

Doç. Dr. M. Murat ERDOĞAN AICGS Visiting Fellow Hacettepe University (Ankara) Director of Migration and Politics Research Center -HUGO



Turkish Diaspora in Europe & Euro-Turks Barometer Surveys



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HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
GÖÇ VE SİVASET ARAŞTIRMALARI MERKEZİ
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"we demanded workers, they sent human beings"

(Max Frisch)



	Country	Labor Export Agreement	Turkish Population (estm.)
_	Germany	1961	3,000,000
	France	1965	440,000
	Netherlands	1964	390,000
	Belgien	1964	250,000
38	United Kingdom	1959	200,000
=	Austria	1964	205,000
•	Switzerland	1969	120,000
==	Denmark	1970	60,000
	Sweden	1967	60,000
#=	Norway	-	16,000
+	Finland	-	10,000
	Total		4,651,000



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Agreements for "GASTARBEITER"

Labour recruitment and social security agreements between Turkey and European states ^[2]				
Country	Labour recruitment agreement, date and place	Social security agreement, date and place		
Austria	15 May 1964, Vienna	12 October 1966, Vienna		
Belgium	16 July 1964, Brussels	4 July 1966, Brussels		
■ Denmark		13 November 1970, Ankara		
France	8 May 1965, Ankara	20 January 1972, Paris		
Germany	30 October 1961, Bonn (was revised by the 20 May protocol, Bonn)	30 April 1964, Bonn		
Netherlands	19 August 1964, The Hague	5 April 1966, Ankara		
Sweden	10 March 1967, Stockholm	30 June 1978, Stockholm		
Switzerland		1 May 1969, Ankara		
United Kingdom		9 September 1959, Ankara		

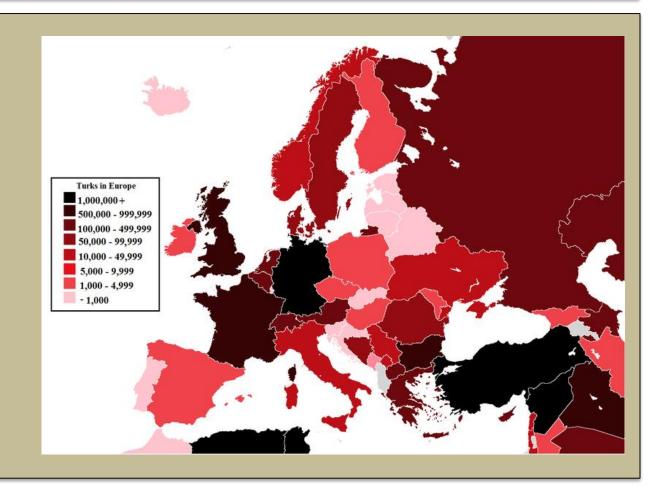


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"acı vatan"

"painful homeland"





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EURO-TURKS BAROMETER

Country	Number of Subjects
Germany	1012
France	405
Holland	403
Austria	413
Other countries	401
Total subjects	2635





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EURO-TURKS BAROMETER

ETB study is held on 5 basic topics:

- The profile of Turks in Europe
- Their approach to integration and discrimination politics
- Their political attention and participation
- Their perception of identity
- Other issues (EU, media)



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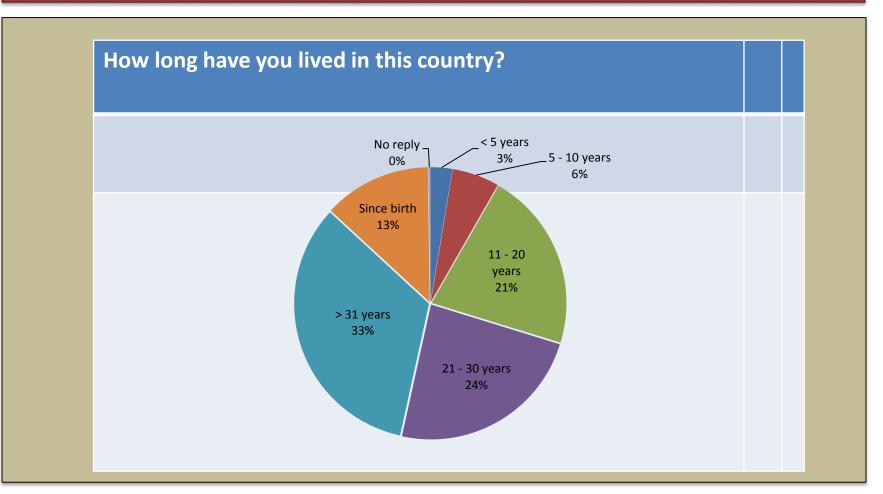
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DURATION of RESIDENCE

The population of people of Turkish origin in Europe has become an integral part of Europe. The duration of residence is the primary indicator of this. 91% of the population with Turkish origins, who still reside in Europe, were either born there or have been living there for more than 11 years.









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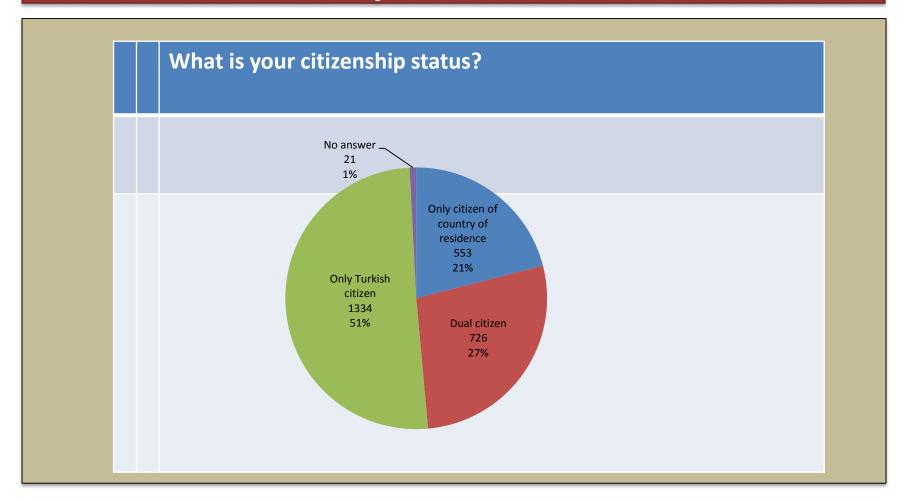


CITIZENSHIP

Half of the people of Turkish origin living in Europe today (2.5 million) have citizenship of the country they live in and thereby of the EU. Approximately half of this population also retains citizenship of the Republic of Turkey. This is a clear expression of the transnational migrant identity.









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MEDIA

- The population of Turkish origin living in Europe follows world events through Turkish media (TV Channels) by using technological devices.
- Despite the variations in number, particularly among the younger population, almost all results obviously illustrate that Turkish media is quite influential upon them.



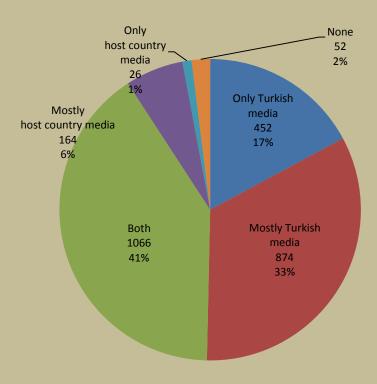




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Which media do you follow?





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TURKEY-EU RELATIONS:

- People of Turkish origin living in Europe do not seem optimistic regarding Turkey's accession to the EU, and their support in this respect is rather limited. This picture is quite similar to that in Turkey.
- It is noteworthy that those who are European citizens are more skeptical about Turkey's EU accession.
- It can be inferred that the euro crisis and recent developments in Turkey play a major role in their considerations.



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TURKEY-EU RELATIONS: AN IMPORTANT PART OF INTEGRATION "EUROPA OHNE TURKEY"

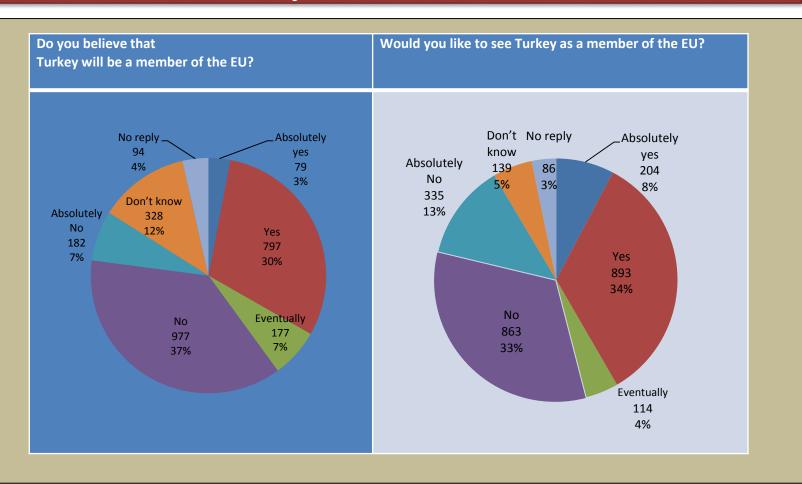
CAN BE

"EUROPA OHNE TURKS"











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DEBATES OF INTEGRATION:

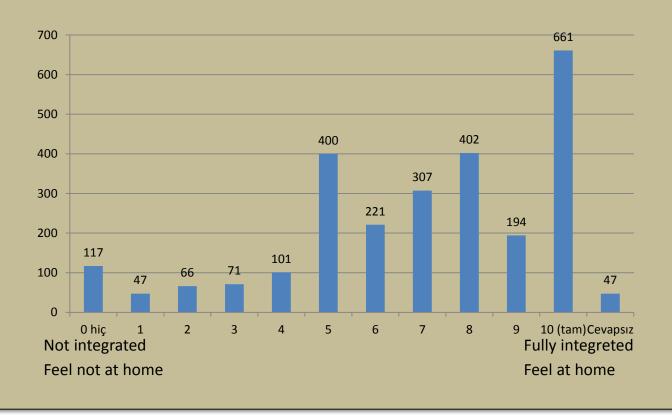
- People of Turkish origin living in Europe do not see any problem in their integration into their country of residence.
- 82.5% or more believe that they are integrated into the society in which they live.
- Indeed, Turks believe that their efforts at integration are sufficient and the discussion over the topic does not reflect upon them. In other words, obeying the law and administrative and social order and being a burden to the society is enough.
- However, the resistance to assimilation, especially in Germany, is remarkable.





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POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF POPULATION WITH TURKISH ORIGIN IN EUROPE: "DIVIDED-DIVERSIFIED PREFERENCES"

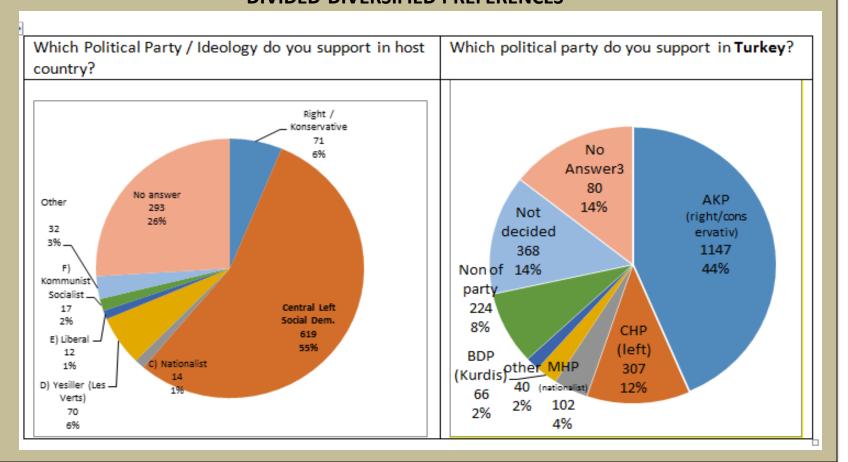
The survey illustrates that the political preferences of the people of Turkish origin in Europe are quite different from those they have in Turkey. While they usually support the political parties whose ideologies are leftist, socialist, or green in the country they live in, they support conservative center-right political parties in Turkey. This observation could be explained by the special identity and needs of transnational migrants. However, it can also illustrate that people can have more than one political identity. This does not necessarily constitute a dissonance but rather a rational choice.





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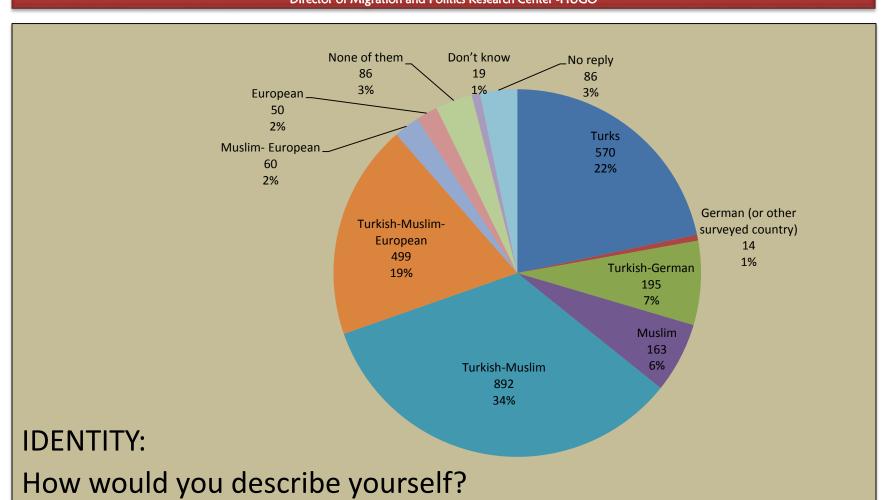
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BELONGING/IDENTITY/DIASPORIZATION/MULTICULTURALITY:

The data recorded by the EURO-TURKS BAROMETER 2013 survey can be qualified as clues for diasporization. For example, despite the definite increase in settlement/permanent residence, emphasis on "belonging" to Turkey is strengthened. More importantly, people of Turkish origin state that they embrace multicultural identity. Herein the remarkable issue is: Turks in Europe believe that they are highly integrated, and they accept the host countries as their "own" countries. However, their answer to the question of, "How do you define yourself?" is clearly, "Turk and Muslim." Furthermore, the fraction of the people who define themselves as German, French, or Belgian is not even close to 1%. In this regard, we observe that the Turkish identity is very important.





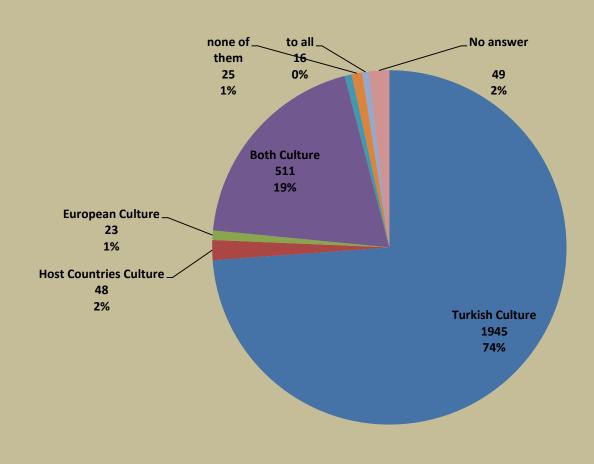




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How close are you to what culture?





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DISCRIMINATION POLICIES IN EUROPE AND THE POPULATION WITH TURKISH ORIGIN:

The survey results consistently emphasize that they are exposed to discrimination. Although they do not directly encounter discrimination, the common perception insists on the existence of discrimination. Undoubtedly, this is a perception; however, the processes construct this perception and also lead the perception and the reality to intertwine.



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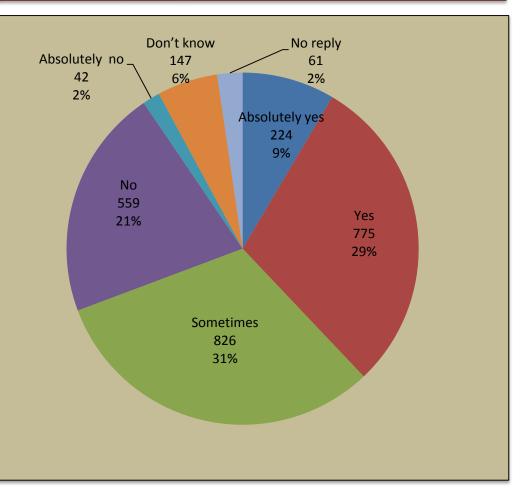




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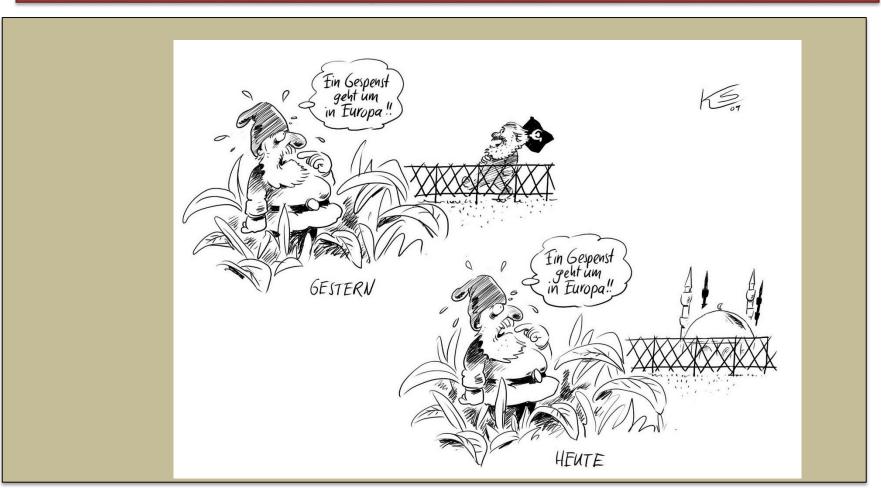


Do you believe that there is discrimination against Muslims in Germany (or other surveyed country)?











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EURO-TURKS-BAROMETER – COUNTRY SURVEYS: GERMANY 2011

Neo-Nazi Murders



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HUGO conducted an opinion survey which reveals thoughts, suspicions, and predictions of Turks in Germany regarding the extremist attacks of the Neo-Nazi group "NSU."





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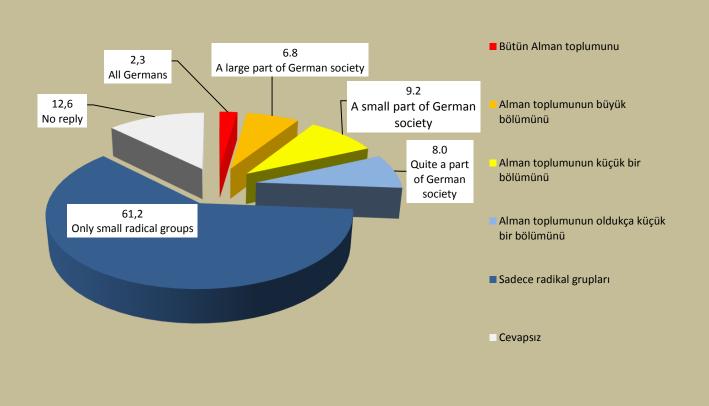
The research reveals that people of Turkish origin in Germany evaluate the Neo-Nazi murders objectively. Despite the fact that Turks were the target of these transgressions, they differentiate between the perpetrators and German society at large, and they refrain from making accusations. A majority of the Turks (78%) associates the murders not with German society, but with only a small/radical group. The statement, "It is the whole of German society that is responsible for the murders" is affirmed by only 2.3% of Turks and the statement, "A large part of German society" only by 6.78%.



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Who is responsible for the murders?



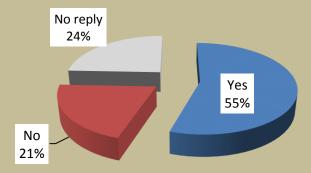


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The trust of the Turks, who do differentiate between German society and Neo-Nazi groups, in the German state is broken. The statement, "In your opinion, were the murderers supported or protected by the German State?" is affirmed by 55% and negated by 20.66%. It is remarkable that the number of Turks who did not answer the question is 24.37%.

Were the murderers supported or protected by the German government?





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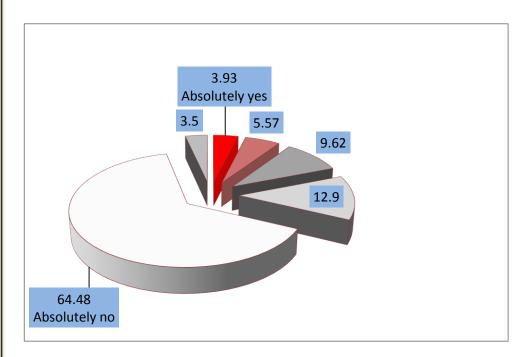


Despite believing the aggression targeting Turks to be to some extent protected by the state, people of Turkish origin underline their intention to remain in Germany permanently.

The efforts aimed at intimidating Turks and portraying the murders as a result of conflict between Turks and German society seem to be ineffective. The proposition, "Do you want to leave Germany and go back to Turkey" is answered as, "Definitely, I will return to Turkey" by 3.93%. Fully 77.38% of Turks are determined to stay in Germany.

In other words, any strategies of intimidating Turks into returning to their homeland are not coming to fruition.

Do you want to leave Germany and return to Turkey due to the series of murders?





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EURO-TURKS BAROMETER – COUNTRY SURVEYS: GERMANY 2013

Bundestag Election 2013



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EURO-TURKS BAROMETER BUNDESTAGSWAHL SPECIAL

"Political Behavior and Preferences of German Citizens of Turkish Origin in the German Parliamentary (BUNDESTAG) Election"





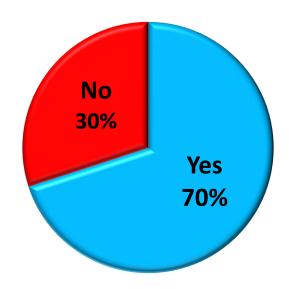




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- The research into "Political Behavior and Preferences of German Citizens of Turkish Origin in the German Parliamentary (BUNDESTAG) Election" returned important results to understand the political participation of Turks in Germany. One of the significant aspects of the research is whether a correlation exists between German politicians' discourse on Turkey and the behavior of Turkish voters.
- The rate of political participation by people of Turkish origin is quite high. Roughly 600,000 of 900,000 eligible voters went to the polls.



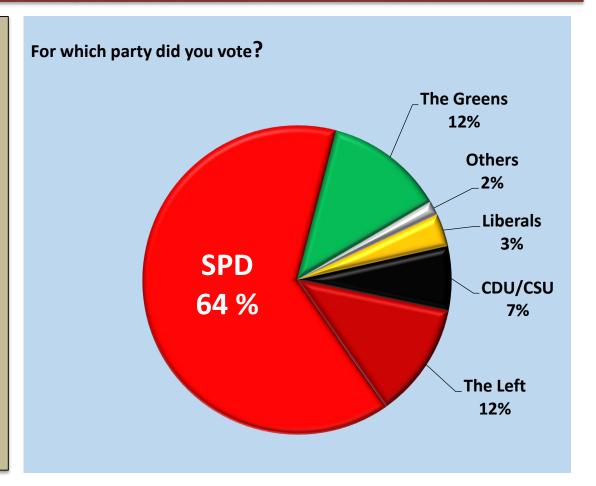
Did you vote in the Bundestag Election in September 2013?



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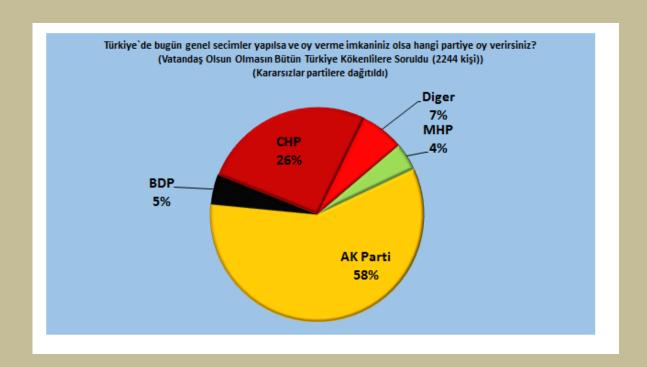
Social Democrats have the political support of the majority of Turks in Germany. They received 64% of the total votes cast by people of Turkish origin. The next most popular are the Left and Green parties. However, compared to the previous elections, Greens lost much of their support as their share dropped from 29% to 12%. The percentage of votes cast for CDU/CSU stays consistently around 5-6%.





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- Turks in Germany are very enthusiastic about voting also in the Turkish general election.
- In the most recent general election in Turkey, the AKP received 58% of votes, the CHP 26%, the BDP 5%, and MHP 4%.





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TURKS ABROAD and THE TURKISH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 8/10/2014







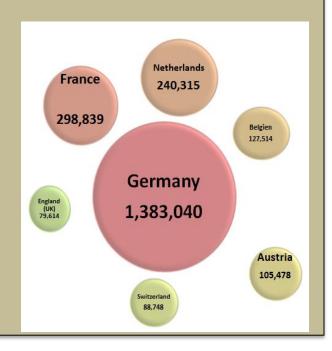


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ELIGIBLE TURKISH VOTERS IN EUROPE for TURKISH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Turkish Population and Number of Turkish Voters in 11 European Countries					
	Country	Turkish Population	Number of Votes		
		(estm.)	(08/10/2014)		
	Germany	3,100,000	1,383,040		
	France	450,000	298,839		
	Netherlands	400,000	240,315		
	Belgien	250,000	127,514		
2 2	United Kingdom	200,000	79,614		
	Austria	185,000	105,478		
+	Switzerland	120,000	88,748		
	Denmark	80,000	31,180		
	Sweden	60,000	34,991		
#=	Norway	16,000	7,666		
+	Finland	10,000	3,839		
	Total	4,871,000	2,401,224		





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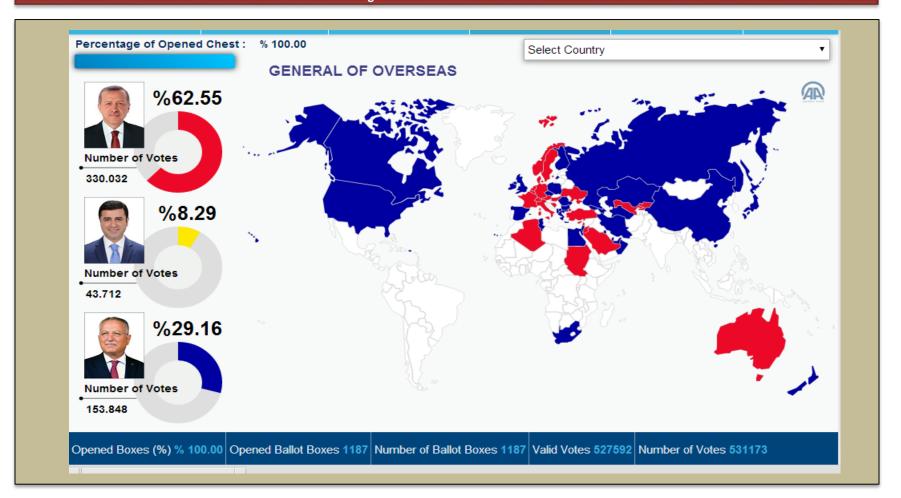
The presidential election of August 10, 2014 was the first one to be held nationally, decided by popular vote. Another "first" in this election was the fact that Turkish citizens living abroad were also able to vote by regular ballot in their country of residence.

2,734,429 Turkish voters abroad

4.8 % of 52 million total voters



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ETB-EUROPEAN VOTES (11 COUNTRIES)		ERDOGAN	DEMİRTAS	IHSANOGLU	Participation rate
Total Votes: 2,401,224 (85.8% of total votes from abroad)					
Cast Votes: 190,904	%	67,0	10,1	22,0	7,91
Valid Votes: 188,046	VOTE	126,014	19,285	42,747	



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		R.TAYYİP	SELAHATTIN	EKMELETTIN	PARTICIPATIONS
		ERDOGAN	DEMİRTAŞ	İHSANOĞLU	RATE %
TURKEY	%	51,79	9,76	38,44	74,13
(TURKEY+ABROAD-	VOTE	21,000,143	3,958,048	15,587, 720	
COSTUM STATIONS)					
TV: 55,692,841					
UV: 41,283,627					
VV: 40,545,911					
TURKEY (IN TURKEY)	%	20,670,826	3,914,359	15,434,167	77,05
TV: 52,894,115	VOTE		***************************************		
UV: 40,753,492					
VV: 40,019,352					
***************************************	0.		0 ==	27	0.77
ABROAD	%	62.30	9,78	27,92	8,29
UV: 232,795	VOTE	143,873	22,582	64,483	
VV: 230,938					
COSTUM STATIONS	%	62,74	7,14	30,12	10,65
UV: 297,340	VOTE	185,444	21,107	89,070	
VV: 295,621		,	,	,	
OVERCEAS (TOTAL)	%	220 217	42.600	150 510	10.04
OVERSEAS (TOTAL)		329,317	43,689	153,513	18,94
TV: 2,798,726	VOTE	62,52	8,46	29,02	
UV: 530,135					
VV: 526,559					
TOTAL	%	67,02	10,25	22,7	7,15
(11 EUROPEAN	VOTE	126,014	19,285	42,747	188,046
•					
COUNTRIES)					

*					
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *					
votes)					
TV: 2,401,224 UV: 190,904 VV: 188,046 (85,8 % of all overseas votes)					

		R.TAYYİP ERDOGAN	SELAHATTİN DEMİRTAŞ	EKMELETTİN İHSANOĞLU	PARTICIPATIONS RATE %
GERMANY TV: 1,383,040 UV:112,705 VV: 111.933	% VOTE	68,63 76,219	7,62 8,467	23,74 26,365	8,15 111,051
FRANCE TV: 298,839 UV:24,970 VV: 24,748	% VOTE	66,10 16,243	18,65 4,583	15,25 3,747	8,4 24,573
NETHERLANDS TV: 240,315 UV: 17,338 VV: 17,189	% VOTE	77,95 13,385	3,97 681	18,09 3,106	7,2 17,172
BELGIEN TV: 127,514 UV:8,067 VV:8,013	VOTE	70,08 5,453	9,02 702	20,90 1,626	6,3 77,81
AUSTRIA TV: 105,478 UV:10,507 VV: 10,425	VOTE	80,18 8,398	4,87 510	14,95 1,566	10,0 10,474
SWITZERLAND TV: 88,748 UV:8,790 VV:8,715	% VOTE	39,62 3,453	28,49 2,483	31,89 2,779	9,9 8,715
ENGLAND (UK) TV: 79,614 UV: 5,105 VV:5,078	% VOTE	23,53 1,195	26,74 1,358	49,72 2,525	6,4 5,087



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- Technical deficiencies are not an adequate explanation for the low participation in and ignorance about the election.
- In Europe, promotion for participation in the election was organized by NGO and civil society organizations. However, it is clearly observed that NGOs have insufficient influence to effectively rally Turkish people to participate in the elections.
- The enthusiasm for participating in the election was reduced by the belief that Erdogan would definitely win and that Ihsanoglu could not make an impact.
- 80% of the Turks abroad have been away from Turkey for 20 years. The ignorance about Turkey's election can also be interpreted as a positive choice in favor of political participation in their country of residence. In the research pertaining to the 2013 Bundestag election, HUGO observed that 70% of Turks went to the polls. Thus, we infer an increase in political participation of Turks abroad in the country of residence parallel to their decreasing participation in Turkey.



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The 2014 presidential election provided clear evidence of a difference between the attitudes and tendencies of Turks abroad toward political engagement in their host countries and in Turkey. Most Turks, who are labeled as "migrant" or "of migrant origin," show great interest in the politics of their host country, which should not be interpreted as a negative sign but as a sign of comprehensive integration.





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Turks in Europe constitute a significant dynamic that transfers material and spiritual support to Turkey and affects its relations with Germany and EU. People of Turkish origin who live in Europe are present in every sphere of public life in Europe and a very productive component of society. It is undeniably the case that, as Muslims, Turks abroad have experienced additional problems after 9/11. However, their political attentiveness and participation in their countries of residence have intensified.



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"Ben her halükarda finaldeyim!" (2010 Avrupa Futbol Şampiyonası Türkiye-Almanya Yarı Final Maçı Öncesi - Martin Erl, Traunsteiner Tageblatt 2008)