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

Robert Schuman Centre *for advanced studies*

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International Migrants Remittances in Turkey

Analytic and Synthetic Notes 2006/07 - Demographic & economic module

CARIM
Euro-Mediterranean Consortium
for Applied Research on International Migration

Analytical and Synthetic Notes – Demographic & Economic Module
CARIM-AS 2006/7

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December 2005

* This essay is a revised version of the discussion notes written based on debates from the workshop organized by MiReKoc and OECD in Istanbul, on 21 December 2004.

I. Introduction

This essay presents an overview of the related dynamics and mechanisms of migrant remittances in Turkey [1]. Its main aim is to share experiences around Turkish migration and its remittance-dimension and then identify key changes in policies, institutions and practices which are needed to re-evaluate the linkages between migration, remittances, and economic development.

While the issues of remittances and their impact on economic development are regaining their importance on the international agenda, the Turkish case provides us with an interesting setting mainly due to the three main reasons: firstly, the scale and scope of remittances have always been important for Turkey for the last four decades; secondly, Turkey has its own way of receiving remittances throughout this period; and thirdly, Turkey seems to be loosing its own official concern on the flows of remittances, initially considering them as an important economic input but ultimately viewing them as one of the ordinary elements of the country's economy.

Meanwhile however Turkey, as a country of both some "old" and some "new" emigration, keeps its significant position in the ongoing regimes of the flows of emigrants and remittances. Therefore, the Turkish case presents a rich study area for the issues of migration, remittances, and development which is largely under-studied in recent years. In fact, what remains clear however is that for decades Turkey has been one of the top ten remittance recipients among the developing countries.

II. Background

It is now more than four decades since the start of large-scale emigration from Turkey to the other parts of the world. The growth of this movement is impressive. Starting from a few in the early 1960s, there were, in the early 2000s, when the population of Turkey itself was almost 70 million, over three million Turkish workers and their dependents in Europe, more than 100,000 Turkish workers (without dependents -- dependents not being allowed in) in Arab countries, nearly 300,000 settlers in Australia, Canada, and the USA, and nearly 50,000 workers in the CIS countries[2]. Thus, at any one time during these years, some six per cent of the Turkish population was abroad. And when we remember that some 30-40 per cent of the early emigrants returned permanently to Turkey, it would appear that a sizeable minority of the present Turkish population has had a direct experience of emigration, and an even larger proportion -- through the emigration of a close relative or friend -- an indirect experience.

But the potential influence of this movement on Turkey is more than a function solely of numbers; it is also a function of contacts. From the beginning, Turkish emigrants appear to have kept in touch to a particularly high degree --- through letters, telephone calls, and *remittances* --- with family and friends in the homeland and many have visited it from time to time on holiday, to attend weddings, or in response to the sickness or death of a relative. At the very least, it would seem likely that this combination of massive emigration and the maintenance of a high level of contact with those who remained behind would be an important stimulus to change in Turkey's economic and social life.

There exist a great deal of research done on the various aspects of Turkish emigration, but relatively little is known about its consequences for the country. Presence of only very few studies on remittances and the impact of remittances on the economic development in Turkey is an example for this under-studied area. In examining the issues of remittances as the consequences of international

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[1] This essay intends to summarize the main arguments made in the Istanbul Workshop by the following participants: Jean-Pierre Garson (OECD), Fuat Keyman (Koç University), Bilin Neyapti (Bilkent University), Kıvılcım Metin-Özcan (Bilkent University), Refik Erzan (Boğaziçi University), Nazlı Elif Köksal (OECD), Thomas Liebig (OECD), Arif Belgin (Money Transfers and SWIFT Department of T.C. İş Bankası), Okan Özoğlu (Is Bank GmbH), Ayse Elif Talu (Remittances Department of the Central Bank of Republic of Turkey), İnsan Tunali (Koç University), Sedat Nuri Ayanlar (Kalkınma Bankası), Jean-Christophe Dumont (OECD), Bahattin Kaya (Turkish Businessmen in Germany), Sunay Ferai Keçeci (State Planning Organization), Murat Kirdar (Middle East Technical University), İsmet Koç (Hacettepe University), Georges Lemaitre (OECD), Nermin Abadan-Unat (Boğaziçi University), Daniela BOBEVA (Bulgarian National Bank), Serdar Sayan (Bilkent University), Can Ünver (Labour Attaché in Berlin), and Ahmet İçduygu (MiReKoç).

[2] See, İçduygu, A. (2004), 'Demographic Mobility over Turkey: Migration Experiences and Government Responses', *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 15 (4), pp. 88-99.

migration for the country, one wants to know three things: firstly, what is the real volume of remittances; secondly, what are the determinants of the flows of remittances; and thirdly, what are the impact of remittances on economy at various levels, such as individual and family, community, and the whole country. These are not easily known. Research findings on these questions display a variety and inconclusiveness. Some of these poor research results owe its origin to the lack of data and good methodological design, and some are occasioned by poor theorizing used which ignores the changing characteristics of migratory processes.

One should note that the nature of remittances very much depends on the wider context of the migratory regime in which the consequences of international migration are experienced at three main levels: that of the migrants themselves, that of the country of origin, and that of the country of destination. In other words, these three are the main actors who affect the nature of international migrants' remittances. The interdependence among these three is also an important dimension in remittances. Consequently, remittances should be evaluated within the context of a function of this interdependence. This interdependency in the Turkish context is of course a historical and structural one, therefore should be viewed in its dynamic nature. For instance, over the last 40 years, many changes have taken place both in the flows of migrants from Turkey and that of remittances to Turkey, and the characteristics of these two are quite different from what they were 10, 20 or 30 years ago. Therefore, any evaluation of the issues of remittances and their connection to development should not ignore the changes occurred in the migratory regimes over the years.

III. The question of how to evaluate the issues of remittances

There were three main areas in which one can present a comprehensive evaluation of the remittances-issues in Turkey. The first area focuses on the remittance infrastructure and the new financial products, and the second area elaborates on the impact of remittances on economic development. The third area tackles with the policy issues.

What must be questioned at the beginning of the discussion on remittances are the main determinants of workers' remittances. It is argued that there are three main sets of variables which are accounted for the flows of remittances: those related with migrant-sending countries, those related with migrant themselves, and those related with migrant-receiving countries.

There are two main sets of variables which are addressed in explaining the main motives behind remittances[3]: firstly, the dynamics of family ties, which implie consumption smoothing and are related to social status, well-being, and risk-sharing of the individuals involved (migrants and their relatives); secondly, the macroeconomic stability and investment prospects, which are determined by a set of factors such as inflation, growth, interest rate differentials, and exchange rate. It is concluded that macroeconomic variables significantly affect workers' remittances, indicating that governments of the labor exporting countries can influence the inflow of remittances by means of appropriate macroeconomic policies. As policy implications, it is suggested that (a) sound exchange rate policies, economic and political stability attract the flows of remittances, (b) investment motive is more affective for workers remittance flows to the country, and (c) consumption-smoothing also remains to be an affective motive for remittance-sending.

1. Remittance infrastructure and new financial products

According to the figures of the Central Bank of Turkey, over $ 75 billion has been remitted in Turkey since the early 1960s, giving the average annual figure of $ 1.9 billion (see Figures 1 and 2). However, the annual flow of remittances in this period has fluctuated from year to year, but as far as the long-term trend is concerned, it has increased steadily. The average annual figure of the flow of remittances

[3] From the presentation by Bilin NEYAPTI and Kıvılcım METİN-ÖZCAN (Bilkent University), MiReKoc-OECD Workshop in Istanbul, 21 December 2004.

in the 1970s was around $ 1.5, this rose to $ 2.3 in the 1980s and to $ 3.3 in the 1990s. In the last three decades, overall remittances are a very important contribution to the Turkish economy, but in relative decline. For instance, while in the 1980s, remittances accounted for over 65 per cent of the trade deficit on average and they accounted for over 2.5 per cent of GNP, in the 1990s these figures were less than 45 per cent and less than 2 per cent respectively. Generally speaking, the flows of remittances have not declined considerably as migration streams matured in Turkey, but the country has got relatively less in remittances than in tourism, exports, and other income sources.

It is repeatedly stated that official figures may underestimate the size of remittance flows because they fail to capture the informal transfers. Increasing level of global transactions such as frequent travels is heavily contributing to these types of informal money transfers. Furthermore, the official figures may not also include some money formally sent by migrants back to Turkey. It is argued that remittances are generally under-reported around the world. Turkey is not an exception.

Based on a background paper prepared by the OECD Secretariat, it is possible to draw some conclusions about the process of transfer of remittances through the Turkish Banks and other financial institutions[4] (see Table 1). This paper reveals that Turkish banks are the major remittance channels which carry the deposits to Turkey. Is Bankasi and Ziraat Bankasi are the two important ones who are considered to account more than half of the remittance transfers to Turkey. Facilitating the remittance transactions rather than profiting the migrants' money seems to be the main aim of the operations performed by these banks. Therefore, the Turkish banks tend to keep the transaction costs as low as possible, often lower than their foreign counterparts. The cost of sending remittances to Turkey seems to vary from one bank to another bank and mainly due to the transaction method used. Comparing the transaction costs cited by other studies around the world (the total cost might be 15 and 20 percent of the total amount sent), the cost of transferring money to Turkey is relatively low (for instance, € 5-6 for the transfer under € 5 000). However assuming that migrants may tend to remit frequently and send small amounts in each transfer, one still may point out that the fee charges for the transfer of remittances remains as an issue to be resolved.

In addition to the Turkish commercial banks, the Central Bank of Turkey plays a significant role in channeling workers' remittances to the country. The bank provides two specific bank account opportunities to the individual migrants: (a) Foreign Currency Deposit Accounts, and (b) Super FX Accounts. Offering higher interest rates than the Turkish commercial banks to these special accounts opened by the migrants themselves, the bank has aimed to channel remittances into savings and investment in Turkey. The total amount of remittance deposit in the Central Bank of Turkey reached to nearly € 14 billions in 2004. As far as the long-term perspectives of the Central bank is concerned, the very unique operation on remittances is seen as a costly way of accumulating and something outside the principal duty of the Bank, and therefore it is viewed as an element which will be removed from the liabilities of the bank in the long-term[5].

What is also noted that remittances are quite difficult to measure as they are sent by a variety of ways. While formal channels such as banks and money transfer services are used, there are also informal channels such as carrying remittances home or sending cash and in-kind goods home with returning migrants[6]. Meanwhile, as far as the informal channels of remittances are concerned there are several cited anecdotal evidence that some religiously-oriented companies or networks (often entitled "Islamic or "green" capital) are involved in transferring remittances informally to Turkey. Of course, informal channels of remittances seem to be not limited only by these cases.

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4 Presentation by Nazlı Elif Köksal and Thomas Liebig (OECD), MiReKoc-OECD Workshop in Istanbul, 21 December 2004.

5 From the presentation by Ayse Elif Talu (Remittances Department of the Central Bank of Republic of Turkey), MiReKoc-OECD Workshop in Istanbul, 21 December 2004.

6 From the presentation by Okan Özoğlu (Is Bank GmbH), MiReKoc-OECD Workshop in Istanbul, 21 December 2004..

Concerning the "new" financial products, there are only some limited possibilities pronounced, one of them is related to the special offers of selling some shares of the Turkish Airlines to the emigrants in the context of the privatization process of this company. Although there is less concern on offering a new financial product to attract remittances and suggesting these products to foster local development, as far as the accumulated deposits of remittances in the Central Bank of Turkey (approximately € 14 billion) are concerned, there is a solid concern on the question of what to do with them.

2. Impact of remittances on economic development

Although the flows of remittances from the estimated over 3.5 million Turkish emigrants living abroad to Turkey are continuing and presumably account for a sizeable part of the country's economic development, it is still not so easy task to pinpoint the dynamic nature of link between remittances and the economic development. Certainly, among the main consequences of labor emigration for a sending country like Turkey are the beneficial impact of incoming workers' remittances. As a developing country Turkey has always needed external capital to support development projects, and she has always faced perennial shortages of foreign funds to pay for imported goods and services, and foreign debts. From this perspective workers' remittances greatly contribute to the country's economy. Although it is argued that the amount of emigrant remittances Turkey has been receiving is somehow insignificant in comparison with the total saving potential of these migrants[7], the scale of remittances attributable to labor migration to Europe is large, and remains as one of the most important sources of foreign exchange earnings. Workers' remittances increased from a modest $93 million in 1967 to a peak $1.4 billion in 1974 and then declined to $893 million in 1978. Turkey showed a more or less consistent level of annual remittance receipts of around $1.5-2.0 billion between 1979 and 1988. In this period, almost a quarter of Turkey's annual total import bill was financed by the remittance receipts. During the late 1980 and early 1990s the country had annual remittance receipts of about $3.0 billion which increased to $3.4 billion in 1995. In the 1990s, remittances were equivalent to around 45 percent of the trade deficit, but never exceeded three percent of GNP. In short, since the 1960s workers' remittances have greatly contributed to meeting the import bill of the country, but their contribution to GNP has always been very limited[8].

Another aspect of the workers' remittances was the type of investments made by the migrants: money coming from abroad often finds its way into the maintenance of the family left behind or is spent as investment in equipment, building, a car, or possibly as part of the migrant's attempt to set himself or herself up in a trade or other new enterprise. Certainly much of the incoming money has gone directly into the family or local community of a migrant, often to maintain dependants left in Turkey. In the many cases, where migrants abroad do not return to their point of origin in Turkey, much of the remitted money is spent on consumables for the new home. It seems that remittances do not help to reduce imbalances between regions in the country, though there clearly are specific improvements made possibly by remittances. According to Koc and Onan (2004)[9], for instance, remittances have a positive impact on household welfare, as shown by the fact that households receiving remittance are found to be better off than non-remitting households (see Tables 2, 3, and 4). Although a considerable amount of the related literature argues that remittances are not mostly spent on "productive investments" that would contribute to long-run development, it is possible to claim that improvements in the living conditions of migrants such as access to better nutrition or allocation of more resources to education are also some forms of productive investments.

It is suggested that specifically designed household surveys in various emigration regions in the country are needed to obtain information on the flows of remittances and their impact on economy. Two well-known migration studies in Turkey are cited in this respect: the 1976 Bogazliyan study by

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[7] From the presentation by Bahattin Kaya (Turkish Businessmen in Germany), MiReKoc-OECD Workshop in Istanbul, 21 December 2004..

[8] From the presentation by Sunay Ferai Keçeci (State Planning Organization), MiReKoc-OECD Workshop in Istanbul, 21 December 2004..

[9] Ismet Koc and Isil Onan (2004) "International Migrants' Remittances and Welfare Status of the Left-Behind Families in Turkey", *International Migration Review*, .38(1), pp. 78-112.

Abadan-Unat et.al., and the 1996 Turkish International Migration Survey (TIMS-96). According to the TIMS-96 findings, 12 percent of households received remittances, and 80 percent of these households used remittances to improve their standard of living. These findings also confirmed that regional differences in kind of remittances received by households seem to be substantial. Households located in less developed regions are more likely to receive remittances than households in the developed regions. Consisting with these findings, recent current migrant households have a tendency to receive more remittances in all regions, regardless of their development status[10].

Saving remittances is seen as the first prerequisite which is needed to channel remittances into economic development. When remittances are saved in financial institutions, it is thought that, the probability of using them for various types of investments increases, and consequently, they may have a positive impact on development[11]. More and more migrants have tended to sending remittances through formal channels, and more and more migrants have tended to save their remittances in banks, implying a process in which remittances are indirectly contributing to the development of the country.

It is argued that the effects of remittances on the regional development are more difficult to asses, but they are no longer simply seen as a negatively contributing factor to the development of various migrant-sending regions in the country.

3. Maximizing the benefits: best practices and policy implications

It is argued that although there were various active policies and practices in the 1970s and 1980s to attract remittances and channel them to the economic actives, they were not so successful in term of their operation over the years[12].

The Turkish Government in the 1970s tried to channel remittance savings into employment-generating activities in order to maximize economic growth. Actually, there were three unique development programs linked to emigration. Firstly, in order to channel the funds to the less developed areas rather than developed ones, starting from the early period of emigration, the Turkish governments has supported the establishment of workers' joint stock companies that would invest in the less developed regions of the country. It was believed that investments of these companies would provide job opportunities to returning migrants, and at the same time they would serve as a device for the economical use of their savings. This was regarded as an efficient way of industrializing the regions of origin. More than 600 workers' companies have thus been created, with varying capital and numbers of shareholders. Although the workers' companies aim at achieving a certain social goal by developing the backward regions in general, they are unable to get away from the economic considerations that matter considerably as far as the productive operation of the enterprises is concerned. Workers' companies have run into various problems such as project identification, financial and technical planning and management, and inadequacy of communications. Hence their role in fostering the development of less developed regions has been minimal. There are still some 20 to 30 functioning worker's companies in Turkey, but they are not effectively-run, well-functioning companies.

Another aspect of the official policy of reintegrating the return migrants' savings into the local economies was to support the creation of Village Development Cooperatives. However, because many of them sought to secure jobs for their members rather than to realize productive investments in the villages through remittances, most of the co-operatives were really used as a vehicle to facilitate more migration. A third method for attracting the savings of the migrants was the establishment of the State Industry and Workers' Investment Bank in 1975. The bank advocated mixed enterprises organized by the state and private capital, including workers' remittances. However, this effort has not been

[10] From Koc and Onan's (2004) paper.

[11] From the discussion on paper by Murat Kirdar (Middle East Technical University), MiReKoc-OECD Workshop in Istanbul, 21 December 2004..

[12] From the presentations of Can Unver (Labour Attaché in Berlin) and Nermin Abadan-Unat (Bogazici University), MiReKoc-OECD Workshop in Istanbul, 21 December 2004..

successful either for overall enterprises or for channeling the investment resources into the less developed regions.

In the four-decade history of Turkish emigration, the following policy objectives, measures, and practices have been experienced in order to enhance the development impact of remittances (a) stimulating transfers through formal channels via foreign currency accounts, premium interest rate accounts, and remittance bonds, (b) contributing to migrants' collectives or associations via matched funding, public-private ventures, and competitive bidding for development projects, (c) setting up particular banks (d) securing future remittances via promoting continued migration, promoting transnationalism, diaspora management.

Some scholars argued that remittances cannot be powerful tools towards sustainable development within the current international economic policy framework. Even if they were to keep their high levels or to increase in coming years, they would not reach their full potential in terms of their contribution to the country's development unless a different policy framework was to be put into place. In this context, it is suggested that there is need to promote new policies for some new practices at three levels: (a) to make remittance-sending mechanisms more efficient, that is to say how to send money fast and at the lowest possible cost, (b) to increase the level of remittances, and (c) to maximize gains from remittances for the regional and national development. Other participants suggested that there was no need for some pro-active strategies in this context. It is voiced that given migrants' distrust of their governments, inefficient governmental interference would be most unwelcome.

Although the government policies are often viewed as one of the main affecting factor behind the changing volume of remittances and the ways in which they are transferred, it seems that currently from the government side there is no likelihood of any pro-active attempt to get going the flows of remittances and to keep the sustainability of these flows.

III. Concluding Remarks

Various sources emphasized the emerging declining trends in remittances directed to Turkey in the last three to four years. It is emphasized this shrinking is continuing partly because of an economic downturn in the host countries like Germany that has led to slowing income growth and rising unemployment among Turkish emigrants. It is also emphasized that remittances are likely to continue falling considerably, as more Turkish emigrants incorporate into the host countries and send less money home.

What could be useful to contextualize the Turkish case of the remittances-development linkage is to refer to some basic foundations of a sound remittances-related policy as recently discussed by Carling (2004)[13]: (a) recognizing the diversity of remittance types: such as intra-family transfers, personal transfers, collective transfers, and social security transfers; (b) acknowledging contrasting objectives: such as immediate benefits, future benefits; (c) considering the division of labor between actors: civil society actors in addition to states and migrants themselves; (d) staying clear of undue interference and social engineering to remittances; (e) paying attention to the relationships between migrant and non-migrants; and (f) appreciating the issues of credibility and meaning as they functions between the migrants, and the governments of sending- and receiving countries.

Finally, a clear need for various types of sounding data and studies on the issues of migration, remittances, and development seems to very obvious.

[13] Carling, Jorgen (2004), Policy options for increasing the benefits of remittances, Compas, Working paper, No. 8, University of Oxford, Oxford.

Figure 1: Flows of Remittances to Turkey, 1964-2004

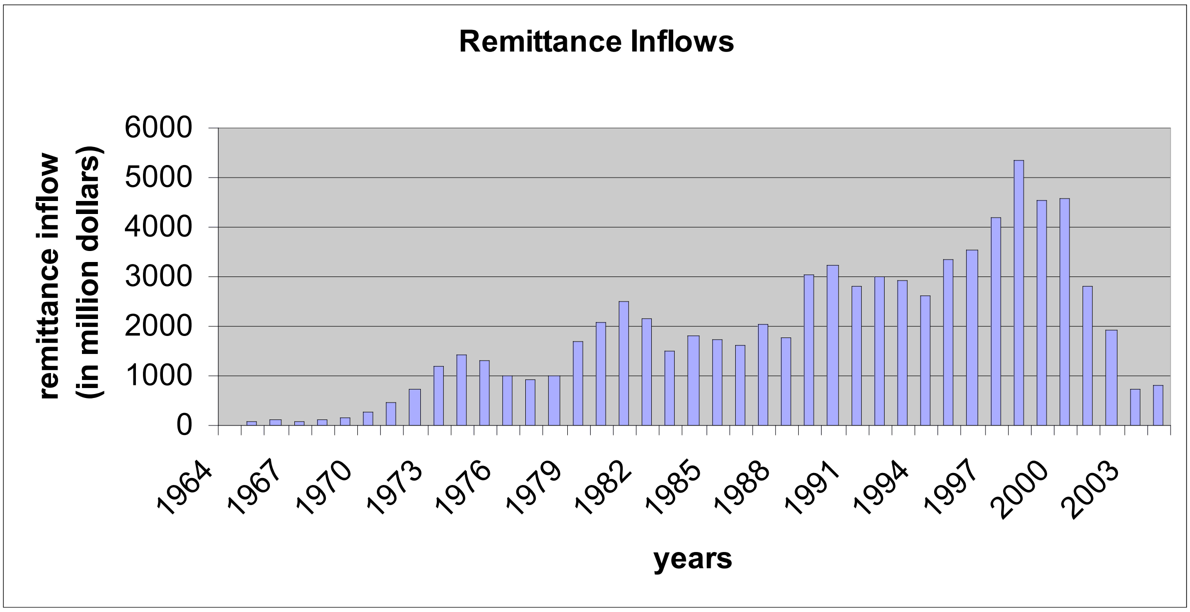

Figure 2: Foreign Currency Deposit Accounts and Super FX Accounts, 1990-2004

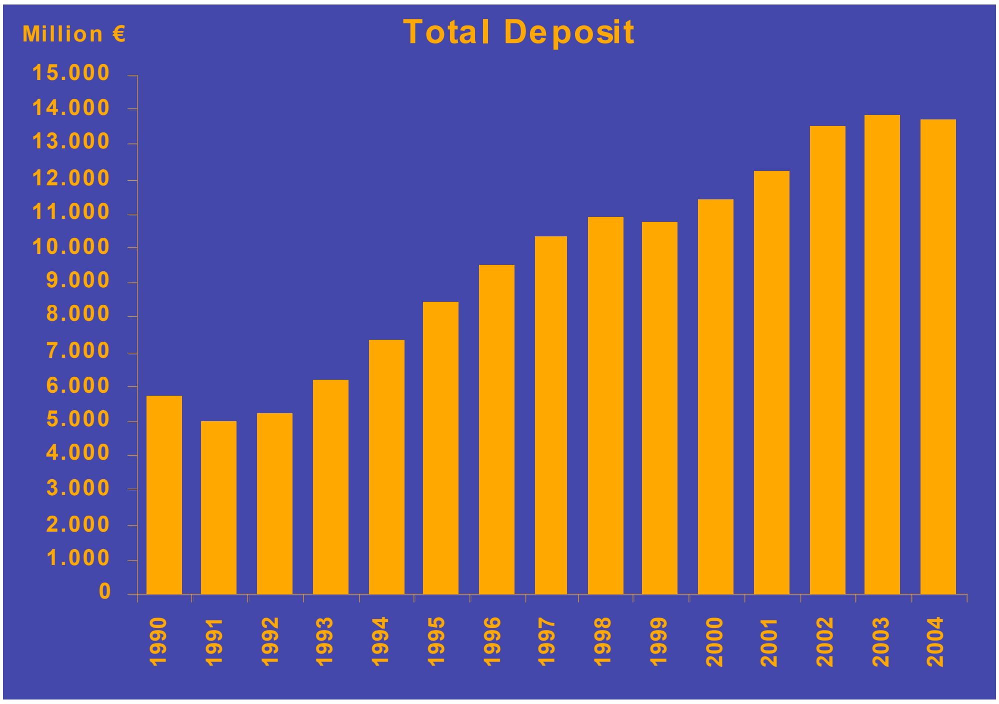

Table 1: Overview of the remittance process

	Turkish banks		German banks		Western Union
	Is Bank	**Ziraat Bank**	**Sparkassen & co-operative banks**	**Postbank**	
Most frequently used transfer modalities	- "On-line" transfer proper to the bank -collective accounts	- electronic transfer proper to the bank -collective accounts	Swift transfer to a Turkish bank	Eurogiro electronic transfer (international Postal network)	Worldwide online system
Time for transaction	-1 hour -2-3 days	-1 day -2-3 days	4-5 days	about 6 six days	1 hour
Costs of remitting *m* €	**5,5 €** if m<5,000 € **8 €** if 5,000< m<10,000 € **1.5 ‰ of *m*** if m>10,000 €	**6 €** if m<5,000 € **1.5 ‰ of *m*** if m>5,000 €	Differs from one bank to another. On average, 20 € for m=1,000 €	**15 € for the first 250 €** **5 € for each additional 250 €**	5% of m (with minimum 26 €, maximum 260 €)
Remarks	No further fees in Turkey only if money is withdrawn in Turkish Lira	No further fees in Turkey if money is withdrawn in Turkish Lira or m< 1,000 €	Additional fees apply depending on the correspon-dent bank in Turkey.	No further fees in Turkey	WU co-operates with Postbank and Reisebank in Germany Current promotion for comissions (with collaboration of Reisebank) : 6 € if m<500 € 2% of m, if m>500 €

Source: Presentation by Nazlı Elif Köksal and Thomas Liebig (OECD), MiReKoc-OECD Workshop in Istanbul, 21 December 2004.

Table 2: Remittances received by households by regions and households migration status

Migration status/remittances	Developed-Established Migration Region (1)	Less Developed-Established Migration Region (2)	Developed-Recent Migration Region (3)	Less Developed-Recent Migration Region (4)	Total
<u>Current migrant hh</u>					
Only money	35,7	28,7	42,9	38,2	33,2
Only goods	7,1	12,0	0,0	5,9	8,7
Money and goods	7,1	8,3	7,1	11,8	8,7
No remittances	50,0	50,9	50,0	44,1	49,5
Recent current migrant hh					
Only money	40,0	22,6	42,0	38,7	30,0
Only goods	10,0	14,0	0,0	6,5	10,0
Money and goods	0,0	7,5	7,7	6,5	6,9
No remittances	50,0	55,9	50,0	48,4	53,1
Non-recent current migrant hh					
Only money	33,3	66,7	50,0	33,3	56,5
Only goods	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Money and goods	0,0	13,3	0,0	66,7	17,4
No remittances	66,7	20,0	50,0	0,0	26,1
<u>Return migrant hh</u>					
Only money	5,1	4,0	7,9	17,1	7,3
Only goods	6,3	1,3	0,0	0,0	2,6

Money and goods	0,0	14,7	0,0	2,4	5,2
No remittances	88,6	80,0	92,1	80,5	85,0
Recent return migrant hh					
Only money	25,0	2,7	27,3	10,0	11,3
Only goods	8,3	2,7	0,0	0,0	2,5
Money and goods	0,0	24,3	0,0	5,0	12,5
No remittances	6,7	70,3	72,7	85,0	73,8
Non-recent return migrant hh					
Only money	1,5	5,3	-	22,7	5,2
Only goods	6,0	0,0	-	0,0	2,6
Money and goods	0,0	5,3	-	0,0	1,3
No remittances	92,5	89,5	-	77,3	90,9
Non-migrant hh					
Only money	3,9	1,7	1,4	2,1	2,1
Only goods	1,0	2,6	0,0	1,7	1,2
Money and goods	2,9	3,5	0,2	2,9	2,2
No remittances	92,2	92,2	98,3	93,4	94,5
Total					
Only money	5,7	7,8	4,3	7,9	6,4
Only goods	2,7	4,2	0,0	1,9	2,2
Money and goods	2,4	6,1	0,6	3,8	3,3
No remittances	89,2	82,0	95,0	86,4	88,1

Source: Ismet Koc and Isil Onan (2004) "International Migrants' Remittances and Welfare Status of the Left-Behind Families in Turkey", *International Migration Review*, .38(1), pp. 78-112.

Table 3: The ways of spending remittances by region and household migration status

Migration status/remittances	Developed-Established Migration Region (1)	Less Developed-Established Migration Region (2)	Developed-Recent Migration Region (3)	Less Developed-Recent Migration Region (4)	Total
<u>Current migrant hh</u>					
Daily expenses	80,0	82,5	64,3	64,7	75,0
Land/house	0,0	2,5	0,0	5,9	2,6
Medical expenses	0,0	2,5	28,6	11,8	9,2
Marriage expenses	0,0	7,5	0,0	0,0	3,9
Other items	20,0	5,0	7,1	17,6	9,2
Recent current migrant hh					
Daily expenses	75,0	75,0	66,7	71,4	72,4
Land/house	0,0	3,6	0,0	7,1	3,4
Medical expenses	0,0	3,6	25,0	14,3	10,3
Marriage expenses	0,0	10,7	0,0	0,0	5,2
Other items	25,0	7,1	8,3	7,1	8,6
Non-recent current migrant hh					
Daily expenses	50,0	100,0	0,0	33,3	76,5
Land/house	0,0	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0
Medical expenses	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	5,9
Marriage expenses	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0

Other items	50,0	0,0	0,0	66,7	17,6
Return migrant hh					
Daily expenses	75,0	80,0	0,0	100,0	76,7
Land/house	25,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	3,3
Medical expenses	0,0	0,0	33,3	0,0	3,3
Marriage expenses	0,0	13,3	0,0	0,0	6,7
Other items	0,0	6,7	66,7	0,0	10,0
Recent return migrant hh					
Daily expenses	66,7	90,0	0,0	100,0	73,7
Land/house	33,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	5,3
Medical expenses	0,0	0,0	33,3	0,0	5,3
Marriage expenses	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Other items	0,0	10,0	66,7	0,0	15,8
Non-recent return migrant hh					
Daily expenses	100,0	50,0	-	100,0	80,0
Land/house	0,0	0,0	-	0,0	0,0
Medical expenses	0,0	0,0	-	0,0	0,0
Marriage expenses	0,0	50,0	-	0,0	20,0
Other items	0,0	0,0	-	0,0	0,0
Non-migrant hh					
Daily expenses	86,7	94,7	57,1	83,3	84,9

Land/house	0,0	0,0	0,0	16,7	3,8
Medical expenses	0,0	5,3	42,9	0,0	7,5
Marriage expenses	6,7	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,9
Other items	6,7	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,9
Total					
Daily expenses	83,3	86,1	59,1	78,4	80,0
Land/house	4,2	1,4	0,0	8,1	3,2
Medical expenses	0,0	2,8	31,8	5,4	7,1
Marriage expenses	4,2	6,9	0,0	0,0	3,9
Other items	8,3	2,8	9,1	8,1	5,8

Source: Ismet Koc and Isil Onan (2004) "International Migrants' Remittances and Welfare Status of the Left-Behind Families in Turkey", *International Migration Review*, .38(1), pp. 78-112.

Table 4: Current financial situation of households (current financial situation and welfare index) by remittances and household migration status

	Current	Recent current	Non-recent current	Return	Recent return	Non-recent return	Non-migrant	Total
Receive remittances								
More than sufficient	1,1	1,3	0,0	8,6	15,0	0,0	0,0	2,1
Sufficient	34,4	27,3	68,8	31,4	55,0	0,0	22,7	29,9
Barely sufficient	51,6	55,8	31,3	45,7	20,0	80,0	43,9	47,9
Insufficient	12,9	15,6	0,0	14,3	10,0	20,0	33,3	20,1
No remittances								
More than sufficient	1,1	0,0	0,0	2,5	0,0	3,6	7,3	6,2
Sufficient	22,2	19,0	80,0	24,2	15,5	27,9	15,7	17,3
Barely sufficient	33,3	34,5	20,0	37,9	36,2	38,6	44,2	42,7
Insufficient	43,3	46,4	0,0	35,4	48,3	30,0	32,8	33,8
All households								
More than sufficient	0,5	0,6	0,0	3,8	3,8	3,2	6,9	5,7
Sufficient	29,0	23,1	69,6	25,2	25,6	25,2	16,0	18,8
Barely sufficient	42,6	45,0	26,1	38,9	32,1	42,6	44,2	43,3
Insufficient	27,9	31,3	4,3	32,1	38,5	29,0	32,8	32,2
Receive remittances								
Poor	21,7	25,0	5,6	31,4	10,0	60,0	13,6	20,5
Middle	56,5	60,5	38,9	42,9	65,0	13,3	56,1	53,8
Rich	21,7	14,5	55,6	25,7	25,0	26,7	30,3	25,6
No remittances								
Poor	48,4	47,6	66,7	24,7	35,6	20,0	46,4	43,5
Middle	38,5	39,3	16,7	53,5	45,8	56,4	34,0	36,9
Rich	13,2	13,1	16,7	21,7	18,6	23,6	19,6	19,6
All households								
Poor	35,0	36,9	21,7	25,8	28,2	24,5	44,6	40,0
Middle	47,5	49,4	34,8	51,9	51,3	52,3	35,2	30,0
Rich	17,5	13,8	43,5	22,3	20,5	23,2	20,2	20,0

Source: Ismet Koc and Isil Onan (2004) "International Migrants' Remittances and Welfare Status of the Left-Behind Families in Turkey", *International Migration Review*, .38(1), pp. 78-112.