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Edited by Ibrahim Sirkeci, Betül Dilara Şeker, Ali Çağlar

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Introduction

Ali Çağlar, İbrahim Sirkeci, Betül Dilara Şeker

Turkish migration to Europe and beyond for over five decades resulted in strong minorities in many countries. Sizeable Turkish communities have formed in Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, Switzerland, and the UK. The dynamic nature of international human mobility, changing attitudes, and policies towards immigration have brought these diaspora populations under spotlights. This book is comprised of leading research and scholarship on the most recent manifestations of issues related to Turkish migration, identity, strategies and patterns of integration, which have been selected to offer a wide array of case studies while providing multidisciplinary perspectives.

As touched upon briefly in the Foreword, politics and law have emerged as the two main facets of contemporary migration management. Traditional immigration countries have tampered with their immigration laws and have sporadically experienced the politics of mobilisation against immigration. Traditional source countries, on the other hand, have rapidly turned into destination countries during the last two decades. However, the fact remains that there are still countries with surplus populations and others who do not want any more migration. This situation is essentially in line with the hypotheses of the culture of migration and conflict model which predicts conflicts, tensions, disagreements among national level actors (Sirkeci & Cohen, 2016; Sirkeci, 2003; Sirkeci, 2009).

Following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, there were large population movements between Anatolia and neighbouring territories including the compulsory population exchanges between the newly formed Turkish Republic and Greece between 1923 and 1926. Similarly, there were relatively large flows of population during the nation building era of the early Republican period where non-Muslim properties were nationalised. While the majority of non-Muslim minorities left Turkey, Muslim Turks moved in the opposite direction from the countries gaining independence after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. However what has put Turkey firmly on the international migration map are the mass labour migrations of the 1960s and 1970s. Following the energy crisis of the early 1970s, Turkish emigration found new destinations in Arab countries, Australia, and the former Soviet Republics in addition to the already established culture and routes of migration corridors created historically between Turkey and certain Western European destinations. Thus we have seen continuity in flows to these countries despite policy changes tightening immigration and transformations in the need for foreign labour in these countries. Initial flows have been

replaced by family migrations, refugee flows, asylum seeking migrants, and in more recent times the arrival of undocumented migrants in large numbers.

Given this, we can identify five distinct periods in recent Turkish migration history: 1) the migration of mainly unskilled and skilled workers dominating the initial period from 1961 to 1973; 2) migrations due to family reunions dominating the second period until 1980; 3) Following the military intervention of 1980, Turkish or Kurdish refugees seeking asylum in Europe, along with flows of contract workers to Arab countries in the 1970s and 1980s; 4) flows of undocumented persons to Western Europe during the late 1990s and 2000s; 5) the boom in migration to Turkey with Turkey turning into an immigrant receiving country in the 2000s and 2010s. Along with these dominant flows, there is always the case of flows of highly skilled independent movers, albeit in much smaller scale. The last two periods are also marked with the emergence of a Turkish culture of migration which ensures steady outflows but also attracts inflows.

The Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs claims that more than 5 million Turkish citizens are now living outside Turkey, around 4 million of which reside in Western Europe, 300.000 in North America, 200.000 in the Middle East and 150,000 in Australia¹. Although this number is relatively low in comparison to Turkey's population (6%), it is nevertheless significantly large when compared to some smaller European Union member countries. According to Turkish official statistics (YTB, 2011), the overwhelming majority of Turkish migrants and family members live in Germany (2,500,000), France (541,000), the Netherlands (384,000), Belgium (160,000), Switzerland (120,000), Austria (112,000), and the United Kingdom (180,000-250,000) (Sirkeci & Esipova, 2013) if we exclude former Turkish citizens naturalized in these countries. The Turkish Ministry of Labor and Social Security statistics² also reveal that an important portion of Turkish

¹ See for details, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-expatriate-turkish-citizens.en.mfa> (Date Accessed: 25.01.2015). United Nations reports about 2,545,214 Turkish born outside Turkey by around year 2000 (<http://data.un.org/> Accessed: 25:01.2015).

² Between 1972 and 2009, the number of Turkish citizens who obtained German citizenship is 777,904. Between 1946 and 2008, that number for Dutch citizenship is 259,958. Between 1985 and 2008, Turkish citizens who chose Belgian citizenship amounts to 130,374. Austrian citizenship between 1999 and 2009 is 88,597. Between 1991 and 2008, the number of Turkish citizens who obtained French citizenship is 71,323. The number of Turkish citizens in these countries as of 31 December 2010 are respectively; Germany 1.629.480, Netherlands 372.728, Belgium 39.419, Austria 110.678, and France 459.611. (Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, <http://www.cs.gb.gov.tr/cs.gbPortal/diyih.portal?page=yv&id=1>) (Date Accessed: 26.01.2015). The number between 1980 and 2011 for British citizenship is 78,296 and the number of Turkish born people in England and Wales increased from 52,396 in 2001 to 91,115 in 2011 according to the UK Census (Sirkeci & Esipova, 2013:6).

migrant workers and their families have acquired the citizenship of their host countries. The majority of these populations are built around communities which arrived in the 1960s and 1970s. However, the dominant feature of these population flows have changed over time. For example, family-related population movements (reunification and marriage) are different in terms of legal mechanisms, but they are part and parcel of the overall mobility. After the energy crisis of the 1970s, the volume of family migration rose mostly due to restrictions in other migration categories. On the other hand, asylum seeker and refugee flows dominated the period from the 1980s until the 2000s when other migration channels were tightened. The total number of asylum applications by Turkish citizens in industrialised countries between 1980 and 2011 was 1,033,000 (Sirkeci and Esipova, 2013:3). Although the volume of asylum seekers from Turkey has sharply decreased over the last decade, as of July 2014, the total number of refugees originating from Turkey was 65,900 while that of asylum seekers reached 10,252 according to the UNHCR.³ Variations of mover categories in countries can be seen in response to local legislations. For example, in the UK, due to further restrictions on immigration, many Turkish citizens arrive with visas based on the Ankara Agreement of 1963⁴ which gives special advantages but limits settlement options. Besides, up to 3 million Turkish movers who had previously returned to Turkey should be taken into account while speaking of Turkish migration and integration.

Contract-workers arrived in Turkish migration history with sizeable moves to Arab countries and former Soviet Union countries in the 1970s and the total numbers reached nearly 150,000. These flows are relatively small in the rich variety of current migration flows from Turkey. Similarly, a significant number of Turkish students study abroad, and some stay while some return. The total number of Turkish students abroad grew from 37,000 in 2007 to 53,000 in 2012 (OECD, 2014).

Overall, we can confidently claim that there is now an established Turkish culture of migration, which is particularly strong between Turkey and several destination countries including Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden, the UK, and France. In the 25 years since 1987, on average annually about 85,000 Turks moved in to the OECD countries while, over 45,000 moved out (OECD, 2014). The number of Turks moving to OECD countries declined to around 60,000 in the decade leading upto 2013. These steady moves created strong diaspora populations including over 1,969,979 Turkish citizens and 1,720,892 Turks naturalized in their countries

³ 2015 UNHCR country operations profile – Turkey, <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e48e0fa7f.html>, (Date Accessed: 31.01.2015).

⁴ See Sirkeci, I. et al. (2016). *Little Turkey in Great Britain*. London: TPLondon.

of residence within the OECD area by the end of 2012 (OECD, 2014). Due to the changing economic balance between Turkey and destination countries as well as the established culture of migration, some popular destination countries have become source countries as we saw sizeable number of Turks moving to Turkey (Sirkeci and Zeyneloglu, 2014). It is becoming more of a pattern of mutual flows between Europe and Turkey, whereas Turkey emerges as a key destination for those in relatively deprived parts of the world.

Migrants' remittances are not included in this volume, but they constitute a significant part of Turkish migration studies. Over the decades, these initially small sums of money sent by an increasing number of Turkish movers have contributed to Turkey's economy remarkably in the last fifty years, helping to cover the balance of trade deficits.

As a destination, Turkey had to fast track new legislation as sudden arrival of over 2 million Syrian and Iraqi refugees, as of April 2015, has shifted the paradigm. Steady slow growth of European immigration as well as efforts to control irregular migration were the basis for the new legal framework. Syrian and Iraqi arrivals turned all attention to conflicts and integration. Thus ambition to become a full member of the European Union (EU) cannot be the only guiding criteria for Turkish migration policy. Soon Turkey will possibly need to revisit both the newly adopted *Law on Foreigners and International Protection* (April 4, 2013) and the readmission agreement with the EU, governing the treatment of unauthorized migrants originating from or transiting through Turkey. Another important change came as Turkish citizens were for the first time allowed to vote at their place of residence in the 2014 parliamentary and presidential elections. This change is a sign of Turkey's intensifying relations with its diaspora populations and further transnationalisation of Turkish politics.

Nevertheless, multiple loyalties and transnational practices make identity an even more complicated issue often intertwined with the issues of integration. Despite being classified as Turks or Turkish nationals in most registers, there is a rich variety of ethnic and religious segments in this broad group, Turks, Kurds, Alevis to name a few. Identity is often not a simple response to the question "who are you?" as it relates to time, space and the temporal context of affairs. Nevertheless, limited data on ethnic and religious identity continue to restrain researchers' imagination. Thus movers from Turkey appear as men, women, Muslims, Alevis, Kurds, Turks, and others in the literature. Diaspora associations indicating movers' ties with their cities, towns, and villages of origin in Turkey.

Identity is a complex phenomenon as it is often multiple, interchangeable, situational, confrontational and subjective. Certain identities

are given while some others are acquired. Inherited identities come with belongings such as family, clan, race, and ethnicity and the acquired are for example occupational and educational identities. Among migrants from Turkey, Turkish and Kurdish are the dominant ethnic identities while Sunn and Alevi are dominant religious identities. These overlap and/or cross cut political identities and quite often contested. Sirkeci (2003) maps Turkish Kurds identity positions in Germany where Turk may appear both as part of "us" and "other". Hence Turks and Kurds may contest each other but sometimes, they come together as the "immigrant other" facing members of the English or German host society. It is important to note that identity building is an open ended process to an extent and built and rebuilt over time. Migration experience sometimes highlights certain identities while also adding new dimensions to existing ones or bringing new ones into individuals' portfolio of identities. Identity is also temporal. Individuals and groups may emphasise an ethnic identity more strongly at certain times than others. For example, annual Kurdistan festivals are such occasions among the Kurds in Europe. Nevertheless, a political stance may bring together Kurds and Turks as it happened during the Gezi Park protests.

"Preservation of our culture and traditions" is a commonly mentioned phrase among conservative segments of Turkish immigrant populations in Europe (see for example, chapter 9 of this book). The elements of these "culture and traditions" become part of the identity yet be unpacked by their daily routines, religious rituals, literature and language, life styles, values, customs, and what they watch and so on. Regulations, rules, and attitudes in the host society do also have an impact on identity formation. Macro level integration policies do also shape identities for good or worse. Kastoryanc (2000:132) pointed to that by revealing some differences between the Turkish migrants in France and those in Germany. To what extent, foreign governments are allowed to interact with diaspora communities also have an impact. Turkish Religious Affairs (see chapter in this book) is an example of that.

Identity issues are closely linked with the issue of integration which is not a concern for Turks abroad or Turkey alone. All countries with large or small populations of immigrants (and immigrant origin) are somehow interested in this agenda. After a long cycle of academic debates over terminology including assimilation and integration it seems we are settled with a redefined or revised version of integration to address the process of different populations encountering each other (Alba & Foner, 2015:4-8). Following their discussion, we may adopt a broadly defined concept of integration as "the extent to which immigrants, and especially their children,

are able to participate in key mainstream institutions in ways that position them to advance socially and materially” (Alba & Foner, 2015: 8).

Although cultural differences between host and migrant groups appear more often in public debates, one key area of concern is rather economic: labour market performances, disadvantages and discrimination. Across Europe, not only third country nationals but also migrants from other EU countries face serious labour market penalties (Khattab et al. 2011; Johnston et al., 2010). These (un)employment experiences do have a bearing on identities too.

Spatial concentration and isolation also matter. Immigrants tend to concentrate in certain areas characterized by migration history, economic attractiveness, and many other factors depending on country and time. For example, Turks in Germany concentrate in a few cities (Kastoryano, 2002), while over 64%⁵ of 169,771 Turks and Kurds live in London according to the 2011 UK Census (ONS, 2015). “Little Istanbul” in Berlin (Kaya, 2000:11), “Istanbul in 200 meters” in Cologne (Sirkeci, 2003:68) are examples of enclaves connected with Turkey but also creating transnational living spaces through enclaves which economically enable migrants. It is also part of a historic phenomenon of ethnic segregation and unemployment (Friedrichs, 1998). Yet, similar to many other immigrant minority groups in Europe, they face difficulties in the labour market (Sirkeci & Açık, 2015). Given the variety of policies and models of integration across Europe, Turkish migrants’ integration has to be studied case by case. Nevertheless, it has to be noted that it is an interactive process involving both movers and non-movers in both sending and receiving countries, as well as their institutions. Legal frameworks play a critical role in the process.

EU’s *Common Agenda for Integration* asserts that the promotion of fundamental rights, non discrimination and equal opportunities for all are key integration issues. The EU legislation provides a strong framework of anti-discrimination (EU, 2005). The European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) (ECRE, 2002) draws a structural framework of integration for the EU including the following topics: “Institutional arrangements, access to the labor market, access to vocational training, discrimination in the labor market, recognition of overseas qualifications, education, the education of migrant children, housing, health, family reunion, data on migrants, and financing integration”. There is also one important set of guiding principles for all member states embodied by the European Union. The actions suggested are shown in the *Handbook on Integration, the INTI Preparatory Actions* and the

⁵Once the Turkish Cypriots are excluded, this figure is 43% for the Kurds and 70% for the Turks from Turkey resident in the UK.

proposed European Fund for Integration (EU, 2005). According to the provisions of this book; integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of member States. Integration implies respect for the basic values of the European Union. Employment is a key part of the integration process and is central to the participation of immigrants. In order to make the contributions of immigrants to host society, and to make such contributions visible; basic knowledge of the host society’s language, history, and institutions is indispensable to integration. Efforts in education are critical to preparing immigrants, and particularly their descendants, to be more successful and more active participants in society. Access for immigrants to institutions, as well as to public and private goods and services, on a basis equal to national citizens and in a non-discriminatory way is a critical foundation for better integration. Frequent interaction between immigrants and member State citizens is a fundamental mechanism for integration. The practice of diverse cultures and religions is guaranteed under the Charter of Fundamental Rights and must be safeguarded. The participation of immigrants in the formulation of integration policies and measures, especially at the local level, supports their integration.

Above and beyond these general principles, it is the specific practices in each migrant-receiving country that blueprint the real framework of integration: For instance, Germany’s Federal Office for Migration and Refugees refers to integration as a long-term process with the aim of including everyone in society who lives in Germany on a permanent and legal basis. Immigrants should have the opportunity to participate fully in all aspects of social, political and economic life on an equal footing in order to become part of German society. Their responsibility is to learn German and to respect and abide by the Constitution and its laws (UNHCR 2013: 14). Since 2011, in Germany, if an immigrant does not participate in an integration course, his/her residence permit can only be extended for one year, until he/she has successfully completed the integration course (Urso and Schuster, 2013:33). However, some Turks think integration is impossible in the way Germans expected it to be. Especially with respect to religion and tradition, many Turkish migrants think that what Germans anticipate is assimilation not integration. However, some others acknowledge that they are contented with their position and they get on well with the local Germans because they know the German language, they abide by the local rules and they are employed (Şahin 2011: 151-52). Thus integration has features relating to the community and wider population but also it is an individual journey which connects movers and non-movers, locals and newcomers.

Turkish movers abroad have settled in many countries and have been subject to various integration processes. Recently, Turkey has suddenly faced

its biggest challenge of immigrant intergration with millions of Syrians fleeing their country amid armed clashes between radicals, moderates and government forces.

The impact of the global economic crisis, the rise of threats such as ISIS in Iraq and Syria, and anti-immigration discourses warrant more studies on Turkish and other movers in Europe and beyond. In this edited volume, we brought together a set of studies tackling different aspects of Turkish migration and immigrant experiences abroad.

Pöttschke's opening chapter summarises mobility patterns of Turks in Europe drawing upon the data gathered through a project on the Europeanisation of everyday life (EUCROSS). Kahn and Billfeld compares the incentives for Turks to return home with Moroccan and Egyptians. They look at the ways in which return decisions are revised over time.

In the following chapter, Yaylagul and colleagues draw our attention to the uses of health services by Turkish refugees in London using a life course approach with life history method. Gustafsson and Osterberg outline the patterns of child poverty among the movers from Turkey in Sweden drawing on Swedish official statistics.

Akdemir explores the identity formation processes among Alevis in London with an emphasis on their struggle to rights and recognition. Then we switch to the continent, as Ali Faruk Yaylacı delineates the perceptions of identity among Turkish teachers in Belgium using a case study method. Pursuit of identity processes continues with chapters by Baskin and Hametner who bring us fresh insights and discussion on identity, integration and racism among Turkish women in France and Austria. Filiz Yaylacı's chapter explores the ways in which communication strategies and practices among Turkish immigrants in Belgium play a role in determining identity and belonging. She has conducted qualitative interviews with 55 immigrants from Posof and Emirdag as well as recording observations in Belgium.

Gross and colleagues focus on a known characteristic of Turkish populations and their experiences in smoking cessation in Switzerland. Following two chapters by Alkın and Özalpman introduce us to movies and audience. Alkın looks at German cinema on Turkish immigrants and immigration and also on emerging Turkish-German cinema which are discussed with reference to two periods. Deniz Özalpman looks at a Turkish drama series with a focus on illustrating the use of Grounded Theory in Turkish migration studies.

Hackett's chapter examines Turkish Muslims in Hamburg drawing upon oral history interviews and focusing on positive aspects of their entrepreneurial attitudes. Yakup Çoştu and Feyza Çoştu in the final chapter, investigate the Diyanet Vakfı (Turkish Religious Foundation) in the UK and

immigrants perceptions about and utility of these religious organisations in terms of identity formation and community building.

We do hope this volume will be of use to the students, academics, researchers and practitioners in the field. There is a fast growing literature on Turkish migration and we aimed at laying another brick.