

Two Distinct Groups of EU Immigrants in Coastal Turkey



Ilkay Südaş

A Case Study on The Retired and Non-Retired Europeans in Marmaris

The Mediterranean and the Aegean coastal zone of Turkey has emerged as a new destination for lifestyle migrants from Northern Europe in the recent years. This article aims at drawing attention to the recent migration flow of EU citizens to Turkey in case of Marmaris – a tourism town located on the Turkish Riviera. The differences of EU citizens who settled in Marmaris are studied by considering their retirement status. The retired and non-retired EU citizens are compared as to their socio-economic and demographic characteristics, pull and push factors in their migration process, perceived problems in Turkey and intention to return. The research was conducted in 2008 and 2009. 131 participants are EU citizens who spend at least three months in a year in Marmaris. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed during the research. The factors that cause the migration of the Europeans towards Marmaris are similar with other destination countries along the Mediterranean as well as the other destinations in Turkey however the retired and the non-retired groups in Marmaris differ from each other in aspect of some characteristics.

Key words: lifestyle migration, retirement migration, EU citizens, Marmaris, Turkey

Introduction

The seasonal or permanent migration of elderly northern Europeans towards the coastal areas of Southern European countries like Spain, Portugal, France, Italy

Ilkay Südaş is Ph.D. Candidate, Research Assistant at the Ege University, Department of Geography, Izmir, Turkey.

and Greece has become an important phenomenon during the last few decades. Many researchers evaluated this tourism-related mobility which is led by personal motivations under various titles. As O'Reilly and Benson (2009, 2) point out "previous research has attempted to link the mobilities to wider phenomena using umbrella concepts such as *retirement migration, leisure migration, international counterurbanization, second home ownership, amenity seeking or seasonal migration* (see Buller and Hoggart 1994; King et al. 2000; Rodríguez et al. 2005; Casado-Díaz 2006)". Combining these different conceptualizations, O'Reilly (2007) suggests the concept of "lifestyle migration" which is described as the migration movement of "relatively affluent individuals, moving, en masse, either part or full time, permanently or temporarily, to countries where the cost of living and/or the price of property is cheaper; places which, for various reasons, signify a better quality or pace of life. They are not moving for purposes of work. They are not labour migrants, refugees or asylum seekers, nor are they corporate elites, intellectuals or expatriates. They are often, but not always, later-life migrants and often partially or fully retired. Younger and working migrants are also moving but, still, the move is not motivated by the search for work – work is the means to an end."

The Mediterranean and the Aegean coastal zone of Turkey have also emerged as a new destination for lifestyle migrants from Northern Europe in the recent years. However "the emergence of Turkey as a country of destination within the international immigration system which is highly shaped by economic and political factors dates back to the 1990's (İçduygu 2004, 80); the country's experience with the new forms of migratory moves that are not motivated by traditional causes like flight, exile or work but targeting personal lifestyles (King 2002, 90) is even more recent, but has an apparent visibility particularly in some Western and Southern

Mediterranean coastal towns (Nudralı 2007, 1)”. Especially during the last two decades, many international tourism destinations located on this coastal zone, with typical Mediterranean climate, have changed into immigration destinations for different groups of EU citizens particularly from UK, Germany, The Netherlands and Nordic countries. The migration of Europeans to coastal tourism destinations in Turkey has been subject to many researches within the concepts such as “retirement migration” (Balkır and Kırkulak 2009), “older migrants” (Bahar et al. 2009) or “lifestyle migration” (Nudralı 2007). The results of researches on Turkish coastal towns indicate that Mediterranean climate of Turkey and relatively inexpensive property and low life expenses play role as main pull factors. Perceived positive characteristics of Turkish society like hospitality and friendliness are also among the important pull factors (Südaş and Mutluer 2006; Balkır and Kırkulak 2009; Bahar et al. 2009).

The EU citizens living in Turkey present a highly heterogeneous structure. Their period of stay, migration motivations, social status, educational backgrounds, levels of integration with the host culture and life-worlds differ greatly (Kaiser 2010, 68). According to Kaiser (2003, 271) it is possible to distinguish different groups of EU citizens in Turkey. These groups include: (1) EU spouses of Turkish citizens (more than 95% of them are women), (2) descendants of this group, (3) retired EU citizens (settling and buying property along the Turkish Sunbelt –Bodrum, Marmaris, Antalya, Alanya), (4) alternative lifestyle seekers (settling along the Turkish Sunbelt or in large urban areas and belonging to the age group between 40–50 years old), (5) EU citizens of Turkish origin and (6) descendants of West European immigrants to Ottoman Empire.

This article aims at drawing attention to the recent migration flow of EU citizens to Turkey in case Marmaris – a tourism town located on the Turkish Riviera. I tried to outline the differences of EU citizens which included in the third and fourth groups in the Kaiser’s classification. The differences of EU citizens who settled in Marmaris are studied by considering

their retirement status. The retired and non-retired EU citizens are compared as to their socio-economic and demographic characteristics, pull and push factors in their migration process, perceived problems in Turkey and intention to return.

Research Area

Marmaris is a popular international tourism destination located on the south-western coast of Turkey (Figure 1), with a typical Mediterranean climate and “sea-sand-sun” as main attractions. It has international accessibility via its *sea port* and the *Dalaman Airport* located 105 km south-east from the town. In

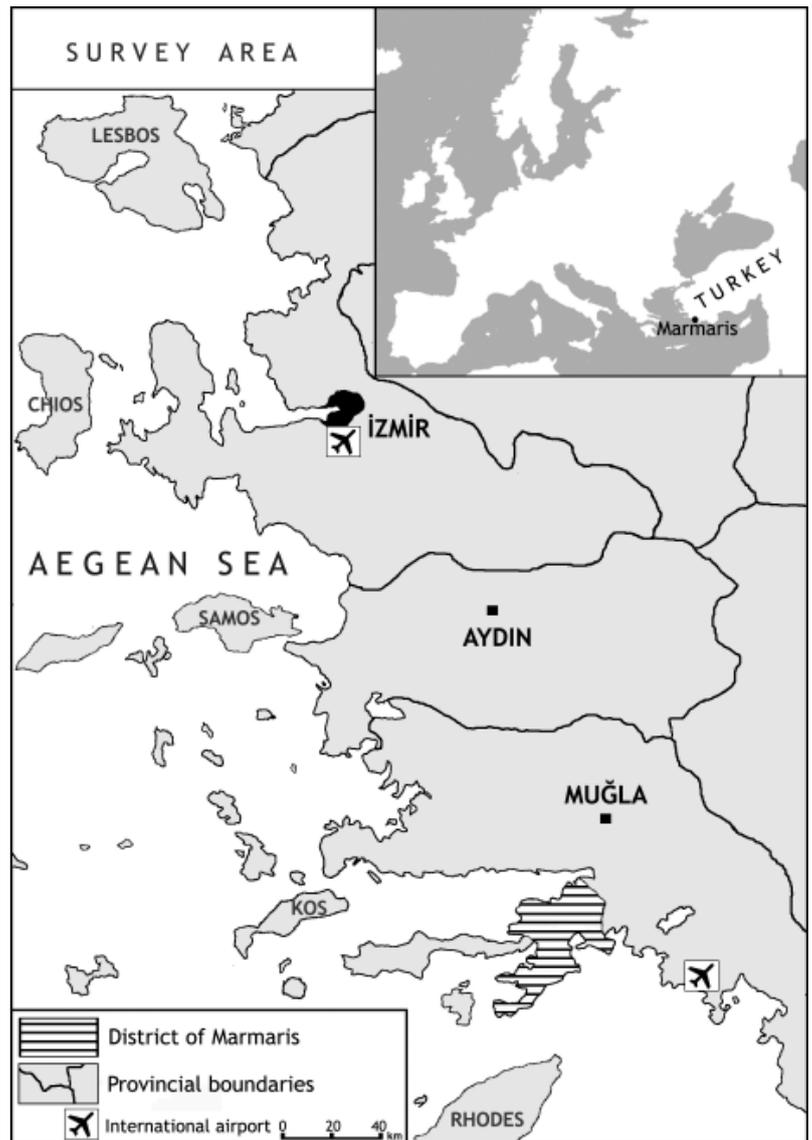


Figure 1. Location of Marmaris.

Table 1. Number of foreign property-owners in Muğla province. January 2011

Countries	Number	%
UK	15 073	77,6
Germany	1 174	6,0
Ireland	991	5,1
Benelux	866	4,5
Nordic countries*	440	2,3
Others	883	4,5
Total	19 427	100,0

* Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Iceland

Source: The official website of General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre, Turkey. www.tkgm.gov.tr.



2009, Marmaris received more than 140 000 arrivals from EU countries (78.4 % of total arrivals) via sea line; approximately half of these arrivals were from the U.K (18 %) and Germany (27 %). On the other hand, arrivals to the region through Dalaman Airport, which serves not only Marmaris but for the other destinations nearby, were much higher: Some 1 300 000 international arrivals to Dalaman in 2009 were predominantly from the UK (74 %). The shares of arrivals from other EU countries were too low when compared to the share of the UK (for instance; Benelux (8 %); Germany (6.3 %) and Scandinavian countries (5.1 %) (Source: Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism). However, Marmaris is not only attractive for the tourists. As Özgüç (2007, 515) emphasizes, a recent trend in Marmaris is that it has become a preferred location by the retired, especially because of its mild climate.

In recent years, different groups of EU citizens, some of whom are the retired, prefer to settle in Marmaris. The number of residence permits obtained by EU citizens and the increasing property acquisition by foreigners in the region indicate the existence of European community here. In 2007, the number of residence permits obtained by EU citizens in Marmaris was 2 651 (predominantly by the citizens of UK (54 %) and Germany (16 %) (Source: Police Department of Muğla Province). Coastal districts of south-western provinces (Aydın and Muğla) are quite popular also for real estate acquisition of the foreigners: The British, the Irish, the German and the Dutch are the largest groups in this part of Turkey in aspect of property ownership. Muğla, the province in which the district of Marmaris is also located, has the second largest share in Turkey. As to January 2011, some 20 000 foreigners have acquired real estate in Muğla. This figure equals to 17.2 percent of total foreign purchases in Turkey and it belongs to the EU citizens, predominantly the British (Table 1). In Marmaris, it is possible to see the cultural impacts of the European community on the urban landscape via shops, restaurants and signs in languages other than Turkish (Photos 1, 2 and 3 on the left).

Method

The research¹ was conducted in 2008 and 2009. 131 participants are EU citizens who spend at least three months in a year in Marmaris (Table 1). Because of the

Table 2. Sample of the research as to nationalities

		In-depth Interviewees	
Country	N	Country	N
United Kingdom	72	UK	3
The Netherlands	31	Finland	1
Germany	15		
Switzerland*	3		
Nordic countries*	2		
Ireland	2		
France	1		
Romania	1		
Total	127	Total	4
General total of the participants	131		

*“Nordic countries” include Finland and Norway. Participants from Switzerland and Norway included in the sample however these countries are not EU members but sending countries in Europe.

lack of sufficient statistics, it is not possible to know the total population and the distribution of nationalities of EU citizens. Hence, the number of residence permits obtained by EU citizens in Marmaris and the number of foreign properties in Muğla province were taken into account in the composition of sample in order to represent the nationalities. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed during the research. A questionnaire form in four languages (English, German, French and Dutch) was responded by 127 EU citizens living in Marmaris at least three months of the year. The questionnaire forms were distributed by the help of the owners of the bars and cafes which are frequently visited by European community members and the help of the Christian fellowship in Marmaris. Some of the participants delivered the blank forms to their friends who are EU also citizens.

The form was also published in electronic version at a web page (www.iliveinturkey.com) which was specifically designed for the survey in the given languages above. This web page was announced among the European community in Marmaris via a local newspaper in English called “The Post” and a Dutch newsletter called “Oranje Medelanders”. 50 participants answered the questionnaire electronically and

77 participants used the paper forms. Four other participants joined an in-depth interview (Table 2).

The retired and non-retired European immigrants in Marmaris are compared in aspect of their socio-economic and demographic characteristics, pull and push factors that take role in migration decision, perceived problems in Turkey and intention on return. Mainly, the quantitative findings of the survey are discussed however qualitative findings were also given in some points in order to provide a better understanding. The answers that were given in the in-depth interviews to the questions discussed in this article are employed in order to support the quantitative findings with qualitative data. The findings are organized through tables and graphics presenting the differences between these two groups. The analysis performed include descriptive statistics, factor analyses and independent sample t-tests in order to identify statistically significant differences

on socio-economic and demographic characteristics between the retired and non-retired group as well as to understand the various migration motivations.

Results

In this part, findings related with the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the participants (Table 3), push and pull factors in the migration process, perceived problems in Turkey and intention on return are presented in terms of retirement status.

Socio-economic and demographic characteristics: Comparison of the retiree and the non-retiree groups

The *mean age* in the total sample is 49.1. This value increases up to 58.2 for the retirees and show a decrease to 44.1 for the non-retiree group. A considerable *imbalance in sex ratio* is observed in the sample. In the total sample, the ratio of female participants reaches 76.4 %, indicating the dominance of woman immigrants. However, the ratio of women in the retiree group (61.7 %) is lower than in the other group (85.0 %). The share of high school graduates is higher

Table 3. Socio-economic and demographic indicators as to retirement status

VARIABLES	Retiree		Non-retiree		Total	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
Age						
30 and younger	0	0,0	11	13,9	11	8,9
50 – 31	5	11,3	47	59,5	52	42,3
51- 64	30	68,2	19	24,1	49	39,8
65 and older	9	20,5	2	2,5	11	8,9
Total	44	100,0	80		100,0	100,0
Average age		58,2		44,1		49,1
Sex						
Male	18	38,3	12	15,0	30	23,6
Female	29	61,7	68	85,0	97	76,4
Total	47	100,0	80	100,0	127	100,0
Significance	$\chi^2 (3, 127) = 45,5 p=0,000$					
Household size						
1 person	7	14,9	9	11,2	16	12,6
2 people	37	78,7	33	41,3	70	55,1
3 and more	3	6,4	38	47,5	41	32,3
Total	47	100,0	80	100,0	127	100,0
Educational Background						
High school	29	63,0	33	41,3	49,2	62
Vocational school	11	23,9	30	37,5	32,5	41
University degree and upper	6	13,0	17	21,3	18,3	23
Total	46	100,0	80		100,0	126
Marital Status						
Married / Living with a partner	39	86,7	63	78,8	102	81,6
Single	6	13,3	17	21,3	23	18,4
Total	45	100,0	80	100,0	125	100,0
Level of income						
1000 € and less	11	32,3	31	48,4	42	42,8
1001–2500 €	15	44,1	27	42,2	42	42,8
2501–5000 €	8	23,5	3	4,7	11	11,3
5001 € and more	0	0,0	3	4,7	3	3,1
Total	34	100,0	64	100,0	98	100,0
Working status in Marmaris						
Currently working in Marmaris	1	2,2	27	34,2	28	22,6
Not working in Marmaris	44	97,8	52	65,8	96	77,4
Total	45	100,0	79	100,0	124	100,0
Significance	$\chi^2 (1, 124) = 16,7 p=0,000$					
Level of Turkish language						
None/A few words	21	45,7	9	11,4	30	24,0
Basic/Intermediate	23	50,0	46	58,2	69	55,2
Upper	2	4,3	13	16,5	15	12,0
Advanced	0	0,0	11	13,9	11	8,8
Total	46	100,0	79	100,0	125	100,0
Legal status in Turkey						
Citizenship of Turkey	0	0,0	2	2,5	2	1,6
Dual citizenship	1	2,1	15	18,8	16	12,6
Tourist visa	18	38,3	24	30,0	42	33,1
Residence permit	28	59,6	39	48,7	67	52,8
Total	47	100,0	80	100,0	127	100,0

Table 4. Means, Standard Deviations and Independent t-test Results for the status of retirement

	Retirees		Non-retirees		t
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Mediterranean climate in Turkey	4.24	0.79	3.64	1.16	2.983*
Informal way of life of Turkish people	4.09	0.85	3.72	1.08	1.966
Hospitality of Turkish people	4.02	1.03	3.64	1.16	1.847
Low life expenses in Turkey	3.95	0.86	3.21	1.21	3.562**
Climate of home country	3.93	1.16	3.50	1.29	1.870
Natural attractions in Turkey	3.76	0.97	3.68	1.28	0.335
High life expenses in home country	3.64	1.28	2.91	1.47	2.738*
Cultural-historical attractions in Turkey	3.48	1.20	2.91	1.16	2.479*
Getting bored with life in home country	3.37	1.11	3.03	1.51	1.310
Marriage/relationship in Turkey	2.89	1.79	3.49	1.76	-1.680
Political conditions in home country	2.81	1.48	2.05	1.25	2.930*
Easy Access to Turkey from home country	2.68	1.25	2.48	1.26	0.842
Alienation/social factors in home country	2.62	1.38	2.59	1.32	0.094
Advices from friends in Turkey	1.92	1.26	1.78	1.16	0.572
Having lived/worked in Turkey	1.47	0.93	2.30	1.65	-2.709*
Work	1.23	0.58	2.62	1.52	-5.491**

*p<.05 ** p <.01

Scores: 1: Not important, 2: Less important, 3: Somewhat important, 4: Important, 5: Very important

in the retired group whereas the shares of vocational school and university graduates are higher in the non-retired group.

Both of the groups predominantly consist of couples and the share of the singles is low; however the singles have a larger share in the non-retiree group (21.3 % vs. 13.3 %). The share of the households with three or more people is remarkably high in the younger group (47.5 % vs. 6.4 %). Accordingly, these figures indicate that the share of immigrants living individually is higher among the retirees than the non-retirees. The retired immigrants live mostly as couples but non-retirees live in larger families.

Working status seems to be an important differential variable to distinct the two groups discussed. While only 2.2 % of the retired group (1 person) is currently working in Marmaris, this value is 34.2 % for the younger group. Income level is also differential. However 23 % of the participants did not respond to the question on income level, the responses that were received indicate that they are mostly from lower income groups. One fourth of the immigrants earn

less than 1 000 € while 37.4 % of them earns up to 2 500 € per month. The share of those earning more than 2 500 € is higher in retirees which may be related to the regular retirement salaries.

It is seen that among the retirees, the total share of “upper” and “advanced” level of Turkish is distinctly lower than the non-retirees: 4.3 % vs. 30.4 %. Furthermore, nearly half of the retirees (45.7 %) lead their life in Turkey without using Turkish. Regarding the legal status in Turkey, there is the dominance of residence permit holders in the total sample (52.8 %). 33.1 %, on the other hand, has a tourist visa which has to be renewed every three months. These two groups differ as to citizenship acquisition in favour of non-retirees. It must also be noted that 14 of the 15 non-retired participants who have a dual citizenship are women.

Push and Pull Factors

The factors that affected the migration decision were analyzed by comparing the mean scores for each of

Table 5. Factor Loadings and Communalities for the Factor Analysis

Factors	Loading	Communality
Factor 1: Comparative Advantages		
Low life expenses in Turkey	.74	.76
Getting bored with life in home country	.65	.47
High life expenses in home country	.63	.78
Marriage/relationship in Turkey ^a	-.59	.39
Informal way of life of Turkish people	.42	.63
Hospitality of Turkish people	.33	.62
Factor 2: Attractions of Turkey		
Natural attractions in Turkey	.86	.82
Cultural/historical attractions in Turkey	.80	.71
Informal way of life of Turkish people	.51	.63
Hospitality of Turkish people	.45	.62
Factor 3: Disadvantages of home country		
Political conditions in home country	.86	.76
Alienation/social factors in home country	.78	.68
High life expenses in home country	.52	.78
Factor 4: Climate		
Mediterranean climate in Turkey	.90	.87
Climate of home country	.87	.79
Factor 5: Connections with Turkey		
Advices from friends in Turkey	.77	.66
Having lived/worked in Turkey before	.73	.63
Easy access to Turkey from home country	.57	.53
Work	.31	.54

^a Reversed item

the pull and push factors. Mediterranean climate in Turkey seems to be the most important pull factor for the retirees. Perceived positive characteristics of Turkish society, referred here as “an informal way of life” and “hospitality” are also significant along with the low life expenses in Turkey. Non-retirees, on the other hand, give the highest score to the social characteristics of Turkish people. Informal way of life of Turkish people is the most important pull factor for the non-retirees. These two groups present a significant differentiation in aspect of some push and pull factors as it can be seen in Table 4. It must be emphasized that in the non-retiree group, the factors marriage/relationship, low life expenses and having lived/worked in Turkey received higher scores than the retiree group.

In order to identify the pull and push factor domains, the data from the pull and push factors was subjected to Varimax Rotated Factor Analysis. The analysis (eigenvalue > 1) yielded 5 factors that explained 66.5 % of the variance (Table 5). The 1st factor, **comparative advantages**, included the items related to advantages of Turkey and disadvantages of home country. It explained 15.5 % of the variance. The 2nd factor, labelled as **attractions of Turkey**, was associated with natural and cultural attractions in Turkey and perceived Turkish social characteristics. It explained 14.5 % of the variance. The 3rd factor, **disadvantages of home country**, included items related to perceived political, social and economic conditions in home country. It explained 12.9 % of the variance. The 4th

Table 6. Means, Standard Deviations and Independent-test Results for the status of retirement

	Retirees		Non-retirees		
	M	SD	M	SD	t
Comparative Advantages	22.40	3.67	19.07	5.83	3,066*
Attractions of Turkey	15.24	3.51	13.86	3.77	1,857
Disadvantages of home country	9.10	3.42	7.52	3.41	2,316*
Climate	8.21	1.76	7.18	2.24	2.548*
Connections with Turkey	7.28	2.53	8.92	3.62	-2.290*

*p<.05

factor, **climate**, was related to climatic conditions of the origin country and Turkey. It explained 12.7 % of the variance. Finally, the 5th factor, **connections with Turkey**, emphasized on various connections to Turkey. It explained 10.7 % of the variance.

As it is demonstrated in Table 6, performed independent *t*-test results showed that the means of the retirees for the pull and push factor domains were significantly differentiated with the means of non-retirees, except the means of “Attractions of Turkey”. The means of retirees for the “comparative advantages”, “disadvantages of home country” and “climate” domains are significantly higher than non-retirees. However the means of non-retirees for the “Connections with Turkey” are significantly higher than retirees.

Responses in the in-depth interviews also support these quantitative results. For instance, a younger participant, explaining his migration decision to Marmaris, focuses on his prior connections with Turkey. The natural attractions, relatively low life expenses and the social characteristics of Turkey are also referred as pull factors:

I have worked for travel companies for more than 10 years all over Europe and the world, so I got to see many resorts and locations. Six years ago, I worked for the first time in Marmaris and I liked the city, people and the country of Turkey. You could see Turkey and Marmaris had a lot of potential. I then went to Italy and Greece for a few years, returning regularly to Marmaris. Myself and my partner decided three years ago that we wanted to settle somewhere and Turkey and Marmaris was where we chose for many reasons... Marmaris has the most spectacular scenery as well a beautiful peninsula with many delightful

villages and places to escape the town if necessary. It is a city with a large population, so therefore shops, amenities etc. are open in the winter; unlike other tourist resorts which are summer only and completely shut down in the winter. Living in Turkey provides value for money, monthly bills, eating out, and property taxes. They are not as expensive as the rest of Europe. Property was a lot cheaper than Europe... and friendly locals, the Turkish people around Marmaris are in general very polite and friendly, always willing to help (Man, UK, 36).

The fact that marriage and work are playing a more important role in the migration process of the younger group reflects also in the in-depth interviews that were conducted. A participant mentions her migration story with a focus on her marriage and work:

I met my Turkish husband in 2001, we got married in 2004 and finally decided to settle in Marmaris in 2006. I was able to leave my job in Finland then and start working part-time as a consultant, so moving to Marmaris was a better option than moving to Finland as my husband's job is here in Turkey and he really couldn't do it in Finland (Woman, Finland, 39).

On the other hand, holidays can be important as a prior connection to move to a destination in retirement migration process (King et al. 1998:100) and can result in selling the residency in home country to buy a house in the retirement destination. As uttered by an older participant who changed from a *tourist* into a *resident*:

When I first came, I used to come for holiday twice a year. And from the first time I came, I fell in love with Turkey. After 11 years of coming for holiday here I decided to go back and sell my home and move to Turkey.

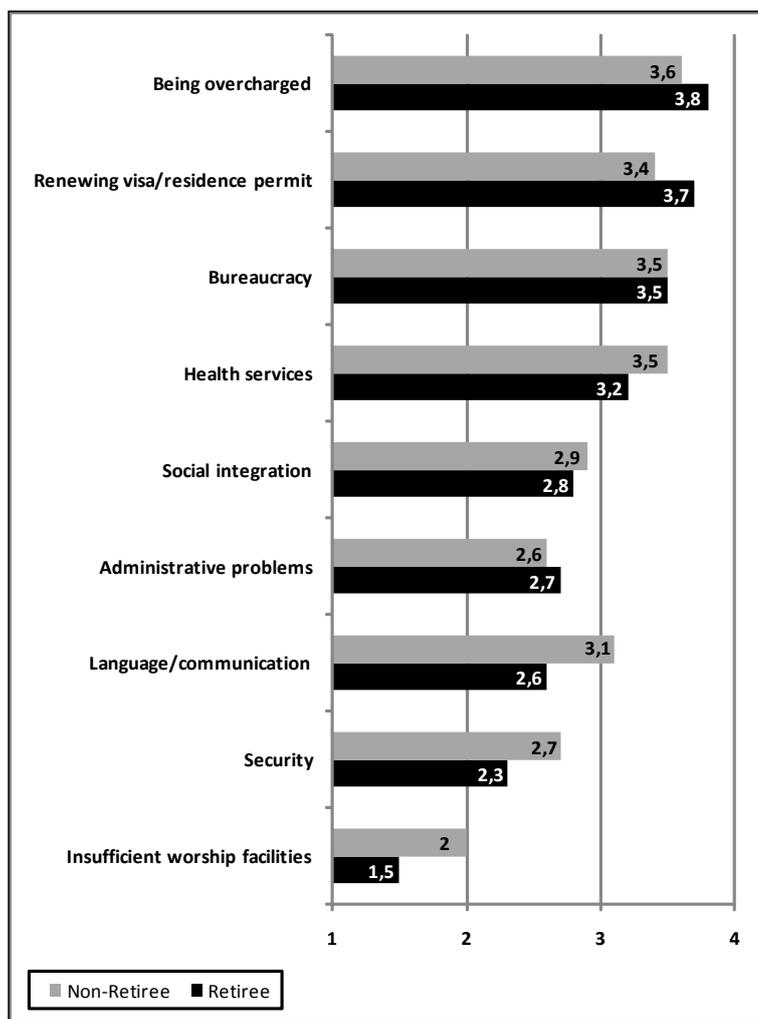


Figure 2. Mean scores of the perceived problems in Marmaris as to retirement status. Scores: 1: Not important, 2: Less important, 3: Somewhat important, 4: Important, 5: Very important.

And I think here is really pretty. I've been here nearly six years now (Woman, UK, 59).

Perceived Problems in Turkey and Intention on Return

Being overcharged on the prices, bureaucratic processes, renewing the residency/visa and health services are the most important problems of the immigrants in Marmaris however they do not consider any problem as “very important” (Figure 2). The groups that were discussed do not significantly differentiate as to problems. However some problems

seem to be more important for the non-retirees, including language and communication, security and health services. As for the retirees, being overcharged and renewing the residency/visa seem to be more important. Referring to the “bureaucracy” as a problem for example, a participant mentions his experiences during bureaucratic processes in Turkey:

When you buy a car, house, set up the electric, go to the tax office, arrange the water, try to get your phone line fixed, go to the bank, it's all filled with dread, we know we are going to have to queue for hours, go to numerous different departments, buildings, see numerous different people just to get one form signed. When I get my residency I have to visit six different offices and sometimes two people within the same office (Man, UK, 36).

Intentions on return to home country do not significantly differentiate between groups either but some conditions are more likely to cause a return movement for the non-retiree group (Figure 3). The conditions like death of a partner and decline in income are important possible conditions for the younger group and this also gives an idea on what ties this group to Marmaris. As 59 % of the non-retirees emphasize on the security problems, they are more tended to return if Marmaris becomes an unsafe place to live. The reasons for the retirees, on the other hand, are more related with their personal conditions related to health. As one interviewee points out, health problems may be the “only thing” to cause a return:

Probably only thing that will take me away would be ill health. That would be it. (Man, UK, 65).

Whereas interviewees from a younger age group see returning more obscure and as a difficult decision which is dependent on various reasons:

No plans to leave Turkey at the moment, we are very happy here. When we start to have children we would have to think about the schooling, but at present from what I have seen, the kids grow up much nicer than their British counterparts (Man, UK, 36).

Very difficult to say, it all depends on so many issues. For the moment we have no plans to relocate (Woman, Finland, 39).

Discussion

Turkey, as a new destination country on the Mediterranean coast, started to attract various lifestyle migrants from Northern European countries in the recent years. Though previous researches are mostly focused on the migration movements towards EU countries like Spain, Portugal, Malta and Greece; in this study, the profile of the migrants and their migration motivations are examined in case of Marmaris in order to attract attention to Aegean coast of Turkey.

As King et al. (1998, 109) emphasizes for the elderly migrants in case of other destinations in Southern Europe; “these are very difficult population groups to identify”. Such a difficulty is notable in the Turkish case too. The European migrants in Turkey are diverse, including both the younger and older Europeans as well as the retired and not. In order to identify different groups in Marmaris, retirement status was considered as a distinctive variable. Thus, it was possible to evaluate whether the Kaiser’s (2003) classification on EU citizens living in Turkey is applicable in this sample or not.

Regardless of the retirement status, it is observed that the motivations of the Europeans settled in Marmaris are similar with other destination countries along the Mediterranean (Rodríguez et al. 1998; Casado-Díaz 2006; Warnes and Patterson 1998) as well as the other destinations in Turkey (Südaş and Mutluer 2006, Balkır and Kırkulak 2009, Bahar et al. 2009). A warmer climate and low cost of living are the main pull factors. Social characteristics of Turkish people which are considered positively are also among the important pull factors, such as an informal way of life and hospitality. Climate seems to be much more important for the retirees than the non-retirees.

The retirees in Marmaris consider climate important or very important, with a share of 90.5 %. This result shows similarity with some other retirement migration studies on Spain’s Costa del Sol and Costa Blanca (87.3 % in Rodríguez *et al.* 1998 and 89.7 % in Casado-Díaz 1999). However, non-retirees pay less attention to climate with a share of 60.8 %. In the study of Warnes and Patterson (1998), it is also seen that a migrant group with “family connections” give less attention to the climate factor. In Marmaris, when con-

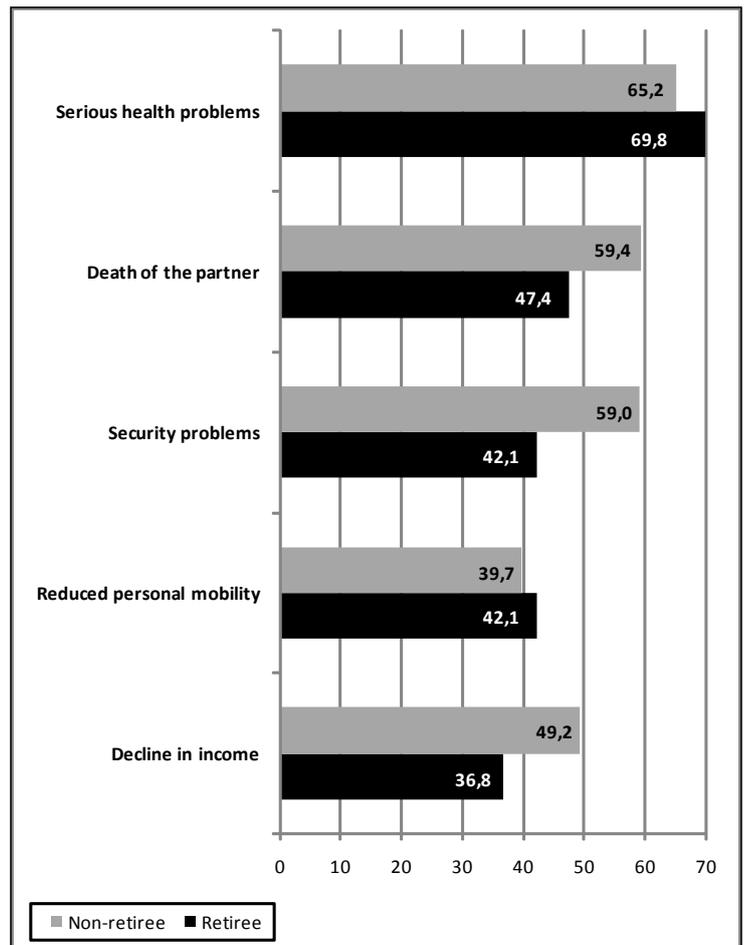


Figure 3. Under which circumstances would you leave Marmaris? (%).

sidered that non-retired EU citizens have larger families (Table 3), the mean scores of marriage/relationship and work as pull factors are higher (Table 4) and both decline in income and death of a partner would be more important causes of return (Figure 3); it can be suggested that climate is not a prior pull factor for the younger EU citizens in Turkey because they already have different connections with the destination. As the analysis on the factor groups indicate, the retirees give higher mean scores on climate whereas the connections with Turkey are more important for the younger group.

The differences on the socio-economic and demographic characteristics also confirm that the retired and non-retired EU citizens represent two distinct population groups. The differences in aspect of age, household size, current working status and especially

both legal status and the level of Turkish are remarkable (Table 3). Higher level of Turkish language in the non-retiree group may be accepted as the higher level of integration with the host culture.

A considerable result on age structure is that, when compared to other retirement destinations in Southern Europe, both retired and non-retired EU citizens in Marmaris are younger. The mean age of the total sample is lower than 50 and the mean age of the retirees is lower than 60. King *et al.* (1998) report older mean ages for the retirees in Tuscany (69,1), Malta (68,5), Costa del Sol (66,4) and in Algarve (65,5) whereas this value for the retirees in Marmaris is 58,2 (in 2009). The retired group of the British, as the largest citizens of one single country, has a slightly higher mean age which is 58,5. The mean age of the second group, the non-retirees, is quite lower (44,1) and this is in accordance with the Kaiser's "alternative lifestyle seekers" who are in the range of 40–50 years old. O'Reilly (2007) suggests that lifestyle migrants can be from younger and working age groups as well.

In case of Marmaris, sex of the participants is one of the distinctive variables. There is the predominance of women both in the retired and non-retired group however; this difference is much bigger in the non-retired group (Table 3). In a previous study on Marmaris by Özbek (2008), an imbalance of sex ratio was also detected: 67,4 % for females and 35,3 % for males. According to Özbek; "The fact that participants are mostly women reveals that migration movement towards Marmaris is mostly executed by women. The immigrants in Marmaris are generally married to the same nationals but another group consists of people who settled in the region marrying a Turkish citizen". Bahar *et al.* (2009, 512) who conducted a research on the EU citizens in the coastal towns of Turkey also reports that women are dominant in their sample with a share of 61 %.

Considering that more than 95 % of the spouses of Turkish citizens are women (Kaiser 2003), the women immigrants from EU countries must be studied in detail in order to understand if a flow of "women migration" can be mentioned or not. As Castles and Miller (2003, 9) emphasize the feminization of migration, and that "women play a significant role in many forms of migration and many regions" and "awareness of the specificity of women in contemporary migration has grown"; the dominance of women on the given

sample may be a remarkable phenomenon to examine in the lifestyle migration as studies on migration of women to coastal regions (O'Reilly 2000) are limited. It must also be noted that the fact that women were more tended to participate in the survey in Marmaris and also help to distribute the questionnaire forms during the data collection might have affected sex ratio in the sample which was random.

The findings of this research reveal similar motivations of lifestyle migration in accordance with the related literature. Especially the findings on the reasons to migrate and intention on return give clue about migrants to develop an attachment with the place. Literature on place attachment and place identity (Lalli 1992, Gustafson 2001) indicate that people make evaluations in dimensions of comparison, past, belongingness and future intentions and that attach to the places as a result of this process. From this point of view it can be suggested that findings on lifestyle migration process are needed not only to assess a given situation but also to predict future course.

References

- Bahar, H. İ., Laçiner, S., Bal, İ. & Özcan, M. (2009). "Older Migrants to the Mediterranean: The Turkish Example" *Population, Space and Place* 15: 509-522.
- Balkir, C. & Kırkulak, B. (2009). "Turkey, The New Destination For International Retirement Migration" in H. Fassmann, M. Haller, D. Lane (Eds.) *Migration and Mobility in Europe: Trends, Patterns and Control* Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.
- Buller, H. & Hoggart, K. (1994). *International Counterurbanization: British Migrants in Rural France* Ashgate, Aldershot.
- Casado-Díaz, M. A. (1999). "British Retirees Living on the Costa Blanca: From Tourists into Residents" Paper Presented to *The Royal Geographical Society – Institute of British Geographers Conference "Geographies of the Future"*. 4th-7th January, 1999 Leicester.
- Casado-Díaz, M.A. (2006). "Retiring to Spain: An Analysis of Differences among North European Nationals" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* Vol. 32 (8):1321–1339.

- Castles, S. & Miller, M.J. (2003). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in The Modern World* The Guildford Press, New York.
- Gustafson, P. (2001). "Meanings of Place: Everyday Experience and Theoretical Conceptualizations" *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 21, 5-16.
- İçduygu, A. (2004). "Demographic Mobility over Turkey: Migration Experiences and Government Responses" *Mediterranean Quarterly* 15 (4), 88-99.
- Kaiser, B. (2003). "Lifeworlds of E.U. Immigrants in Turkey" in E. Zeybekoğlu and B. Johansson (Eds.) *Migration and Labour in Europe: Views from Turkey and Sweden* MURCIR and NIWL, Istanbul, pp. 269-289.
- Kaiser, B. (2010). "Avrupa Birliği Uyum Sürecinde Türkiye'nin Yabancılar Mevzuatı ve AB Vatandaşı Göçmenlerin Yaşamları Üzerindeki Etkileri" in B. Pusch and T. Wilkoszewski (Eds.) *Türkiye'ye Uluslararası Göç: Toplumsal Koşullar Bireysel Yaşamlar* Kitap Yayınevi, Istanbul.
- King, R. (2002). "Towards A New Map of European Migration" *International Journal of Population Geography* 8, 89-106.
- King, R., Warnes, T. & Williams, A. (2000). *Sunset Lives: British Retirement Migration to the Mediterranean*. Berg, Oxford.
- King, R., Warnes, A. M. & Williams, M. A. (1998). "International Retirement Migration in Europe", *International Journal of Population Geography* 4(2): 91-111.
- Lalli, M. (1992). "Urban Related Identity: Theory, Measurement and Empirical Findings" *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 12, 285-303.
- Nudralı, F. Ö. (2007). *The Experiences of British Citizens in Didim, A Coastal Town in Turkey: A Case of Lifestyle Migration* Unpublished Master Dissertation. The Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University. Ankara.
- O'Reilly, K. (2007). "The Rural Idyll, Residential Tourism and the Spirit of Lifestyle Migration" Paper Presented at the *Association of Social Anthropologists Annual Conference*, London Metropolitan University, April 2007.
- O'Reilly, K. (2000). "Trading Intimacy for Liberty: British Women on the Costa del Sol" in Anthias, F. and Lazaridis, G. (Eds) *Gender and Migration in Southern Europe* Berg, Oxford.
- O'Reilly, K. & Benson, M. (2009). "Lifestyle Migration: Escaping to the Good Life?" In M. Benson and O'reilly (Eds) *Lifestyle Migration. Expectations, Aspirations and Experiences*, Ashgate.
- Özbek, Ç. (2008). *Uluslararası Göçler Bağlamında Yurttaşlık ve Kimliğin Değişen Anlamı: Marmaris Örneği*. Muğla University Institute of Social Sciences, Unpublished Master Dissertation, Muğla.
- Özgüç, N. (2007). *Turizm Coğrafyası: Özellikler ve Bölgeler* Çantay Kitabevi, Istanbul.
- Rodríguez, V., Casado-Díaz, M. & Huber, A. (Eds) (2005). *La Migración de Europeos Retirados en España*. (Madrid: CSIC).
- Rodríguez, V., Fernández-Mayoralas, G. & Rojo, F. (1998). "European Retirees on The Costa del Sol: A Cross-National Comparison" *International Journal of Population Geography* 4 (2): 183-200.
- Südaş, İ. & Mutluer, M. (2006). "Immigration Européenne de Retraités Vers la «Riviera Turque»: Le Cas d'Alanya (Côte Méditerranéenne)" *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* 22 (3):203-223.
- Warnes, A. M. & Patterson, G. (1998). "British Retirees In Malta: Components of the Cross-National Relationship" *International Journal of Population Geography* 4(2): 113-133.

Notes

¹ This article presents a part of the findings of a wider research project on EU citizens in Turkey which was supported by Ege University, Faculty of Letters and titled "Immigration from European Countries towards Turkey: A Comparative Study on the Aegean Coast" (Project no: 07EDB017). The project was carried out by Prof. Dr. Mustafa MUTLUER and Research assistant İlkey Südaş in three tourism destinations located on the Aegean coast of Turkey, namely Marmaris, Kuşadası and Ayvalık.