

75 Years of Turkish Diaspora: A Republican Family on the Move



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Introduction

Modern Turkey has been founded on internal and international migrations.¹ During the early Republican period (1920s and 1930s), large populations of Turkish nationals and Muslims were living outside the borders of the new country. After the First World War and the War of Independence, they were brought into the country and were involved in the reconstruction process of the new Turkish Republic, marking the beginning of this century's Turkish Diaspora. Since then, Turkey has witnessed important population movements in 20th Century. Jewish scholars came from Germany and then went to the United States and Israel; remaining Greek population after the World War I, gradually left the country. Turkish workers fled to Europe, Arab countries, Australia by the 1960s onwards. Turkish nationals came from Bulgaria while Iranians es-

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caped the Islamic Revolution (1979). Since then the Kurds escaping from the bombs of Saddam (1991) fled into the country whilst Turkish Kurds leaving for better environments massively in the last two decades. The significance of this study is twofold: first, this is a descriptive analysis of Turkish migration history combining a literature review with an oral history of a family who experienced almost all kinds of migrations during the Republican period (1923 to date). Secondly, this is a contribution to the history of Turkish migration that has not included much material on that compulsory exchange of populations about the faith of these involuntary migrants. Finally, it is innovative as attempts to reveal migration as a decisive factor affecting social change by focusing on the history of a family.

The early Republican periods were characterized by the immigration of Turkish nationals who had been resident elsewhere and migrations caused by settlement problems. After a while, another pattern was added as internal migration arose from urbanization and industrialization. By the 1960s, the country became a major participant in international la-

bor migration as a sending country. In the late 1980s and 1990s, Turkey became both a receiving country and a transit country for peoples of underdeveloped neighboring countries.²

Undoubtedly the Turkish Republic was founded on the core territory of a dissolved empire and gathered a large-scale of populations by exchanges with neighboring countries. These population movements had an impact upon the social transformation of the country. New life styles, new techniques, new crops were introduced to the country. With this regard, the 1923–25 exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece was of considerable significance to the patterns of social change. Modernization was accelerated with the impetus of "Western" aid, the Marshall Aid, created a need for labor in urban areas whilst weakening the agricultural life in rural areas. Consequently, rural people fled to large industrial centers. The continuation of seasonal migrations of rural workers³ might be explained by "pull" factors on the one hand and by "push" factors arising from the increasing difficulties of life and decline of economy in rural areas on the other. The case here is a com-

bination of pull and push factors instead of one taking priority over the other.⁴

The 1960s saw the start of a new era with the onset of labor migration from Turkey to Europe. As a result of the last 40 years of international migration, more than three million Turkish citizens are abroad, in countries ranging from Germany to Australia.⁵ From the second half of the 1970s and during the 1980s, emigration continued as family reunification and "chain" migration. During the 1990s, may be called as 'postindustrial' era, migration patterns are characterized by the networks and clandestine migration. Rapid social and political developments (such as the Kurdish question) also impacted on the dynamics of migration in Turkey. Many Kurds left the country for political reasons over the last 15 years.⁶

This study aims to analyze the different aspects of the history of migration in Turkey through an oral history of a family, whose members have experienced several types of migration since the 1920s. The family in question was brought into Turkey from Salonica⁷, Greece, in 1923 [as part of the Population Exchange] and then became involved in further migration movements in Turkey. This study comprises in-depth interviews conducted in Izmir, Turkey, with members of the family in the autumn 1998. The people interviewed were Mehmet (72 years old), his spouse, Mevlüde (61 years old), Necati (89 years old uncle of Mevlüde) and their sons, Islam (40 years old) and Demir (27 years old).⁸ This family is one of many Republican families who have experienced migration

through the Republican Era. In the following sections, the migration history of this family will be set within the context of Turkish migration.⁹ The texts of interviews and narratives based on them are highlighted in different font.

A brief note on the concept of diaspora

Diaspora is not a common term applied to Turkish migrations. However, with regard to a well known and approved definition, that of Saffran (1991:83–84), it seems possible to describe Turkish migrations as diasporic events.¹⁰ The term was first used for describing the dispersal of Jews from their historic homeland. Today it is often used to describe various well-established communities who have experienced 'displacement,' such as overseas Chinese, Armenians in exile, Palestinian refugees, Gypsies or diasporas of African people (Wahlbeck, 1998:9). The earlier immigration of nationals to Turkey is open to dispute but when we look at the history of Turkish international migration history, over the last forty years, one can easily identify a diasporic event. It is also possible to find evidences of a Diaspora phenomenon in the experiences of the family investigated in this study.

The first 25 years: the great exchange of population

Mehmet, the son of Selami, came to Turkey from Greece during the Great Exchange of Population (1924–25), and was born just after their arrival.

1924 seemed to be a strange, adventurous for the family of Selami. Turkish and Greek Governments had agreed upon the exchange of religious minorities (of Christians in Turkey and Muslims in Greece) in both countries mutually with the exception of Muslims in Western Thrace and Orthodoxes in Istanbul. At the end of the same year, Selami secured enough money needed for travel. Then the family fled from village Ispanza to the Salonica seaport to wait for a boat to Turkey.

As mentioned above, the Turkish Republic was to some extent established through such migrations of which migration from Greece was the largest. In the two years following the 1923 Lausanne Treaty, 500 thousand Muslims and about 1 million Orthodox Greeks were exchanged.¹¹ The transportation was provided by the Red Crescent¹² and the Public Construction and Settlement Ministry which was established just after the Treaty. This was the largest deportation in Republican Turkish history and perhaps in the world during that time.¹³ The population of the newly established Turkish Republic increased by five per cent in one year because of this immigration of nationals. The financial burden was high. In 1924, the Public Construction and Settlement Ministry reserved a budget of six million Turkish Lira for the transportation of these people while its' budget for the salaries of Personnel was only 125 thousands Turkish Lira.

According to the contracts made with transportation companies, fares have to be paid by the migrants and 20 per cent of the

revenue must be transferred to the Red Crescent. There has been very little research on the 1923 Population Exchange, although it was one of the largest forced migration cases of the time.¹⁴ In parallel with this lack of attention there are no certain figures about the size and distribution of the populations exchanged. According to SIS (State Institute of Statistics) 456,720 people were brought into Turkey (SIS, 1930) whilst Iskan Tarihesi [History of Settlement] states this figure is 499,239 (Mat, 1932). In the same period, 172,000 migrants who were not included within the scope of this exchange, were also brought to, and settled in, Turkey (Ari, 1995:141).

Migration was a difficult and troublesome business in itself but according to Mehmet, it was more than as it was seen. Some migrants were faced with oppression when leaving their homes in Greece:

My father (Selami) had married and moved into the household of his spouse just after the Balkan Wars (1912–14). When the Greek troops landed in Anatolia, the properties of Muslims living in Yanina¹⁵ were sacked and many were killed. All houses were broken down in the village of my grandfather. Nothing had happened to my father since he was staying with my mother's family and has no property registered in his name while all other relatives had some harm.

When the exchange started, people who left their homes in the districts of Kozana and Karacaova in Greece had to walk 50–60 kilometers to

have access to the seaports. Therefore some serious health problems occurred. In response to these problems both in the departure ports in Greece and the arrival ports in Turkey, temporary hospitals were founded by the Red Crescent (for details see Ari, 1995).

Selami and his family had to leave their lives in the village of Ispana, Florina, Greece¹⁶ for Turkey in 1924. They migrated to Turkey under relatively comfortable conditions and had not faced any health problems during their journey. Mehmet, the elder son of Selami, tells the story as he remembered from the stories of his father and mother:

My father secured money needed for trip with many difficulties. My elder brother Emin had been with them. Then they had moved towards Salonica with groups during two days. After arrival they had waited for a further two days in the seaport of Salonica. Then they had landed in Izmir after a long journey by a ferry named Gulcemal. I was born in the end of the summer following the migration. I had four uncles but we lost them during the migration, they had fled away inside of Anatolia. Years after, we had heard that one of them was in Erzurum, a far away district in the East End of Turkey, but we could not meet him.

This was an experience common to many Muslim families in Greece and by the family of Mevlüde, who married Mehmet later on. Beytullah, grandfather of Mevlüde, also migrated with his two sons. He was a fellow compatriot of Selami. They had come

from the town of Dramatic to the seaport of Salonica. Mevlüde did not remember the story of this journey though her parents told her. Her uncle Necati, whom we interviewed in Istanbul, says that his father [Beytullah], mother and his two sons – Ismail and himself – had landed in Samsun seaport:

I was four or five when we came from Dramatik. We, father, mother, my brother and I landed in Samsun. There were some relatives also but I do not remember them. From the seaport, we had been sent into the inner parts by carts. Then we settled down in town Gurun of province Sivas. The government provided land and appleyards. Father was working in railway construction so he was away for months usually. During winters we cut the trees in the yard and used it for heating. The land was not fertile. Consequently railway construction had ended and dad had been unemployed. We sold everything we had and went back to Samsun seaport through Niksar and went to Manisa by ferry. After three months stay there we went to Buca (a suburb in Izmir) there were friends of my dad. We bought an old house there and my dad and elder brother, Ismail, started to work in forestry and sold firewood and grape. I started secondary school and my brother married in 1937. In 1938 Mevlüde was born and my dad had died.

At the same time as Necati's family migrated, one out of every ten Turks was living in rural areas. In parallel with this broader scene, newcomers settled in rural areas

left by Orthodox Greeks who were forced to migrate to Greece. However, these new immigrants were heavily involved in internal migration in response to general social mobility associated with the development of the new Republic. The families of Necati and Selami are examples of this trend. This social mobility was however not strong enough to affect the urban-rural population balance in 1930s. Since migrations took place largely between rural areas. Necati's family left a rural town Nixsar and moved into another rural town Buca in Izmir. In those days only ten per cent of the population was living in Turkey's urban centers during the 1930s (SIS, 1996).

The story of Necati's family is not so pleasant afterwards. Ismail, Necati's elder brother and the father of Mevlüde, had gone mad after six years of military service during the World War II and killed his spouse Emine in 1953. Then he was taken to the Bakirkoy Mental Hospital and as a consequence, the family dissolved. Mevlüde was sent to the village where her aunt lives; her brother, Beytullah was sent to uncle Necati's home in Istanbul; and her two sisters, Serpil and Gülsen were adopted. Mevlüde married Mehmet forcibly to avoid gossiping in the village at the age of 15. This was the first migration, the second generation of the family had witnessed; Mevlüde went to Bulgurca, a nearby village of Izmir, in 1952. Her uncle Necati also migrated to Istanbul to continue his education, where he settled down to teach Maths at a military school after marrying a rich widow. Thus the family had been dissolved by

migration caused by education and marriage.

It was also not easy for the family of Mehmet to settle down. According to a settlement plan, they were initially sent to homes vacated by Greeks in downtown Izmir, but the family wanted a rural place because they were farmers and they did not want to face any trouble as a result of attacks from Greeks who had not yet left Turkey. Then they visited some far away villages and decided to settle down in a village called Bulgurca with large fertile lands:

During the journey from Salonica my two sisters and one brother had died because of malaria and they had been poured into the sea from the ferry. In that time, people had been believed that fishes would not let the boat sail if there was any dead person on the ferry as it is said in Younis Sura of the Koran. They had been isolated because of medical concerns for three days upon arrival at Urla [town in Izmir] seaport. They had lived in tents for 15 days. Settlement officers had asked from the dad and his fellows to go and find a site to settle down and come back to have bonds issued. Usually, group of 40-45 horsemen were navigating around to find a place to live together. Fellows coming from Florina, from which my dad also came, had visited Develi, an inner district, but there were fewer houses than they needed. After visiting some more villages they had found enough houses for their 45 households. The Government provided 50,000 square meters of land per household but natives, who were nomadic Turks living in mountains

had got most of the land back from immigrants by duplicated bonds claiming these lands were theirs in the past. Thus immigrants had had only 4,000 square meter land per person. My dad also had taken 12,000 square meter of land. In 1937, government issued documents stating "This land has been parceled for immigrants from Florina" until that time there were conflicts because of the land possession.

It was a great social phenomenon to bring hundreds of thousands of people from Greece to Turkey and resettle them. These immigrants had to be sent to places suitable for their talents, occupations and their settlement needs. To meet that aim there were registers at the seaports of departure and according to this registered information immigrants were being sent to suitable sites by officers at the arrival ports. Immigrants had to obey the directions of settlement officers, otherwise they would lose their settlement rights. However, almost all migrants wanted to be sent to Istanbul, Izmir and Bursa, and not anywhere else. Some problems occurred for this reason. Immigrants were trying to go to these favorite sites even if they had been sent to another place (See Ari 1995, Erhard 1994, McCarthy 1983, and Mat 1932). Another problem of settlement was that some local people already occupied the houses and lands emptied by Greeks. Therefore migrants were not able to settle in some of the assigned addresses. Since these addresses were already occupied by native residents. This caused significant

internal mobility around the country. Conflicts were arose mainly because of the housing crisis, which occurred in the beginning of 1924.¹⁷ The war destroyed almost all towns and villages of the Western Turkey and then the shortage of housing appeared.

Another important issue was disease appearing during and after migration. Malaria was very common among immigrants who were suffering from poverty.¹⁸ Two elder sisters and one elder brother of Mehmet also died from malaria during the journey. Despite the fact that temporary hospitals had been founded in arrival ports and vaccination campaigns organized by the Red Crescent.

It is possible to say that immigrants had strikingly changed the many aspects of native culture of Turkey during this time appearing in all spheres from the cooking styles to marriage ceremonies. Immigrants were working as farmers as they had been in Greece although immigrants were not suitable substitutes of Orthodox Greeks who were mainly employed in manufacturing before the Exchange. It is said that some new farming techniques and crops appeared in Anatolia after the arrival of immigrants. For instance, a special veiling style had come into Anatolia, which did not covering all of the face but only most hair and the underside of the chin. Kemal Karpat (1987:97) argues that Anatolian villagers were involved in more individualistic thinking and escaped from the influence of the religion through immigration.¹⁹ Karpat also claims that immigrants have a group attitude in politics. Mehmet tells

about earning their lives in their early years after immigration:

Land shortage did force many immigrants to do animal farming at first. There had been about 20 musician among immigrants from Florina. Then these moved into the downtown Izmir and established the (Izmir) Musicians Café at Mezarlikbasi neighbourhood. My dad had worked as a (mobile) butcher for a long time. Then they did work in tobacco farming in the fields assigned to them. In years 1930–32, a tobacco disease had appeared and everybody had lost much. Then Dad worked as shepherd until the "German War"²⁰ Because of his old age; the army did not draft him. He worked as street hawker during the wartime.

The second 25 years: rural transformation

Republican Turkey was in a stage of rapid transformation in the period up to the World War II. In the last quarter of the 1940s, two out of every ten Turks were living in cities but the real and striking transformation was to take place after the War when Turkey sided with the United States in the "Western World" rather than the Soviet Bloc.

The introduction of foreign capital, of "Marshall Aid", led structural changes in Turkey and aimed at renewing military technologies, mechanization of agriculture and construction of motorways by beginning from 1947. Aid continued after 1948 for fostering both the economy and the

military. Turkey became a member of the Organization for European Economical Cooperation in 1948 and received a sum of 1,200,000 US\$ aid in the following eleven years.²¹ Then, the Republic became a member of the European Council in 1949 and of NATO in 1952, which followed by the liberal economy program of the Democratic Party²² in the late 1950s. In this context, the Marshall Aid was directed towards the mechanization of agricultural technologies and the construction of motorways. In the 1950s and 1960s, the development programs were launched to make the village a more sustainable place to live. However, on the other hand, "a mass rural-to-urban migration came into existence as a result of increasing demand for labor in the industry and construction sector"²³ The results of these programs reflected in the expansion of motorways and in extensive use of agricultural technologies. For example in 1947, there were only 1000 tractors; the sum total of fertilizer used in cultivation amounted about one ton; there were only 12 thousand km of asphalt roads; and passenger buses amounted about 2000. Until 1955, the change in figures was striking illustrating a rapid transformation: 40 thousand tractors, 10 thousand ton of fertilizer, 29,000 kilometers asphalt roads, and seven thousand buses.²⁴

After 1950 cultivated lands increased under the impetus of mechanized farming and improvements in agricultural techniques. This expansion and population growth²⁵ augmented the polarization between the big

landowners and landless peasants. So many peasants and wage earners left the villages for towns since they could not pursue a life in the village. On the other hand, improvements in transportation and communication facilities increased the mobility of rural people and introduced them to modern urban life²⁶ In the following years, "going to cities" became very common and migration was institutionalized. The most apparent indicator of this social transformation is the rural-urban population ratio: in 1950, only two in ten were living in cities, one in four in 1960, and by 1970 one in three and three in four in today.

In a changing Turkey, the daughters and sons of the 1923 immigrants had grown to the age of marriage in the 1950s. As almost all immigrants, the families of Mehmet and Mevlüde had preferred intra-group marriage and with their fellows from Greece. In 1954, after his military service ended, Mehmet married Mevlüde. His family had 20 acres land, which they had bought or the government had provided them with. Due to the disagreement between the mother and bride and because of the seasonal unemployment in the village²⁷, Mehmet and Mevlüde decided to migrate to the city of Izmir, for better and continuous earnings. Mevlüde, as in the past, began to work in a textile factory. Mehmet worked in several jobs but by the end of the year they had to return to their village and stay there until their second and final migration to the city in early 1980s. Mehmet says:

In the autumn of 1956 after the work ended in the village we, my

spouse and I, decided to go into Izmir and work in factories instead of sitting idly here in the village. Then we moved into the house of my father-in-law in Buca, where no jobs were available and we applied to Izmir recruitment office. I worked in fruit and delight factory for a few months as a fully insured worker. Then I started to work as street hawker, and sold grapes, firewood, etc. Then I worked for construction companies. We were going to the theater once a week and were eating what we earned, so we could not save any money. My uncle Necati paid even our house rent. At the end of the year we returned to the village.

Then they returned to the village after that unsuccessful adventure. The family's economy improved due to the acquisition of new land and a tractor that were bought by the funds supplied by the government (through Marshall Aid). In association with a general national trend of high fertility, this couple had a large family with seven children. They are Islam (born in 1959), Ayse (born in 1961), Fatma (born in 1963), Gulnihal (born in 1967), Adil and Demir (born in 1972) and Ismet (born in 1974). Besides there are many induced abortions, still births and infant deaths. For Mehmet and Mevlüde, education was very important since they had not an, but their children should and would have one. Eventually, six of these seven children received university degrees. Thus education of children, as the most important thing according to Mevlude and Mehmet, appeared as another type of migration for the family.

Third 25 years: globalisation of migration

The mid-1960s heralded the era of "Alamancilik"²⁸ in Turkey since two governments signed a bilateral agreement of labor recruitment.²⁹ In their isolated life in Bulgurca, Mevlüde's cousin Ismet fled to Germany as guest-worker in 1967³⁰. This was the first time the family had been involved in international migration.

Mass migration from rural to urban areas in Turkey compounded by massive international migration in 1960s. The country became one of the major participants in the international labor migration in just a few years following the agreement signed with Germany in 1961. A similar agreement of labor recruitment from Turkey was signed with Belgium in 1964, one with France in 1965, and two with Sweden and Australia in 1967. At the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s the emigration from Turkey reached its peak which continued with some changes. Because of the economic crisis in Europe and consequent recruitment bans, Turkey sought new destinations for its excess labor force and thus Arab countries were added through bilateral agreements at the end of the 1970s. At the end of the 1980s further adjustments were required since the labor migration to Arab countries was project-based and these projects came to the end. Fortunately, a striking development appeared to help to Turkish labor exportation: the collapse of state-capitalist economies of the Soviet Bloc attracted many Turkish investors and also laborers to

establish businesses and to work there.

Atatürk is the founding leader of the Turkish Republic established in 1923, and he was the chief of the Turkish Independence Army in the 1910s and 1920s. He introduced modernism and reformed almost all spheres of life after the establishment. He dissolved the monarchy and established a democratic republican system whilst introducing a strict laicism to the country. Mehmet's family adores Atatürk³¹ as did the majority of immigrant families. Atatürk was very important to them as Mehmet said: "... he made us free and he also was born in our land in Greece, he resembles us." This was decisive for their political preferences as well for many years. For instance Mehmet would not know any political party other than the Republican People's Party, what he called "Ataturk's Party." When he was registering his son Islam at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara, he was very happy since his son would be an educated, enlightened person like Atatürk, despite sadness caused by this new fragmentation of the family. Now the family was familiar with Ankara. This line of migration would be open for many years. In the late 1980s, the twins, Adil and Demir went to Ankara to the university for higher education. The coup d'état of 1980 was causing a new migration for the family, the elder son Islam was escaping abroad from the country under military rule. He went into Germany to seek asylum in 1985, and also took his spouse. Islam retold his migration to Germany as a story of escape:

I was a student at the Middle East Technical University before the coup d'état... then became a state suspect, as the university was leftist and opposing in nature, as I was. I have been arrested and put into prison for two years. Escape was inevitable as opposed to wasting years in the prison for thoughts. One night we, my spouse, and myself swam through the river Meric³² towards Greece. This also provided me a chance to see the towns of my ancestors. They had left their homes for Turkey decades ago, now I was leaving my home for Greece... Irony of the history. The Greek officials took and put us into the Lavrion Refugee Camp near Athens. There were thousands of people like us escaping from military regime in Turkey and somewhere else. After a one-year stay, we left Greece for Germany and a long period of asylum seeking started for us.

Those years also witnessed the migration of the family from the village to the city too. The family network of Mevlüde helped them move to Buca (a suburb of Izmir). Ayse, the elder daughter, was also living there since her marriage in 1980. Mehmet and Mevlüde bought a house in Buca in 1984. Firstly their second daughter Fatma settled down there for her university education. Then the Adil and Demir came for high school. Demir tells about these years:

Buca was very familiar place for us. All our relatives were living there and my elder sister was also married and settled in there. Other sister was student at the 9 September University in Buca, then we, came and started a life with her in

here, Buca. Few years later dad and mom also came and joined us.

From the 1950s to the 1980s, internal migration has brought a few million of Turkish people from rural areas to the cities. By the mid-1980s more than half of the population was living in urban areas. In 1990 the urbanization ratio was 60 and it is still increasing as the decade progresses. Those cities attracting more migrants are becoming large "gecekondu" areas rather than an urban setting.

The year 1980 brought another new migration phenomenon since Bertan, spouse of cousin Selma (daughter of Mevlüde's aunt) migrated to Libya. Bertan would return in 1992 as a result of ending many Turkish held projects in Libya in response to declining relations between the two governments.

At the same time, emigration to European countries continues through family reunification since the end of 1970s, fostered by refugees escaping from the military rule in Turkey, and by chain migrations.³³ Islam, the son of Mehmet, became a settled migrant in Germany at the end of the 1980s. Although he went there as an asylum seeker, he was able to provide opportunities for further migration, what we call chain migration³⁴, for other members of the family. Consequently, other brothers migrated into Germany in 1990s. First, Adil, then Ismet went into Germany. Adil returned in 1994 after two years and started his university education in Ankara but not in Izmir, his hometown. Ismet left his university education in Izmir while he was studying Law and migrated to Germany

to launch a business with his brother Islam. The family was waiting for Demir's migration to Australia for graduate study when I have interviewed them. According to Demir, the link with Germany was significant for the family but it was not perceived as a way of freedom or salvation:

We got happier when the conditions of brother Islam got better in Germany. Mom and dad went to visit him for several times, I also visited them and stayed there for months. Then my twin went and settled in there and recently my other brother Ismet migrated and married there in 1997. I will also go to Australia for studying next year. Everybody goes somewhere far away from home. Our family has been migrating for almost a century. It is hard to bring all members together again in the future.

The recent migration involving the family was another forced migration unlike the one they faced decades ago. Some members of the family were being forced to migrate since the village they lived in was becoming part of a dam constructed to provide drink-

ing water supply for the city. There remained very few members of the family in the village. Therefore this was only a "death migration" for them. Since they indeed had to move their ancestors' graveyards to another place. Another important fact was the migration of their friends again. Mehmet's narration at the age of 72 indicates a psychological aspect to the migration:

I have become more and more lonely after we came to Buca from the village. There are very few people to chat to, and to sit and talk together with. I did find few Salonicans to become my friends but people of my age are migrating to the other side. Almost all my friends have died, few are still alive in the new settlement place provided by the government after the appropriations for the Tahtali Dam. Sometimes I think to go there to sit and talk to my last friends of my age.

At the end of an age called "Age of Migration"³⁵ we, as researchers in the field of migration research, have to pay attention to the past migrations while trying to under-

stand current trends and patterns. In this respect, oral histories, in-depth interviews would be very fruitful in terms of insights, and more human aspects of the population movements. Briefly, this study was such an attempt. Hand in hand with the global changes in terms of direction of the flows of migration and increasing regionality,³⁶ Turkish migratory regimes also should not be perceived as one of rural to urban or one of emigration to Europe or the North. In recent years, a considerable amount of transit migrants have arrived in Turkey, hundreds of thousand nationals migrated from Bulgaria in the early 1990s; another large group came from Iraq in 1991. Internal migration is also no longer a rural-urban migration. The largest volume of internal migration has been taking place between cities in the last decade in Turkey. In this respect we could not guess whether Mehmet would go to his village back immediately or not in the near future. This was a story of a family among millions of them who were involved in many kinds of migrations throughout their histories.

Notes

- 1 See Gülten Kazgan (1971).
- 2 Icdyugu (1996) presented a detailed description and analysis.
- 3 Keyder (1987) explains the changes in internal migration in response to Turkish socio-economic developments. pp. 135–140.
- 4 See Aksit, B. (1998).
- 5 See Icdyugu (1996).
- 6 More than 1500 Kurdish refugees arrived in Italy during 1998,

- according to figures from newspapers, which represents only the tip of the iceberg.
- 7 Second largest city in Greece.
- 8 To preserve the identity of the family, pseudonyms were used here instead of their real names.
- 9 For the Turkish migration history see Icdyugu and Sirkeci (1998 and 1999), Icdyugu, Sirkeci and

- Aydingün (1998), Icdyugu (1996), Martin (1991), Lieberman and Gitmez (1979), Erhard (1994), Abadan-Unat (1976), Gokdere (1978). However, it should be noted there is still no complete, comprehensive Turkish migration history.
- 10 According to William Safran diasporas are: Expatriate communities whose members share

- several of the following characteristics: 1) they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original "center" to two or more "peripheral", or "foreign", regions; 2) they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland – its physical location, history, and achievements; 3) they believe 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 maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and 6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship.
- 11 There are no registered figures for the size of exchanged populations but the numbers of Muslims and Christians exchanged were disproportionate. According to the population census of 1928 in Greece, the number of immigrants from Turkey was about 1,105,000 (McCarthy, 1983:131). When we assume that some of these were immigrants from the Balkan wars, it is still possible to state that there were around 1 million immigrants from Turkey. For that period Kousoulas (1974:133) says that "the population of Greece was increased from 5 million 43 thousands to 6 million 250 thousands just in few months following the Lausanne Treaty", which ended the war and decided on the exchange.
 - 12 The equivalent of the Red Cross in Muslim societies.
 - 13 25 years after, the world witnessed the largest exchange involving Muslims and Sikhs moving between Pakistan and India in 1947.
 - 14 Departing from the fact that there are very little studies done on the issue, Migrant Studies Program of Oxford University held a conference entitled "Forced Migration between Greece and Turkey" in September 1998.
 - 15 A middle-size town in northwestern Greece.
 - 16 A district of Salonica in Northern Greece.
 - 17 Some examples of these disputes are cited in the work of Ari (1995).
 - 18 This is alleged because of the large number of immigrants, who were in need of foodstuff aid in 1924. Their volume was about 430 thousand.
 - 19 Karpat, 1987, p.97.
 - 20 A common phrase used for the World War II in Turkey.
 - 21 Koopmans (1976), p.37.
 - 22 The party which was elected in the first democratic, competitive, multi-party election in Turkey and banned in the course of 1960 military intervention.
 - 23 Erhard (1994), p.173.
 - 24 An all covering story of these changes in numbers can be found in Icduygu (1995).
 - 25 Annual population growth rate was % 1,06 in 1945, % 2,17 in 1950, % 2,77 in 1955, and % 2,85 in 1960.
 - 26 Keles (1985), p.57.
 - 27 Many people, especially men do not work during several months in the winter as all the work comes in the summer.
 - 28 "Alamancilik" is term used for people from Germany, who emigrated to work there (See, for details, Sen, 1996).
 - 29 Icduygu and Sirkeci, 1998:5–6
 - 30 For details of guestworkers, see, Abadan-Unat (1976), Gitmez, (1983), Pen (1996).
 - 31 Ataturk is the founding leader of the Turkish Republic who lived in between 1881 and 1938, and ruled the country from 1920 to 1938.
 - 32 The river in northwest Turkey, drawing the border between Turkey and Greece.
 - 33 See Icduygu (1996a).
 - 34 See, for details of network and chain migration, Böcker (1995) Icduygu (1995).
 - 35 Age of Migration was the title of work of Castles and Miller (1993) and Zlotnik (1998) provides a critical analysis of changes in international migratory regimes recently.
 - 36 For a comprehensive analysis of recent trends of Turkish internal migration can be found in Gedik (1998).

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