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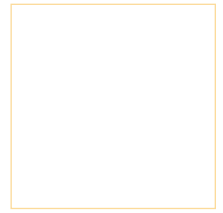
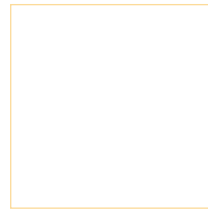
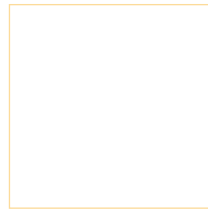


Migration Profile: Turkey

Françoise De Bel-Air

As of 2015, the population of Turkey stood at 78,741,053, of whom 1,592,437 were, according to Turkish statistics, migrants (born-abroad).¹ If we add to this figure the three million refugees registered in the country (of whom about 2.7 million are from Syria), a minimal estimate of the share of the foreign-born immigrants in Turkey's total population as of December 2015 would be 5.6 percent.² Meanwhile, Turkey has remained a major migrant-sending country. Turkish-born migrants residing abroad stood at about 2.9 million in 2014-15, of whom 2.5 million were in Europe. Turkish migrants are thus, with Moroccans, the largest migrant group in Europe. There are estimated to be 5.5 million Turkish citizens living abroad (including second and third generations born to Turkish parents outside Turkey), of whom around 4.6 million live in Western European countries.³

Since the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, migration policy has been a tool of nation building and has been aimed at establishing a homogeneous Turkish identity.⁴ Turkification policies encouraged the migration of Muslims of Turkish descent and culture to Turkey; while non-Muslims, or those perceived as alien to Turkey's Ottoman heritage were considered a threat to Turkish and Muslim identity. Turkey's non-Muslim minority populations have tended to emigrate⁵ and there have also been forced deportations, while, on the other hand, some 1.6 million people immigrated to Turkey between 1923 and 1997. These were Eastern Europeans during the Cold War as well as Albanians, Bosnian Muslims, Pomaks (Bulgarian-speaking Muslims), and Turks: they came in 1989, 1992-1995, and 1999.⁶ In line with the promotion of a homogeneous Turkic identity, Turkey is a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention, but holds a clause of geographical limitation. It only considers refugees, populations

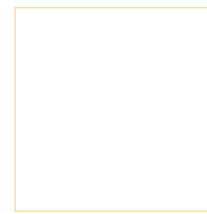
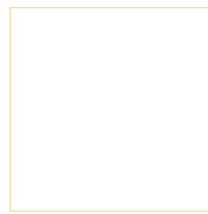
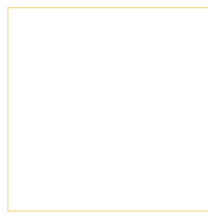
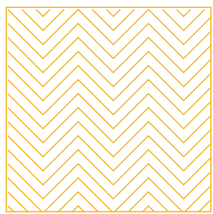


coming from Europe. In the late 1980s, Turkic-centered immigration patterns began to change. The Iran-Iraq war, operations conducted against Kurdish populations in Iraq and the war in Afghanistan drove increasing numbers of asylum seekers into Turkey. Almost half a million mostly Kurdish refugees came from Iraq in 1988 and 1991, for instance.⁷ By the early 2000s, Turkey had become a hub for asylum seekers, from these and other countries. Owing to visa-free bilateral agreements with Middle Eastern states such as Iran, Iraq and Syria, as well as with neighbouring-ex-Soviet Republics, it also became a country of transit towards Europe.⁸

Emigration trends from Turkey also underwent various changes until the 2000s. Turkish emigration was first formally organised after the first major bilateral labour agreement was signed between Turkey and West Germany in 1961.⁹ The agreement opened the first phase of Turkish emigration, initially governed by a *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers)’s scheme offering a two-years maximum stay to prevent workers’ permanent settlement in Germany. Following the 1973 oil-crisis, a second phase opened, marked by a shift from labour immigration to family reunion across Europe. Some assisted return schemes did take place in the mid-1980s, but family reunion spurred the progressive *de facto* settlement of Turkish workers across Germany and other host states, in Europe and in remoter countries such as Australia.¹⁰ Migration chains, organised and sustained on the basis of a common geographical origin, characterised Turks’ migration flows and settlement patterns in host states until recently, with high geographical concentrations in specific neighbourhoods.¹¹ Meanwhile, political instability in the 1980s and long-term conflicts, such as the conflict between the PKK (Kurdistan Workers’ Party) and the Turkish state since 1984, encouraged claims for asylum abroad.¹² In parallel, new migration venues opened to Turkish workers in oil-producing Arab countries (the Gulf States and Libya), in the construction sector and in public works. It is

estimated for instance, that 500,000 Turks were employed in the MENA countries in 1990, on short-term contracts.¹³ A third phase in Turkish emigration started in 1989-1990, with a renewed hike in family reunion initiated by second-generation-descendants of Turkish migrants. Transnational marriages, for instance, were still common between second- and third-generation European nationals of Turkish descent and partners from family’s hometowns or areas in Turkey. These helped sustaining family reunion flows.¹⁴ After a diversification of Soviet, and later Russian foreign policy, the Turkish government shifted from a strong Western-oriented to a more multidimensional alliance pattern. New markets thus emerged, which attracted numerous Turkish labourers and investors, in the former Soviet Union countries (the Commonwealth of Independent States, CEI).¹⁵

In parallel, policies were put in place that aimed at strengthening ties with the members of the Turkish transnational diaspora. Evolving from social assistance to economic incentives for remittances, diaspora policies acquired a political dimension in the 1980s and early 1990s, and aimed to secure the support of expatriates after the military coup in 1980.¹⁶ More generally, diaspora policies were intended to retain influence over expatriates and their organisations, as well as to support “Euro-Turks”¹⁷ demands *vis-à-vis* the countries of residence (especially, in the cultural domain). Incorporation in host societies was acknowledged¹⁸ and even encouraged, yet cultural and political assimilation was not. The shaping of a “Muslim national identity” in line with Turkey’s foreign policy since the 2000s and the coming to power of the AKP extended Turkey-Europe diplomatic ties to individual and network relationships, which *de facto* strengthens Turkey’s influence in European politics through expatriates and their organisations. Turkey’s increasingly proactive “diaspora politics” is thus driven by economic, political as well as by cultural considerations, and is supported by dedicated



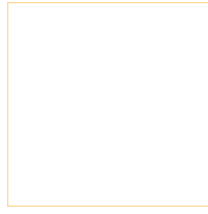
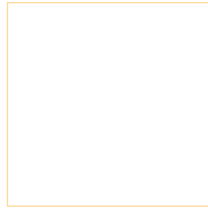
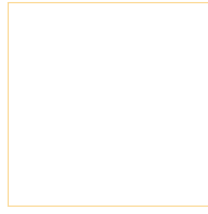
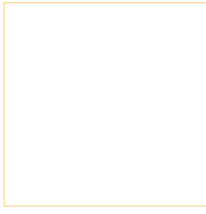
institutions. Among these there is the Office for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB), created in 2010 to give an institutional basis to relations to Turkish citizens abroad.¹⁹ On the politico-cultural level, the Yunus Emre Cultural Centres (YEKMs) in European cities are said to be important elements in Turkey's foreign cultural policy and for Turkey's "soft power".²⁰ Additionally, Turkey facilitated the mobility of highly-qualified Europeans of Turkish descent back to Turkey, as increasing numbers of "Euro-Turks" looked for new opportunities in Turkey's booming economy during the 2000s. In 2012, the YTB established the Blue Card (*mavi kart*) schemes directed at former Turkish citizens having lost their citizenship. The document grants them extensive rights, such as permanent residency, the right to work and the right to purchase real estate, without the restrictions that apply to foreigners.

Turkey's national identity-based immigration policies were further strained by the country's EU-accession process, ongoing since 2004-2005.²¹ The policy harmonization measures, or 'policy transfer' from the EU to Turkey, triggered a major overhaul of Turkey's legal and institutional framework pertaining to migration and asylum. Among these changes were: the implementation of the National Action Plan on Asylum and Migration after 2005; the setting up of the Development and Implementation Office on Asylum and Migration Legislation and Asylum Capacity under the Ministry of Interior in 2008; and the conclusion of readmission agreements with several countries.²² Moreover, the increasing "securitisation" of migration in the 2000s²³ progressively constructed informality, a characteristic of Turkey's immigration patterns, as irregularity. Similarly, the concept of 'transit' countries became politically constructed to implicitly label these as producers of 'chaotic' and unmanaged movements.²⁴ Turkey had thus to repeal its free visa policy with some of its neighbours (Syria, Lebanon, Iran, Egypt, etc.) which had caused serious concerns in the EU with respect to border management,

especially since the crisis in Syria.²⁵ The Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP), ratified in April 2013 and implemented in April 2014, was a significant step towards managing both legal and irregular migration to Turkey, including humanitarian migration, which had not previously been addressed in Turkish legal provisions.²⁶ A Readmission Agreement was also eventually signed between the EU and Turkey in December 2013,²⁷ after a tough negotiation process.²⁸ In parallel, an EU-Turkey visa liberalization dialogue was initiated, on the basis of the document *Roadmap Towards A Visa-Free Regime With Turkey*.²⁹ Turkey's EU accession process, and eventual visa-free access to the Schengen space for Turkish nationals, was thus made conditional on Turkey's management of irregular migration to the EU.

Meanwhile, under the auspices of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, migration policy-making became centralized within a newly created General Directorate for Migration Management (GDMM). The GDMM's responsibilities include: developing new legislation and strategies; coordinating and managing multiagency efforts to combat irregular migration; standardizing practices; registering and determining status of potential refugees; and ensuring protection for victims of human trafficking, stateless persons, and those who receive temporary protection.³⁰

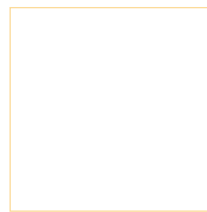
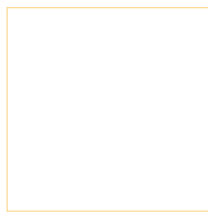
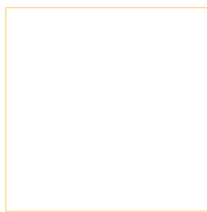
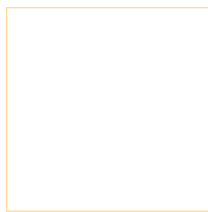
The Syria crisis eventually forced an estimated 2.7 million refugees into Turkey. Relying on its new tools and policy measures but still applying its geographical limitation, Turkey implemented a temporary protection regime, as per Article 91 of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection.³¹ The regime is based on three principles: an open border policy; the principle of *non-refoulement*; and registration with the Turkish authorities and support inside the precincts of the camps.³² The registration of the refugees is performed by GDMM, while AFAD (the Turkish Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency) set up the refugee camps and manages



them. Since 2011, the Turkish government has provided aid to Syrian refugees costing some 0.8% of 2014 GDP.³³ These in return boosted the country's economy.³⁴ In theory, Syrian refugees living inside or outside the camps, are also entitled to rights within the temporary protection regulation, such as access to health care, education, social assistance and access to the labour market. While the first two started being implemented,³⁵ the possibility for Syrians to apply for work permits was only given in January 2016. It is limited to those legally registered and having resided in the country for six months, and capped at 10 percent of a firm's workforce. The move was justified as a way to stop the informal employment of refugees, accused of dragging wages down.³⁶ Yet, to date, only about 8,000 permits have been issued to Syrian refugees. President Erdogan proposed to grant Turkish citizenship to 300,000 skilled and highly-skilled Syrian refugees in July 2016.³⁷ This proved controversial as it was seen as a way for the leader to gain more political leverage, inside, as well as outside Turkey. Most interpretations, indeed, linked the move to an attempt at instrumentalising refugees to bargain with the EU.³⁸

Turkey's role in managing refugee does give the country bargaining power against the EU. Following massive flows of refugees to the EU in Summer 2015, the European Union and Turkey signed an agreement, 29 November 2015, under which the EU promised Turkey €3 billion to manage the refugee crisis in the country, and prevent Syrian and Iraqi refugees from reaching EU countries. However, slow progress in implementing the Agreement prompted another EU-Turkey summit in March 2016. The new agreement allows all new irregular migrants arriving after March 20 to Greece to be returned to Turkey. In exchange, EU Member States will: increase the resettlement of Syrian refugees residing in Turkey (one for each returned irregular migrant); accelerate visa liberalisation for Turkish nationals; and boost existing financial support for Turkey's refugee population.³⁹ As of early November 2016,

the European Commission stated that only 721 refugees had been returned to Turkey, of the 20,000 persons who arrived in Greece since April 2016.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, the postponement of the visa-free agreement prompted Turkey to consider submitting its accession process to a popular referendum in 2017.⁴¹



OUTWARD MIGRATION

Stock

In 2014, an estimated 2.9 million Turkish migrants, (i.e., first-generation, born in Turkey) were residing abroad, that is 3.6 percent of the total population of the country. The vast majority were in Europe (86 percent), Germany alone hosted 47 percent of these migrants. The second largest community of Turkish migrants was in France, where a modest 9 percent of all Turkish expatriates lived.

Estimates of Turkish migrants' stocks by region and selected countries of residence (2013-2015)				
	Source	Def.	Number	% of all emigrants
Europe 28+Switzerland+Norway			2,500,000	86%
Of which Germany	(3)	(A)	1,364,000	
France			248,640	
Netherlands			192,676	
Austria	(4)		160,039	
Belgium			98,639	
UK	(3)		87,000	
Switzerland	(4)		78,240	
Sweden			46,146	
North America			134,678	5%
US	(4)	(A)	109,408	
Canada			25,270	
Arab Countries (est.)			100,000	3%
Of which the Gulf States	(1)	(B)	25,000	
Iraq	(2)		17,515	
Others (est.)			137,000	5%
Of which Kazakhstan	(2)		46,894	
Australia	(4)	(A)	40,660	
Israel	(4)	(A)	22,780	
Est. total emigrants			2,900,000	100%

Sources:

(1) national population registers and other estimates, <http://gulfmigration.eu/> Estimates for Kuwait: Dec. 2012; Saudi Arabia: 2013; Qatar, UAE, Bahrain: 2014

(2) UN/DESA, rev. 2015; (3) receiving countries' statistics, 2013-2015; (4) OECD international migration database, year 2014 (31/12).

Definition of migrant: (A) country of birth; (B) country of nationality. "Others" refers to non-Arab African and Asian countries, Oceania, South America, other European countries.

As for the 4.6 million holders of Turkish citizenship recorded by Turkish consular services (first generation migrants, and born-abroad second and third generations together), 461,407 of them were naturalized in their European host countries between 2005 and 2014. Yet, German statistics indicated that

INWARD MIGRATION

Stock⁷⁴

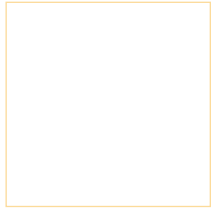
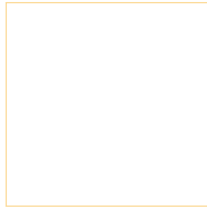
As of 2015, Turkish statistics counted 1,592,437 migrants (born-abroad) in the country. Another 3 million refugees, mostly Syrians, were to be added to the figure. All in all, about 5.6 percent of those residing in Turkey were migrants. This was a marked increase from the 1,278,671 foreign-born residents in the country recorded during the 2000 census, who made up 1.9 percent of Turkey's total population.

Foreign-born population residing in Turkey by country of birth and sex (2000; 2015)					
Place of birth	2000	2015			
	Total	Males	Females	Total	%
Europe	434,166	519,671	953,837	60	
Of which Bulgaria	480,817	175,363	203,295	378,658	24
Germany	273,535	124,469	138,849	263,318	17
Macedonia	31,515	20,143	23,257	43,400	3
Netherlands	21,823	15,048	17,297	32,345	2
United Kingdom	18,914	14,688	17,452	32,140	2
France	16,787	14,089	14,418	28,507	2
Greece	59,217	12,368	14,560	26,928	2
Austria	14,335	9,098	9,511	18,609	1
Arab countries	129,010	103,298	232,308	15	
Of which Iraq		54,226	43,302	97,528	6
Syria		43,067	33,346	76,413	5
Libya		9,442	7,000	16,442	1
Saudi Arabia		7,816	6,757	14,573	1
CIS	74,731	137,592	212,323	13	
Of which Azerbaijan	16,787	22,820	30,016	52,836	3
Uzbekistan		13,037	23,046	36,083	2
Russia	19,856	10,391	24,095	34,486	2
Turkmenistan		9,392	15,545	24,937	2
Kazakhstan		8,442	13,104	21,546	1
Armenia		450	1,896	2,346	0
Asia	74,835	81,844	156,679	10	
Of which Afghanistan		22,431	16,261	38,692	2
Iran	12,957	19,503	16,723	36,226	2
Georgia		3,915	21,104	25,019	2
China		7,397	5,029	12,426	1
North America	13,430	13,608	27,038	2	
Of which the U.S.	13,566	11,980	12,046	24,026	2
Other countries	13,805	9,919	23,724	1	
Total born abroad	1,278,671	737,910	854,527	1,592,437	100

Source: State Institute for Statistics, census 2000 and TurkStat, Place of Birth Statistics, 2015.

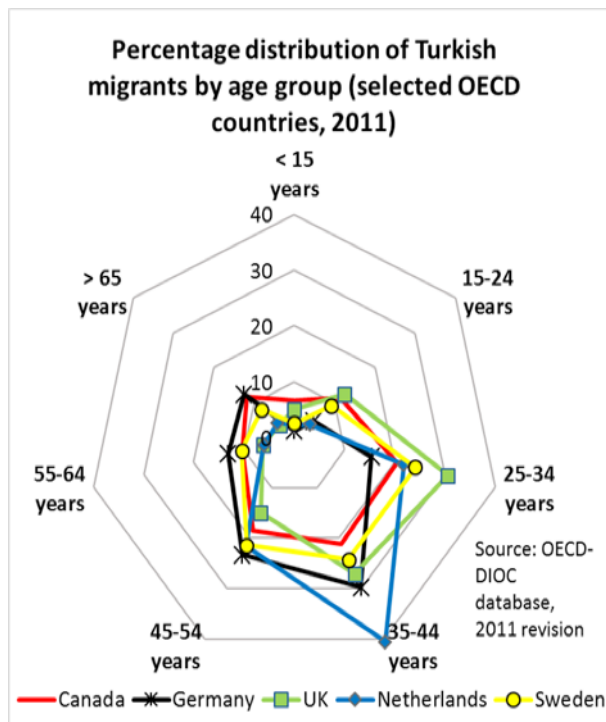
These numbers do not include the Syrian refugees.

In 2000 (Table 2), there were 1,278,671 foreign-born persons in Turkey, most of whom had been born in Bulgaria (38 percent), as well as in Greece and other European countries. These were probably ethnic Turks, members of Muslim minorities expelled since the fall of the Soviet bloc from their countries of origin in the Balkans (see introduction). Others, meanwhile, were



only 47 percent of the 2,851,000 residents of Turkish migrant background,⁴² held German nationality as of 31 December 2015.⁴³ Among the first-generation migrants, the share was even lower, at 22 percent (of the 1,364,000 Turkish migrants, 1,065,644 were Turkish nationals only). Holders of double nationality (German and Turkish) numbered 246,000.⁴⁴ In Austria where about 260,000 first- and second-generation Turkish migrants and their children resided as of 2011, about 60 percent held Austrian citizenship.⁴⁵

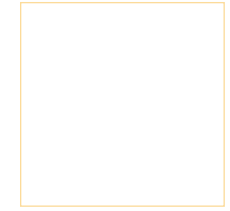
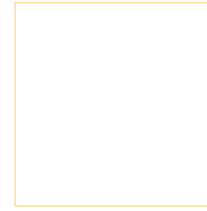
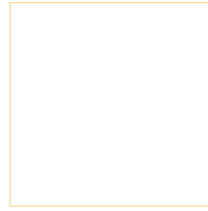
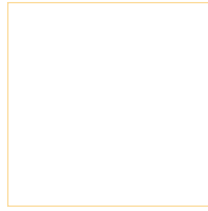
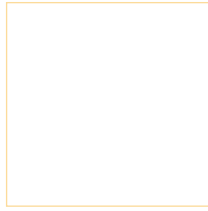
As well as the large numbers in Europe, smaller communities of Turk migrants formed in North America, as well as in the CIS countries. Most of those in the CIS are short-term (six months to two years), project-tied contract expatriates employed in Turkish multinational companies, who left their families behind in Turkey. Yet some are also professionals and investors who took up opportunities in the region, and set up small- and middle-sized businesses in all sorts of sectors.⁴⁶



In Western (OECD) countries, Turkish migrants show a relatively balanced sex ratio on average: 52 percent of them are males. Half of them (48 percent) are in working age-groups (25-44 years old) and 10 percent are aged 65 and more. Turkish migrant populations are also characterized by a relatively homogeneous age

Europe-born “returnees” of Turkish descent. The trend remained over the years. Most foreign-born residents in 2015 were from Europe (60 percent), Bulgaria being still the most common place of birth for those born abroad (24 percent), followed by Germany (17 percent). The decrease in the number of residents born in Bulgaria (a “loss” of over 100,000 between 2000 and 2015) as well as in other Balkan States, confirms that these are now aging and that “ethnic” migrant flows are now over. As for the slight decrease in the numbers of those born in Germany recorded between the two dates (-10,200), it seems contradictory with the hike in the number of “Euro-Turks” emphasized in scholarly and press accounts since the early 2000s. This gap may be due to the growing circularity of migration between the two countries, highlighted earlier in this paper. The change in the population recording method from census-taking to administrative registry, may also lead to those residing under a tourist visa being missed out, as well as some dual nationals.⁷⁵ The numbers indeed went up, of those born in other countries hosting sizeable communities of Turkish migrants and the second-generation (France, the Netherlands, Austria). This supports the hypothesis of a growing presence of “Euro-Turks” in Turkey, yet a population that has remained relatively limited in size.

The original characteristic of the foreign born population in Turkey is, indeed, that it is mostly composed of Turkish nationals (dual nationals or Turks only). In 2014, the Population Register statistics recorded 992,597 Turkish citizens born abroad, or 1.3 percent of the Turkish population.⁷⁶ This would signify that born-abroad non-nationals (foreign immigrants) would number around 600,000 (total figure of the born-abroad in 2015-Turkish nationals born abroad in 2014). Some are German of Turkish descent who renounced their Turkish nationality and reside under the “blue card” (*mavi kart*) scheme. Indeed, the non-Europeans recorded in 2015 numbered 638,600. Those born in Arab countries stood at 232,300, making up 15 percent of the born abroad. Iraq and Syria ranked first among those origin countries, at respectively 97,500 and 78,000. The figure for Syria-born confirms that refugees are not incorporated in the figures (see below). The CEI was the third largest group of foreign birth places, with Azeri, as well as Uzbeks and Russians ranking first. Their numbers had increased notably since 2000; those originating from Azerbaijan even



structure, as pointed out in Figure 1. It is everywhere strongly skewed towards active age groups. Children (0-14 years) and older age groups (55 and beyond) are very few in every host country.

In Canada, in the US and in Australia, 11 to 13 percent of migrants are aged 65 and more. This is in line with the old migration trends linking Turkey and these countries. Yet, distance to Turkey may have deterred former migrants from returning after retiring from work. These countries also host young families from Turkey. In Canada, for instance, 7 percent of Turkish migrants are children younger than fifteen. In these countries, migrants' age distribution is more balanced than in Europe, but males are also slightly overrepresented (55 percent of all migrants).

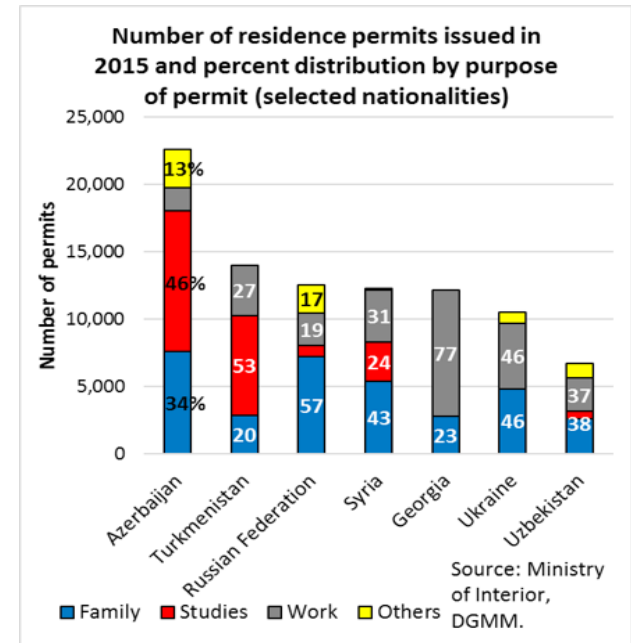
Migrants from Turkey in these regions, as in the UK, are also typically highly educated (Figure 2).⁴⁷ In Britain, education is indeed the prime purpose of residence for Turks: 35 percent of them hold an education-related permit.⁴⁸ This is consistent with their age distribution: those in the 25-34 age group make up one-third of the total.

The socio-demographic profile of migrants from Turkey stands, in the rest of Europe, in marked contrast with North America's young professionals' families and Britain's highly-educated scholars. Students make up a quarter of Turkish residents in the EU;⁴⁹ yet most Turkish migrants there are in active age groups (25-44 years especially); older migrants make up only 3 to 6 percent of the total (Germany standing as an exception with 12 percent aged 65 and above). This confirms how Turkish migrants tend to leave Europe upon retirement, as has been noted by researchers.⁵⁰ Children (0-14 years) are also typically much less well represented there than in North America. In Germany, they make up only 1 percent of the total. Such an age-structure, added to the relative gender balance (52 to 55 percent males in total), suggests the prevalence of family reunion for marriage purposes as a path to the immigration from Turkey to Europe, prior to family formation and birth of children there. In effect, in 2015 the majority of recent Turkish residents (first permit holders), males and females alike,⁵¹ lived in Europe under family reunion schemes (up to 85 percent of all first permits in Germany for instance), with marriage ranking first as a purpose for family reunion (49 percent in Germany; 62 percent in France). By comparison,

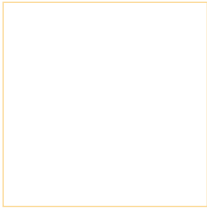
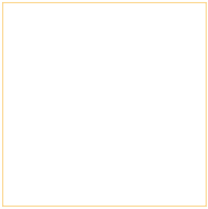
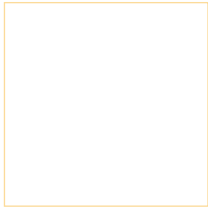
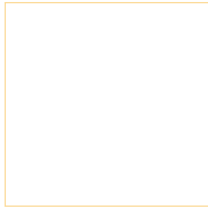
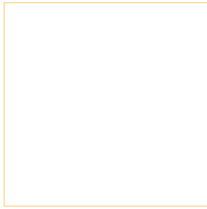
trebled in number in just two years. As for those born in Asia (10 percent of all foreign born), they mainly originate from Afghanistan, Georgia and Iran. Those from Iran's numbers also trebled over the fifteen years to reach 36,000 in 2015 (Table 2).

It is interesting to note that females outnumber males among those born abroad, by some 117,000 individuals. The gender imbalance is particularly marked for those born in the CIS region, among whom 65 percent are women. Many Russians are married to Turkish men and reside in Turkey.⁷⁷ However, the predominance of females among other Caucasian, Central Asian and South-Western European groups of origin may signal that these nationals are often employed in child care and domestic services.⁷⁸

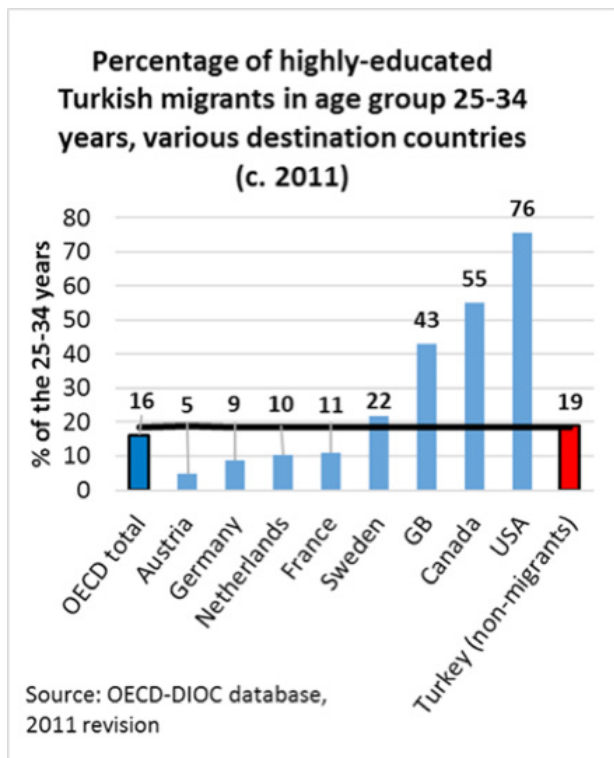
The number of residence permits (including renewals) granted to non-nationals by the Ministry of Interior in 2015 totaled 422,895.⁷⁹ Almost a half were short-term permits (202,403).⁸⁰ Family reunion was the major grounds for delivering a permit (73,705), closely followed by "student" and "work-related" permits (67,529 and 62,756 delivered documents).



Iraqis and Syrians were granted the largest number of residencies (respectively 33,202 and 32,578), but these were mostly short-term ones (respectively 76 and 62 percent). With 22,584 residencies, Azeris dominated among the holders of longer-term residence permits (from above one year to unlimited stay, according to



only a few Turkish migrants in Europe were beneficiaries of humanitarian migration schemes that year (3 percent of first permits in the EU as a whole; 7 percent in France and 6 percent in Germany), or resided for the explicit purpose of labour. Interestingly, these kind of labour migrants are most common in Sweden where they make up 22 percent of first permit holders.

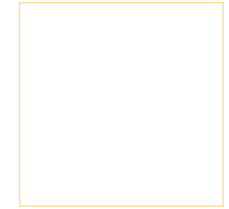
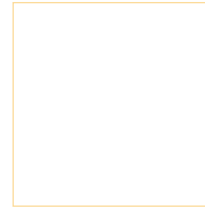
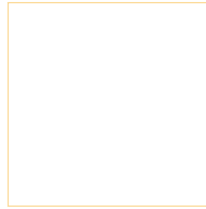
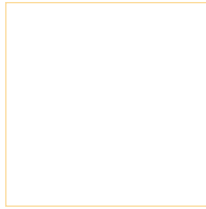
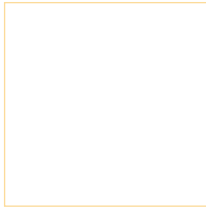


As regards education, Turkish migrants stand out among migrant populations, as they are less educated on average than non-migrants.⁵² Figure 2 indicates that 16 percent of Turkish migrants in the 25-34 age group are highly-educated, whereas 19 percent of the same age group are highly-educated in Turkey (non-migrants). In Europe especially (with the exception of Britain as indicated earlier, and of Sweden), university graduates make up only 4 to 11 percent of all migrants from Turkey.

As might have been expected, Turks in Canada and Britain perform highly-skilled professions in general: the three top categories of professions (the “managers”, “professionals” and “technicians and associate professionals”) employed respectively 49 and 35 percent of them.⁵³ By contrast, in Germany and in Austria, three-quarters of migrants from Turkey were in the three lowest-skilled categories.⁵⁴ Most

the type of permit)⁸¹ (Figure 6). Their main purpose for staying in Turkey was education (46 percent of the 22,584 permits issued), as it was for the Turkmen (53 percent of the residencies granted to these nationals). The statistics of the Turkish Council of Higher Education indicated that numbers of international tertiary students in the country had been rising to reach a total of 48,200 in 2013-2014. The top-five origin countries of students were Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan, followed by Iran, Afghanistan and Syria.⁸² Other nationalities displayed different profiles, as indicated in Figure 6: Russians were mainly residing in Turkey for family reunion, while Georgians and Ukrainians, for instance, were mostly workers (77 percent of residencies granted to Georgians, for instance). Georgians were by far the first recipients of permits for work reasons in 2015 (9,398) and Ukrainians ranked second with 4,838 such permits. In 2013 (last available data), most work permits had been granted for “domestic work” (14,931 out of 45,836), then for “hospitality” (6,243 permits) and for “performing arts and entertainment”. The three categories together made up 51 percent of all labour permits granted,⁸³ which can explain the high share of women migrants seen in Table 2.

Refugees in Turkey are not included in the figures of residence permits holders,⁸⁴ nor are they recorded in the ABPRS. As of September 2016, registered refugees numbered above 3 million, of whom 2.7 million were from Syria (Table 3).⁸⁵ The second and third largest nationalities were Iraqis and Afghans (126,000 and 114,000 respectively). According to UNHCR’s records, half of the refugees and asylum-seekers of these two national groups were adult males, while adult females went to make up about 20 percent. Children made up around 30 percent of all Iraqi and Afghan registered persons, which suggest a sizeable share of families among these populations.⁸⁶



(34 percent in the two countries) were in “elementary occupations”. In France, the Netherlands and Sweden, the occupational distribution is still more diverse, with a predominance of “blue collar” occupations: in France, 40 percent were in “Craft and related trades”. Only 18 to 27 percent (in respectively, France and in the Netherlands) were in the top three categories. In Europe, Turkish migrants also often work in “services and trade”-related professions. The numbers ranged from 10 (France) to 30 percent (Sweden) of employed migrants.⁵⁵

This clustering of Turkish migrant populations⁵⁶ in low education and low-skilled professions in Europe, and especially in Germany and Austria, raises questions. A first line of explanation may reside in the patterns of migration from Turkey to Europe. We have seen that migration networks and chains linking expatriate communities in Europe with their region, village or neighbourhood of origin in Turkey were still important, for marriage purposes, for instance. The first migrants who went to Europe in the 1960s were most often from rural regions; their education and skill levels were low. It is, therefore, a possibility that traditional migration networks continue attracting low-educated young males and females to Europe from these regions, which in some cases remain deprived.

The clustering of Turkish migrants in low levels of education and low-skilled professions may also be due to discriminations against these populations, partly the result of host countries’ policies.⁵⁷ Germany and Austria, for instance, did not, until very recently, perceive themselves as immigration countries. Therefore, no policies were put in place to promote young migrants’ integration in these major host countries. Migrants are considered culturally distinct even after years of residence.⁵⁸

Flows

In general, Turkish net migration flows to Europe have been sharply decreasing since the early 2000s in every European country. The average downwards trends follow context and policy changes in host countries, especially regarding conditions for naturalisations,⁵⁹ family reunion and for the granting of asylum. The management of successive EU enlargement steps had already been feeding populist/protectionist

Refugees and asylum seekers registered in Turkey by nationality (September-November 2016)

	Refugees (%)	Asylum seekers (%)	Total
Syria*	100	0	2,769,991
Iraq**	22	78	125,879
Afghanistan**	3	97	113,756
Iran**	24	76	28,534
Somalia**	57	43	3,905
Other nationalities**	27	73	8,290
Total	15	85	3,050,355

* registered by DGMM as of 10 November 2016. Source:

<http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik3/temporary-protection> 915 1024 4748

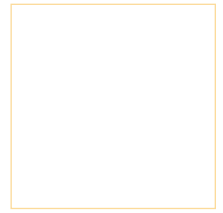
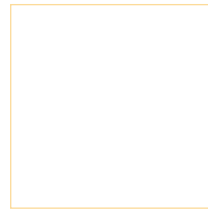
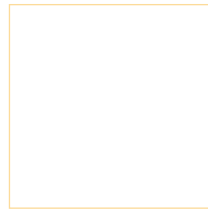
** recorded by UNHCR. Source: UNHCR. *Turkey Factsheet and UNHCR Turkey. Key Facts and Figures*, September 2016.

Those aged younger than eighteen made up a higher share of Syrian refugees (47 percent), while older Syrians (aged 65 and above) composed 19 percent of the total. The overall population displayed a balanced sex ratio with 53 percent males. The overwhelming majority of Syrians lived in urban communities: only 9 percent were hosted in camps. Half of the 2.7 million registered Syrian refugees were living in Istanbul (an estimated 400,000), and in the governorates of Sanliurfa, Hatay and Gaziantep along the Syrian border.⁸⁷ The refugee camps are located in this region.

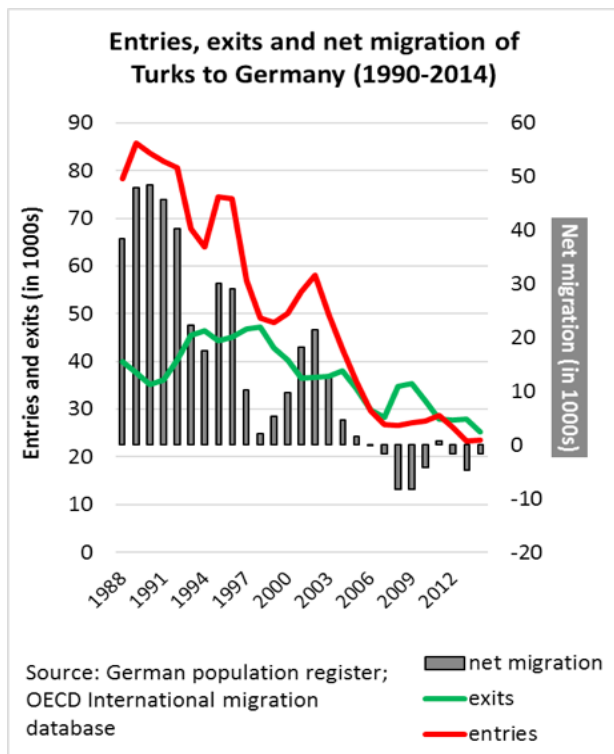
Flows

As opposed to their emigration flows which have decreased since the early 2000s, all categories of migrants’ flows to Turkey have gone up in recent years. Turkey is thus becoming, more than ever, a country of immigration.

This is first illustrated by the entries and exits statistics (Fig. 6): these indicate that overall levels of net migration are rising, after a drastic fall at the end of the 2000s, most likely an effect of the global financial crisis. Since then, however, net migration from the EU-28 ceased being largely positive. The largest net flows started originating from CIS countries and from West Asia (Arab Middle Eastern countries and Iran) in the mid-2000s. Small numbers of South-East Asians and Africans are also to be seen in the country.

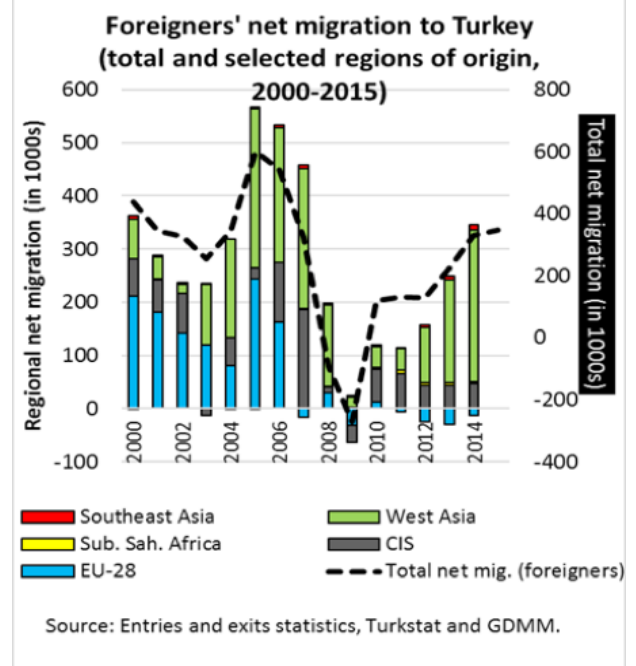


discourses⁶⁰ against non-European populations. Yet, the events of 9/11 spurred suspicion towards Muslim populations (including Turkish migrant communities), hence enhancing the ‘securitization’ of the migration issue over the 2000s.



Turkish migration trends to Germany illustrate this. From a high of 48,500 net movements in 1989 (with 85,700 entries), the net migration flows became negative in 2006; exits have been outnumbering entries since then.

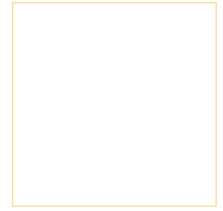
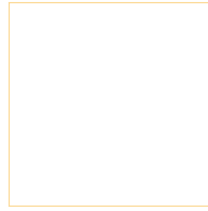
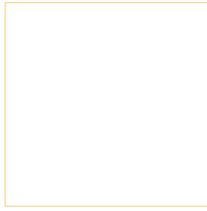
This is due to policy changes in the country, which limited avenues for Turkish immigration to Germany, and shifted their patterns of entry to the country. Figure 3 indicates a first decrease of net migration flows during the 1990s; Figure 4 suggests that this may be due to a fall in the numbers of visas⁶¹ granted for asylum-seeking purposes. Turks who applied for asylum in Germany were 25,514 in 1995, 8,968 in 2000, and only 1,365 in 2014. This fall happened after the mid-1990s when a change in the German Constitution in 1993 limited the right of asylum to applicants who had not previously transited through other safe countries on their way to Europe.⁶²



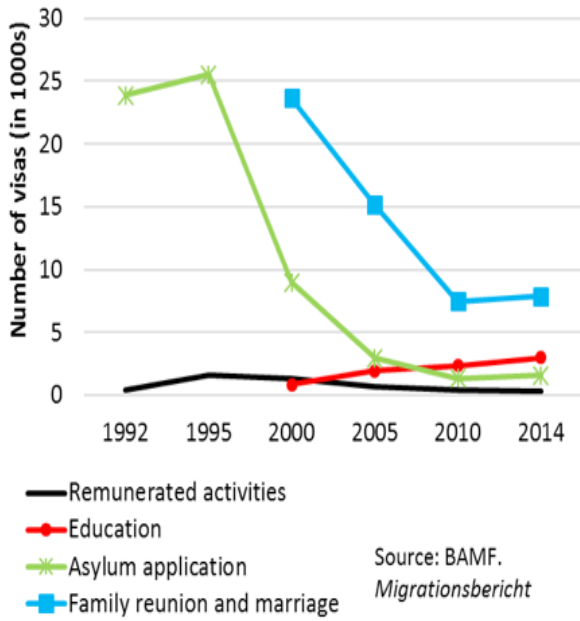
Residence permits issued also increased from a low of 163,326 in 2009. In addition, some shifts occurred in their characteristics: while family reunion and education remained the principal grounds for delivering residency, the “work” reason hiked in 2015 at 63,000, from a low of 18,500 permits in this category in 2014 (44,300 in 2013).⁸⁸ The share of first permits among all permits delivered also went up, from 10 to 23 percent of all granted permits (2008-2012),⁸⁹ which is in line with the recent shifts in migration patterns and policies in Turkey

Recent years saw a change in the origin countries of foreigners receiving residence permits. In 2012 the top five were Georgia, the Russian Federation, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria and Germany. In 2014, there was a significant increase in the number of residence permits issued to Iraqis (38,700), Syrians (31,800), Afghans (29,800), Azerbaijanis (27,000) and Iranians (18,900).⁹⁰ As noted above, in 2015 Iraqis, Syrians and Azerbaijanis ranked first among all recipients with almost 100,000 permits together. Georgians, Russians and Iranians still stood among the top-ten receivers of permits in Turkey, however, together with Chinese and other Central Asian nationalities.

Inflows to Turkey are shaped by several factors, which help explain the changing nature of inflows over the last decade. First, the country recovered quickly from



Visas issued to Turkish nationals for immigration to Germany by purpose of visa (selected years, 1992-2014)



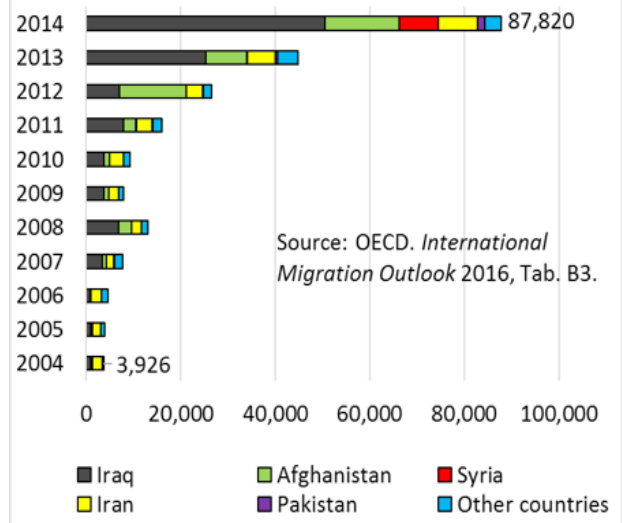
A second major step in Turkish immigration to Germany is the drastic fall in the number of visas granted for family-related purposes throughout the 2000s, from 23,663 in 2000 to 7,870 in 2010 (Figure 4).

A third element of importance in the decreasing net migration flows from Turkey to Germany (and to Europe in general) is the rise in exits observed in the late 2000s. This was due, in first place, to the expansion of the retirees age groups. Second, Turkey had become an attractive economy in the 2000s, as signalled by its high GDP.⁶³ The socio-economic reforms undertaken in the context of its EU-accession process also closed parts of the socio-cultural gap previously alienating Europe-born second-generations from their parents country. Added to this, the recognition of qualifications acquired in Germany, increased prospects for attractive jobs and faster promotion. This was especially true for young females since more women are found presently in management positions in Turkey than in Germany, and, above all, “emotional reasons”,⁶⁴ may all explain the movement of “return” to the country, of some second- and third-generation European nationals of Turkish descent. Unfortunately, available statistics do not allow us to measure the volume of such flows.

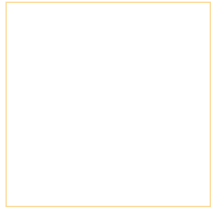
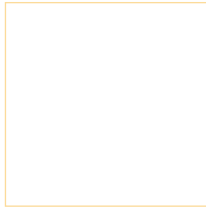
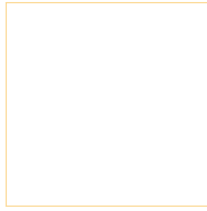
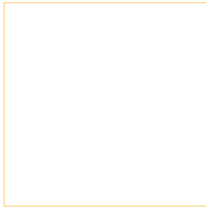
the financial crisis and its economy remained attractive to foreign labourers. Georgians, Ukrainians as well as CIS nationals have been dominating the (legal) labour market. Syrians have been added to these since 2015.

Second, the number of foreign students enrolled in Turkish universities has doubled since 2005, from 15,481 to 31,170.⁹¹ This is because of the alignment of Turkey’s education system to world standards, the development of English as a teaching language in many universities and the incorporation of the country into international students’ exchange schemes (ERASMUS especially). Moreover, education being a tool in foreign relations, Turkey’s proactive foreign policy and cultural diplomacy prompted the country to attract foreign students from Turkish-speaking countries, (some of the CIS countries for instance) and from the area of Turkic cultural influence, as well as from other developing areas (Sub-Saharan Africa for instance). The religious affinity factor, especially since the coming to power of President Erdogan, may also act as an incentive for students from Muslim countries to come to Turkey.

Inflows of asylum seekers to Turkey by nationality (2004-2014)

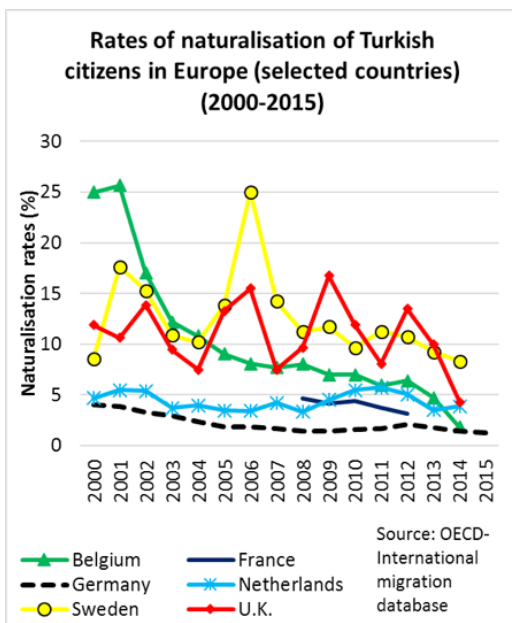


Third, the many protracted conflicts affecting the Central Asian and Middle Eastern regions had a profound effect on the characteristics and patterns of immigration to Turkey. Entries of asylum-seekers to Turkey were very few in 2004 (3,926), but then soared to reach 87,800 in 2014 (Figure 7). Iranians made up



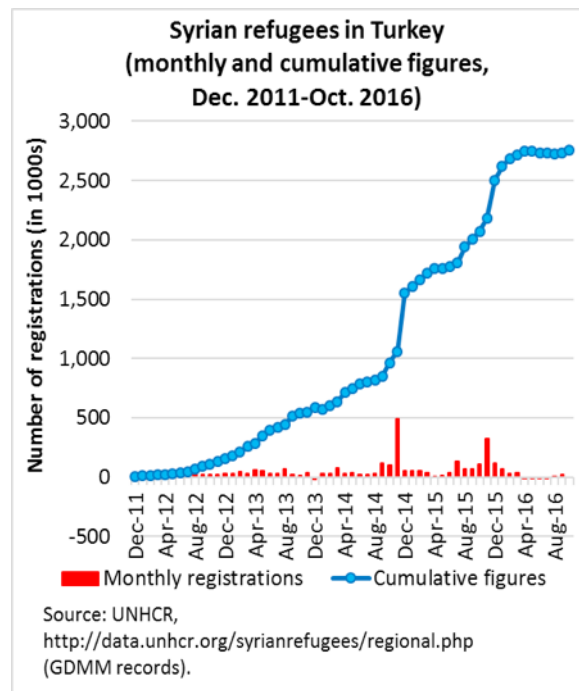
Despite the overall decrease in inflows, family reunion is still by far the prime route for Turkish immigration to Germany (and, as seen earlier, to the rest of Europe). It is worth saying though that visas granted for education purposes have gained in numbers and in relative share since 2000.⁶⁵ Marriage makes up the bulk of family-related visas (79 percent) as of 2014. Interestingly, a slight majority (52 percent) of the visas granted for marriage purposes that year were for a marriage with a non-German. Most marriages took place with a foreign male residing in Germany (39 percent of all marriages), and second with a German female (28 percent). Besides indicating the persistence of transnational marriages between Turkey and Europe, this also suggests that naturalisation may not be the prime aim underlying marriage with a resident of Germany, national or otherwise.

As a matter of fact, naturalisations of Turkish citizens in Germany have been gone down notably since a high of 100,384 naturalisations in 1999, down to 19,695 citizenship acquisitions in 2015. Rates of naturalisation⁶⁶ of Turkish citizens in Germany are also very low (the lowest in Europe), and have decreased since 2000, from 4.7 percent to 1.3 percent. By comparison (Figure 5), rates of naturalisation in other countries reached much higher levels at times such as in Sweden in the mid-2000s (26 percent in 2006). However, it should be noted that today, rates have become very low everywhere, even in the UK and in Sweden.

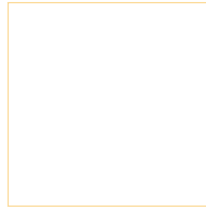
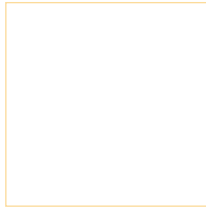
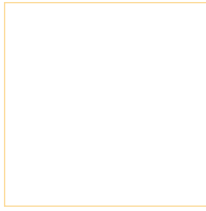


half of those in 2004, and their numbers multiplied by four over the subsequent ten years. Afghans applying for asylum in Turkey also increased, from 300 to above 15,000 and the number of Iraqis jumped from 950 to 50,000. Iraqis made up almost 60 percent of all asylum applications in 2014. The continuous instability and conflicts plaguing the country since 1991 worsened in the mid-2000s and shows no signs of improvement with the war against Daesh.

Syrian refugees are registered upon arrival under the temporary protection regime provided by the Turkish authorities. The outflows of Syrians fleeing the conflict started in 2011, but remained moderate and circular. Many refugees continued to be unregistered. A failed ceasefire attempt in May 2012, ongoing fighting in Northern Syria and occupation of large territories in that country by Daesh after 2014 prompted rising numbers of refugees to flee to Turkey, from 20,000 every month in 2012⁹² to above 50,000 by late 2014.⁹³



A hike in the number of registered persons is particularly noticeable between October and December 2014 (Figure 8), when the one million refugees -threshold was reached. This period witnessed intense battles between Daesh and local and international fighters, in Kobane on the Turkish border, and in the Raqqa region. This, of course, spurred massive displacements.



Does this mean that Turks do not seek naturalisation in Europe anymore? On the one hand the recent trends of “return” to Turkey signal the growing transnationalisation of European communities of Turkish descent. Moreover, being naturalized in the host country proved not to be an obstacle to such moves.⁶⁷ Some authors, therefore, contend that this context, added to the easing of residence conditions in Germany, spurred a change in Turkish migration patterns, with more temporary migration and circularity between the two countries.⁶⁸

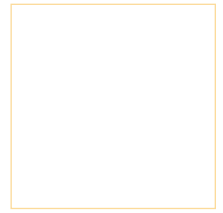
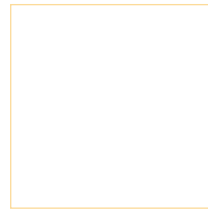
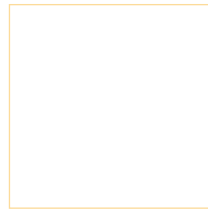
On the other hand, however, the convergence of all countries towards very low naturalization rates of Turkish migrants suggest a policy issue. Effectively, the generalization throughout the 2000s of “citizenship tests” as a prerequisite to naturalization, which assess applicants’ language command and knowledge of social and political institutions in the host country, has lowered the naturalization rates of Turkish migrants. This is mostly because of their low levels of education, outside the host countries’ systems.⁶⁹ These tests may also be deterring many Turkish migrants from applying, unless they are educated.⁷⁰ Circularity may thus not be a choice for most, but be imposed by the toughening of citizenship and immigration laws throughout Europe, targeted at low-skilled expatriates.

Turkish emigration patterns are, indeed, changing and migrants are facing new difficulties. During the 2000s, the numbers of contract labourers sent abroad by the Turkish Employment Agency (TEA) went up and reached a peak of 81,309 in 2006, a level comparable to those found in 1971-1972.⁷¹ In 2012, those employed abroad in such schemes stood at 67,045, mostly in the Middle East (40,158), followed by the CIS (17,448) and European Union countries (1,377).⁷² In 2014, however, and perhaps due to the degradation of the security situation in the Middle East, the Agency sent only 39,000 expatriate contract labourers. A quarter of these were in the Russian Federation (23 percent), in Iraq (19 percent), in Saudi Arabia (9.5 percent), in Turkmenistan and in Azerbaijan (9 and 6 percent).⁷³

Considering that Turkey closed off large sections of its border with Syria in 2015, the other jump in the number of registered refugees as of November 2015 may be an adjustment of the refugees’ figures. This followed on from a campaign of biometric registration of camp and non-camp Syrian refugees in Turkey was conducted under the supervision of the DGMM. By the end of December, 2,503,549 Syrians were said to have been biometrically registered in Turkey, representing an increase of 211,649 from November.⁹⁴

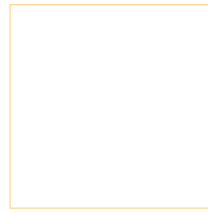
Most refugees in Turkey come from the Aleppo and Idleb regions, as well as from Raqqa, Lattakia, Hama and Hassake. Initially, all were accommodated in AFAD-run camps. Yet, as numbers were soaring, camps could not absorb the inflows and most refugees are now settled in urban communities. This is why the monitoring of refugees’ numbers is problematic. Questions emerged⁹⁵ regarding the accuracy of the registration figures, especially since mid-2015 and the mass migration wave to Europe from or through Turkey.⁹⁶ Some returns are also said to have occurred since some border areas were recently liberated by rebel forces.⁹⁷ Yet, figures of refugees’ registration have continued growing, while, at the same time, entries of Syrians into Turkey has become increasingly difficult due to the sealing of the border.⁹⁸

Nevertheless, the economic, cultural and geographic attractiveness of Turkey, its proximity to Europe all make it a hub for irregular migrants from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, CIS and other countries. Estimates of their numbers reached one million in early 2010, which cannot be assessed. GDMM statistics indicate that 146,485 migrants deemed “irregular” were arrested in 2015, which signifies that more were living in Turkey at the time. Syrians made up half of those arrested (73,422), followed by Afghans (35,921). In 2014, 59,000 had been apprehended. The figures merely indicate that Turkey may have started complying with EU demands to control migrants’ movements in 2015.



Endnotes

1. Many of these are actually Turkish citizens born abroad who “returned” to Germany. No data disaggregated by nationality as well as by place of birth is available. The present figures are taken from the yearly update of the Address-Based Population Registration System (ABPRS) data on residents’ place of birth, published by TurkStat the Turkish statistical agency. Information on place of birth was produced by linking the results of 2015 ABPRS with the Central Civil Registration System and Register of Foreigners run by General Directorate of Civil Registration and Nationality. The population registry is coordinated by the Ministry of Interior General Directorate of Civil Registration and Nationality. All Turkish citizens and all foreign nationals who have a residence permit for six months or longer have to be registered to the system. However, “the population register only provides information on legal residents (of six months or longer), and hence the *de jure* population. Moreover, statistics experts in TurkStat indicate that only half of the foreign population who have residence permits are recorded in the system due to problems and errors in administration. Another question concerns the reliability and dynamics of the data source in terms of de-registration of foreigners who have left the country (before or after the expiration date of their residence permits) and renewals or changes in residence permit status.” (İçduygu, A. *Turkey and International Migration 2012-13*, Report Prepared for the Annual Meeting of the OECD Expert Group on Migration, Paris, November 27-29, 2013, Istanbul: Migration Research Centre at Koç University (MiReKoç), November 2013, pp. 8-9). The present data thus underestimates foreign residents. Furthermore, some settled foreigners may stay in the country having just a tourist visa, and not a residency (Düvell, F. “Turkey’s Transition to an Immigration Country: A Paradigm Shift”, *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 16, No. 4, 2014, pp. 87-103 (p. 89). The refugees are not included in the figure.
2. This is not taking into account irregular immigrants, migrants in a regular situation but not captured by the registration system and the many Western immigrants staying in Turkey with tourist visas (see endnote 1).
3. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-expatriate-turkish-citizens.en.mfa>. Turkish public discourse considers persons of Turkish descent born abroad to be Turkish, whether they are naturalised or not in the host country, hence the gap between estimates quoted by Turkish official bodies (which include first-generation migrants born in Turkey, as well as second and third generations of Turkish descent, born abroad) and estimates only taking migrants into account (i.e., first-generation expatriates, born in Turkey).
4. İçduygu, A. and Deniz, S. “Turkey”, *Focus Migration Country Profile*, n° 5, April 2009, http://focusmigration.hwwi.de/uploads/tx_wilpubdb/CP_05_Turkey_2009.pdf.
5. İçduygu, A., Toktas, Ş and Soner, A. “The politics of population in a nation-building process: emigration of non-Muslims from Turkey”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 31, Issue. 2, 2008, pp. 358-389.
6. Kirişçi, K. “Turkey: A Transformation from Emigration to Immigration”, *Migration Information Source*, November 2003. <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/turkey-transformation-emigration-immigration>.
7. It should be noted that Turkey granted asylum to some of these non-European, Iraqi Kurds during the 1990s.
8. İçduygu, A. and Yüксеker, D. “Rethinking Transit Migration in Turkey: Reality and Re-presentation in the Creation of a Migratory Phenomenon,” *Population, Space and Place*, 2010.
9. Other agreements followed with Austria, Belgium, and the Netherlands in 1964, France in 1965, Sweden and Australia in 1967. Emigration to Western Europe was promoted to alleviate pressure on Turkey’s labour market and thus to prevent possible socio-political tensions. It was also expected that migrants would return rapidly and bring back new skills and qualifications for the benefit of Turkey’s economy (Aydin, Y. *The New Turkish Diaspora Policy*, SWP Research Paper n°10, October 2014, p. 8).

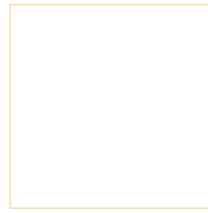


10. İçduygu, A. *International Migration System between Turkey and Russia: The Case of Project-Tied Migrant Workers in Moscow*, CARIM Research Report; 2009/18, Robert Schumann Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS, San Domenico di Fiesole (Florence, Italy), European University Institute, 2009 http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/12254/CARIM_RR_2009_18.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y.
11. De Tapia, S. Article « Turquie », in: Simon, G. (ed.). *Dictionnaire géo-historique des migrations internationales*, Paris : Armand Colin, 2015, pp. 315-321. In the mid-1990s, “one quarter of the Turkish immigrants over 18 who live in Belgium was born in Afyon Province (Western Anatolia). There is a similar concentration of Turks from notably Karaman Province (Central Anatolia) in the Netherlands. The Turks living in Sweden come primarily from Kulu (Konya Province, Central Anatolia), while 60% of Denmark’s Turkish immigrants come from the Kurdish areas of South-east Anatolia”. Manço, U. *Turks in Western Europe*, CIE-University of Ghent, 2004.
12. Ensuing mandatory conscription also acted as a spur to migration: some young Turkish men choose expatriation in order to escape the three-year military service in their country (Sunata, U. “Traces of Highly Skilled Labor Migrants: Education, Family and Mobility,” *Alternative Politics*, Vol. 4, No. 2, July 2012, p. 180-201).
13. İçduygu, 2009: 4.
14. See for instance: Reniers, G. *On the Selectivity and Internal Dynamics of Labour Migration Processes: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Turkish and Moroccan Migration to Belgium*, Interuniversity Papers in Demography, Ghent University, 1997). This trend may have started to change through the 2000s (Aydin, 2016).
15. This is especially true for contract workers in construction, of all skill levels, who usually did not settle for more than a couple of years (İçduygu, 2009); De Tapia, 2015: 319, also points out the prominent role played by Turkish companies, business people and technicians in the booming construction sectors of the new wealthy, oil-producing CIS countries such as Kazakhstan.
16. In order to thwart the attempts of opposition groups of the PKK and other radical left-wing groups to “undermine” loyalty to the state. Dual nationality was, it was decided, to be permitted. Moreover, the obligation for the State to represent the interests of Turkish individuals abroad and to strengthen their ties to Turkey were inscribed in the Constitution (article 62) (Aydin, 2014: 8-9; 17).
17. A term coined by several authors in the early 2000s, for example: Østergaard-Nielsen, E. “Turkey and the ‘Euro Turks’: Overseas Nationals as an Ambiguous Asset”, *International Migration and Sending Countries*, 2003, pp. 77-98.
18. Turkish authorities became rapidly conscious of the fact that previous “guest workers” were to stay abroad during the family reunion phase of the 1970s. Later, new measures taken by host states progressively allowed for their incorporation into their citizenries. Germany, for instance, relaxed its strict *jus sanguinis* policy after 1990 and progressively opened up avenues for German citizenship to Germany-born offspring of immigrants and to longer-term foreign-born residents. Under the 1999 reforms (effective 1 January 2000), children who were born in Germany in 1990 or later were entitled to be naturalised as German citizens. Since 2014, a new law generalised the possibility of retaining a dual citizenship to non-EU citizens, yet under certain conditions. http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/EinreiseUndAufenthalt/Staatsangehoerigkeitsrecht_node.html.
19. In four areas: citizens abroad, and ways to cooperate with them; ties with “related communities” (Balkan Muslims); international students (encourage students of Turkish origin and Muslim students from the Turkic republics and the Balkan states for studies in Turkey); and non-governmental organisations. YTB assists organisations of people from Turkey abroad in their efforts to gain political participation in their countries of residence and to help them to



intensify their relations to Turkey (Aydin, 2014: 18). For more on the activities of YTB see: <http://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2014/04/07/closer-ties-with-turkish-diaspora>.

20. Aydin, 2014: 18.
21. http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/turkey/index_en.htm; <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-the-european-union.en.mfa>.
22. Including Pakistan (7 December 2010), Yemen (11 January 2011), the Russian Federation (18 January 2011), Nigeria (2 February 2011), Moldova (1 November 2012) and Bosnia-Herzegovina (15 February 2012) (Içduygu, 2013: 6).
23. Following 9/11.
24. İçduygu and Yüksek, 2010.
25. Elitok, S. "Turkey's Negotiations on Migration: One-on-One or One-on-Twenty-Seven?", *IPC-Mercator Policy Brief*, 28 March 2013, p. 3.
26. Ariner, H. and Açikgöz, M. "Turkey's New Law on Foreigners and International Protection: An Introduction", *Turkish Migration Studies Group at Oxford, Briefing Paper 2*, January 2014, p. 6.
27. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2012:0239:FIN:EN:PDF>.
28. Kirişci, K. "Will the Readmission Agreement Bring the EU and Turkey Together or Pull Them Apart?" *Brookings Opinion*, 4 February 2014. <http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2014/02/04-readmission-agreement-eu-turkey-kirischi>.
29. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-is-new/news/news/docs/20131216-roadmap_towards_the_visa-free_regime_with_turkey_en.pdf.
30. Kilberg, R. "Turkey's Evolving Migration Identity", *Migration Information Source*, Migration Policy Institute, 24 July 2014. <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/turkeys-evolving-migration-identity>.
31. In October 2014, a fine-tuning of the first temporary protection law introduced in October 2011, before the entry into force of the LFIP. Refugees were initially considered as guests and could enter freely without a visa.
32. OCDE, 2016: 308.
33. OECD. "How will the refugee surge affect the European economy?" *Migration Policy Debates*, n°8, November 2015, <https://www.oecd.org/migration/How-will-the-refugee-surge-affect-the-European-economy.pdf>.
34. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2016/03/16/the-impact-of-syrian-businesses-in-turkey/>.
35. The Ministry of National Education's circular on foreigners' access to education (No 2014/21) issued in September 2014, ensures that foreigners under Temporary Protection have access to educational services delivered through schools and temporary education centres overseen by the provincial education directorate in each province. <http://www.unhcr.org/turkey/home.php?lang=en&content=525>. However, many children do not have access to school:



<http://english.enabbaladi.net/archives/2016/04/450000-syrian-children-will-return-school-turkey-education-minister/>.

36. <http://turkishlaborlaw.com/news/legal-news/362-turkey-grants-work-permit-for-syrian-refugees>.
37. http://syrianobserver.com/EN/News/31313/Syrian_Refugees_May_Be_Granted_Turkish_Citizenship; http://syrianobserver.com/EN/News/31679/Turkey_Announces_Start_Process_Naturalize_Syrian_Refugees.
38. <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/07/turkey-syria-refugees-citizenship-causes-tension.html>.
39. Di Bartolomeo, A. EU Migration Crisis Actions with a focus on the EU-Turkey Agreement, *MPC Policy Brief*, April 2016.
40. https://www.rtbef.be/info/dossier/drames-de-la-migration-les-candidats-refugies-meurent-aux-portes-de-l-europe/detail_1-accord-avec-ankara-fonctionne-mais-les-readmissions-restent-rares?id=9450421.
41. <https://www.rt.com/news/366850-erdogan-referendum-turkey-eu/>.
42. The term “with migration background” in Germany designates all those who are foreigners, born in Germany or abroad, as well as German citizens born abroad or in Germany, with at least one non-German parent. As the Turkish nationality can be transmitted by the father and the mother, the overwhelming majority of those “of Turkish migrant background” have a right to Turkish nationality.
43. 1,506,113 of the 2,851,000 persons of Turkish descent were recorded as Turkish nationals only.
44. Sources: DESTATIS Statistische Bundesamt. Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund, Ergebnisse des Microzensus (Population with migrant background, results of the microcensus) <https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/Migrationshintergrund.html>; Foreign population: Ausländische Bevölkerung - Fachserie 1 Reihe 2 – 2015 <https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/AuslaendBevoelkerung.html>; Population with migrant background: Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund - Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus - Fachserie 1 Reihe 2.2 – 2015 <https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/Migrationshintergrund.html>.
45. Sievers, W.; Ataç, I. and Schnell, P. “Turkish migrants and their descendants in Austria. Patterns of exclusion and individual and political responses,” *Migration Letters*, Volume 11, n° 3, September 2014, pp. 263-274, p. 265.
46. İçduygu, 2009: 7; 9.
47. Low educated: ISCED levels 0, 1 and 2. Highly educated: ISCED levels 5 and 6 (OECD-DIOC database, 2011 revision).
48. First and all permit holders (first and renewals) (Eurostat, 2015 data).
49. Holders of a first permit delivered for the purpose of “education” (Eurostat, 2015 data).
50. In the absence of massive new flows of active age groups, as will be described in the “flows” section.
51. As of 2015, numbers of Turkish males and females residing in EU countries under family reunion schemes do not show marked differences. Permit data are not disaggregated by sex beyond the aggregate categories of permits’ purposes: “family-related”, “education”, “remunerated activities” and “others” which includes humanitarian schemes



(Eurostat data, 2015).

52. Everywhere else in the South and East Mediterranean region, migrants are more educated on average than non-migrants.

53. Those in “Crafts and related trades”, however, made up 22 percent of Turkish migrants employed in Britain at that date (2011).

54. According to the ISCO 08 classification, in the categories of “Craft and related trades workers”; “Plant and machine operators and assemblers,” and “Elementary occupations”.

55. OECD-DIOC data, 2011 revision.

56. And their second-generation, Europe-born children.

57. AS has often been described in studies on Turkish expatriates. For example, Sievers, Ataç and Schnell (2014: 269) point out the “exclusionary practices by institutional arrangements, such as the education system or immigration regimes.” Even “second-generation Turks are over-represented in the lower educational strata compared to the majority population. They are more frequently relegated into lower ability tracks at the first selection stage in the Austrian education system”.

58. Sievers, Ataç and Schnell (2014: 266). This may also be seen in the persistence of the category “of immigration background” in these countries’ statistics, which incorporates citizen- and Europe-born children of migrants.

59. For Germany, see endnote 18. In Austria, after a record high in 2003, net migration rates decreased following a toughening of the citizenship law (longer waiting periods, knowledge and language tests, etc.) <https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/news/austria-number-of-naturalisations-increased-by-77-during-the-first-half-of-2016>. In 1985 the Netherlands introduced a new citizenship law that facilitated access to citizenship on the basis of long-time residence. Entries of Turks went up notably and peaked at 12,700 in 1991. The right to dual-citizenship was granted in 1992 but restrained after 1997. Since 1998, and also in 2003, new immigration and integration laws have made Dutch immigration and integration policies stricter. Ersanilli, E. “The Netherlands”, *Focus Migration Country Profile*, n°11., November 2007. http://focus-migration.hwwi.de/typo3_upload/groups/3/focus_Migration_Publikationen/Laenderprofile/CP11_Netherlands.pdf.

60. On attitudes towards migrants and immigration in the EU, see for instance Martín; Di Bartolomeo; de Bruycker; Renaudière; Salamonska and Venturini, 2015: 58–59 [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/536452/IPOL_STU\(2015\)536452_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/536452/IPOL_STU(2015)536452_EN.pdf).

61. Visa delivery is the first step in the immigration process, preliminary to the application for residency documents. Numbers of visas, therefore, are indicative of a country’s immigration policy in the short term but not equivalent to the number of residency permits effectively granted in a given year. This is due to backlogs from previous years, delays in files examinations, etc..

62. Aydin, Y. *The Germany-Turkey Migration Corridor. Refitting Policies for a Transnational Age*, MPI/ The Transatlantic Council on Migration, February 2016, p. 8, footnote 30. Throughout the 1990s, conflict was still ongoing in Kurdish areas. Since the arrest of Abdullah Öcalan the head of the PKK in 1999, the hostilities have remained under control.

63. <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=TR>.



64. Hanewinkel, V. “From Home country to Home Country?”, *Focus Migration Policy Brief*, n° 17, April 2012.
65. From 825 in 2000, they reached 2,997 in 2014, making up respectively 2 and 20 percent of all visas granted to Turkish nationals.
66. The number of citizenship acquisitions during year n/ number of foreign citizens at the beginning of year n. Source of data: OECD- International migration database (2000-2014) and Federal Office for Statistics. Naturalisation statistics 2015- *Release from the Microcensus (Einbürgerungen - Fachserie 1 Reihe 2.1 – 2015)*. The use of the rate controls for the fluctuations in numbers of Turkish citizens (potential candidates to naturalisations), due to fluctuating net flows and former measures of naturalisation.
67. Dual citizenship was not allowed until very recently for foreign citizens who became German through naturalisation. However, the “mavi kart” (blue card) has facilitated this since 2012 (see introduction).
68. For instance, Aydin, 2016: 9 (note 35); 13.
69. See for instance: Oers (van), R. *Deserving Citizenship. Citizenship Tests in Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom*, Brill, Nijhoff, 2013, Chapter 7.
70. These tests do not apply to highly-skilled expatriates in general.
71. TEA Annual Tables 2012, Table 37 (“Abroad Sendings between 1964 and 2012”).
72. İçduygu, 2013: 15.
73. OECD. *International Migration Outlook 2016*, pp. 308-309.
74. Data from 2011 Population and Housing census are not used here. Turkstat acknowledged that the change of methodology between previous censuses and this first census based on the Population registry resulted in underestimating the numbers of foreign citizens (961,000 foreign born recorded only; data by country of citizenship is not available). See: Economic Commission for Europe. *Evaluation of migration patterns in Turkey according to the 2000-2011 Censuses Results*, Working Paper n°3, Chisinau: Conference of European Statisticians, September 2014, p. 4. http://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/stats/documents/ece/ces/ge.10/2014/mtg1/WP_3_Turkey.pdf.
75. In 2015, the “Place of birth Statistics” based on the Population Registry acknowledged 1,448,110 residents whose birthplace was unknown. Most of these were Turkish nationals, however: the figure for 2014 that only records Turkish nationals is very close, at 1,481,413. (<http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=21505>). The distribution of those born-abroad by citizenship is not available for 2015.
76. <http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=21505>. Data by citizenship are not available in 2015.
77. <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/01/02/from-russia-with-love-thousands-of-wives-for-turkish-husbands.html>; <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=turkish-russian-marriages-make-new-melez-generation-2008-07-12>.
78. F. Düvell, for instance, points out the “Armenian nannies” and “Moldovan caretakers” in the streets of Istanbul (Düvell, 2014: 87).



79. http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik3/residence-permits_915_1024_4745.
80. Short-term permits are valid for one year (<http://www.yellali.com/advice/question/293/short-term-residence-permit-turkey>).
81. <https://www.expatguideturkey.com/new-law-on-foreigners-and-international-protection/>.
82. OECD, 2016: 308.
83. Ministry of Labour and Social Security, Labour Permits Statistics (see: <http://carim-south.eu/database/demo-eco-module/work-permits-granted-to-foreigners-by-economic-activity-2013-2/>). Work permits data are no longer available on the Ministry's website (as of November 2016).
84. 2013 Law on Foreigners and International Protection stipulates that "foreigners who own a "Certificate of International Protection Applicant" or a "Refugee Certificate" granted in accordance with articles 69/7, 76/1 and 83/1 of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection" are exempted from residence permits in Turkey (<https://www.expatguideturkey.com/new-law-on-foreigners-and-international-protection/>).
85. As beneficiaries of temporary protection in Turkey, Syrians are registered separately by the General Directorate of Migration Management (GDMM).
86. <http://reliefweb.int/report/turkey/unhcr-turkey-key-facts-and-figures-september-2016>.
87. http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik3/temporary-protection_915_1024_4748.
88. GDMM, *Migration Statistics, 2015* (http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik3/residence-permits_915_1024_4745), and OECD, 2016: 308.
89. <http://carim-south.eu/database/demo-eco-module/residence-permits-granted-by-purpose-of-permit-and-category-of-attribution-first-time-renewal-2008-2012/>.
90. OECD, 2016: 308.
91. http://studyinturkey.com/content/sub/turkey_grows_as_destination_for_international_students.aspx.
92. Although a report by Amnesty International stated that, "since mid-2012, Turkey has blocked thousands of individuals fleeing Syria from entering Turkey, especially those without a passport or an urgent medical need, leaving many displaced on the Syrian side of the border." Border crossing points were also reduced. Amnesty International. *Growing restrictions, tough conditions. The plight of those fleeing Syria to Jordan*, Amnesty International, 2013, p. 26.
93. İçduygu, A. *Syrian Refugees in Turkey: The Long Road Ahead*, Washington D.C., Migration Policy Institute, 2015, p. 7.
94. <http://www.3rpsyriacrisis.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/3RP-Regional-Dashboards-December-20151>.
95. <http://balkanist.net/turkeys-mysterious-disappearing-refugees/>.
96. As of October 2015, 700,000 Syrians were registered in Europe. Some seem to have been coming directly from Syria, only passing through Turkey during the Summer of 2015 (hence, without registering with the Syrian



authorities). However, the departure of only a fraction of these 700,000 Syrians should be noticeable in the registration figures, had those departures been recorded accurately.

97. <http://syrianobserver.com/EN/News/31858>.

98. Forcible returns also took place: see Amnesty International. *Turkey: Illegal mass returns of Syrian refugees expose fatal flaws in EU-Turkey deal*, Amnesty International, 2016. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/press-releases/2016/04/turkey-illegal-mass-returns-of-syrian-refugees-expose-fatal-flaws-in-eu-turkey-deal/>.

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