue. I deduced from this that some Somalis consider themselves more talented than Turks to learn and speak a new language.

“Turkish people mostly speak the Turkish language. They could not speak English or any other language. In such a touristic country, very different languages should be spoken everywhere in the streets, markets, and shopping besides Turkish. I think that is a big shortcoming. We can quickly learn a new language.” **(Male, 26, Master Student)**

“Language is a problem in Turkey. Turkish people do not speak any foreign languages. They cannot speak English. I say this for the Turkish society in general. They do not have enough knowledge about Africa. According to me, they need to read and research international issues a lot.” (Male, 28, **Researcher**)

Because of Turkish people's very weak command of English or any other foreign language, immigrants and foreigners are highly likely to have communication problems upon their arrival in Turkey. Acknowledging the fact that knowledge of a foreign language is important for touristic purposes, I think that Somali people are right in their concern for difficulty in communication.

In my opinion, although English language education has been provided in all educational institutions for many years, we do not have a sufficient level of knowledge about the English language unfortunately in our country. Some international research results also summarize this situation.

Education First English Proficiency Index (EF EPI) published its annual report in 2019 about the global English proficiency level among people who took an English test (EF test) for free on the internet. The English skills of non-English speakers from 100 countries and regions were analyzed in this report. Turkey ranked 79th of 100 countries in 2019. Regrettably, Turkey took place in the "Very Low" category at the level of English proficiency (EF EPI English Proficiency Index, 2019).

Briefly, individuals with advanced language skills are in a much more advantageous position. Also, language barrier may create second language anxiety, and sociocultural stressors between immigrants and the people in destination country. This barrier may disappear in the long term if both sides do their part.

5.1.3. Peace and Social Harmony in the Work Life

Community members may act according to their own beliefs, norms, and values that are compatible with their culture and their social relationships, and behaviors can be perceived in harmony within themselves (Turiel, 2012). But it is important to achieve this

social harmony and cohesion in ethnically diverse environments where different groups communicate and work together. Do Somali people work in harmony with the Turkish people? I have tried to find the answer to this question in order to explain cooperation, harmony, conflict, and interdependence in business life among the two communities.

According to my research findings, a large majority of respondents stated that Somalis and Turks work in harmony. Some respondents noted, however, that there were several factors that undermine the generally accepted harmony, and even expressed their concern that it was a great problem. The interviewees pointed out that Turks and Somalis have different behaviors in the workplace and their business discipline understanding is very different. Although they seemed to work in social harmony, these problems constitute obstacles to adaptation.

“Somali and Turkish people work in harmony but there are some problems. For example, Turks are always warm towards Turks. Unfortunately, they neglect other nationalities at work. They can sometimes act differently.”
(Male, 28, Researcher)

“If the boss is Somali, there will not be harmony. If the boss is Turkish, there will be no problems, and harmony will be ensured. The boss must be Turkish. I say this is true both in Somalia and in Turkey. In every field, Turks are stronger than Somalis.” **(Male, 23, University Student)**

The Somali participant said that Turkish people are biased against foreign nationals at the workplace while treating people with their own nationality more warmly. It was stated that Turks did not treat employees with other national identities equally. Moreover, another participant explained that the Turks should always have a superior position to Somalis to avoid conflict. If the two communities must work together, and peace and harmony between them are desired, the boss should be Turks. In short, Somali people appear to think that *"Turks and Somali people are not entitled to the same rights and opportunities in the workplace."*

Besides, some interviewees commented that business-oriented relations and interactions among the two communities are very different due to their socio-cultural norms

in society. These differences may cause them to have difficulties for adapting to business discipline, corporate business life, operational duties, and responsibilities:

“Somalis and Turks work in harmony. But Turks are not as systematic and punctual as the Germans. On the other hand, Somalis are very relaxed people, and they are not punctual at all. Turkish companies have more official structure than Somali ones. Time is necessary for social harmony and recognition; it is not easy to achieve this.” (**Female, 22, University Student**)

“Turks and Somalis cannot work in harmony and peace. Most Somalis quickly get tired and quit their jobs. They cannot complete their responsibilities on time. In this restaurant, we changed 10 waiters in a month. They work for 3 days and leave immediately. So, they could not have enough job experience. On the contrary, this situation is different for Turkish employees. They are more used to working for long hours and they do not quit easily.” (**Male, 29, Entrepreneur**)

According to some interviewees, the leisurely and relaxed pace of Somalis and also the official and fast-paced style of Turks are their cultural features. In addition to cultural variations, some Somalis’ lack of professional work experiences may lead to prejudice and discrimination. One of the participants believed that time is necessary for sufficient recognition and ensuring social harmony between two communities.

5.1.4. Social and Migrant Network

To better understand the adaptation of immigrants, we should have an idea about their social and migrant network structures. In migration studies, social networks are referred to as “influencing patterns” for migrants in their movement to preferred areas of resettlement, that is to say that people choose to settle in areas where they have social networks to which they feel they belong or by which they are influenced (McMichael & Manderson, 2004, p. 88). Another important network that is mainly focused on as “same community origin or being compatriots” formed by Somali immigrants can be defined as ‘**migrant network**’.

“Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. They increase the likelihood of

international movement because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration. Network connections constitute a form of social capital that people can draw upon to gain access to foreign employment” (Massey, et al., 1993, p. 448)

This research has found that having a strong social network with friends, relatives, colleagues, familiar fellows and other personal contacts helps Somali immigrants to be happier, more prosperous and more successful in their lives in Turkey. For them, not only the networks with the Somalis but also the networks with the Turks are very important.

“To live and work in Turkey is very hard. To be able to do an internship, you need to know the social network or acquaintance. Even when I went to Erdemir Company to do an internship, the governorship became a reference for me. If there are no people to know and support you in Turkey, it is very difficult to live here. As Somalis, we all think about it. So, we have the same opinion about this topic. Somali people are trying to support each other in all matters. But other than that, it is necessary to get help from the Turks.”
(Female, 22, University Student)

This interview shows us their networks are necessary to facilitate the social and economic adaptation of Somali immigrants in Turkey and to provide social support and contacts beneficial in finding an internship or future employment. It is known that there is an expectation of potential migrants that their social networks play a significant role in their post-migration job-search process (Rainer & Siedler, 2009). Naturally, Somali immigrants would expect to take advantage from socially connected people in Turkey.

Through this network, immigrants may create their own migration cultures, and they overcome several spatial and social problems (such as shelter, acceptance in their network and accommodation, employment, education, and health) (Şanlı, 2018). For many Somali immigrants, getting support from social networks is critical in the choice of destinations. Many Somali interviewees explained that Somalis living in both Istanbul and Ankara have created such a powerful migration network and culture.

“There are Somali people all over the world. It is a constantly moving society. Somali Diaspora also cooperates with the Turks. Those who are rich buy more houses from Ankara and Istanbul and settle in places like Kecioren, Altindag, Kizilay, Sirinevler, Avcilar, Aksaray, etc. Because in

these places, there is a population density of Somali people. The first contact is important. Somalis want to buy or rent a house next to Somalis. Thus, they support each other in every subject. They feel comfortable and safe like this. I think that Somalis tend to socialize among themselves.” (**Male, 26, Administrative Assistant**)

Also, according to other interviewees, Somali immigrants usually contact first with their relatives or familiar people in Turkey when they migrate to Turkey. The Somalis, who have a good financial situation, bought houses from places with larger Somali populations. They tend to choose destinations near these contact people, and they live according to this migrant network. Thus, they feel safe and peaceful.

Another important finding is that Somali people constitute best friends in personal networks among immigrants. It appears to be the case that Somalis are able to establish close relationships only with compatriots. Some of them stated that they are new in Turkey. Thus, they have only Somali friends. On the contrary, there were some respondents who said that even though they lived in Turkey for many years, their close friends are still Somalis.

“I live in Turkey for 8 years. I have friends from many different countries: Russia, Azerbaijan, Kosovo, and Turkey. But my best friends are always from Somalia.” (**Female, 21, University Student**)

“I have been living here since 2012 and I have many friends. I have a Ghanaian boyfriend. However, my best friends are still Somalis. I share my personal feelings and thoughts with them.” (**Female, 27, Public Relations Assistant**)

“Only Somali friends I have in here. Because I am new in Turkey.” (**Male, 19, Unemployed**)

“I have Turkish close friends in university. Turkish people have a very broad vision. They can help us whenever we need it. Apart from this, I have Somali friends.” (**Male, 26, Master Student**)

In the closest circle of people for Somali immigrants in Turkey in terms of their social networks come Somali people. It is considered that Somalis share their personal and special feelings and thoughts with close interpersonal contacts that are from the same origin.

Furthermore, Turkish people come in the second order in their personal networks. If Somali immigrants are students, they can have Turkish friends in university or the dormitory. At the same time, they can have African friends in this academic life. They said that their educational life allows them to meet and get to know the Turkish people closely.

Lastly, some of the respondents expressed that in university they have close friends from different countries such as mainly East Africa (Kenya, Tanzania, Djibouti, and Ethiopia), Nigeria, Morocco, Senegal, Guinea, Ghana, Mali, Togo, Congo Chad, Zimbabwe, Syria, Yemen, Iraq, Azerbaijan, and Kosovo. Somalis prefer to make friends from Somalia's neighboring countries (East Africa region) after Somalis and Turks. I guess that they feel culturally close to East African people.

“If you are a student, you can have Turkish friends at university. At the same time, you can have African friends in this academic life.” **(Female, 27, Ph.D. Student)**

“Since 2014, Turks and Somalis have been much closer friends. Migration is more likely to happen here from the 2014 year onward. I have Somali, Kenyan, Djiboutian, and Ethiopian and East African close friends.” **(Female, 27, Ph.D. Student)**

5.2. Sense of Trust

In this research, the participants were asked the following question: “*Do you think the Somali people trust the Republic of Turkey and the Turkish people?*” Almost all Somali respondents stated that they trusted Turkish people and the Republic of Turkey. Only 2 of the participants answered neither affirmatively nor negatively to this question.

“Somali people trust Turkey. Turkey help Somali students, Somali governments, and Somali people. They see Turks as a real brother! Geographically, the Arab countries are closer to Somalia, but they trust the Turks more. They find Turkish people more intimate.” **(Female, 27, Public Relations)**

“Yes, Somalis trust Turkey a lot. Since 2011, they mostly trust the Turks in the international community. Turkey did not exploit Somalia like Europeans. But Turkey updated its Africa profile by means of Somalia. For

them, Somalia was the gateway to Africa. Thanks to Somalia, Turks strengthened their soft power.” **(Male, 28, Researcher)**

“We trust the Turkish people and the Turkish government very much. The Turks helped us in our difficult times. We would like the Turks to benefit from our resources instead of a Christian country.” **(Female, 22, University Student)**

The above participants believe that it would be better to have a mutual sharing instead of the Christian exploitation system. Perhaps they may think that there should be a return to Turkey’s favor and help. The perception of mutual trust and cooperation is very important at all times.

“Yes. Definitely. Turkey always helps Somalia and Somalis not only economically but also militarily. There is a big internal security problem. Al-Shabab. As you know this is a dangerous terrorist organization. Turkey re-established the Somali Armed Forces. It was a big step for our security.” **(Male, 21, University Student)**

Security problems and terrorism, which have caused conflicts ongoing for many years and had devastating and severely damaging effects on Somali people, resulted in many refugees and internally displaced people. Turkey took over the responsibility or shouldered the critical burden for rebuilding Somali national armed forces with the aim of sustainable peace. This is why, I assume, Somali participants expressed their trust in Turkey and the Turkish Armed Force for their leading role in the contribution to the new security architecture of Somalia.

Finally, one of the participants had a very different answer to this question:

“I do not know. If the current government in power changes, the perspective of the Somalis changes. For example, if the government in power is CHP, it will not want to help the Somalis. Who knows... President R. Tayyip Erdogan is our hero and our savior, in Somalia's worst time he came to our country. All aids in Somalia were under his leadership. We trust him.” **(Male, 23, University Student)**

This Somali participant explained that the perception of trust may depend on the Turkish government and its ideology. He thought that if there is a change in the Turkish

government, Turkish policy on Somalia may change. This change can affect the views of the Somali people in Turkey. The coming to power of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in 2002 paved the way for Turkey's opening to Africa and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's visit to Somalia in 2011 facilitated the making of a foreign policy specifically for Somalia (Özkan, 2010). The AKP is a right-wing, conservative party that is in power in Turkey. Erdogan and Erdogan's government can be considered as pious Muslims. Although any generalization is better to be avoided, it is not ungrounded to claim, and assume, that Somali people can be said to have a favorable approach to Erdogan and his government and everything they have done for Somalia.

5.3. Why Somali Citizens Migrate to Turkey?

Somalis, who were negatively affected by the civil war for years, come to Turkey with positive thoughts and expectations. They tend to decide to migrate, partly because of the lack of opportunities in their homeland and the perceived possibilities abroad (Wasuge, 2018). A significant number of Somali immigrants had dreams about future life in Turkey. They made lots of plans before migrating to Turkey. These dreams provide information on the conditions that cause them to migrate to Turkey.

To understand the thoughts and experiences of the interviewees on their migration story to Turkey, they were asked two similar questions in this research. One of them was what the hopes of the Somali immigrants were before coming to Turkey. Another question was why Somali citizens preferred to migrate to Turkey. In order to get detailed information about immigrants' migration experiences from beginning to end, the answers to these two questions were inquired.

The findings showed that for the purposes of living a safe, better, and more comfortable life, receiving quality education, finding a job, benefiting from healthcare facilities, Somalis migrate to Turkey or transit to Europe, and especially after living in a hostland for a period of time, receiving quality education and becoming financially better off, they return to the homeland. First among their dreams was to live a better, safe, and comfortable life in Turkey. Most of them hoped that they would find a better and safe life

because they wanted to erase their bad memories in Somalia. They wanted to live in a peaceful place. Security and peace are the most important things for them. Turkey is a modern, powerful (both politically and economically), touristic and secular country offering different opportunities according to them. These features come to the fore in their perception of Turkey.

“Somali people want to escape a terrorist organization that is Al-Shabab. And also, they have a dream to live a safe, better, and comfortable life in Turkey. They want to erase their bad memories in Somalia. Security and peace are very important to us. Turkey is an economically and politically very powerful and modern country.” **(Male, 67, Diplomat)**

These examples show that before coming to Turkey, the respondents had a destination image about Turkey and Turkish people based on Turkish TV series in their minds. But when they arrived in Turkey, they realized that the lifestyles and values of Turkish people, especially of Turkish women, were very different than they had imagined. It can be said that there appear to be strongly religious, economic, and social impacts of Turkish TV series on Turkey’s image in terms of Somalis’ perceptions.

“I imagined that all Turks spoke Arabic. But they admittedly do not speak Arabic. I thought that everyone was religious because they were Muslims. I thought that Turkey was a more conservative country like an Ottoman Empire, but it is not. I think it is a good thing that religion and politics are separate from each other. In Turkey, people are much freer about religion. I thought that the open-headed women I saw in the Turkish TV series were not Muslims. But these biases changed when I came to Turkey. I have learned that they are Muslims although they are different from us.” **(Female, 21, University Student)**

Somali followers of Turkish TV series had similar thoughts about Turkey and Turkish people. The majority of them had positive attitudes and thoughts about Turkey. Place familiarity has an essential role in immigrants’ decision-making (Iskender, 2018). According to participants, their familiarity with Turkey affected their choice of migration destination. They perceived Turkey as a luxurious, peaceful, and secure place that they learned from the Turkish TV series. They also expressed that their dreams and reality matched:

“I dreamed that there were beautiful roads, parks, luxury cars, tall buildings in Turkey. I was watching Turkish TV series in Somalia. These are very popular in my country. I got the chance to know Turkey with these series. Nowadays, Cukur, Ezel, Kara Sevda, and Dirilis Ertugrul are series that I like and watch. There are great places and impressive stories in Turkey. Just like in the series, everything is real. I was very impressed by Istanbul.” (Male, 26, Administrative Assistant)

5.3.1. Education and Employment Opportunity

As a response to the question posed above, i.e. why did you prefer to come to Turkey, the secondary objective of the respondents appears to be related to access to quality education and job opportunity. The majority of Somali respondents thought that Turkey was one of the favorite destinations to receive a better education and find a job to realize their dreams. Also, some of them wanted their children to receive Islamic education and thus they chose Turkey.

“Somali people prefer Turkey firstly to receive university education. I have won scholarships from many universities around the world. But I chose Turkey. At the same time, I had a high-quality education in this country. Turkey is always helping us. I was very curious about this country. I was curious about your language and culture. I wanted to know Turkey.” (Male, 28, Researcher)

“Somali Diaspora prefers Turkey for the possibilities of religious education, especially for their children. There is a chance to receive an Islamic education here because Turkey is a Muslim country. Most importantly, many parents want their children to take Qur’an education or Islamic education in Turkey. Also, the Turkish government always helps Somali people and students. Somali students can take a scholarship from the Turkish government in order to go to university in Turkey. That is great for us.” (Male, 24, Interpreter)

Some respondents claimed that ability to receive Islamic religious education in Turkey is a pull factor regarding the decision of Somali parents to migrate their children. At the same time, some argued that the scholarship given by the Turkish government was another pull factor that influenced the preference of Somali students. The high-quality education provided in Turkish universities is an important factor in their coming to Turkey for education purposes. They suggested that education costs in Turkey were cheaper and

more economical compared to Europe. This study indicates that the Turkish education system and facilities can offer many solutions to the concerns of Somali parents and students as Muslims.

“Somalis feel very relaxed and comfortable in Turkey. They escape from a widespread Islamophobia in Europe. They find Turkey cheaper and more economic compared to Europe. Here, they buy a house cheaper than in Europe. I think that 90% of Somali immigrants in Turkey are students. For instance, a Somali father working in Europe wants their children to take education in Turkey because education is cheaper and reliable here.” **(Male, 28, Entrepreneur)**

“We prefer Turkey to get an education, especially taking a master’s degree. Life in Turkey is cheaper than in Somalia. I find the education system in Turkey better than in Malaysia and India. Now, I am continuing my education and doing my Ph.D. in Istanbul” **(Male, 28, Ph.D. Student)**

Some of the participants expressed that there was a common Islamophobia which is discrimination or prejudice against Muslim people in Europe. Islamophobia includes a “religiously inferior” as well as an understanding of racial and ethnic hate against Asians, Arabs, and blacks (Kalin & Esposito, 2011). Therefore, Somali immigrants break away from Europe to avoid Islamophobia. They can also feel comfortable and relaxed in Turkey because of the predominant portion of the population being Muslim. In addition, this study supports the claim of the above participant about a very large proportion of the current Somali immigrant population are students in Turkey. As a result of these opinions of participants, it can be understood that Turkey presents a suitable environment not only sociologically but also psychologically for Somali students.

According to OECD Migration Policy Debates (2014), education and employment take a role to maximize the benefits of migration, in particular by improving migrants’ employment status. In the research, the majority of participants thought that quality education could contribute to finding a job in the labor market. They believed that the lives of educated and capable Somali youth would change more quickly in Turkey. It can be said that the population of educated immigrants has a positive effect on economic growth and human

capital in Somali society. However, some of the participants wanted to return to Somalia because they thought that finding a good job for foreigners in Turkey was quite difficult.

“When Somali students finish university in Turkey, their life is changing very quickly. It helps to find a good job. First of all, they want to find a job and stay in Turkey. If they cannot find the job here, they are looking for different ways. After that, they want to go to Somalia for finding a job. I think that finding a job is not an easy process no matter whatever happens.”
(Male, 24, Interpreter)

“I dream of getting a good education here and going back to my home. In Turkey, it is very difficult to find a job in the private sector. It is impossible to get a job in the government. Finding a good job for foreigners in Turkey is quite difficult.” **(Male, 27, Master Student)**

“Finding a job in Turkey is very difficult. Even if you find an available job opportunity, it is very difficult to earn a livelihood and sustain your life in Turkey. Unemployment is already a problem in Turkey not only for us both also for Turkish citizens. So, Somali immigrants want to immigrate to Europe. A Somali person comes here with money. If you have enough money, you can buy a house in Turkey. Rich Somali people may live in Turkey.” **(Male, 27, Ph.D. Student)**

These interviewees stated that Somali people who could not have job opportunities in Turkey intended to seek a job in Europe. They asserted that their possibilities of employment in Turkey were low due to the fact that there was an unemployment problem in Turkey for not only immigrants both also Turkish citizens. They appear to seek job opportunities abroad as a solution. As a matter of fact, Somali youth in this study are not optimistic about their future life in Turkey after graduating from university.

5.3.2. Security

Many factors influence Somali citizens’ decision to migrate. Security, the most basic need, is one of these factors that play a prominent role. To further understand the safe life perception of Somali interviewees, one should also focus on the security problems of Somalia. Al-Shabab insurgents are not a security problem or threat in Somalia alone. The security threats in the country come from clashes among clans, operations related to the

misconduct by government and security forces (Wasuge, 2018). The capital city Mogadishu and its surroundings are generally called Somalia, and the security problems are more intense in this region (the center and south of Somalia) (Özkan, 2014). Some Somali interviewees said that there was relative peace in Somalia's north and northeastern regions such as Somaliland and Puntland, which are partly safer than Somalia.

“Somalia is not a safe place. Somali people run away from internal war and security problems. Somalia has more security problems than Somaliland and Puntland. They prefer Turkey to live a better and safe life.” **(Female, 22, Waiter)**

“You know that there are security problems and crises in Somalia. People escape from Al-Shabab. It is a radical terrorist organization that kills anyone and any normal and innocent civilian people in Somalia. Turkey is a very safe country. In Turkey, everyone can easily go out on the street, even at night. People feel themselves safe even at night. This is impossible in Somalia. We migrate to Turkey for a safe and better life.” **(Female, 22, University Student)**

This interviewee asserted that people in Turkey felt safer when walking on the street even at night compared to Somalia. It is understood that Turkey appears to be a safer country than Somalia even at night. People may have to migrate in a voluntary or forced manner from their origin country for security reasons as a survival strategy (Vietti & Scribner, 2013). Thus, it is unsurprising that many Somalis said there was a link between security and migration. On this issue, another participant expressed his views as follows:

“Somalis migrate to Turkey for safe life and escape the ongoing civil war in Somalia. Turkey is a more developed country. There are no security problems like those in Somalia. Here, in Turkey, people can live freely, but we could not find these living conditions in our country. Turkey offers a reliable, comfortable, and peaceful life for us. Turkey is number one for people of Somalia for many years.” **(Male, 29, Entrepreneur)**

As can be understood from the statements of the interviewee, there is a multi-dimensional understanding of security that causes migration. In this interview, a relationship has been established between the development levels of countries and security. It is considered that Turkey is a developed country, so there are no serious security problems like those in Somalia. It is a fact that the aim of development is “to create an enabling environment

for people to enjoy long, healthy, and creative lives” (UNDP, 1990, p. 9). Social, political, and economic insecurity may compel people to migrate (Vietti & Scribner, 2013) due to the feeling of reaching more welfare and developed society.

Therefore, it is expected that Turkey, receiving country, is a safe place as a developed country according to Somali participants. On the other hand, it is possible to see serious security problems in the least developed countries like Somalia. Consequently, Somali participants believed that people could only establish or rebuild their lives in a safe place.

5.3.3. Health Facilities

Access to health facilities is important for everyone. A minority Somali group among the participants stated that they migrated to Turkey because of health facilities. According to Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), “everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family” (United Nations, 1998). One of the participants thought that it was a human right to have the accessibility of healthcare. She said that one of the reasons for the migration of the Somali people was to access to health care system in Turkey. Turkish health system and technological medical equipment in Turkey were considered to be comprehensive for Somali interviewees. For the treatment of Somali patients, high-quality health systems were their common expectations upon arrival in Turkey.

“Somali people prefer Turkey for health facilities. I think that access to these is a human right. The Turkish medical system is very advanced. In here, there is technological medical equipment both on a very comprehensive and sophisticated level. Health conditions are very well in Turkey. Many Somali patients are coming for treatment in Turkey.”
(Female, 25, University Student)

“Turkish and Somali governments are friends. Especially, rich Somali people migrate to live in Turkey. They prefer Turkey because it is a more developed country than Somalia. Turkish doctors and Turkish health systems are quite good. I think that the treatment methods are of high quality. We trust them. We are satisfied with them. Somali patients prefer Turkey for treatment. Of course, the rich Somalis can come to Turkey for treatment.” **(Male, 21, University Student)**

At this point, it is understood that they are commonly quite satisfied with Turkish health services and healthcare workers such as Turkish doctors that meet the Somali patients' needs and expectations. Somalis in Turkey can find solutions to their health problems by reaching quality and appropriate treatment methods. In this research, Somali participants thought that this system was accessible to the rich and wealthy Somali immigrants who had the financial means to migrate to live in Turkey. Therefore, there is a connection between the socio-economic condition of Somali immigrants and the accessibility of the Turkish health care system according to participants.

5.3.4. Economic Reasons

According to Somali respondents, there are many fundamental triggers of migration to Turkey. In addition to social, cultural, and security reasons, the economic factor is at the center of Somali migration. In human life, the economic reason is considered to be one of the most crucial dimensions in making migration decisions (Nakhoul, 2014, p. 6). More broadly, immigrants migrating from least developed countries to advanced economies have dreams of increasing their economic opportunities and creating a new trade circle in the destination country. The findings of this study also support this view. These show that economic difficulties and unemployment in Somalia and economic opportunities in Turkey are the major drivers.

“There are many reasons for Somalis' migration to Turkey. They want to live a better life. There is an economic relationship between the two countries. In Somalia, there are unemployment and economic difficulties for doing business. Somalis prefer here because of economic reasons. Somali businessmen are coming to work in Turkey. For instance, they were able to open their restaurant in Turkey like this. They can cooperate bilaterally. Moreover, Turkey is cheaper than Somalia and other African countries. Turkish government helps Somali people. Somali people can buy houses in Ankara because they are cheaper than Istanbul. Somali Diaspora can find Halal things in here. They could not find these in Europe. So, they prefer to live in Turkey.” **(Male, 28, Computer Engineer)**

For Somali respondents, their economic migration is often considered to be of voluntary movement for increasing the potential to access economic opportunities. However,

unemployment, poverty, economic inadequacies, and difficulties can also be perceived as compulsory or forced triggers causing them to migrate from Somalia (IOM, 2017). They expressed the opinion about this topic that Somali businessmen were coming to Turkey to be able to capture mutually economic cooperation and economic investment opportunities here. As it is seen, they could find a suitable trade and investment area in Turkey. The restaurants named Somali Sofrasi, which they established in Ankara and Istanbul, are the example of their potential investment.

Moreover, another reason for Somali immigrants' economic migration to Turkey is that they find Turkey to be a more suitable and cheaper country to live than Somalia, other African countries, and Europe. Having halal products or foods, which are prepared under Islamic law and its requirements as defined in the Qur'an, that they can buy in the Turkish economic market is another reason for preferring Turkey since Turkey is a Muslim-majority country. This special issue is a determinant subject on the decision of the Somali Diaspora not to migrate to Europe.

5.3.5. Transit Migration

Turkey recently is a significant actor in terms of migration movements due to its geopolitical location and closeness not only European Union (EU) Area but also the Middle East and Africa (Elitok & Straubhaar, 2010). There is a direct air route between Turkey and Somalia because Turkish Airlines, "the first major commercial airline in more than 20 years" (BBC-News, 2012), started flights to Mogadishu in 2012. A part of Somali immigrants in Turkey can travel to Europe. Figure 4.3 indicates the main routes from Somalia to Europe. In this study, some of the Somali immigrants dreamed to migrate to Europe through Turkey. This was represented by small sample sizes.

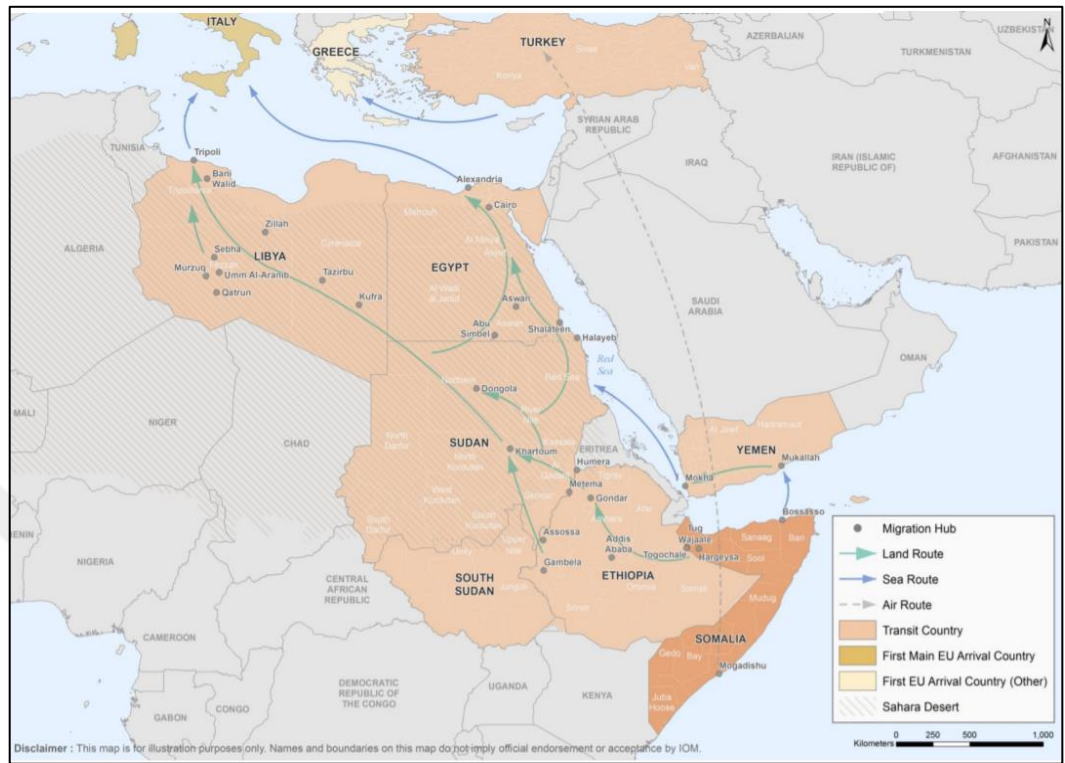


Figure 4.3: Main routes from Somalia towards Europe, (IOM, 2017, p. 22)

These interviewees noticed that Turkey was a transit point to Europe especially before 2011. They stated that despite there was a Somali population that wanted the transit migration from Turkey to Europe, this number is reducing today. The opinions of the two interviewees who made detailed explanations on this matter are as follows:

“Somali people want their children to receive Islamic education in Turkey and benefit from hospital treatment here. They can build a better life and future here than in Somalia. Of course, there are still dreams of going to Europe from here. Before 2011, Turkey was a transit point to Europe for Somali people. Nowadays, the transit migration of Somalis to Europe has decreased compared to the past. We arrived as 50 Somali students to take university education in Turkey. 26 of them went to Europe. Turkey is very close to Europe and the Middle East. Like a bridge...All facilities are very nice here like in Europe.” **(Male, 28, Entrepreneur)**

“Some Somali students have the dream of getting a better job opportunity in Europe. They want to start education in Turkey and either complete their university education life in Europe, or finish school here. After finishing university in Turkey, they seek a good job in Europe. They think that there are better living conditions in Europe. Every Somali scholarship student who comes to Turkey has a dream of transit migration from Turkey to Europe.” **(Male, 24, Interpreter)**

The presence of Somalis in Turkey has been increasing as the migration potential for about 9 years. However, some Somalis have a dream of reaching and waiting for resettlement in Europe. They saw Turkey as the first platform to go through routes parallel to Europe. They believed that better living conditions and a good new job were waiting for them if they could reach the final destination named as European countries (İçduygu & Sert, 2014). Thus, their new dreams mean starting a new migration story for them.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study aimed to investigate perceptions, attitudes, challenges, and experiences that Somali immigrants living in Turkey face in the socio-cultural adaptation process, and to develop policy recommendations about this topic. In this context, in-depth interviews with 35 Somali immigrants in Ankara and Istanbul, and two diplomats (Turkey's former Ambassador to Somalia and a cultural attaché in Somali embassy) in Ankara were conducted within the framework of the phenomenological qualitative research methods, and their findings were analyzed.

As it was shown in the previous chapters, a sociological, cultural, and ethnographic gaze within a migration context from peace and conflict perspective constituted the backbone of this research. During the inquiry, primary (*in-depth investigation, field data, interviews, and participant observations*) and secondary resources (*books, journals, articles, reports, government publications, and open source libraries*) were examined. Moreover, the snowball sampling technique, one of the non-probability sampling methods, was used in this research. The design of the thesis focused on only international, legal, and voluntary migration literature, and therefore the snowball sampling technique was advantageous to reach the target Somali immigrant populations in Turkey. On the contrary, the potential disadvantage of snowball sampling is that participants may have many common features, thus not representing the larger population of the Somali community (Huraibi, 2014).

In view of the findings, there were specific perceived similarities and challenges between Somalia and Turkey identified during the interviews with Somali immigrants. These similarities can be listed as Muslim identity, similar cultural and historical background, sense of humanity, charity, and hospitality. The fact that both countries are Muslim or have a similar Islamic identity and similar historical background was seen as a phenomenon that brings cultures closer to each other. In other words, religion (proximity in faith) facilitated

Somali immigrants' socio-cultural adaptation to Turkey as religion is at the center of Somali people private and public life. The information gathered from the field showed that these similarities positively affect the socio-cultural adaptation process of Somali immigrants to their lives in Turkish society. At this point, it can be said that while there is sympathy for the cultures that resemble them and have similarities, the adaptation process could be also facilitated. The findings show that the importance and priority of concepts such as hospitality, solidarity, and human values for both communities will play a constructive role in the social adaptation of Somali immigrants.

In addition, social and migrant networks of participants, their education level, age, and length of stay in Turkey appear to affect their adaptation. It has been revealed that those immigrants with strong social and migrant networks, high education level, ability to speak foreign languages, who are young and especially individuals open to change, new environments, and innovation have achieved the socio-cultural adaptation more easily and quickly than others. Based on opinions and observations of the participants, living for more than 6 months in the hostland was also important for the socio-cultural adaptation process. These can be considered as immigrants' "social and human capital" or in other words "intangible assets". Human capital influences people's socio-cultural relationships and innovative adaptation (Mahsud, Yukl, & Prussia, 2011). Common findings have emerged both as a result of this study and also the previous international adaptation studies. It is concluded that immigrants who have strong social and human capital or abilities to adapt to changes in a new environment or situation are particularly more advantageous.

On the other hand, religious rules and practices, language barriers, food culture, dressing styles of women, social lifestyle, smoking in public places, and weather conditions in Turkey were perceived as the challenges by the Somali participants. The challenges Somali immigrants have been through (physical, social, cultural, economic and political) are more than the facilitators. The priority challenges faced by Somali immigrants in social adaptation process were determined as different religious rules and practices as well as the language barrier. Although the majority of the respective populations of both Somalia and Turkey are Muslims, Somali interviewees stated that they had difficulties in public and private life due

to the differences in beliefs and practices of Islam by Turkish people. While Turkey is a secular country, Somalia is a country where there is Islamic Sharia Law in force. Therefore, it is an expected result to see these differences in religious and social life for immigrants. Within the framework of mutual respect, tolerance, and understanding of the differences, it is thought that Somali immigrants can overcome this problem.

The study findings revealed that the language barrier is seen as the other significant obstacle for the socio-cultural adaptation process. The findings of international and national studies have also supported the importance of language skills within the adaptation to the new society. The fact is that if the Somali immigrants do not know Turkish or a common foreign language, they may have visible problems both in understanding the Turkish society and in communicating with society. Moreover, many Somalis in this research claimed that Turkish people generally cannot speak English or any other foreign language. All these situations make the adaptation process of immigrants to Turkish society difficult. The results in this study suggest that the language problems of Somali immigrants can be solved by improving their Turkish language skills, such as through preparatory classes, language courses, or cultural training (Coşkun & Coşkun, 2018) It is anticipated that any efforts to remove the language barrier will be a positive step to overcome the adaptation problems of Somali immigrants.

The study discovered the other differences such as food culture, weather conditions, dressing styles of women, smoking behaviors, and social lifestyles in Turkey faced by Somali immigrants and concluded that they need enough time to adapt to them. It has been revealed that interactions with Turkish culture and transformations in the perceptions, behaviors, thoughts, and lifestyles of immigrants about the cultural and social areas are inevitable. After living for a while (after 7 or 8 months) in Turkey they could be familiar with, like, or adjust to Turkish food. However, it was found that Somalis could not easily adapt to the winter and cold weather conditions in Turkey because the weather conditions of Somalia are always warm and hot in every season. As a social lifestyle the preference of women wearing trousers or jeans and not wearing a headscarf or turban, and the women smoking behavior in public spaces in Turkey were perceived as culturally, socially, and religiously inappropriate by some

Somali participants. In this regard, it is possible to speak of gender bias and social stigma in these immigrants' minds related to women's smoking behavior in public areas and dressing styles of women in Turkey.

Furthermore, this thesis tried to explain why Somali citizens migrate to Turkey. The findings showed that for the purposes of living a safe, better, and more comfortable life, receiving quality education, finding a job, and benefiting from healthcare facilities, Somalis migrate to Turkey or transit to Europe, and especially after living in a hostland for a period of time, receiving quality education and becoming financially better off, they return to the homeland. Security and peace are the most important and essential matters for them due to the internal conflicts of Somalia which have been continuing for many years. Economic cooperation and increasing investment opportunities especially for Somali businessmen were perceived to be one of the most crucial dimensions in making migration decisions. Turkey is a Muslim-majority safe, modern, powerful (both politically and economically), touristic and secular country offering different opportunities according to interviewees. Besides, the majority of Somalis found that Turkey is a more suitable and cheaper country to live rather than Europe, Somalia, and other African countries.

For many interviewees, to receive a cheaper education compared to Europe or Somalia and take Islamic religious education in Turkey were pull factors regarding the decision of Somali parents to migrate their children. This research showed that Turkey was seen as one of the favorite countries to offer various facilities for Somali students such as scholarship opportunities (non-refundable grants) and a suitable educational environment which will be free of Islamophobia. If a very large portion of the current Somali immigrant population is thought to be students in Turkey, the education process of Somali students is perhaps one of the most critical stages of the socio-cultural adaptation process. For this reason, the different problems in the education of Somali immigrants like psychological, sociological, pedagogical, communicational socio-economical, etc. to be experienced in the adaptation process should be seriously analyzed in the future new research.

Another main finding in the study was the self-perception, self-image, or self-identity of participants about the most essential characteristics of Somali society or people. The results are significant to indicate how the Somalis described themselves from sociological, physical, cultural, anthropological, or psychological aspects. As a consequence of the research, five specific characteristics of the Somali people emerged from the Somali immigrants' perspective. These were as follows, respectful: 1) *Honest, Helpful, Hospitable and Kind People*, 2) *Conservative Society*, 3) *Brave and Resilient People*, 4) *Talkative and Social People* and 5) *Thin and Tall People*. These findings may be useful for determining and understanding their certain characteristics for adaptation to Turkish society. It is thought that these social and/or personality traits of the Somali people may have positive effect on their sociocultural adaptation to a new society. Moreover, the self-consciousness or the self-understanding of their society and the perception of awareness may associate with their group reality and identity.

In this part of the study, it was focused on thoughts and perceptions of the interviewees on the Somali Diaspora. It was concluded that there have been increasingly positive developments in constructive negotiations and enriching their bilateral cooperation between the Somali Diaspora and Turkey since 2012. It can be said that in these years certain steps have been taken to establish the Somali Diaspora with the emergence of important developments concerning Somalia in terms of international relations and the Somali students coming to Turkey for educational purposes. However, it would not be correct to speak of an institutionalized and well-founded Somali Diaspora in Turkey at present. Somali Diaspora in Europe and the USA, especially having a good economic standing, buy a house from Turkey for the purpose of vacation or children's education. At the same time, the idea emerged that some Somali immigrants who have entered the business world in Turkey and started in economic initiatives between Turkey-Somalia line after the university education life may form the Somali Diaspora in Turkey. In this study's findings, it was evaluated that Turkey is perceived as a final destination for people in this group. This finding is also very important for future bilateral collaborations with these immigrants. Although this study examines the adaptation of Somali immigrants in Turkey, it also draws attention to the Somali Diaspora in

Turkey. This is a separate study topic that should shed light on future study issues and needs to be analyzed in depth.

In conclusion, these findings were specific to interviews conducted with Somali immigrants living in Ankara and Istanbul and valid for a small number of people. In other words, while this research does not claim representativeness for the whole population and the analyzed data is collected from a limited sample, it does argue that the information and analysis thus produced is useful in that it is reflective of the wider Somali community in Turkey. As such, this study has aimed to contribute to the literature as a primary source because there is not any previous study or fieldwork in socio-cultural adaptation with the community of Somali immigrants living in Turkey. Therefore, this thesis study has been the first in terms of the research area and sample characteristics. It could have deficiencies, insufficiencies, and limitations. More field works are needed to examine this subject in detail. Further studies and future researches could also help to identify the common similarities, challenges, and differences in providing the socio-cultural adaptation of Somali immigrants' populations in Turkey by studying a larger sample. Future works may also include measuring the perceptions and thoughts of Somali immigrants living in different cities of Turkey about their adaptation.

Recommendations

This part provides recommendations concerning both the Turkish and the Somali sides. These recommendations for the alternative solutions to the difficulties and challenges faced by Somali immigrants in Turkey in the process of socio-cultural adaptation are as follows:

- A short- and long-term policy for the adaptation of Somali immigrants should be formed by Turkish governmental organizations.
- Ongoing diplomatic and international relations with Somalia that take place with the list of priority countries for Turkey should be explained to the Turkish people. Since the contributions to the recovery process of Somalia in the long term will continue,

Turkish society should be informed about the soft power elements such as humanitarian diplomacy.

- Educational policies should be developed to solve the problems of Turks in speaking and understanding foreign languages. In general, these policies should aim for Turkish citizens to be able to talk to foreign tourists or immigrants coming to their country at a basic or daily speaking level in order to overcome language barriers.
- Not only Somali students but also their parents should undergo six months or one year of Turkish language courses according to their levels. These courses should be organized in cooperation with municipalities, local governments, public education centers, Yunus Emre Institute, or related NGOs.
- Corporate environment for the Somali immigrants' pursuit of professional career, including internship, can be created, especially for the period following the graduation of Somali students who come to Turkey for education on scholarship. Personal benefits such as a partial wage, social security, and insurance should be offered to the new graduates.
- The various employment projects should be prepared in cooperation with the relevant Turkish public institutions, local governments, and the private sector for Somali youth graduates Turkey. Therefore, Somali students are prevented from migrating to another country, while at the same time they can find new opportunities to work one-on-one with the Turkish community and Turkish companies.
- Seminars, symposiums, and workshops with the theme of “Intercultural Dialogue or Intercultural Sensitivity Between Turkey and Somalia” should be organized for two societies to get to know each other more closely. Thus, different prejudices such as gender issues and religious practices made up of misinformation can be avoided.
- Gastronomy festivals which include the diversity of Turkish and Somali culinary cultures and the presentations of their local foods should be organized with the support of universities or the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. These kinds of festivals are organizations that bring two nations closer to each other and positively affect the socio-cultural adaptation process.

- Social, cultural, and sports activities that will bring together Turkish youth and Somali youth should be organized to ensure the fusion of the cultures of both countries and promote them. For example, football tournaments can be arranged as a favorable and constructive activity for social adaptation of both communities because Turkey and Somalia people love football very much.
- In the future, new research on a larger scale about the socio-cultural adaptation of Somali immigrants' issues should be developed by universities, research institutions, or political organizations in collaboration with existing monitoring systems.



CHAPTER VII

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CHAPTER VIII

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEW

SOCIO-CULTURAL ADAPTATION OF SOMALI IMMIGRANTS IN TURKEY

Thank you very much for taking the time to read this information statements.

This thesis is conducted by Seylan IMRE who a master student at of Peace and Conflict Studies from the Social Sciences University of Ankara.

The purpose of the thesis is to measure the perceptions and ideas of Somali immigrants living Ankara and Istanbul and to provide accessible information to the literature. At the same time, its goal learns immigrants' social and cultural lives in Turkish society.

In this regard, I would like to invite you for an interview. The interview will be used only for academic purposes. Your participation in the study is entirely voluntary. You may withdraw at any time during the interview. Your personal information such as name, surname, contact information, ethnic identity, and religion will not be requested. Besides, your answers will be kept confidential. They will be anonymized and will be used in this way to obey academic confidentiality.

Lastly, your responses will be recorded by taking notes. If you feel stressed or uncomfortable, you may finish the interview whenever you want. Each interview will take approximately 40-60 minutes.

Your participation will be highly valuable for the thesis.

Again, thank you for your valuable contribution!

Place and Date

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Do you think that there are any similarities between Somalia and Turkey? If so, what are the similarities?
2. What do you think is the most apparent or specific feature (characteristic) of the Somali people?
3. Is religion the only proximity between Somali and Turkey? What do you think about this?
4. How is the social and cultural life of the Somalis living in Turkey? What activities or hobbies do they like to do?
5. Do Somalis in Turkey become friends and socially interact with Turkish people? Or do they mostly interact among themselves and/or with other African immigrants?
6. Do Somali people work in harmony with the Turkish people?
7. Why do Somali citizens migrate to Turkey? Why they prefer Turkey?
8. Do you think the Somali people trust the Republic of Turkey and the Turkish people?
9. What are the dreams of the Somali immigrants coming to Turkey?
10. What do you think the Somalis have difficulties in Turkey?
11. Do you think that Somali people can adapt quickly to a new environment?
12. What do you think about the Somali Diaspora? How do you think their relations are with Turkey?
13. Is there anything else you want to add?

The interview has finished.

APPENDIX C: DATA OF PARTICIPANTS, 2019

INTERVIEWS WITH SOMALI IMMIGRANTS						
NO	SEX	AGE	EDUCATION	CITY	OCCUPATION	LIVING IN TURKEY
1	M	29	MASTER	ANKARA	ENTERPRENEUR	7 YEARS
2	M	24	UNIVERSITY	ANKARA	INTERPRETER	5 YEARS
3	M	27	UNIVERSITY	ANKARA	STUDENT	4 MONTHS
4	M	49	PHD	ANKARA	BOTANICAL DOCTOR	2 YEARS
5	M	28	MASTER	ANKARA	ENTERPRENEUR	8 YEARS
6	F	22	UNIVERSITY	ANKARA	STUDENT	7 YEARS
7	F	22	UNIVERSITY	ANKARA	SECRETARY	8 YEARS
8	M	21	UNIVERSITY	ANKARA	STUDENT	5 YEARS
9	M	22	UNIVERSITY	ANKARA	STUDENT	8 YEARS
10	M	27	PHD	ISTANBUL	STUDENT	10 YEARS
11	M	21	UNIVERSITY	ANKARA	STUDENT	1 YEAR
12	M	67	UNIVERSITY	ANKARA	DIPLOMAT	4 YEARS
13	M	24	UNIVERSITY	ANKARA	CIVIL ENGINEER	8 YEARS
14	M	19	HIGH SCHOOL	ANKARA	UNEMPLOYED	3 MONTHS
15	M	36	UNIVERSITY	ANKARA	TEACHER	3 YEARS
16	F	33	UNIVERSITY	ANKARA	UNEMPLOYED	1 YEAR
17	M	26	MASTER	ANKARA	INTERNSHIP	3 MONTHS
18	F	27	UNIVERSITY	ANKARA	PUBLIC RELATIONS IN HOSPITAL	7 YEARS
19	M	28	MASTER	ANKARA	COMPUTER ENGINEER	5 YEARS
20	F	28	PHD	ISTANBUL	STUDENT	3 YEARS
21	F	25	UNIVERSITY	ISTANBUL	STUDENT	3 YEARS
22	F	23	UNIVERSITY	ISTANBUL	STUDENT	2 YEARS
23	M	32	MASTER	ISTANBUL	ELECTRICAL ENGINEER	11 YEARS
24	M	27	MASTER	ISTANBUL	STUDENT	5 YEARS
25	F	27	PHD	ISTANBUL	STUDENT	2 YEARS
26	M	23	UNIVERSITY	ISTANBUL	STUDENT	8.5 YEARS
27	M	25	UNIVERSITY	ISTANBUL	STUDENT	8 YEARS
28	F	26	MASTER	ISTANBUL	STUDENT	2 YEARS
29	M	28	PHD	ISTANBUL	STUDENT	5 YEARS
30	M	26	UNIVERSITY	ISTANBUL	ASSISTANT	4 MONTHS
31	F	22	HIGH SCHOOL	ISTANBUL	WAITER	4 YEARS
32	M	26	MASTER	ISTANBUL	STUDENT	2 YEARS
33	M	28	MASTER	ISTANBUL	DEPUTY RESEARCHER	6 YEARS
34	F	22	UNIVERSITY	ISTANBUL	STUDENT	8 YEARS
35	F	21	UNIVERSITY	ISTANBUL	STUDENT	8 YEARS

APPENDIX D: COMMON TRADITIONAL TASTES OF SOMALIS

Rank	Photos	Somali Foods
1	 This photo was taken by Abdullahi Kasim.	Bariis Iskukaris “Bariis Iskukaris is made from basmati rice, and is typically topped with raisins, peas, and fried potatoes, onions and peppers, and served with roasted lamb, beef, goat, camel, or chicken. It is a national dish of Somalia and is especially popular at weddings and is a staple dish which is almost universally served as part of a Somali daily meal.” (Wikipedia, 2020)
2		Muqmad (Preserved Meat) The basic food for the nomadic Somali people is all about meat and milk (hibib iyo caano). Muqwad is the original Somali dish. “The harsh desert climate and the constant travel meant that Somalis had to invent ways to make foods that would last for long periods of time, such as muqmad or odkac– which is preserved meat. The muqmad would keep for up to one year, which made it a wonderful source of continuous protein and energy for the ever roving nomads.” (The Somali Kitchen, 2020)
3		Samosa (Sambuus) Samosa or sambuus is a deep fried triangular shaped pastry filled with meat (lamb, beef or chicken), onion, coriander and spices. It is one of the most popular dishes in Somali cuisine and generally is made for afternoon tea. It can be served with a slice of lemon and shidni sauce.

4		Baasto iyo Sugo Hilib Shiidan (Spaghetti Bolognese) When the Italians colonized the country in the 1880s, they introduced pasta to Somalia. Somalis usually add spices to pasta sauce such as coriander and cumin.
5		Malawah (Somali Sweet Pancakes) Malawah is a sweet pancake that is always eaten as a snack for breakfast or throughout the day. Somalis add cardamom to this pancake. “While most Somalis call this pancake malawah, this name is used by Yemeni and Jewish people for a different kind of flatbread which Somalis call sabaayad”. (The Somali Kitchen, 2020)
6		Shaah (Spice Tea) “Shaah” is the word of Somalia's favorite beverage, including dried ginger, cinnamon, cardamom, black tea, and water. Somalis usually add milk and sugar in it. “There is a fine tradition in Somali society known as casariya, a word that is loosely translated to mean afternoon tea.” (The Somali Kitchen, 2020)

Source: General pictures and information have been provided by the Somali Kitchen (<http://www.somalikitchen.com>). (accessed on 30 March 2020).

CHAPTER IX

CURRICULUM VITAE

SEYLAN IMRE

I am a sociologist by training. I completed my bachelor's degree (Honour) at Middle East Technical University-METU (2006) and joined the education in the Experimental Psychology Department for a master's degree at the Hacettepe University from 2006 to 2008.

In the meantime, I received an internship and a language course training in Augsburg, Germany with themed the Social Entrepreneurship in the framework of the Leonardo da Vinci Programme supported by the Turkish National Agency from July to September 2008. During my academic education, I also received two voluntary internship training at TRT and Gazi University Faculty of Medicine in order to contribute to both my professional business and academic life.

In the private sector, I worked as an international trademark specialist in two prestigious companies (*Yalçiner Patent and Consulting Ltd. and Paragon Consultancy & Trade Incorporated*) between 2007 and 2009. In public life, I served as an African Analyst and a Sociologist at the Turkish General Staff between 2009 and 2014. In 2015, after moving to Istanbul due to my husband's job, I successfully finished an extensive program that includes Human Resources Management issues at Yıldız Technical University coordinated by Istanbul Institute. Besides, I have continued my work on Africa and Human Resources Departments as an expert at the TIKA since 2016.

I have various experiences in field studies. I participated in several projects supported by ILO, World Bank, TUBITAK, UN, METU, Turkish National Agency, Turkish General Staff, and TIKA. Also, I have worked as a teaching assistant in the Department of Sociology. I learned how to coordinate people in the field and solve the problems of individuals coming from different cultural and economic backgrounds during those field activities.

Throughout my employment at Turkish General Staff and TIKA, I was responsible for conducting extensive research, collecting data, analyzing, and providing periodic reports about numerous African countries. However, Somalia was my primary specialty. I took part in international meetings and conferences and made presentations to colleagues from different countries. As a social researcher, my experiences in data entry, data analysis, reporting, and presentation brought about my analytical, organizational, communication, and time management skills. Especially, my experience at TIKA allowed me to study my main specialist area from yet another angle: Africa, project management at all stages, sustainability, development, and international relations.

Academically, I wrote a book chapter titled "*Sociological Analysis of Attention Deficiency and Hyperactivity Disorder*" edited by Professor A. Şebnem Soysal Acar and published by Nobel Academic Publishing. I finished Social Services program of Anadolu University in 2020. Currently, I have finished a master's degree in Peace and Conflict Studies from the Social Sciences University of Ankara (ASBU). Recently, I aim to pursue my career using this multi-disciplinary approach.