



## **Turkish Migration Studies Group at Oxford University (TurkMiS)**

Convenor: Franck Düvell, COMPAS

This document aims to present the research carried out at Oxford University, across the various departments, colleges and institutes and beyond, on migration from, to and through Turkey and its vicinity as well as related politics in the fields of migration, refugees, European affairs and international relations.

The case of Turkey is particularly relevant to EU countries for three reasons. First, Turkey is a major sending country and increasingly also a receiving country of migrants and refugees. In addition, it is transited by significant numbers of often irregular migrants from many parts of the world. Second, Turkey is on the brink of a demographic transition and its population will start ageing soon which will change the determinants of internal as well as international migration. Third, Turkey is a candidate country of the European Union and migration potential, amongst other issues, is a cause of concern for the EU.

The Turkish Migration Studies Group (TurkMiS) aims to cluster research conducted at Oxford and beyond to present what is known, identify knowledge gaps and encourage subsequent research. For this purpose the studies group will link up with others researchers across Europe and in Turkey.

This document is work in progress and will be regularly updated with new research, new members and new publications.

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## Studying Migration from, to and through Turkey: The Context

Franck Düvell, COMPAS<sup>1</sup>

Five major aspects characterise Turkey's position in the European migration order and inspire discourses on migration. First, Turkey is a major sending country, and increasingly also a receiving country, of migrants. In addition, it is transited by significant numbers of often irregular migrants from many parts of the world. Second, Turkey is undergoing a demographic transition and its population is changing. Third, Turkey is a candidate country of the European Union whilst also becoming a regional power. Fourth, Turkey's economy is constantly growing which is contributing to changes in the migration determinants. And last, but not least, Turkey's role in the world and its international relations are changing.

### *The Migration Axis*

Until the 1990s, Turkey was commonly referred to as an emigration country. Indeed, Turkey was the main recruitment ground for guest workers to Northern European countries. Whilst the overwhelming majority, around 80 percent, returned those who stayed in their host country were often joined by their families. During the 1980s and 1990s, Turkey was also a significant refugee generating country of politically left-leaning Turks and of ethnic Kurds.

In Europe there are around 3.7 million Turks. They are now, however, a homogeneous people. Instead, what is commonly referred to as 'Turks' are indeed 2.481 million Turkish passport holders, and the remaining 1.271 million are nationals of an EU country, hence ethnic Turks. And whilst the overwhelming majority are migrants, there are also 146,000 refugees originating from Turkey, and most live in the EU (UNHCR 2010). Furthermore, whilst the majority are ethnically Turks, large proportions are Kurds from Turkey and there are also some ethnic Arabs amongst this population. Therefore, Turks are more accurately referred to as Turkish nationals and EU nationals of Turkish, Kurdish and similar descent. Finally, Turks and Kurds are religiously diverse, Sunni represent the largest group, Alevi are the largest minority, but another significant religious minority are the Yazidi.

**Table 1: Turks in EU Countries<sup>30</sup> (thousands) (2004)**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Turkish nationals</b>	<b>Naturalised</b>
<b>Germany</b>	2,642	1,912	730
<b>France</b>	370	196	174
<b>Netherlands</b>	270	96	174
<b>Austria</b>	200	120	80
<b>Belgium</b>	110	67	43
<b>UK</b>	70	37	33
<b>Denmark</b>	53	39	14
<b>Sweden</b>	37	14	23
<b>Total</b>	3,752	2,481	1,271

Report of the Independent Commission on Turkey, *Europe: More than a promise?* 2004.

Turkey also is an immigration country. From 1923 to 1997, more than 1.6 million people immigrated to Turkey, mostly from Balkan countries (Kirisci 2003). In 2000, the date of the latest census (Turkish immigration statistics are notoriously poor or inexistent), there were 1.278.671 foreign-born residents in Turkey, about one quarter of which were from EU countries (State Institute of Statistics 2003). In 2008, only 185,715 resident permits were recorded (Icduygu and Yüksekler 2011), and 163,326 were recorded in 2009 (IOM 2010). Recently, re-migration<sup>2</sup> of ethnic Turks, notably from Germany, has

<sup>1</sup> With inputs from Martin Lemberg-Petersen, Meral Açıkgöz and Cameroon Thibos.

<sup>2</sup> In contrast to return migration of foreign people returning to their country of origin, here re-migration (sometimes also referred to as ethnic migration) refers to members of ethnic minorities born in their host country but migrating to the country of origin of their parents or ancestors.

been highlighted by the media. Some sources suggest that Turkish-German migration is already negative and that more people migrate to Turkey than vice versa (Deutsche Welle 2011).

Turkey also receives increasing numbers of migrants and refugees from many other parts of the world. From 1997 to 2007, 56,600 people had applied for asylum and a further 13,000 people in 2008. In January 2010, there were 10,350 refugees, 5,987 asylum seekers and 2,739 stateless persons in Turkey. Whilst refugees mainly come from other countries in the Middle East, such as Iraq, Afghanistan and Iran, smaller numbers also arrive from crisis ridden countries in Africa, Asia and Central Asia. Also labour migrants arrive from various EU and non-EU countries, such as Bulgaria, Moldova, Ukraine and Russia (all data from Icduygu and Yökseker 2011, UNHCR 2010). Moreover, Turkey has become a popular destination for European retirees, in particularly from the UK, Germany, the Netherlands and Scandinavia.

In addition, Turkey has become a prominent stepping stone for migrants coming from further afield who either stay irregularly or aim to get to the European Union. Between 1995 and 2009, 794,937 irregular immigrants were apprehended (IOM 2010, also see Icduygu and Yökseker 2011). In 2008, the EU border agency Frontex (2009) reported the apprehension of 29,100 migrants on the borders between Greece and Turkey. Irregular migration peaked in 2000, then decreased but reached crisis levels in 2010 when, during the first nine month of the year, 34,000 individuals arrived on the borders of Turkey with Greece (Frontex 2010). Transit migrants gather in Istanbul as well as along the Aegean coast, such as in Izmir from where they try to cross the sea to get to a Greek island or they cross the river Evros in the north to get to mainland Greece. Only small numbers seem to cross the border into Bulgaria (Icduygu and Yökseker 2011, Düvell 2011).

One reason for this phenomenon is that the EU has closed other Europe-bound migration routes in the Atlantic Ocean, the Western and Central Mediterranean. Therefore, the Turkish-Greek border region has become one of the last loopholes for irregular entrants to Europe. Another reason is that Turkey applies geographical limitations to the 1951 Geneva Convention which excludes non-European citizens from asylum. Migrants, refugees and asylum are largely excluded from any rights and provisions. NGOs even report various violations of refugee and human rights (e.g. Amnesty International 2008). This compels refugees in particular to move on to the EU.

Irregular transit migration has added another dimension of security politics to the geopolitical interactions between Turkey, the European Union and its member states, which has direct implications for the Turkish politics of migration. The EU's efforts to include Turkey into the union's external dimension of asylum policy lead to the upgrading of Turkish asylum, detention and deportation capacities through various EU economic instruments<sup>3</sup>. Turkey's role as an accession country to the EU makes the Turkish-EU relations, although in some areas similar, distinct from EU activities with other third countries such as Ukraine, Morocco and Libya.

In response to some of these developments and in accordance with Turkey's EU accession negotiations (see below) the country is successively changing or introducing relevant policies and practices. Recently, the Bureau on Development and Implementation of Legislation on Asylum and Immigration and Administrative Capacity, under the Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior has worked to prepare legal reforms, previously indicated in the National Programmes of Turkey for the Adoption of the EU acquis, and the 2005 Asylum and Migration National Action Plan. The Asylum Law, the Law on Foreigners, Framework Law on Counter Trafficking and the Institutional Law will be submitted to Turkish Parliament in 2011 for approval though it seems unlikely that Turkey will lift its geographic limitation on refugees.

To sum up, migration from, to and through Turkey is more diverse than commonly assumed. Thus, Turkey is now more correctly referred to as an emigration, immigration and transit country. Indeed,

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<sup>3</sup> Such as Aeneas, the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA), the Technical Assistance and Information Exchange Instrument (TAIEX).

net migration to Turkey was probably already positive in 2009 and 2010 (CIA 2010a). On the other hand, policy struggles to acknowledge this and is lagging behind with regards to implementing appropriate policies.

### *The Demographic Axis*

From 1950 to 2000 Turkey's population grew by 30 million to an estimated 75 million<sup>4</sup> and it is projected that it will continue to grow until it stabilizes (and probably starts decreasing) around 2050 at 88-90 million (Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies 2008, OECD 2010c)). By around 2025, fertility rates will have fallen to or below replacement level but because life expectancy will increase Turkey's population will continue to grow until around 2050 but will be ageing.

Demographic developments in Turkey are uneven and the country is characterised by an East-West divide and a growing East and an ageing West. This is also likely to have consequences for internal migration. Due to the ageing populations in the West, demand for labour will increase and some of this will be at least partially met by labour force supplies from Eastern Turkey. In other words, some of the population growth will be absorbed internally.

By 2025, only eight of the 27 EU countries and 18 Eastern European and former Soviet Union countries will enjoy natural population growth, including Turkey. Thus any policy that considers replacement migration as a response to its ageing and shrinking populations will only be able to regionally draw on a small number of countries where populations are still young and growing.

### *The Political Axis of Turkey-EU Relations*

Turkey is a European Union candidate country, though its prospective membership is hotly contested, notably by Germany, Austria and France. As early as 1963, Turkey became an associate country; but only in 1987 did the government apply for EEC membership and in 2005, once the EU accepted that the Copenhagen criteria were fulfilled were accession negotiations finally opened (European Commission 2005). The main objections to Turkey's EU membership are diverse: (a) Turkey is a Muslim country and it is argued that therefore it cannot be integrated easily into a predominantly Christian EU; (b) the perceived considerable migration potential to the EU; (c) the continuing occupation of Northern Cyprus; (d) incomplete implementation of fundamental rights, including rule of law, freedom of expression, freedom of religion; (e) the position of ethnic and religious minorities, notably Kurds and Christians; and (f) the unresolved issue of large-scale killing of Armenians, often referred to as 'genocide'. Not all of the arguments brought forward are necessarily rational or well founded but nevertheless have significant discursive power.

Meanwhile, in Turkey aspirations for an EU membership seem to be fading (AFP 2010). Instead, certain developments suggest that, alternatively, Turkey is exploring new paths in its international relations. Notably, the government has enhanced its relations with its Middle Eastern neighbours, increasing its weight amongst the Muslim world, building on its relations with some Central Asian and African countries and seeking to become a regional leader (e.g. Traynor 2010). These trends are further spurred by Turkey's 'deteriorating dynamics of this once-strategic partnership with America' as an observer suggests (Taspinar 2010). Thus, Turkey seems to take on a new role in international relations that leaves behind the EU membership perspective as well as the Turkish-US partnership.

Another contested aspect is the role and integration of Turkish nationals and ethnic Turks and Kurds in the EU. Notably in Germany, Turks are often associated with 'failed integration' or even with 'a refusal to integrate' and thus blamed for the problems in this policy arena. Meanwhile, the Turkish government is sending mixed messages. In 2008 and March 2010, the Prime Minister Erdoğan appealed to Turks in Germany not to assimilate whilst in October 2010, the Turkish foreign minister Gül encouraged Turks in Germany to integrate (Grossland 2008, Today's Zaman 2010).

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<sup>4</sup> Rank 5 of the OECD countries, behind USA, Japan, Mexico and Germany.

### *The Economic Axis*

Over the past 30 years Turkey's economy has changed drastically. In 1970, 87 percent of exports were agricultural products (Krueger 1974) whereas now 51.3 percent of Turkish exports are intermediate goods, such as vehicle parts, and another 35.6 percent are consumption goods (Türkstat 2010). From 2000 to 2008 Turkey's GDP rose by 80 percent and is, for example, 50 percent higher than the GDP of Poland<sup>5</sup>. In the same period foreign direct investment (FDI) has increased ten-fold. After the shock of the 2009 crises Turkey is now strongly recovering. According to latest OECD reports 'Turkey's economic growth is likely to be among the strongest of OECD countries in 2010, supported by financial stability, international investor confidence and a dynamic business sector', GDP growth is expected at 6 percent and 'unemployment [2008: 9.8%] is likely to fall markedly' (OECD 2010a).

So far, employment rates are low, 60 percent for men, 20 percent for women and 46 percent in Total.

'Economy fails to make satisfactory use of its labour resources. Employment in industry and services does not grow strongly enough to absorb the rapidly growing working-age population and the high rate of migration from rural areas. Consequently, the employment rate, at just above 40%, remains the lowest in the OECD area' (OECD 2010b: 8).

Thus, at present neither natives or immigrants are absorbed by the labour markets in sufficient levels, it seems. However, according to the OECD there is further huge potential for economic and thus employment growth provided that labour, product and finance market regulations are reformed.

Migrants' remittances peaked in 1999 at around \$6,500 million, decreased considerably to \$729 million in 2003 but increased again to \$1,200 million in 2007 amounting to still only 0.3 per cent of GDP (Icduygu 2006, World Bank 2008). Most of the decline, however, is due to changes in the accounting rules or goes uncounted, as foreign exchange and private FX transfers, thus the drop in remittances is mostly of a technical nature. Remittances are now mostly included in the 'net errors and omissions' which 'mainly reflect capital repatriation by residents' (European Commission 2009).

Where Turkey stands on the scale of socio-economic progress is disputed. Some sources categorise Turkey as a developing country (World Bank 2008) whilst other sources categorise Turkey as an 'upper middle income country' (World Bank 2008), 'a developed country' (CIA 2010b) or a 'high human development' country (rank 83) (UNDP 2010).

### *Changing International Relations*

Over the past years and due to complex relations with the EU, the US, the 'western bloc' and the Islamic countries in the Middle East Turkey's international relations and with it its geopolitical ambitions are subject to change.

For decades Turkey was exclusively aligning with the West, but after integration with the EU faced increasing objections from within some EU member states Turkey begun independently exploring further options and alternatives, in particular under its conservative Islam government (Aydintasbas 2009, Barysch 2010, Cohen 2010, Pabst 2010). It began to develop additional relations with Russia, Syria, Iran and Iraq and generally within other Islam countries whilst its previously close relations with Israel became tense. Also, the increasing focus on the security dimension of migration flows to, through and from Turkey is affecting the country's relationships with its geographic neighbours.

Thereby, its foreign policy has moved from a one-axis to a two-axis approach; in the meantime, Turkey has become an important regional player. This has puzzled the US and other Western forces. Turkey's soft powers, confidence and ambitions are seen critically by some and sometimes dubbed

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<sup>5</sup> On the OECD scale Turkey ranks 26th out of 40 countries

as neo-Ottomanism. This claim, however, is probably a populist mixture of simplifying and denouncing Turkey's foreign policy as backward, hegemonic, expansive and potentially imperial. How all this will continue will be exciting to study.

### *Conclusion*

Three social-geographical frontiers run through Turkey: (A) The net migration frontier, positive net-migration countries are situated south of this frontier, negative net-migration countries are situated to the south. (B) The ageing frontier, in the north and east there are countries with ageing and shrinking populations, in the south we have countries still displaying population growth. Turkey is yet on the positive side but will change position in the decades to come. (C) There is a transit migration frontier, and Turkey is a major transit country for migrants from poorer and conflict-ridden southern countries moving north. Turkey is emerging as a link between diverse migration systems, notably between Turkey and EU countries and between Turkey and Middle Eastern, Maghreb and Sub-Saharan as well as some Central Asian and South Asian countries.

There are significant policy challenges regarding (1) managing migration from, to and through Turkey, (2) the challenges of the population transition in Europe including Turkey, (3) the relations between Turkey, the EU and its other neighbours, (4) political reforms as to secure stability, (5) economic and the expansion of the Turkish labour market and (6) the integration of Turks in various EU member states. In order to address these challenges a sound knowledge base is required and TurkMiS hopes to be able to contribute to this.

Map: Turkey and migration frontiers



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## **Research Conducted at Oxford University and beyond On Migration from, to and through Turkey**

Franck Düvell, COMPAS, Oxford, Senior Researcher,

- *“Transit migration on the Fringes of Europe: the cases of Ukraine and Turkey”*
- *“Eumagine: Imagining Europe from the Outside. The Cases of Ukraine, Turkey, Senegal and Morocco” (chair: Christiane Timmerman, Antwerp University, project leader Turkey: Ahmet Icduygu, Koc University, Istanbul).*

Kristen Biehl, Anthropology/COMPAS, Oxford, DPhil student,

- *“Inhabiting Spaces of Displacement: Materiality, affect and place-making practices in a neighbourhood of migrants in Istanbul” (provisional title)*

Yasemin Akis, METU, Ankara, PhD student, visiting fellow,

- *“Transit migration and socio-economic incorporation of Iranian refugees”*

Cameron Thibos, QEH, Oxford, D.Phil student,

- *“The Transnational Political Practices of Turkish Migrants in the United States and the United Kingdom”*

Esra Kaytaz, Anthropology/COMPAS, Oxford, D.Phil student,

- *“Risk-Taking in Transit: The Case of Afghan Migrants in Turkey”*

Onur Unutulmaz, COMPAS, Oxford, D.Phil student,

- *“Organized Amateur Football and Turkish-Speaking Immigrants in London: Immigrant Identities, Integration and Political Economy”*

Meral Açıkgöz, International Organization for Migration (IOM), Istanbul, COMPAS visiting fellow (2010),

- *“The Role of Cities in Social Inclusion of International Migrants: Comparative Study of Urban Governance and Local Social Policy Structures in London and Istanbul”*

Ayşe Özdemir, COMPAS, Oxford, MSc student,

- *“Second generation migrants visiting their parental hometown and social capital formation” (provisional title)*

Martin Lemberg-Pedersen, Center for the Study of Equality and Multiculturalism (CESEM), Institute for Media, Cognition and Communication, University of Copenhagen, Ph.D. Fellow,

- *“Bordering Europe: Power, Discourses and Consequences”*

Rebecca Adams Brubaker, International Development Studies, University of Oxford, DPhil student,

- *“not yet specified”*

John McManus, MPhil in Modern Middle Eastern Studies, Oxford,

- *“Sport, diaspora and transnational identities, particularly among Turks and Turkey” (provisional)*

## **Project Briefs**

## **At the fringes of Europe: transit migration in Ukraine and Turkey**

FRANCK DÜVELL, senior researcher, COMPAS, University of Oxford

### **Synopsis**

Focusing on migrants and refugees, civil society organizations and government agencies, this study aims to explore the interrelation between transitory movements, refugees and legal restrictions, in order to identify the conditions that determine transit migration.

### **Background**

It is observed that migrants and refugees transit Central and Eastern Europe and Turkey, often irregularly, on their way to the European Union. Their arrival is then recorded in various EU countries, such as Slovakia, Hungary and Greece. Some will travel on to other EU destinations, others will apply for asylum and some will be returned. These phenomena have become a major policy concern. Simultaneously, the conditions of migrants stranded in transit countries, or losing their lives in desperate attempts to depart from such countries raise serious human rights concerns. For various reasons transit migrants even whilst upholding the aspiration to move on often become involuntary immigrants. The EU and its neighbours - the latter often responding to EU policy pressure – aim to enhance immigration controls and stop transit migrants. As a result, migration controls are externalized. On the other hand, migrants are increasingly jeopardising their lives by choosing dangerous deviating routes to reach their final destination. For a number of reasons, the issue is as politicized as it is blurred and categories such as forced migration, illegal migration, smuggling, trafficking and immigration, are often confused.

### **Aims and objectives**

The COMPAS research cluster on 'The dynamics of migration' will focus on the institutions, practices, relationships and networks that shape experiences of life on the move, investigating how their interplay and dynamics influence the outcomes of migration in sending, transit and destination countries.

This particular project focuses on transit migration to Europe and the expansion of the European migration regime, from core countries to their immediate neighbours taking Ukraine as a case study.

The case study aims to investigate seven key areas:

- (1) Social, economic and political conditions that encourage or force migrants to leave Ukraine and move on, or that prevent them from reaching their final destination, specifically, interactions between migration controls and immigrants' strategies.
- (2) Decision-making processes in course of complex migration trajectories, changing aims and directions and the particular timing of decision making.
- (3) Migration networks, systems and transnational ethnic corridors that facilitate transit migration.
- (4) The geography of transit migration, e.g. transit zones, hubs and bottlenecks.
- (5) Living and working conditions; interaction with host society, citizens and agencies; survival strategies in transit countries, and potential social and human rights.
- (6) The nexus between transit migration and asylum, as well as between irregular migration and smuggling.
- (7) The expansion of the EU asylum and migration regime, key actors and policy processes, and the implementation and enforcement of advanced migration control policies, including practices of detention and deportation in transit countries.

### **Methods**

This is a multi-perspective, multi-disciplinary and multi-sited case study based on mixed methodologies. Overall the approach will be qualitative, backed by small scale surveys; beyond literature and document survey, expert interviews and in-depth semi-focused narrative interviews with migrants will be conducted. Field work shall be conducted in two transit countries, Ukraine and Turkey and various EU countries of arrival.

**Funding:** COMPAS Core Funding

**Duration:** 2006, ongoing

**Outcome:** various papers, see <http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/?id=75> and journal articles, see <http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/people/staff/franck-duevell/publications/>, monograph (2012)

**Contact details:** franck.duevell@compas.ox.ac.uk.

## **Socio-economic Incorporation of Iranian Refugees in Turkey**

YASEMIN AKIS, Research Assistant & PhD Candidate at Middle East Technical University (METU), Ankara-Turkey; Visiting Academic at Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS)

### **Synopsis**

Due to a 'geographical limitation', non-European asylum seekers/refugees in Turkey have no right to stay permanently in the country, and hence are resettled into a third country by the authorities after their refugee statuses have been approved. Nevertheless the difficulties either in obtaining refugee status or living circumstances in the country (no integration programme has been provided during their temporary stay), encourage them to find alternative and illegal ways to survive. This research focuses on the consequences of the Asylum Policy over the lives of Iranian refugees in Turkey. Social networks theory will be used since it helps us to correlate the individual situations and macrostructures in analyzing migratory experiences born out of asylum seeking. While doing so, the categories of age, class and gender relations will be taken into consideration as well, in order to display the various functioning for different migratory experiences.

### **Background**

In 1951, Turkey actively participated in the drafting process of the refugee definition at the Geneva Convention. What is striking in this Convention for the Turkish authorities is that they insisted that the geographical and time limitation assured that only the refugees who fled from persecution *before the events in 1951 in Europe* would be granted access to asylum procedures. Later, in 1967, Turkey agreed with the Protocol to lift the time limitation but maintained the geographical limitation. In other words, non-Europeans would be merely allowed to stay for a temporary period in Turkey, in order to be resettled into a third country while Europeans accepted as refugees by the Turkish government could stay in Turkey. However 'thousands of migrants, with the intention of temporary stay, have come to Turkey from countries as diverse as Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Morocco, China, Ghana, and Pakistan, often to find their way to the developed countries in the West and in the North'<sup>6</sup> which enhanced Turkey's "refugee problem" as well as refugee's temporary waiting process before being sent to a third country.

15,472 non EU asylum-seekers/refugees are registered and temporarily staying in Turkey, of which Iraqis constitute 38 percent, Iranians 28 percent and Afghans 18 percent<sup>7</sup>. Despite the huge number, there is no integration programme for the refugees provided by the government during their temporary stay. Besides, although there is a possibility to take "Work Permits for Foreigners" in Turkey according to Law No.4813, it seems almost impossible for the asylum seeking individuals, due to the requirements asked by the government, to employ a foreigner. All these circumstances surrounding the working permit and extended waiting processes for asylum-seekers/refugees encourage them to seek alternative survival capacities such as attending informal labour markets without work permits. In addition, if an asylum-seeker is denied refugee status, then most of them do not directly return to their home countries, but many of them go unregistered.

### **Aims and Objectives**

Neither the Turkish Government nor the head quarter of UNHCR (where the asylum seekers have to register as soon as they come to Turkey), know exactly how asylum seekers/refugees live and survive during their temporary stay in the country. In addition, there is no integration programme provided for refugees by the government during their temporary stay in Turkey. Hence what I attempt to do in this PhD research is to understand the socio-economic incorporation of refugees into Turkish society during their temporary stay in the country. Being one of the most crowded migrant and refugee groups in Turkey, I would like to focus on Iranian asylum-seekers/refugees in socio-economical terms.

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<sup>6</sup> İçduygu, "Transit Migrants and Turkey", (1995) p.128

<sup>7</sup> Statistics from the interview with Metin Çorabatır UNHCR Ankara Office, June 2010

Although there are studies focusing on Iraqis and Afghans, the work on Iranian asylum seekers/refugees is very limited in socio-economical terms. Therefore, the first research question of this dissertation may be formulated as such: “How do Iranian asylum seekers/refugees make their socio-economic incorporation into the society”, “what are roles of social networks in this ‘*de facto* integration process’ established by fellow religious, ethnic or cultural cohorts?”

Iranians in Turkey should not be considered as a homogeneous group. Many demographic variables affect the circumstances of refugees while incorporating into the host country, such as; age, class and gender. Therefore the second research question can be posed as: “How do age, class and gender affect the migratory processes, social networks and incorporation of Iranian refugees in Turkey?” and “how do these categories, especially gender relations, influence the motivations of migration patterns for Iranian Refugees?”

### **Methodology**

Since the issue of asylum seeking is quite precarious and vulnerable, the field research for this study requires face to face interaction rather than mere surveys or quantitative methods. In this respect, the field research will be based on in-depth interviews and participant observations conducted with the asylum-seekers, migrants and rejected migrants. In addition to them, experts from national and international organizations such as UNHCR and Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM) as well as the governmental representatives, from the Department of Work Permit for Foreigners in the unit of Ministry of Labour and Social Security, will be included in the interview list. Last but not least, relevant reports, statistics, periodicals and academic literature on international and transit migration, refugee studies will be scanned in the frame of the fieldwork.

**Supervisors:** Helga Rittersberger-Tilic, METU/Turkey; Franck Düvell, link person at COMPAS, UK.

**Funding:** Scholarship by the Commission of Higher Education, Turkey for academic visit at Compas.

**Duration:** Expected submission of thesis is 2012.

**Outcome:** PhD thesis

**Contact details:** [akis@metu.edu.tr](mailto:akis@metu.edu.tr)

## **Closing the Gap? Developments, dynamics and consequences of the EU-Turkish immigration control.**

MARTIN LEMBERG-PEDERSEN, MA in philosophy, Ph.D. Fellow, Centre for the Study of Equality and Multiculturalism (CESEM), University of Copenhagen.

### **Synopsis**

This project investigates the geopolitical and biopolitical implications of the EU's external dimension of Justice and Home Affairs on the migration policies and practices of Turkey. It is argued that this relation is marked by European attempts to re-territorialise Turkish regions and cities according to the European desire to halt and contain migration flows before these can reach European territory, which would activate European obligations to process asylum claims.

It is pointed out that the dynamics of EU-Turkish relations concerning migration cannot be seen as isolated from the overall EU geostrategy of containing migration flows pre-emptively. This is because Frontex-operations in the territorial waters of West African countries, such as Cap Verde, Mauritania and Senegal, the construction of a MEDA-funded advanced radar system at Morocco's northern coastline and the funding and cooperation between European countries and Libya has made Turkey one of the last key transit points for European-bound migratory flows. Thus, Turkish territory has attained a prominent role for the European agenda of containment. The project identifies three main nexuses through which this dynamic of EU-Turkish re-territorialisation can be analysed.

Firstly, the nexus between visa- and readmission agreements between Turkey and a range of neighbouring countries pose a point of concern for the EU as for instance Turkey's liberalized visa policies with Syria is seen as enhancing the risk of migration to Europe. Conversely, Turkish negotiations concerning readmission agreements with other third countries such as Afghanistan, Iran and Libya illustrate how the EU favours the de facto inclusion of Turkey into the transnational series of European border elements and practices. Opposite to liberalized visa policies, such readmission agreements would ensure that rejected asylum seekers can be deported from Europe to Turkey and from Turkey onwards to other third countries without any possibility for filing asylum claims. This geopolitics through differentiated mobility also figures heavily in the on-going negotiations concerning a readmission agreement between EU and Turkey itself, a point of conflict being Turkey's condition that such an agreement should be followed by liberalization of visa-restriction for Turkish citizens in the EU member states.

Secondly, the project also analyses the drive for re-territorialisation of Turkish regions and cities along the lines of the European geostrategy of containing migration through the nexus between European-funded migration control facilities and the humanitarian consequences for migrants of these biopolitical practices. While the death toll for migrants in the Mediterranean and Aegean Sea has risen dramatically since 2001, the construction of sea and air border checkpoints in Izmir, Sivas and Malatya in 2007, and in 2010 of both reception centres in six designated cities, including Van, Izmir, Ankara and Istanbul in as well as of two UK and Dutch-funded removal centres, each for 750 so-called illegal immigrants, can potentially exacerbate the detrimental conditions for migrants even further. The imposition of more advanced biopolitical disciplining measures for migration flows risk prompting migrants to undertake more hazardous routes towards Europe and thus also to more fatalities.

Thirdly, the project also focuses on the problematic nexus between the European border-agency, Frontex, and Turkish sea and air border authorities. Since 2005, Frontex has repeatedly pursued an objective of concluding a working arrangement with its Turkish counterparts, but have, also repeatedly, been turned down. On several occasions Turkish fighters have been scrambled in order to warn Frontex-planes and ships patrolling the Aegean Sea that they were trespassing on Turkish sovereign territory. As such, the Frontex presence in the Eastern Aegean Sea has stirred up issues of Turkish and Greek territorial sovereignty illustrating some of the geopolitical ramifications of the European attempts to re-territorialise its borderlands along its geostrategy of containment. On the other hand, the Turkish government gave a green light for the first-ever deployment of Frontex RABIT-forces on the Greek-Turkish land border near Evros in October 2010, a region which experienced a 47 percent increase in so-called illegal border-crossings, 14,000, during the first six months of 2010 compared to the year before. As such, the nexus between Frontex and its Turkish

counterparts is also a useful point of departure into the geopolitics and politics of differentiated mobility which forms an integral part of the relationship between EU and Turkey.

### **Aims and Objectives**

The guiding research question for this project is: What constitutes the main developments and dynamics of Turkish and European policies in the area of European-bound migratory movements through Turkey and the implications these have for the humanitarian conditions and mobility for migrants.

The expected outcome of this analysis is the identification and critical assessment of key components of the geopolitical and biopolitical practices of Turkey and European countries in the area of migration, findings which are to be communicated through high quality articles in journals as well as in relevant conferences, seminars and workshops. The aim is to contribute to the field of critical research on Turkish-European relations in the area of migration.

### **Methodology**

The methodology of this project is multidisciplinary, involving both analysis of relevant Turkish, European and EU policy papers and reports, findings by NGO's in the field and theoretical literature on migration, geopolitical strategies and biopolitical relations.

### **Related Activities**

This project follows from a PhD project at the Centre for the Study of Equality and Multiculturalism (CESEM) at the Department of Philosophy, University of Copenhagen with the working title "A Normative Assessment of EU's Immigration-Policy: On Liberal Responsibility, Double-Standards, and States of Exception" the main objective of which is to conduct critical and normative analyses of the bordering and re-territorialising practices of the EU concerning border and migration control within and beyond European territory.

<http://cesem.ku.dk/staff/presentation/?id=204076&f=3>

**Supervisors:** Nils Holtug and Rens van Munster

**Contact details:** [mlpedersen@hum.ku.dk](mailto:mlpedersen@hum.ku.dk)

**Website:** <http://cesem.ku.dk/staff/presentation/?id=204076>

## **The Transnational Political Practices of Turkish Migrants in the United States and the United Kingdom**

CAMERON THIBOS, D.Phil student, Department of International Development – University of Oxford/UK

### **Synopsis**

This thesis is an innovative analysis of the intersections of transnationalism and development in Turkey in which I examine the oft-neglected but important role of politics in the development process. It is a scalar study which utilizes different levels of association in conjunction with geographical breadth and historical depth to examine the core question, *how do migrants, for good or bad, affect institutions in their home countries?*

This study revolves around the political dynamics that exist between the emigrants, politicians, and populace of Turkey. I focus on migrant communities in the greater metropolitan London and Washington DC areas through direct fieldwork in these locations, but I also include the Turkish/Kurdish residents of Berlin in the narrative by way of written source materials. I also add historical depth by focusing the analysis on six historical moments. I have chosen three events over the past 30 years that either directly involved Turkish migrants or should have attracted their interest. These are the participation of Germany-based Kurdish refugees in the separatist struggles of the 1980s, the 1995 constitutional changes that allowed expatriates to vote at Turkish customs points and created a 'privileged non-citizen status' for emigrants to countries that forbid dual citizenship, and the extension of these voting rights to overseas polling stations in 2008. These recent historical examples are followed by three case studies of present day political events. These are the 12 September 2010 constitutional referendum (through the lens of the EU accession process and the Kurdish boycott in relation to the referendum), the anticipated 2011 US Congressional bill to recognize the 1915 massacres of Armenians as genocide, and the June 2011 national elections. In short, and when taken together, I analyze the transnational, multi-directional and fluid links between different Turkish groups over time.

### **Background**

Turkey is at a very special stage in its development that contains enormous but fleeting potential called a 'demographic transition.' This term refers to a country's move, as a result of the modernization process, from higher to lower rates of mortality and fertility. Beginning in the 1960s the mortality rate in Turkey began to drop, which means more babies than ever before survived their first years of life. However, there was a lag of 30-35 years before fertility rates also began to drop, which, combined with the lower mortality rate, created a larger than normal youth population. This generation, which is larger than those preceding or following it, creates a temporary change in the age structure of the country as it ages. It is the time this generation spends in the workforce, when it has few children to feed and few elderly persons to care for, that presents a unique opportunity for countries to progress.

According to Bloom and Williamson (1997), similar demographic changes in Asia played a substantial role in creating what are now known as the East Asian Tigers. "The 'miracle' occurred in part because East Asia's demographic transition resulted in its working-age population growing at a much faster pace than its dependent population during the period 1965-1990, thereby expanding the per capita productive capacity of East Asian economies." Vitally for the arguments of my current project, the authors continue, "This effect was not inevitable; rather, it occurred because East Asian countries had social, economic, and political institutions and policies that allowed them to realize the growth potential created by the transition."

This opportunity makes a current study of Turkey from a development perspective timely, important and exciting. It is especially important to watch how its social institutions evolve during this period, and, ultimately, whether or not it exploits the advantages of this demographic shift in order to move forward. Bloom, Canning and Sevilla (2001) note that five areas of policy are especially critical to the successful use of this time: public health, family planning, education, and economics and trade. Migrants, who are often political actors, major breadwinners and members of family networks, are well positioned to influence each of these priorities.

## **Aims and Objectives**

There are several goals underlying this project. First, I aim to contribute to the theoretical discussion of development as a concept by suggesting a definition that includes the evolutionary process taking place in the so-called emerging markets. I see development in the case of Turkey and similar countries as a process of organic evolution by the people themselves. Turkey is past the need to build schools, hospitals and roads (of course this must continue, as in any state), or establish a modern banking sector and a functioning government. Instead, development in the Turkish context is about reforming, strengthening and improving institutions and infrastructure. It is about Turkey determining its own future, choosing the path it will take in order to move forward, and then taking steps down that road. *Development is, quite simply, the evolutionary, and often nonlinear, process of getting better.* As we move further into the 21<sup>st</sup> century and more countries join the ranks of middle and high-income countries, the conception of development as I have described it will become more prominent and the 20<sup>th</sup> century notions will hopefully fall by the wayside.

Second, I look beyond the financial contributions migrants make to their home countries and propose that, insofar as migrants are able to affect the development process at all, *their political activities may be as important as their monetary remittances, especially in this later-stage development context.*

Third, following this line of thought, I aim to deconstruct Levitt (1998)'s catchall concept of social remittances and examine its nuances. Also, I reconceptualise social remittances as a dialog rather than as a one-way flow. In other words, migrants affect the home country but the home country also affects them. This situation is amplified by the fact that migrants wield more power than their relatively small size suggests. This is not only because they influence multiple governments simultaneously but also because they send money back home. These funds are stable and integrated into national economies. Thus it follows that their source wields real clout in national discussions. It is likely that this holds true for both direct participation and as a latent force. In addition to this, migrants, once again due to their earning capacity, also hold powerful positions within family networks and are able to affect the decisions and lifestyles of their relations. It should be noted, of course, that migrants' exaggerated power makes them a more worthy target for politicians and interest groups. In short, this transnational dialogue is vibrant and has an inherent value distinct from the importance of financial remittances, even though the latter works to bolster and strengthen the former.

Fourth, I also work to disaggregate the groups we call migrants or diasporas. In most cases, if not all, the compositions of migrant groups and diasporas are heterogeneous. Migrant-sending countries often produce more than one wave of emigrants. These waves leave under various circumstances, have different demographic characteristics and may not travel to the same destinations. It therefore follows that the lived experience of each group (and sub-group) is disparate, as each operates within specific contexts and parameters. Put this way, it would be more surprising if migrants did act as a homogenous group than if they did not. Nonetheless these groups are often inappropriately treated as single blocs.

## **Methodology**

I look at these dynamics at three degrees of scale. The first is singular – the individual migrant. These must identify themselves and/or their families as being from Turkey, regardless of their ethnic group or religious affiliation. This excludes Kurds from Iraq that live in the same migrant communities as well as ethnic Turks from the countries neighbouring Turkey, including the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The second degree of scale under study is the associational or group level. There are many types of associations that run the gamut from the absolutely informal, such as a group of friends, to the very formal, such as a political party. To qualify for this study the group must self-identify as being for people from Turkey regardless of the actual composition of the group. Groups must also self-identify as being cultural, professional, business or political in nature. These groups, as represented by one of their officers, will be looked at with regard to their group political activities, such as lobbying efforts, fund-raising, outreach programs and publications. The third and broadest level of scale is the discourse in the national and migrant press. I survey fifteen national newspapers, five each from the United States, England, and Turkey, for articles on each present day historical moment in this study (detailed below). These papers are all in the top ten by circulation in their respective countries. In addition to these I survey many online and print migrant publications from these three countries plus

Germany. I subject the articles taken from these papers to rigorous content analysis in order to greatly sharpen my discussion of the political discourse. Naturally, I also draw extensively upon them to provide valuable context, commentary and insight on the topics under discussion.

**Supervisors:** Robin Cohen (IMI) and Hein de Haas (IMI)

**Funding:** Self-funded

**Duration:** Three Years

**Expected Output:** doctoral thesis

**Contact details:** [cameron.thibos@qeh.ox.ac.uk](mailto:cameron.thibos@qeh.ox.ac.uk)

## **Turkish-Speaking Immigrants in London and Football: Identity, Integration and Political Economy in the Field of Ethnic Football**

K. ONUR UNUTULMAZ, D.Phil student, ISCA&COMPAS, University of Oxford.

### **Synopsis**

There is notable lack of academic knowledge and statistical data on the Turkish-speaking immigrant communities in London, which have become increasingly visible and significant especially in North London. This study aims to investigate various identity transformation processes of this under-studied group in the wake of the increasingly important and controversial integration debates. Using an ethnographic methodology mainly employing participant observation and multiple in-depth interviews with subjects of analysis, the main research questions are explored in and through the 'field' of amateur football. Conceptualised following Bourdieu, the field of ethnic amateur football is defined as a hierarchically structured social space in which individual and institutional agents; (i) interact according to the determinations of their respective positions within the field and their habituses, and (ii) compete against one another for maximising various forms of capital at their disposal, particularly including cultural and symbolic ones. The theoretical framework and the methodological structure of the research aims at going beyond the survey and interview methodologies which provide incomplete depictions of the subjects of analysis at best and significantly biased and essentialised accounts at worst.

Simply put, there are three main research questions to be addressed in the framework of this research: (i) how are individual/ethnic/religious/national identities (re)produced, presented and negotiated; (ii) what implications does organized amateur football have on the 'integration' of Turkish-speaking immigrants in London; and (iii) what actors are involved and why?

### **Aims and Objectives**

By addressing the many issues centred around these three main questions, it is intended to (i) produce knowledge about an immigrant group which is increasingly visible in reality yet 'invisible' in statistics and literature; (ii) make a contribution to the literature on immigrant identities and their study in a specific social field; (iii) make a similarly original contribution in the integration literature by not only assessing the implications of amateur football on immigrant integration, but also suggesting an ethnographic epistemology to investigate subjective and sensitive concepts such as 'sense of belonging', and lastly, (iv) to come up with policy recommendations concerning how amateur sports can be used as part of local integration policies in metropolitan cities.

### **Methodology**

A one-year ethnographic field-study is to be conducted in North London to investigate the aforementioned research questions in the field of amateur football. The field-study is centred around two main amateur football organizations established by the Turkish-speaking communities and organizing regular leagues and cup competitions: Turkish Community Football Federation (TCFF) and Turkish Kurdish Football Federation (TKFF). The methodology can be summarized under three headings:

- Participant Observation of Football; i.e. participant observation of actual football matches, training sessions, various meetings of institutions, and so on.
- In-depth Interviews; to be conducted with individual football players, friends and family members, coaches and managers, administrators of linked institutions, and members of local media.
- Follow-up observations and Interviews in other contexts; participant observation of team celebrations, fund-raising balls, religious activities, and so on.

**Academic Supervisor:** Prof. Michael Keith, Director, COMPAS

**Funding:** The research project is co-funded by a research grant from Migration Research Program at Koc University (MiReKoc), Istanbul and a scholarship from Turkish Petroleum Foundation, Istanbul.

**Duration:** Field work is conducted from September 2010 to September 2011.

**Expected Output:** This research project aims to produce:

- A Doctoral Dissertation to be submitted to Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology in partial fulfilment of the requirements of DPhil programme in Anthropology.
- A Project Report to be submitted to MiReKoc and presented at the annual MiReKoc conference at Koc University, Istanbul.
- Two Academic Articles to be sent for publication at two international journals

**Contact details:** [onur.unutulmaz@linacre.ox.ac.uk](mailto:onur.unutulmaz@linacre.ox.ac.uk)

**Website:** <http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/people/students/onur-unutulmaz/>

## **The Role of Cities in Social Inclusion of International Migrants: Comparative Study of Urban Governance in London and Istanbul**

MERAL AÇIKGÖZ, Project Assistant, International Organization for Migration (IOM), Istanbul, Turkey

### **Synopsis**

Istanbul seems to be aspiring to global city status like London and is becoming one of the 'fashionable' cities where people desire to live and a global node of commerce, culture and ideas. More and more, the city is becoming home to migrants from all around the world. However, this new phenomenon raises novel challenges for the city and so far a well structured and proactive local model to deal with the issues emerging with immigration to the cities does not yet exist. Thus, in this study, the model of London will be used as a future projection for the city of Istanbul while examining the cities' importance and local governance structures in relation to social inclusion of migrants.

### **Background**

Urban populations in the world are steadily increasing, as people move to cities in search of employment, educational opportunities and higher standards of living. Today, according to the UN, for the first time in history, more than half of the world's people live in cities, a large part in an increasing number of mega-cities and this will be expected to increase more in future. Besides internal mobility observed towards big cities, regular as well as irregular international migrants are also targeting the cities, especially the larger ones where migrants can access the already established social and community networks and formal and expanding informal employment opportunities (Balbo&Marconi, 2005). These cities as international financial hubs also become points of convergence for transnational elites and highly skilled migrants. In short, the cities that are attracting new social, human and economic capital through migration become more diverse and multicultural. However, the cities hosting immigrants are not just sites of economic production, innovation and cosmopolitanism; they are also a platform of contestation for the establishment and validation of rights, the promotion of redistributive social policies, preventing spatial exclusionary patterns, among other issues. Thus, the cities' responsibilities are ever increasing vis à vis the urban inhabitants and local governance is seen as a new form of performing these responsibilities. This governance is different from but interlinked with that of national authorities (Ray 2003). Local governance can be seen more reflexive against addressing the needs of newcomers and managing diversity and is ideally structured especially in post industrial cities in order to ensure the inclusion of migrants.

Istanbul is the main center of economic activity in the region as well as transit point to the European countries and thus increasingly perceived as a global city. Istanbul as well as some other cities in Turkey attract migrants from all neighbouring countries; as a consequence, foreign residents' numbers are rapidly growing and thus contributing to an increasingly complex and dynamic urban environment. It is in this context that Turkey introduces new migration policies and practices or adjusts existing ones. However, the international migration policies are generally set nationally as in Turkey migration is looked at principally as a security issue and other issues, notably social inclusion and urban governance policies or programmes addressing international migration are yet far behind the agenda. Although there is an undergoing processes of change observed at urban Istanbul in this regard any direct implications or impacts on the city's supposedly increasing role in inclusion of migrants this remains under-researched. Thus, the comparison between London and Istanbul can shed light over the configurations of local governance in inclusion of migrants in London and Istanbul.

### **Aims and Objectives**

The transformation of formerly emigration into immigration countries brings about new challenges such as a lack of specific urban policies or programmes addressing international migration. This research aims to provide a future projection upon the case of Istanbul, a city increasingly hosting international migrants. It takes London - a global city with a long history of migrations used to responding to the demands of migrants and accommodating diversity - as the case for reference and comparison. This comparison will help to reveal the influence of urban governance structures and service provisioning on inclusion of international migrants at local level.

### **Methodology**

The major methodological tool will be an extensive compilation and analysis of normative and descriptive framework of urban governance in relation to inclusion of migrants in cities. Thus, at first the focus will be to understand the overall policies and practices in the city of London through a

literature review. Following this brief work serving to understand the general context, a mapping exercise about local service providers (council, voluntary sector, community organizations etc.), bottom-up in one London borough, Hackney, will be conducted in order to reach a mechanical understanding of who does what. Lastly, this analysis will be complemented through an exploratory fieldwork to gather empirical information on concrete policy measures and institutional set-ups in Hackney. The semi structured interviews and participatory observation will be used to realize the field work. Lastly, this analysis will be reflected upon the case of Istanbul in a comparative way to show the opportunities or challenges in the issues of social inclusion of migrants in Istanbul in line with the previous personal knowledge and experience from the field.

**Related Activities**

Project Focal Point of IOM Turkey project “Supporting the Capacities of Local Municipalities on Migration Management in Turkey”

**Context**

**Funding:** British Chevening Scholarship

**Duration:** 3 months, October-December 2010

**Expected Output:** COMPAS working paper

**Contact details:** [macikgoz@iom.int](mailto:macikgoz@iom.int) , [laremeral@yahoo.com](mailto:laremeral@yahoo.com)

## **The creation of ethnic inequalities in education among second-generation immigrants in France and the UK: Understanding the role of aspirations and choices**

MATHIEU ICHOU, doctoral student, Sciences Po, Paris & Department of Sociology/Nuffield College, University of Oxford, in 2010-2011

### **Synopsis**

My doctoral research addresses the construction of ethnic inequalities in education in France and in the United-Kingdom. Using both quantitative and qualitative methods, I want to analyse the influence of societal and educational aspirations and concrete tracking decisions in creating these inequalities. In the qualitative part of my thesis, my focus is on the situation and experience of second generation Turkish and Chinese immigrant children and their families.

### **Background**

In the study of educational inequalities, it is often useful to distinguish between inequalities in academic performance and differences in the actual choices and decisions that children, their parents and the school make in the course of one's educational career. This methodological distinction proves very heuristic in the study of ethnic inequalities in education among second-generation immigrants, because it sheds light on an apparent paradox. Indeed, previous literature has shown that second-generation immigrants have generally lower school results, but are at the same time more likely to choose more 'ambitious' and longer academic tracks.

### **Aims and Objectives**

First, I will give a quantitative account of the relative influence of academic achievement and non-performance related factors in creating ethnic inequalities in education in France and in the UK. I will highlight differences between ethnic minority children and the majority group, but also among ethnic minorities themselves, with a special emphasis on second-generation Turkish and Chinese immigrants. Preliminary statistical results indeed show how Turks and Chinese stand out as being respectively among the worst and best performing ethnic groups in both countries.

Second, I will qualitatively analyse the processes through which children and their parents make their decisions concerning school tracks, especially at the end of lower secondary school (continuing to A-level or not) and upper secondary school (going to University or not). In-depth interviews with Turkish and Chinese immigrant parents and their children will allow me to study how educational aspirations are transformed into actual choices of school tracks. The dominant view in this field, stemming from quantitative-only studies, is that educational choices and especially track decisions are rational choices. However, the qualitative processes through which secondary effects operate remain largely unquestioned and, therefore, under-investigated especially in the case of ethnic inequalities. My aim is to show that intentional rational choices might not constitute an entirely satisfactory explanation if other mechanisms are not taken into consideration.

### **Methodology**

I am using a mixed methodology. First, I use advanced statistical methods of longitudinal educational surveys in France and in the UK. Second, I use in-depth semi-structured interviews with Turkish and Chinese immigrants and their children (aged 14-20).

**Supervisors:** Dr. Agnès van Zanten (Sciences Po/CNRS, Paris, France) and Prof. Anthony Heath (Department of Sociology & Nuffield College, Oxford).

**Funding:** 3-year grant from the French Ministry of research

**Duration:** 2009-2013

**Expected Output:** thesis, conference presentations and journal articles

**Contact details:** Nuffield College New Road Oxford OX1 1NF

[mathieu.ichou@nuffield.ox.ac.uk](mailto:mathieu.ichou@nuffield.ox.ac.uk) or [mathieu.ichou@sciences-po.org](mailto:mathieu.ichou@sciences-po.org)

## **Risk-Taking in Transit: The Case of Afghan Migrants in Turkey**

ESRA KAYTAZ, Anthropology/COMPAS, D.Phil student

### **Synopsis**

The research question of my doctoral thesis is: "How do Afghan migrants perceive risks associated with their migratory choices while in Turkey and how do their perceptions of risk influence their migratory decisions?" Pursuant to deportations and the institution of restrictive policies towards Afghan migrants in Pakistan and Iran, as well as continuing insecurity in Afghanistan, Turkey has become a popular country of transit and the closest asylum country in the region. When in Turkey, Afghan migrants can i) apply for asylum- and if recognized be re-settled to a third country; ii) travel irregularly to Europe; iii) remain irregularly in Turkey; or iv) return to Afghanistan or Iran. All these possibilities expose migrants to uncertainties, and physical and emotional costs. Typically Afghan migrants pursue a combination of these options. Migration theory, however, does not account for the diversity in the migration strategies of Afghans. I am seeking to understand whether the heterogeneity of the responses of Afghan migrants arises from their evaluation of risks in the broader cultural and social context of their decision making. The theoretical framework for the thesis draws on anthropological theories of risk perception and acceptability, particularly as deployed in medical anthropological research.

### **Methodology**

The fieldwork for my doctoral research is multi-sited, including the cities of Van, Izmir and Istanbul, and will take place from December 2010 until October 2011.

**Supervisors:** Alison Shaw, Franck Düvell

**Outcome:** PhD thesis

**Contact details:** esra.kaytaz@gmail.com

## **Contested Kurdish Identities: Religion versus Nationalism in the German Diaspora**

SIDDIK BAKIR, Weidenfeld Scholar, Final Year MPhil Candidate, Modern Middle Eastern Studies, St. Antony's College, University of Oxford, UK

### **Synopsis/Abstract:**

Kurds and Islam are two important topics but hardly discussed together when it comes to the understanding of Kurdish identities in the German Diaspora. In fact, the discourse of Kurdish identities and their movements has been predominantly focused on secular ethno-nationalism, a particularistic approach, rather than Islam which is universalistic in nature. This research, however, focuses on the intersection of religious and ethno-national mobilization of Kurds and the dynamics between these two significant driving forces of identity-formation amongst Kurds in Germany. For this purpose, the research will analyse the relationship between and political strategies of the PKK, (*Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan*), Kurdistan's Workers Party, on the one hand and the HIK (*Hereketa Islamiya Kurdistan*), Islamic Movement of Kurdistan and its successor organisation CIK (*Civaka Islamiya Kurdistan*), on the other. The question therefore is how the PKK interacted with the HIK/CIK and vice-versa and what this linkage implies for the formation of religious or nationalist notions of identities among their Kurdish constituencies in Diaspora.

### **Background**

Approximately one million Kurds live in Germany. Many are connected to their country of origin and have brought with them their understanding of history, religion, politics and identity. However, many have also been part of or joined sub-state political movements such as the ethno-nationalist and Marxist PKK and Islamic organisations. They have created an organisational infrastructure, created associations and mosques and convened major meetings and festivals. Little is known about the intricacies between the secular nationalist and Islamic Kurdish movements. Also, Kurds represent the second biggest Muslim community in Germany after the Turks. Islam and Muslims in Europe play increasingly an important role in domestic politics, integration debates, and often viewed through a narrow security prism without acknowledging the diversity of immigrant communities in the Diaspora. This research aims at helping to draw a more nuanced and comprehensive picture of Kurds in Germany and their identity formation processes.

### **Aims**

This research will aim at exploring the political dynamics between these two movements (PKK and HIK/CIK) and try to unearth whether this relationship was driven by competition, cooptation or perhaps coercion. Further, the objective is to find out whether the PKK tried to incorporate (or perhaps even create?) the HIK/CIK to be part of its overall organisational structure with the aim to avoid another Kurdish organisation to become a potential competitor and thus a threat to the PKK's powerful position in the Kurdish Diaspora.

### **Research Questions**

- What is the relationship between Kurdish ethno-nationalism and Kurdish Islamic identity in Germany?
- What is the current social, demographic and political landscape of Kurds in Germany who originate primarily from Turkey?
- What were the major political junctions and political conflicts between ethno-nationalist and secular movements such as the PKK on the one hand and the religiously orientated Islamic organisations such as the HIK/CIK on the other hand in Germany since the 1990s?
- How did the PKK, a secular Marxist movement, integrate or permit the existence of another potentially competing Kurdish Islamic organisation such as the HIK/CIK? Was it based on mutual agreement, political strategy or rather based on power politics, political pressure and dissent?

### **Expected Outcome**

Some likely expected outcomes could lead to a more informed analysis and understanding of Kurdish immigrant communities in Germany, their identity formation processes in the Diaspora in Germany and the political developments of sub-statal organisations such as the PKK and HIK/CIK originating from Turkey.

### **Contribution to the field:**

It is envisaged that this MPhil thesis contributes to the field of Modern Middle Eastern Studies on the one hand and European Studies as well as Migration Studies on the other. The identity formation processes of Kurds in Germany originating from Turkey is driven by the Islamic religion on the one side and nationalism on the other, and the tensions resulting from it, represent a highly prevalent ideological discourse in the politics and societies across the Middle East and Europe. In addition, the understanding of identity formation processes and recurring conflicts of immigrant communities could be valuable in understanding contemporary developments in transnational migration from an inside perspective. This research could also provide for future analysis of Kurdish political movements operating in Germany and draw potential trends.

**Methodology**

I will undertake a qualitative research, based on interviews with key actors, theologians, academics and individual Kurdish community members in Germany; I will also conduct focus group discussions, apply participant observation and analyse primary sources in Kurdish and Turkish (journals, articles and newspapers) and secondary sources in German and English.

**Related Activities:**

Qualitative research on 'Causes of Radicalisation of Muslims in Germany' (2007) and 'Anti-terror legislation and its impact on Muslim organisations in Germany' (2005).

**Supervisors:** Dr. Kerem Öktem, European Studies Centre, St. Antony's College, Professor Tariq Ramadan, Middle East Centre, St. Antony's College.

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**Contact details:** SIDDIK BAKIR, [siddik.bakir@sant.ox.ac.uk](mailto:siddik.bakir@sant.ox.ac.uk) and [siddik.bakir@gmail.com](mailto:siddik.bakir@gmail.com).

## Researchers' bios

**Franck Düvell**, PhD, Social Scientist, is a Senior Researcher at the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford, where he has been since 2006. As of 2009 he is a part-time Senior Researcher for two consecutive projects at the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD), Vienna. From 2003-4, he was Jean Monnet Fellow at Robert-Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute (Florence), previously he was Research Fellow at the University of Exeter and a lecturer at the University of Bremen, Germany. His research focus is on irregular migration, mixed migration, European and international migration politics and on research ethics. His present projects concentrate on transit migration in Ukraine and Turkey, on peoples' perceptions of migration in sending countries, fundamental rights of irregular immigrants and refugees in Turkey.

He has published several books, chapters and articles, such as *'Internationale und europäische Migration'* (Münster 2006), *'Illegal Immigration in Europe'* (Houndmills, 2006), *'Migration. Boundaries of equality and justice'* (Cambridge, 2003, with Bill Jordan), *'Die Globalisierung des Migrationsregimes'* (Berlin, 2003), *'Irregular Migration. Dilemmas of transnational mobility'* (Cheltenham, 2002, with Bill Jordan). Articles have been published in *Social Science Information*, *Population, Space and Place*, the *Journal for Ethnic and Migration Studies* and *Journal for Critical Social Policy*. He is member of the Network on 'International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion' (IMISCOE).

**Kristen Biehl** is a doctoral student in the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology and COMPAS, University of Oxford. She holds a Bachelors degree in Social Anthropology and Development Studies from SOAS in London, and a Masters degree in Sociology from Bogazici University in Istanbul. Her doctoral research seeks to explore state practices of marginalization and processes of identity formation among displaced internal and international migrant populations in Turkey inhabiting shared localities, utilizing theories of the state, space and place and materiality. Before embarking on doctoral studies, Kristen was both academically and professionally involved in intensive research within the migration and asylum field in Turkey, working with a number of different migrant and refugee communities, as well as policy makers and state officials. Kristen has variously acted as lead researcher, coordinator and assistant for a number of international and national research projects, run by the *Migration Research Center at Koc University (MiReKoC)*, the *Center for Migration and Refugee Studies (CMRS)* at the American University in Cairo, the *Anthropology Department of Cambridge University* and the *Social Policy Forum at Bogazici University*. In terms of NGO work, Kristen has worked as a Projects Specialist for the *Mother Child Education Foundation* (2010), as an Advocacy Research and Program Assistant for the *Refugee Advocacy Support Program, Helsinki Citizens' Assembly* (2008-2009), and as a Cultural Orientation Trainer for the *International Catholic Migration Commission* (2006-2007), all based in Istanbul. She has published book chapters and reports such as *'The Changing Trajectory of Migration to Turkey'* (together with Ahmet Icduygu) and *'New Cosmopolitanism in Istanbul'* (in M. Balbo, A. Icduygu and J. P. Serran, *Countries of Migrants, Cities of Migrants: Italy, Spain, Turkey*).

**Cameron Thibos** is a second-year doctoral student at the Department of International Development at the University of Oxford. Prior to this he received his bachelor's degree from Indiana University Bloomington in journalism, economics, and Near Eastern studies (2002-06) and his M.A. degree from the Center for Middle Eastern studies at the University of Texas at Austin (2006-09). His research interests include transnational politics, international migration and development in emerging markets. His current research focuses on these issues in the context of Turkey.

Cameron's most recent publication, co-authored with Kate Gillespie, is the book chapter 'Islam and corporate social responsibility in the Arab world: reporting and discourse' in the *Handbook of Islamic Marketing* (Edward Elgar 2011). In addition to this academic work, he has published 40 news and feature articles since 2002 in local and state newspapers, including the St. Petersburg Times (Florida), The Indianapolis Star (Indiana), The Herald-Times (Indiana), and The State Journal (Kentucky). He received two awards in 2004 from the Kentucky Press Association in the categories of investigative reporting and sports features.

**Yasemin Akis** is a research assistant and Ph.D. candidate in the Sociology Department at Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara, Turkey. In addition, she is currently an academic visitor at Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) at Oxford University between the dates of 1st October 2010 and 30 June 2011. Ms. Akis graduated from the Gender and Women's Studies MSc Programme at METU and spent one year at Stockholm University in Sweden where she attended a course on Social Anthropology and Economics regarding international migration. In the second term of her stay, she was invited as an academic visitor to the Stockholm University Linnaeus Center for Integration Studies (SULCIS) where she directed a project on Turkish Migrant Associations in Stockholm, together with a colleague from Turkey.

Her fields of academic interest include international migration, asylum and refugees, feminist theory and gender studies. In her Ph.D. thesis she concentrates on Non-EU asylum seekers and refugees temporarily residing in Turkey, and focuses particularly on analyzing Iranian asylum seekers and their socio-economic incorporation into Turkish society.

**K. Onur Unutulmaz** is a DPhil candidate in Anthropology at COMPAS, researching the cultural integration processes of Turkish-speaking immigrants in London. His research aims at uncovering the complex processes of identity transformation in this understudied minority group which is becoming more and more visible, especially in North London.

He graduated with an MPhil in Migration Studies from Oxford University and an MA in International Relations from Koc University, Istanbul. He also holds undergraduate degrees in Political Science & International Relations and Sociology from Bogazici University, Istanbul. In addition to having served as a research and teaching assistant in Oxford, Bogazici and Koc Universities, Onur has presented several academic papers at various workshops and conferences at, among others, Harvard, University of Montreal, LSE, and Oxford.

Onur is a fellow of the Transatlantic Forum on Migration and Integration (TFMI) representing Turkey and Oxford University in this transatlantic Forum since 2007. A former President of the Oxford University Turkish Society and Committee Member of the Oxford University Migration Studies Society, he is also a member of the Oxford Union and Bogazici University and Koc University Alumni Associations.

**Meral Acikgöz** is a Project Assistant at the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Istanbul, Turkey. She works in development and implementation of IOM Turkey's capacity building and awareness raising activities at local level. She holds a Bachelor's degree in International Relations from Middle East Technical University (METU), Ankara and a Master's degree in International Relations from Galatasaray University, Istanbul with a thesis on Turkey's Migration and Asylum Policy. Her research interest lies in the field of migration management in Turkey with a focus on changing roles of local actors in social inclusion and protection mechanisms of international migrants at urban level. During October-December 2010, she has carried out a research entitled "The Role of Cities in Social Inclusion of International Migrants: Comparative Study of Urban Governance in London and Istanbul" under the supervision of Ben Gidley as visiting scholar at COMPAS. She was also Chevening scholar.

**John McManus** has graduated with a MPhil in Modern Middle Eastern Studies from Oxford University. His research concentrates on sport, diaspora and transnational identities, particularly among Turks and Turkey. His present project concentrates on the internet, mass-communication and a transnational network of football fans stretching across the Turkish diaspora.

He has published several articles, such as 'Been There, Done That, Bought the T-Shirt: Besiktas Fans and the Commodification of Football in Turkey' (Public Culture, forthcoming) and "Çarşı: a group united?" (Turkish Area Studies Review, Spring 2011). He also writes regularly about sport and society for newspapers and has had work published in The Independent and with BBC Sport.

**Esra Kaytaz** is reading for a D.Phil in Social Anthropology at the University of Oxford, she holds a BA in Archaeology and Anthropology (2003) and an MPhil in Development Studies (2006) from Oxford University. Her MPhil thesis was on the decision making processes of Christian Convert Iranian asylum seekers in Turkey. Esra's doctoral research is concerned with how Afghan migrants in Turkey

perceive risks associated with each of their migratory options, such as illegal travel to Europe or applying for asylum, and how their perceptions of these risks affect their decision making processes. In addition to her academic experience in the field of migration in Turkey, Esra worked for Istanbul Inter-Parish Migrant Programme in the summer of 2003 and Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Refugee Advocacy and Support Program (RASP) from 2006 until 2008. At RASP, she worked as a legal advisor and as the co-ordinator of their detention project she was the primary researcher and author of their detention report. She also was a research officer for the Global Migration Governance project from 2008 until 2010. As part of the project she conducted fieldwork in Eastern and Southern Africa.

**Martin Lemberg-Pedersen**, MA, Philosopher, is, as of 2009, a Ph.D.Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Equality and Multiculturalism (CESEM), University of Copenhagen and in 2010 became a Visiting Fellow at Refugee Studies Centre (RSC), University of Oxford. In 2006 he received an Erasmus grant to study philosophy and psychology at Bosphorus University, Istanbul. His research is multidisciplinary and combines normative ethics, international relations, border studies and sociology to inquire into the functioning of EU border enforcement, externalised migration control, the migration-development nexus, irregular migration and the Dublin-system with a particular focus on the Aegean Sea, the Maghreb region and Western African countries. His present projects include the EU's positioning towards Turkey as a transit country for European-bound migration flows, Frontex-operations at the Greek-Turkish border-regions and their humanitarian consequences as well as normative assessments and critique of the conflicting institutional, political and non-governmental discourses which surround this dynamic field.

He has published articles on the topic of EU asylum and migration policies in Danish journals and political magazines, such as 'A Normative Critique of the EU Policy of Asylum Externalization' (VisaVis 2010) and 'EU's eksternaliserede asylproblem' (Ræson 2010) and is forthcoming with a chapter on the values, interests and practices of asylum policies in Europe towards asylum-seeking children (Vitus, Nielsen and Paulsen 2011).

**Mathieu Ichou** received his Bachelor and Master's degree from Sciences Po. Since 2009, he is PhD student in Sociology in the *Observatoire Sociologique du Changement* (Sciences Po – CNRS). In 2010-11, he is an academic visitor in Oxford's Department of Sociology and a Junior Visiting Scholar in Nuffield College. His doctoral thesis analyses ethnic inequalities in education in France and in the United-Kingdom and especially the ways in which they are temporally constructed throughout children's school trajectories. He focuses on second-generation immigrants in both countries, with a special emphasis on Turkish and Chinese communities. He is interested by and regularly uses both qualitative and quantitative methods. Mathieu's thesis is co-supervised by Agnès van Zanten (Sciences Po – CNRS) and Anthony Heath (University of Oxford).

**Siddik Bakır**, Weidenfeld Scholar and MPhil Candidate in Modern Middle Eastern Studies at St. Antony's College, University of Oxford. He has previously worked as Political Assistant for Baroness Nicholson of Winterbourne in the House of Lords and the European Parliament and was Congressional Fellow (Lantos Fellow) in the House International Relations Committee. He has predominantly worked on international affairs, Middle Eastern politics and EU foreign policy. Siddik also worked for an international NGO based in London (AMAR Foundation) providing primary health care services and education projects in Iraq and Lebanon. In addition, Siddik did an internship with Cem Özdemir (Pat Cox Fellow), a German politician, in the European Parliament where he focused on EU-Turkey relations and EU immigration policies. He gained further work experience in the corporate sector working as an intern in the External Communications and Government Relations department of a multinational oil and energy company in London and The Hague.

He holds two B.A. degrees (Political Science and Oriental and Islamic Studies) from the Ruhr University Bochum in Germany. His B.A. Thesis focused on '*Causes for the Radicalisation of Muslims in Germany*' (2007). He has also conducted research on '*Anti-terror legislation in Germany and its impact on Muslim organisations*' (2005). His MPhil thesis will focus on '*Contested Kurdish Identities: Religion versus Nationalism in the German Diaspora*' to be submitted in May 2011.

**Ben Gidley**, PhD, has been a Senior Researcher at the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford, since January 2010. He was previously a Researcher at the Centre for Urban and Community Research at Goldsmiths, University of London. His present projects focus on issues of migrant "integration" and citizenship in urban contexts, including new projects on the

European city funded by the European Integration Fund, in partnership with universities in Germany, Spain, Italy, Hungary and the Netherlands. With Michael Keith and Hiranthi Jayaweera, his project "*Global Migration and the Future of the Right to the City*", examines how migration impacts on urban change in the metropolis, with Istanbul as one of the case studies. With Michael Keith, Jane Garnett and Alana Harris, his project "*Religion, separation and exclusion in the diasporas of East London*" explores Jewish, Muslim and Christian migration associational politics, both historically and ethnographically. He is on the board of the European Sociological Association's Research Network on Antisemitism, Racism and Ethnic Relations. His most recent publication is *Turbulent Times: The British Jewish Community Today* (with Keith Kahn-Harris, Continuum, 2010).