



Turkish Authorities' Attitude towards Temporary and Circular Migration to Europe: Not a "Hot Topic"

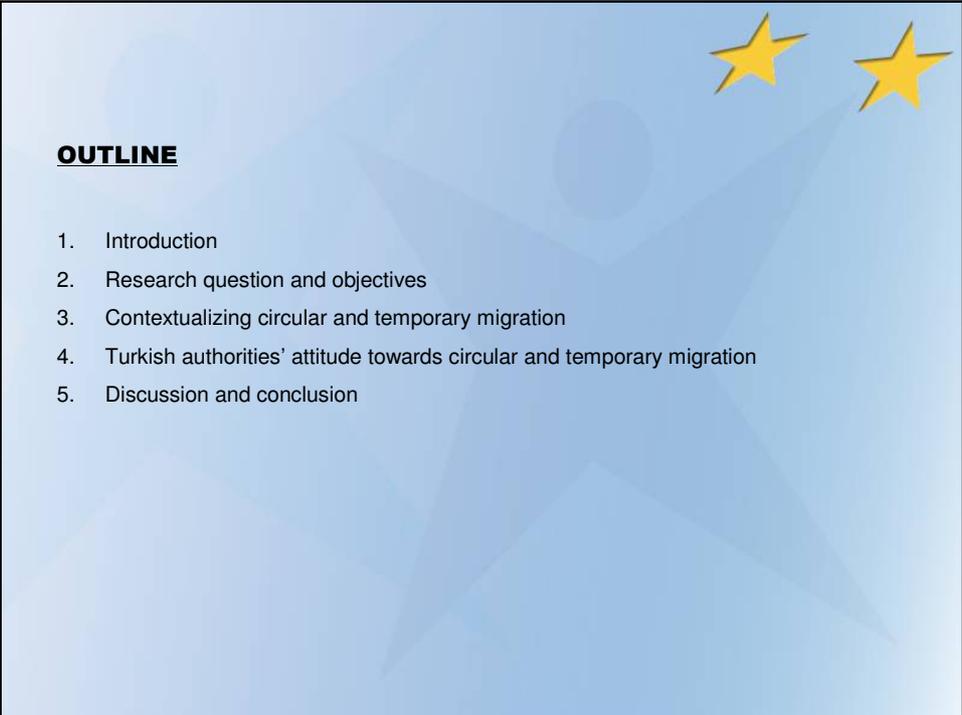
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OUTLINE

1. Introduction
2. Research question and objectives
3. Contextualizing circular and temporary migration
4. Turkish authorities' attitude towards circular and temporary migration
5. Discussion and conclusion

1. INTRODUCTION

Turkey: A major labor exporter country to Europe since 1960s

Labor agreements between Turkey and Germany, France, The Netherlands, Belgium and Austria

Huge flow of unskilled workers from Turkey to the major European countries between 1961 – 1973

Unintended consequences of “guest worker” programs

Transition from temporary to permanent migration from Turkey to Europe

Diversification of migration: family formation and reunification

Establishment of a Turkish community in the major European countries

→ *Temporary migration programs undesirable and unfeasible*

2007 Global Forum on Migration and Development

Re-introduction of circular and temporary migration

Motto: Win-win-win for the destination and origin countries, and the migrants themselves

→ *Triple win scenario challenged by previous Turkish migration experience*

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES

Given the current demand of high-income European countries for medium to highly skilled workers

Turkey's attitude towards temporary and circular migration to Europe with regards to its expected effect on development and livelihoods of migrants

1. *How is the Turkish perspective shaped by previous labor migration experience?*
2. *To what extent does newly introduced circular migration differ from the old temporary labor programs?*
3. *How are the lessons learned from Turkish labor migration experience currently used to prevent “old” mistakes?*
4. *What are the “new” challenges foreseen by the Turkish authorities? And, how are they dealt with currently?*

3. CONTEXTUALIZING CIRCULAR AND TEMPORARY MIGRATION

- 3.1. History of labor migration from Turkey to Europe
- 3.2. Implications of transition from temporary to permanent migration
- 3.3. Context of circular and temporary migration



3.1 HISTORY OF LABOR MIGRATION FROM TURKEY TO EUROPE

1942-1961

- Small, sporadic and relatively unknown illegal migration
- Latecomers to the international migration market after WW2

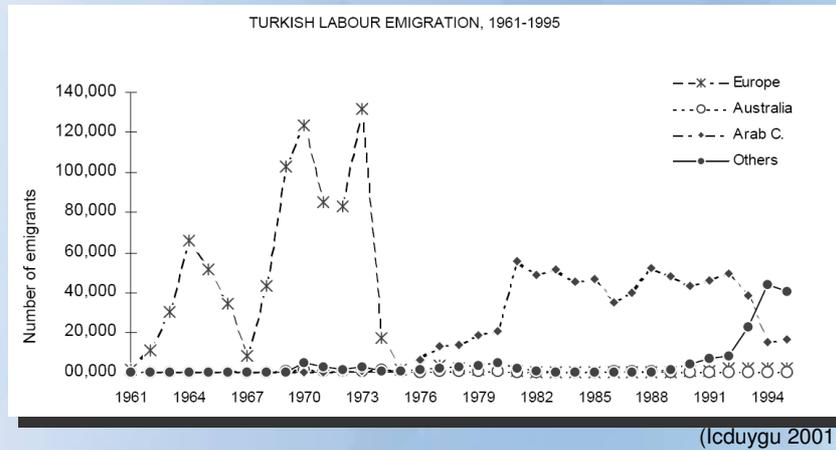
1961-1973

- Five Year Development Plan: Export of surplus labor power
- First official agreement with Germany, and similar bilateral agreements with other European countries (The NL, FR, SW, AU)
- Turkish Employment Service → 1964: 66,000 migrants; 1973: 780,000 migrants
- 1973 Oil Crisis and the economic stagnation: end of large-scale migration

1973-1980

- Turkey turns its face to Arab Countries, Australia, and the United States
- **Migration chain:** Family formation and reunification: increasing migration of non-actives and decrease in return migration
- Increasing growth of the Turkish population in the Western European countries (birth rate)
- 1980: 2 million Turks in Europe, of whom over 800,000 legally employed

3.1 HISTORY OF LABOR MIGRATION FROM TURKEY TO EUROPE



3.1 HISTORY OF LABOR MIGRATION FROM TURKEY TO EUROPE



Migratory movements have gained their own dynamics and mechanisms quite independent of the previously structured measures of bilateral migration agreements (Icduygu 2001)

Emigration from Turkey (2005)

- ✳ Stock of emigrants: 4,402,914
- ✳ Stock of emigrants as percentage of population: 6.0%
- ✳ Destination countries in different continents

Country	Number
Germany	2,706,232
France	197,819
Netherlands	184,424
Austria	153,836
United States	100,325
Saudi Arabia	95,752
Bulgaria	95,248
Greece	66,402
Switzerland	61,861
United Kingdom	60,110

(World Bank 2007)

3.2 IMPLICATIONS OF TRANSITION FROM TEMPORARY TO PERMANENT MIGRATION



Destination Country

- Socio-economic integration
- Social inclusion/exclusion
- Definition of national identity
- The welfare state
- Legal rights and obligations of migrants

Migrants

- Socio-psychological costs of migration
- Integration in the destination country
- Re-establishment of linkages with the origin country

Origin Country

- Establishment of Diaspora
- Change in return intentions
- Change in savings and remittances behavior
- Loss of human capital and “brain drain”

3.3 CONTEXT OF TEMPORARY AND CIRCULAR MIGRATION



Circular migration: solution to demand for medium to highly skilled migrants and illegal migration in the European countries

- ✦ A broader notion than the one-time-only temporary migration programs
 - ✦ Continuing, long-term, and fluid pattern of human mobility among countries
- Examples:* Seasonal migration; mobility of professionals, academics and transnational entrepreneurs

Acknowledge different patterns of circular migration compared to ‘guest worker’ programs

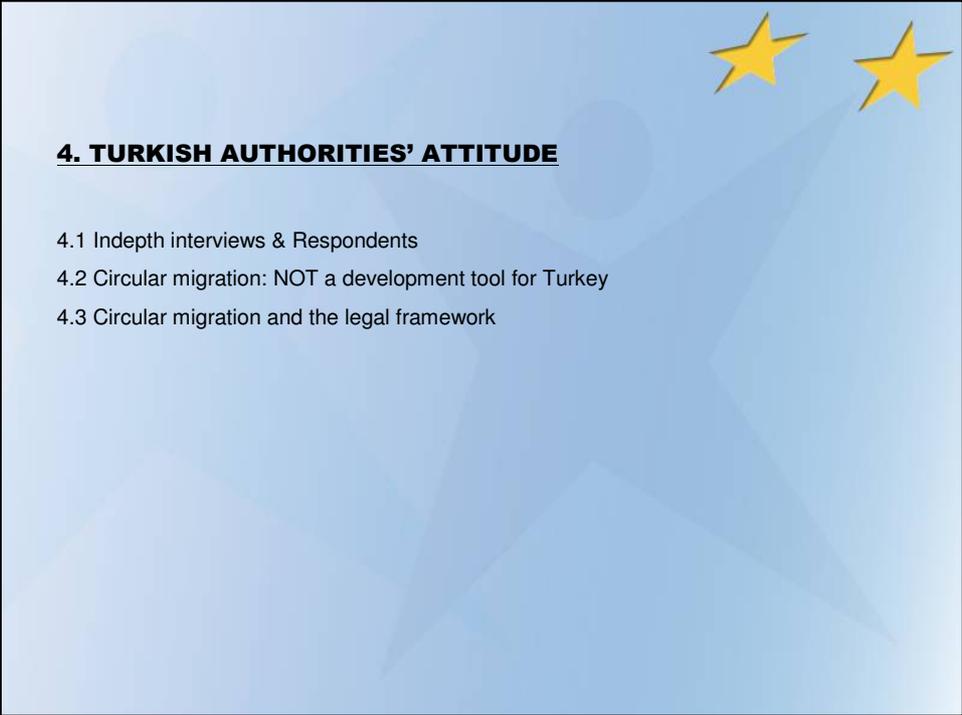
- ✦ International climate different than in the past
- ✦ Transformation of the rigid system of the international world
- ✦ Development of transportation and communication technologies

“Triple-win” scenario

Destination country: Continual supply of labor without requirement of long term integration

Origin country: Ongoing flows of remittances, skills and investments

Migrants: Legal dynamic mobility, increased income, employment experience



4. TURKISH AUTHORITIES' ATTITUDE

- 4.1 In-depth interviews & Respondents
- 4.2 Circular migration: NOT a development tool for Turkey
- 4.3 Circular migration and the legal framework



4.1 INDEPTH INTERVIEWS & RESPONDENTS

In-depth interviews

- ✦ Turkish politics regarding migration and Turkish Diaspora living abroad
- ✦ Institutional arrangements and new initiatives to approach migration issues
- ✦ Evaluation of past labor migration experiences of Turkey
- ✦ Situating circular migration in the current context of Turkish emigration

Respondents as representatives of different stand-points

- ✦ Ministry of Labor of the Republic of Turkey, External Relations and Services for Workers Abroad
- ✦ Ministry of State of Turkey, Presidency of Turks at Abroad and Kindred Communities
- ✦ Former Turkish Attaché in the Netherlands
- ✦ Civil society organization in the Netherlands representing Turkish workers
- ✦ Political scientist and expert on international relations and migration (2)

4.2 CIRCULAR MIGRATION **NOT** A DEVELOPMENT TOOL FOR TURKEY



National discourse and the stronger stand point of Turkey

✳ **Turkey is integrated with the capitalist world**

“We do not see our migrants living abroad as “currency exchange point”, since Turkey is one of the biggest countries in the world. We have become the 17th biggest economy. Turkey is not a country which is in need of remittances to survive.”

“Turkey should not be compared with other third world countries. Our citizens have the right to live where ever they want. There are Turks living in 155 different countries. We will not demand Turks to return to Turkey for development reasons.”

✳ **Turkey and the European Union**

“Migration is a very important aspect of Turkey’s relationship with Europe.”

“Turkey has developed a lot in many aspects the last 10 15 years, and accordingly its attitude towards its migrants has changed. Turkey’s discourse towards Europe is stronger now, and aims at improving the rights of living Turks abroad, more than anything else.”

4.2 CIRCULAR MIGRATION **NOT** A DEVELOPMENT TOOL FOR TURKEY



Past experience: Five-year Development Plan (1962-1967)

Today: Migration is an individual choice

✳ **No need for device received through remittances, investment and savings**

“Now in Turkey, we are talking about the Turkish Diaspora abroad. This is a population which is well established in the destination countries. So, the role that remittances play in this context is minor. Looking at the latest numbers, we see that inflow of remittances is less than 700,000\$.”

“Before, it was very important that the migrants would send money back to Turkey, but now this has lost its importance. Remittances are equal to endorsement of a mid-sized company in Turkey.”

✳ **Past failure of channeling migrant remittances**

“Turkey’s record on benefiting from remittances is not very positive. Many of the initiatives have failed in the past. It would be hard to mobilize people for similar projects.”

4.2 CIRCULAR MIGRATION **NOT** A DEVELOPMENT TOOL FOR TURKEY



Doubts about the development impact of circular migration

*** Return migration: Increase pressure on labor market and unemployment**

“It is more advantageous for Turkey that migrants who go abroad stay there. Everybody knows this. There is not much that they can bring back here. Because we are concerned with unemployment. Think about all the migrants currently living abroad. Almost half of the 5 million Turks living abroad are working. How could Turkey employ these people if they would return to Turkey? No country could deal with this easily. So, Turkey is not encouraging return migration.”

*** Time frame of circular migration not realistic for development effect**

“What is the time frame of circular migration? How can an employee get enough experience in 6 months which could help him/her back in Turkey? And if we talk about two to three years of stay, then we can not talk about temporariness of migration! It is very unlikely that the migrant comes back.”

4.3 CIRCULAR MIGRATION AND THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK



Circular migration stands out as an individual choice for the Turkish Diaspora and potential migrants

→ State as a protector: Focus on social benefits and rights of migrants

Attention paid to binding agreements with the European countries:

* *Ankara Agreement (1963) and the Additional Protocol (Article 41)*
The contracting parties refrained from introducing new restrictions on the freedom of establishment and freedom to provide services

* *Association Council, the Decision of 1/80 and Article 7*
Legal employees have the right to have their permission to work automatically renewed and to have their right of residence renewed in line with their right to work
Rights of employment for the family of the migrant

6. CONCLUSION

1. How is the Turkish perspective shaped by the previous experience of Turkey with Europe in terms of labor migration?

Doubts about the link between migration and origin country development

2. To what extent does newly introduced circular migration differ from the old temporary labor programs?

Focus on migration as an individual choice rather than a development channel

3. How are the lessons learned from Turkish labor migration experience currently used to prevent the “old” mistakes?

Protection of migrant rights is central to State's positioning with regards to migration

4. What are the “new” challenges foreseen by the Turkish authorities? And, how are they dealt with currently?

Incompatibility of circular migration with the binding agreements between Turkey and Europe