

Cultural life of Bosniak diaspora in Turkey and their use of new media

DEMIR HODŽIĆ

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Cultural life of Bosniak diaspora in Turkey and their use of new
media

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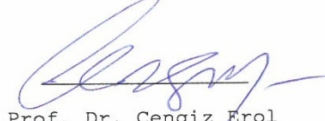
BY

DEMIR HODŽIĆ

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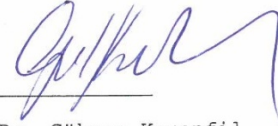
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Prof. Dr. Cengiz Erol

(Director)

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis
for the degree of Master of Arts.



Assist. Prof. Dr. Gökçen Karanfil

(Head of Department)

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our
opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for
the degree of Master of Arts.



Assist. Prof. Dr. Gökçen Karanfil

Co-Supervisor

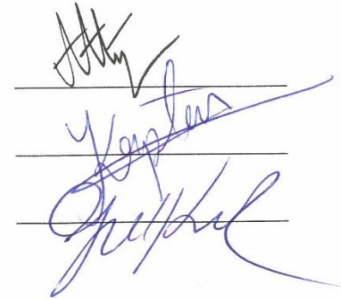
(Supervisor)

Examining Committee Members

Assist. Prof. Dr. Altuğ Akın

Assist. Prof. Dr. Yeşim Kaptan

Assist. Prof. Dr. Gökçen Karanfil



ABSTRACT

Cultural life of Bosniak diaspora in Turkey and their use of new media

Hodžić, Demir

Media and Communication Studies Program

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Gökçen Karanfil

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes the impact of new media on Bosniak diaspora in Turkey. A major aim of the present research is to analyze the significance of new media for interconnecting and strengthening these communities, and connecting them with their homeland. In doing this, the thesis aims at exploring questions such as: How do the use of media differ among different diaspora generations? What is the importance of new media for Bosniak students in Turkey? What is the role of new media in the identity construction of Bosniak diaspora in Turkey? What are the main channels of communication throughout their process of mobility? Are Bosniaks in Turkey an organized and structured diaspora or not? Are Bosniaks in Turkey retain their identity, traditions and customs or not? The answers to these and other questions which are raised through this thesis can help researchers to better understand the topic being explored. Within the context of this research, qualitative research methods have been used. Data has been gathered mainly through in depth interviews and focus group analysis. In depth interviews have been conducted with the 11 members of the Bosniak diaspora in Turkey of different age, gender and social groups. These are mainly people from the three largest Turkish cities, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, and also 7 students from Montenegro, Sanjak who study in Turkey. The results show that the use of new media has improved the relationship between the members of Bosniak diaspora in Turkey, and Bosniaks in Montenegro and Sanjak, and has helped them to better connect and organize between themselves.

Keywords: New media, Bosniaks, Diaspora, Migration, Transnationalism

To my friends and members of WAW REGENERATION, who are building
bridges of love, faith, and humanity for future generations...

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

In contemporary world people are not limited anymore by space and time, new media are helping us to fully satisfy our imagination and desire for new information. Livignstone (2009) argues that “no part of the world, no human activity, is untouched by the new media” (p. 3). Just with one click we can find out what is happening on the other side of the world. According to Koser (2007) the communication revolution

has facilitated increasing global linkages and, in effect, reduced the distance between different parts of the world. It is relevant to migration for two reasons. First, it makes people aware of disparities, of what life is like in other parts of the world. Second, it makes people aware of opportunities to move and to work abroad. (pp. 33-34)

Physical distance is no longer an insurmountable barrier. For people in diaspora, this ‘one click’ is especially important. According to Karim (2003), “communication technologies enable human beings to define the contours of space and time” (p. 76). The first generation of diaspora has a picture of their homeland based on their memories which they brought from their homeland. The present fifth generation of the Bosniak diaspora created an image of homeland in small part based on stories of previous generations, but in a much larger part based on information gained from new media.

As Karim (2003) notes,

forced or voluntary migration diminish the physical links of those who leave the homeland, but they take with them the mythical and linguistic allusion to the ancestral territory, which they invoke in nostalgic reminiscence. Some hold on to hope of eventual return. This creates the demand for cultural products that maintain and ritually celebrate the links of diaspora with the homeland. (p. 3)

Berlin congress 1878 has radically destabilized the Balkans, opposing the interests of the ethnic groups that inhabited it, and creating durable discord among them. In Berlin, the European powers created only a series of short-term solutions (Bandžović, 1998).

Decisions of the Berlin Congress contributed to the Balkans becoming a hub of ethnic conflict (Bandžović, 1998). Balkan statelets identified the Muslim population with the Ottoman state structures or treated it like a successor of Ottomans (Bandžović, 1998). Therefore, the occurrence of any Balkan Christian nation-state was accompanied by the mass expulsion of Muslims and destruction of traces of their existence (Bandžović, 1998). Emigration of Muslim population to Turkey about which will be written in this thesis began in 1878. Christian ethnic groups, such as Serbs and Montenegrins did not migrate, but they instead influenced and promoted the migration of Muslim ethnic groups, in this case Bosniaks. Because of this, today we have a Bosniak diaspora in Turkey. According to Castles and Miller (2009), “Migration system theory suggests that migratory movements generally arise from the existence of prior links between sending and receiving countries based on colonization, political influence, trade, investment or cultural ties” (p. 27).

From their first days in Turkey they have been trying to overcome various barriers in order to better fit into society. The question is what barriers are present among the Bosniak diaspora?

Some others question which I raise in this work include:

How does the use of media differ among different diaspora generations, and how does new media impact on issues of integration in a hosting country? What is the role of new media in the identity construction of Bosniak diaspora in Turkey? Do the young, new generation retain the Bosnian language, or do they lose that part of their identity or identity of their parents. I am saying 'identity of their parents', because the young generation may not want to retain the Bosnian language or anything from their parents like part of their new identity. Or maybe they want, but the host country with its laws doesn't provide them the conditions for learning the Bosnian language in schools?

Ben-Rafael et al. (2009) argued that

languages of origin retain some importance as means of communication as well as markers of belongingness, thereby contributing to characteristic patterns of bilingualism or multilingualism. While language singles out and symbolizes the singularity of groups, their development is also favored, in many places, by the structures of the welfare state which grants benefits to residents, independent of their civil status. (p. 4)

Do the young, new generation have the same feeling about national identity, homeland, like their parents, grand fathers, grand mothers? Or do the young, new generation belong to the same 'imagined' community, and longing for homeland like the generation before them? Could Bosniaks in Turkey obtain information about their homeland through the Turkish media before the evolution of new media? Does today Turkish media or media from their homeland have greater significance? What was the role of the media during migration? What are the main channels of communication during migration and today?

There have been a number of valuable studies of history of migration of Bosniaks to Turkey, but the fact is that nobody has posed these questions until now. It is very important to provide detailed answers to these questions. The answers to these questions can help Bosniak diaspora better understand the importance of new media, and even to use them better to interconnect and strengthen their communities, and connect with their 'homeland'. All this will help them to integrate even better in the host country, and to understand and retain the identity which they want.

A major aim of the present research will be to analyze the significance of new media for interconnection and strengthening of their communities, and connecting with their homeland.

According to Karim (2003), "the ability to exchange messages with individuals on the other side of the planet and to have access to community information almost instantaneously changes the

dynamics of diaspora, allowing for qualitatively and quantitatively enhanced linkages” (p. 13). To answer most of the questions above I used a qualitative research method of ethnographic interviews, and historical research. Intended subjects of this research are members of the Bosniak diaspora in Turkey of different ages. These are mainly people from the three largest Turkish cities, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, and also students from Montenegro, Sanjak, who are currently studying in Turkey. In total, within the context of this study, a total of 18 people have been interviewed. The study draws on approximately 15 hours of interviews.

1.1 The Structure of the Thesis

In the first chapter titled “Bosniaks in the Homeland”, I will write about the identity of Bosniaks and their nation-state. Also, I will write about the political situation of Bosniaks in Montenegro and Sanjak, and on the political status of Bosniaks in the Balkans. My next chapter will deal with formulating the theoretical context for the thesis.

In this chapter I will give a brief overview of the literature on the topic of migration processes, diaspora and transnationalism, and about the impact of new media on diaspora. Next I will allocate a chapter to explore Bosniaks in Turkey. At the beginning of this chapter there will be a brief overview of the history of the migration of Bosniaks to Turkey. Historical information in this chapter will help to compare data from interviews given by the members of the Bosniak diaspora in Turkey. For this part I used the literature in Bosnian language.

After that, this chapter will discuss about Bosniaks in Turkey, their tradition, customs, language, etc. We will see are Bosniaks in Turkey an organized and structured diaspora or not? Also I will write about diaspora cohesion and the topic of generations.

Short interviews of students from the Montenegro and Sanjak who are currently studying in Turkey will be part of this chapter. We'll see what are their ties with the Bosniak diaspora in Turkey. Do they intend to remain in Turkey? What is the importance of new media for them? One of the main questions of this chapter is Bosniak identity. Have they managed to preserve the Bosnian language, and whether their state helps or hinders that? Are they feeling more comfortable to be Bosniaks or to be Turks? My next chapter will focus on the use of media among Bosniaks in Turkey.

In this chapter I will write about the use of media among Bosniaks in Turkey. Using data from interviews, I will try to analyze what is the importance of new media in Turkey for Bosniak diaspora. What are the most important media for them? How do new media help them in developing, maintaining and connecting their associations? How does Bosniak diaspora use media from their homeland? And how much influence those media have on them? This chapter also contains a historical analysis of media formation during the migration process of Bosniaks to Turkey. This chapter is the center of this research work. In this chapter it will be written about whether and how did the new media create a new Bosniak diaspora in Turkey? Whether and how are new media constructing their identity, and affecting their culture and tradition? Data from the interviews will take main place in this chapter.

Finally, I will end my thesis with conclusion. Here I will present the results of my research, pointing out the most important problems, and suggesting solutions.

CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGY

This chapter explains and describes methods that I used during the research process, research topics that are part of this work, the constraints I had during the research process, and the way I analyzed the gathered data.

Some questions which I raise in this work include:

- how does the use of media differ among different diaspora generations, and how do new media impact on issues of integration in a hosting country?
- What is the role of new media in the identity construction of Bosniak diaspora in Turkey?
- Does the young, new generation retain the Bosnian language, or do they lose that part of their identity or identity of their parents.

I am saying 'identity of their parents', because the young generation may not want to retain the Bosnian language or anything from their parents like part of their new identity. Or maybe they want, but the host country with its laws doesn't provide them the conditions for learning the Bosnian language in schools?

- How do new media help them to overcome these barriers?
- Does the young, new generation have the same feelings about national identity, homeland, like their parents, grand fathers, grand mothers?
- Or does the young, new generation belong to the same 'imagined' community, and longing for homeland like generation before them?
- What is the importance of new media, modern tools of communication for the development of relations between members of Bosniak community in Turkey, and development of relations between Bosniak diaspora in Turkey and their homeland?

- What is the importance of transnational media for diaspora? Could Bosniaks in Turkey obtain information about their homeland through the Turkish media before the evolution of new media?
- Does today Turkish media or media from their homeland have greater significance? What was the role of the media during migration?
- What are the main channels of communication during migration and today?
- There have been a number of valuable studies of history of migration of Bosniaks to Turkey, but the fact is that nobody has posed these questions until now.

It is very important to provide detailed answers to these questions.

After the preliminary thesis preparation, I choose the qualitative method because it's more appropriate for my hypothesis and research questions, not because it's better than the quantitative method in general. As VanderStoep and Johnston (2009) noted: "this comparison does not suggest that one approach is better than the other; the nature of your research question should dictate whether you pursue a qualitative or a quantitative approach" (pp. 166-167). Some of the reasons that make the qualitative method more appropriate for my thesis are the following: the qualitative method is more flexible. Using this method, approaching the members of the Bosniak diaspora in Turkey was much easier, and data collection was also much easier. As Mack et al. (2005) noted "qualitative methods are typically more flexible – that is, they allow greater spontaneity and adaptation of the interaction between the researcher and the study participant"(p. 4). I gave them a wide array of possible responses to my questions, and thus the conversation was relaxed, deeper and more productive than it would be had I used a quantitative method, and hindered them with short answers.

According to Mack et al. (2005)

qualitative methods ask mostly “open-ended” questions that are not necessarily worded in exactly the same way with each participant. With open-ended questions, participants are free to respond in their own words, and these responses tend to be more complex than simply “yes” or “no.” (p. 4)

The qualitative method allowed me to approach all of my interviewees in a basically informal way. And I believe that this wouldn't be possible had I used the quantitative method. Mack et al. (2005) argued that “with qualitative methods, the relationship between the researcher and the participant is often less formal than in quantitative research” (p. 4).

With the in-depth interview, which is one of the qualitative research tools, I had the opportunity to ask “connected” questions, i.e. to get into arbitrary depth regarding some topic, which would make the conversation more flexible. All of this would motivate the interviewees to additionally deepen their answers, and to elaborate them based on previous ones.

According to Mack et al. (2005)

another advantage of qualitative methods is that they allow the researcher the flexibility to probe initial participant responses – that is, to ask why or how. The researcher must listen carefully to what participants say, engage with them according to their individual personalities and styles, and use “probes” to encourage them to elaborate on their answers. (p. 4)

According to VanderStoep and Johnston (2009), “qualitative and quantitative approaches differ in purpose, focus, method, and criteria for truth” (p. 167). They noted that “the purpose of qualitative research is more *descriptive* than *predictive*. The goal is to understand, in depth, the viewpoint of a research participant” (VanderStoep and Johnston, 2009, p. 167). According to them “the focus of qualitative research is to give *voice* to people at the margins of a culture, and to describe the meaning of participants' experiences even if the participant or experience is not typical of the majority experience” (VanderStoep and Johnston, 2009, p. 168).

VanderStoep and Johnston (2009) argued that

qualitative research focuses on the constructed reality of the research participants. It differs from quantitative research in its purpose, focus, methods, and criteria for truth. It rejects many of the quantitative assumptions about research that are based on objective, positivist beliefs about the world, and instead sees reality as constructed in the mind of the knower and situated in cultural and historical contexts. (p. 179)

In order to answer the research questions in the best manner, I used a combination of several qualitative methods, or to be more precise, of three methods, and this is known as triangulation.

According to VanderStoep and Johnston (2009) triangulation is “using more than one methodology to address the same question” (p. 179). These methods are: ethnography, historical research method, textual analysis.

Berg (2001) argued that

popular qualitative research additionally includes such methods as observation of experimental natural settings, photographic techniques (including videotaping), historical analysis (historiography), document and textual analysis, sociometry, sociodrama and similar ethno methodological experimentation, ethnographic research, and a number of unobtrusive techniques. (p.3)

Spradley (1980) noted that “rather than studying people, ethnography means learning from people” (p. 3). According to him ‘ethnography is the work of describing a culture. The central aim of ethnography is to understand another way of life from the native point of view’

(Spradley, 1980, p. 3). According to Wolcott (as cited in VanderStoep and Johnston, 2009) the ethnographic perspective has been described as a unique “way of seeing” (p. 201). As

VanderStoep and Johnston (2009) noted “the ethnographer sees the practices of a culture as reflections of the cultural past, performances of the cultural present, and directions for cultural change and growth” (p.201).

The next method I used is the historical research method.

Gray et al. 2007 noted that

“social forms” do not appear spontaneously and autonomously. Every element of a society – from the individual to the complex organization – has a biography, a life history. We cannot escape the judgment that these elements are a product of their pasts. Moreover, society is constantly in a state of transformation. If we are to expand our understanding of contemporary life, we must look to the transformations through which we have already passed. (p. 233)

What exactly is meant by historical research? According to Berg (2001), “the obvious answer to this question is that historical research or historiography is an examination of elements from history (p. 210). Berg (2001) argued that “knowledge of the past provides necessary information to be used in the present in order to determine how things may be in the future” (p. 212).

According to Berg (2001),

historical research is conducted for one or more reasons: to uncover the unknown; to answer questions; to seek implications or relationships of events from the past and their connections with the present; to assess past activities and accomplishments of individuals, agencies, or institutions; and to aid generally in our understanding of human culture. (p. 213)

I used this method in order to acquaint myself and other researchers with the historical developments related to Bosniaks in Turkey, that were connected with current events and that might influence future events. These are the same historical developments that got Bosniaks migrating to Turkey and forming a Bosniak diaspora in Turkey.

According to Matejski (as cited in Berg, 2001) “historical research is at once descriptive, factual, and fluid” (p. 210).

According to Furay and Salevouris (as cited in Smith et al. 2005)

the evidential documents chosen for historical analyses are loosely divided into two categories: primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are those closest to the time period and context being studied, while secondary sources are those produced by other

historians who have examined the same or similar topics from the time period being studied. (p. 318)

According to Brown (as cited in Smith et al. 2005), “the primary and secondary sources chosen by the researcher are based on the research question, the theoretical frame, and the methodological direction” (p. 318). According to Gray et al. (2007), “secondary sources, in contrast, borrow the knowledge they contain from other sources, the evidence contained in them being therefore indirect or hearsay” (p. 246). From the evidential documents which are divided into two categories: primary and secondary sources, I used documents from secondary sources. These are the documents which provide evidence of the establishment of media during migration of Bosniaks to Turkey, or any other archival documents, pictures, or books that I used in this thesis.

As Berg (2001) noted

the historical method can be used to access information otherwise simply unavailable to researchers. It provides a means for answering questions and offering solutions that might otherwise go unmentioned and unnoticed. Using a historical method to answer questions or examine problems in one area also facilitates answers to questions and problems in other areas. (p. 222)

Historical method which I used helped me compare some of the testimonials of interviewees with historical data that I found in historical books, articles etc. Also, this method has helped me to confirm the authenticity of their statements.

According to the research and dissertation journal “oral history is another very useful type of information. An oral history is what you obtain when you interview a person who has had direct or indirect experience with or knowledge of the chosen topic.” (Retrieved from

<http://hlgruber.wordpress.com/research-links-2/>)

Because of the fact that my work contains oral history information, other than secondary sources, there are also traces of primary sources. This also stems from the fact that among the interviewees there were those that were direct participants in migrations, historical developments, those that have the original photos of themselves and their families from their homeland etc.

The third qualitative method I used is textual analysis.

According to McKee (2003),

textual analysis is a way for researchers to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world. It is a methodology a data-gathering process for those researchers who want to understand the ways in which members of various cultures and subcultures make sense of who they are, and of how they fit into the world in which they live. Textual analysis is useful for researchers working in cultural studies, media studies, in mass communication, and perhaps even in sociology and philosophy.(p. 1)

According to VanderStoep and Johnston (2009),

the term text is broadly defined in qualitative research to include spoken word (people ' s stories, conversations, or speeches), visual representations (photos, films, video, visual art), written texts (historical documents, books, newspaper articles, reports, prose or poetry), artifacts of a culture (monuments, buildings, roads, malls), or a cultural group (homeless people, gangs, residents in AIDS communities). (p. 169)

For gathering data I also used a combination of qualitative research tools.

The qualitative research tool that I used the least is the focus group. This was the case with students from Montenegro, Sanjak in Turkey, during the gathering of students from Balkan that took place in Ankara. I didn't use voice-recording here, but just noted some of the details. This lasted 2 hours.

According to VanderStoep and Johnston (2009),

when there is only a one - shot opportunity for data collection, focus groups may be a reasonable alternative to conducting a number of individual interviews. Focus groups bring together a group of six to ten people who, under the guidance of a moderator, engage in a group question - and - answer discussion. (p. 235)

Flick (2009)

argued that the interviewer's main task is to prevent single participants or partial groups from dominating the interview and thus the whole group with their contributions. Furthermore, the interviewer should encourage reserved members to become involved in the interview and to give their views and should try to obtain answers from the whole group in order to cover the topic as far as possible. (p. 195)

I used the observation method a bit more. I used this method on several occasions. I observed mostly members of different organizations in Turkey, especially the members of organizations from Izmir, but there were those from other cities.

Flick (2009) noted that

once group access is attained and the researcher's role is determined, the process of observation begins. First, the researcher simply observes, attending to the details of the setting, people, and activities. Next, the researcher strives to describe the setting, people, and activities of the group. The third step is to attempt to understand the meaning of these activities for individual participants and/or the group identity. Throughout these three stages the researcher is taking copious field notes, which are characterized by "thick description." Even with the availability of audio and video recording, many qualitative researchers also incorporate handwritten field notes. (p. 239)

I had the opportunity to use this method with members of other organizations from cities besides Izmir in a gathering of 17 Bosniak organizations in Turkey that took place in Istanbul. Before and after the gathering I had the chance to talk to more than 10 Bosniaks, to discuss their state, status in Turkey, their usage of new media etc. During the gathering I took notes about their way of communicating, topics of their communication and certain projects in order to better acquaint myself with their goals and aspirations.

According to Schmuck (as cited in Kawulich, 2005),

observation methods are useful to researchers in a variety of ways. They provide researchers with ways to check for nonverbal expression of feelings, determine who interacts with whom, grasp how participants communicate with each other, and check for how much time is spent on various activities. (p. 4)

I used this method when I visited ceremonial gatherings of several organizations from Izmir, and while travelling with them. Of course, everyone was acquainted that, besides socializing with them, I had the goal of doing research work related to them, i.e. the Bosniak diaspora in Turkey. Some taking notes etc. during the gathering was expected. After all of these events, I'd set aside some time to summarize my impressions and type out the notes on my computer.

The next two methods I used are narratives interview and in-depth interview.

Flick (2009) argued that

using narratives is embedded again in special forms of interviews, which are based on making the interviewees tell the story of their lives—in the narrative interview—or of more specific situations with the issue that you want to study. (p. 147)

The method I used the most is the in-depth interview.

According to Mack et al. (2005), “in-depth interviews are one of the most common qualitative methods. One reason for their popularity is that they are very effective in giving a human face to research problems” (p. 29). Answering the question ‘what is an in-depth interview?’ Mack et al. (2005) said “the in-depth interview is a technique designed to elicit a vivid picture of the participant’s perspective on the research topic” (p. 29). According to him “researchers engage with participants by posing questions in a neutral manner, listening attentively to participants’ responses, and asking follow-up questions and probes based on those responses” (Mack et al. 2005, p. 29). Mack et al. (2005) noted “they are an effective qualitative method for getting people to talk about their personal feelings, opinions, and experiences. They are also an opportunity for us to gain insight into how people interpret and order the world” (p. 30). For in-depth interviews I used a Smartphone, and made notes in a notebook. The same as for narrative interviews. Mack et al. (2005) notes that “interview data consist of tape recordings, typed

transcripts of tape recordings, and the interviewer's notes. Notes may document observations about the interview content, the participant, and the context" (p. 30).

In order to gather data I used non random sampling, and the snowballing method.

VanderStoep et al. (2009) noted that

in general, there are two ways to select members for a study: randomly or non -randomly. A random sample, sometimes called a probabilistic sample, is a sample in which each member of the sampling frame has an equal chance of being selected as a study participant. A non - random sample is a sample in which each member of the sampling frame does not have an equal chance of being selected as a participant in the study. (p.27)

According to VanderStoep et al. (2009) "in non - random sampling, participants are selected based on characteristics they possess or their availability to participate. Therefore, each population member is not equally likely to be selected to participate" (p.27).

The first person among the Bosniak diaspora I met was one of the representatives of a Bosniak organization in Izmir, who was one of the interviewees and whose anonymity was secured in this work, as well as the anonymity of other interviewees. It was through him that I got to know other representatives, members of various Bosniak organizations in Turkey, and of course the interviewees.

Mack et al. (2005) argued that

snowballing – also known as chain referral sampling – is considered a type of purposive sampling. In this method, participants or informants with whom contact has already been made use their social networks to refer the researcher to other people who could potentially participate in or contribute to the study. (pp. 5-6)

Intended subjects of this thesis are members of the Bosniak diaspora of Turkey of different ages, gender and social groups. These are mainly people from three largest Turkish cities, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, and also students from Montenegro, Sanjak who study in Turkey. 11 of them participated directly in the interviews, and they were the representatives of Bosniak diaspora in

Turkey. Besides them, 7 students also took part in the interviews, and I gathered that from them using the focus group method. In total, around 100 people were subjected to the observation method. Observing, interviewing, etc. the whole process lasted around half a year. And writing the thesis, both for the main content as well as other parts of the thesis took around a year.

2.1 Obstacles and limits

I had were the following. During the interviews it happened that I had to repeat some questions, reformulate them, simplify them in order for the interviewees to better understand them, because their knowledge of the Bosnian language was not exactly perfect, and my knowledge of Turkish was inadequate. Interviews that I did extensively with some of these young people were in Bosnian, English and a little bit in Turkish. Their fathers or older friends were engaged to help, and that we translated some words from Turkish into Bosnian. When it comes to the younger generation, the problem with them was that they were not overly interested in the research, and they were very impatient during the interviews. I didn't notice this problem with older generations. In fact, they were very interested. However, with them I had problems of another nature, they were busy, and they lacked time to invest in this research work, although they desired it. Lack of funds was the reason I didn't travel to more cities than these three, which in turn led to the relatively low number of interviewees. One of the obstacles was also the fact that when members of different organizations had poor relations, they would disapprove of me meeting members of their "enemy" organization, their ceremonies etc. So I was forced to balance the relations I had with them.

In order to analyze the gathered data, I used the qualitative analysis method. Recorded interviews I converted to transcripts and then I analyzed them. The same with notes. The material I used for gathering and analysis were: mobile phone, notebook, a pen, camera, pc, etc.

CHAPTER 3 BOSNIAKS IN MONTENEGRO AND SANJAK

3.1 Bosniaks and political parties in Montenegro

It is important to emphasize here that most of the Bosniaks around the world, and especially in the Balkans believe that their true homeland is Bosnia. Some of them believe that their homeland is the place they live, for example, part of the Bosniaks in Montenegro consider Montenegro as their homeland, and some part of Bosniaks considers both Montenegro and Bosnia as their homeland. This can be said more or less about the Bosniak diaspora in Turkey as well. Some of them consider Turkey as their homeland, while some others that I have had the chance to interview believe that their homeland is Turkey, Bosnia and Montenegro all at the same time. To comprehend better this unit we should consider the recent period of Montenegrin political scene which is more different now when Montenegro has become an independent state than when it was in a common state with Serbia, but in some parameters, the political scene as well as the participation of Bosniaks on that scene is exactly the same now as it was before the renewal of Montenegrin independence. The fact which is always and in every circumstance necessary to emphasize is that Bosniak people are most responsible for the renewal of Montenegrin independence. Morrison (2009) argued that “Fundamentally, the strongest support for independence came from the predominantly Muslim municipalities of Plav and Rožaje (91 and 91.3 per cent respectively)” (p. 218). It is a striking fact that Bosniaks supported Montenegrin independence, with about 99 % of Bosniak electorate, and numerous Bosniak Diaspora throughout world played the key role in the renewal of Montenegrin independence, both in financial terms and in a direct ballot. According to Morrison (2009), “Montenegrin independence was essentially delivered by members of the diaspora and minorities” (p. 219).

Bosniaks supported independence even more than the majority of Montenegrins who partly supported to stay in a union with Serbia. Montenegrin Serbs supported staying in this union, with the support of the great-and hegemonic policies of Beograd. But it is known that Bosniaks are the third most numerous people in Montenegro, in the first place are Montenegrins, then Serbs. These facts are essential as an introduction to further consideration of Bosniaks' position in Montenegrin political scene. It is said in the constitution of Montenegro that Montenegro is multi-ethnic and multi-religious state (Ustav Crne Gore, 2007). This provision of the constitution about Bosniaks and their complex cultural and historical context of the development have very complex repercussions on the political activities of Bosniaks in Montenegro. Every day in printed and electronic media we can find texts about organized state of Montenegro. Another important provision of the Montenegrin constitution is that it is prohibited "forced assimilation of citizens" in Montenegro (Ustav Crne Gore, 2007). With these two provisions of the constitution and also with media placement of living and political environment you can get the impression that Montenegro is "de facto and de jure" dream land. However, the situation on the ground is much more different. As a young independent state, Montenegro has not developed yet a method of integration of minority people into social courses. The main reason for this is undeveloped administrative apparatus of Montenegrin institutions and persistently changing and misunderstanding of the concepts: integration and assimilation. It is very hard to determine if it comes from misunderstanding of these concepts, or deliberately failing to disclose their right meaning, but there are much more examples when this second issue is on the scene. Even though the constitution prohibits forced assimilation in Montenegro, the galloping, peaceful, non-violent assimilation of non-Montenegrins is conducted here - especially Bosniaks are exposed to this assimilation due to the lack of mechanisms to protect them. So, the political parties, with an

additional usual role, are one kind of instruments for non-violent assimilation in the Montenegrin society. Assimilation in Montenegro is the result of some kind of depravity of international relations with neighbors. Having in mind that Montenegro borders with Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Albania and Kosovo, in this sense it has special forms and sometimes generalized views on relations with these states. Especially because of turbulent historical context, Montenegro was in the past, as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina, the target and it sometimes participated in the implementation of the great projects of its neighbors especially Serbia. To protect from these types of attacks in the future Montenegro and its institutions are starting to develop their own mechanisms of protections from dishonest intentions of their neighbors, especially Serbia, and that was the occasion of the last referendum on independence when Serbia was involved in this process through the local Serbs in Montenegro wanting to keep Montenegro in a common state in which Montenegro was treated just like a coast of the Serbian sea and a kind of Serbian Sparta always ready to protect Serbian national interests. As a result of such relations, there was a polarization among the most numerous people in Montenegro, so we have Montenegrins who are inclined to their own country and those who are more inclined to Serbia by working against the interests of their own state. This evident truth and the fact that Serbia, Albania and Croatia are strongly national states make the appearance of Montenegrins phenomenon of contra assimilation, in order to preserve the influence of the listed states. In this complex system Bosniaks could not get to it because they are the only nation in Europe without its own nation-state that would have a defense mechanism to protect from assimilation. Having in mind that Bosnia and Herzegovina, the home state of Bosniaks in Montenegro, went out of exhausting war aggression that was condemned against it by Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia and aggressors from the listed nations from Bosnia itself, and so it is unable to protect Bosniaks from

assimilation even on its territory, because it is actually a state in a wheelchair exposed to large projects of governments of its neighbors. Croats in Montenegro find protection in Croatia, Serbs in Montenegro find protection in Serbia, Albanians in Montenegro find protection in Albania, and only Bosniaks are easy prey of assimilation of their culture and tradition in the Montenegrin social movements. This kind of phenomenon with previous characteristics of renewal of Montenegrin independence polarizes Bosniaks on the electorate that is inclined to civil options and the national electorate of Bosniaks. Before renewal of independence, the presence of Bosniaks was dominant in civic politics in which Montenegrin and Serbs played the leading role although it was called civic politics. After strengthening of Montenegrin national consciousness that led to the renewal of Montenegrin independence with the help of Bosniaks, there was also an awakening of the Bosniak national consciousness and the appearance of parties with Bosniak national presage and the appearance of interesting interactions of Bosniak politicians in civic and national parties. The struggle for influence and power many times put these politicians in the position of the most common actors in affairs and examples of political corruption because what was evident as before restoration of independence was that Montenegrin political structure which had the support of the Bosnian electoral body was the authority on the republic level. This leads to conclusion that Bosniaks actually represent one of the major factors for any vital interests of Montenegro, although they are treated in most situations by Montenegrin society as the margins of political and wider social events. There is a question how a nation that is a minority and always on the margin can actually affect such important things as the renewal of statehood status, the survival of the government, leaving of the government, the constitutional changes, the future of European integrations, etc? And after all, are Bosniaks the minority people in Montenegro? Although there is no nation that has above 50 % or 51 of representation, Montenegro more and

more gets elements of a unitary nation-state and the state of the Montenegrin people. The proof for that are the anthem and coat of arms and flag, exclusively with the Montenegrin national characteristics, as well as more frequent impact that the Montenegrin language is the official, but the fact is that Serbian, Bosnian, Albanian and Croatian are spoken in Montenegro. To make a parallel with Bosnia and Herzegovina, what would happen if only Bosniaks decide on Bosnia and Herzegovina's flag, anthem, coat of arms or language? Here I can see one more policy of double criteria of international community that something is allowed to somebody allows while the same thing is not allowed to the others, although the situation on the ground is identical. In Montenegro, there are Montenegrins, Serbs, Bosniaks and it would be logical that Montenegro was the country of three constituent nations: Montenegrins, Serbs and Bosniaks, just as Bosnia and Herzegovina is the country of three nations: Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats, but it was not the same thing because of the double criteria of international community when it comes to Bosniaks and Balkan policy.

This policy of double criteria is increasingly recognized by Bosniak politicians in Montenegro, especially those in the national parties and especially young people who were not politically active previously and who slowly initiate new political structures that are beyond the control of the ruling civil and ethnic national parties. Why national parties? Why they would not supposed to be the engine of protection of human rights of Bosniaks in Montenegro? From this analysis it can be concluded that as before referendum the Montenegrin authorities did assimilation through civil parties including Bosniaks in these structures as marginal factors, now actual Montenegro authority works through some national parties trying to achieve through them control of the Bosniak national awakening. This Bosniak national awakening is not the enemy of Montenegro, but rather the awakening of young free uncompromising Bosniaks, that is, uncompromising

through scandals of political corruption, and it is a factor of stabilization of Montenegro and strengthening of its independence. Why? These young ambitious politicians are aware of the relationship of favors and favors done in return, they know that if there is no Bosniaks there is also no Montenegro, because in the foundations of statehood Bosniaks woven their name and their territory Sanjak where they have lived for centuries as a constitutive and territorial element of Montenegro. That is why these young forces are trying to help everyone to understand that they will be loyal to Montenegro as much as Montenegro government improve Bosniak culture and tradition, that is, as much as to prevent the non-violent assimilation of Bosniaks to become Montenegrins of Islamic faith and that is the way for Montenegrin Orthodox to compensate for those few percent they need to become a nation with a majority of over 50 % in Montenegro society. This awakening of Bosniaks awareness leads to the foundation of various NGOs of Bosniak people who are struggling to preserve Bosniak tradition in the Balkans and around the world where Bosniaks live. Such example is also the establishment of the Bosniak world congress, transnational institution of Bosniaks, which gathers Bosniaks from Montenegro who are actively involved in this organization and they report about current problems faced by Bosniaks in Montenegro. These youth structures in Bosniak nation constantly actualize the question of cross-border region of Sanjak whose solving and positioning in the Montenegro constitution would lead to permanent stabilization of Montenegro in terms of protection of Montenegro statehood from neighbors' attack , and it would also improve aspirations of Montenegro to the European Union because of European Union regulations emphasize the regionalization of its member states in order to have better economic and tourism cooperation and exchange of goods and resources of EU member states.

This kind of Bosniaks awakening mostly depends on the current Montenegro government and Bosniak representatives in the government who have showed so far very indolent attitude towards the burning life problems of Bosniaks.

First - Current authorities in Montenegro will continue as heretofore to strangle this positive awakening of Bosniaks in order to realize their goals of assimilation and that will more and more lead to Bosniaks awakening but now in terms of higher animosity of Bosniaks towards Montenegrin institutions. And finally this will lead to the loss of civic -ness of Bosniaks and their hegemony in the national structures, which will lead to the weakening of Montenegro state, its withdrawal from the European way and greater exposure to the old enemy hegemonic projects of Montenegro neighbors which come from Serbia, Croatia, Albania. This relation eliminates Bosniaks as equal citizens in Montenegro and without Bosniaks there is no Montenegro.

Second - The current government or some other will have to look carefully aspirations of Bosniaks as loyal citizens of Montenegro, having in mind the Bosniak commitment to the independence and contribution to this important moment in the history of Montenegro. As a sign of good partnership Bosniaks should be integrated in national and local institutions but with such integration which would not hide the quiet assimilation but would respect all cultural, linguistic, religious and other characteristics of Bosniaks. This partnership involves some changes of the constitution of Montenegro especially the part dealing with regionalization of Montenegro in the context of reforms required by the European Union concerning the establishment of a modern cross-border region of Sanjak with the degree of cultural and educational autonomy. Also, the partnership requires discontinuation of political corruption which has been practiced by current Montenegrin government in terms of employing only those individuals from the Bosniak people, who are loyal to government policies, and discriminating and eliminating those who have other

opinions. This is the right exam of maturity and respect for human rights which should be passed by Montenegrin authorities and Bosniak representatives in both the civil and national parties in order to have better and more stable future for Bosniak and Montenegrin children and children of all the people who live in Montenegro.

3.2 European transboundary Sanjak region in independent Montenegro

Sanjak region has a rich historical past, proved by written evidence in the world literature, political maps, cultural and historical monuments and documents. Among many Sanjaks in the Ottoman Empire only Sanjak of Novi Pazar kept its name until today (Rastoder, 2013). Nowadays Sanjak is divided between Montenegro and Serbia, but despite this the interconnection among people of Sanjak has still remained in historical and cultural view, and that connection has been strengthened (Rastoder, 2013). According to him Sanjak region is rich in natural resources, and it could be said that the Sanjak region nowadays is the region of low living standards, and the main reason for that is, among other things, the wrong development policy of Serbia and Montenegro. The period of World War II is especially important in recent history of this region. By the establishment of new Yugoslavia Sanjak did not become its federal unit and since then, it is always discussed about that matter and about the future of Sanjak (Rastoder, 2013). He argues “that since the establishment of republic borders in 1945, Sanjak territory was divided between Montenegro and Serbia, but cohesion of unique space in the historical, cultural and even economic view was still remained there” (Retrieved from <http://revijasandzak.com/?p=117>). Today, when the borders in the Balkans have been established finally, Sanjak’s progress is seen in the form of "European region" (Rastoder, 2013). The cross-border cooperation is often mentioned as a solution to the problem (Rastoder, 2013). According to Rastoder (2013) such cooperation in the European Union started in 1990 as a separate

community initiative financed by the European Regional Development Fund (Retrieved from <http://revijasandzak.com/?p=117>). European Union designed programs which would help the development of undeveloped regions (Rastoder, 2013). Cross-border cooperation between countries is an integral part of the regional development policy of the European Union (Rastoder, 2013). This policy has been designed with the aim of improving the economic, cultural, social, economic and other cooperation between the regions and to reduce the difference in the degree of their development (Rastoder, 2013). In this view, it involves many types of cooperation, such as cross-border cooperation, transnational cooperation, interregional cooperation, etc (Rastoder, 2013). According to him European Union helps such forms of cooperation with the money from the planned EU funds. In this way, each region improves its development by projects contained in the programs of the European Union. The program of cross border cooperation, which involves the establishment of European cross-border regions, must be clearly formulated (Rastoder, 2013). It must have a defined strategy for regional development that is declared by European cross-border regions. Local schemes are done for those areas. Capacities for the preparation and implementation of planned development projects are produced and strengthened (Rastoder, 2013). These projects include the local and regional governments, institutions for the protection of cultural heritage, health care institutions, tourist boards, agricultural and other organizations in the region and regional coordinators (Rastoder, 2013). The projects for the development of the region include the development of natural resources, infrastructure, road construction, telecommunications systems development, protection of natural resources, etc (Rastoder, 2013). He argues that “in Europe, there are cross-border regions with higher degree of autonomy, such as the South Tyrol in northeast Italy” (Retrieved from <http://revijasandzak.com/?p=117>). According to Rastoder (2013), “this autonomy is composed of

two areas: the area of Trentino where residents speak Italian and area of South Tyrol, where residents speak German” (Retrieved from <http://revijasandzak.com/?p=117>). Today, in the realization of idea of Sanjak as a European cross-border idea there should not be any obstacles, and it is becoming clearer and more realistic. The story about Sanjak is very popular also in the international circles, and the recent promotion of the book "Sanjak - history" by authors Kenneth Morrison and Elizabeth Roberts proves it. It was promoted at the renowned London School of Economics and Political Science. In addition to the scientific sessions of Sanjak and its historical and cultural characteristics as well as the prospects of development, certain activity of domestic and foreign factors has been actualized in recent years. The representative office of the Center for Sustainable Development of Tourism “Sanjak house" was opened in Brussels, the administrative center of the European Union. The President of the European Parliament delegation for Southeast Europe, Edward Kukan, on his presentation in Brussels, said:

"I think it is very important that region with such a rich history, cultural heritage and natural resources should be presented here in Brussels. Since this is the first presentation, it is very important to convince people of Europe that this is a very beautiful region which can offer a lot to many Europeans, to visit it, to rest there, to enjoy the history and to be personally convinced that the Western Balkan countries, where Sanjak region belongs, can offer many new things that will enrich their lives (SDA of Sanjak, 2012, 4.27).

On the other hand, according to Agović (2013) “some political subjects in the countries of the Western Balkans, especially in Serbia and Montenegro, have been working for a long time on the expansion of prejudice, misinformation and baseless fears of regionalization of the state Serbia and the state of Montenegro” (Retrieved from <http://sandzakpress.net/sandzak-evropska-prekogrnicna-regija>). She argues that their actions resulted in the fact that the name “Sanjak" itself is less pronounced among the seduced Orthodox population. This approach has its roots in the eternal hatred of some extreme - nationalist structure of Serbian and Montenegrin people

towards everything that carries Turkish name or reminds them of Turkey and its rich history, and especially the reflection of Turkish- Ottoman culture and traditions of the area of the Balkans. This utterance of “turkophobia” and islamophobia was the continuity of government policy of many years in Serbia and Montenegro, especially in Sanjak towns where the authorities of the two countries used the local Serb and Montenegrin population as an instrument in the extermination of all those cultural characteristics that enrich the region of Sanjak and have their roots in Ottoman culture and civilization. Agović (2013) argues that trend continues nowadays in certain forms of political and administrative organization of cities in Sanjak. According to her, “because of that the names of streets, organizations and institutions which contained this prefix were changed” (Retrieved from <http://sandzakpress.net/sandzak-evropska-prekogranicna-regija>). According to Agović (2013) the establishment of European cross-border regions Sanjak would solve many existing problems:

- It would enhance the economic development of the region
- It would enable social inclusion of the population. The process of social inclusion would allow citizens who are at risk of poverty and social exclusion, to obtain ability and funds to take part in decisions that affect their lives and participate in the economic and cultural development of the society.
- Sanjak region would become more attractive for investment.
- Potential investors would not have to look for a number of permissions from local to regional authorities, but there would be a simpler procedure to invest in projects.
- Sanjak diaspora would support (and supports) the development of Sanjak as a European cross-border region.
- It would increase scientific, sports and every other cooperation without borders, an intelligent and creative work.
- As a 183. European cross-border region, Sanjak could use funds that European cross-border regions of EU funds receive.
- It could cooperate with other European cross-border regions and in the case of natural disasters, which is now common in these regions, it could count on their help.
- Customs exemptions would be greater.
- The trade would be improved.
- The prices would be lower.
- The selection of products would be greater.
- The standard of living would be better.
- It would reduce the crime rate.

- There would be a greater choice of services on the labor market.
- It would improve multinational relations.
- People who are separated by boundaries could faster get a citizenship.
- Life would function easier for people who have a house in one country and a land (fields) behind the border, in the other country.
- People would travel freely.
- Tourism should be developed faster.
- It would be faster to exchange experiences, knowledge and skills.
- Development of a freer environment would develop friendship and cooperation between members of all ethnic groups.
- The erosion of the Bosniak national tissue would be stopped and people would not go to the other country to find better life.
- Modern development projects would be started.
- There would be engaged coordinators for interregional cooperation, diaspora, education, culture, health, economy, sports, etc.
- Europe would support solving of Sanjak question which is good for Bosniaks and all other nations.
- Serbia and Montenegro would fasten the entry of both states in the European Union by ensuring the rapid socio - economic development of the region Sanjak, which is their national and strategic interest. (Retrieved from <http://sandzakpress.net/sandzak-evropska-prekogranicna-regija>).

3.3 Conclusion on the transboundary Sanjak region

In the area of Sanjak, people can live in harmony with others, sharing a common space with a mutual appreciation of the characteristics culture, religion and traditions of other nations. That is a guarantee of the survival and success as a lasting stability and prosperity for all who live in this region. Otherwise, ignoring the real need for dialogue and discussion leads to the deterioration of the mentioned occurrences, which cause depression and moving of people of all nationalities and all faiths who live in this area, as well as raising of negative tensions. In the context of stabilizing of the political situation in the Western Balkans, Sanjak should be some kind of positive reciprocity for the status of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in order to make a positive balance in relations between people in these countries. It is necessary to identify and clearly formulate a degree of autonomy of Sanjak EU region in order to start the conversation and determine the modalities of implementation of this modern European project. However,

general political and intellectual strength of Bosniak politicians and intellectuals would lead to the realization of this modern European cross-border project. Autonomy of Sanjak region would imply cultural and educational autonomy in this area with a clear positioning of Sanjak as a modern, multicultural, multinational, multi-religious region in the constitution of independent and internationally recognized state of Montenegro. After Montenegro's entry in EU, Sanjak as an inseparable part of Europe should get its representatives in the European Parliament, who would represent economic and other interests of Sanjak and the countries they come from. Negotiations would also be a good start and a signal to Bosniaks as the majority people in the territory of Sanjak that Montenegro is ready to begin a new page of history without forgetting the past as a life teacher, but with hope and faith in a safer and more prosperous future for the benefit of all citizens, because Montenegro's path is also European, and one of the parts of that path is the solution of the status of Sanjak as a modern European region. Resolving the issue of Sanjak is the obligation of the Montenegrin authorities in consideration that the territory of Sanjak is an constituent part of the territory of Montenegro. Bosniaks as loyal citizens of this country expect from the state in which they live to resolve this issue, because it would lead to the way which has no alternative, and that would be the way of equality and rights of all people, the path of peace and stability in the region, in accordance to the European Charter on the protection and promotion of human rights and freedoms.

CHAPTER 4 FORMULATING THE THEORETICAL CONTEXT

4.1 Diaspora and transnationalism

There's been a lot of research on the topic of diaspora and transnationalism, and a lot of published papers, books and articles. Here we'll try to collect some of the more notable definitions and ideas about diaspora and transnationalism that can be found in the relevant literature. In the beginning of this chapter I singled out three themes, 'the concept of diaspora in history', 'the concept of diaspora in contemporary agenda', and 'political concept of diaspora, and diaspora relation to the homeland'. After that, I extracted definitions and ideas of different authors about transnationalism. At end of this chapter I presented some differences between diaspora and transnationalism according to some authors.

4.1.a The concept of diaspora in history

Wahlbeck (2002) notes: "Originally, the concept of diaspora referred to the dispersal of the Jews from their historic homeland" (p. 229). In his work dated 1991, Tololyan has summarized the historical development of the concept: "The term that once described, Jewish, Greek, and Armenian dispersion now shares meanings with a larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest worker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community" (p. 4). Cohen (1996) reaches a similar conclusion: "The notion of 'diaspora', used first in the classical world, has acquired renewed importance in the late twentieth century. Once the term applied principally to Jews and less commonly to Greeks, Armenians and Africans" (p. 1).

Furthermore, he then goes into a more detailed account of the historical development noting that

“The idea that diaspora implied forcible dispersion was found in Deuteronomy with the addition of a thunderous Old Testament warning that a ‘scattering to other lands’ constituted the punishment for a people who had forsaken the righteous paths and abandoned the old ways.” (Cohen, 1996, p. 1)

As well as that “In fact, the term ‘diaspora’ is found in the Greek translation of the Bible and originates in the words ‘to sow widely’. For the Greeks, the expression was used to describe the colonization of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean in the archaic period (800–600 BC)” (Cohen, 1996, p. 1).

Ben-Rafael et al. (2009), state that

“etymologically ‘diaspora’ is a Greek word coined after the Greek verb ‘diaspeiro’ and its meaning is ‘dispersion, scattering’; ‘diaspora’ has mostly been associated with Jewish history and is the translation or the equivalent of the Hebrew word ‘galuth’; at last, ‘diaspora’ also belonged to the Greek lexicon of colonization.” (p. 48).

Next, Adam McKeown 1999 (as cited in Ben-Rafael et al. 2009) writes that “until recently, the idea of diaspora has been intimately linked to the history of the Jews” (p. 49). According to Chander 2001 (as cited in Ben-Rafael et al. 2009) “the nature of ‘diaspora’ becomes Greek and not Jewish any more” (p. 49). Yet another analysis of meaning is noted by Anteby-Yemini and Berthomière (2005), “Based on *speiro* (to sow) and the preposition *dia* (over), in the Ancient Greece, the word referred to migration and colonization.” (p. 262). According to Shuval (as cited in Anteby-Yemini and Berthomière, 2005), “the term initially referred to the setting of colonies of Jews outside Palestine after the Babylonian exile and has assumed a more general connotation of people settled away from their ancestral homelands” (p. 262).

4.1.b Current discussions on the concept of diaspora

Pierre (2013) gives a good overview of the works that try to define the various nuances of the term 'diaspora':

While there is not one major text that can easily serve as an overview of diaspora studies within anthropology, a number of essays and books together delineate its unwieldy parameters. Harrison 1988, the introductory essay to a special "diaspora" issue of *Urban Anthropology*, and Yelvington 2001, an essay for *Annual Review of Anthropology*, provide overviews of the concept that are specific to anthropology. Clifford 1994, an exposition and analysis of the term, is probably the most cited across disciplines, while Vertovec 1997 delineates its three key complementary meanings. The review essay Axel 1996 is significant in that it links diaspora studies to cultural studies and area studies. The other texts that provide a general overview are two broad historical and conceptual studies of diaspora (Cohen 1997, Dufoix 2008). Brubaker 2005 traces the incredible dispersion of the term itself. It is important to note that criticism of the diaspora concept is usually built into its analysis. (Retrieved from <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199766567/obo-9780199766567-0091.xml>)

Wahlbeck (2002) notes: "Today, it is often used to describe various well-established communities that have an experience of 'displacement', like the overseas Chinese, the Armenians in exile, the Palestinian refugees, the Gypsies or the whole African diaspora" (p. 229). In another passage, he brings another informative quote regarding the looseness of the usage of the term diaspora: "Many scholars as Cohen 1997; Marienstras 1989; Vertovec and Cohen 1999, today argue that the concept is used far too loosely and is often used to describe any community that in one way or another has a history of migration" (Wahlbeck, 2002, p. 229).

Vertovec(1999) notes that the term is "Used today to describe practically any population which is considered 'deterritorialized' or 'transnational' -- that is, which has originated in a land other than which it currently resides, and whose social, economic and political networks across the borders of nation-states or, indeed, span the globe" (p.1). He then goes to outline three general meanings: "'diaspora' as social form, 'diaspora' as type of consciousness, and 'diaspora' as mode of cultural production" (Vertovec, 1999, p.2).

According to Harutyunyan (2012) “diaspora is in constant search for a *place* where it will reconstruct its pasts, imaginary future, identities, roles, rituals and beliefs. This kind of place becomes a concrete community space” (p. 8)

Safran (as cited in Wahlbeck, 2002) provide precise definition, or concept of diaspora

Expatriate minority communities whose members share several of the following characteristics:

- 1) They or their ancestors have been dispersed from a specific original ‘centre’ 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 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 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 relationship. (p. 231)

It’s interesting to note that both Safran and Cohen put 5 similar initial indicators, i.e. Cohen accepts Safran’s list of qualifications with small modifications, and adds 4 additional qualifications. Utilizing these 5 shared indicators we’ll see whether Bosniaks in Turkey constitute a diaspora. Comparing the first shared indicator we can note that Cohen adds an additional description “often traumatically” (Cohen, 1996, pp. 7-8). When it comes to this first qualification it’s obvious that Bosniaks in Turkey fulfill its criteria. They’re dispersed from their homeland to Turkey and other countries in the world, of course, often traumatically. Matching the second Safran’s qualification with Bosniaks in Turkey, Safran (as cited in Wahlbeck, 2002), namely that the members of a diaspora: “retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland, and its physical location, history, and achievements” (p. 231), we again see

that Bosniaks do indeed fulfill these criteria. This can be seen from their similar statements given during the interviews I did with them, and which can be read elsewhere in this work .Of course, some of the images and criteria from the past are changing today because of more frequent contacts with homeland, and because of appearance of new media and that enable learning more about the homeland. Also, criteria from Cohen's second indicator are fulfilled, especially in the part where Cohen mentions 'colonial ambitions'. When it comes to Safran's third indicator, we can say that the answer to the question is both yes and no. Perhaps a part of Bosniaks believes that they're not accepted fully by the Turkish society. Perhaps that's because of some of the Turkish laws, like the law that doesn't facilitate education in the Bosnian language for Bosnians, or learning Bosnian in schools, or there are some other factors, which would require a more in-depth analysis on this topic. Maybe older generations did feel as Safran describes in the second indicator (as cited in Wahlbeck, 2002) "partly alienated and insulated from it" (p.231). However, based on my findings during the interviews, research, etc., the younger generations do not have this feeling, at least most of them don't. When we talk about Cohen's third point, it's almost identical to Safran's second point that I already discussed. The fourth point is very similar for both authors. It is true that Bosniaks in Turkey deem their ancestral homeland as their true homeland, at least most of them, and they would even want to get back there when the necessary prerequisites are in place. One of the interviewees said that some of the prerequisites would be: dual citizenship, the possibility to invest money, and a guarantee that to him and the Bosniak people won't happen again what happened in the past. When it comes to younger generations of Bosniaks, under 18 years, I believe that they don't think much about the possible return. Based on their statements and thoughts, they are able to consider the homeland of their ancestors as their second homeland besides Turkey, but Turkey for them is the place where they were born,

where they grew up, and the place where they will spend the rest of their life. Now we come to the fifth and final point of this analysis, and both authors define it similarly. During the observation process which I used as one of the research methods, I noticed that during their meetings and mutual discussions, they frequently emphasize investing in Montenegro, Sanjak, Bosnia, strengthening their organizations in Turkey and improving their relations in order to become strong and prepared to influence the establishment of peace and prosperity in their homeland, and, more generally, bridging and strengthening all Bosniaks throughout the world. Stemming from all of this, and after matching the qualifications of Safran and Cohen with Bosniaks in Turkey, it's more than clear that they do, in fact, constitute a diaspora. There's also Cohen (1996), giving his own turn on the ideas and developments introduced by Safran:

I explain in detail why I accept four of his features, amend two and add four further features. Here, I shall have to be content to produce a consolidated list of the 'common features' of a diaspora, drawing on the classical tradition, on Safran's insights, my modifications to his list and on my own views:

Common features of a diaspora

1. Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions;
2. Alternatively, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions;
3. A collective memory and myth about the homeland including its location, history and achievements;
4. An idealization of the putative ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation;
5. The development of a return movement which gains collective approbation;
6. A strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history and the belief in a common fate;
7. A troubled relationship with host societies suggesting a lack of acceptance at the least or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group;
8. A sense of empathy and solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement; and
9. The possibility of a distinctive yet creative and enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism. (pp. 7-8)

Another of Cohen's (1996) qualifications is that "time has to pass, before we can know that any community that has migrated is really a diaspora" (p. 9). In support to the claim based on this qualification that Bosniaks in Turkey are in fact a diaspora, we can mention that every year Bosniaks from Turkey make every year different kinds of humanitarian projects in Montenegro, Sanjak, they begin to invest and send money to their relatives, etc. Some of them still keep ties with their relatives, and some of them just recently renewed these ties, or found out that they have relatives, mostly through social networks. All of this supports the notion, that, although a lot of time has passed, they still keep the ties with homeland in one way or the other. Cohen (1996) argued that "a strong attachment to the past or a block to assimilation in the present and future must exist in order to permit a diasporic consciousness to emerge or be retained" (p. 9). When it comes to Bosniaks in Turkey, there still exists a strong attachment to the past, and also a block to assimilation in the present. But I'm not sure what will the situation be in the future, based on the fact that generations under 18 years of age don't show a lot of desire to block assimilation, especially when it comes to the Bosnian language.

According to Cohen (1996),

"many members of a particular ethnic group may have the intent and the possibility to merge into the crowd, lose their prior identity and achieve individualized forms of social mobility. The changing of ethnically-identifiable names by new immigrants signals this intention." (p. 9).

One other type of assimilation that Bosniaks went through was during their arrival in Turkey. However, they still remember their original surnames, and it seems that they have a double identity. But the problem is that most of them doesn't have dual citizenship. This is partly because some of them had to sign a forced contract before leaving for Turkey, in order to protect their identity and lives. With this contract they renounced dual citizenship. And this is also partly because the state of Montenegro is not permitting them, i.e. it's not offering them a possibility of

dual citizenship mostly because of fear that in the future they might influence the political situation in Montenegro and Sanjak. I'll note here that Montenegro has around 625-630.000 citizens according to the last census from 2011. And there's, as a minimum 300.000-2 000.000 Bosniaks from Montenegro, Sanjak in Turkey. This is without Bosniaks that stem from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The allowance of a dual citizenship would also make a lot of past government projects obsolete, such as expelling and christianizing as much as possible Bosniaks from Montenegro, Sanjak and Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is precisely because of this kind of projects that we have a Bosniak diaspora through the world, and the largest part in Turkey. When Sanjak is concerned, he currently cannot offer to Bosniaks in Turkey much when dual citizenship is concerned or some other political benefits, just because of the simple fact that it still hasn't returned its previous status or gained a new status of a Sanjak cross-border EU region. Cohen (1996) argued that "other groups may inter-marry with the locals and slowly disappear as a separable ethnic group" (p. 9). In one of the analysis of the video, which you can find bellow, we discover that Bosniak avoided inter-marrying with the locals, and that's still the case in some villages in Turkey that are populated mostly by Bosniaks. However, I think that inter-marrying with the locals can bring more positive than negative issues, and it cannot hurt the identity much. A much bigger threat is when a certain state decides to assimilate one nation, be it quietly or forcefully.

4.1.c Diasporas and their relation to the homeland

Wahlbeck (2002) indicates that there are four ways the concept is used:

Firstly, the concept has been regarded as useful in describing the geographical displacement and/or deterritorialisation of identities in the contemporary world. Secondly, as Vertovec (1997) argues, there is a discussion where the meaning of diaspora is largely considered to be a 'mode of cultural production'. Thirdly, the concept of diaspora has also been used among scholars who emphasize the political dimension of contemporary diasporas. This is a discussion mainly situated within the disciplines of

Political Science and International Relations. Fourthly, there are a number of scholars who regard diaspora as a form of social organization (p. 221)

Pierre (2013), points out that one of the determining aspects of the meaning of “diaspora” throughout times lies in its relation to homeland

A whole new genre of ethnographic studies has been informed by conceptualizations of diaspora, though the term has also been used across the various sub disciplines—in archaeology, linguistic anthropology, sociocultural anthropology, and folklore. But even as anthropology grapples with the term’s constantly shifting deployments and varying critiques, diaspora continues to be marked by the standard theoretical concerns of the dialectic of homeland to diaspora; the relationship of the nation-state to diaspora; and the contemporary politics of global population movement—particularly of exiles, refugees, and immigrants.

(Retrieved from <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199766567/obo-9780199766567-0091.xml>)

Dufoix (2008) gives yet another look at the term:

“Diaspora” is a term which refers to any phenomenon of dispersion from a place. It means nothing more than the idea of displacement and the maintenance of a connection with a real or imagined homeland. The use of this word, “diaspora”, raised issues about the voluntary or involuntary migration of people to their spatially free floating existence. This term built and gave meaning to links between people by weaving guiding threads that stretched across tens of thousands of miles and shined in the labyrinth of others. (p. 4)

Fernandez (2009) tries to get to the main concepts that underlie the term:

The several definitions of diaspora: whether involving the dispersion of a classical group/people, or forced dislocation from the homeland, or voluntary migration, or indicating an attachment to multiple nations/histories, has one thing in common. In all these varying categories, the underlying premise that girds the issues of diaspora involve concepts of identity and belonging. (p. 29)

Ben-Rafael (2009) claims that the existence of a particular diaspora is connected to the vitality of its “ethnoscape”:

Diaspora is part of a transnational and transpolitical ethnoscape from which people may move out, whether consciously or not. The more individuals exit their ethnoscape, the more they undermine the very continuity of the diaspora which then tends to be reduced to the status of a myth. (p. 9)

In the same paragraph we have another look at the term, but from another aspect: “Diaspora implies cultural reproduction which is a two-way street with a reciprocal impact on both the diaspora and the homeland” (Ben-Rafael, 2009, p. 9).

Hall (1993) writes about diaspora that

“I use this term here metaphorically, not literally: diaspora does not refer us to those scattered tribes whose identity can only be secured in relation to some sacred homeland to which they must at all costs return, even if it means pushing other people into the sea” (p. 235).

4.2 Transnationalism

According to Vertovec “The increasingly invoked notion of ‘transnationalism’, referring to various kinds of global or cross-border connections, currently frames the view of numerous researchers concerned with migrants and dispersed ethnic groups” (2001, p. 573). In another work Vertovec (2003) states that: “Today transnationalism seems to be everywhere, at least in social science” (p. 641).

Further on, Vertovec (2003) summarizes the available literature:

Since the early 1990s, research on transnational dimensions of migrant experience has expanded. There is now a substantial, and growing, body of literature concerning the ways migrants’ lives are affected by sustained connections with people and institutions in places of origin or elsewhere in diaspora (family obligations and marriage patterns, remittances, political engagement, religious practice, regular visits, media consumption and so on). A number of works trace the rise of this analytical framework (such as Glick-Schiller et al, 1992; Smith and Guarnizo, 1998; Portes et al, 1999; Portes, 2001; Vertovec, 2001). (p. 641)

Back in 2002 Wahlbeck notes that, at that time, the concept of transnationalism was “widely used among migration researchers (e.g. Faist 2000a; Labelle and Midy 1999; Portes et al. 1999; Rex 1996; Smith and Guarnizo 1998)” (p. 223).

Gonzalez (2013, May) states:

Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc became the pioneers of transnational studies. Although their first theoretical definition of transnationalism was coined in 1992 in *Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding Migration*: "We have defined transnationalism as the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (Glick Schiller et al. 1992:1), I consider their next definition found in *Nations Unbound: Transnational projects and the deterritorialized nation-state* (1994) more useful. In that book transnationalism was defined as "the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders" (Basch et al. 1994: 7). (Retrieved from <http://www.itn-cohab.eu/wiki/transnationalism>)

Ben-Rafael (2009) writes: "Along the way we discovered the exciting possibilities for exploration contained in the prefix "trans," which draws attention to movement across, over, or through nations" (p. 170). Aiwah Ong 1999 (as cited in Ben-Rafael 2009) wrote:

"Trans denotes both moving through space or across lines, as well as changing the nature of something. Besides suggesting new relations between nation states and capital, transnationality also alludes to the *transversal*, the *transactional*, the *translational*, and the *transgressive* aspects of contemporary behavior and imagination" (p. 170).

Further on Ben-Rafael (2009) gives a definition of the term: "The notion of transnationalism basically relates to distinct types of activities and communities that illustrate transnational interests and allegiances" (p. 1). Ben-Rafael (2009) goes to describe the creation of transnationalization: "Growing segments of the populations and sectors of activity, especially in Western countries, illustrate this kind of allegiance; in this sense, they bring about what can be described as "transnationalization" and which is not necessarily even and similar everywhere" (Ben-Rafael, 2009).

According to Vertovec (2001), "transnationalism does not represent an altogether new theoretical approach, but one that inherently builds upon a number of preceding ones (including those of the Chicago School of Sociology and the Manchester School of Anthropology)" (p. 576). Regarding

the influence of technology on transnationalism he states: “We need to understand the ways in which technology has combined with and perhaps facilitated or enhanced, rather than caused, transnational networks” (Vertovec, 2001, 577). According to Vertovec (2001) “it has been variously suggested that transnationalism among migrants can be understood as either a mode of resistance to, or in contrast as a pattern of incorporation into, shifts in global capitalism”(p. 577). Faist (2000) gives his definition of the term(s) that are transnationalism related:

Whether we talk of transnational social spaces, transnational social fields, transnationalism or transnational social formations in international migration systems, we usually refer to sustained ties of persons, networks and organizations across the borders of multiple nation-states, ranging from weakly to strongly institutionalized forms. (p. 2)

Relying on Portes (1996) he notes that: “First, terms such as transnational social spaces and transnational communities are often used synonymously - as if ‘transnational community’ was the only form or type of transnational social space” (Faist, 2000, p. 2). And he quotes another usage of the term: “Moreover, the sustained transnationalization of migrant ties is often called ‘transnationalism’” (Faist, 2000, p. 2).

4.2.a A comparison on the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism

Bauböck and Faist wittily define diaspora and transnationalism as “two awkward dance partners, which talk about similar categories of persons involving forms of forced and voluntary migrations” (2010, p. 9). In another passage they point out the difference (and similarity) of these two concepts: “While diaspora is a very old concept, transnationalism is relatively new. Not only in public debates but also in academic analysis, the terms have fuzzy boundaries and often overlap” (Bauböck and Faist, 2010, p. 11). Furthermore, trying to pin down where exactly is the interest for these two topics mostly located, Bauböck and Faist (2010) note that it’s easily

verifiable that “diaspora and transnationalism are both at the cross-roads of academic research and public debates” (p. 12).

Bauböck and Faist (2010) describe both terms as referring

to cross-border processes, diaspora has been often used to denote religious or national groups living outside an (imagined) homeland, whereas transnationalism is often used both more narrowly – to refer to migrants’ durable ties across countries – and, more widely, to capture not only communities, but all sorts of social formations, such as transnationally active networks, groups and organizations. (p. 9)

Bauböck and Faist (2010) describes the distinguishing trait of diaspora: “Both diaspora and transnationalism deal with homeland ties and the incorporation of persons living ‘abroad’ into the regions of destination. Diaspora approaches usually focus on the relationship between homelands (‘referent-origin’) and dispersed people, but also on destination countries.” (Bauböck and Faist, 2010, p. 20)

According to Centre for Diaspora and Transnational Studies “Diaspora in contemporary thought involves an understanding of the shifting relations between homelands and host nations from the perspective of those who have moved, whether voluntarily or not.” (Retrieved from

http://sites.utoronto.ca/cdts/about_us.html)

Transnationalism, on the other hand

focuses attention on flows and counter flows and the multistranded connections they give rise to. It encompasses not just the movement of people, but of ideas of citizenship, of technology, of forms of multinational governance, of modes of political organization, of differing notions of sovereignty, and of the impulses of markets, all of which shape our world today. (Retrieved from http://sites.utoronto.ca/cdts/about_us.html)

Bauböck and Faist (2010) note the stability of the term “diaspora”, and the recent directions the term “transnationalism” has taken: “The diaspora literature usually emphasizes the cultural

distinctiveness of diaspora groups, while parts of the transnational literature have started to look more extensively into migrant incorporation and transnational practices.” (p. 20)

In an earlier passage the same author goes into a bit more detail how

“The former term ‘transnationalism’ – and its derivatives, such as transnational social spaces, fields and formations – have been used to connote everyday practices of migrants engaged in various activities. These include, to give only a few examples, reciprocity and solidarity within kinship networks, political participation not only in the country of emigration but also of immigration, small-scale entrepreneurship of migrants across borders and the transfer and re-transfer of cultural customs and practices.” (Bauböck and Faist, 2010, p. 11)

Bauböck and Faist(2010) give another contrasting of the two terms: “diaspora studies have mainly spoken to issues of cultural distinctiveness and its relevance for religious communities, nationhood and also social practices such as entrepreneurship, transnational studies have come to focus on issues of mobility and networks” (p. 17).

According to Bauböck and Faist (2010)

First, ‘transnationalism’ is a broader term than ‘diaspora’. Diaspora relates most often to religious, ethnic and national groups and communities, whereas transnational approaches connect to all sorts of social formations, including the ones already mentioned, as well as to phenomena such as networks of businesspersons and social movements...

The second dimension concerns identity and mobility. Diaspora approaches focus on aspects of collective identity, while transnational approaches take their cue from cross-border mobility...A third difference in emphasis between the use of the diaspora and transnationalism approaches concerns the time dimension. Scholars using the term ‘diaspora’ often refer to a multi-generational pattern, while transnational analysts deal with recent migrant flows. (p. 21)

4.3 History of Bosniak migration to Turkey

4.3.a Migration between the Berlin congress and World War II

The demographic map of the Balkans is changed by migrations . One of the most important features of the history of Bosniaks in the Balkans are migrations. True symbol of the historical destiny of Bosniaks is migration . Especially during the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth century (Bandžović, 1999). According to Huntington (1996), “If demography is destiny, population movements are the engine of history” (p. 198). Emigration of Bosniak people from new parts of Serbia and Montenegro, in Turkey intensively began after the 1912th year. The process of emigration continued in the interwar period, as well as in the period after World War II, particularly from Sanjak. According to Bandžović (1998) process of mass emigration to Turkey lasted until the 1970th. This process coincided with the emigration of Turks and Albanians from Macedonia to Turkey. The mass exodus of the Bosniak people from Montenegro and Serbia to Turkey during the twentieth century had a more routes. Mass emigration were from regions of the Ottoman Empire, which, by decisions of the Berlin Congress 1878th, belonged to these countries. The first settlement of Bosniaks in Turkey were established in the area around Bursa , Jenisehera , near Ankara and in Istanbul (Bandžović , 1998) . That mass emigration from Montenegro and Sandzak continues after the end of the Balkan War. Long queues of ‘muhajirs’ from Sanjak ,Kosovo, Macedonia moved to Turkey in late 1913 . Many of those who stayed , they were virtually in a hopeless situation because of the misery in which they remained from the anticipation of new calamities that will befall them, and all this will lead to new emigration (Bandžović, 2000) . With the involvement of the German representative in Skadar and in Cetinje, the process of emigration from new parts of Montenegro began in early October 1913. Montenegro wanted at any cost, to take new regions, and this was the main cause of migration movements. Bandžović (2000) claims that one of the first families that moved out were those of

Turkish officers and clerks, who had previously gone and died in the war. Migration movement is affecting all social classes, whether it comes to rural or urban population. According to Bandžović (2000), “since the middle of June to the 10th of July, 1913. Displaced from Plav and Gusinje 128 households. In early October, through Podgorica, from Pljevlja Istanbul was spent for 160 people, and from other parts of about 200 families” (p. 102). After the Balkan wars numerous emigration of Bosniaks began from the regions that are attached to Serbia and Montenegro, and especially in the field of historical Sanjak. Emigration from the region went in two directions toward Turkey. One went to Podgorica, which was a kind of assembly center, and from there via the port of Bar, and the second line was going through Skopje (Bandžović, 1998). In early April, 1914, a new wave of emigration was launched. German Consulate took the obligation to provide ships for settlers, while Turkey has assumed all costs around their receipt and existence. The main emigration wave went to Podgorica and Bar. It was also through Kolasin and Podgorica, emigration from the northern part of Sanjak, respectively there of which was annexed to Serbia. During June and July 1914, a new wave of immigrants is headed. This wave was affecting 128 families. Izmir and Ada Pazar were their places of habitation (Bandžović, 2000). Mustafa Memić (1989) argues that “one brother told his sister that he will contact her when he creates the conditions for existence. He picked her up in 1951.” (p. 215-216). To the international public, the government showed its face of innocence, and have worked hard to prove that they officially do not force the emigration process, but on the other hand it is clear that this process does not interfere, as it did not interfere in previous times (Bandžović, 2000). As Bandžović wrote (2000) according to some data “in April 1914th, 12.302 Muslims emigrated from Bar to Turkey. According to Montenegrin sources from April to July 1914th, 16,500 displaced persons across the Bar in Smyrna and Istanbul” (p. 105). During April and May 1914

from the northern parts of Montenegro, 1.194 families were emigrated, and also 600 families from Podgorica. 48 % Muslim population were emigrated from Sanjak. Mass emigration from Montenegro was stopped in June 1914 , when all financial assistance was suspended for expatriates, and when Turkey decreased interest in their reception . Later, the 1918th, as Cvetkovic wrote (as cited in Bandžović, 2001), Bosniaks are often characterized as “Turks”, or as “Asians”, as a treacherous element. Continuity of Islamophobia was durability, with more or less intensity, and Bosniaks are identified as Turks, and hatred towards Turks were transmitted on them (Bandžović, 2001). Bosniaks who once went to Turkey, and did not find good life there could not come back (Bandžović, 2001). After termination of Ottoman rule, Bosniak people that used to live in the traditional way of living in which is included the observance of ancient cultural characteristics found themselves in despair. After terrible Šahović massacre of Bosniaks in November 1924th terror against Bosniaks culminated. There were politicians, as Đilas said (as cited in Bandžović, 2001), which has aim, referring to the crusade, to weaken the Muslims, destroy their harmony of winners. It is believed that the main motive lay in hatred towards the “Turks”, the desire for revenge and the greed to possess their land. After surviving crimes , Bosniak representatives from Šahović and Pavino Polje are submitted the “Memorandum of the King” on November 21 of that year, stating that the attack was committed by 2.000 armed Polians and Kolasins and others in order to revenge the murder of Bosko Boskovic, who was a retired inspector of the Ministry of Interior, and former chief in Kolasin district, who was allegedly killed by Bosniaks, which was soon confirmed as a lie, because he was killed by ex-wife's relatives, but it was too late (Bandžović, 2001). Bosko Boskovic is mentioned and one of Turkish nationals or members of the Bosniak diaspora in Turkey, which was one of the participants of the interview that I did with some members of the Bosniak diaspora in Turkey.

Because of anonymity, I have changed the name of the participant and called him B1 diaspora .

On my question:

Tell me , do you know who killed your great-grandfather , 1913? He answers with-

- Yes , I know , Bosko Boskovic killed my great-grandfather and his brother , their names were BB and NN and they were killed in front of the house , Bosko Boskovic and his troop killed them.

On other issues *B1diaspora* offers the following answers.

Which army they belonged to?

- I do not know exactly, but I think that he was engaged in Belgrade, and when he came to Montenegro, he formed his troop.

When did it begin?

- Immediately after the Balkan War, which began 1912.

Bosko Boskovic before he was killed, he enabled Bosniaks to move, while their property documents were given to him, after some time he became wealthy (Bandžović, 2001).

Sarajevo newspaper “Justice” writes (as cited in Bandžović, 2001), it is evident inaction of state authorities to the crimes committed against Bosniaks , even as many and incitement to such acts , they created a tremendous uncertainty. As stated Čukanovic (as cited in Bandžović, 2001), the pressures on the Bosniaks were carried out immediately after the 1918, with aims to force the eviction. For those who were brave to leave their birthplace, and therefore had the opportunity to move into uncertainty, Turkey represented the only suitable place (Bandžović, 2001).

Chauvinism and greed for Bosniak property, in order to find an easy way to become rich, Montenegrins and Serbs fueled mass actions for settlement of Bosniaks. Eviction and departure of rich Bosniaks, religious opinion leaders and retailers, leaving in fear poorer in leaving their representatives they saw the announcement of uncertainty and lack of perspectives , which could

not be alleviated for their loyalty to country, avoiding incidents and demonstrate civic obedience (Bandžović , 2001). Emigration from Šahović regions are further encouraged emigration of other neighboring areas. And in those regions where Bosniaks lived, were settled by the Serbian families from surrounding villages (Bandžović, 2001). In Rastoder's research (as cited in Bandžović, 2001), a list of the 1921, in the Bijelo Polje, Srez were 14,105. Muslims and 12,765. ten years later. In this same period, the Orthodox population in this Srez has increased from 12,022 to 20,102; Pljevlja in the 1921 9356, and the 1931, 9,187 Muslims, while the number of Orthodox Christians increased from 17,306 to 23,698. Rastoder also writes (as cited in Bandžović, 2001), the number of Muslims have only increased in Berane 8,822 to 12,314, where the number of Orthodox Christians in that period rose from 14,970 to 18,523. Bayrami wrote (as cited in Bandžović, 2001), that the Sarajevo "Justice" 3 April 1925 published an article about the eviction of the Muslims and the great uncertainty that reigned among Muslims in areas that are beyond the Balkan war belonged to Serbia. Blair also noted (as cited in Bandžović, 2001), the list also presented some information published in the press on emigration Belgrade 60 000 people in Turkey, while urging Muslims did not move, because with Turkey has not concluded any agreement on this question. However, no one could stop emigration, and the official policy interpreted this act as a movement of employment and earnings (Bandžović, 2001).

Turkey had experience with disintegration of multinational states, it happened with the Ottoman Empire, and took it to the principle of national programs create ethnically homogeneous national community. This principle is found in places agreements on the exchange of population with countries in the Balkans, where Muslims lived. According to Bandžović (2003) "Turkey in June 1934, passed the colonization, which included the issue of settlement of Muslims from neighboring Balkan states, and in the spirit of this law, Turkey and negotiate with its neighbors.

From 1935 to 1936 the doors were wide opened for Muslims from the Balkans” (p. 191-192). According to Bandžović (as cited in Bandžović, 2003), the negotiations that the Yugoslav government carried out with Turkey about the emigration of Muslims from the “Southern Serbia”, they fit in the Balkan interstate negotiation. In Athens on 9 February 1934, Balkan alliance between Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece and Romania was concluded in order to maintain the newly established territorial order in the Balkans before the revisionist demands states defeated in World War I, primarily Bulgaria, who was standing behind Germany. According to Imamovic (as cited in Bandžović, 2003), in the framework of this agreement and started negotiations about the emigration of Muslims, with certain financial compensation. According to Bandžović (2003), “The Yugoslav - Turkish negotiations resulted in the initialing of the Convention on 11 July 1938, which, as previously stated, the planned migration of 40,000 families with 200,000 members in the next five years” (p. 193). World War II hindered the realization of emigration from Yugoslavia to Turkey, but the process continued after the end of World War II (Bandžović, 1998).

4.3.b Migration during the post World War II era

There has been great hopelessness in the regions in which Muslims lived, the authorities treated the Muslim tradition and culture cruelly, especially action and ways of confiscations, removing veils, and the undoubted propaganda to go to Turkey had great repercussions (Bandžović, 1998). As the Belgrade newspaper Borba writes (as cited in Bandžović, 1998), Gentleman's Agreement between Yugoslavia and Turkey in 1954, initiated by the Yugoslav government in 1951 still has paved the way for the emigration of Bosniaks, Albanians and Turks to Turkey. Muslims, especially from Sandzak and Kosovo, Albanians from Macedonia began to mass themselves as Turks to help them get the necessary documents for the trip to Turkey (Bandžović, 1998). In

Yugoslavia between the 1948 and 1953 number of those persons who identified themselves as Turks, in order to enable easier migration, increased by two and a half times. So in a list dated 1948, it was 97 954, and in 1953 this number rose to 259 537. In Macedonia, their number increased by twice, and in Kosovo 26 times, while in Serbia, their number increased 36 times. According to data from the Council for the issue of immigrants, Isaković writes (as cited in Bandžović, 1998), in the period from 1953 to 1957: 195,000 people emigrated to Turkey, mostly from Macedonia, Kosovo, Sandzak and a small part of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is very difficult to figure out the exact number of Bosniaks who have emigrated to Turkey because of the lack of credible sources. Bandžović (1998) writes that “according to the official results of the Turkish statistics, a list dated 1965 in this country was 240,469 immigrants who were originally from Yugoslavia, of which only 21,143 spoke Bosnian language” (p. 143). Bandžović (1998) also writes that “according to data from the Turkish Statistical sources in this country between the 1946 and 1968, Turkey received 41,950 families with 159,030 members” (p.143). According to Altan Deliorman (as cited in Bandžović, 1998), in 1973 from Yugoslavia to Turkey 200,000 people have been displaced. However Geray Cevat (as cited in Bandžović, 1998) cites figures from 283,000 to 500,000 immigrants from Yugoslavia.

According to Bandžović (1998) document and research pertaining to scientists locate the following towns and villages a place of living:

- Cities: Istanbul, Ankara, Edirne, Bursa, Izmir, Adapazari, Adana, Eskisehir, Manisa, Konya, Izmit, Jalova etc.
- Kasabs : Biga, Erdek, Karamürsel, Inegel, Seke, Burhanija, Urla, Aydin, Biledzik, Arifi, Cilicia, Kjutahija, Durgutlu, Cankale, Denizli, Mugla, Ceyhan, Havsa, Kesan, Gelibolu, Kusadasi, Ajvalik, Jenişehir, Balikesir, Betgama, Efes, Kalabaka, Kirkkale, Sindzan, Argipli, Maras, Cankırı etc.
- Villages : Domac, Gelebič, Juran, Jenikej, Kalafat (Bosnia kay), Jazlik, Haramani, Behčekay, Čamaldza, Demirkay, Čataptepe, Balikli, Pejrazli, Pasalimani, Gemeče, Kujinajet, Olukli, Karabunar, Hajrije, Ihsanije, Samatli, Tesorgan, Ajazma, Tahatlje,

Ordekay, Soltan, Dzine, Tuzla, Keškımaden, Heimanns, Bejpazar, Halilhan, Ajose, Stanos, Kukurcesma, Selidzuk, HalilBeji. (p. 144)

Bandžović (1998) argues that those families who are immigrants to the agreement of Yugoslavia and Turkey had to give up from Yugoslavian citizenship, when they arrived in Turkey they had to change the surname and be sure that it ends in “IC”, or take a new last name in Turkish. More families for new surnames taken full or abbreviated names of cities, towns and villages from which they came: Akova – Bijelo Polje and similar (Bandžović, 1998).

In support of this we can take an example the participants of interview, who at my question: Have you chosen a Turkish surname or the government of Turkey did the selection and how did that process of taking the last name, responds with:

- When documents were ready, my grandfather was asked which surname he wanted, and in that way they carried out the selection of names.

Within Yugoslavia was officially constantly interpreted to mass immigrant movements of the Bosniak population to Turkey were from the economic, religious and cultural reasons, while on the right the political police and other pressures such reasons, much less talk (Bandžović, 2001). France's Simon Weil (as cited in Bandžović, 2001), in her study “The need for roots” clearly showed that racial and ethnic projects, which lead to the mass exile, basically aimed at crushing people, the human soul. She said that the needs of the soul, its rights, are inseparable from the idea of existence. There is not only human life as such; it always involves a certain framework that would make sense. Exile is one of the most powerful ways to abolish the box and broken man, how Weil states (as cited in Bandžović, 2001), to be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognized need of the human soul. Bandžović (2001) argues that taboo emigration to Turkey, despite its appeal of an essential nature and, not long been in the center of attention and

the right scientific and comprehensive motives which influenced the migration, given the high cost with political and social circumstances, not be could talk. He says that when they started on almost shyly write then did not follow the continuity of emigration, nor its inclusion of a wider area, especially the mainstream and the fate of immigrants in Turkey. According to (Bandžović, 2001) “in scientific circles, under the influence of organized forgetting technology and minimization of these topics, however, were absent more comprehensive, analytical study of this subject, devoid of fear of the impact of policy” (p. 224). In addition to a large demographic decline of the people they are meant also to a large extent and change the spirit and culture of towns and villages in which they once lived and their definitive departure, modeled on the methods and experiences of earlier times, were subjected to systematic canceling trace their rich, many centuries of material and spiritual culture, actually definitely losing numerous monuments and testimonies of its turbulent past and tradition (Bandžović, 2001). So this emigration will remain as one of the bleak and the obvious evidence of the brutal repetition of history.

4.4 Migration, ‘migrant’, ‘transmigrant’

Migrations are constant companions of ethnical, political, cultural and economic evolution of mankind. According to Koser (2007), “migration has been a constant and influential feature of human history. It has supported the growth of the world economy; contributed to the evolution of states and societies, and enriched many cultures and civilizations”(p. 10). Migrations are being researched a lot in developed countries, but in spite of that, there still isn’t a commonly accepted definition of the term.

According to the definition of International organization for migration, migration is

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. (IOM, 2011)

According to UN “international migration is a global phenomenon that is growing in scope, complexity and impact. Migration is both a cause and effect of broader development processes and an intrinsic feature of our ever globalizing world” Retrieved from

<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/theme/international-migration/index.shtml>

According to Kearney, and Rouse (as cited in Schiller et al. 1995), migration is one of the important means through which borders and boundaries are being contested and transgressed (p. 50). As Koser (2007) writes “there are more international migrants today than ever before, and their number is certain to increase for the foreseeable future”. He noted that “migration is inextricably linked with other important global issues, including development, poverty, and human rights” (Koser, 2007, p.1). He also argues that “migrants are often the most entrepreneurial and dynamic members of society; historically migration has underpinned economic growth and nation-building and enriched cultures” (Koser, 2007, p.1). According to Handlin (as cited in Bash et al. 1994), the word “immigrant” evokes images of permanent rupture, of the abandonment of old patterns of life and the painful learning of a new culture and often a new language.

According to Bash, Schiller, and Blanc (1994),

The popular image of immigrant is one of people who have come to stay, having uprooted themselves from their old society in order to make for themselves a new home and adopt a new country to which they will pledge allegiance. (p. 4)

On the other hand “Migrants are conceived of as transients who have come only to work; their stay is temporary and eventually they will return home or move on” (Bash et al. 1994, p. 4).

They noted that “immigrant and migrant, anchored in the circumstances of earlier historic moments, no longer suffice” (Bash et al. 1994, p. 4). According to Bash et al. (1994), “today,

immigrants develop networks, activities, patterns of living, and ideologies that span their home and the host society” (p.4). In addition to these terms, Bash et al. (1994) provide more terms and definitions which can help us to understand the migration process, and migrants’ life. According to Georges 1990, Kearney 1991a, and Sutton 1992a (as cited in Bash et al. 1994, p. 4), consequently, increasing numbers of social scientists have begun calling the emergent migration process in which people live lives stretched across national borders “transnational”. Bash, Schiller, and Blanc (1994) argues that “the term is often used loosely and without specificity” (p. 4). Bash et al. (1994) define “transnationalism” “as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (p. 8). They noted “we call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders” (Bash et al. 1994, p. 8). According to them “immigrants who develop and maintain multiple relationships—familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political—that span borders we call transmigrants” (Bash et al. 1994, p. 8). They noted that “transmigrants use the term “home” for their society of origin, even when they clearly have also made a home in their country of settlement” (Bash et al. 1994, p. 8). Bash et al. (1994) argues that “the migration literature describes the country of settlement as the “host,” but such a term, though compact and convenient, carries the often unwarranted connotations that the immigrant is both “welcome” and a visitor” (p. 8). According to Bash et al. (1994), “transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and develop subjectivities and identities embedded in networks of relationships that connect them simultaneously to two or more nation-states” (p. 8). According to Koser (2007) “answer on the question ‘Who is a migrant?’ is very straightforward: most countries have adopted the UN definition of someone living outside their own country for a year or more” (p. 16).

4.4.a Types of Migration

According to Castles(2002) “three types of primary migration have been most common: permanent settlement migration, temporary labor migration and refugee movement” (p. 1151). Castles (2002) found that “highly-skilled migration is the type of migration currently most popular with governments of receiving countries” (p. 1151). Koser (2007) classified highly skilled migrants as “a growing proportion of people who move for largely economic reasons” (p. 18). Koser (2007) writes that “often their movement is facilitated by selective visa systems that allocate points according to the education and qualifications of the applicant” (p. 18).Except highly-skilled migration Castles (2002) outline other types of migration. According to him “low-skilled migration was crucial to post- 1945 industrial growth in most rich countries, but is now generally rejected on the grounds that it is economically unnecessary and socially harmful” (Castles, 2002, p. 1152). He noted that “forced migration is a broader term which fits better with current realities than the old notion of the individually persecuted refugee as laid down in the 1951 Geneva Convention” (Castles, 2002, p. 1152).He concluded that “all the above forms of migration continue to lead to family reunion”(Castles, 2002, p. 1152).

Koser (2007) argues that “there are three main ways that international migrants are normally categorized. A common distinction, first of all, is between ‘voluntary’ and ‘forced’ migrants” (p. 16).According to him “second distinction that is often made is between people who move for political reasons and those who move for economic reasons” (Koser, 2007, p.17). And how he stated: “the final main distinction is between legal and ‘illegal’ migrants” (Koser, 2007, p.17).

The demographic map of the Balkans was hugely impacted by migrations. One of the most important features of the history of Bosniaks in the Balkans are migrations. Migration of Bosniak people from new parts of Serbia and Montenegro to Turkey began intensively after 1912. The

process of emigration continued in the interwar period, as well as in the period after World War II, particularly from Sanjak. According to Bandžović (1998) process of mass emigration to Turkey lasted until the 1970'. This process coincided with the emigration of Turks and Albanians from Macedonia to Turkey. Koser (2007) argues that “most voluntary migrants are also economic migrants, and many forced migrants are political migrants or refugees” (p. 16). I think that the Bosniak migrants can be labeled only as political migrants or forced migrants. Yugoslavia officially constantly mentioned that the reasons for mass migration movements of the Bosniak population to Turkey were economic, religious and cultural reasons, while there was much less talk about the real reasons, political and others (Bandžović, 2001).

4.4.b Migration and new forms of communication

The letter was once the main form of communication. Several months would pass before the letter reached its destination. Dekker et al. (2012) noted that “Early migrants kept in touch with family and friends in their place of origin by sending letters and packages by mail” (p. 4). After that, phones sped up and improved the communication. According to Dekker et al. (2012), “more recently, scholars (Vertovec 2004; Horst 2006) have described how the boom in cheap international telephone calls served as social glue connecting migrants and non-migrants all over the world” (p. 4).

The same happened with the usage of communication tools by Bosniak migrants. Some of the examples can be seen in the following extracts from the interviews.

“Mostly, we traveled to our homeland, and only then we communicated (B4diaspora).”

“We have relatives who remained in Pljevlja, we often go to visit them. Besides that we communicated mainly by telephone (B6diaspora).”

“My father communicated through letters and after the 1980s over the phone, with the advent of Internet the communication is improving even more. With Facebook and email we can communicate at any time and place (B1diaspora).”

“Yes, of course. We communicated by phone, but we’d have to go to the city, because for a long time we didn’t have our own phone. But today it’s different. Our children turn on that computer thing, and we can talk to anybody. But now that we have the technical possibility, we don’t have the person to talk to, somebody is dead, someone doesn’t want to talk, and everybody is becoming distant (FEM2diaspora)”

Like we saw in the interviews, before the advent of the Internet in the homes of Bosniaks, some of the ways of communicating with people from their homeland were: going to the homeland, sending letters, and later the phone also made their communication easier. When Internet was introduced, we can say what one of the interviewees said “Now the whole world is on the palm of one’s hand”. Once upon a time, delivery of letters took several months, but now using email or SMS, messages are delivered in seconds. Moreover, today we also have Skype, social media and many other modern technologies that make it easier for migrants to communicate, not to mention that these technologies are even cheaper. Dekker et al. (2012) argued that “The internet initially provided the possibilities of email, VoIP (voice over Internet Protocol) calls and instant messaging. These ways of communication digitalized earlier forms of communication, making it more synchronous, less expensive, more frequent and more media rich” (p. 6). According to Mahler (as cited in Dekker et al. 2012), “this revolution in information and communication technology (ICT) is of particular significance for migrants and non-migrants who live geographically dispersed but often remain connected through transnational networks” (p. 4). Koser (2007) argued that “a

revolution in communications has facilitated growing awareness of disparities and opportunities for would-be migrants” (p.28). According to him communication and transportation revolutions“ has facilitated increasing global linkages and, in effect, reduced the distance between different parts of the world. It is relevant to migration for two reasons. First, it makes people aware of disparities, of what life is like in other parts of the world. Second, it makes people aware of opportunities to move and to work abroad” (Koser, 2007, pp. 33-34).According to Dekker et al. (2012), “in migration studies, literature is emerging that addresses possible consequences of internet use for migration processes (Hiller and Franz 2004; Adams Parham 2004; Van den Bos and Nell 2006; Diminescu 2008; Ros 2010; Komito 2011)” (p. 4).

Social media play a special role among migrants, i.e. for migrants. According to Ellison et al. (as cited in Dekker et al. 2012), “via social media, people can look up people with whom they have lost contact and reconnect with them” (p.6). Social media are open for all, and we can also say that they create a sort of a public sphere (Dekker et al. 2012). Information travels rapidly through social media, they offer the latest news, and often news through them travel faster than through mass media. According to Held et al. (as cited in Dekker et al. 2012) through social media information “spreads very rapidly and offers the latest news” (p. 7). It’s also important to note that through social media information is not controlled, it circulates very rapidly, and they can be one of the ways to resist dominant structures, such as the increasingly restrictive immigration regimes of advanced societies (Dekker et al. 2012). According to Dekker et al. (2012), “in the case of migrant networks, for example, information on upcoming rounds of legalization, availability of informal jobs and accommodation, or illegal ways of crossing borders can spread very quickly, thus affecting migrants’ migration strategies” (p. 7). According to him “social media can therefore be expected not only to strengthen people’s ability to migrate, but also to

feed their aspiration to migrate” (Dekker et al. 2012, p. 7). On the other hand, migrants can bump into unrealistic and incorrect information over social media. (Dekker et al. 2012). According to Dekker et al. (2012), “social media may manipulate migrants by offering jobs or partners that turn out to not be there, or to be very different than expected” (p. 7). Of course, social media can have some restrictions, “especially for those who have limited access to the internet or for those who are misled by false information” (Dekker et al. 2012, p. 7). However, according to Dekker et al. (2012), “social media may strengthen the bonding and bridging capital of migrants, as well as their information position. This may lower the threshold to migrate and it may strengthen a migrant’s ability to cope successfully with the adversities of migration” (p. 7). About influence of new communication channels on the migration process Castles (2002) writes that “new developments in information and transport technology increase the volume of temporary, repeated and circulatory migration” (p. 1146). He noted that “increasing numbers of migrants orient their lives to two or more societies and develop transnational communities and consciousness”(Castles, 2002, p. 1146). Castles (2002) claims that “such trends are linked to the increasing strength of informal networks as a mode of communication and organization which transcends national borders” (pp. 1146-1147). In the next chapter we’ll see how do new information and communication technologies (ICT) affect diaspora, i.e. how new media affect diaspora.

4.5 The impact of new media on Diaspora

New media are helping us to fully satisfy our imagination and desire for new information.

Livignstone (2009) argues that “no part of the world, no human activity, is untouched by the new media” (p. 3).

Kissau and Hunger (as cited in Bauböck&Faist, 2010) mention the huge impact of the Internet on modern diasporas:

A new rise in diaspora activities and changing dynamics in the role in politics played by migrant groups abroad since the development of the internet show that processes and contacts between dispersed groups (in different countries) are now enabled to a degree not previously possible (p. 246).

And also Kissau and Hunger (as cited in Bauböck & Faist, 2010) noted how the Internet has become central to the following life dimensions

1) ‘Diasporic communities have always relied on networks, which expanded from the immediate local to the transnational and global’ (Georgiou 2002: 3). The internet is now the central framework for such networks, so that observing online structures can provide insights into diasporic community characteristics. When the influence of migrant groups is investigated, it becomes obvious that main avenues are found in their cooperation with NGOs and third political parties, the construction of new (alternative) political identities, discourse within transnational space and fundraising and campaigning for action (Adamson 2001: 160). For all these influential activities, the internet is a significant instrument – if not the central instrument– used by diaspora groups.

2) The construction of a shared imagination is also crucial to sustaining migrant communities. Central herein is inter-group communication behaviour, which promotes identification and goal attainment. Today, internet platforms play a key role in this process as they further the retention or reawakening of identities and imagined homelands. As Georgiou put it: The Internet has allowed most of these communities to discover and rediscover this shared imagination and commonality; it has taken even further the potentials for developing diasporic cultures of mediated, transnational and partly free from state control communication. (2002: 3)

3) Though ICTs alone do not create a community, they enable the communication that is essential between its members.

4) Meanwhile, the internet has also taken up a central function in many migrants’ day-to-day lives (forums, email, online chat, weblogs, private homepages, ethno-portals, etc.). The implicitness of ICT in migrants’ lives is equivalent to the use of the technology by non-migrant citizens. It can be stated that, in general, most migrants use the internet as often as everyone else does and for the same reasons (information, communication and recreation). Newer studies show that the percentage of internet use by migrants is increasing steadily, as is their competence of the internet itself (see (N)Onliner Atlas 2008).

5) Diaspora and transnational communities form bridges between host and home countries. In analysing these bridges, the internet can be used as a device, as these connections mainly consist of communicative relationships sustained, to a large degree, with the help of ICT. The internet’s significance for this purpose can be understood when we keep in mind that the situation of exile and dispersal is constituted by a specific

communication problem (Scherer & Behmer 2000: 283). This issue has, to a large degree, been resolved with the rise of ICTs (the internet, mobile phones, etc.). Therefore, analysis of internet sites, their uses and thus emerging communication paths can add to the understanding of migrants' bridging behaviour, as well as the differences and similarities within and between transnational communities and diaspora.

6) Apart from this, the internet as a meeting point – for private and public as well as personal and communal – reflects different levels of migrant interaction. Online platforms are used for personal discussions between friends, the organisation of community activities or the publication of alternative information about the home country's or diaspora's situation. Through this information about the general public as well as about other migrant community members, 'dispersed Diasporas gain political and community visibility' (Georgiou 2002: 2). By obtaining access to the public sphere as it exists online, topics can be kept on the public agenda in the host country or beyond. This might well be the most relevant possible influence of diaspora groups. Again, this aspect can be analysed by monitoring the internet, as it is increasingly becoming central for the public sphere. While the offline public sphere is dominated by mass media, the internet highlights private, non-governmental actors, such as migrant groups and organisations.

7) Last but not least, a vast number of resources are available on the internet about the history of individual migrant movements as they themselves, their host country and country of origin see it. The study of these resources is basic and central to understanding migrant groups' behaviour and their orientation towards both countries.

(p. 246-248)

Tsagarousianou (2004) also describes diaspora in this way “diaspora can refer to constellations of economic, technological, cultural and ideological and communication flows and networks”

(p.61).

In Warren's (2011) opinion

“moving forward now, with the coming of the Internet and email, it was recognized quite quickly that diasporas were no longer so isolated as they once were upon leaving their homelands behind, with the result that the common characteristics previously associated with them no longer became manifest. As an alternative, theorizations of diaspora shifted, considering them now as, in many cases, extensions of the homeland, feeding on and back into the home country / culture in a variety of ways.” (p. 6)

According to Anyanwu (as cited in Warren, 2011)

...new media technologies have redefined diaspora, and how diasporic citizens have used such technologies to reconnect with their homelands, as well as help bring to world attention issues confronting developing nations ... Through efficient communication systems and networks, distances have disappeared and homeland has suddenly come into

the living room. (p. 6)

According to Benitez (as cited in Warren, 2011),

the phenomenon of the digital divide among diasporic or transmigrant communities implies not only disparities of income level, gender, ethnicity, education, language, generation and geographical location, but also the social distribution of knowledge, power and network capacity in the information society. (p. 10)

The digital network has improved relationships and communication between people and strengthen their relationships and connections “...digital networks allow us to reconnect to the space in which our identities were formed, and to comfort ourselves with the awareness that these routines are stable” (Salvaggio, 2014, p.8).

According to Roza Tsagarousianou (2004),

There should be no doubt that ‘diasporic media’ is a term that refers to a considerable and highly diverse array of organizations, practices and settings where diasporic narratives are constructed. It is also beyond question that these differ considerably in terms of their degree of institutionalization, durability and accessibility as well as their popularity, and as to the degree of their involvement in the reproduction of official or plebeian/demotic discourses. (pp. 61-62)

Her another conclusion about diasporic media is

diasporic media can effectively provide the raw material for, and facilitate the construction of common experiential frames among their audiences thus being in a position to play a crucial role in processes of social group integration and identification as well as of legitimation/delegitimation of relations of power and social hierarchies. (Tsagarousianou, 2004, p. 63)

According to Nan(2011),

the global mobility in the digital world compensates the difficulty of being here and there at the same time in the physical world. In other words, life in the digital diaspora allows them to switch between multiple identifies and to enact whatever identity they feel like to be.' (p. 4)

Nan(2011) also noted that “digital diaspora offers opportunities to overcome the marginalized minority position by connecting them at a much larger scale and by transforming their problem

into that of the diasporic subjects in general” (p. 8).

In his book 'The media of diaspora', Karim H. Karim writes that “diasporic websites are assembling global directories of individuals, community institutions and businesses owned by members of diasporas” (2003, pp. 13-14).

He argues that

the linking together of diasporas with broader groups on the Net concerned with particular issues such as human rights, the environment, and development would help to harness the connections and energies devoted to distinct purposes into common fronts which would form, dissolve, and reappear in varying configurations responding to specific contingencies. (2003, p. 14)

Antoni Alonso and Pedro J. Oiarzabal argued that

digital diaspora is an immigrant group or descendant of an immigrant population that uses its connectivity to participate in virtual networks of contacts for a variety of political, economic, social, religious, and communicational purposes that, for the most part, may concern either the homeland, the host land, or both, including its own trajectory abroad. (2010, p. 50)

There is a big importance of digital diaspora in everyday life. For example some of the beneficial aspects of digitalization that benefit diasporic communities is that “the same community may experience both aspects at the same time, or may experience one aspect at one time and the other at another time” (Antoni Alonso and Pedro J. Oiarzabal, 2010, p. 55).

According to Moerbeek and Timmermans (2011)

through online platforms people of similar ethnic descent meet each other and share experiences. Altogether, migrants or people with migrant backgrounds can benefit enormously from possibilities social media offer. (p. 2)

By virtual diaspora Laguerre (2002) means

the use of cyberspace by immigrants or descendants of an immigrant group for the purpose of participating or engaging in online interactional transactions. Such virtual interaction can be with members of the diasporic group living in the same foreign country or in other countries, with individuals or entities in the homeland, or with nonmembers of the group in the hostland and elsewhere. (para. 2)

Laguette (2002) argued that virtual diaspora and real diaspora “is not a separate entity but rather a pole of continuum.” (para. 2)

Karim, Smeltzer and Loucheur (as cited in Karim 1998) noted “as opposed to the broadcast model of communication which, apart from offering little access to minority groups, is linear, hierarchical, and capital intensive, on-line media allow easier access and are non-linear, largely non-hierarchical, and relatively cheap” (p. 12).

Crush, Eberhardt, Chikanda, Pendelton, and Hill (2011) noted that

online communication has become particularly valuable to transnational and diasporic communities as it creates a meeting place of the private and the public, the interpersonal and the communal. In and through the internet, diasporic communities have developed a space of (global) commons, a sense of ‘imagined community’ across borders. (p. 6)

One more important thing about social media offer “through online platforms people of similar ethnic descent meet each other and share experiences. Altogether, migrants or people with migrant backgrounds can benefit enormously from possibilities social media offer” (Moerbeek and Timmermans, 2011, p. 2).

Importance of the media in the Diaspora is priceless “...media technologies and diasporic media crucial factors in the reproduction and transformation of diasporic identities, and of diasporas in general” (Tsagarousianou, 2004, p. 61).

In conclusion, “the ability to exchange messages with individuals on the other side of the planet and to have access to community information almost instantaneously changes the dynamics of diaspora, allowing for qualitatively and quantitatively enhanced linkages” (Karim, 1998, p. 12)

CHAPTER 5 BOSNIAKS IN TURKEY

5.1 Traditions and customs for Bosniaks in Turkey

Some say that there are more Bosniaks in Turkey than in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Sanjak combined. Their love for their country is huge (maybe bigger than those who live in Bosnia, Montenegro, and Sanjak), even if majority of them were never there. They are called Bosniaks, regardless of when they went to Turkey, and their Bosnian is mostly fluent.

According to the information from Montenegro embassy in Turkey, until today there are not any figures about whole number of Bosniaks from Montenegro, Sanjak that live in Turkey.

According to estimates, there are about 250,000 Bosniaks who have settled in Turkey and immigrated from Montenegro, Sanjak between the Berlin Congress in 1878 until the 1990s.

Some researchers talk about the figure of 500,000, maybe it looks like a big number, but that figure is not easy to determine because in some cases there are 5 generations that lived in Turkey. However, if we add together the Bosniaks from Sanjak and Bosniaks from Bosnia, then Bosniaks in Turkey reach 4-6 million. This means that there are more Bosniaks in Turkey than in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Sanjak. If we compare the data from the embassy and from one of the participants of the interview, we will see that these data are quite similar.

DEMIR: In which settlements in Izmir, Istanbul, and Ankara the most Bosniaks live?

“The most Bosniaks in Izmir live in the settlement of Bornova. There are about 70,000 - 80,000 Bosniaks, while the entire Izmir has about 200 to 250,000 Bosniaks (B1 diaspora).”

“I think there is most in Bayrampasa, but I do not know how many of them (B7 diaspora).”

Are they only Bosniaks from Montenegro and Sanjak or from Bosnia and Herzegovina?

“A larger percentage of Bosniaks from Montenegro and Sanjak, about 90 % , while 10 % comes from Bosnia and Herzegovina(B1diaspora).”

“We, Bosniaks from Sanjak, we are kings in Turkey, but also there are brothers from Bosnia (B7diaspora).”

DEMIR: Do you have information about other cities in Turkey, which have the most Bosniaks and how many?

“Most of them live in Istanbul, about 1 000 000 (B1diaspora).”

“Of course most of them live in my lovely city, in Istanbul (B7diaspora).”

What is the total number of Bosniaks in Turkey?

“I think around 4-5 000.000 Bosniaks from Montenegro, Sanjak and Bosnia and Herzegovina (B1diaspora).”

“Maybe, 3-4 000.000, I am not sure (B7diaspora).”

According to the information from Montenegro embassy in Turkey Bosniaks live everywhere : Istanbul (EMINONU , Sefakoy , Pendik), Izmir (Alacati , Urla , Camdibi , Altindag , Bornova), Adana , Bursa (Karadžabey) , Balikesir (Burhaniye, Kucukkoy , Sarimsakli , Ayvalik), Kodžaeli (Karamürsel) , Adapazari , Ankara(village Fevziye) , Sivas , Kayseri , etc. Some of successful Bosniak individuals are: Šarik Tara (from Niksic), owner and founder of ENKA Holding, and he is among the top 10 wealthiest individuals in Turkey, and MetinOzbek(from BijeloPolje-family Hasanbegovic) who is secretary general in General Board in Ankara. There are a lot of those who do some business, representative like Ayse Akova from Burhaniye(deputy in TBMM in the party CHP) , her brother Fikret Akova was president in Burhaniye for two terms, Burhaniye is fraternized with Bijelo Polje , other fraternized cities are Bayrampasa and Rozaje ,Bornova and Bar, and Gaziantep and Cetinje .

As many scholars have argued, language is one of the most important factors of preserving a nation, its traditions and customs (Anderson, 1991; Hobsbawm, 1992; Gellner, 2006). Have the Bosniaks managed to preserve the language for hundred years of residence in Turkey? If so, will the younger generations continue this tradition?

One of the participants of the interview is now 100 years old. According to his words, *“at the beginning of the Balkan war in 1913, Bosniaks from Sanjak have migrated to Turkey. I believe it is very important that we speak the Bosnian language, and it should stay that way (B2diaspora).”*

FEM1diaspora, ninety-five years old, was born in Izmir. *“My parents and my generation speak Bosnian, we did not speak Turkish a lot, until these younger generations (FEM1diaspora).”*

FEM2diaspora is seventy-one years old. She is from Izmir. She says, *“I’m much more likely to speak Bosnian, but my children and grandchildren speak Turkish better. My grandchildren do not even know Bosnian (FEM2diaspora).”*

B3diaspora, seventy-seven years old was born in Izmir. He was engaged in agriculture. He said: *“In our country, the Bosnian language is still used as a mother tongue, only when the Turks come to us, then out of respect to them we speak Turkish. I support young people who study the English and Turkish language, but they must not forget the Bosnian language. There is an old saying: ‘One language is a nation’, knowing three languages, you know all three nations (B3diaspora).”*

“In Istanbul there are three millions Bosniaks. Here they are still speaking Bosnian. (B7diaspora)”

B1diaspora is fifty-five years old. He lives in Bornova, Izmir. When I asked him if the Turkish educational system provides education in the Bosnian language? He said, *“The State does not attempt to solve that question yet. Our association however, provides annual learning of the Bosnian language. But one day, in sha Allah, our country Turkey will give us a chance to learn and teach Bosnian in schools as well (B1diaspora).”*

B5diaspora is twenty-two years old. He is obviously part of the younger generation. He is from Istanbul and he has pretty good knowledge of the Bosnian language, and the overall political situation in the Balkans. B5diaspora says the following *“I love to learn and talk in Bosnian language. I often talk Turkish and I know it better. I would like my children to have a chance in Turkish schools to learn their Bosnian language, and Turkish is our language too. (B5diaspora).”*

FEM3diaspora is twenty-five years old. She is from Istanbul. She has a desire to travel to Bosnia, Montenegro, Sanjak. When it comes to the question of language, she says the following, *“I think the law in Turkey does not offer that option. And I wish I had an opportunity to learn Bosnian in school. I know Bosnian, I learned that from my parents, and if I go in Sanjak, it would make me a little embarrassed to talk because I do not know it well. But, I have a younger brother who is fifteen, and he knows only a couple of words (FEM3diaspora).”*

B7diaspora is thirty-six years old. He is from Istanbul. B7diaspora works in a pharmaceutical company in Istanbul. When asked about language, he says the following, *“I know Bosnian well, I have learned it from my parents. But it is not proper Bosnian. I am sorry that I have not had the opportunity to study Bosnian at school. I hope that my children will have that opportunity. I see*

the children of my relatives do not know Bosnian language, and do not want to learn from us (B7diaspora).”

Based on these interviews, and also on informal conversations I had with many Bosniaks in Turkey, I understood that the Bosnian language in Turkey is dying. Generations that are under 18 years of age know only a few words of Bosnian. Older generations are really trying to change that, different societies are organizing various courses of Bosnian, but these courses are not of very high quality, and young ones cannot be motivated enough with courses of such low quality.

Younger generations are not spending a lot of time with their grandparents, they don't want to hear much about the past, for example stories about Montenegro and Sanjak. In addition to that, there's a huge gap between a great grandparent and a great grandchild, because the great grandparent knows only a few words of Turkish, while the great grandchild knows only a few words of Bosnian, so they cannot talk to one another. However, this example is usually applicable to villages inhabited by Bosniaks. Throughout the interviews one can also come to the conclusion that older generations are very keen on having their children and grandchildren learn Bosnian in schools, and strongly believe that the government will facilitate this. Because, judging by the current situation, it can be assessed that Bosniaks are perhaps discriminated when it comes to the Bosnian language, just for the fact that they don't have any chance to learn in schools, which in turn leads to assimilation of Bosniaks in Turkey. Of course, this assimilation is not good for Bosniaks in Turkey, nor for Turkey itself, as it is on its road to EU, and as it is trying hard to be a democratic state. I believe that the Bosniaks in Turkey, as well as other nations, should be given the opportunity to learn their native languages side by side with

Turkish. Judging by what I've heard from representatives of Bosniak organizations in Turkey, these changes are on the horizon, as right now the constitution and law are going through a process of changing. According to this article from January, and consistent with the proposed law composed of 18 articles, "private educational institutions will be allowed to teach in different languages and dialects, including Bosnian. Alongside Turkish, different languages and dialects will be possible to be used in electoral political campaigns of parties and candidates."

Retrieved from <http://sandzakpress.net/uskoro-ce-preko-2-miliona-bosnjaka-u-turskoj-dobiti-pravo-na-obrazovanje-na-bosanskom-jeziku>

I would argue that something similar should be introduced for state-owned educational institutions, not only private ones as can be seen in the article. Media could help this cause, in the sense of informing the public better about Bosniaks in Turkey, their identity, and also to present to everyone in Turkey the importance of allowing all nations to educate their members in their own language, which would in turn lead to an increasingly democratized, and perhaps even speed up Turkey's march to EU.

In addition to the interviews I have conducted with the members of the Bosniak diaspora in Turkey, I have also had the chance to analyze a number of visual texts that I have acquired from the Internet. All these visual texts are actually bits and pieces from documentary programs shot by TV stations such as Al Jazeera and RTVnp. I would argue that these short video clips that are readily available on YouTube are important within the context of this research because they provide detailed insights into the daily cultural lives of Bosniaks in Turkey. I should like to note here that, when analyzing these videos, I will refer to the text through a first person perspective.

The first of these video clips was shot by RTVnp and story takes place in a central street in Pendik (Rtvnp, 2011, 0-1.30). The street is named after the famous Ottoman architect Mimar Sinan (Rtvnp, 2011, 0-1.30). This street has a great significance for Sanjak, because it contains large “a la Sanjak” supermarkets, restaurants, some of the most famous are "Sanjak " and restaurant "Jadran" which offer Sanjak dry meat that Turks love to consume (Rtvnp, 2011, 0-1.30). There is also a bus station with a direct line to the cities of Sanjak. The atmosphere is similar to Novi Pazar, we have cafés, Lipa, cevapi (a tasty meal made from meat) smell, you can hear the letters T and LJ, we drink coffee not tea (Rtvnp, 2011, 0-1.30).

Here we can note that Bosniaks are, in a way, creating their own quarters, bringing names from their homeland, practicing their own customs, such as drinking coffee instead of tea, or preparing meals from their homeland. We also see that there is a direct bus line between this place and Sanjak. All of this means that they have a very strong longing for their place of descent, for homeland, but nevertheless they don't want to leave their other “homeland”, Turkey.

At one Sanjak wedding we've done an interview with a couple of Bosniaks living in Turkey. When it comes to the wedding itself, we can conclude that not much has changed in the tradition of Bosniaks in Turkey, they still listen the music from Sanjak, play the traditional dance and wear traditional clothes (Rtvnp, 2011,1.30-9.36). They said that they strictly respect their customs, and they do not want to change them (Rtvnp, 2011, 1.30-9.36). The only drawback is that they are separated from their relatives who remained to live in Sanjak, though they often visit them (Rtvnp, 2011, 1.30-9.36). At the wedding, we met one of the founders of the Association for solidarity and culture "United Sanjak" in Pendik (Rtvnp, 2011, 1.30-9.36). Association in Pendik began six months ago with a course of the Bosnian language, which was

attended by about 250 young people (Rtvnp, 2011, 1.30-9.36). Their goal is to keep fervently what they have brought in Turkey, and continue practicing (Rtvnp, 2011, 1.30-9.36).

From all of the above, it can be seen that they are organizing joint gatherings, and wearing their traditional clothing there, listening to their own music etc. Also, in the last sentence the speaker says that the goal of Bosniaks is to selfishly preserve their tradition and customs. I think that they should be keeping their tradition for themselves, but not selfishly, rather they should share it with Turks and other people. Still, I'd state here my opinion that Bosniak and Turkish customs are very similar, sometimes even identical. This is an opinion held by many Bosniaks throughout the world, as well as by the Bosniak from the interview.

“By comparing ours and Turkish customs, ours and Turkish language, every day I'm acknowledging more and more that we are like only one nation (B6diaspora).” It can also be argued that it's nice that such gatherings are taking place, because this might lead to their grandchildren increasing their knowledge about homeland and their parents' customs... And in this video there's the mention of their fight and desire to preserve the language, as well as in the interviews that I've done which is an indicator that they are conscious of the significance of preserving their native language.

Thirty kilometers from Ankara, there are several villages populated by those whose ancestors are from Bosnia and Herzegovina and other parts of the Balkans and who began to leave after the departure of the Ottomans. 'Al Jazeera visited the Bosniak village Fevziye.

Huso, Jemo and Hasan list Bosniak immigrants' surnames in the village Fevziye, which there are almost 2000 (Al Jazeera, 2013, 0-3.26). Their ancestors settled in this region, 130 years after departure of the Ottoman Empire and the arrival of the Austro Hungarian Empire in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Al Jazeera, 2013, 0-3.26). In that village the only spoken language is Bosnian, said

the 73 years old Shakir Malohojich, whose grandfather immigrated from the Herzegovinian town of Stolac, his mother for her 95 years of life did not even try to learn Turkish language (Al Jazeera, 2013 0-3.26). Their ancestors left all in pursuit of safety (Al Jazeera, 2013, 0-3.26). They have left them one thing in "behest" (promise to do something) that was the characteristic and personality of people from the old homeland: "Wherever you are, be right, healthy and happy (Al Jazeera, 2013, 0-3.26). "Twenty-two years old Gurkan Biscak, fifth generation of immigrants originating from Bihac, Bijeljina. His knowledge of Bosnian language is very good.

Local residents still practice marriages only among Bosniaks (Al Jazeera, 2013, 0-3.26). Officially, they have Turkish surnames but younger generations sometimes have a Turkish name too, but it is important that they have kept Bosniak characteristics, how they say. (Al Jazeera, 2013, 0-3.26).

Here we can see the beauty of a multicultural society on one hand, through the story of children taking Turkish names. On the other hand, we see certain closedness towards the different other, just from the fact that they intermarry only with other Bosniaks. However, it would be strange that all Bosniaks are thinking same or similarly. Here's an example interviewee:

"I'm married with a Turkish lady. We have four healthy children, some have Bosniak names, some Bosniak, and some Arabic (laughter). Before marriage, but especially in marriage I understood how similar are Bosniak and Turkish people. And we have a lot more in common than we have differences (B7diaspora).

5.2 Bosniaks, Turks, or?

All participants in the interviews identified themselves as Bosniaks, Bosniak-Turks, or Turk-Bosniaks. None of the respondents declared themselves as Montenegrin. Below are some of the statements.

DEMIR: What is your nationality here, in Turkey, do you feel like: Montenegrin, Bosniak or Turk and what suits you best?

“I would say Alhamdulillah, we are Bosniaks but we feel like Turks, the two cannot be separated because we have lived here together 600 years, and that is why our customs and characters are very similar (B1diaspora).”

Fem4diaspora is 23 years old. She is from Ankara. *“I’m proud of that I am Bosniak. I cannot be Montenegrin, because I am not Orthodox. However, when I go outside Turkey, I say that I am Turk. So, it is nice to feel as a Turk and a Bosniak (FEM4diaspora).*

B4diaspora is sixty one years old. He is from Ankara. *“As a representative of one of our Bosniak associations, I can proudly tell that I am a Bosniak anytime, anywhere. But I do not mind even if someone thinks that I am Turk. However, if I get into a deeper conversation with those who think that I am a Turk, then I always explain my true origin (B4diaspora).”*

B6diaspora is thirty six year old. He is from Ankara. *“I am a Turk, at the same time I am Bosniak. My parents were born in Sanjak, but I was born here. But I do not divide people by nationality. Nor was it so important to me. (B6diaspora).”*

Bosniaks live in all structures, but it is important to note that most of them pointed out that the word Bosniak is mentioned only when the society in which they are is educated, because in Turkey in the first place is their flag and language, and then you can say you are Bosniak. In most cases, all successful people said that wherever they say they are native Bosniaks, they have the privilege, and they feel loved and respected.

It is interesting that we cannot find a lot of information and videos in Bosnian language about the life of Bosniaks in Turkey. This could mean that the media in Bosnia, Montenegro, Sanjak, is not interested enough about them, or that the Bosniaks in Turkey do not use enough advantages of YouTube for presenting their culture. My opinion is that the older generation wanted to present that, I concluded that from interviews with participants in the interview, but the younger generation are not interested to help them do so, because the younger generation does not want to present the culture and tradition of their parents. I say 'their parents', perhaps because these young people are not sure what they want to take as their own culture, the culture of their parents, or culture and tradition of the country where they were born. In the end, they already have both, and they will stand out more clearly in the foreground, but it depends on some other factors. They know very little Bosnian language, would love to learn, but in most cases they just stop at that level – “would love to learn”. Interviews that I did extensively with some of these young people were in Bosnian, English and a little bit in Turkish. Their fathers or older friends were engaged to help, and that we translated some words from Turkish into Bosnian. In the end, I think that Bosniaks still keep their culture and tradition in Turkey, however they do not present it enough through the media. Basically, they should present their tradition to others who are not the same as them in a very nice, wise manner, as they have been taught by generations before them. It is clear that the entire Bosniak diaspora must be active.

5.3 Students from Montenegro and Sanjak in Turkey

Are the students from Montenegro the future diaspora of Sanjak in Turkey? Will they apply the knowledge they acquired in Turkey, or will they apply it where they came from? Do they now

run away from a certain type of covered, masqueraded assimilation and discrimination? Or they came to Turkey to strengthen intellectually, spiritually, and in every other way, so that they could return to their homeland Montenegro, their Sanjak, in order to fight for a better future with other nations, where everyone will be equal? How much do new types of media help them in having a higher quality and more orderly communication with their relatives and friends? How much are new media important for developing, strengthening and connecting the students from Montenegro and Sanjak in Turkey? Do the students, this potential diaspora, have some contacts with the current, real Bosniak diaspora in Turkey? How much do new media help them with this? They came to Turkey believing that Turks are their brethren, did they confirm this belief? These are some of the questions to which my colleagues, friends and students from Montenegro and Sanjak in Turkey gave their answers to, while I was interviewing them. As in the interviews of Bosniak diaspora in Turkey, here we will use pseudonyms in order to protect the anonymity of these persons. Seven students was involved in the research, four males and three females. It should be stressed that nobody until now hasn't done similar research that would include Bosniak students in Turkey.

According to the data that was given to me, upon my request, by the Embassy of Montenegro in Turkey, there were 200 students studying in Turkey from Montenegro, Sanjak, most of them in Istanbul 70, Ankara 30, Izmir 20, Bursa, Antalya, Kocaeli, Aydın, Eskişehir, Edirne, Isparta, Adapazarı. Most of them were members of the Islamic community who ethnically declare themselves as Bosniaks. There were those that declared themselves as Muslims religiously, but Montenegrin ethnically, but their number was small, around 10 of them. Also, there were around 10 students that declared themselves as Orthodox Christians, who declared themselves as

Montenegrians and Serbs ethnically. Most of these students got the scholarship from the government of Turkey, while some of them got their scholarships from the Universities in Turkey. In order to present the answers of students in a best possible fashion, so that I can give answers to some of the questions I mentioned previously, I will sort the questions into thematic topics.

Topic: National identity

Subtopics: Opinion of Turks about Bosniaks

All interviewees that took part in this interview declared themselves as Bosniaks. They deem that they never were Montenegrin or Serb, and never will be. They acknowledge and accept other ethnicities in Montenegro and surrounding countries. They claim that it is much easier for them to identify themselves as Bosniaks in Turkey, then in their own country. Although their grandparents and great-grandparents were called “Turks”, and they themselves were called “Turks” while studying in their own country, and the term “Turks” was used offensively, in a way that would mark them as being bad, that they should go to Turkey, that they are not Bosniaks etc. These students, when they came to Turkey finally found out that Turks really are their brethren, but also that they themselves are only Bosniaks and nothing else. Also, all interviewees claim unanimously that if they mention to any Turk that they are Bosniaks, they will hug them and confirm that they are brethren and they will always remain so, and that they will help them in any way they can.

“When I meet Turkish brethren, be it in the University, or in a store, or on a trip, when they ask us where are we from and to which people do we belong, we immediately answer that we are

Bosniaks. However, after that, we usually don't have the time to explain from which country are we from, because they stop us and say: 'Aaaaah, Bosniaks, Bosnia! Come here brother, let me hug you!' And in this hug of theirs and their words, we feel something that we haven't felt anywhere, nor from anyone else. I then feel proud for being a Bosniak and for having somebody to love because of it (SMeconomy)."

Another female interviewee had a similar opinion and said the following: *"So, when I tell them I'm Bosniak, immediately they invite me to tea, coffee, dinner, as we had known each other for an entire life (SFmedicine)."*

A third conversant said: *"In general, Bosniaks in Turkey are victims of very thorough assimilation, so there is no difference between them and the Turks, while Turks look at our people in our homeland through a prism of contempt because of the war (SMhistory)."*

The fourth conversant said: *"In principle, they look at us as a brotherly people, I've always had this impression (SMtheology)."*

The fifth female interviewee said:

"Turks generally look at Bosniaks as their younger brethren, although a lot of them considers us as Turks. When they call us as Turks here, this doesn't bother us as much, but we still politely try to explain to them that we are Bosniaks, that we are similar, but still different. However, Montenegrins in Montenegro, when they want to humiliate us, they call us Turks, as it's something really bad according to them (SFpharmacy)."

The sixth conversant had the following opinion: *"Taking in consideration the common history, religion, customs and goals, the Bosniaks have kept very good relations with Turks, and left a deep trace in Turkish history as well as current everyday life.(SMmanagement)."*

The seventh female interviewee said that *"Turks call Bosniaks as 'kardeşler' (SFart)."*

Topic: Students and their media use

Subtopics: Importance of new media for all, student media

While conversing on this topic, one gets the feeling that students in Turkey mostly use Internet for communicating between themselves, as well as for communicating with parents and friends from their homeland. In the same way, Internet portals or, to be precise, portals from their homeland are one of their main sources of information, especially for news related to their country. They deem that Turkish television stations and other media don't cover enough news from and about their homeland. And they do cover something, it's usually news related to culture. But in spite of that, there are some media that they most commonly follow. The students haven't still founded their own magazines in Turkish or Bosnian language.

Which are the Turkish printed and electronic media that you use the most?

"Usually the newspapers HaberTürk, Huriyet and AlJazeera Turk (SFmedicine)."

Another answer was: *"Television-TRT, news/portals-Zaman, Sabah (SMtheology)."*

One female student gave the following answer: *"I follow Yeni Şafak, the electronic medium (SFpharmacy)."*

While a student of economy replied with this:

"From time to time I follow everything (SMeconomy)."

DEMİR: Would you have enough information from Turkish media about the news from your country if you didn't have access to Internet and the media from your country?

“Certainly not! Because over the Internet we can watch some of our TV channels, and from various Internet portals we can get the news from our country etc. (SMeconomy).”

And a female student of art said *“No, and that’s a big “No”! [smiling] I can make a sculpture of it (i.e. of the word “No”). Because, besides portals, I frequently talk to friends and parents, and so I get firsthand information (SFart).”*

A student of history has the same opinion as his colleagues: *“Of course not. Through Internet I can find whatever [information] I like. Especially through social media. We have one state TV station from our country that’s being broadcast here in Turkey, but it’s not covered in all of the cities. But good enough, we can find some of the stations over the Internet(SMhistory).”*

DEMIR: Do you plan to remain in Turkey after your studies?

To this question only one student answered positively, but he says: *“I’d stay for some period until I acquire some connections, contacts, start a business, and then I’d use all of that in my country (SMeconomy).”*

During the interview the following questions were also asked:

Do you make contacts with Bosniak diaspora in Turkey?

Do members of the Bosniak diaspora in Turkey that have your age know the Bosnian language?

“Yes we make. I can say this for myself and my other colleagues. We have good connections with some Bosniak associations here in Turkey. However, one can see that they don’t get along very well among themselves. Some of these associations cannot stand each other. But, general speaking everything is great. And no, usually they don’t know the language, or they know very little (SMmanagement).”

A theologian says the following:

“Of course. And that happened during the initial months. When it comes to their younger generations, they know our language very poorly. And I could see that this is very hard for their parents, because they feel like they are losing them, at least that’s what they are telling us. They tell us that their children are uninterested in the language, but also in other important matters, such as the politics in Turkey (SMtheology).”

And the pharmacist: *“Yes, but I don’t have a lot of time. Sometimes I go when they organize some lunch or event. But I don’t get to hang out with youngsters from the Bosniak diaspora. We are on different wavelengths. And I noticed that they are not interested in our language, while their parents and grandparents know really well both Bosnian and Turkish (SFpharmacy).”*

DEMIR: Are there printed and electronic media in Turkey in the Bosnian language?

All the respondents said “No”. And all of them think that it would be nice if there were media in the Bosnian language for the few million Bosniaks that are there in Turkey. They also believe that the Bosniak diaspora in Turkey should be more pursuant and not be afraid to demand it, because they have the right to it.

DEMIR: Do you think that the relations between Bosniaks in Turkey and Montenegro, Sanjak has gotten better after the appearance of new types of media: Internet and social networks?

“First, I’d like to reiterate that new media are also very important to us studying here, and that we would not get very well with living here without them. During my conversations with the Bosniak associations here I came to the conclusion that the relations have promptly improved thanks to the Internet (SFmedicine).”

“I think that perhaps today there wouldn’t be any of those relations. I talked to a member of an association of Bosniaks that live here, and he told me that through facebook he found out some cousins that his grandfather had told him about (SMhistory).”

From some of the answers it is clear that most of the students that came to study in Turkey plan to return to their homeland. Especially latter generations that are obliged to sign a contract before they come to Turkey with the Ministry of Turkey that they have to return to their homeland after their studies. Otherwise, they are required to pay a rather huge amount of money which the Ministry has spent on their education. During conversations with these young people, students, colleagues, I’ve reached the conclusion that new media play a very important role in their everyday lives. According the opinions of some of them, it would be hard for them to stay for a longer time in Turkey, although everything feels nice for them there. Also, it can be concluded that new media are indeed helping the maintaining and betterment of the relations with the Bosniak diaspora in Turkey, but also with others that they come in contact with during their studies. I have also found out that their self-confidence has significantly increased when it comes to their ethnical identification. It’s like they’ve put a seal on it, and now, “armed” with this new “passport” of a confident, smart, courageous Bosniak, they’re ready to return back to Montenegro, Sanjak and help their fellow people to put this seal of courage and self-awareness. After Turkey, which has been ordinarily “suggested” by Montenegrins as their motherland, they gained the urge to return back to Montenegro, Sanjak as soon as possible, and to proudly say that they are Bosniaks and that no one can deny or prevent them from stating this fact. They want that their generation gets to build a bridge that will be the biggest till now, a bridge of love, of various means of cooperation, a bridge between Turkey and Sanjak, Montenegro. They’ll look at Turkey as a brotherly country and they will always be supporting it and the Turkish people. The

conclusion is that these students are not the potential diaspora, but that they are the future bridges of cooperation between Turkey and Sanjak, Montenegro. While even bigger bridges will be built by the current Bosniak diaspora in Turkey.

CHAPTER 6 USE OF MEDIA AMONG BOSNIAKS IN TURKEY

6.1 Forming media during the migratory process

In process of migration, media have an important role. During my research I was unable to get the information that they have formed some Bosniaks media in Turkey during migration. But there are examples of Bosniak establishment media in Macedonia. Emigrants from Sanjak on the way to Turkey remained in Macedonia for some time. During that time, according to the writings of Škrijelj (2004) " in the period from 1920 to 1941 in Skopje several sheets are printed... " (p. 234) .

Škrijelj (2004) noted that one of them is the paper that started as an organ of political organization Cemiyet, and the newspaper Hak - (Justice) . Head office of the newspaper was in Skopje and Hasan Sabri was editor in chief (Škrijelj , 2004). The newspaper published from 1920-1924, an interval of five years, and it was in Turkish and Bosnian language, and the total came out around 897 numbers (Škrijelj , 2004) .

Škrijelj (2004) argues that one of the main objectives of this paper was to protect the rights of Muslims. The newspaper is banned, and it is believed that one of the main reasons for the ban was writing and responding for the demolition of the Burmail mosque , which was one of the most beautiful buildings in Skopje (Škrijelj , 2004) .



Figure 1. Photograph of a newspaper " Hak " - Front page in Bosnian and Turkish language.

(Škrijelj, 2004, Figure 1)

Newspapers Sosalist Fedžeri - (*Sosyalistfeceri - Socialist dawn*), appeared to be competitive to Cemiyet or Hak (Škrijelj , 2004). This newspaper was under the stewardship committee secretariat of the Socialist Workers Party of Yugoslavia (Communists) in Macedonia and Old Serbia (Škrijelj, 2004). The first time it came out on the 10th of September in 1920. It was published in Bosnian and in Turkish language (Škrijelj, 2004). After 12 publishing the newspaper was banned (Škrijelj, 2004). Ferid Bayram was one of the editors of this newspaper, and later he was a professor of Turkish language (Škrijelj, 2004) .

Now - yi Miletus (Voice of the People) This newspaper wrote about a lot of theme: economic-political character, and newspaper titled *Now - yi Miletus (Voice of the People)*, was publishing twice a week (Škrijelj , 2004). It was publishing since 1927 untill 1929. Edited by Aleksander Bukvic . This list is was publishing in two languages (Škrijelj, 2004).



Figure 2. Photograph of a newspaper *Now - yiMilet(Voice of the People)*.(Škrijelj, 2004, Figure 2)

Together with other newspapers, *Isik or 'š'k (air)* can be included as a significant informative media . This were newspapers of Democratic Union of Muslims of South Serbia. Newspaper is bilingual, in Turkish (Ottoman) and Bosnian language (Škrijelj, 2004). It was publishing in the period since 1927 until 1928 (Škrijelj, 2004). Fevziya Hadžihamzić , who was a lawyer , was editor of the newspaper (Škrijelj , 2004) .

Newspaper *Dogruiyol (True way)*, which was also the organ of the Association of imams in the area of the Ulema- majlis in Skopje, which the first time came in 1937 (Škrijelj, 2004). Like the others, this newspaper was publishing in Turkish (Ottoman) and Bosnian (Škrijelj, 2004). Apart

from this, it is believed that , as Škrijelj wrote (2004) that “The assertion of our writer Mohammed Abdagić (1916-1991) , the newspaper of the same name earlier in Skopje published and edited by Mithad ef. Hodžić” (p. 237).



Figure 3. Photograph of a newspaper *DogruYol*(*True Way*). (Škrijelj, 2004, Figure 3)

Our home From the 1937 in Skopje newspaper “*Our home*” has begun to publish. The editor of the newspaper that was one of the most popular Bosniak was Zufer Music from Plav (Škrijelj, 2004). The newspaper had an aim to serves cultural and economic advancement of Muslims. This newspaper was publishing in 56 numbers, and it is interesting that the newspaper is printed in Skopje, and is distributed in Montenegro, Sanjak, Kosovo, and partly in Bosnia (Škrijelj, 2004). As previous newspapers and this was short, it stopped with publishing in 1941 (Škrijelj, 2004).

Muslim unity The first sports newspaper called Muslim Harmony comes in 1939. The owner of this newspaper was Riza Dželadinović. And one of the editors was a law student, Esad Šabović from Plav (Škrijelj, 2004). Newspaper was quickly extinguished (Škrijelj, 2004).



Figure 4. Photography of a newspaper *Muslim unity*. (Škrijelj, 2004, Figure 4)

Škrijelj (2004) argues that

by carefully paging through the entire printed materials that are in the system concept sheets were represented, we noticed a strong and censorship. Present vigilance in terms of keeping the editorial policies of the newspapers, discarded permanently -exposed thesis on freedom of the press and rough accentuated national tolerance. (p. 240)

It is clear that the rise of these sheets witnesses a significant stage of development of the Bosniak journalism as an important segment of the national culture, which will have historical importance and a major influence on the development of the Bosniak Journalism (Škrijelj, 2004). According to Škrijelj (2004), “the imposition of the relationship between the press and

readership did not contribute to this kind of journalism free mortgage permanent restraint necessary initiatives for elimination of servitude relationships and dependencies of the regime of the Kingdom of Serbs, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia” (p. 240-241). He also argues that “basic and more complex analysis, we acquire the belief that the owners and editors often gave consent for preventive censorship in exchange for privileges” (p. 241). In fact, “the writers contributions are dictated despite ideological and deterministic scheme, except for individual specifics, manifest tendency for defending civil liberties ”(Škrijelj, 2004, p. 241). Škrijelj (2004) argues that

in order to complete a thematic analysis of the press, at one time , and the conditions of extremely low literacy of citizens, gave the absence of adequate response to criticism of its exclusion from the field of mass media , and certainly highlighted some positive elements in the development and affirmation of the Bosniak cultural heritage. (p. 241)

It is interesting that all these were quenched quickly, which would mean that they were under great pressure. But regardless of this I believe that these newspapers were of great importance for the Bosniak people in this very difficult time. In addition, the great importance of these newspapers is great today too.

6.2 Bosniaks associations and their media

According to the information that I got from Montenegro’s Embassy in Turkey, the most active organizations are the associations of immigrants. However, most associations were formed during the war in Bosnia, and it is logical that those associations are most related to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Associations are named Bosnia-Sanjak, several associations have the name “Montenegro” in Urla, Izmir, Burhaniye - Balikesir, Turkey - Fevzi. The association in Istanbul (EMINONU) was founded last year, and it was named "Yugoslavia–Karadağ Derneği" first Association conducting activities only on Montenegro. There is a Federation of culture of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Turkey founded by Kemal Baysak, honorary Consul of Bosnia and

Herzegovina in Izmir. They meet with general assembly and change president every two years, it is currently led by President of the Association of Karamursela–Ahmet Utas. In Izmir, most active organization are: Bosnia Sandzak Derneđi Izmir, Izmir Bosnaklar Derneđi, EBSAID, Çađdaş Bosnia Sancak Dayanıřma Egitim ve Kultur Derneđi, Sancak Kosovo Kùltürve Rumeli Dayanıřma Dernek.

During the collection of information about Bosniaks in Turkey, I had the opportunity to meet with the presidents of these associations. They all understand the Bosnian language, speak it, but they highlight the fact that their children know it poorly. As for the media, these organizations do not have their own television, they do not have their own newspapers, they do not have their own printed magazines. This is what I found after informal talks with representatives of these associations. And I also found through interviews that in general in Turkey, Bosniaks do not have their television or their newspapers. The media that can be said that they have: web sites, Facebook pages, Facebook profiles, Facebook groups. These are the media through which they promote their organizations, schedule some events, ceremonies, sports tournaments, spread news etc. These are mainly associations formed during the nineties, when the war began in Bosnia. For them it was the only way to help the Bosniaks in Bosnia. There is an umbrella organization “Federation of Culture of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Turkey” in which there is a large number of Bosniak organizations from Turkey.

I had the opportunity to attend one of their monthly sessions. Before that meeting, at the meeting and afterwards, I noticed that they are very organized, everyone knows their job.



Figure 5. Photograph of me and some representatives of Bosniak organizations, meeting in
Istanbul



Figure 6. Photograph of representatives of the Bosniak organizations and me, a meeting in
Istanbul

In this meeting there were organizations from Ankara, Adana, Izmir, Istanbul, Bursa and some other cities. The main topics of the meeting were how to help Bosniaks in Bosnia, Sanjak, Montenegro. Every organization had a chance to present a report about its activities up until now. I noticed that they are frequently organizing breakfasts for students from homelands, that these students are helping them in teaching their children Bosnian. They are regularly organizing dinners. Once a month they organize certain festivities, where mostly Bosniak music is being played, although there is also Turkish music. It can be also noticed that they are the organizers of many humanitarian events in Turkey, as well as beyond Turkey. They are trying to speak Bosnian at home because of their children, but this is not enough. Embassies couldn't give me the exact number of Bosniak organizations in Turkey, but it is clear that every organization is trying to help the Bosniak cause and Turkey's cause in general, as much as it can.

Below are the answers that have been given by my interviewees to some questions with regards to their organizations.

DEMIR: How do you communicate inside organizations?

“By facebook and phone, although I do use Viber. (B6diaspora).”

“I communicate over phone with all members, but the others that are younger are using Internet also. I'm not very good at it.(B4diaspora).”

“I communicate mostly over phone.However, I do use facebook often, groups on facebook, especially when I want to show others what we've done, or what we are going to do.Or, for example, when we are promoting an event related to tradition, fb is best for such occasions (B1diaspora).”

“Over phone networks. But more and more over Internet also, which includes Whatsapp, Viber, Facebook, Skype. I think I used Viber the most. In the old times we needed a lot of time to organize and schedule a simple meeting, and now we do it in a couple of hours.(B7diaspora).”

“They come home and call me a day before the meeting. I attend the meeting with my neighbor, and I communicate there. I think that no one minds the fact that I don’t communicate over phone, as I’m over 100 years old. Everybody respects me and asks for my opinion during the meeting. (B2diaspora).”

DEMIR: Because of the recognized disunity between Bosniak organizations, what do you think should be worked on more, and how to improve intra-organizational relationships?

“We need more communication. If there’s a problem, we try to fix it together, consulting the Federation of Bosniaks, with the older, wiser (B6diaspora).”

“One of the main problems is that we’d all like to be presidents and have our own organizations. We can improve our relationships by looking at the past and thinking about how lucky we are today, living in Turkey, and about what could have happened had we not come here(B4diaspora).”

“The most frequent problems we have are because of people's characters, and this is true for all Bosniak associations. There are some personal interests, there are some differences and that is why multiple, almost identical associations are created in the same towns, this concerns me personally and I do not really like it (B1diaspora). ”

DEMIR: Where do the organizations in Turkey get their funds from?

“We are mostly giving our personal funds, but there is financial help from the local governments (B6diaspora).”

“There are Bosniaks that are wealthy, as well as Turks that are wealthy, and they are all helping us with different projects. We also have some help from the government, but I do believe that it should be much more (B7diaspora).”

DEMIR: Are Bosniaks involved in Turkish politics, and to what extent?

“Bosniak politics here is mostly ‘I won’t involve myself in anything’. Since recently some of them have begun involving themselves with political parties, I believe there are two Bosniaks in the Turkish parliament but that’s a very small number of people (B6diaspora).”

“Yes, there are Bosniaks in some parties, especially in the three largest parties. Some of them are MPs in the Parliament, consisting of about 5%, but considering how many Bosniaks there are, that percentage should be higher. In the past we had ministers (B1diaspora).”

“It’s a hodgepodge (smile). However, in recent times we started fighting even over these kinds of issues, but we always resolve our differences. And I think that this is the case everywhere, everybody thinks they’re right, that the party they are voting for is the right one, there are also some personal interests (smile). It came to my mind just some time ago that we don’t have our own party that would fight for Bosniak interests. Hmm, I might start one (smile) (B7diaspora).”

Based on what I could notice, I think they are very organized. One of their main problems is that they do not channel energy through one or two organizations, but more and more often organize new and emerging organizations. Mainly because of the small share of misunderstandings and desire for leadership. Based on the interviews it can be concluded that Internet is helping them a lot, it’s enabling easier and faster communication, especially when they want to organize some big event, but also when they organize meetings. I understood that the government could also do

more to support their organizations, financially and otherwise. It's also clear that they are members of different parties and that they are not united, i.e. members of one party only. But it's also obvious that they don't have some Bosniak party of their own, a party that would fight for Bosniak interests. Still, this could be the product of there not being a strong leader among them, a leader that would be accepted and respected by all.

6.3 Media for and by Bosniaks in Turkey

Bosniaks do not have their own media in Turkey, but there are channels that attach importance to all Balkan countries and among others, to Bosniaks and Montenegro. There is Rumeli TV channel on which most of the programs are about Balkans, Bosniaks, also, culture, folklore, music, traditions, etc. There is also TRT AVAZ that shows news and some shows in Bosnian language, SAMANYOLU program Ayna had a show about Montenegro, Sanjak. There are also TRT, NTV, CNN TURK, etc. They usually focus on tourism and also on the culture and life of Bosniaks and other ethnic groups in very small places, and that is what's most interesting to them.

DEMIR: What media you use most often?

Most commonly used are television and newspapers (B4diaspora). "

"I use all available media, but the mostly facebook and Television (B6diaspora)."

"The most used is television. However, I do use the Internet, because through facebook or portals I can get news faster (B1diaspora)."

"I am constantly on the internet, twitter, facebook, and follow specific portals. I watch TV sometimes, but that's mostly movies(B5diaspora)."

“Twitter, facebook, and various websites. Sometimes I watch TV,I follow some educational shows or series (Fem4diaspora).”

“The most common are TV and the Internet. And of the two, Internet is used much more (Fem3diaspora).”

“Television and Internet. I cannot fathom why would anyone want to buy newspapers, when you can find everything on Internet portals. Also, through facebook I get a lot of news. For example, when I’m on facebook, and I’m always on facebook, there’s usually somebody posting a status when something interesting happens, or someone posts a link to some news on some portal, etc.(B7diaspora).”

DEMIR: Are you satisfied with local and state television in Turkey? Can you find through them enough information about the situation in Turkey and the world?

“I am satisfied. But it is easier to reach local televisions when we want to promote our organization, or we do some humanitarian action (B4diaspora).”

“You’ve probably seen it: on TV channels there are mainly series, news: all the news is negative, so the Internet is perhaps a better news source for me personally (B6diaspora).”

“Always do better. I use the TV and internet, in order to get all the news (B1diaspora).”

“I’m just realizing that I no longer watch news on TV. I think that on TV there is mainly information that serves to manipulate us. There’s not enough space given to young people, at least when it comes to state television. It is my home. There can be found all I want (B5diaspora). ”

“I am satisfied. But today I do not watch TV because there is internet, twitter and facebook (Fem4diaspora).”

“It all depends on the channel, both for state and local TV stations. However, everything cannot be found on TV, but I think I can find basically every new information out there on the Internet or cable television (Fem3diaspora).”

“Like I said I do watch TV, mostly movies and some shows. I don’t watch much news programs on the TV, although I do watch them from time to time. So, I follow news mostly through portals, I’m not very satisfied with our TV stations, but it will get better (B7diaspora).”

In the end, from the interviews we can conclude that they are not satisfied with what TV stations are broadcasting, at least when it comes to news. They doubt the content of the news, they deem that they present mostly negative and depressive news, which act in a manipulative way on their psyche. At the same time they (and it’s the same across the world) benefit a lot from alternative media, the Internet, social networks, so they can get a better picture of Turkey and beyond. And as we saw, they do get information mostly from the Internet, i.e. portals and social networks. And finally, as I’ve said, Bosniaks do not have their own media in Turkey, but there are channels that attach importance to total Balkan countries and among others, to Sanjak and Montenegro.

6.4 Diaspora as a receptor of information from the media of homeland

There are several web sites and portals that show programs related to diaspora and the homeland, most are about Bosnia and Sanjak. The portal montenegroturkey.com monitors only the relations between Turkey and Montenegro and on that portal you can follow all the activities between Turkey and Montenegro. In addition to that, there are now two televisions, one from Montenegro, the state television RTCG, and the other from Sanjak, which is called the Regional television.

In the interviews below we’ll find out more about how does the diaspora get information about its ‘homeland’, i.e. Sanjak and Montenegro. And how important new media and technologies are

to them, when it comes to keeping contacts with those in Sanjak, Montenegro or Turkey, how was it in the past, and how does it look like today.

DEMIR: Before the Internet, how did you communicate with people in Sanjak and Montenegro?

“Mostly we traveled to our homeland, and only then we communicated (B4diaspora).”

“We have relatives who remained in Pljevlja, we often go to visit them. Besides that we communicated mainly by telephone (B6diaspora).”

“My father communicated through letters, and after the 1980s over the phone, the advantage of Internet communication is improving. With Facebook and mail we can communicate at any time and place (B1diaspora).”

“Yes, of course. We communicated by phone, but we’d have to go to the city, because for a long time we didn’t have our own phone. But today it’s different. Our children turn on that computer thing, and we can talk to anybody. But now that we have the technical possibility, we don’t have the person to talk to, somebody is dead, someone doesn’t want to talk, everybody is becoming distant (FEM2diaspora)”

DEMIR: Have you ever seen Montenegro and Sanjak, whether in photo or in a television program, before you went there, or could you just imagine it with the help of stories that others told you?

“I only saw a few old photos. I did not see anything else. But it was a lot different when I got there. Of course, there were a lot of details from stories of my grandparents that were similar to what I saw, but it was still somehow a lot different than what I had in my mind (B3diaspora).”

“Yes, I have seen it on television, although my family was in Montenegro and Sanjak before me, and they told me many different stories. However, it cannot be compared with my visit and what I experienced. Yes, I watched it on TV, and some reportage that people from Turkey did, and that is the only thing that you could see, though everything is different when you go there and see, what I believe it looks like and what I actually saw, there’s a big difference between the two (B1diaspora).”

“My father had two photos: one from the countryside, and another one from the local market. These photos were always in our living room. They meant a lot to us, and now I don’t even know where they are, nor do we have them at all. These two photos I saw and that’s it. The rest I projected in my mind based on the stories of my relatives, and also other people’s relatives and neighbors. But it’s funny that when I went to Sanjak afterwards, it was much nicer and wonderful than the image I had in my mind. I can still remember when my family began to cry, and I also started to cry, we all cried when we went there. I was there for the first time, but still, I felt like I was born there. I never saw it on TV before, so I saw it for the first time 30 years ago, but now there are many shows about Bosnia, Montenegro, Sanjak (FEM2diaspora).”

“I always remembered what I saw there when I was a kid, but after 60 years, when I went there again, it’s very different, and I had an uneasy feeling. My parents were not there anymore, nor my relatives and the place itself was abandoned: it used to be our village (B2diaspora).”

DEMIR: On which television in Turkey could you see Montenegro and Sanjak?

“In past times there was nothing overly broadcast on Turkish television, as it is today, there have been private television stations and all of those, at least once a month, show our areas of the Balkans (B1diaspora).”

DEMIR: Does it mean that all television in Turkey show those programs?

“Yes, all of television stations(B1diaspora).”

DEMIR: Is there any TV station that does it more than the others?

“I think there is a television, called TekRumeli, based in Istanbul, and quite often you can see Montenegro and Sanjak there. I would like to add, that the recently launched association United - Sanjak made an agreement with Eutelsat and the regional TV from Novi Pazar. We expect in the next month to begin presenting TV material, so that people in Turkey can see TV programs from Novi Pazar (B1diaspora).”

DEMIR: Can the entire Turkey follow this program?

“Yes, the whole Turkey can watch that TV station, we plan to do a similar agreement with a TV station from Montenegro soon, so that it can be watched in Turkey (B1diaspora).”

DEMIR: When did you first get into contact with someone from Sanjak or Montenegro?

“I contacted my relatives often, and they used to visit us in the past, so we got our information through them about the happenings in Montenegro and Sanjak. (B1diaspora).”

“I think it was in 1991, I’m not sure (FEM2diaspora)”

“My family contacted them in1989, or close to that (B7diaspora)”

DEMIR: Have you had a chance to read something in the newspapers during the 80s, 90s and 2000s, and did you find some texts about the events in Montenegro and Sanjak in that time?

“No, we did not have that in 1980. Later yes, especially during the war in Bosnia and Balkans (B1diaspora).”

“We’d here some stories from time to time. But only in the late 90s could we watch a lot of the happenings on TV (B2diaspora).”

“I was younger then, and I cannot remember, except after 2000 and beyond. Then I had the chance to watch some shows a couple of times, but more about Bosnia, not so much about our Sanjak (B7diaspora).”

DEMIR: And today you have newspapers that write about Montenegro and Sanjak more often, which are those newspapers, are they in electronic or paper form?

“There are Izmir Yeni Asir and Hürriyet newspaper. I would like to add something, in summer as in winter, especially during the holidays, in all newspapers can be found advertisements from Bosnia, Sanjak and Montenegro. In the Adriatic newspaper advertisement you can see advertisements from Dubrovnik to Bar, describing touristic attractions(B1diaspora).”

“As you know, it’s different today. I can turn on my phone or computer and get any information I want. To tell you the truth, I’m more into following some of the portals from Sanjak, Montenegro and Serbia, than those from Turkey, but that’s only when I want to read the news about Sanjak. Or, I contact a relative over FB and then find out some of the current news. And when it comes to Turkish newspapers it’s Hürriyet, Zaman (B7diaspora).”

“I’m not following anything these days. I hear something new when I’m together with folks from our organization, they tell me some of the new happenings and that’s enough for me (B2diaspora).”

DEMIR: Which newspapers on the Internet you usually follow, I mean, those that cover Montenegro and Sanjak?

“I follow almost all electronic newspapers from Bosnia, Sanjak and Montenegro (B1diaspora).”

“As I’ve said earlier, I read various portals from Sanjak, but I also have some Facebook pages/groups where I can find the news (B7diaspora).”

DEMIR: Which media do you use most often when you want to find out the news from Sanjak and Montenegro?

“I follow the news on Facebook because it is the fastest and easiest way (B1diaspora).”

“Facebook, because they use Facebook more than twitter, while it’s the other way around here. And I also want to tell you this: when it comes to me personally, Facebook has helped me very much to find almost all of my relatives both from father’s and mother’s side. And I’m keeping in touch with most of them. Were there now Facebook, I wouldn’t get to know a lot of my relatives (B7diaspora).”

“Facebook and Internet portals, but I don’t know many relatives there (Fem4diaspora).”

“Mostly Internet portals. Through Facebook, I keep in touch with a few relatives and friends that live in Sanjak. Sometimes I follow what they post on Facebook and that way I find out the news (B5diaspora).”

“I find out mostly everything through the Internet. Through our portals I can find out if some of our politicians from Turkey have visited Montenegro. And I use Facebook a lot (B6diaspora).”

DEMIR: What topics do you like to read about in these media, is that politics, economy or society in Montenegro and Sanjak, and what do you like to read the most?

“I like to read all of it, but I pay most attention to the relationship between our nations (B1diaspora).”

“I monitor all of politics on Balkan (B6diaspora).”

“I follow everything, politics a bit, and a bit the everyday happenings of theirs, the society, the chronicle... (B7diaspora).”

DEMIR: Are you interested in politics in Montenegro and Sanjak, and how long have you been following those events in the media?

“Every night I read about political events in Montenegro and Sanjak (B1diaspora).”

“I’ve been following the political happenings since last year (B5diaspora).”

DEMIR: Which news do you follow more, those in Turkey or in Sanjak and Montenegro?

“I live in Turkey and that is why I follow the Turkish news more often, although I always read those in Montenegro and Sanjak (B1diaspora).”

“I think it’s normal for me to follow the news in our country Turkey (B5diaspora).”

“In recent times I like to follow the fights of politicians in Montenegro and Sanjak (smile). In general though, I think I follow Turkish news more (B7diaspora).”

DEMIR: You said that Facebook helps you follow news in Sanjak, Montenegro. However, what kind of media do you use the most when you get in touch with someone from Sanjak, Montenegro?

“I use Facebook as much as the phone and email for contacting Sanjak and Montenegro. And I have recently started using Skype (B1diaspora).”

“WhatsApp, Viber, Skype, and Facebook is also always there when we comment the photos of each other. They show me the beauties of Sanjak and Montenegro, and I show them the beauties of Turkey (B7diaspora).”

“I think Viber gets the first place, than Facebook (FEM3diaspora).”

“Facebook and skype (B5diaspora).”

“I use everything. Someone has Viber, another one Skype, yet another one Facebook, it depends on that (FEM4diaspora).”

DEMIR: When you contact Bosniaks in Turkey, which type of communication do you use most often?

“We use Facebook the most, and thanks to Facebook we get in touch more often and we make mutual organizing. We have formed a group Bosnia-Sanjak on Facebook, through which we inform our Bosniaks in Turkey about a certain project. Often we organize associations of Bosniak women, that one month and have breakfast and different Bosniaks’ evenings. We inform them on Facebook (B1diaspora).”

“We use Twitter the most, everybody here uses it (FEM4diaspora).”

“Twitter and Viber, and also Facebook (B5diaspora).”

“Here twitter is number one, but I also use the other stuff (B7diaspora).”

“Facebook, twitter if they don’t block it (smile), it happens here (B6diaspora).”

“I use the phone, but recently I joined Facebook, we’ll see how things go (B4diaspora).”

DEMIR: Did new media technology help you in achieving and maintaining relationships with compatriots in Turkey as well as the people in Sanjak and Montenegro?

“Yes, of course, and a lot. Weren’t it for the Internet and phone, everything would be for the worse (B1diaspora).”

“I’d like to know who wasn’t helped by them, I think that they help everybody, everything is faster, more available (B5diaspora).”

“Like the saying goes: the whole world on the palm of your hand (B6diaspora).”

“I cannot imagine life without the Internet, social networks, I believe it was way more difficult for our parents (FEM4diaspora).”

“They help a lot, and they help everybody. They contribute to a better way of living, but I’m sure there are bad things attached (FEM3diaspora).”

“I already told you: weren’t there for Facebook I wouldn’t know any of my relatives, young or old in Sanjak. They help a lot event in Turkey, be it in the organization, on my job, when I talk to my friends (B7diaspora).”

Like we saw in the interviews, before the coming of the Internet in the homes of Bosniaks, some of the ways of communicating with people from their homeland were: going to the homeland, by mail and later on the phone also made they communication easier. Before they visited Montenegro, Sanjak, they said they could see their homeland a bit on TV, and some of them only through photos of their parents. According to their own words, the image of homeland they had in their head is different than the one they saw when they visited the homeland, ‘more wonderful and prettier’. They could only read about their homeland during the nineties, or hear some

stories, and all of that was tied to the war in Bosnia. But today the situation is different. The newspapers in Turkey write about their homeland. Some of these newspapers are Hürriyet, Zaman, Izmir YeniAsir. When they want to find out news from their homeland, they usually do it through Internet portals or Facebook. They deem that people in Sanjak and Montenegro use Facebook more than twitter. They follow the politics of their other homeland more often, but they follow the politics on Balkan also, as well as the intra-ethnic relationships and other societal developments. But they still follow news related to Turkey a lot more, and believe that that's normal and that it should be that way, after all they are living in Turkey. When they contact someone from Sanjak, Montenegro, they mostly use Facebook, then Viber, Whatsapp, Skype, email, phone. While for contacts in Turkey they use twitter most, then Facebook, Viber etc. Comparing younger and older generations, we can notice that older generations are trying to wrestle the new social network, some already have profiles on Facebook, twitter, and some plan to create them. They understand that if they want to remain up-to-date with all activities, with participating in organizations, they have to use new media, social networks etc. In the end, my conclusion is the same as that of the interviewees which are part of the Bosniak diaspora. They say that new media has indeed helped them and continue to help them, both when it comes to doing their everyday activities, as well as when it comes to making and keeping ties with people from their other homeland, i.e. Montenegro, Sanjak, and with people in Turkey. Some of them claim that they wouldn't find anyone from their relatives there, were it not for Facebook.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

A major aim of this research was to analyze the significance of new media for interconnection and strengthening these communities, and connecting them with their homeland. This analysis I made through research questions whose answers span the whole thesis, but the main answers can be found in what follows. Browsing through literature on new media and diaspora, literature about diaspora and transnationalism, as well as literature about migrations, I reached a lot of realizations and conclusions. One of the conclusions is that Bosniaks in Turkey possess most of the characteristics that Safran enumerated, and which define a diaspora. According to the characteristics he enumerated, as well as those that Cohen enumerated, Bosniaks in Turkey are definitely a diaspora.

What follows is a summary of the major findings of this thesis.

- Comparing younger and older generations, we can notice that older generations are trying to wrestle the new social networks, some already have profiles on Facebook, twitter, and some plan to create them. They understand that if they want to remain up-to-date with all activities, with participating in organizations, they have to use new media, social networks...When it comes to younger generations, it's clear that they are much better at managing new media in comparison to older generations. However, here we have to emphasize that older generations use new media mostly for contacting homeland, for communicating with other Bosniaks in Turkey, for strengthening and developing their own organizations, while younger generations rarely use new media for those purposes.

- After reading the literature I already mentioned, I deem that the question about Bosniaks integration in Turkey is not suitable, having in mind that Bosniaks in Turkey are now a diaspora, not immigrants, although they were immigrants in the past. Migration led to the formation of many groups in the diaspora which are connected in various ways, as Tsagarousianou (2004) writes “global migration trends have produced transnational diasporic groups related by culture, ethnicity, language, and religion, not only in the sense of transnational dispersal but also in terms of intense and constant interaction at a transnational level”(p.60).

Bosniak diaspora are mostly integrated in the society, and that they don't have problems with that. Accordingly, they use media for other purposes.

- When it comes to generations above 25 years and up until 60 years, the role of new media is very important for maintaining and strengthening the national identity of Bosniaks in Turkey. The possibility of communicating better and faster with the homeland is giving them a desire to fight for maintaining their tradition and customs. They feel that they are not cut off from their homeland like they were before. However, it's interesting that generations below 20 years are not using new media much for strengthening their national identity. One of the reasons for that is their weak knowledge of the Bosnian language, which diminishes the possibility of communicating with someone from homeland, and before even starting they lose the desire to meet their relatives or someone else from their homeland. I think that new media don't play an important role in preserving the Bosniak identity when it comes to younger generations. They don't realize the advantages of new media that their parents and generations before them didn't have,

but still, they managed to preserve the Bosniak language. In general, even when we exclude the younger generations, I believe that new media are playing for now an important role in preserving Bosniak identity, both when it comes to Bosniaks using it in Turkey for communication or for presenting and promoting their identity. I'd add here that it's very interesting that the Bosniak language has been preserved for 5 generations in Turkey, mostly without the new media, while today when there are new media and different opportunities in that sense, the Bosnian language, as well as the Bosniak identity in general in Turkey is threatened by extinction, according to the old saying "the world belongs to younger generations".

- Young people are not sure what they want to take as their own culture, the culture of their parents, or culture and tradition of the country where they were born. In the end, they already have both, and they will stand out more clearly in the foreground, but it depends on some other factors. Younger generations are not spending a lot of time with their grandparents; they don't want to hear much about the past, for example stories about Montenegro and Sanjak.
- Generations that are under 18 years of age know only a few words of Bosnian. Older generations are really trying to change that, different societies are organizing various courses of Bosnian, but these courses are not of very high quality, and young ones cannot be motivated enough with courses of such low quality. Throughout the interviews I come to the conclusion that older generations are very keen on having their children and grandchildren learn Bosnian in schools, and strongly believe that the government will

facilitate this. There's a huge gap between a great grandparent and a great grandchild, because the great grandparent knows only a few words of Turkish, while the great grandchild knows only a few words of Bosnian, so they cannot talk to one another. Generations above 20 years know the Bosnian language; they are safeguarding this large part of their identity. However, like I said, the generations under 18 years are not particularly good at it, and they are not very interested in learning Bosnian. And they're also not very interested in the tradition and customs of their parents. If that doesn't change for the better, chances are that over time the Bosnian language will disappear, and that in turn will lead to the disappearance of other aspects of Bosnian identity in Turkey, which is already happening.

- Judging by the current situation, it can be assessed that Bosniaks are perhaps discriminated when it comes to the Bosnian language, just for the fact that they don't have any chance to learn in schools, which in turn leads to the assimilation of Bosniaks in Turkey. Of course, this assimilation is not good for Bosniaks in Turkey, nor for Turkey itself, as it is on its road to EU, and as it is trying hard to be a democratic state. I believe that the Bosniaks in Turkey, as well as other nations, should be given the opportunity to learn their native languages side by side with Turkish. And I also believe that this will happen soon. Judging by what I've heard from representatives of Bosniak organizations in Turkey, these changes are on the horizon, as right now the constitution and law are going through a process of changing. According to this article from January, and consistent with the proposed law composed of 18 articles, "private educational institutions will be allowed to teach in different languages and dialects, including

Bosnian. Alongside Turkish, different languages and dialects will be possible to be used in electoral political campaigns of parties and candidates.” Retrieved from <http://sandzakpress.net/uskoro-ce-preko-2-miliona-bosnjaka-u-turskoj-dobiti-pravo-na-obrazovanje-na-bosanskom-jeziku> I also hope that something similar will be introduced for state-owned educational institutions, not only private ones as can be seen in the article. Media could help this cause, in the sense of informing the public better about Bosniaks in Turkey, their identity, and also to present to everyone in Turkey the importance of allowing all nations to educate their members in their own language, which would in turn lead to an increasingly democratized, and perhaps even speed up Turkey's march to EU. Although Turkey still hasn't enabled education in Bosnian for them, Turkey does not forbid them to organize courses in their organizations, to travel, to gather, and so on. But it would be nice if the state of Turkey allowed Bosniaks to have education in the Bosnian language, or at least to learn the Bosnian language, as one of the subjects.

- They could only read about their homeland during the nineties, or hear some stories, and all of that was tied to the war in Bosnia.
- During this research I didn't find the data whether the Bosniaks, during the migration period, established their own media in Turkey. According to my other findings that I mentioned up until now, for Bosniaks in Turkey media were not of great importance during the first period, mainly because they were out of reach for them, and because of the lack of knowledge of Turkish. However, during the migrations before the arrival to

Turkey, they did establish media in Macedonia. You had the chance to read more about it in the chapter: 'use of media among Bosniaks in Turkey'. This chapter contains a historical analysis of media formation during the migration process of Bosniaks to Turkey. Before the coming of the Internet in the homes of Bosniaks, some of the ways of communicating with people from their homeland were: going to the homeland, by mail and later the phone also made the communication easier. Nowadays the ways of communicating are mostly email, Facebook, Skype, Viber, mobile phones, etc.

- Today the situation is different. The newspapers in Turkey write about their homeland. Some of these newspapers are Hürriyet, Zaman, Izmir YeniAsir. There is Rumeli TV channel on which most of the programs are about Balkans, Bosniaks, also, culture, folklore, music, traditions, etc. There is also TRT AVAZ that shows news and some shows in Bosnian language, SAMANYOLU program Ayna had a show about Montenegro, Sanjak. There are also TRT, NTV, CNN TURK, etc. They usually focus on tourism and also on the culture and life of Bosniaks and other ethnic groups in very small places, as that's what's most interesting to them. The portal montenegroturkey.com monitors only the relations between Turkey and Montenegro and on that portal you can follow all the activities between Turkey and Montenegro. In addition to that, there are now two televisions, one from Montenegro, the state television RTCG, and the other from Sanjak, which is called the Regional television.

- They have good connections with some Bosniak associations here in Turkey. They get to know the Bosniak diaspora through their organizations. Sometimes these organizations help them by giving them scholarships, inviting them to have breakfast, sometimes they organize trips. Some Bosniak students in Turkey take part in organizing courses of Bosnian language, which are mainly targeted at younger generations under the patronage of Bosniak organizations in Turkey. Some of the students work as translators for more affluent Bosniaks or some Bosniak organizations.
- From some of the answers it is clear that most of the students that came to study in Turkey plan to return to their homeland. Especially latter generations that are obliged to sign a contract before they come to Turkey with the Ministry of Turkey that they have to return to their homeland after their studies. Otherwise, they are required to pay a rather huge amount of money which the Ministry has spent on their education. According the opinions of some of them, it would be hard for them to stay for a longer time in Turkey, although everything feels nice for them there. The conclusion is that these students are not the potential diaspora, but that they are the future bridges of cooperation between Turkey and Sanjak, Montenegro. While even bigger bridges will be built by the current Bosniak diaspora in Turkey.
- During the conversations with these young people, students, colleagues, I've reached the conclusion that new media play a very important role in their everyday lives. Also, it can be concluded that new media are indeed helping the maintaining and betterment of the relations with the Bosniak diaspora in Turkey, but also with others that they come in

contact with during their studies. The students haven't still founded their own magazines in Turkish or Bosnian language.

- When Bosniak students came to Turkey finally found out that Turks really are their brethren, but also that they themselves are only Bosniaks and nothing else. Also, all interviewees claim unanimously that if they mention to any Turk that they are Bosniaks, they will hug them and confirm that they are brethren and they will always remain so, and that they will help them in any way they can.
- All participants in the interviews identified themselves as Bosniaks, or Bosniaks-Turks. None of the respondents declared themselves as Montenegrin. In most cases, all successful people said that wherever they say they are native Bosniaks, they have the privilege, and they feel loved and respected. What about Bosniak students in Turkey? All interviewees declared themselves as Bosniaks. They deem that they never were Montenegrin or Serb, and never will be. They acknowledge and accept other ethnicities in Montenegro and surrounding countries. They claim that it is much easier for them to identify themselves as Bosniaks in Turkey, then in their own country.
- Some say that there are more Bosniaks in Turkey than in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Sanjak combined. Based on what I could notice, I think they are very organized. One of their main problems is that they do not channel energy through one or two organizations, but more and more often organize new and emerging organizations. Mainly because of the small share of misunderstandings and desire for leadership. I

understood that the government could also do more to support their organizations, financially and otherwise. It's also clear that they are members of different parties and that they are not united, i.e. members of one party only. But it's also obvious that they don't have some Bosniak party of their own, a party that would fight for Bosniak interests. Still, this could be the product of there not being a strong leader among them, a leader that would be accepted and respected by all. It is clear that the entire Bosniak diaspora must be more active. What follows are some other conclusions ...Bosniak organizations do not have their own television, they do not have their own newspapers, and they do not have their own printed magazines. In general in Turkey, Bosniaks do not have their television or their newspapers. The media that can be said that they have: web sites, facebook pages, facebook profiles, facebook groups. These are the media through which they promote their organizations, schedule some events, ceremonies, sports tournaments, spread news etc. When they contact someone from Sanjak, Montenegro, they mostly use Facebook, then Viber, Whatsapp, Skype, email, phone... While for contacts in Turkey they use twitter most, then Facebook, Viber, phone. They say that new media has indeed helped them and continue to help them, both when it comes to doing their everyday activities, as well as when it comes to making and keeping ties with people from their other homeland, i.e. Montenegro, Sanjak, and with people in Turkey.

We can conclude this thesis with the following remark from one of the interviewees "with the new media, the whole world is on the palm of one's hand".

Bosniak diaspora in Turkey, its tradition, customs, language, their use of media, etc. are an inexhaustible topic for research. While I have tried to tackle this issue at hand as best as I can, I should like to state that I am well aware of the enormously of this subject and that my research has been a mere sentence in a much broader discussion. I feel that my research is important because, besides it, no other tangible research has been carried out on the topic of new media use by Bosniaks in Turkey. Nor has there been any sizable research on the topics regarding preserving the national identity of Bosniaks in the diaspora throughout the world, or the impact of globalization on the identity projects of the members of the Bosniak diaspora in Turkey. Therefore, I should like to think of this thesis as the first steps into a huge and fertile field of study. I argue that further research, perhaps on the general media usage practices of Bosniaks in Turkey, and not only their new media practices, with a combination of both the qualitative and quantitative methods may be one of many avenues that can be followed regarding research in this field.

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APPENDICES

Table 1: List of participants of the interview, Bosniak diaspora

Pseudonym	Number of years	Gender	Town
FEM1diaspora	95	Female	Izmir
FEM2diaspora	71	Female	Izmir
FEM3diaspora	25	Female	Istanbul
FEM4diaspora	23	Female	Ankara
B1diaspora	55	Male	Izmir
B2diaspora	100	Male	Istanbul
B3diaspora	77		Izmir
B4diaspora	61	Male	Ankara
B5diaspora	22	Male	Istanbul
B6diaspora	36	Male	Ankara
B7diaspora	36	Male	Istanbul

Table 2: List of participants of the interview, Bosniak students

Pseudonym	Number of years	Gender
SMeconomy	22	Male
SFmedicine	21	Female
SMhistory	22	Male
SMtheology	24	Male
SFpharmacy	23	Female
SMmanagement	21	Male
SFart	23	Female