



**ICMPD**

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## **The Migration System between Turkey and Austria:**

### **A First View**

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## 1. Outline of the history of migration of Turks to Austria

Researchers such as Kritz, Lim and Zlotnik et al. have introduced the term “migration systems” to international migration research by placing international migration within a larger frame of movements and networks, acknowledging the highly complex nature of migration movements, transcending the binaries of outward and return migration, where flows and counter-flows between sending and receiving countries contribute to the formation of a migration system (Kritz et al 1992: 9). Such systems are characterised by relatively intense exchanges of goods, capital and people (Massey et al 1996: 198) and generally include a core receiving region, which may be a country or group of countries, and a set of specific sending countries linked to it by unusually large flows of immigrants. These systems might evolve and undergo substantial changes over time in a continuous response to both the dynamics inherent to migration processes themselves as well as to other external forces and conditions. The transformation of the international economic and political order that is underway, the growing scale of transnational activities of governments, corporations, private organisations and other institutions, and the ongoing evolvement and transformation of migrant networks all contribute to the evolvement, maintenance and transformation of migration systems. The migration system between Turkey and Austria emerged in the early 1960s on basis of economically motivated and politically fostered labour migration. In the 1970ies the system went through its first transformation as a result of the – again economically motivated – restrictions on labour migration. During this period, family reunification developed into the main type of migration between the two countries. In numerical terms, the period of large-scale labour recruitment and the subsequent period of family reunification resulted in the most significant inflows from Turkey to Austria. Between 1971 and 1991 the number of Turkish citizens residing in Austria increased sevenfold from roughly 16,000 to more than 118,000. Since the early 1990ies the total numbers of Turkish citizens residing in Austria showed more stable developments. As regards types of migrations, asylum migration and irregular migration gained growing importance in the 1980ies and 1990ies, a fact at least partly owed to the increasingly restrictive policies on labour migration and – to a lesser extent – on family migration.

Turkish migration to Austria started in the early 1960s via the so-called ‘guest worker regime’. As the census data clearly indicate, Turkish migration to Austria didn’t play a role before guest worker recruitment started with only 217 Turkish citizens residing in Austria in 1961 (see table 1). This can be interpreted as a result of a lack of pronounced economic, historical or cultural ties.

In the early 1960s, Austria was facing a growing demand for labour as the economy was booming: The industrial sector was expanding, the currency was stabilized, the inflation was below five per cent and with an unemployment rate of below three per cent the goal of full employment had been achieved. The subsequent lack of labour force – most of all affecting the industrial sector – had several reasons: It can be seen as a long-term consequence of the human losses in World War II. Moreover, the high number of births and the lack in childcare

kept women away from the labour market and the temporal extension of education brought less people into employment.

Facing the need for additional labour, the Social Partners, who were one of the main actors in the starting phase of guest worker recruitment, agreed upon contingents for the employment of guest workers in 1961, with the goal of letting them in only on a temporary basis and sending them back in the case of an unfavourable economic development. They should just act as additional temporary workers. Generally speaking the Austrian migration policy was a mere question of the labour market in this first phase of guest worker immigration. Migration policy as such was not an issue and dominated by the interests of the entrepreneurs. Guest workers were welcomed and seen as an additional source for wealth but not as a part of the Austrian society. Integration was not on the agenda and a long-term residence of the imported labour force was not intended.

In the so called 'Raab-Olah-Agreement'<sup>1</sup> from December 1961, a contingent of 47,000 foreigners was defined, for which enterprises did not have to prove, that there was no Austrian labour for a certain position, as they had to do before due to a regulation dating back to the 1930s. The labour unions were very hesitant in agreeing and only did so provided that foreigners had to be employed under the same conditions concerning wage and working, they should be dismissed before Austrian nationals and they should generally only be allowed to work in Austria temporarily, namely for one year (Bauböck 1996: 12).

The Austrian recruitment of labour migrants happened later than in the rest of Europe, e.g. in Germany, Switzerland or Scandinavia. The first intergovernmental recruitment agreements were set up with Spain in 1962, which in fact remained irrelevant, with Turkey in 1964 and Yugoslavia in 1966.

The so called rotation principle formed the basic idea at the beginning of the immigration of guest workers. They should stay only on a temporary basis with no permanent settlement, family migration or societal integration. But this idea failed due to resistances from both the employers' and the employees' side. Enterprises didn't want to do without the workforce they had instructed and the migrants stayed as they had a job they had no reason to give up and made more money than at home.

In practical terms the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber established recruitment centres in the sending countries and in 1967 a provisional employment centre was installed directly at the train station in Vienna. But this concept of direct recruitment got more and more unimportant in the course of time with the ongoing immigration and the formation of networks with enterprises and guest workers already present in Austria recruiting friends and relatives in the

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<sup>1</sup> Basically this agreement was a contract between Austrian employers and employees that marks the beginning of the institutionalization of the Social Partnership by incorporating the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber, the Chamber of Agriculture, the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions and the Chamber of Labour. In 1961, Julius Raab was Federal Chancellor and Franz Olah was the head of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions.

sending countries (Bauböck 1996: 13). Thus the system soon became self-feeding. These new labourers entered Austria as tourists but under the economic boom conditions of the early 1970s it was quite easy for them to get an employment permit. In line with this, Icduygu (2006: 4) argues that the agreements shaped the migratory flows only at the very beginning ‘even if they did not have any considerable impact on the later stages of the flows. In other words, starting with the early 1970s migratory flows from Turkey gained their own dynamics and mechanisms which were quite independent from the previously structured measures of the bilateral migration agreements’.

From the migrants’ perspective the goal in the initial phase was to come to Austria and earn as much money as possible and then go back home and invest it and buy land, a shop or a house. They emigrated from Turkey on an individual basis and left their families back home which resulted in a splitting up of households.

Regarding the changes in the migration system, a look at the history of guest worker immigration to Austria shows definite ‘major events’: The first one was the end of the economic boom era after the oil price shock in 1973. Austria stopped official recruitment and there were massive attempts to reduce the foreign labour force in Austria. The failure of the rotation principle and the trend towards a permanent settlement got apparent. Contrary to the official political plans and expectations, the recruitment ban led towards a consolidation of residence for a part of the foreign workers and most of all for those from Turkey, who had gone back and forth before that depending on the labour market situation and then – in fear of losing the right to live and work in Austria – decided to stay permanently (Münz, Zuser & Kytir 2003: 23) and family reunification started, a second major event changing the migration regime.

**Table 1: Turkish citizens in Austria 1961–2001**

	absolute	as % of total foreign
1961	217	0.2
1971	16,423	7.8
1981	59,900	20.6
1991	118,579	22.9
2001	127,226	17.9

Source: Censuses 1961–2001, Statistics Austria.

The number of Turkish citizens residing increased threefold between 1971 and 1981, although the recruitment stop aimed at limiting immigration. And it doubled between 1981 and 1991 from 50,900 to 118,579. Since then the number of Turkish citizens is relatively stable, but the community has been growing constantly as a lot of Turks meanwhile became Austrian citizens. From 1983 until 2007 a total of 120,697 have been naturalized, the peak years being the early 2000s with an average of around 13,000 naturalizations of immigrants from Turkey per year.

## 2. Overview of migration regime: Current legal ports of entry for Turkish citizens in Austria?

Since the middle of the 1990s, Austria has implemented a variety of different legal port of entry. Nowadays there is more or less no possibility for an immigration of workers from outside the EU and thus also from Turkey. The majority of flows remains devoted to EU-internal migration, asylum seekers and family reunification. A few decades ago there were fewer ports of entry to Austria. There was – more or less – only guest worker recruitment and the immigration of asylum seekers. The stronger differentiation came along with Austria's accession to the EU in 1995 and is also a consequence of the increased political and societal discourse about migration. The four most important channels for international immigration are:

1. Immigration of citizens of EU- and EEC-countries. All in all more than 50 per cent of the current inflow falls upon this group. Generally speaking EU- and EEC-citizens do not need permits for immigration, residence or employment as under the conditions of the single European market they have a free choice of their place of residence just like Austrian nationals and the same applies to their relatives. Concerning mere immigration, the members of the 2004 accession countries also appertain to this group with freedom of residence, but they are still subject to temporary labour market restrictions.
2. The second most important channel is that of asylum seekers who are counted as a part of the resident population as soon as an asylum procedure has been started. The number of asylum seekers fluctuates considerably and does not depend on the needs of the Austrian labour market, but on political or other crisis in nearer or farther countries.
3. The third port of entry falls upon family members of EU- and EEC-nationals from countries outside the EU (third country nationals): This group had privileged access as there are no restrictions concerning their entry and residence in Austria. EU- and EEC-nationals who have family members in a third country can bring them to Austria as long as their degree of relationship is in accordance with the law. This subsequent immigration of family members is not subject to a quota and can thus take place irrespective of the annual quotations of family reunification. Foreign nationals who accept Austrian citizenship after a certain period of time have the right to take their spouses and children (until the age of 21 or as long as they pay alimony for them) and parents (also with alimony payments) from third countries to Austria. This kind of immigration has emerged as a stable factor of immigration in the last years.

Finally the fourth and smallest channel allows for 'normal immigration' of third country nationals who enter Austria for the first time and want to found an existence for whatever reasons or bring their family members to Austria. Foreign labour and their family members from outside the EU (third country nationals) need a residence title (residence or settlement permit) as well as a proof of subsistence and housing. Since 1993, residence titles are subject to

a quota. The federal government sets an annual maximum number for residence titles which should not be exceeded. In 2006 the number was 7,350 and distributed to different types in the following way: Executives and special employees with an monthly income of at least 2,300 Euro (1,125) as well as their spouses and underage not married children, self employed and their spouses and underage not married children (500), and spouses and children under the age of 14 of legally resident third country nationals (4,480).

### 3. Description of flows

#### 3.1 Development of legal flows

The Austrian population register as well as the census do not contain any information about the legal status of the immigrants. Turkish citizens can either enter as asylum seekers, in the course of family reunification or as labour immigrants subject to a very tight quota. Anyway a general picture of legal inflows as well as outflows of Turkish citizens can be provided. What gets very clear at the first glimpse is that legal inflows have been drastically reduced since 2003, namely from 10,200 to 4,900 due to a stricter legislation. Outflows are rather stable with around 3,000 from 2002 to 2006 resulting in a diminishing migration balance.

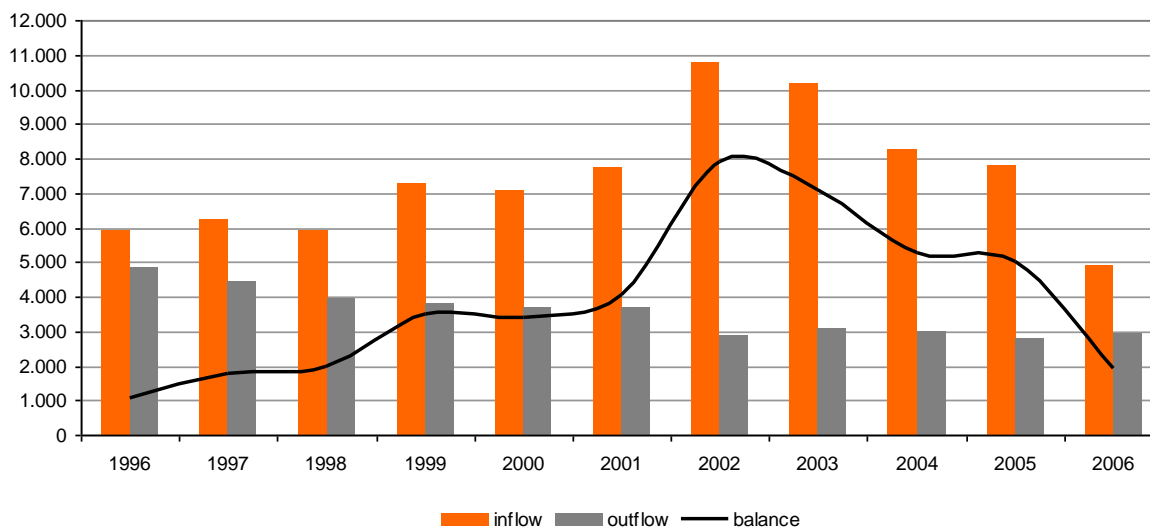
**Table 2: Inflows and outflows of Turkish citizens to and from Austria 2002-2006**

	inflow	outflow	balance
2002	10,761	2,885	7,876
2003	10,176	3,085	7,091
2004	8,261	2,991	5,270
2005	7,798	2,794	5,004
2006	4,897	2,948	1,949

Source: Statistics Austria, population register.

The overwhelming majority of the 2,948 Turkish citizens who left Austria in 2006 was returning to Turkey (97 per cent), only 84 persons went somewhere else (43 emigrated to Germany, 10 to France and 8 to the Netherlands). The same trend holds true for immigration to Austria: 97 per cent of the total inflow of Turkish citizens in 2006 came from Turkey, 103 persons immigrated from Germany with the rest of countries of origin being numerically irrelevant.

In the context of migration systems it is also interesting to leave the individual level and to take a look at Turkey as a country of origin and destination for migration from and to Austria. More than 5,000 persons moved from Turkey to Austria in 2006, only 6 per cent of them not having a Turkish citizenship but mostly an Austrian one. Movements from Austria to Turkey also comprise 96 per cent Turkish citizens and the rest Austrians.

**Figure 1: Inflows and outflows of Turkish citizens from and to Austria, 1996-2006**

Source: Statistics Austria, own design.

### 3.2 Development of irregular flows

The scientific and political debate acknowledges that at present a large part of international migration movements take place in form of illegal or irregular migration. The term irregular is used because it describes the phenomenon more precisely.<sup>2</sup> The fact that these migration movements contravene migration regimes does not imply that they are conducted in a completely “illegal” or fully undocumented manner. In reality, migrants might slide in and out of legality several times in the course of a migration process and the characterisation as “legal” or “illegal” refers rather to specific phases of this process than to the process as a whole. In order to describe illegal migration (in the broader sense) more precisely, it has been suggested to use the term “illegal migration” with regard to illegal border crossings, and to use the alternative term “irregular migration” to refer to a broader class of phenomena. “Irregular migration” could then be understood as comprising illegal entries, legal entries with subsequent illegal residence (visa overstayers, etc.) as well as “apparently legal entries” (i.e. entries within a legal entry scheme achieved through deception or fraud such as “sham marriages”, “bogus students”, etc.). The possibilities to thoroughly assess the quantitative size of irregular migration are fairly limited. By definition, irregular migration is of a hidden nature, the terms “illegal” or “irregular” are applied on a wide range a number of phenomena, from human smuggling operations, self-organised irregular migration processes to visa-overstaying and all forms of irregular work, where “illegality” emerges after an initial legal entry. Consequently data on this topic is assessed to be “lacking, unreliable, contradictory, or unavailable” (Uehling 2004: 81). Existing estimates on irregular migration are based on the extrapolation of data

<sup>2</sup> In legal terms, there is a common distinction between “irregular” and “illegal” migration, contingent upon the ways in which states evaluate violations of the norms on the entry and abode of foreign citizens. Some states do consider it a criminal act, while others formalise them as a statutory offense.



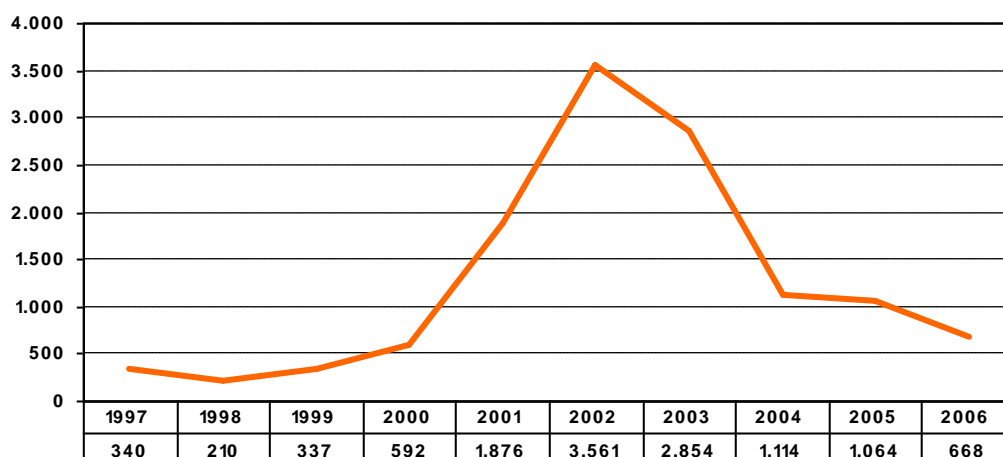
coming from sources like border apprehension figures, asylum applications and data on regularizations posing the problems of multiple registration and lacking comparability. However, statistics and estimates related to irregular migration are an important source of information when being perceived as indicators for underlying trends and developments.

### The asylum-migration nexus

Over the last two decades the international movement of people showed an increasing trend towards so called “mixed flows”, i.e. refugees moving within broader population flows that are also composed of economic and other categories of migrants. In many cases, entering the asylum procedure functions as part of overall (irregular) migration strategies. These strategies provide migrants with a limited possibility to legally enter into a country by granting provisional residency rights, to take a rest and to organise the onward journey. It is also a commonly accepted fact that the professional organisers of human smuggling operations are well aware of the opportunities that emerge from the specific characteristics of respective asylum systems and legislation, and that utilizing those opportunities assumes a prominent role in their strategies. Thus, developments in asylum applications submitted by nationals from a specific country of origin can serve as an indicator for developments regarding irregular migration flows from this country as well.

Between 1997 and 2006, Turkish citizens submitted a total of 12,616 asylum applications in Austria. New applications reached their peak in 2002 with a total of 3,561 applications. After 2003 the number of new applications decreased significantly.

**Figure 2: Asylum applications by Turkish nationals in Austria 1997 - 2006**



Source: MOI Austria, own design.

A large share of asylum applications submitted by Turkish citizens refers to ethnic Kurds. But due to the fact that Kurds are registered as Turkish, Iraqi or Iranian nationals in the statistics rather than according to their ethnicity, the exact number of Kurds having claimed for asylum cannot be measured precisely.<sup>3</sup> The continuing human rights violations regarding Kurds in Turkey – as well as in Iraq and Iran – have to be considered as being one of the main factors contributing to the large amount of asylum applications submitted by Turkish nationals. Beside this there are other important factors influencing related flows from Turkey. As outlined above, one of the reasons for the significant number of asylum applications by Turkish nationals lies in the lack of other immigration channels. Consequently, claiming for asylum was in many cases the only option left in order to legally enter Austria. This development set in after the imposition of restrictions on labour migration in the 1970ies. Immigration from Turkey increasingly shifted towards family reunification and asylum (Castles and Loughna 2002: 2). It was reinforced after the military coup d'état in Turkey in 1980 (Jennissen 2004: 158). The high number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Turkey represents another major “push factor” regarding asylum seeker movements from the country. In the period between 1984 and 1995 more than 2 million Kurds had become displaced persons, for the year 2000 estimates assumed that 400,000 – 1,000,000 individuals had to be considered as being IDPs. In addition to these “push factors” the so-called “pull factors” have to be considered as well, making European countries attractive both for individuals being persecuted in their home countries as well as so-called “economic migrants”. Such “pull factors” comprise “the high level(s) of peace and public order, the existence of democratic institutions, and the rule of law”, “economic factors like strong economies, developed health and welfare systems” (Castles and Loughna 2002: 19). Ethnic communities and social and family networks in Austria as well as professional smuggling networks offering their services to irregular migrants and asylum migrants along the route to Austria function as important “intermediary factors” in irregular migration from Turkey to Austria.

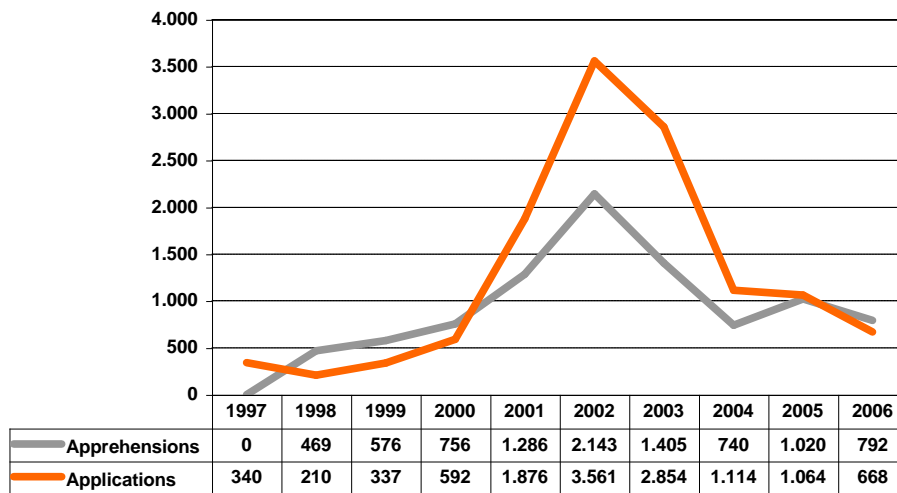
The assumption of a close connection between irregular migration and asylum is also supported by the developments in annual apprehension figures.<sup>4</sup> Between 1997 and 2006 Austrian authorities apprehended a total of 9,187 Turkish citizens, either as persons “entering illegally” into or “staying illegally” on Austrian territory. Apprehensions reached their peak in 2002 with a total of 2,143 applications. After 2003 the number of new applications decreased again. Figure 3 shows a strong correlation between apprehensions of and asylum applications submitted by Turkish nationals. This trend suggests that irregular migrants from Turkey enter the Austrian asylum procedure on a regular basis.

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<sup>3</sup> Estimates suggest that about 700,000 Kurds reside in European countries at present, comprising regular migrants, recognised refugees, asylum seekers, and irregular migrants (Kirisci 2004)

<sup>4</sup> Foreign nationals who have been apprehended at the borders or within the territory of Austria, who are not in the possession of the documents required to cross the border or to legally reside on the territory of Austria.

**Figure 3: Comparison of asylum applications by and apprehensions of Turkish nationals in Austria 1997 - 2006**



Source: MOI Austria, own design.

However, according to police investigations, irregular migrants from Turkey rank among those nationalities, which make only limited use of the asylum system in irregular migration projects. This is to be explained by the fact that Austria rather represents a transit country for irregular migrants from Turkey on their way to Germany and other Western European countries (Republic of Austria 2004/2005/2006). Especially since the entering into force of the “Dublin II Regulation” (determining which EU Member State is responsible for examining an asylum application) and the implementation of EURODAC system (to collect and exchange finger-print data of asylum applicants), asylum seekers increasingly try to avoid applying for asylum in EU Member States along the route before they have reached their aspired target country. The annual “disappearance rates” of Turkish asylum applicants also support the characterisation of Austria as a transit country for Turkish asylum migration. On average, more than 50% of all asylum cases regarding Turkish citizens have to be closed for reasons of disappearance. It is assumed in the majority of such cases, the individual claimants have left the country to another destination (Jandl 2004: 806). At least indirectly the conclusion can be drawn that Austria does not represent an attractive country of destination for Turkish migrants residing in the country illegally and that the support capacity of the Turkish community for undocumented co-nationals is fairly limited.

## 4. Structure of stocks

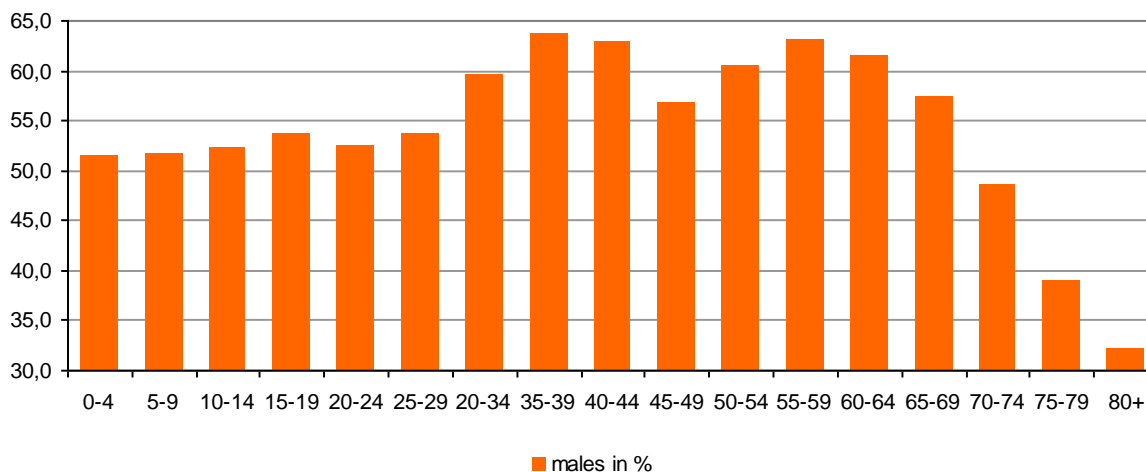
### 4.1 Basic demography

Currently (2007) 177,699 persons with a Turkish migratory background are living in Austria making up for 2.1 per cent of the total population. 108,808 hold a Turkish citizenship and 155,126 were born in Turkey. By combining these two dimensions (citizenship and place of birth), the following groups can be defined according to their background:

- Turkish immigrants with a Turkish citizenship: 86,265 persons (49 per cent of all persons with a Turkish background),
- Members of the second (or third) generation (born in Austria, still holding a Turkish citizenship): 22,543 persons (13 per cent),
- Austrians born in Turkey: 68,861 persons (39 per cent).

Turkish citizens are markedly younger than the Austrian population. 29 per cent of the Turks are aged under 15 years (Austrians: 17 per cent), 68 per cent are in working age of 15 to 60 years. While more than every fifth Austrian has reached retirement age (60 +), only 3 per cent of the Turkish citizens residing in Austria are 60 years or older. There are two reasons for this small proportion: Firstly, some migrants leave Austria when they retire and go back home to their country of origin and the early immigrants from the late 1960s and 1970s are just about to reach retirement age. Secondly, there was and still is a strong tendency among guest workers to naturalize the longer they stay and work in Austria. Therefore they are 'lost' in older age groups.

Taking into account citizenship only, the proportion of males was 56 per cent at the census 2001 and thus still markedly high, although family reunification started a long time ago. The proportions are more or less balanced in the younger age groups up to 15 years, the highest difference occurs in the core working age groups with the highest proportion of males (63.6 per cent) for those aged 35 to 39. After having reached retirement age, the picture turns with markedly more females than males.

**Figure 4: Proportion of males by age groups, 2001**

Source: Statistics Austria, census 2001. Own design.

According to the micro-census 2005, the analysis of the marital status shows a markedly high proportion of adult (aged 20 and more years) married people with a Turkish migration background of 84 per cent. Interestingly it is even higher among Austrians born in Turkey (89 per cent) than among Turkish citizens born in Turkey (84 per cent). Every tenth adult with a Turkish migration background is unmarried, divorced or widowed persons are a clear exception, together they account for 6 per cent.

**Table 3: Migration background and length of stay in Austria, 2005**

	Turkish citizens born in Turkey	naturalized Turks	total
-1975	11,2	11,8	11,5
1976-1985	10,6	22,6	15,7
1986-1995	29,8	57,1	41,5
1996-2005	48,4	8,5	31,3
total	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Mikrozensus, own calculation.

Though their immigration started in the late 1960s only a little more than every tenth person with a Turkish migration background entered Austria before 1976. The majority came between 1986 and 1995 and almost one third after 1995. The differences with regard to the kind of migration background are (of course) significant: Austrians born in Turkey mostly immigrated between 1986 and 1996, whereas Turkish citizens came foremost in the last decade (48.4 per cent).

The position in the household of the Turkish population (citizenship) clearly indicates the important role of the family in Turkish migration: Single households are – completely contrary to the trend in the total population – an exception with only 4.9 percent of all Turkish citizens in

Austria living in single households. There are 30,102 Turkish representatives (private households) of households including more than one person, clearly indicating the importance of traditional ideas about family and gender roles.

## 4.2 Labour market positions

Currently, about 55,000 Turkish citizens are gainfully employed on the Austrian labour market. Their positions and employment status seem to be kind of cemented. In the initial phase of guest worker immigration they were recruited to fill the gaps in industry and were employed mostly as unskilled labourers. Nowadays they work in branches with a high degree of seasonality characterized by economic resiliency in jobs the Austrians don't want to take up anymore due to many reasons, among them small wages and burdening working conditions. This has to be seen in connection with the educational level: 77 per cent of Turkish males and 89 per cent of females only have basic education. This is one of the decisive factors putting them into the current positions at the very bottom of the occupational system.

**Table 4: Employment status of Turkish employees (citizenship) by sex, 2001**

	males	females
self-employed	2.6	1.9
white collar employees, civil servants	12.5	19.5
workers	83.0	73.5
skilled workers	14.4	4.2
semi-skilled workers	22.5	18.3
unskilled workers	46.1	51.1
first time job seekers	1.8	5.1
total	100.0	100.0
absolute	44,636	18,257

Source: Census 2001, own calculations.

The share of persons in worker positions is extremely high: 83 per cent of the males and 73 per cent of the females. Females are a little more successful in reaching white collar positions but the respective share in the Austrian workforce is more than 60 per cent. Another important feature of Turkish employment is the low activity rate of women: While males have more or less the same rates as Austrians, female participation is considerably lower, 55 per cent in the core age group 30 to 45, only 38 per cent in the age group 45 to 60.

Turkish migrants also bear a higher risk of being unemployed than the Austrians. Both males and females show higher unemployment rates with the difference being more marked for men. There are three main reasons for this: Foreign employees are to be found mainly as unskilled or semi-skilled workers in those parts of craft and industry that are characterized by regression. They have only little chances to find a new employment due to their poor qualifications. At the same time they are working in those branches that are affected by a high seasonal

unemployment (building industry, tourism). Furthermore the low educational level of parts of the immigrant population diminishes their chances in the competition on the labour market.

**Table 5: Gainfully employed and unemployed Turkish citizens, 2000-2007**

	employed	unemployed	unemployment rate
2000	57,098	5,647	9,0
2001	56,902	6,712	10,6
2002	56,280	7,729	12,1
2003	55,726	8,019	12,6
2004	54,655	8,336	13,2
2005	53,483	8,759	14,1
2006	54,071	7,945	12,8
2007	55,126	7,283	11,7

Source: HVSV Austria.

Table 5 shows the declining number of Turks gainfully employed in Austria from 2000 until 2005 and a slight growth since then. Contrary, unemployment grew until 2005 and diminished since then. The unemployment rate of Turkish citizens reached a peak in 2004 with more than 13 per cent.

### 4.3 Irregular migrant work (IMW) of Turkish citizens

The engagement of foreign nationals from a given country of origin in informal employment is another indicator for the existence of stocks of irregular immigrants from this country. Again, sound data on the real size of illegal Turkish employment is not available. Based on qualitative research findings a few conclusions can be drawn: Turkey is listed together with Poland, the successor states to the former Yugoslavia, Slovakia, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Romania as one of the main countries of origin of migrants engaged in irregular migrant work. According to Austrian experts, Turkish informal migrant work is mainly found in the construction sector, ethnic businesses and food shops, where family members of foreign owners may find easy, if unofficial and irregular, employment.

### 4.4 Estimates on illegal stocks

It is very difficult to make sound statements on the size of illegal stocks in a country, since in this area there are even less significant quantitative indicators than for estimating irregular inflows. Existing estimates should not be downplayed, but it should be emphasised that they might give an idea about certain trends and developments but do not provide an accurate picture of the situation in quantitative terms. Estimates on the size of illegal stocks of Turkish citizens in Austria are scarce. In 2002 Biffl estimated that about 5,500 Turkish students in the age group between 6 and 15 years had immigrated to Austria outside family reunification schemes and thus resided in the country illegally (IOM-NCP 2005: 42). Based on the assumption that the parents of these students stayed illegally as well, a total stock of between 5,500 and

11,000 Turkish citizens residing in Austria could be estimated. In 2006, the Austrian MOI estimated that about 30,000 Turkish citizens reside illegally in Austria; many of them rejected asylum seekers (Republic of Austria 2006: 239). This figure appears to be overestimated, when taking into account that the number of applications submitted by Turkish citizens between 1997 and 2006 amounted to 12,616 in total (with between 15 – 20 per cent of these applicants being recognised per year) and assuming that the majority of irregular migrants from Turkey are recorded in asylum statistics also. Moreover, there are roughly 30,000 Turkish households in Austria, implying that on average each of these households would have to support one illegal migrant from Turkey. Considering the high degree of external and internal control mechanisms as well as the limited capacity of the Turkish diaspora to support undocumented migrants, the real size of Turkish citizens residing illegally in Austria must be considered lower than the quoted estimates.

## 5. Continuity of flows

### **What do you project to be future developments with regard to legal inflows?**

Legal inflows will continue to move in the ranges set by Austrian immigration legislation. There are no substantive changes to be expected with regard to an increase of the quotations for labour immigration in the near future. Consequently, immigration from Turkey will take place in form of limited labour immigration and family reunification/formation. In quantitative terms this will result in stable or even slowed-down developments in legal inflows.

### **What do you project to be future developments with regard to illegal inflows?**

The same can be said about irregular inflows. Recent years showed rather steady developments at comparatively low levels. Depending on the political situation in Turkey and the human rights situation regarding Kurds, but also on the effectiveness of control regimes and the fight against human smuggling networks, it is to be expected that irregular inflows will move in the ranges as observed in the recent past.

### **What will be the role of migrants, migrant networks and other intermediary organisations in these processes?**

In principle, the interplay of three factors impact on the significance of ethnic communities and migrant networks for the stimulation and “channelling” of migration flows to a specific country of destination: the level of social and economic integration in the country and the resulting support capacity for follow-up migrants; the level of identity and solidarity within a community; and the density of communication and interaction between “migrant diasporas” and their home countries (Crisp 1999: 4). The Turkish community in Austria is to be perceived as a well-integrated “diaspora”. Turks form a large community in quantitative terms, the community is characterised by strong and dense ties with communities back home, and shares more than 40 years of “joint” migration history with Austria. However, the support capacity for follow-up migrants outside the family context is fairly limited. As shown above, in 2001 only 2.6 per cent of Turkish citizens in Austria were self-employed. This also implies strong limitations on the ability of the Turkish community to provide jobs to co-nationals, be it on formal or informal



labour markets. The same refers to other types of assistance such as housing and health care. The high degree of legal and social control in Austria makes it very difficult for migrant communities to support follow-up migrants outside the legal migration channels. Thus, Turkish migration to Austria is to a large extent shaped by the possibilities provided by Austrian immigration legislation and to a lesser degree by asylum migration. Within these regulatory frameworks, migrant networks do play an important role in providing information, financial means and support in integrating follow-up migrants. Outside of the margins set by legislation, the role of migrant networks is of less importance.

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