

Revisiting the Turkish migration to Germany after forty years



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*ülkemin ırmakları dî°ari akar,
neden bilmem can havliyle akar*
(Cemal Süreya)

Introduction

Turkish migration to European countries can be considered as the second phase of Republican Turkey's migration history. It mobilised very large numbers of people since in-migrations of the period following the First World War (1914–18) and the War of Independence (1919–22). Germany, obviously, has a significant role within this migration regime of the last forty years (1961–2001). Since the bilateral agreement allowing hundreds of thousands of Turkish labourers' entry into Germany were signed with this country in 1961. Thus the beginning of the European Turks was marked.

Today, migration from Turkey to Europe, especially to Germany, constituted the largest non-EU immigrant minority in Western Europe during the second half of the century. This study provides a reassessment of Turkish migration

to Germany with a particular focus on the context and composition based on immigrant narratives. Ethnic and political aspects including the terror of the clashes in South East Turkey during the last two decades of the last century, and the coincidence with the rise of the fortress Europe policies are addressed. Mining the narratives of Turkish immigrants in Germany, this study reveals some unresearched motivations of Turkish migratory regime.

Conceptually, I resign from the idea of separation of different types of migration and consider all sorts of movements as migration without excluding for instance asylum seekers, or refugees. Apart from that, this study complies with mainstream approaches of international migration conceptualisation.

The data used in this study comes from 34 in-depth interviews conducted among immigrant Turkish citizens in Cologne, Germany in 1999. The analysis also refers to a nation wide survey data conducted in Turkey in 1996, Turkish International Migration Survey (Ayhan et al., 2000).

There is no homogeneous Turkish migratory regime due to impacts of ethnically oriented

flows. Utilisation of an ongoing ethnic conflict may cause a significant shift in international migration flows. And it is not necessarily due to immediate protection need from persecution as in the case of Turkish asylum migration. In such a shift in flows, more important role has been played by migration regulations because as long as the other ways of migration closed or tightened people intends to use some other means wherever and whenever is possible. Finally, transnational social networks gains more importance in international migration processes as they facilitate and maintain a broad range of migration flows.

Dynamics of international migration in Europe has remarkably changed in recent decades. Despite the collapse of the Soviet system did not generate an enormous influx from the Eastern Europe after as expected, it has widened the permeable borders of EU. The policies of "Fortress Europe" eventually made their best and reduced legal migration. However, people who want or are forced to migrate still follow their pursuits. Migration to Europe is a never-ending story. Another contributory factor is the ageing of population in Europe, which serves for

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the perpetuation of migration. Recently Germany began to import IT professionals though they could not manage to fill initial quota of 120,000. The United Kingdom firmly manifesting its policies against asylum migration but by the year 2000, it became the country with the highest asylum seeker applications. The Southern border of Europe, open to Africa and the Middle East have become more vulnerable and attracted more illegal migrants at the shores.

There was an estimated 750,000 illegal residents in Germany by 2000 (FSOG, 2000). The large immigrant stock in Germany enables those "illegal" people to find a shelter in the country along with their relatives and friends. It would not be entirely wrong to assume that a reasonable proportion of these were Turkish citizens. This paper focuses on the flows from Turkey to Germany with regard to the shifts in its composition. In this regard, asylum migration requires a special attention, as it provides a basis for clandestine migration. The impact of ethnic conflict is highlighted in this study with regard to its facilitating and changing effect on Turkish international migratory regime.

Following the remarks on conceptualisation and the data used, the first section will examine the historical evolution of migration flows from Turkey to Germany; the second part will reconsider the Turkish context with respect to its ethnic tensions, which facilitates emigration; the third part is going to summarise Turkish migration to Germany; and the final section will focus on selected cases of migration from Turkey to Germany to

display patterns and mechanisms that seems changed due to the impact of ethnic conflict.

Conceptual remarks

International migration conceptualisations are still rough and reflect a theoretical inadequacy due to the non-existence of a unified theory (e.g. Massey et al., 1993). However it does not necessarily mean that we do not have enough conceptual tools to investigate this phenomenon. For instance, some scholars also asked whether there is a need for a unified theory at all? (e.g. Faist, 2000). This study utilises main stream international migration perspectives drawing upon following premises: International migration is a function of a series of factors including wealth differentials (i.e. wages, employment, living standards), political differences (i.e. level of democratisation, ethnic and political freedoms, discrimination), natural hazards (i.e. earthquakes, floods, famine, etc.) playing over the networks (i.e. institutional and individual).

Therefore, the political and economic context is at the heart of explaining international migration but would be very short cut if not supported by networks, which were created by intergovernmental relations, previous migration flows, familial, communal and friendship ties and also by improvements in telecommunications.

When one considers international migration within a conflict framework, then it can be understood as a conflict between regulating parties and migrating parties. Each of them is informed

about the possible actions of the other to some extent. Again each of these parties has strengths. The migrating party has high manoeuvre ability due to its limited responsibility as opposed to the huge legal and physical burdens on the regulating party. However each move of each party brings a responsive move from the other. Therefore against the fortress Europe policies to halt immigration the migrants developed new strategies, which were supported by other contexts, as well. For instance, power vacuum in Bosnia led by a brutal ethnic conflict made the region a transit route for almost every illegal migrant. Similarly, ethnic clashes in the East of Turkey created an opportunity framework for a specific group of people to increase their migration ability, which has been exploited by almost every potential migrant from Turkey.

Data and methods

This study uses the migration biographies illustrated in route maps based on in-depth interviews, which were conducted among Turkish immigrants in Cologne, Germany in 1999. The sample comprises 34 cases, most of whom them were refugees and asylum seekers (Table 1). To give a precise picture, a sub-sample is used here, by excluding similar cases. In the illustrations intra-urban residential relocations have been ignored, as they were very rare. However, it needs to be underlined here in these few cases, the intra-urban residential relocations were basically towards the concentration areas of Turkish immigrants. Table 1

Table 1. Characteristics of respondents

	Asylum Seekers	Workers	Family reunion	Student	Total
Female	8	-	3	-	11
Male	17	3	2	1	23
Secondary school or higher education	13	1	4	1	19
No education or Primary school	12	2	1		15
Urban origin ¹	17	2	1	-	20
Rural origin	8	1	4	1	14
Older (35–55) ²	4	-	-	-	4
Young (20–34)	15	3	1	1	20
Adolescent (younger than 20)	6	-	4	-	10
Total	25	3	5	1	34

summarises the profiles of respondents interviewed for this study by type of migration, age groups, education, type of residence at origin and gender.

Sampling method employed in the fieldwork was snow balling. It started with initial contacts made through personal relations and immigrant associations and then continued with the references of initial respondents. In order to avoid from the fallacy of interviewing people with similar backgrounds, a selective strategy was also followed to reach as much diversity as possible. For this aim, second persons introduced by the first ones were only approached to reach the third or fourth persons. Thus it is aimed to go as far as possible from the initial contact.

An interview agenda was administered to initiate and frame the narratives of respondents. A "tell me about..." (Valentine, 1997) technique was used to avoid directing questions. Apart from some basic demographic and socio-economic information which

were collected through a ten-question check-list, the interview agenda was shaped by three basic areas investigating the process of migration: Socio-economic conditions, interaction with the ethnic conflict, perceptions of discrimination.

Besides, in this study, some statistical sources and literature are consulted. One of them is the Turkish International Migration Survey (European Commission, 2000), which comprises a data about 1500 households and 700 migrants. Although it does not use a nation wide representative sample, still provides a basic idea about migration trends of Turkey for the ten years period of 1986 to 1995. Also Turkish State Institute of Statistics (SIS) sources were used to describe the broader context.

The subjective analysis of the interviews is presented here in the form of route maps, which indicate the pathways and mechanisms along with the patterns. To avoid redundancy, only few examples

are presented here to represent the diversity of cases. However, they adequately highlight the shifts in migration patterns and mechanisms. Finally, it must be noted here that all names appeared in this text are pseudonyms for securing anonymity and have no relation with any real personality.

The Turkish context

The context is one of the most significant factors determining migration systems. Building blocks of the Turkish context can be categorised as follows: an international migratory regime since the early 1960s; political turbulence with interruptions by several military interventions; an ongoing ethnic tension reached at the level of armed clashes during the last two decades; and problems of economic development, unemployment, and inflation.

Following the bilateral labour recruitment agreements with several Western European countries in the early 1960s, a mass migration from Turkey to Europe occurred and total Turkish immigrant stock in Western Europe exceeded three million in forty years (European Commission, 2000; İçduygu and Sirkeci, 1999; Abadan-Unat, 1995). Considering the recent trends of illegal migration trends in recent years, one may add another half a million to that recorded figures of Turkish migrants abroad.

Turkish migration to Europe can be studied in four consecutive periods since 1960: a) labour migration by bilateral recruitment agreements, 1960–1973; b) family reunification period, from 1973 to the early 1980s; c) asylum seeker

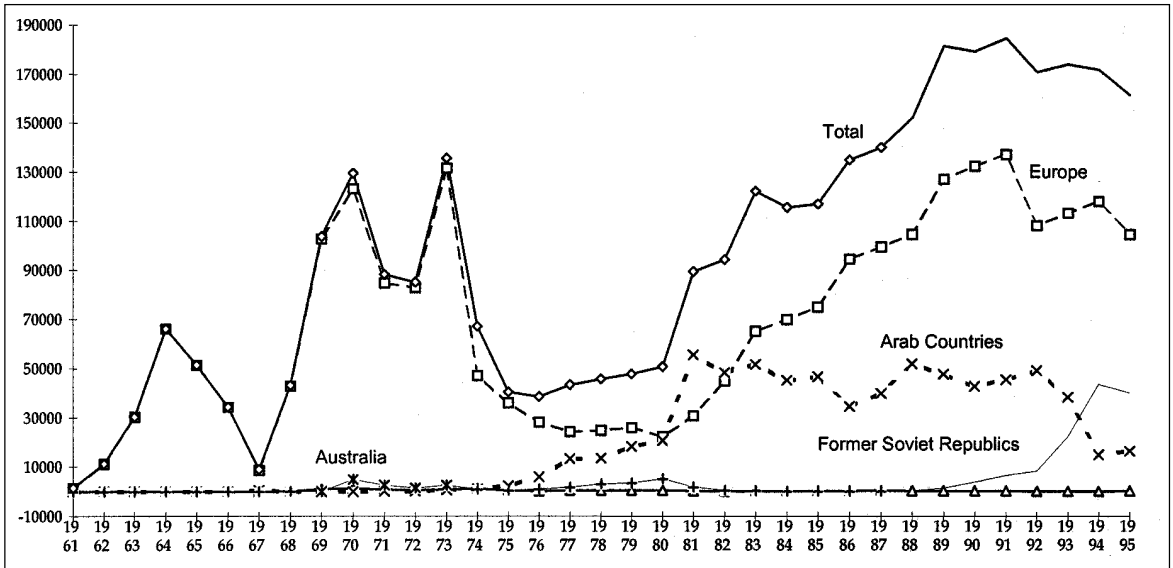


Figure 1. Turkish Emigration per annum by destination, 1960–1995³. Source: İçduygu and Sirkeci (1998 and 1999); Gitmez (1983); Gökdere (1978).

migration, from 1980 to the early 1990s; clandestine migration, from the early 1990s until today. This periodisation is also informed about changes in regulations over international migration in Europe. For instance shift in 1973 was mainly due to policies to halt immigration as a result of oil crises and in response to the legislation of family reunion. The marking event for the shift in 1980 was the military intervention in Turkey, which forced more than two hundred thousands of politically affiliated people and their families to fled the country. The rise of armed clashes between the PKK and the Turkish Army caused a second flow of asylum seekers from 1984 onwards. This was accompanied by a policy shift in Europe towards tightening the rules of admittance to prevent asylum migration. Then the last phase started and illegal migration remained as the only (or easier) way to reach the European

welfare zone. However, these periods can not be taken as rigid zones, as they reflect general types of migration. There has always been a mixture of several different types in each period.

Turkish migration trends have also changed remarkably during the 1980s and the 1990s. On the one hand, it was a response to tightening immigration controls in Europe, which made illegal migration very common. On the other hand, what was unique to the Turkish case was the ethno-political context facilitating asylum migration in the last two decades of the last century. Nevertheless the impacts of ethnic tension arising from the existence of a large Kurdish population in Turkey can not be restrained into a twenty years period which seems always have had some influence over the Turkish migratory regime.

This study investigated Turkish migration to Germany with a

specific focus on the ethnic factors. The narratives of Turkish immigrants with Kurdish origin display a strong relationship between migration and ethnic motivations throughout the last forty years.

Migration from Turkey to Germany: from guest workers to asylum seekers

Turkish emigration of the last forty years was responsive to the changes in global labour markets. When the labour export opportunities ended in Western Europe, new destinations appeared as Australia and Arab countries. Then, migration to Arab countries declined and former Eastern bloc countries opened up their doors for Turkish immigrants (See Figure 1). Migration to both Arab countries and former Eastern bloc countries were mainly male dominated, project based flows of labourers

Table 2. Immigration to Germany, 1950s to 1990s

	Foreign Population		Asylum Applications					
	(000s)		% of total		Total	Total to	Turkey to	
	Turkish	Total	Turkish	Total	From Turkey	Germany	Germany	
1955		484.8		1.0	'80-85	105,480	249,675	45,640
1960		686.2		1.2	'85-90	192,939	648,318	90,500
1970	469.2	2,976.5	0.8	4.9	'91-93	100,909	1,016,902	68,891
1975	1,077.1	4,089.6	1.8	6.7	'94	25,909	127,210	19,118
1980	1,462.4	4,453.3	2.4	7.2	'95	41,370	166,950	33,750
1985	1,400.4	4,378.9	2.3	7.1	'96	38,260	149,160	31,730
1990	1,694.6	5,342.5	2.7	8.4	'97	32,830	151,690	25,940
1997	2,107.4	7,419.0	2.4	8.5	'98	21,027	98,644	11,754
1998	2,110.2	7,308.5	2.6	8.9	'99	19,610	95,100	9,094
1999	2,053.6	7,336.1	2.5	8.9	'00	19,000	78,995	8,970

Sources: UNHCR, 1998; 1999 and 2001; FSOG, 2000; European Commission, 1999; Council of Europe, 1998; IGC, 1998; Eurostat, 1996; Martin, 1994; Blotvogel et al., 1993.

unlike the flows to Western Europe and Australia which entailed more family migration and long term settlement prospects (İçduygu and Sirkeci, 1998).

However, within Turkish migratory regime, Germany has been the major destination for all types of migrants. Even after two decades of halting labour recruitment from Turkey there were still an annual 100,000 Turkish citizens migrating to Germany, and creating about 30,000 surplus immigrants per year (European Commission, 2000; İçduygu and Sirkeci, 1999). On the other hand, many Turkish citizens who have lived in Germany for decades or who were born in Germany or who were married to German citizens have obtained German citizenship. Therefore throughout the second half of the 1990s, we have a relatively stable Turkish immigrant stock in Germany according to official statistics (See Table 2.).

This migration history is elaborated below with respect to the relevance of ethnic aspects, which might have played a significant

role in due course. The excerpts from immigrant narratives are to highlight specific features involved in each period.

The First Phase: 1960-1973

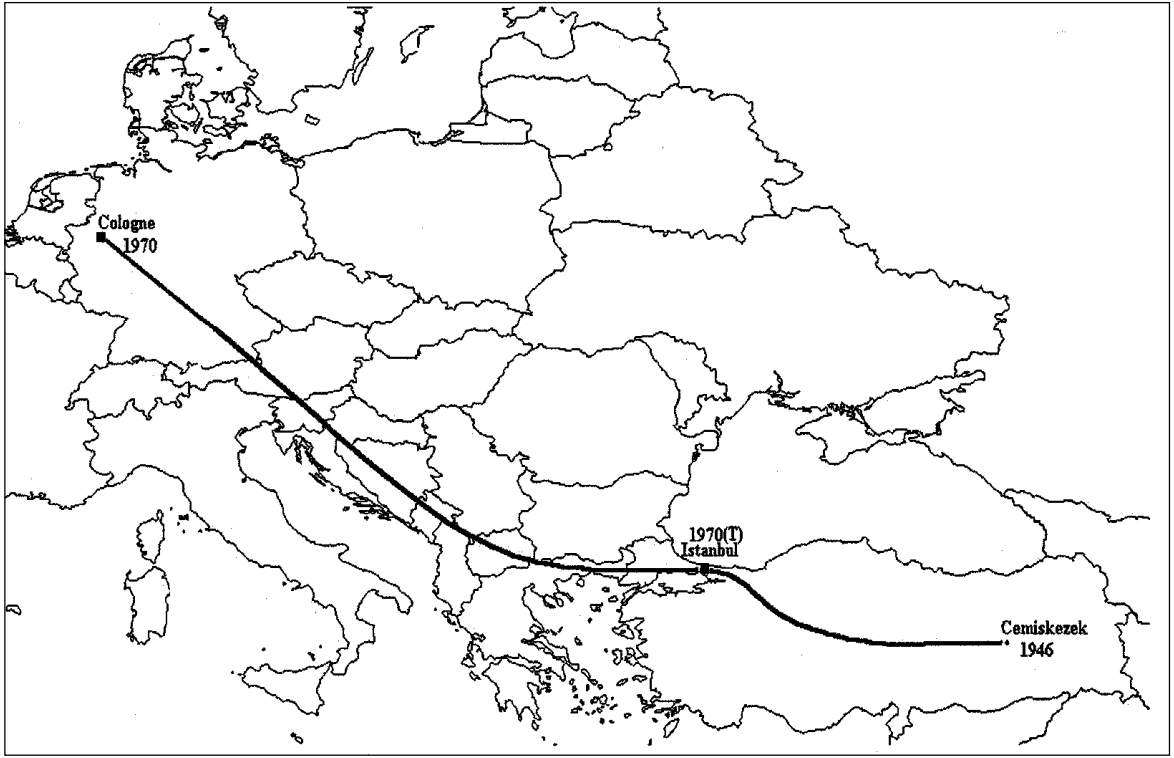
Although Turkish migration to Europe has begun before 1960 at individual level, the beginning of the mass migration was the late 1961, when a bilateral labour recruitment agreement was signed between Turkey and Germany (Abadan-Unat, 1995). In 1965, only 7 per cent of those emigrants were from Eastern Turkey where population was dominantly Kurdish speaking.⁴ In the following years this proportion was revolving around 8 per cent. With an exceptional 10 percent in 1967, which was possibly due to two main reasons; the Keban Dam project⁵ and a major earthquake (in Varto)⁶ in the heartland of Eastern Turkey. Because of the Dam and earthquake, people from these areas were given priority if they prefer to go abroad for work instead of settling down in anywhere else in Turkey.

One of my respondents, Mr. Hüseyin Aksu had heard about recruitment by Germany during his military service and there was a priority for their region due to the Keban Dam, which caused a significant displacement of villages in the area:

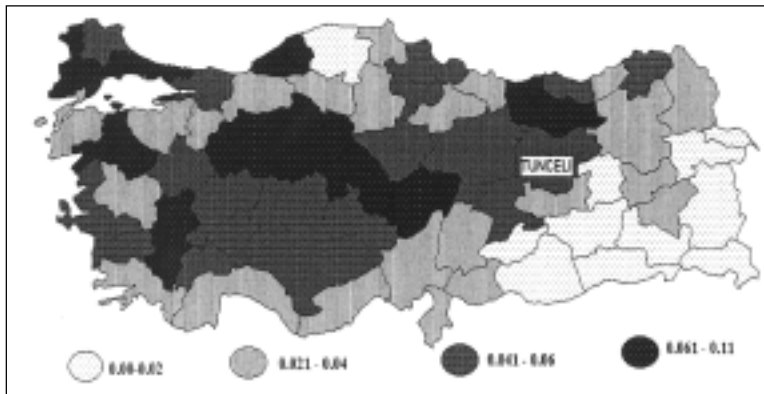
I heard about Germany when I was in the Army. At that time, I decided to go. When I returned home and worked in forestry for few years. Government gave us a chance to go abroad because of Keban Dam. It is said that who wants to go abroad will be given priority and who doesn't want will be allocated a house and a farmland. Then in 1970, I came to Istanbul and after the health examination come to here [Cologne], to Ford factory.

His route map below was familiar with many others who left their villages in the remote areas of Anatolian plateau and went to Germany as guest workers after health checks by the recruitment office in Istanbul during the 1960s. Mr. Hüseyin Aksu was born in the town of Çemi⁷kezek in the province of Tunceli in 1946. He is married with 5 children, three of whom are German citizen and other two live in Turkey. Similar priority was given to those who suffered from the earthquake in another Eastern town, Varto. These two areas have always been among the provinces with the highest emigration rates throughout the history of Turkish migration to Europe.

However until the end of 1970s, emigration rates remained relatively low in other provinces of Eastern Anatolia (See Map 1). Com-



Route Map 1. Mr. Hüseyin Aksu.



Map 1. Proportion of emigrants, by province, 1970. Source: Sirkeci, 2000.

pared to rates higher than 4 per cent in the Central and Western provinces, it was less than 2 per cent in the Eastern provinces in 1970, when still 50 percent of emigrants were from the West (Gitmez, 1983).

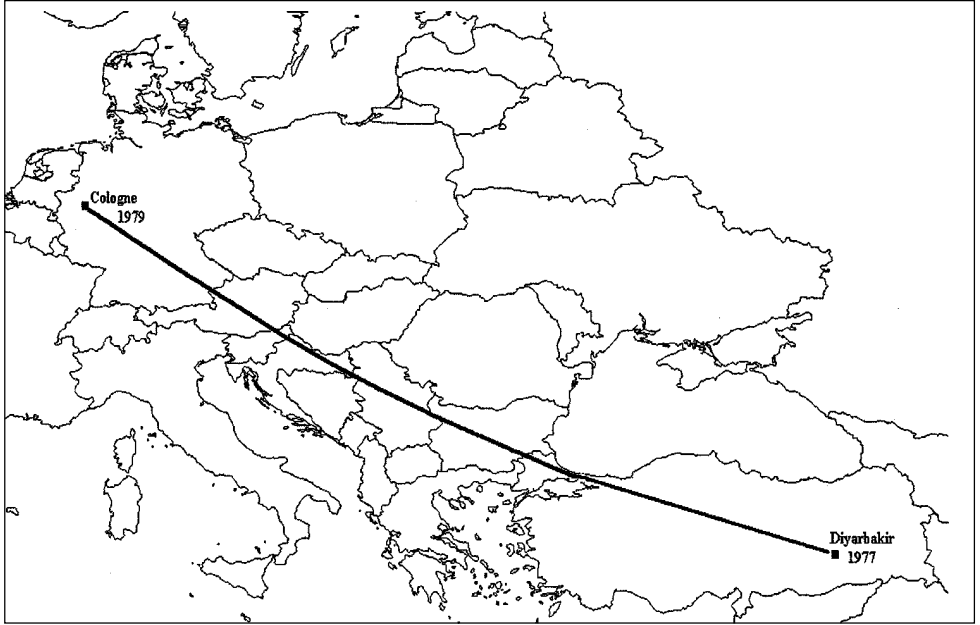
At the end of this period, there were about 800,000 Turkish citizens comprising guest workers and their families in Germany. Among this first group of immigrants, Turkish citizens of Kurdish origin are expected to be quite

few, as the emigration rates were very low in the areas where they inhabited; possibly about 60,000. The underlined feature here is the distinct initiation of migration for Turkish Kurds: emigration triggered by a Dam and an earthquake.

The Second Phase: 1973–1980

Due to the low participation rate of Kurdish speaking people in the earlier phases of international migration from Turkey, there were still very few people out of Eastern provinces among the family reunification emigrants of the 1970s. Until 1980 the emigration from Eastern Anatolia did not breach the level of 8 per cent among total emigration from Turkey (Gitmez, 1983).

Route Map 2.
Miss Derya
Gümü°.



Families of those who emigrated in the late 1960s and early 1970s have joined their husbands and fathers when the situation turned into a longer settlement abroad. However, in the case of Kurdish speaking actors of migration, this rationalisation could be different. For instance, Miss Derya Gümü°'s father was a guest worker since 1973. She and her mother joined her father in 1977. Her story tells that there was more than reunification of the family:

My father came here to Cologne in 1973 before I born. When I was two years old my mother had wanted to join my father as it was almost five years and my father didn't know when to return home. It was the time of countless political killings in Turkey. Everyday tens of people were killed. The leftists killed the rightists and the rightists killed the leftists. Then they decided to move here. Of course, it was better for the

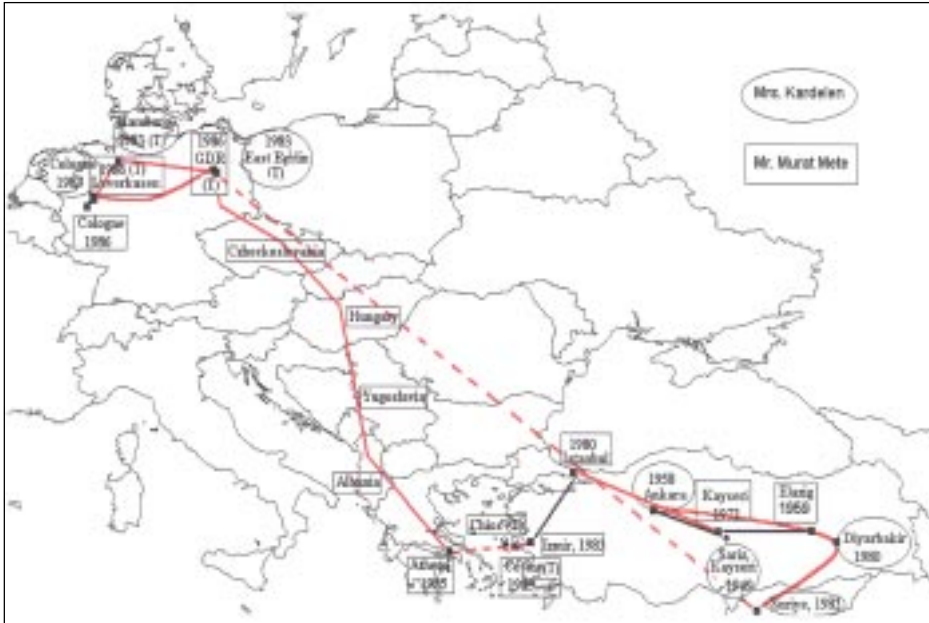
whole family in terms of living standards, better education, a better life...

Within that family reunification period of international migration from Turkey, it would not be too difficult to anticipate much more fellows have went abroad due to the environment of insecurity created by the political turmoil of pre-1980 military intervention years. During this period, total Turkish immigrant stock of workers and families in Western Europe reached at 1,700,000, only 720,100 of who were workers sent by official arrangements. Still very small portion of them were from the eastern Turkey that means Kurdish speaking citizens were still a disproportional minority among emigrants; not likely to be more than 150,000. In the last instance, the political turmoil was a major factor, which changed the migration patterns and processes in the following period.

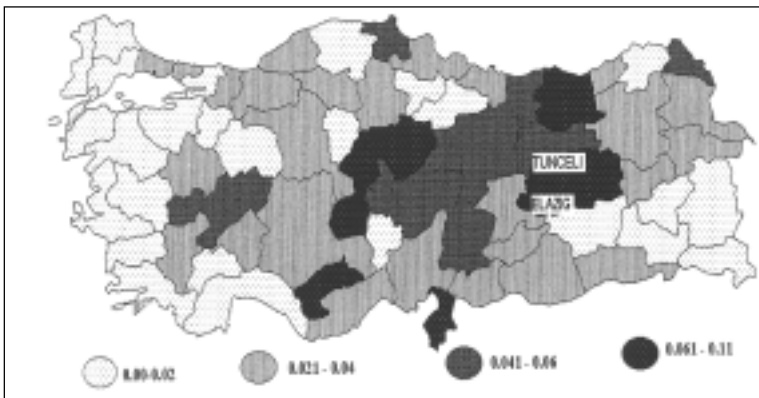
The Third Phase: 1980–1990

Following the 1980 military intervention in Turkey, a massive asylum seeker flow from Turkey occurred. Thus in the first half of the decade, 105,480 asylum seekers fled abroad while about half of them arrived in Germany. This period was also characterised by a decrease in Turkish immigrant stock in Germany from 1,462,400 to 1,400,400 (Içduygu and Sirkeci, 1999). In response to incentives by German government and specific programs for return in collaboration with Turkish government, a reasonable number of people have returned Turkey (Gitmez, 1983).

Although all asylum seeker migration following the coup d'etat in 1980 was not in an ethnic character, but possibly there was a considerable proportion of Turkish Kurdish fellows among them. Mrs. Kardelen and Mr. Murat



Route Map 3. Mrs. Kardelen and Mr. Murat Mete.



Map 2. Proportion of emigrants, by province, 1990.

Mete were two of them. Mrs. Kardelen found her way flying via Syria and GDR (German Democratic Republic) to Hamburg while Mr. Murat Mete were to go through a longer route via Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and GDR to Leverkusen after several years of undercover within Turkey. In both cases, left wing affiliations of migrants directed their routes via East Germany and also helped them in this re-

gard. Since 1991, it was not possible to send back anybody who came from the East Germany.

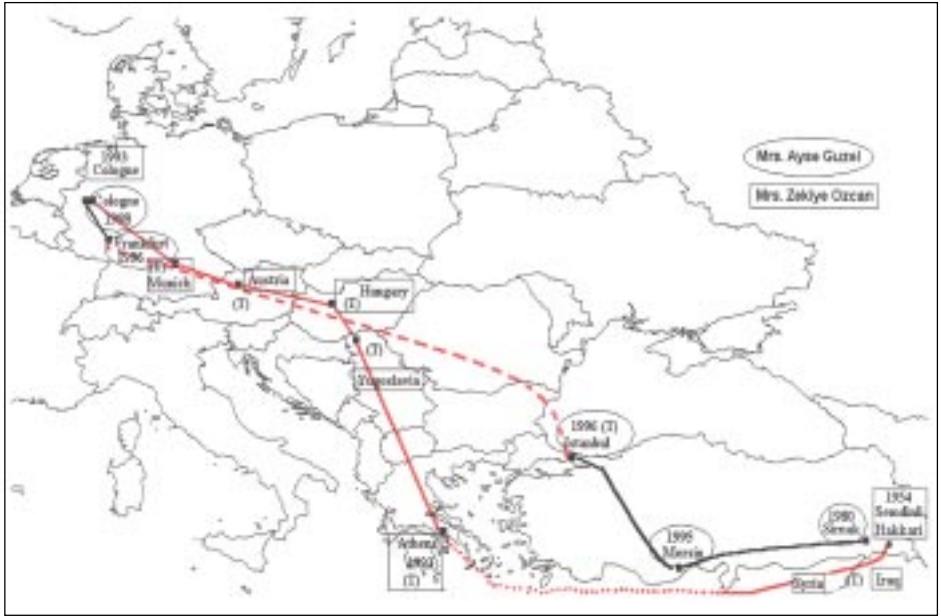
In the second half of the decade, the ethnic component was more visible in the migration flows from Turkey. Ethnic clashes in the Eastern Turkey in 1984 started with the emergence of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) as an armed group. By 1990, Turkish immigrant population in Germany rose up to 1,694,600 from 1,400,000 in 1985. During the

same period 90,500 of 192,939 asylum-seekers fled Turkey filed their applications in Germany (UNHCR, 1998, 1999, and 2001).

During this period, eastern provinces of Elazığ and Tunceli were two of the areas with highest emigration rate in Turkey. The most important characteristic of these two provinces is that majority of their population is Alevi, a minority Muslim denomination in Turkey, and Kurdish speaking. Another possible decisive factor affected migration from the region is the Keban Dam, which flooded tens of villages and towns of these two provinces. Against the development expectations due to the Dam, the provinces were still identified with a striking underdevelopment and poverty in the 1990s. For example, Tunceli has been one of the poorest areas of Turkey in terms of GDP per capita throughout the last forty years.

Also the mountainous areas of the provinces had been strong-

Route Map 4. Mrs Ay'e Güzel and Mrs Zekiye Özcan.



holds for leftist Marxist guerrilla movements and the PKK since the early 1970s. Therefore the area became a major military deployment basin for operations against these organisations. Thus a composite insecurity have been prevalent in these two provinces which compounded with some migration history which created migration networks and led more migrations during the 1980s and 1990s. Therefore a mixture of ethnic, religious, and economic factors was a group of reasons for Turkish international migration in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

The Fourth Phase: 1990 onwards

Effects of armed conflict were strikingly felt in migration flows of the 1990s. Intensification of military operations in the Eastern provinces forcibly evacuated more than 2,500 villages and internal

displacement of about 3,000,000 people of the Southeastern provinces. That displacement obviously couldn't be contained within the borders of Turkey and eventually caused a mass influx of asylum seekers to Western Europe.

Over 500,000 applications for asylum from Turkey were filed in Western Europe between 1985 and 2000, more than 400,000 were after 1990. About 300,000 of them were in Germany. Vast majority of asylum seekers entered into Germany via clandestine ways. Overstaying on tourist visas and using migrant trafficking gangs were most common ways. Apart from registered figures of asylum seekers and refugees, large numbers of illegal residents estimated are coming from Turkey's Kurdish speaking population, which is not less than a hundred thousand.

In the field research, which is the basis of this paper 25 of 34 respondents were found asylum seekers and refugees 23 of them

have arrived in Germany after 1990. The following route maps show the most common ones reported in the field research. The two common features of migration process are shown here as migrant trafficking and migration on fake documents.

Mrs. Ayi'e Güzel found about traffickers in Mersin and went to Istanbul for preparation. She spent a week there and was provided a fake passport with fake German visa by paying 2,500 DM. Traffickers sent her together with somebody else, as she was just 16 years old. After arrival in Frankfurt, Mrs. Güzel applied for asylum at the airport:

I was scared of everybody. When the plane landed, police came into cabin and checked our passports. They didn't understand mine was false. After I stepped out of plane, I went to police and applied for asylum. I had been said in Istanbul by traffickers that I



Route Map 5. Mr. Emrah Kuzucu and Mr. Hasan Kara.

shouldn't apply before passport control. Then, they put me in a heim (detention centre).

Mrs. Zekiye Özcan took a longer and tiresome route. She left home in Semdinli, walked over a night and crossed the Turkish-Iraqi border with her husband and two daughters. As she reported, the PKK forced them to go to Germany:

The PKK asked us to come here, otherwise we wouldn't come. Why should we come?... We walked the border across over night and the next day we walked to Syrian border along with guerrillas. They took us to the sea. From there we were introduced a man who put us into a big ship. In a container, we sailed towards Greece. The ship stopped at Cyprus but they didn't let us to go out... We paid 4,000 DM for the whole family... In Athens, we found another trafficker and paid 3,000 for taking us to Hungary. It

was a long journey in a van. Two days later he left us on the border of Hungary and gave us a telephone number. Thus we found our last helper and paid 1,500 to cross Austrian border. After two days, at night we sailed in a small boat with 12 others into Austria.

The power vacuum in the territories of Former Yugoslavia caused by the ethnic clashes since the early 1990s were a lucky atmosphere for human traffickers and a chance for illegal migrants as well. For instance, many people with Turkish passport flew to Bosnia, which doesn't require visa from Turkish citizens and from there took their illegal and dangerous journeys to Germany.

Mr. Emrah Kuzucu and Mr. Hasan Kara also travelled through the former Yugoslavia but their journeys reflect another aspect of recent migration trends from Turkey. Their families were forcing them to leave the country. This

was the only chance to stay alive and live better due to armed pressures in the Eastern Turkey coming from either sides of the clashes. His parents sent Mr. Hasan Kara to Izmir in order to save him from pressures. They were afraid of him to join the PKK and also they were scared of police who have already taken him several times since he arrived back home in Varto. Eventually, his family has decided to send him abroad in 1996. There were already some relatives and friends in Germany. Mr. Kara took a flight to Hungary from Izmir via Istanbul. From Hungary entered into Austria by paying 2000 DM to smugglers and then went to Cologne to meet his cousins there.

Mr. Emrah Kuzucu was also asked to go abroad by his family. There had been countless raids during the early 1990s in neighbouring villages despite the fact that nothing happened in his village. He utilised the context, opportunity framework, and took his

chance towards Germany. Upon arrival he applied for asylum in 1998. He never involved in clashes and in the PKK activities, as their village was in a relatively safe area. He found traffickers in Istanbul and paid 4500 DM to obtain a fake passport. Then took a bus to Bosnia, from where traffickers brought him along with 17 others to Germany. He spent four weeks on the way. While trying to enter into Austria by boat via river Danube, they were arrested by Hungarian police and detained for two weeks and then they were sent back to Croatia. The second attempt was successful. Then he got the ticket to Cologne, one of the largest Turkish cities in Europe.

Concluding Remarks

It was not by chance, most of the respondents in this study were arrivals in the last ten years and most of them were refugees or asylum seekers (see Table 1). This was the dominant feature of international migration from Turkey to Europe in the last two decades of Turkish history.

This study suggests that national migratory regimes are better to be studied in regard to different groups according to ethnic, religious and cultural characteristics. Then there may happen more than one migratory regime within existing migratory regimes. Migration flows from countries with long lasting ethnic tensions such as Turkey should be reassessed in this regard. Since the ethnic components could have followed different pathways through out the migration history as it is shown here in the Turkish case.

Ethnic conflicts can be understood as root causes of massive internal and international displacements but at the same time they provide an opportunity frame for the people of certain areas as it is exemplified in the Turkish case above. The role of ethnic conflict must also be addressed in terms of clandestine migration. Thus conflict areas, such as former Yugoslavia, have played a significant role in development of clandestine migration in Europe through the last two decades.

Turkish history has been a history of migrations to a large extent as we said at the beginning. However, as a final word it is to be said that Turkish migration history has been studied pretty less than it deserved up until now. Details of this history must be revealed by in-depth studies ignoring stereotypes and biases contextually and conceptually.

Notes

- 1 Here the type of residence prior to migration is considered but transit places are not counted as origin.
- 2 Age refers to the age of respondent on the year of arrival not on the day of interview.
- 3 Collinson comments on the peak in 1973: "recruitment stop signalled a sudden upsurge in emigration as migrants hurried to bring their families to Europe before any further restrictions were imposed" (1993:73).
- 4 For a detailed presentation of ethnic distribution of populations by province in Turkey please see Sirkeci (2000).

- 5 The construction of Keban Dam was started by 12 June 1966 and completed in 1974.
- 6 Two major earthquakes occurred in Varto in 1966; the first was on 7 March caused 14 deaths and the second was on 19 August caused 2396 deaths and damage on more than 20,000 buildings (KOERI, 2000).

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