



**CIRCULAR MIGRATION AND TURKEY**  
**AN OVERVIEW OF THE PAST AND PRESENT -**  
**SOME DEMO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS**  
*Ahmet İçduygu*

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**CARIM Analytic and Synthetic Notes 2008/10**

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**Circular Migration Series**

*Demographic and Economic Module*

Cooperation project on the social integration  
of immigrants, migration, and the movement  
of persons (CARIM)



**CARIM**  
**Euro-Mediterranean Consortium**  
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**Analytic and Synthetic Notes – Circular Migration Series**  
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**Circular Migration and Turkey**  
**An Overview of the Past and Present - Some Demo-Economic Implications**  
Ahmet İçduygu  
Koc University, Istanbul, Turkey

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European University Institute  
Badia Fiesolana  
I – 50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)  
Italy

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The Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration (CARIM) was created in February 2004 and has been financed by the European Commission. Until January 2007, it referred to part C - “*cooperation related to the social integration of immigrants issue, migration and free circulation of persons*” of the MEDA programme, i.e. the main financial instrument of the European Union to establish the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. Since February 2007, CARIM has been funded as part of the AENEAS programme for technical and financial assistance to third countries in the areas of migration and asylum. The latter programme establishes a link between the external objectives of the European Union’s migration policy and its development policy. AENEAS aims at providing third countries with the assistance necessary to achieve, at different levels, a better management of migrant flows.

Within this framework, CARIM aims, in an academic perspective, to observe, analyse, and predict migration in the North African and the Eastern Mediterranean Region (hereafter Region).

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The CARIM carries out the following activities:

- Mediterranean migration database;
- Research and publications;
- Meetings of academics;
- Meetings between experts and policy makers;
- Early warning system.

The activities of CARIM cover three aspects of international migration in the Region: economic and demographic, legal, and socio-political.

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*For more information:*

Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration  
Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (EUI)  
Villa Malafasca  
Via Boccaccio, 151  
50133 Firenze (FI)  
Italy  
Tel: +39 055 46 85 878  
Fax: + 39 055 46 85 755

**Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies**

<http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/>

## **Abstract**

In Turkey, circular migration, as a type of temporary migration, cannot be considered as a new phenomenon. A brief elaboration on the notion of circular migration is presented followed by an analytical discussion of the context in which the notion is being debated as if it is something new in the recent history of international migration. Then it highlights the migration experiences of Turkey as it reveals various examples of the variety of circular migration types occurred in the last five decades. What makes the Turkish case a very interesting case study is the fact that Turkey has been subject to a variety of circular migration experiences, not only as a country of emigration, but also as a country of immigration and transit over the past few decades.

Since 1960s, Turkey was a source country for the guest-worker schemes to Europe. In 1970s, when Turkey started exporting labour to the countries of Middle East and North Africa (MENA), that movement was also a kind of circular migration. Starting with 1980s, Turkey was no longer only a country of emigration, but also a country of immigration and transit migration: most of these migrants arriving in Turkey were reflecting the nature of a type of circular migration. Since the early 1990s, Turkish workers have begun to move to the neighbouring former communist countries such as the Russian Federation and Ukraine, often in the form of a circular labour migration.

Regarding its likely circular character, the main focus of this study here is on the emigration experiences in Turkey. Benefiting from the Turkish International Migration Survey (TIMS) in the late 1990s, some indirect evidence is presented in the last section of this study, which reflects various figures over the return migration and return migrants in the country, as the return migration is very central to the whole notion of circularity in migration flows.

Finally, one of the main objectives is to draw conclusions about the new context of the debate over circular migration and relates it to the new international migratory regimes of trans-national spaces.

## **Résumé**

Dans le cas de la Turquie, la migration circulaire, comme variante de la migration temporaire, n'est pas un phénomène nouveau. La notion de migration circulaire a été abordé suivi par une discussion analytique du contexte dans lequel la notion a été débattue comme si c'était une nouveauté dans l'histoire récente de la migration internationale. Ensuite, l'accent est mis sur les expériences migratoires de la Turquie comme révélatrices de divers exemples illustrant la variété de la migration circulaire comme elle s'est déroulée pendant les cinq dernières décennies.

Depuis 1960, la Turquie était le pays d'origine des travailleurs temporaire, recrutés dans le cadre de programmes spécifiques en l'Europe. En 1970, quand la Turquie commença à exporter la main d'œuvre aux pays de moyen orient et d'Afrique du nord, ces mouvements étaient aussi une sorte de migration circulaire. A partir des années 1980, la Turquie n'est plus seulement un pays d'émigration mais aussi d'immigration et de transit. La plupart des migrants arrivant en Turquie adoptent une mobilité à caractère circulaire. A partir du début des années 1990, les travailleurs Turcs commencent à se diriger vers les anciens pays communistes voisins comme la Fédération de Russie et l'Ukraine, souvent sous forme de migration circulaire du travail.

La Turquie est donc un cas d'étude intéressant de par le fait que ce pays a connu une variété d'expériences migratoires non seulement comme pays d'émigration mais aussi comme pays d'immigration et de transit pendant les deux dernières décennies. Vu son caractère principalement circulaire, dans le cas présent l'étude s'appuie sur les expériences d'émigration de la Turquie. Quelques résultats empiriques de l'enquête turque sur la migration internationale (TIMS) ont été présentés à la section finale de cette étude. Ces résultats reflètent différents aspects de la migration de retour dans le pays. La migration de retour étant centrale dans toute la notion de la migration circulaire.

Finalement, l'objectif est de tirer les conclusions pour le nouveau contexte du débat sur la migration circulaire en la liant aux nouveaux régimes migratoires au sein des espaces transnationaux.

## Introduction

Focusing on the experience of temporary migration from Turkey since the early 1960s, this essay takes up the debate on circular migration that has become so prominent in international migration policy circles. It argues that, as observed in the case of Turkey, as a type of temporary migration, circular migration cannot be considered a new phenomenon, even though the rising attention toward this subject seems to be bringing lots of somewhat new migration-related issues into the daylight. For instance, when Turkey became a source country for the guest-worker schemes of 1960s in Europe, one of the main premises of the migratory policies of those years was the idea of temporary migration which implied a kind of circularity in migration between Turkey and Europe. In 1970s, when Turkey started exporting labour to the countries of Middle East and North Africa (MENA), that movement was also a kind of circular migration. Starting with 1980s, Turkey was no longer only a country of emigration, but also a country of immigration and transit migration: most of these migrants arriving in Turkey were reflecting the nature of a type of circular migration. Since the early 1990s, Turkish workers have begun to move to the neighbouring former communist countries such as the Russian Federation and Ukraine, often in the form of a circular labour migration.

This essay first briefly elaborates on the notion of “circular migration”, and analytically discusses the context in which the notion of circular migration is being debated as if it is something new in the recent history of international migration. Then it highlights the migration experiences of Turkey as it reveals various examples of the variety of circular migration types occurred in the last five decades. What makes the Turkish case an interesting case study is the fact that Turkey has been subject to a variety of circular migration experiences not only as a country of emigration but also as a country of immigration and transit over the past few decades. However, the main focus of this study here is on the emigration experiences in Turkey.<sup>1</sup> Benefiting from the Turkish International Migration Survey (TIMS) in the late 1990s, some indirect evidence are presented in the last section of this study, which reflects various figures over the return migration and return migrants in the country, as the return migration is very central to the whole notion of circularity in migration flows. This essay finally intends to draw conclusions about the new context of the debate over circular migration and relates it to the new international migratory regimes of transnational spaces.

## What is New About the Notion of Circular Migration?

In recent years, the notion of circular migration is widely debated in many migrant-receiving parts of the world. For instance, in December 2006, in the European Union (EU) there was a call “to propose ways to integrate legal migration opportunities into the Union's external policies in order to develop a balanced partnership with third countries adapted to specific EU Member States' labour market needs; to suggest ways and means to facilitate circular and temporary migration; and to present detailed proposals on how to better organize and inform about the various forms of legal movement between the EU and third countries”.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, on 16 May 2007 the European Commission (EC) released a communication entitled “circular migration and mobility partnerships between the European Union and third countries” in which the EU states were called to work more closely both to combat illegal migration and to control legal migration, especially by fostering circular migration. While the main idea is that circular migration may make a contribution to the management of migration flows, the

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<sup>1</sup> In the context of “Intensive Thematic Session on the Role of Circular Migration in the Euro-Mediterranean Area”, as the contribution of Kemal Kirisci of Bogazici University, Istanbul, entitled “Informal ‘circular migration into Turkey: the bureaucratic and political context”, focuses on the circularity character of migratory flows to Turkey, therefore in order to avoid repetitions, the present essay does not intend to refer to Turkey’s position as a country of immigration and transit.

<sup>2</sup> See Council of the European Union, Presidency Conclusions, 14/15 December 2006, Brussels.

premises of this idea are associated with the efforts for controlling and limiting migration into the EU, and reducing the tendencies of immigrants to permanently settle in the receiving countries<sup>3</sup>.

Is the idea of temporary migration in general and circular migration in specific something new? Certainly this is not the case. After the World War II, an idea of temporary migration was very central to the mass immigration flows to Europe. From the viewpoint of receiving countries in Europe, the labour migration was caused by the need to compensate for war losses and to provide labour for post-war recovery, thus in the early those years, it was generally expected that employment in these countries would be temporary and of limited duration. The result was the introduction of a highly organized system of migrant labour recruitment. The *guest-worker experience* in West Germany was one of the best examples of such a system (Rist, 1978: 3). Guest-workers in West Germany were recruited for a specific period of time, usually two or three years, and often not permitted to bring in family members, with the expectation that they would return to their country of origin after their employment contract expired. When the movement first started, the intentions of migrants largely paralleled the expectations of employers and governments of the migrant-receiving countries. They intended to stay for a few years to save enough money to accomplish their financial goals at home.

As pointed out by Castles (1984), however, as time passed, while some migrants did indeed return to their countries, many migrants realized the continuing advantages in remaining abroad, and the receiving countries also found that the need for labour would be continuing requirement rather than a temporary one. There is no doubt that for the receiving countries as well as for the individual migrants, who originally intended only a temporary migration, the change towards permanent settlement was not a simple process. The liberalization of the family reunification policies undoubtedly played a crucial role in this change. At the outset, when the immigrants were allowed to bring their family members, they actually thought that it was an opportunity to make more money quickly, and then return home. In other words, their family members came as workers rather than dependants. However, once the large-scale labour migration extended with family reunification, and once children were born and started going to school, the longer duration of stay was inevitable even though it was intended to be temporary. There were also structural factors which discouraged immigrants to return home: home countries were not able to offer some promising opportunities. On the one hand, the ongoing requirement of cheap labour demand in the receiving countries was one of determining factors for the transition from temporary migration to permanent settlement of migrants. On the other hand, as Bohning (1983: 101) emphasized, for instance, that the propensity to stay or return was greatly influenced by the conditions in the sending countries. He stressed the impressive differences between origin of immigrants in the rate of return: for example, as parallel to the contrasting prevailing economic conditions in their countries, while almost nine in every ten Italian migrants returned home from the early 1970s to the early 1980s, this proportion was only three out of ten among Turkish migrants.

It is obvious that similar debates to what has been discussed over the notion of circular migration today are to be found in the concept of the “*migration chain*” in the 1970s. The migration chain was an idea which had been worked out by policy makers for both analytical and operational purposes and had become the central element in their thinking on migration matters. The concept of migration chain referred to “the various stages of the physical process of migration itself, the links which join all these, and the cumulative social and economic effect of the process” (OECD, 1978: 5). It was said that to organize the migratory chain meant to try to arrange these various stages and the total process, so as to increase the range of choices open to the workers involved, and in turn implied adequate co-operation between countries of emigration and immigration. While discussing the migration chain in the late

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<sup>3</sup> See, for example, some media reports: In the EU, a new discussion on temporary labour migration is underway, set in motion by a German-French initiative of Ministers of the Interior Wolfgang Schäuble and Nicholas Sarkozy. Their proposal: that the EU states work more closely both to combat illegal migration and to control legal migration, especially by fostering 'circular migration' (reported by Steffen Angenendt, on 1 July 2007, Council on Foreign Relations, <http://www.cfr.org/publication/13538/swp.html>).

1970s, the emphasis was on the lack of government policies and normative actions over the possibility of return of migrants to their home countries, arguing that in the context of a properly organized migratory chain “the possible return home of the migrant worker” was an essential stage, if migration is to be conceived as co-operation between sending and receiving countries. One of the main instincts behind this concern over “return of migrants” was undoubtedly related to unwillingness of the migrant-receiving countries towards the permanent settlement of migrants. This self-centred concern of receiving countries was noticeably reflected in the following statement of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) who was ambiguously advocating the idea of migratory chain and return:

Such an omission (of return of migrants) was a natural enough in the economic situation of the 1960s when returns were few and represented in most cases a personal intention on the part of those concerned. This is not true in present circumstances where the demand for manpower has dropped and where, without necessarily being expelled from host country, migrant workers are liable to encouraged to return home as the result either of deliberate policies or of the pressure of circumstances (OECD, 1978: 6).

Given the past experiences of various types of temporary and circular migration in Europe and elsewhere, it is quite tempting to ask the questions of what is new in the notion of circular migration debated today and what is the new rationale behind the idea of promoting circular migration as a remedy for the management of migratory flows today? Before answering these questions, having a definition and typology of circular migration will be imperative to the whole arguments here. Although the term circular migration is used to refer to many different patterns, today it is specifically related to temporary workers programs which allow some degree of legal mobility back and forth between two countries. It resembles to guestworker programs, but also differs from them as circular migration often refers to the circulation of same persons between countries. There are also sharp differences between the international climate of the guestworker programs of the past and that of the circular migration of today: as noted by Agunias and Newland (2007: 2), “circular migration today ... is based on a continuing, long-term, and fluid relationship among countries that occupy what is now increasingly recognized as single economic space”, that is basically associated with the formation of transnational spaces in the age of globalization. Guestworker programs of the past were the products of a rigid system of the international world strictly divided and defined by nation-states. It is partly within this context that the question of whether circular (temporary) migration would become a prelude to permanent settlement, as it had before, is needs to be answered (Hugo, 2003). What is argued along this line is that there seems to be several reasons associated with the characteristics of the new global setting which reduce the likelihood of permanent settlement as it happened before with the guestworker programs. Among these reasons one can refer to the development of transportation and communication technologies which reduce the cost of traveling and increase connectivity between origin and destination countries, the increasing possibilities of longer and more flexible employment contracts, options of re-entry, and flexible residency rights.

In order to create a typology of circular migration which contributes to a better understanding of this phenomenon, Agunias and Newland (2007: 4) suggest four main types of circular migration: (a) movement of permanent migrants who return permanently (for instance, return of the Irish Diaspora in the late 1990s), (b) movement of permanent migrants who return temporarily (Taiwanese ‘astronauts’ from Canada and Silicon Valley, California), (c) movement of temporary migrants who return permanently (Korean turn-key project managers in the Middle East), and (d) movement of temporary migrants who return temporarily (contract workers from the Philippines). Among these four categories, while the last one signifies a more genuine type of circular migration in which temporary migrants have a degree of legal mobility back and forth between their home country and host country, the first three categories indicate some sorts of circularity in migratory movements. In short, it is possible to think of a variety of the notion of circular migration both analytically and empirically.



As far as the three main actors of a migratory context are concerned, namely for the migrant-receiving countries, migrant-sending countries and migrants themselves, circular migration is perceived as a “triple-win” solution. It provides destination countries with a continual supply of labour needed both in skilled and unskilled jobs, without the requirements of long-term integration (Agunias and Newland, 2007: 1). Origin countries may gain from the ongoing flows of remittances and skills and investments of returnees. Similarly, migrants themselves enjoy a degree of legal dynamic mobility back and forth between their homelands and destination countries. It is possible to argue that as if the circular migration is organized as co-operation between partners rather than as an exchange between unequal parties, then its positive consequences for the developmental process in the realms of these three actors of migration is something expected. However, it is also possible to argue that the positive impact of such circular migration on the origin countries and migrants themselves is less obvious than its positive impact over destination countries.

### **Turkish Experiences of Circular Migration: A Variety of Circular Migration over a History of Five Decades**

In Turkey, over the period of the last five decades, there has always been an element of circularity in emigration. Moreover, in the last three decades, there is even an increased circularity not just in emigration, but also in immigration. As noted earlier, the main focus of our discussion here, however, will be on emigration flows. The consequences of historical and contemporary patterns of circular-type emigration from Turkey can be addressed on a variety of levels. At the most comprehensive level, there is, for example, a migration cycle in which emigration process and its impact on Turkish emigrants, their families and Turkey, and sending communities in the country evolves over time.<sup>4</sup> In attempting to understand these changes and their effects, a historical account of the dynamics and mechanisms of circular-type of emigration from Turkey is obviously crucial.

Although Turkey began to export labour only after the negotiation of an official agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany in 1961, by 1970 it had become one of the largest suppliers of workers in various labour importing countries (Paine, 1974; İçduygu, 1991). Preceding the agreement with Germany, the Western European labour market had already started to draw a number of workers from the labour pool in Turkey. However, the size of this frontier movement was small, and it was sporadic and relatively unknown, because workers often migrated illegally due to the difficulties in obtaining passports, visas, and residence and work permits (Abadan-Unat, 1976; Lieberman and Gitmez, 1979; Akgündüz, 2006).

Within the context of European migratory regimes of the 1960s, a structurally organised emigration from Turkey was not possible without the negotiation of an official agreement between governments. The post-war reconstruction of Europe was still in process, and the economies of many Western European countries were in need of labour. After the making of the 1961 constitution, the First Five-year Development Plan (1962-1967) in Turkey delineated the “export of surplus labour power” as an ingredient of development policy concerning the prospective flows of remittances and reduction in unemployment. To promote this policy, Turkey first signed a bilateral labour recruitment agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany in 1961. Similar bilateral agreements, specifying the general conditions of recruitment, employment and wages, were signed with other governments: in 1964 with Austria, the Netherlands, and Belgium, in 1965 with France, and in 1967 with Sweden and Australia. Less comprehensive agreements were signed with the United Kingdom in 1961, with Switzerland in 1971, with Denmark in 1973 and with Norway in 1981 (Franz, 1994). These agreements shaped the initial stages of migratory flows to wide extent, even if they did not have any considerable impact to

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<sup>4</sup> This level of analysis, well elaborated in recent OECD studies (Xenogiani 2006; Katseli, Lucas and Xenogiani 2006), draws attention to the changing nature of the impact of emigration on the likelihood of economic and social transformations in various parts of the world.

determine the later stages of the flows. In other words, starting with the early 1970s migratory flows from Turkey gained their own dynamics and mechanisms which were quite independent from the previously structured measures of the bilateral migration agreements.

Turkish migration cycle in the European context, which was initially considered as a temporary migration, has started in the beginning of 1960s with these agreements. The *exit stage* of this cycle involved the departure of migrants in significant numbers. The emergence of mass emigration from Turkey in the early 1960s was prompted in large measure by economic factors. The movement of migrant workers over the period of 1961-1975 fluctuated as a consequence of changes in the European migration market (see Figure 1). The number of workers going to Europe increased immediately after 1961, and peaked at 66 000 departures in 1964. Then, the recession of 1966-67 caused a rapid decline in these numbers. In 1967, only 9000 workers were sent by the Turkish Employment Service (TES), while over 900 000 were on the waiting list to go abroad (İçduygu, 1991). In the aftermath of the recession, the number of emigrants increased sharply. This was a period of mass emigration: more than 100 000 workers left Turkey annually. This period marked the second stage of the migration cycle, the *adjustment stage*, in which emigration continued and both the economy and the people started to adjust to the effects of emigration. It was in this stage that the information and transaction costs were reduced as a result of improved information flow which was created by continued migration. This encouraged the family members to accompany initial migrants. This stage was determined with continuing labor migration combined with family reunion, on the one hand, and an increase in the amount and significance of remittances in the sending country economy. Throughout this period, which had started in late 1960s and continued well into the 1980s, as migration continued, emigration increasingly turned into a family strategy in Turkey. In 1974, however, the Western European governments had stopped the entry of workers because of economic stagnation. This had resulted in a dramatic decline of the number of labour emigrants, making a total of only 17 000 departees. Indeed, the year 1975 had shown the end of large-scale Turkish labour migration to Europe. It had also shown the beginning of a new stage in Turkish migration cycle: the *consolidation stage*. This stage had involved a sharp decrease in labour emigration, while family reunification and family migration had continued. It is important to note, however, in the Turkish case it is mostly the political initiative of the European governments which had led to this decrease, not the stabilization of labour market disparities. According to the official records in Turkey, a total of nearly 800 000 workers went to Europe through the TES between 1961 and 1974 (İçduygu, 1991; Akgündüz, 2006). Of these workers, 649 000 (81 per cent) went to Germany, 56 000 (7 per cent) to France, 37 000 (5 per cent) to Austria, 25 000 (3 per cent) to the Netherlands, and the remaining to other countries. From 1975 onwards to 1980, a transitional period of emigration occurred in which the direction of Turkish emigration shifted to other labour markets: Australia and the oil exporting countries of the MENA countries (see Table 1 and Figure 1). Considering the migratory flows to Western Europe, one should note that, although the labour movement from Turkey ceased in the early 1970s, migration did not end, but subsequently took other forms as mentioned above such as family reunion, refugee movement, and clandestine labour migration (Böcker, 1995; İçduygu, 1996a).

In the late 1960s, the Turkish government, under the pressure of the unemployment problem, quickly went into a search for a new market to sustain the labour exporting process at a time when the doors of Europe were being closed to immigrant workers. Indeed, the Turkish emigration to Australia, as well as that to the MENA countries, started in these circumstances. The timing of the bilateral "assisted migration agreement" with Australia in 1967 reflected the efforts of the Turkish emigration strategy of "falling back on another country if one showed signs of saturation and diminished absorption ability" (Bahadır, 1979). There was, of course, a significant contrast between the migration policies of Turkey and Australia at that time. While Australian immigration policy was based upon the expectation of permanent settlement of immigrants, Turkish emigration policy was guestworker-oriented. The signing of a migration agreement with Australia was a new step undertaken to maintain the continuity of emigration. In the period of 1968-1974, more than 5000 Turkish workers arrived in Australia (see Table 1 and Figure 1). The level of emigration to Australia shifted around two hundred

to five hundred settlers each year since 1975. Overall, there were nearly 12 000 Turkish workers and their dependants who arrived in the country between 1967 and 1975 (İçduygu, 1991). Today, in addition to a few hundred new emigrants arriving each year, there are more than a couple of hundred people from Turkey annually migrating to Australia based on family reunification and marriage migration flows. However, it should be noted that the number of Turkish migrants going to Australia represents only a very small fraction (approximately one per cent) of all emigrants from Turkey. On the other hand, early emigrants from Turkey had arrived in Australia with an intention of temporary migration as it happened in the European case, but later their intention had changed over time towards permanent settlement.

In the 1980s, Turkey maintained a high level of male labour emigration to MENA countries, mainly to Saudi Arabia, Libya and Iraq<sup>5</sup> (İçduygu and Sirkeci, 1998). Turkey's search for new receiving countries corresponded with the demand for labour force in these countries. As stated by Appleyard (1995), the dramatic upsurge of oil prices after 1973, and the accompanying increase in the income levels of the oil-exporting Gulf States with very small populations, boosted demand for labour. The result was a large influx of contract workers from other developing countries. Migration from Turkey to Arab countries occurred within this broader context. More than 75 000 workers had gone to the oil-exporting countries in the period of 1975-1980. In the 1980, this number reached almost to half a million. The total number of migrant workers who had an experience of selling their labour power in the Gulf countries was over 700 000 from the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s (see Table 1). However, by the mid-1990s, partly due to the completion of large scale infrastructural big projects in the oil-exporting countries, and partly due to the unfavourable circumstances caused by the Gulf crisis, the number of Turkish workers in Gulf countries began to decline. Indeed, it fell by more than 100 000 from a figure of 250 000 in the late 1980s to 140 000 in the early 1990s, and to 120 000 in the late 1990s. In the early 2000 the number of Turkish workers who are typical contract-based temporary workers are less than 100 000.

The *last phase* of Turkish emigration started with the flows of relatively small groups of workers to the CIS countries (see Figure 1). As emphasized by Gökdere (1994), after the collapse of the former Soviet Union, some of the newly emerging states in the region launched reconstruction programs. The active involvement of various Turkish firms in these programs attracted a crucial level of project-tied and job-specific migration. The importance of the emigration to the CIS countries was overwhelmingly clear in terms of its impact on the continuity of emigration from Turkey: in a period, when a downturn of migratory flows to the labour-receiving Arab countries occurred following the Gulf Crisis, the migratory movement to the CIS countries came to signify a remedy for the emigration pressure in Turkey. The level of Turkish labour migration to these states started to increase steadily: from 8000 workers in 1992 to over 20 000 in 1993, and later to over 40 000 in 1994. It declined over to 26 000 in 1996. In 2005, there were more than 70 000 Turkish workers employed in the CIS countries. Overall, in the period of 1990-2005 there were over 150 000 workers left Turkey for the CIS countries. These Turkish workers to the CIS countries were circular migrants who usually work for the key-turn projects of the Turkish companies operating in the region.

Since the mid-1990s, the volume of emigration from Turkey to Europe has been declining, while it indicates some rising trends in the cases of other destination areas, such as the MENA and CIS countries (see Figure 1). The restrictive immigration policies of the European receiving countries have continued to exist, but in addition to that due to the positive economic, social and political developments mostly as consequences of Turkey's candidacy to the EU membership and the start of accession negotiations with EU have, to a certain extent, led to lessening of pro-emigration attitudes within certain segments of the society. While this happens, what is also observed is the increasing diversification of destination countries for the Turkish emigrants. As noted earlier, besides the flows of

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<sup>5</sup> Of course, the labour movement to the Middle East and North Africa was very much different from the migratory movements to Western European countries. It was always exclusively a temporary movement of male workers. Their duration of stay was determined by the completion period of the work, where these workers were usually employed for a period of two years. The return rate of these workers was very high, because only a small proportion of them could be hired by the same firm for a new project by a new firm.

sub-contracted labour to the MENA and CIS countries, the already established sporadic migratory movements of thousands of Turkish citizens, which have carried thousands to more than 30 countries around the world, have grown.

In recent years contract-dependent labour migration, which indicates a circularity in labour migration, has constituted a large part of Turkish emigration. In 2000, 13,645 workers obtained employment abroad through the Turkish Employment Organization<sup>6</sup> (TEO) (see Table 2). This figure leapt to over 20 000 in 2001, to 27 000 in 2002, to 34 000 in 2003, to 40 000 in 2004, and to over 60 000 in 2005. This migration was primarily a contract-dependent labour migration, where workers are hired for a period of 3–24 months by Turkish or foreign contracting firms operating mainly in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and in MENA countries. In 2000, over half (52%) these workers went to the CIS, 18% to the MENA countries, 17% to EU countries, and 10% to Israel. In that year the Russian Federation, Germany, Turkmenistan, Saudi Arabia, and Uzbekistan were the top five receiving countries for Turkish workers. In 2003, the top ranking was the Russian Federation (31%), Saudi Arabia (17%), Germany (10%), Libya (7%), and Turkmenistan (4%). It appeared that in 2004 while one third of these migrants went to the Russian Federation, more than 12% moved to Iraq, and 10% to Kazakhstan (see Table 3). In 2005, the top three destination countries were still the same countries: Russian Federation (32%), Iraq (12%), and Kazakhstan (9%).

This type of migration to the EU countries was almost entirely directed to Germany, based on a bilateral agreement of 1991 which allowed German firms co-operating with Turkish partners to hire Turkish workers.<sup>7</sup> The total number of Turkish workers who found employment in Germany in this framework in 2000 was 2,100, accounting for over 90% of the total workers sent to Europe by the Turkish Employment Office (TEO). This figure was 82% in 2001, 85% in 2002, 78% in 2003, and 71% in 2004. In 2005, there were over 1,000 contract-based Turkish workers sent to Germany, accounting for 63% of the workers sent by TEO to the EU countries in the context of the same migration scheme (see Table 3).

Our knowledge of the return migration of Turkish citizens is for the most part very limited due to the lack of data. Since the emigration from Turkey had started mainly under the so-called 'guestworker' scheme, return migration was an inevitable result of the whole process. Indeed many early migrants stayed abroad to be a 'guest', just worked for a limited term of contract work (usually for two to four years), and then returned home. The others stayed. Return migration increased after the oil price shock of 1973, when many West European countries stopped recruiting migrant workers and began to encourage return migration. According to Gitmez (1983), some 190 000 returned between the years 1974 and 1977, and another 200 000 returned between 1978 and 1983. Gitmez (1983) also provided some estimates of annual return figures: between 1967 and 1974, there were some 30 000, during 1975 and 1976 this number ranged between 55 000 and 60 000, and from 1976 onwards to the 1980 it is estimated that the annual number of returnees revolved around 15 000 to 20 000. The return movement had, however, gained new momentum in the early 1980s, exceeding 70 000 persons annually. Another study (Martin, 1991) indicates that about 1 000 000 Turkish emigrants returned home up in the period of 1960-1990.

Starting with the 1980s, although the patterns of migration and settlement of Turkish immigrants in Western European countries have changed from a temporary stay to unintended settlement, return migration has often been a dynamic element of the whole migration picture. It seems that in the early 1980s, the 'Return Acts and Bonuses' of the host governments encouraged substantial return migration to Turkey (Ayhan et. al., 2000). For instance, there were some 310 000 returnees from Germany in the

<sup>6</sup> The original name of this organization in Turkish is Türkiye İş Kurumu (İŞKUR).

<sup>7</sup> A total of 2,100 Turkish workers found employment in Germany in this framework in 2000. This figure was 82% in 2001, 85% in 2002 and 78% in 2003.

period of 1983-85, and some 10 000 returnees from the Netherlands in the period of 1985-86. However, in the late 1980s, the levels of return migration from Germany declined sharply to 37 000 persons annually and from the Netherlands to 3000 persons. Figures from Germany and the Netherlands suggest that there has been a steady level of returning migrants over the last ten years. For instance, in the first half of the 1990s, there were annually 40 000 to 45 000 returnees from Germany, and again annually around 2000 returnees from the Netherlands. The estimated annual number of returnees was around 100 000 in the early 1980s, while it has stabilized at around 40 000-50 000 in recent years (İçduygu, 2002). However, the return migration of 1990s and 2000s is quite different from the return migration of 1970s and 1980s. In fact, it is mostly a movement of floating population of emigrant between the host countries and their home country. Many Turkish emigrants who previously settled in various European countries are returning to Turkey, but not all of them permanently. Many of the first generation migrants who migrated in the 1960s and 1970s and later got retired have started living six months in Turkey and six months in Europe. They prefer to keep in contact with, for example the health services and pension systems, and they often do not wish to give up their houses, and try to keep in contact with their relatives, who live both in Turkey and abroad. Meanwhile, children of migrants who were born in Europe or grown up there also sometimes return to Turkey because they wish to return to their roots. These are the indicators of the last stage in Turkish migration cycle, *the repatriation, immigration or circulation stage*. Indeed, besides the circular movements and the return migration flows which are explained above, there seems to be a growing number of immigrants moving to Turkey for various reasons (İçduygu 2003).

It seems that a type of circularity in Turkish emigration to the MENA and CIS countries have been obviously operating over the years. Either as workers in the key-turn projects or as contract workers, a large number of Turkish workers has been moving back and forth between Turkey and host countries in the MENA and CIS regions. Since the late 1970s, nearly 800 000 workers have been in a temporary migratory movement between Turkey and MENA countries, and since early 1990s more than 150 000 workers have found temporary employment in the CIS countries. Both of these movements consist of a type of circular migration.

### **Lessons Learned from the Turkish Case<sup>8</sup>: An Overview**

In the nearly five-decade history of Turkish emigration, from the early 1960s to today, the experience of temporary migratory flows in the country, which somewhat reflect a type circularity in their nature, are not a homogeneous process. Not only the scope and dynamics of these movements, but also the characteristics of migrants differed significantly over time. In the guestworker programs of 1960s, there was a common impression of Turkish migrants as young, married, poor, unskilled, coming from rural background, and with limited formal education. These migrants were mostly men, but there were also some female migrants. Contract-based migration to the MENA countries since the early 1970s, and temporary migration through the turn-key projects in the CIS countries indicate that there has been a significant change in the profile of circular migrants: in fact, in terms of age, marital status, socio-economic background, and education, there has been a certain level of diversity among the migrants, as middle-age, relatively less poor and more educated, people with city-background, and mostly skilled migrants have become the main groups of the people in these flows, while almost all of these migrants are males.

It appears that concerning the question of when in the life cycle of individual (family or professional) circular migration has generally took place, there is a pattern of these two faces: it takes place either in the very early stage of marriage event or towards the early middle stage of life cycle. The related Turkish experience indicates that either just before getting married to have a saving for

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<sup>8</sup> For a review of the literature on Turkey-related international migration, in particular for some debates over the nature and characteristics of temporary migration, see, for instance, Abadan-Unat and Kemiksiz, 1986; Abadan-Unat, 2002).

financing the marriage or just after marriage to establish a comfortable family life (in particular to buy a house) circular type of migration is something preferable. On the other hand, when married couples towards their middle ages (late thirties and early forties) begin to feel economic difficulties in particular to finance the schooling of their children and to own their houses, again temporary migration seems to be a significant option for their life-time plans.

The duration of stay and frequency in the circular migration is an important determining factor which defines the notion of circular migration itself. When the guestworker program to Europe begun in the early 1960s, the labour contracts were for two or three years, which were initially often renewed for another two or three years, and sometime turned into a type of permanent employment, and sometime included some movements back and forward between home country and destination countries. On the other hand, although migratory flows to the MENA and CIS countries involves some circularity of the labour mobility, this circularity often does not reflect any plain regularity: duration and frequency of circular migration partly depends on the nature of the projects undertaken by the Turkish companies in the receiving countries, partly on the nature of the jobs performed by the migrants, and partly on the policies and practices of the receiving countries (in particular in the MENA region). As far as the projects in which Turkish workers find their employment are concerned, the big-size infra-structure projects such as high-ways, airport, and construction of public-housing areas, schools, and big shopping centres are the usual ones. In addition to them, Turkish migrants to the MENA and CIS countries are also employed in the transportation and some other service sectors, and among them there are also some highly-skilled workers, engineers and other professionals working particularly in the telecommunication and finance sectors. What is seen that the usual duration of stay in the migratory flows to the MENA and CIS countries is two to five years, but often return home is permanent. As in the context of circular migration, return need not to be permanent, but should in many cases temporary or even cyclical, it is hard to claim that migration from Turkey to the MENA and CIS countries is fully a case of circular migration. However, many of the companies who are repeatedly having turn-key projects or employing contract workers in the MENA and CIS countries seems to prefer workers who have previous job experience abroad, so this creates a certain level of circularity in migration.

The Turkish experience of guestworker program of 1960s in Europe reveals that bilateral agreements are essential for dealing with the complex nature of temporary, or circular migratory flows. These agreements, which could be effective ways to manage circularity, must address all stages of the migratory chain including recruitment, living and working conditions, and social rights of migrants, return, and re-entry requirements. Bilateral agreements are also essential to provide a certain level of sustainability of these migratory flows over time. In addition to devising comprehensive approaches to the whole migration chain, there is a need to introduce strategies based on international cooperation through bilateral and multilateral agreements. These agreements seem to be very vital in the search for a framework of rules and principles in which all main actors may benefit. In particular, both sending and receiving countries should work together to obtain political commitments to share responsibility through which further avenues for more effective implementation of triple-win conditions would be obtained for the main actors involved, namely migrants themselves as well as both migrant-sending and migrant-receiving countries.

Likewise, the Turkish experience of temporary migration to the MENA and CIS regions, together with the previous guestworker experience with the European countries, indicate that the function of a public agency or agencies, who are responsible for organizing and managing migratory flows, is incredibly important. Even in the age of globalization, given its ongoing importance in the international, or transnational, settings, state agencies seems to be extremely functional for the organization and administration of circular-type migratory movements. Lessons from the operations of Turkish Employment Organization in the last five decades indicate that if a national agency in the sending country collaborates with a national agency in the receiving country, then the likelihood of a well-functioning labour-migration program will be clear. Of course, any involvement of some civil-

society-based organizations from both sending and receiving countries, such as trade unions and migrant- and migration-related civil society organizations might be also useful.

One of the main assumptions behind the promotion of the idea of circular migration is that circulating labour can reduce economic differences among sending and receiving countries because the transfer of labour helps the emigration area to catch up economically with the immigration area. The main argument include the relief of pressure on the job market without any loss of production since it is supposedly the case that unemployed workers migrate, and the contribution to the development of the homeland through the returned migrants' industrial training and experience acquired abroad. It is argued that the basic economic benefits resulting from circular migration include: (a) the lessening of tension arising from unemployment and underemployment; and (b) the acquisition of skills in the foreign countries by the returning migrants. It is believed that circular migration will have a favourable impact on the migrants' local community in the form of new investments, transfer of technology and machinery, and new enterprises when the emigrants returned. As the other side of the coin, if one needs to answer the question of if temporary or circular migrations can produce a shortage of specific skills in the labour market, the research over Turkish experience does not offer any firm conclusion. When it comes to the question of if temporary or circular migrations produce a general brain drain, it is again the case that there is no clear answer. However, for both questions, a speculative answer from the Turkish case could be a temporary impact of temporary migration, which does reflect any long term question of labour market disturbances or brain drain.

However, there have been mixed research results over the implications of the return migration on the Turkish labour market. Some of the return migrants may directly become employment-seekers, but since they return with skills and work experience for which the labour market in Turkey has limited demand, the overall outcome of this process for Turkey has been frustration on two counts. For the state, there has been the realization that skills acquired abroad have often failed to make an impact on Turkey's need for human resources. For the individual, the same mismatch engenders personal disillusionment.

If emigrants from Turkey, who returned in the 1970s, were young male migrants who had been alone abroad, motivated to return by their expired work contacts, the migrants who returned during the 1980s and early 1990s were more likely to be aging workers and their families pushed to return by mostly socio-psychological reasons such as long established homesickness. Therefore, in the period of the former group, although there was a question of how to incorporate them into the workforce in the country again, in the case of latter group, the main question was their permanent investments in Turkey. What is often observed is that return workers of various periods often do not return to the sending area or do return but use remittances non-productively; there is a widespread assumption in the literature that most returned Turkish workers buy a taxi or delivery truck, build rental housing, or set up a small business and become part of the service economy; and that such service sector investments have few employment multipliers. It is hard to determine where exactly the migrants settle after they return, but it is generally agreed that they often prefer urban centres rather than their rural home, even many prefer to settle in the metropolitan areas (Eraydın, 1981:245; Gıtmız, 1984:116; Wilbert, 1984:107). One hypothesis is that this process contributes to rural-urban imbalances and regional disparities. The other side of the same process is the direction of workers' investments: funds transferred by the migrants are often invested in urban areas that are already developed to a certain extent.

As migrants on temporary or circular migration programs are often bound to time-limited and relatively short contracts with often no-right to permanent settlement status, they are usually obliged to invest in their countries of origin by sending their remittances, and returning temporarily or permanently home. Therefore, compared with other types of migration, in particular with permanent migration, temporary or circular migration programs are more likely to have a direct impact on the development in the country of origin. What in the context of the guestworker experience of Turkey has been seen as the transformation of temporary migration to permanent settlement indicate that as this

transformation occurs, there has been a considerable decline in the investments made in Turkey by the emigrants in Europe, that is particularly very visible in the declining trends in remittances to the country. However, it is hard to claim that the impact of temporary or circular migration on the developments of migrants' countries of origin is always positive. In particular, if the migrants are subject to a very limited period of stay and work, and if they have only a limited number of renewals of their stay and work, then contribution of these types of migration to the migrant themselves, their families, and countries, will be limited. In fact, literature over Turkish migration also often refers to this type of shortcomings of temporary migration from the country (Abadan-Unat, 2002).

Some Indirect Evidence for the Return Migration (Circularity): Findings from the Turkish International Migration Survey (TIMS)

As a part of the large-scale Eurostat-NIDI Project<sup>9</sup>, the Turkish International Migration Survey (TIMS) provides us with information on return migration, return migrants, and intention of the return migrants to re-migrate (or not to re-migrate). Drawing on the findings of the TIMS<sup>10</sup>, this section of the present study intends to document some aspects of temporary/circular migration from Turkey and it also intends to present some characteristics of temporary/circular migrants from this country. Among all households interviewed in the TIMS, one quarter of them are identified as migrant households, 14 % are recent migrant households (households with at least one person who emigrated ten years ago or less) and 11 % are non-recent migrant households. Most of non-recent migrant households (10 %) are return migrant households. Only three per cent of recent migrant households are return migrant households. As far as the individuals in the interviewed households are concerned, only 12 % of them are migrants (6 % recent and another 6 % non-recent). Only two per cent of the recent migrants are return ones, and five per cent of the non-recent migrants are return ones.

If the household is classified as a recent migrant household, the mean household size varies between 8.2 (current migrant) and 7.0 (return migrant). As far as the non-recent migrant households are concerned, the household size is 5.3 for current migrant households, and 4.9 for return migrant households. Given the fact that the overall mean household size of the non-migrants is 5.3, it is possible to argue that over time migration and return has a positive impact over the declining size of households in the country. On the other hand, it seems that mean household size is greater in migrant households than in non-migrant households.

Economic reasons were the major reasons to leave Turkey for all return migrants. When they are asked about reasons for the last emigration, 30 per cent of return migrants reported that unemployment was the major reason and that they could not find job before leaving the country. To seek better employment abroad and earn good income was the main reason for 41 per cent of these migrants. Meanwhile, 17 per cent of the return migrants told that their income before leaving was too low to support their families.

Almost 30 percent of the recent return migrants were came back from non-European countries, while only 14 per cent of non-recent return migrants were coming from non-European countries. As to whether prior information played a role in the decision to migrate, only slightly more than a half of return migrants had migrated after having such information. Nearly nine in every ten of return migrants indicated that they had a network of some kind before departure. In terms of the composition

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<sup>9</sup> The Eurostat-NIDI project (1994-2000) elaborates the push and pull factors determining international migration flows. The main focus of the project was on migration from the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean region and from Sub-Saharan Africa to the European Union. Surveys were conducted in five predominantly migrant-sending countries (Egypt, Ghana, Morocco, Senegal, and Turkey) and in two predominantly migrant receiving countries (Italy and Spain) between 1996 and 1998. The Netherlands was also included in the migrant-receiving countries but only secondary data analysis was conducted using existing survey data and statistics.

<sup>10</sup> For the details of TIMS, see, Ayhan et. al. (2000).



of networks, brother/sister/in-law followed by spouse/fiance/partner are the two categories that appear to be important.

Of the return migrants, one quarter stated that they had ever tried to enter their country of destination without required official documents (14 per cent) or tried to overstay their visa or permit (11 per cent). If the group who refused to answer or answered “don’t know” is included, the proportion of irregular migrants increases 29 per cent.

Only one-third of non-recent return migrants and 51 per cent of recent return migrants express their intention to re-migrate. A possible and partial explanation for this finding could be a growing re-adaptation to the country of origin as time passes. In a comparative perspective, only a quarter of the non-migrants had the intention of migration. The relatively lower rate of intention to migrate among non-migrants is possibly due to the lack of any migration experience that makes the possibility of migration more difficult. The most important category of reasons for staying home of the return migrants are economic reasons which indicate the relatively better economic security among these people. The second major group of reasons that seem to deter the return migrants from re-migration is related to health and age. Almost two-fifths of the return migrants reported that they preferred to stay because they were elderly and not so healthy.

### **Concluding Remarks**

New forms of mobility are being shaped not only in Europe but in many part of the world which both challenge traditional explanations of international migration and contribute to new debates and re-thinking over migratory flows. One of the particular differences distinguishing the new climate of international migratory flows from their predecessors is the significantly altered pattern of stay and return of migrants which presents something very different from the forms of permanent and temporary migration that is circular migration.

Here the discussion provides some analyses of temporary and circular migration from the last five-decade history of Turkish emigration. This discussion gives important insights into the notion of temporary and circular migrations, not only from a historical perspective but also with a view of the contemporary debate. Given the fact that today the studies over the notion of circular migration are still few and preliminary in nature, it is very difficult to pinpoint the nature and characteristics of circular migration both theoretically and empirically. Therefore, the historical cases of some temporary migration experiences, such as the Turkey-related guestworker programs of 1960s, or the experiences of the ongoing Turkish migration to the MENA and CIS countries provides us with some valuable background for understanding the dynamics and mechanism of temporary and circular migrations. There is no doubt that the economic, social and political climates in which the circular migratory flows take place today is entirely different from the environment of previous decades when various kinds of temporary and circular migration occurred. As noted earlier, one must certainly refer to the new global and transnational settings which are based on a continuing, long-term, and fluid relationship among countries who are now operating in a single economic space.

As the political will behind the idea of circular migration debate in Europe occurred as considering attempts to control migration, prevent irregular migration, admit some selected types of labour and exclude other, and channel foreign labour through different bilateral agreements, the debate on circular migration today still remains very one-sided and narrow, mainly reflecting the concerns and benefits for the receiving countries, but not doing the same for the sending countries and migrant themselves. Therefore, discussion over circular migration must go beyond the Euro-centric and receiving-country-centric positions. For instance, policies designed for circular migration should consider the cost and benefits of circular migration for all actors involved, namely receiving and sending countries, and migrants themselves, through a holistic approach in which all these actors are provided with a wide range of choices so that circularity should not be only choice, or an obligation but should be one of the options. In another words, as noted by Agunias and Newland (2007: 12), “the appropriate goal of policy initiative is not to encourage circular migration, per se, but to foster a type of circular migration that is ultimately beneficial to the migrants, their families, and their countries of origin and destination”.

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**Table 1: Turkish Labor Migration by Destination, 1961-2005**

Host Countries	1961-1974		1975-1980		1981-1990		1991-1995		1996-2000		2001-2005		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
<b>Europe</b>	790017	97.5	13426	12.8	2612	0.6	9647	2.8	10465	9.3	16561	9.1	842728	42.4
<b>Arab Countries</b>	2441	0.3	74181	70.6	423208	97.7	208274	60.4	32195	28.5	57974	31.9	798273	40.2
<b>Australia</b>	5806	0.7	2647	2.5	2478	0.6	1324	0.4	515	0.5	176	0.1	12946	0.7
<b>CIS Countries</b>		-		-		-	115	0.0	65521	58.0	89623	49.3	155259	7.8
<b>Others</b>	12235	1.5	14792	14.1	4875	1.1	125238	36.3	4256	3.8	17533	9.6	178929	9.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>810499</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>105046</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>433173</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>344598</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>112952</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>181867</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1988135</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Compiled by İçduygu (2006), based on various official sources in Turkey.

**Table 2: Number of workers sent abroad by the Turkish Employment Office (TEO), 1997-2005**

<i>Receiving country</i>	<i>1997</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>2002</i>	<i>2003</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>2005</i>
<b>European Union countries</b>	1814	1769	2419	2264	2685	3912	4299	2783	1710
<b>Other European countries</b>	13	10	10	83	219	135	237	406	176
<b>Arab countries</b>	9500	7853	5896	2507	5156	8057	10189	9774	24798
<b>CIS</b>	16980	13200	7092	7145	8019	14178	16330	22433	28663
<b>Australia, Canada, USA</b>	400	400	396	51	116	185	93	78	94
<b>Israel</b>	4300	1800	1485	1322	3917	347	422	130	417
<b>Other</b>	314	875	149	273	130	107	2581	4594	4497
<b>Total</b>	<b>33321</b>	<b>25907</b>	<b>17475</b>	<b>13645</b>	<b>20242</b>	<b>26921</b>	<b>34151</b>	<b>40198</b>	<b>60355</b>

Source: Turkish Employment Office (TEO), <http://www.iskur.gov>.

**Table 3: Number of Turkish workers sent abroad by the Turkish Employment Office, 2001-05**

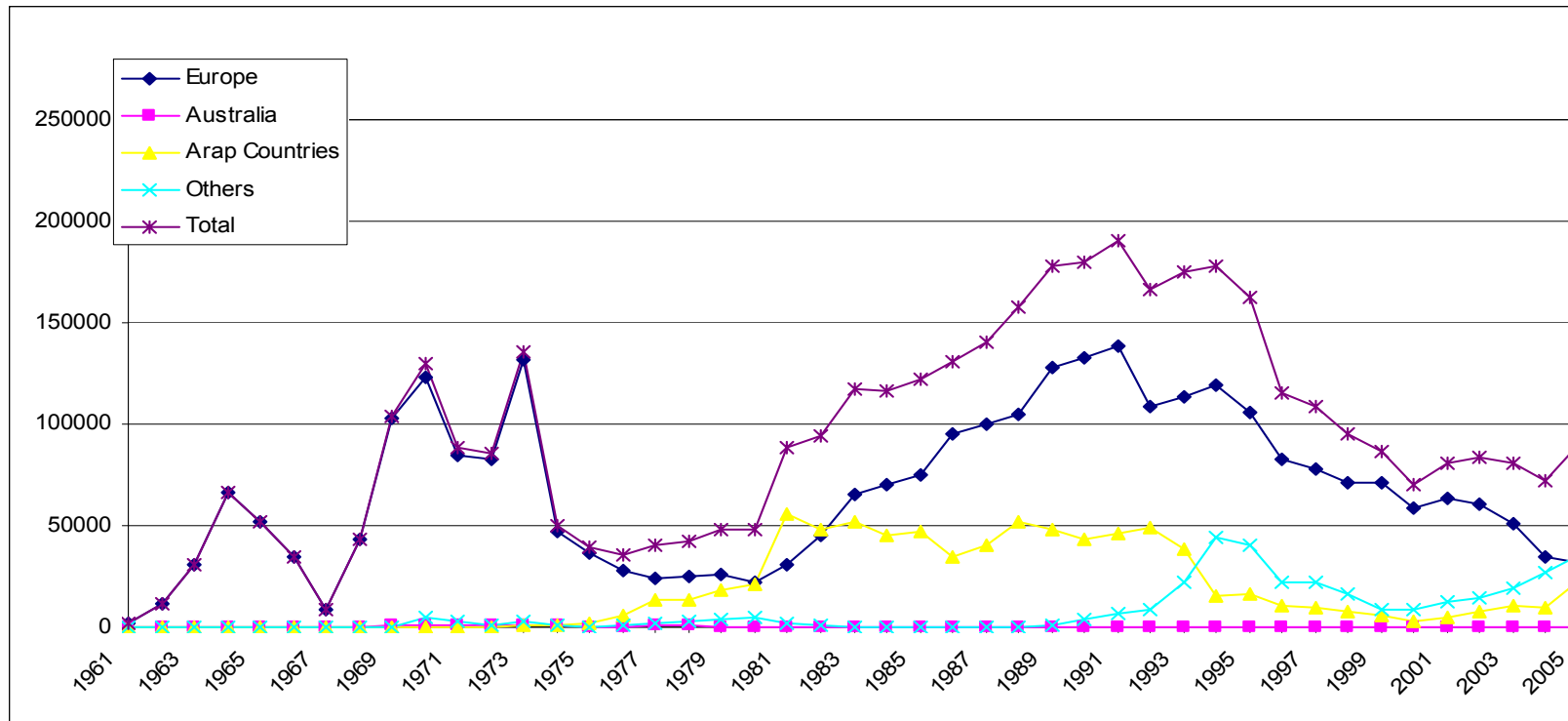
<b>Australia</b>	5	11	4	3	2
<b>Canada</b>	7	6	2	1	2
<b>Israel</b>	3917	347	422	130	417
<b>USA</b>	104	168	87	74	90
<b>EU Countries</b>					
<b>Austria</b>	5	2	11	22	23
<b>Belgium</b>	1	0	2	0	
<b>Denmark</b>	5	5	7	1	1
<b>Finland</b>	3	1	0	0	7
<b>France</b>	202	341	422	530	593
<b>Germany</b>	2437	3367	3366	2197	1074
<b>Greece</b>	3	0	0	0	
<b>Ireland</b>	1	2	2	1	0
<b>Italy</b>	2	5	2	0	
<b>Luxembourg</b>	0	1	2	0	
<b>Portugal</b>	0	2	0	0	
<b>Sweden</b>	5	28	42	29	10
<b>The Netherlands</b>	2	131	431	1	0
<b>UK</b>	19	27	12	2	2
<b>Other European Countries</b>					
<b>Albania</b>	201	120	111	70	11
<b>Bulgaria</b>	4	0	36	88	44
<b>Poland</b>	0	1	2	18	7
<b>Romania</b>	13	12	2	230	113
<b>Switzerland</b>	1	2	86	0	
<b>Arab Countries</b>					
<b>Algeria</b>	0	12	160	699	724
<b>Egypt</b>	1	0	0	0	118
<b>Iraq</b>	37	191	601	4900	8237
<b>Jordan</b>	203	234	368	752	2241
<b>Katar</b>	0	34	241	454	1604
<b>Kuwait</b>	11	45	26	230	151

**Table 3 (cont.): Number of Turkish workers sent abroad by the Turkish Employment Office, 2001–2005**

<i>Countries</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>2002</i>	<i>2003</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>2005</i>
<b>Libya</b>	238	1037	2515	668	986
<b>Morocco</b>	0	69	182	279	330
<b>Saudi Arabia</b>	4657	6399	6064	1146	6452
<b>Sudan</b>	0	14	29	18	107
<b>Syria</b>	9	21	2	0	
<b>United Arab Emirates</b>	0	1	1	628	1843
<b>CIS</b>					
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	267	668	1049	745	629
<b>Belarus</b>	299	23	0	0	
<b>Georgia</b>	65	375	357	276	104
<b>Kazakhstan</b>	1290	1102	1532	4403	5775
<b>Kyrgyzstan</b>	34	95	34	260	129
<b>Moldova</b>	2	132	0	0	
<b>Russia</b>	4190	10137	10816	13271	19540
<b>Tataristan</b>	0	4	77	231	156
<b>Turkmenistan</b>	1327	1068	1603	2031	964
<b>Ukraine</b>	90	151	89	761	1017
<b>Uzbekistan</b>	455	423	773	455	349
<b>Others</b>	130	107	2581	4872	6503
<b>Total</b>	<b>20242</b>	<b>26921</b>	<b>34151</b>	<b>40198</b>	<b>60355</b>

Source: Turkish Employment Office (TEO) <http://www.iskur.gov.tr>, Ministry of Labour and Social Security.

**Figure 1: Turkish Emigration by Destination, 1961-2005\***



\*Includes Labour Migration, Family Reunion, Student Migration, and Asylum.  
 Source: Compiled by İçduygu (2006), based on various official sources in Turkey.