

**THE INTEGRATION OF IRAQI TURKOMANS IN ANKARA
AFTER 1980S**

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ABSTRACT

THE INTEGRATION OF IRAQI TURKOMANS IN ANKARA AFTER 1980S

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This thesis analyzes the integration process of Iraqi Turkomans living in Ankara and how social networks effect these processes. The reasons of their migration from Iraq after 1980s and the migration process are also discussed in order to clarify their level of integration in Turkey.

The research for this thesis is based on the analysis of questionnaires and in-depth interviews that were done with the members of *Iraqi Turks Culture and Assistance Association* and who have close relations with it. It was thought that strong networks among family members and friends would be a facilitating factor for their integration to different aspects of social life such as housing and labour market, social security and health system, education system in Turkey. It is found that besides social networks; cultural and linguistic similarities of Turkomans plays an important role for their integration process. More importantly, acquiring Turkish citizenship is a crucial factor to participate to social life and makes integration easier.

Key Words: Migration, Migrant Integration, Iraqi Turkomans

ÖZ

1980'LER SONRASINDA ANKARA'DA YAŞAYAN IRAKLI TÜRKMENLERİN ENTEGRASYONU

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Bu çalışma, Ankara'da yaşayan Iraklı Türkmenlerin Türkiye'deki sosyal yaşama entegrasyon sürecini ve sosyal ağların entegrasyon süreci üzerindeki etkisini incelemektedir. Göç nedenleri ile göç süreçleri de Türkiye'deki entegrasyon süreçlerini netleştirmek açısından tartışılmaktadır.

Araştırma, Ankara'daki *Irak Türkleri Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneğine* üye ya da yakın ilişki içerisindeki Iraklı Türkmenlerle yapılan anket çalışması ve derinlemesine görüşmelere dayanmaktadır. Araştırmanın başında, Türkmenlerin entegrasyon sürecinde güçlü sosyal ağlara sahip olmalarının Ankara'da ev ve iş piyasası, sosyal güvenlik, sağlık ve eğitim gibi sistemlere katılım sağlamalarını kolaylaştırdığı düşünülmüştür. Sonuç olarak; Türkmenlerin entegrasyon sürecinde sosyal ağlarla birlikte, kültür ve dil benzerliğinin önemli bir rol oynadığı ve daha önemlisi Türk vatandaşlığının sosyal yaşama entegrasyonda hayati önemi haiz ve entegrasyonu kolaylaştırıcı bir faktör olduğu sonuçlarına ulaşılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç, Entegrasyon, Iraklı Türkmenler

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The thesis aims at shedding some light on the integration processes of Iraqi Turkomans now living in Ankara and who had migrated from Iraq after the 1980s. It discusses the reasons of migration of Turkomans and their level of integration to the social life in Turkey. The analysis is based on a social networks perspective which stresses, in general, the relationships among social entities and the patterns and implications of these relations. Social scientists have used the metaphor of “social network” for a century to connote complex sets of relationships between members of social systems at all scales, from interpersonal to international. Yet not until the 1950s did they start using the term systematically and self-consciously to denote patterns of ties that cut across the concepts traditionally used by social scientists such as bounded groups (tribes, families) and social categories (gender, ethnicity) (Barry, 2007).

There are some key concepts used in networks analysis that are fundamental to the social networks perspective. That is; it focus on the linkages among social entities that are referred to *actors*; *dyads* (tie between two actors) and *triads* (ties between three actors) or larger systems (subgroup of individuals or entire networks). In this sense, the unit of analysis in network analysis is not the individual, but an entity consisting of a collection of individuals and the linkages among them. Actors are linked one to another by *social ties*. These social ties can be friendships, liking or respect, transfers of material resources, association or affiliation (jointly attending a social event, or belonging to the same social club), behavior interaction (sending messages or talking together), movement between places (migration, social or physical mobility), physical connection (a road, river or a bridge connecting two points), formal relations authority) and biological relationships (kinship or descent). The collection of ties of a

specific kind among the members of a group is called *relation*. In that respect, social networks consists of a finite set or sets of actors and the relation or relations defined on them and in this context, relational ties among actors are primary and attributes of actors are secondary. Furthermore, there are some important principles that establishe the social networks theory. First of all, the actors and their actions are viewed as interdependent rather than independent autonomous units. Secondly, the linkages between the actors are channels for transfer or flow of material or nonmaterial resources. Moreover, network models focusing on individuals view the network structural environment as providing opportunities for or constraints on individuals and lastly they conceptualize structure as lasting patterns of relations among actors (Wasserman, S and Faust, K.,1994:9-21). In this study, I specifically concentrate on social networks in the frame of social support theories. Social networks are closely related to social support. Social Support is associated with how networking helps people cope with stressful events. It usually refers to a process of interaction or exchange between individuals and significant others (Lincoln, 2007). Researchers have examined different types of support from social networks such as emotional, informational, instrumental and appraisal. *Emotional support* is associated with sharing life experiences. It involves the provision of empathy, love, trust and caring. It can also enhance psychological well-being. *Instrumental support* involves the provision of tangible aid and services that directly assist a person in need. *Informational support* involves the provision of advice, suggestions, and information that a person can use to address problems. *Appraisal support* involves the provision of information that is useful for self-evaluation purposes such as constructive feedback, affirmation and social comparison. House (1988) recommended that studies of social support include measures representing more than one of these components in order to better understand how they relate to each other and to different outcomes. (House, 1988).

Iraq, a country of internal conflicts and at the centre of international conflicts, has become a major source country for international migration. There have been many large-scale waves of migration from Iraq, beginning at the end of the 1970s. These migrations have taken place for various reasons such as the war with Iran from 1980 to 1988 and the Gulf War in 1991 following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, together with the subsequent imposition of international sanctions. In addition, the continual violence experienced by the Iraqi people from 2003 until today due to sectarian violence, and military operations, has created a climate of constant insecurity which has spurred massive population displacement still seen today. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimates that since 1980s, there are some 1.9 million Iraqis displaced internally, and over 2 million in neighboring states, particularly Syria and Jordan (<http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/iraq>).

As stated above, the wars and internal conflicts experienced since 1980s in Iraq have influenced the population of Iraq and Turkomans belong to one of the most effected groups. Indeed, Turkomans residing in Iraq have been subject to ethnic cleansing since the mandate years but there has been an observable increase in security problems after the 1980s. Arabification became an important policy of the state and under the rule of Saddam Hussein who came to power in 1979. Laying aside the war with Iran which lasted approximately 8 years and the damage it had given to all aspects of life in Iraq, after the 1990 Gulf War and the military campaign of United States (US) in 2003, a new situation formed in Northern Iraq and the efforts spent for the reconstruction of Iraq by US and its allies added Kurdisation to Arabification attempts. Consequently, Turkomans migrated to Turkey and to other countries to escape from ethnic cleansing (Sirkeci, 2007: 30).

Overcoming a number of obstacles while escaping their country of origin and arriving in a new country, another phase starts for the migrants: the so called integration into a new society, a society which is characterized by different

political, social and cultural characteristics than the one they had to escape from.

Integration can be defined as an acceptance of the fundamental values of the host-society and at the same time preservation of cultural values typical for the migrant's places of origins, as far as it is not an obstacle to the socio-cultural balance of the new environment (Baglioni, 1964: 125). The integration of migrants is studied by many scholars by using different dimensions of integration. Penninx (2004) proposes political, cultural and economic integration of migrants and similarly, Bloch (2002) divides the integration process to political, cultural and structural dimensions. Esser (2000), on the other hand, uses the concepts of acculturation, placement, interaction and identification for the migrants integration. The approaches, in general, stressed the importance of individuals in the integration process, however, structural factors also constitutes an important place. Moreover, it is thought that besides the structural factors, feelings of belonging and concepts of discrimination and segregation in the new society should be taken into consideration for a comprehensive analysis of integration. This will be analyzed in the fourth chapter of the thesis but it is necessary to stress here that in this study, Heckmann and Schnapper's analysis of integration will be followed, thus, integration process of Iraqi Turkomans will be analyzed under four dimensions namely structural integration, cultural integration, interactive integration and identificational integration (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006:3). Structural integration, in this context, is the acquisition of rights and access to membership, position and statuses in the core institutions of the settlement society. It includes entering the housing and labour market, education system, benefiting from the health and social security system and acquiring citizenship. It should be stated that citizenship is analyzed under the structural integration as an important acquisition to enter and benefit from core institutions but it is also an important indicator for the political integration of migrants. Cultural integration refers to processes of cognitive, cultural, behavioural and attitudinal change of persons. It concerns primarily the

immigrants and their descendants, but is an interactive, mutual process that also changes the settlement society. The cultural integration, in this study, will concentrate on the migrants attitude not on the society they have settled. It is thought that the Turkoman culture is similar to Turkish one which can affect their integration process positively. Interactive/social integration includes people's private relations and group memberships. Interactive integration constitutes the basis of social network analysis and is an important dimension for this study since it mainly concentrates on the interaction of different social groups reached by the help of "*Iraqi Turks Culture and Assistance Association*" in Ankara.¹ Finally, identificational integration will be analyzed which is based on the idea that membership into a new society on the subjective level demonstrates feelings of belonging and identification particularly in forms of ethnic, national or other forms of social identification (Heckmann & Schanapper, 2003: 10).

It is necessary to emphasize that apart from the Association mentioned above, Nationalist Action Party (MHP) which locates under the far right of the ideological spectrum in Turkey is the biggest supporter of Turkomans from their migration to acquiring citizenship and provides great material and immaterial support. The Party embracing Turkish nationalism, imbued with a mythology that suggests all Turks share a common ancestry gives emotional, instrumental, informational and appraisal support to Turkomans who are a mix of migrating Turkish tribes mainly Oguz tribes. In that sense, the political links of Turkomans also have a facilitator role in their integration process.²

¹ Irak Türkleri Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği.

²The **Nationalist Action Party** that has managed to keep its name, emblem, main organizational structure and basic ideological premises more or less intact since its establishment in 1969. Its consistency is most probably due to the fact that MHP has remained the only party on the far right of the ideological spectrum in Turkey. The party had a strong social and ideological base, combining militant nationalism and anticommunism with a strong emphasis on interventionist economic policies and the use of militia-style youth organizations. However, the MHP has undergone a substantial evolution since it was formed and moved away from the far right to approach the center of the political spectrum since the leadership of Devlet Bahçeli in 1997. For more information: Political Parties in Turkey editors Barry Rubin and Metin Heper. Frank Cass and Co.Ltd. London Portland. 2002. The

A few studies had been made analyzing the migration patterns and integration of Iraqi Turkomans in the literature. İbrahim Sirkeci (2005), in his study which concentrates on Turkoman migrants living in Istanbul and Ankara, stresses the migration motive behind the Turkoman community in Iraq as the policies of the Iraqi government forcing them to resign from Turkish identity for Arab nationality and more importantly economic betterment and educational improvement. Didem Daniş (2003), on the other hand, analyses the reasons, migration patterns and the affect of transnational social networks to the migration patterns of Iraqi transit migrants (Kurds, Christians and Turkomans) in Istanbul. Finally, Birol Kürekçi (2009) concentrates on the migration patterns and integration of Iraqi Turkomans living in Istanbul to Turkish social life. These studies present important insights into the life of Iraqi Turkomans living in Turkey. The analysis in this study, is concentrated on the Iraqi Turkomans who are the members of the “*Iraqi Turks Culture and Assistance Association*” or who have close relations with the Association. Thus, the integration of Iraqi Turkomans in this study is approached from an agency perspective. Furthermore, it focuses on groups (basically kin, family and ethnic groups) rather than individuals and the importance of social networks and the mediating function they hold in Turkomans integration process.

1.1 Methodology of the Study

The thesis examines into the incidence of social networks in the integration processes of the Iraqi Turkomans now living in Ankara migrated from Iraq after 1980s. For this aim, it will concentrate on the socio-demographic characteristics of migrants, reasons and process of migration, and Heckmann and Schnapper’s model of integration namely structural integration, cultural integration, interactive integration and identificational integration. Other dimensions of the process are investigated under the headings of problems

Nationalist Action Party: Representative State, the Nation or the Nationalists by Alev Çınar and Burak Arıkan.

faced just after migration, problems facing now, relatives living in Iraq now, whether relatives of migrants in Iraq consider migrating to Turkey, a myth of return, discrimination in Turkey.

The study is basically a descriptive sociological study. It was carried out in Ankara between April-June 2010 on the basis of a combination of in-depth interviews with 10 participants and the application of a standardized questionnaire. The persons incorporated into the sample group were chosen by snowball sampling among the members of the "*Iraqi Turks Culture and Assistance Association*" and who have close relations with the Association. The process of snowball sampling can be explained as asking subjects to nominate another person with the same trait as the next subject. The researcher then observes the nominated subjects and continues in the same way until a sufficient number of subjects is obtained. Thus, the questionnaire was conducted to 24 women and 93 men participants, in total 117 Iraqi Turkomans who were migrated to Turkey from Iraq in different ages. 95 of the participants are aged between 30-50 and 22 of them are between the ages 18-30. The author is aware of the fact, that this sample cannot be considered as a representative one. The fact that the sample was actually chosen from an association formed by Iraqis living in Turkey, again constitutes a certain bias. In spite of these limitations, it is however assumed that the systematic analysis of 117 Iraqis who migrated to Turkey after 1980s, does provide an important insight into, most of all, their but also the integration experiences of others.

At the preliminary stage, a literature review was carried out primarily on the issue of integration of migrants into a new society and for indicators of social networks function as initiators, mediators and perpetrators of social interaction among the migrants and the "host society" that would be valid and applicable in the case of Iraqi Turkomans' integration to social life in Turkey. Although Turkey has been subject to high amounts of migration for decades, she only recently started to consider the integration of migrants officially. A

comprehensive Law on Foreigners and Law on Asylum, which include many detailed provisions concerning the concept of integration such as inducing foreigners to participate social activities, benefit from social services and increase their level of Turkish literacy and planning integration activities in order to facilitate the applicant's or the beneficiary's social, cultural, legal and economic relations with the host society and to develop the necessary knowledge and skills for a foreigner to become is underway. Indeed, the Turkish regulations give preference to those who were of Turkish descent and culture and accept them as immigrants and refugees in Turkey and permitted to stay in the country on an unofficial basis, to settle, work and acquire Turkish citizenship once they have resided in Turkey for five years without any interruptions (Sert and İçduygu, 2009: 4). These legal regulations together with similar cultural and linguistic characteristics can be evaluated as the factors that facilitate their integration to Turkish society.

Before beginning the field study the Association was visited several times in order to gather information about the immigration process, problems faced, life styles etc. of Turkomans. The purpose of the research and the problem of how to find explanations for responses are explained at the beginning of the questionnaire. It is given the assurance that the data will be kept confidential and expressed that there are no right or wrong answers to the questions. The questionnaire had been carried out on Saturdays in the Association. During the individual interviews, questions were asked by the researcher and the responses were recorded by the researcher herself.

The questionnaire which is presented in the Appendix consists of three parts. In the first part, socio-demographic data was collected. In this framework, in order to understand the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants; gender, age, birthplace, education, job in Iraq, job in Turkey, household income, time they spent in Turkey and marital status are taken into account.

In the second part, there are questions about the causes and the process of migration which is an important indicator to understand the integration processes of the participants.

In the third part, there are questions about the integration process of the participants. In order to explore structural integration, the level of integration to housing and labour market, education system, whether participants benefited from the social security and health system, Turkish citizenship and voting patterns of Turkomans are asked to the participants.

Cultural integration level is examined by questions on cultural similarity between Turkish and Iraqi Turkomans, change in cultural norms, neighbourhood relations in Iraq and Turkey and difficulties in Turkish speaking and understanding.

The interactive integration is clarified with the questions of advice and debt Turkomans take in case of need, connection with Turkomans and Turks and membership to other organizations other than the *Iraqi Turks Culture and Assistance Association*.

Finally, identificational integration associated with the feelings of belonging is elaborated with the perception of townsman of Turkomans.

The data obtained from the questionnaire are processed and analyzed through frequency distributions and chi square tests by SPSS for Windows 17. Furthermore, the in-depth interview technique was conducted on Saturdays to 2 women and 8 men, in total 10 participants among the members of the Association and who have close relations with it for gathering qualitative data. Among the interviewees, 7 of them are more than 30 years old and 8 of them are married. The in-depth interviews were designed in parallel to the questionnaire applied to explore the reasons of migration, level of integration to Turkish society and the role of social networks in these

processes. The participants' own words and thoughts obtained from these interviews were evaluated in order to find out attitudes, perceptions and approaches of the migrants to the integration process in the framework of the related literature.

1.2 The Organization of the Study

The study is composed of 7 chapters. Following the introduction part, in the second chapter; migration, international migration and forced migration are discussed briefly. Starting from migration as a general phenomenon, the chapter elaborates the terms that define the migration of Iraqi Turkomans, international and forced migration.

The third chapter attempts to explain the legal and illegal entrances of migrants to Turkey and the procedures applied to them on the basis of their entrances. In that respect; firstly, the illegal migration to Turkey is analyzed. Then, legal migration in particular concepts of refugee and asylum seekers is explained on the basis of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and other relevant sources that provide a definition to the concept of refugee. Finally, Turkey's position towards refugees and asylum seekers is demonstrated by paying attention to Turkish policies and regulations. Furthermore, how the migrants stay in Turkey is explained by referring to the Settlement and Citizenship Law in Turkey.

The fourth chapter concentrates on the integration of migrants to the host society. In this part of the study, integration and the concepts related with it and the theories of integration namely classical assimilation theory, segmented assimilation theory, spatial assimilation theory, ethnic communities or ethnic identity and social networks theory will be analyzed.

Among the theories, a special concern is attributed to the social networks theory.

The fifth chapter gives a historical account of Turkomans living in Iraq. It comprises the origins, population and settlement of Iraqi Turkomans and the developments in Iraq including the wars experienced after 1980s and the Arabification policy followed by the state in particular during the reign of Saddam Hussein. The insecurity environment in Iraq, accordingly, is paid attention to which has caused an important amount of population movements including Iraqi Turkomans from the country.

The sixth chapter presents the results of the statistical analysis and the qualitative data collected. The findings are evaluated in the framework of the dimensions of integration and social networks perspective explained in the previous chapters.

CHAPTER 2

THE CONCEPT OF MIGRATION AND THE TURKOMAN CASE

Throughout history, people had to leave their homelands and countries behind and seek economic opportunities as well as more secure places due to the violence, persecution, coercion and torture they were subjected to, or as a consequence of hunger, poverty, battles and wars (Kolukırık & Aygül, 2009: 69).

Migration can be defined as crossing the boundary of a political and administrative unit for a certain period of time. In traditional societies, migration was a rare incident and many people spend their whole life in their village or neighborhood. Today, it is becoming an increasingly common phenomenon that people move in search of security and a better livelihood. Even those who do not migrate are affected by their relatives, friends and descendants of migrants or through experiences of change in their community as a result of departure or arrival of newcomers (Castles, 2000: 269). The relatives, friends and descendants of migrants that is the migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and nonmigrants in origin and destination areas (Massey, 1993: 448). They play a significant role in the preference of moving, settling and integration of migrants (Hugo, 1998:145) which is thought to be so for the Iraqi Turkomans as well and will be analyzed in details later. Migration can occur from one area such as a province, district or municipality to another within one country which refers to internal migration or can be international migration meaning crossing the frontiers which separate one of the world's approximately 200 states from another (Castles, 2000: 269).

Many scholars argue that internal and international migration are part of the same process, and should be analyzed together. In that respect, Castles argues that rigid distinctions may be misleading:

International migration may be over short distances and between culturally similar people (e.g. between the southern Philippines and Sabah in Malaysia), while internal migration can span great distances and bring together very different people (e.g. movements of Uighar “national minority” people from the western provinces of China to cities in the East). Sometimes the frontiers migrate rather than the people, making internal migrants into international ones. For instance, the breakup of the former Soviet Union turned into foreigners in the successor states (Castles, 2000: 270).

The migration of Turkomans supports the idea of misleading characteristics of making a rigid distinction between internal and international migration. The Turkomans migration to Turkey is over a short distance and to a country that has similar cultural characteristics with their own. Saatçi (1996: 154), argues that the Turkish culture is similar to Turkoman culture which is also consistent with the expressions of Turkomans monitored during the in-depth interviews conducted in the thesis. In that respect, although Turkoman’s migration to Turkey is an international one in theory, the characteristics of it also demonstrate similarities with internal migration.

The second half of the twentieth century witnessed the period of international migration which emerged as one of the main factors in social transformation and development in all regions of the world. Its importance seems to increase further in the twenty-first century, as population movements grow in volume and takes on new forms. The modern history of international migration can be roughly divided into four periods. From 1500 to 1800, world migration flows were dominated by Europe and stemmed from the process of colonization and economic growth under mercantile capitalism. The colonizing migrants composed of agrarian settlers, administrators and artisans and small number of entrepreneurs established Europe’s dominion over large parts of the world. The second period covers the years from 1800

to 1925 in which more than forty-eight million people left the industrializing countries of Europe in search for new lives in America and Oceania. With the outbreak of World War I and especially after the Great Depression in 1929, the international movements slowed down. This can be categorized as the period of limited migration. The World War II was accompanied with large movements of refugees and displaced people. The post-industrial migration period emerged after 1960s and constituted a sharp break with the past. Post industrial era brought people from densely settled countries at the earliest stages of industrialization into densely settled, economically matured post-industrial societies. Immigration became a global phenomenon as the number and variety of both sending and receiving countries increased and the immigrants coming from the developing world have taken the place of Europeans. Even the long sending countries such as Italy, Spain and Portugal began receiving migrants from the Middle East and Africa. After the 1973 oil crisis, several less developed but capital-rich nations in the Gulf region began to sponsor massive labor migration. Moreover, by 1980s international migration spread to Asia including the newly industrialized countries like Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand (Massey, 1999: 35).

It is not surprising that for such a phenomenon like migration, existing throughout the human history, various attempts from different perspectives have been made to classify the phenomenon and diverse typologies were offered in understanding migration. However, providing a comprehensive framework for migration is beyond the limits of this study. For this reason, in this part of the thesis, concepts mostly suitable to elaborate the migration of Turkomans to Turkey will be elaborated. First of all, there is a need to distinguish migrants on the basis of their migration motives. From a broader perspective, migration studies are characterized by a division between the study of people who move for economic reasons on the one hand and the study of those who move for political reasons on the other. People who move for economic reasons are normally called migrants, while people who move

for political reasons are called refugees, asylum seekers or simply labeled displaced people (Sudarmo, 2007: 13). Castles classifies international migrants as temporary labour migrants, highly skilled migrants, family reunion migrants, return migrants, illegal migrants, refugees or asylum seekers and forced migrants. Temporary labour migrants (guest-workers or overseas contract workers) are the people who migrate for a limited period in order to find a job and send home remittances and highly skilled migrants are people who move within the internal labour markets of transnational corporations and international organizations or who seek employment through international labour markets for scarce skills. Both temporary and high skilled migrants can be categorized under the migrants who migrated for economic reasons. Irregular migrants, refugees and asylum seekers will be analyzed in the next chapter in details but it is possible to express now that illegal migrants are people who enter a country without the necessary documents and permits, refugees are people explained in the 1951 convention who reside outside his/her country of nationality because of a “well founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion and asylum seekers move across borders in search of protection but who may not fulfill the strict criteria laid down by the 1951 convention (Castles, 2000: 271).

There have been many large-scale waves of migration from Iraq since the war with Iran from 1980 to 1988 and the Gulf War in 1991 following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, together with the subsequent imposition of international sanctions. In addition, the continual violence experienced by the Iraqi people from 2003 until today due to sectarian violence, and military operations, has created a climate of constant insecurity which has spurred massive population displacement still seen today (<http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/iraq>). Iraqi Turkomans is one of the ethnic groups that had to escape from their birth country and migrated to Turkey and other countries. The economic motive is probably also a factor for a small percentage but it is possible to state that majority of them migrated to escape from ethnic cleansing and its

by products which has been continuing since 1920s and increased especially after 1980s (Sirkeci, 2007: 30). In parallel to the above definitions, Turkomans can be categorized mostly under the category refugees and asylum seekers. It can be therefore labeled as involuntary or forced migration. The movement of people across geographical space can be self-motivated or as a result of particular circumstances that forced them to move. Sirkeci, in his study, conducted in 2005; where Turkoman population is concentrated in Iraq, reaches the conclusion that migration of Turkomans seems similar to a wave of forced migration. They were living in sufficient and satisfactory socio-economic conditions. In that sense, their migration can be defined as an unexpected case unless their security is under threat (<http://www.kerkukvakfi.com>). Hence, in requirements of this study, an emphasis will be given to the concept "forced migration".

The circumstances that prompted an act of forced migration can be ecological, social, economical and political. In that respect, forced migrants, in a broader sense, include not only refugees and asylum seekers but also people forced to move by environmental catastrophes or development projects such as new factories, roads and dams (Castles, 2000: 271). Similarly, Kuhlman attributes forced migration not to the motivation of the migrant but the crisis that made him flee. According to him; it is not always the state that force people to migrate but also terrorist groups, commercial entities and natural disasters can be the reasons of forced migration. This is important for the fact that most of the literature on causes of forced migration implies violence and persecution as the causes of flight rather than referring to natural disasters or development projects (Kuhlman, 2000: 5).

To begin with, William Petersen brings together the internal and international migration in one typology for a general theory of migration. According to Petersen, there are five classes of migration: primitive, forced, impelled, free and mass. In this framework, primitive migration reflects the inability of people to cope with natural forces. Such a movement of population in the

narrower sense is associated with primitive people. Different from the primitive migration, the decision for migration in forced and impelled migration is stimulated by state or social institutions. Although it is difficult to distinguish these two from each other; in impelled migration, the migrants have some power to choose to migrate or not, but in forced migration, they do not have this power. The three categories provided above describe involuntary migration, focusing on the will dimension in migration, Petersen suggests two more categories in which migrants are active in the migration decision, namely free and mass migration. (Petersen, 1970: 54-60).

Among those who provided a typology of forced migration it was Kunz who argued that refugees are the involuntary migrants that is refugee's motivation for seeking a new place differed from that of voluntary migrants (Kunz, 1973: 125). Kunz's typology distinguishes two types of refugees and three types of refugee movements. Kunz defines "reactive fate groups" as those who flee their countries without a plan on how to return and "purpose groups" as those who leave their countries and seek asylum for organizing resistance for an eventual return (Veney, 2007: 10). Regarding refugee movements, Kunz suggests "anticipatory refugee movements", "acute refugee movements" and "intermediate situations". The anticipatory refugee refers to people who leave the home country before the conditions deteriorate. Acute refugee movements, contrary to anticipatory ones, are result of great political changes or movements of armies, thus the primary purpose for an acute refugee is to achieve safety situation. And the final refugee movement is the intermediate situation that can take place in between anticipatory or acute movements.

Once and for all, it is important to touch upon Milica Zarkovic Bookman's positioning of forced migration in the perspective of a demographic struggle power in relation to struggles for territory and control of the sources. Bookman describes three types of involuntary population transfers. Firstly, ethnic dilution is the resettlement of people in an area with an aim of diluting

the pre-existing population in that area and similar to ethnic dilution which implies the movement of a target group into a region, ethnic consolidation is the resettlement of people in an area for strengthening the desired ethnic group. Whereas the third category, implies the movement out of a region, that is ethnic cleansing, which means deportation of people from an area to cleanse the 'undesirables' (Bookman, 1997: 122-125).

CHAPTER 3

THE WAYS MIGRANTS USE TO ENTER TO TURKEY AND WAYS TO STAY IN TURKEY

This chapter is an attempt to clarify the situation of Turkomans living as legal or illegal migrants in Turkey. Turkey has been located at a various migration and transportation routes during centuries due to its geography and Turkomans is one of the groups migrated to Turkey due to the circumstances in their own country.

The legal migration requirements for Turkomans do not present a picture different from other migrants all over the world; consequently, almost 50 % of them are forced to migrate illegally. It is probably one of the highest ratio of illegal migrants in migration studies. Sirkeci's study incorporating almost 6000 Turkoman participants living in Iraq in 2004 demonstrates that half of the Turkomans did not have a visa at the time of their migration, 17 % of them had entered by a tourist visa and continued to stay after their visa expired and in this regard can be accepted as illegal migrants. And only 33 % of them entered by documents including residence permits (Sirkeci, 2005: 25).

3.1 Turkey as a transit and destination country for migrants

International events such as the 1973 oil crisis, the Iranian Revolution, the Iran-Iraq War, the end of Cold War, the Gulf War, the break-up of former Yugoslavia and recent conflict in Iraq all gave rise to migration movements in the international arena as well as in Turkey (İçduygu and Sert, 2009: 1). Consequently, some of the migrants migrate to Turkey in order to settle and start a new life while others follow a route from Turkey to reach destination countries in the West and North. The latter are transit migrants and when

their county of origin is considered, they are mostly coming from the Eastern and Southern borders of Turkey (İçduygu, 2008: 3). Because of the *geographical limitation* which will be analyzed in details later, many of the asylum seekers in Turkey are granted refugee status and resettled in other countries. In that way, they become a type of transit migrants. In that sense, the distinction between transit migrants and asylum seekers can be stated as blur (İçduygu, 2008: 8).

Turkey has been a country of migration and asylum since the early years of the Republic. From the early years of the Republic to the end of century, more than 1.6 million people migrated to Turkey, mostly from Balkan countries. During World War II, many Jewish and German intellectuals migrated to Turkey and transit to Palestine while many nationals from neighboring Balkan countries and Italians from the Dodecanese island sought temporary asylum in Turkey. This pattern continued during the Cold War years and thousands of asylum seekers fled to Turkey from former Soviet Union countries and the one recognized as refugees were resettled to third countries such as Canada and the United States by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). At the end of 1980s, Turkey received an increasing numbers of asylum seekers migrating from developing nations in particular from Iran and Iraq. Furthermore, since the early 1990s, Turkey has been witnessing new forms of migration. With this new trend, students started to come from a variety of countries as well as nationals of EU countries for education purposes (Kirişçi, 2004: 2-6). Additionally, businessman started to work in Turkey with proper residence and work permits and European retirees settled in some of the Mediterranean resorts. Moreover, 1990s were characterized by suitcase trade as a result of liberal policy applied by Turkish governments. People coming from former Soviet Union and Soviet Bloc countries for suitcase trade purposes, stayed in Turkey and have looked for more permanent business connections and marriages to stay (Kirişçi, 2004: 2-6).

Whether migrants came to Turkey to stay or to transfer to another country, I firstly would like to concentrate on the way they enter to Turkey. Some of the migrants are forced to leave their country or escape from their country and enter the other one by illegal ways. If they accomplish to enter, some of them apply for asylum. On the other hand, some came to seek asylum at the borders.

3.2 Migrants enter Turkey by illegal ways

Castles defines illegal migrants as the people who enter a country, usually in search of employment, without the necessary documents or permits. According to him, many labour migration flows consist of undocumented migrants and in some cases countries tacitly permit such migration since it allows mobilization of labour in response to employer demands without social costs or measures for protection of migrants (Castles, 2000: 270). Indeed, illegal or undocumented migration is a multifaceted phenomenon. The term does not only refer to illegal crossing of borders but can take many forms according to the existing legal regulations, policing, border regimes, reactions of smugglers and migrants towards these conditions. It can be analyzed in three basic forms or types. The first type is the illegal and clandestine crossing of a border while the other type is crossing the border in a seemingly legal way either by using falsified documents or by using legal documents for illegal purposes. The third type is staying in a country after expiration of legal status (Heckmann, 2004: 1106). It is defined by Dauvergne:

The most straightforward way to define illegal migration is by reference to the migration law of the state doing the counting. Under this method, anyone who is currently in contravention of the law has an illegal status. This will include people who enter the country in breach of the law and those who overstay their permission to remain. More ambiguously, it may include those who intend to make an asylum claim but have not yet made one (Dauvergne, 2008: 11).

As stated before, Turkey is located on the East-West route of migration which is one of the frequent roads that migrants use. The geographical position of Turkey and the instabilities around Turkey's neighboring countries makes it an important route for illegal migrants who want to live in better conditions in the West. In that sense, especially after 1990s Turkey has been faced with illegal migration movements oriented to reach Western Europe from countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Iran and Bangladesh (www.egm.gov.tr). Additionally, the statistics demonstrate that after the invasion of Iraq by United States of America in 2003, the illegal crossings realized at the Turkish-Iraqi border and performed by Iraqi people increased comparatively (Kirişçi, 2004: 2-6).

3.3 Migrants enter Turkey by legal ways in order to seek asylum

Before mentioning the asylum seekers in Turkey, it is necessary to analyze the concepts of refugees and asylum seekers which are widely accepted in the international context. The international refugee law defines a refugee as someone who seeks asylum in a country other than the country of origin because of war and violence, or out of fear of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership to a particular social group. He/she is named as an asylum seeker until the evaluation of his/her status. The definition of refugees and asylum seekers has been discussed for a long time and changed over time. In the inter-war period, in 1926, the Russian refugees were defined at the Inter-Governmental Committee by the League of Nations as:

Any person of Russian origin who does not enjoy or who no longer enjoys the protection of the government of the Soviet Union and who has not acquired another nationality (Simpson, 1938: 1).

Such kind of definition that stresses the group affiliation, were also used at the 1933 Refugee Convention of the League of Nations. These definitions do not regard political persecution as one of the requirements for acquiring refugee status.

The need for a universal definition of refugee status explicitly increased after World War II. The events experienced during the war revealed that membership to a particular group is not adequate or relevant to determine who is really persecuted (Kushner and Knox, 2001: 11-12).

Consequently, The United Nations (UN) Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 28 July 1951 (1951 Convention) defined refugees as

Any person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

The 1951 Convention while defining the factors that force people to leave their home country, put a time and geography limitation for them. That is, the Convention addresses the problems happening “in Europe” or “in Europe or elsewhere” and before 01 January 1951 (Joly, 1992: 12).

According to the Convention, every refugee has a right, not to be discriminated because of his race, creed or country, to worship equivalent to citizens, to access to basic education and law mechanisms equivalent to citizens, to take side in courts, to benefit civil rights, possession, sheltering and labor rights, freedom of movement and real estate, of opening workplaces and founding companies, of owning a residence, of social services and of benefiting insurance and employment regulations.

Moreover, the Convention guarantees that none of the refugees shall turn back from the frontiers of a country if he has experienced the cases stated above. The article 33 of the Convention expresses the situation as such

No Contracting State shall expel or return (refouler) a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular group or political opinion.

However, the next paragraph of the article states exception cases of refoulment. According to this, a refugee cannot claim to benefit from the article if he is convicted by a final judgment of a particularly serious crime that constitutes a danger to the community of that country.

1951 Geneva Declaration gives some responsibilities to refugees themselves and to refugee countries. The refugees have to conform to receiving country's laws and regulations and should not disrupt public order. On the other hand, host countries protect fundamental rights of refugees and in this regard, should provide official support of a foreign country to use his rights if needed, recognize the right to select a place of settlement and travel, provide an identity card, prepare documents of travel unless there is a problem of national security and social order, not apply taxes or charges higher than applied to citizens, allow refugees to transfer their valuables to another country, not punish refugees for their illegal entry, not restrict the movements of refugees until their state is determined, provide ease for approval from another country, not expel unless there is a problem of national security or social order, if a refugee has to be expelled allow a reasonable time for the refugee to apply for another country, not send the refugee back to the country in which his/her life or freedom is in danger and take necessary measures in order to assimilate and naturalize them. The Turkish regulations are not properly organized and adequately well-defined which leads to some problems in practice. Indeed, there are some developments about the issue

in parallel to the harmonization process of Turkey to European Union which will be examined in the next part of the study.

The developments such as civil wars, revolutions and dictatorships resulting from decolonization, formation of new states, underdevelopment, class and ethnic conflicts and superpower rivalries in the Third World necessitate the said Convention to be revised (Joly, 1992: 13). In this respect, the 1951 Convention modified in 1967 by the Bellagio Protocol which removed the time and geographical limitations (Kushner and Knox, 2001: 10). This is an important development for Turkey that will be discussed later since Turkey is one of the countries in the world that accepts the geographical limitation principle and does not grant refugee status to those coming outside of Europe.

It is one of the most widely accepted definition about the issue and was signed by 147 states as of 2007 (www.unchr.org.tr). It added a substantial measure of humanity to the post-war period (Nichelson, Twomey and Steinbock, 1999: 14). However, The UN's refugee definition excludes displaced people because of en masse warfare or those who have been uprooted due to violence but who have not left their country of origin (Kushner and Knox, 2001: 12). Moreover, people who are relocated within the borders of their own country are not included in the international definition of refugees (Kolukırık and Aygül, 2009: 71).

In this respect, the definition of refugee was in a way developed by different organizations in the years after the formulation of the Convention. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) on September 10, 1969 made a broader definition of refugees that includes displaced civilians

Every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to

seek refugee in another place outside his country of origin or nationality.

Another alternative definition came from The Organization of American States (OAS) in the Cartagena Declaration of 1984

Persons who have fled their country because their lives, safety or freedom have been threatened by generalized violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously disturbed the public order.

On the other hand, Joly (1992: 15) states that the decision given for the determination of the refugee status should consider the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights which stresses

Everyone has the right to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

In 2007, UNHCR formulated the definition of refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced person (IDP), returned refugees, returned IDPs and stateless people which are melded. According to UNHCR (2007):

Refugees include persons recognized under the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees; its 1967 Protocol, the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee problems in Africa; those recognized in accordance with the UNHCR Statute; persons granted complementary forms of protection; or, those enjoying temporary protection.

Asylum seekers are persons whose applications for asylum or refugee status are pending a final decision.

Internally displaced persons, for purposes of UNHCR's statistics, are limited to conflict generated IDPs to whom the Office extends protection and/or assistance. Nevertheless, IDPs referred to as persons of concern to UNHCR do not include all conflict-related IDPs.

Returned refugees (returnees) refer to refugees who have returned voluntarily to their country of origin or place of habitual residence.

Returned IDPs, refer to those internally displaced persons who, being beneficiaries of UNHCR's protection and assistance activities returned to their areas of origin or habitual residence.

Stateless persons are persons not considered as nationals by any State under the relevant national laws.

Although new definitions are made, the 1951 Convention is still the sole, legally binding, international instrument for protecting refugees (Nichelson, Twomey and Carlier, 1999: 37).

Right alongside different definitions of the term, it is possible to talk about common characteristics of refugees and also characteristics that differentiate them from other migrants. First of all, several studies as well as the first chapter of this study imply that refugees are involuntary migrants. Kunz argues that

With a different goal and with motivations at variance with those affecting voluntary migrants, the refugee moves from his homeland to the country of his settlement against his will. He is a distinct social type. It is reluctance to uproot oneself, and the absence of positive original motivations to settle elsewhere, which characterizes all refugee decisions and distinguishes the refugee from the voluntary migrants (Kunz, 1973: 125-146).

Furthermore, Zolberg, in his book titled "Escape from Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World" tries to foster a more critical and realistic understanding of the refugee phenomenon, emphasizes that migration is governed by social and economic forces in theoretical analysis but "violence" is the common characteristics of all refugees. Violence encompasses a range of situations including the refugee movements that make normal life impossible. According to him, refugee movements occurred not as a result of random events but form distinct patterns which are related to political transformations such as the break up of former colonial empires (Zolberg, 1989: 68).

In order to understand the situation of Iraqi Turkomans, it is necessary to examine the Turkish position towards the 1951 Convention and others. Turkey is among the original signatories of the 1951 Geneva Convention. However, Turkey together with Congo, Madagascar and Monaco maintains a geographical limitation. In this respect, she does not grant refugee status to asylum seekers coming from outside Europe. According to the international law stated before, asylum seeker is someone who claims to be a refugee but whose status has not been determined yet. The Turkish case presents a different situation since Turkish regulations differentiate refugees from asylum seekers on the basis of being of European origin (Frelick, 1997: 10). In other words, Turkey has limited its obligations only to persons having a well-founded fear of persecution “as a result of events occurring in Europe” (<http://www.unrefugees.org>).

Being one of the countries, which is affected the most from mass movements of populations after 1980s, Turkey’s attitude in this matter is comprehensible. In fact, considering the refugee movements that Turkey may face as a result of the removal of geographical restrictions, financial support programmes are anticipated before Turkey’s membership to the European Union. However, controversies continue about the concern that Turkey may turn into a paradise for refugees as a consequence of the possible removal of geographical restriction. Indeed, Turkey’s reservation of geographical restriction does not stem from its concern for protecting its own economic, social and cultural conditions (Kolukırık and Aygül, 2009: 72). The reason behind this lies in Turkey’s role as a western ally neighboring the Soviet Union during the Cold War. During this period, Turkey received many refugees from the Communist Bloc countries in Europe and Soviet Union in close cooperation with UNHCR. They enjoyed all the rights provided in the 1951 Convention, only a very small number of them was allowed to stay in Turkey, often as a result of marriages with Turkish nationals and others resettled out of Turkey. Secondly, considerable growth in the number of illegal entries especially after the 1980s as a result of Iranian Revolution and

subsequent instability in the Middle East, Africa and Southeast Asia caused these migrants to stay in Turkey for a long time until their resettlement (Kirişçi, 2004: 3). Moreover, the tendency for creating a "Fortress Europe" is another factor that affects Turkey's attitude towards the issue. The increase in the number of migrants and asylum seekers in Europe has brought this issue to the first ranks of politicians and rise anti-immigration feelings in European countries. It is accompanied by endeavors for developing a common asylum and migration policy in the European Union and the adoption of many directives on asylum. In the mean time, the European Council authorized the European Commission to negotiate readmission agreements with a list of countries including Turkey. Hence, the European Union has been increasingly depicted as a "fortress of Europe" with little room for asylum seekers, refugees and migrants (Kirişçi, 2004: 1).

Furthermore, it is noteworthy to express that almost all of those who seek asylum in Turkey are non-Europeans (İçduygu, 2008: 6). The table 3.1 presents the asylum applicants of non-Europeans between the years 2000 and October 2007. As will be discussed in the next chapters, one of the important events that shapes the present Iraq, the invasion of Iraq by US, most probably affects the asylum applicants from Iraq.

Turkey's attitude towards non European asylum seekers is criticized by the international community and various international agencies. Turkey, in response to criticisms, argues that it would become a buffer zone for the EU's unwanted asylum seekers and refugees between Europe and the countries of political turmoil in the region and would face an extensive wave of asylum seekers without such a limitation. The current EU acquis, if and when membership occurs, would make Turkey a typical 'first country of asylum' responsible for status determination. This raises considerable concerns among officials in terms of the economic, social as well as political implications. Turkish officials will expect to see burden sharing mechanisms and an important confidence building measure that presents a transition

period in case of membership during which EU member countries and leading immigrant receiving countries continue to accept refugees for resettlement from Turkey. This will be particularly critical at a time when Turkish officials perceive a tendency in Europe in the direction of creating a 'fortress Europe'. Besides, the notion of a 'safe third country of asylum', may leave Turkey with the prospect of having to face rejected asylum seekers before she has put into place a status determination system that meets international standards (Kirişçi, 2004: 10).

Table 3.1 Inflows of Non-European Asylum Applicants

Year	Iranians	Iraqis	Others	Total
2000	3926	1671	180	5777
2001	3485	998	709	5177
2002	2505	974	315	3794
2003	3092	342	514	3948
2004	2030	956	912	3898
2005	1716	1047	1151	3914
2006	722	722	1534	4553
2007	3032	3032	2072	6472

Source: Migration in Turkey : A Country Profile IOM October 2008

Since Turkey did not have specific regulations regarding the status of non-European asylum seekers, she applied domestic laws to foreigners entering the country. In this regard, foreigners are expected to possess valid identification upon their arrival in the country and must depart within the permitted period of stay (Sert and İçduygu, 2009:5).

Besides the 1951 Convention, the main legislation that regulates who can immigrate, settle and acquire refugee status in Turkey is the Law on Settlement which was adopted in 1934. According to the Settlement Law, those who were of Turkish descent and culture were accepted as immigrants and refugees in Turkey. The Council of Ministers was the responsible body to

determine who and which countries fall in the definition of Turkish descent and Turkish culture. The 1934 law was amended in 2006. However, the new Settlement Law like the previous one gives preference to immigrants and refugees of Turkish descent and culture. That is, asylum seekers of Turkish descent and culture are permitted to stay in the country on an “unofficial” basis, settle, work and acquire Turkish citizenship once they have resided in Turkey for five years without any interruptions (Sert and İçduygu, 2009: 4).

Finally, Turkish government introduced the “Regulation on the Procedures and Principles Related to Mass Influx and Foreigners Arriving in Turkey or Requesting Residence Permits with the Intention of Seeking Asylum from a Third Country” in November 1994. The Asylum Regulation remains the only national legislation in force for processing individual asylum claims in Turkey. Before 1994, Turkey allowed UNHCR to make refugee decisions on behalf of non-European asylum seekers since it was also finding resettlement places in the third countries (Frelick, 1997: 8). Sert and İçduygu stress that the objective of the regulation was to handle the large inflows of asylum seekers from the Middle East and, to a certain extent, to limit the engagement of UNHCR in determining the status of refugees. In this regard, the regulation imposed a number of preconditions for filing asylum applications which were arbitrary, restrictive and unrelated to the merits of the claims (Sert and İçduygu, 2009: 5). Under the 1994 Asylum Regulation, Turkey grants temporary asylum to non-European nationals who fulfill the international criteria for refugee status pending their resettlement to third countries. The Government looks to UNHCR to assist non-European refugees during their stay and to organize their resettlement, in cooperation with third countries and International Organization for Migration (IOM) (<http://www.unrefugees.org>). Moreover, it reflects the ascendance of national security concerns over refugee rights which is criticized by refugee advocacy and human rights circles since the regulation increased the number of violations of refoulement principle. But after 1997, the situation started to change. The cooperation between the Turkish government and UNHCR

increased and the administrative decisions concerning deportation orders on asylum seekers have been opened to judicial review (Kirişçi, 2004: 4).

Whether migrants stay illegally or as an asylum seeker, they face with many difficulties while maintaining their life in Turkey especially before granting citizenship. For instance, the illegal migrants often work in “threeD” categories that is they work in “dirty”, “dangerous” and “degrading” jobs with little security and low wages. They get less than minimum wages and work with no social welfare facilities. Additionally, they generally do not have health care or disability insurance and job security (Dauvergne, 2008: 19). The asylum seekers receive a residence permit at first but it should be renewed every six months at a fee of around 300 euros per person. In practice, instead of getting the residence permit, they prefer to use this money when they are resettling in another country (Kolukirik and Aygöl, 2009: 77). It is observed that they usually work as illegal workers (İçduygu, 2005: 83-87). Indeed, they fill a significant gap in sectors that need temporary workers. However, they can not enjoy any degree of security in work life (Kolukirik and Aygöl, 2009: 78-79). There are no specific public assistance programs for them. The Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund which offers services to migrants in Turkey who have financial problems, excludes asylum seekers since they do not have residence permits. The same problem exists with regards to education opportunities although Provision 42 in the Turkish Constitution grants everyone the right for education, without discrimination on the basis of race, religion or nationality but again, the person should have a residence permit. Moreover, access to health service is still one of the problems confronted especially by asylum seekers who stay in the country undocumented, in spite of laws on patient rights and emergency health assistance.

Turkey is under pressure to align its asylum system with that of the European Union. That includes not only introducing a fully-fledged asylum system but also lifting the geographical limitation. In this regard, in the context of accession negotiations with the EU, Turkey prepared the “National Action Plan on Asylum and Migration” as a result of the Asylum-Migration Twinning

Project in 2004 to determine the steps for institution building and national legislation. Preparation of a new asylum law and improving the living conditions of asylum seekers and refugees including housing, health related issues, social assistance are some of the specific objectives of the Action Plan. In line with the action plan, the projects in order to make real the objectives and establish a migration management system is underway (Sert and İçduygu, 2009:5-8). At the same time, the government has been working since 2008 on an immigration law and Turkish authorities are cooperating with civil society in order to shape the law (<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com>).

3.4 Ways To Stay In Turkey

As stated before, while some of the migrants see Turkey as a transit country to reach the country they imagine, some migrate to stay and start a new life in Turkey. Becoming a Turkish citizen is probably the best way to accomplish the latter objective. It is regulated both by the Settlement and Citizenship Law.

According to the Settlement Law, immigrants of Turkish descent were required to register themselves and their family members to the highest civil administrative official where they enter to Turkey or their place of disembarkation and to sign a declaration for admission into citizenship and obtain an immigrant paper. They should be admitted to citizenship by a decision of the Council of Ministers. The Iraqi Turkomans are one of the ethnic groups which benefited from this law on an individual basis. However, especially, in recent years, Turkish government becomes reluctant to apply it to all ethnic Turks, because of geopolitical concerns. That is; the government wanted ethnic Turks to keep in their place of residence and prevent potential influxes from the unstable areas close to Turkish territories (Kirişçi, 2003: 3).

On the other hand, the acquisition of Turkish Citizenship due to Citizenship Law dated 1964 is possible by a decision of an authorized government agency. According to the Article 6 of the Citizenship Law, being an adult by his/her national law, residing in Turkey for 5 years prior to the date of application, confirming the decision to settle in Turkey by his/her behaviors, having good conduct, not being harmful for society, being free of diseases that could endanger public health, being able to express himself/herself in Turkish language in some extent, and having an income to afford himself/herself and his/her dependents are the requirements of citizenship in Turkey and the decision is given by the Council of Ministers in that case as well.

Moreover, Article 7 of the Citizenship Law adds "Marriage" as an other way of granting citizenship. First of all, it is also important to mention that with an amendment in this law in 2009, being married for at least 3 years and living together became requirements for getting citizenship for foreigners. However, article 7 of the Law states that those who are married with a Turkish citizen and those who are from Turkish descent may also grant citizenship upon the decision of Council of Ministers due to the recommendation of the Minister of Interior.

CHAPTER 4

INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS

4.1 The Concept of Integration

Integration is a chaotic concept and it is understood in variety of ways which ranges from an understanding of a complete conformity to the national way of life of the immigration country to complete self-identification and preservation of the immigrant group in the new society. From an another perspective, it refers to an acceptance of the fundamental values of the host-society and at the same time preservation of the immigrant culture as far as it is not an obstacle to the socio-cultural balance of the new environment. (Robinson, 1998: 118). Indeed, there is no single and generally accepted definition, theory or a model of migrant and refugee integration (Castles, 2001: 12). Furthermore, in the field of terminology, different words are often used in relation to integration and sometimes instead of it. Assimilation is one of the most often used words and it describes integration of migrants by emphasizing different degrees of conformity with the natives. Acculturation, on the other hand, is used by Taft and Robbins and adjustment by Zubrycki, referring to the cultural pluralistic structure of the immigrant receiving society (Baglioni, 1964: 125-126). However, as stated by Bosswick and Heckmann, although they have somewhat different meanings, essentially they refer to the processes by which newcomers become members of an existing socio-political community (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006: 4).

The study of integration processes of migrants in social sciences is originally traced back to the early twentieth century. Integration often used to be understood as assimilation. Before the twentieth century, it was believed that all migrants would be assimilated in their new environment. The process would take approximately two or three generations and consequently, there will be no distinction between the newcomers and their offspring and the

established society (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003: 7). In this regard, the Chicago School of Sociology presented a classical approach to migrant settlement in 1920s in which assimilation has been understood as a one-sided process and migrants and their descendants give up their culture and adapt completely to the society they have migrated. In parallel, the European experience as a result of the rise of nationalism in European societies in the late 19th and early 20th century was an attempt to create culturally homogenous nations. In this process, 'assimilation' became associated with ethnocentrism, cultural suppression and often with the use of violence to force minorities to conform. After World War II, in reaction to the extremes of nationalism, fascism and the suppression and expulsion of minorities, with the increasing relevance of human rights, and with the rising confidence and cultural pride of minorities, 'assimilation' became a taboo concept (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006: 4-6). Furthermore, it begun to be questioned in the academic world and in the society after 1960s since it is empirically observed that the difference between the migrants and the host society did not disappear for a long time (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003: 7). Today, assimilation does not necessarily imply the suppression of ethnic cultures but lessening of social differences such as values and income differentials between groups (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006: 4-6).

Apart from that, from the 1970s onwards, within the western societies the concept of multiculturalism became the major topic of political and intellectual discourse. It represents a growing rejection of policies or public pressures calling for assimilation. According to Christian Joppke, nation state can no longer control and homogenize "its" population since multiple cultures coexist within a state bounded territory. He mentions multiculturalism as a quest for recognition and compensatory treatment of the historically disadvantaged and discriminated groups in society (Joppke, 1996: 450). Indeed, multiculturalism has been recommended as a new model for societies whose populations have become increasingly multi-ethnic through immigration. It is based on the idea each culture has incorporated elements of other cultures

and cultures of immigrants are seen as enriching the cultures of the host societies. Critics, on the other hand, argues that the concept of multiculturalism as philosophy and policy works against the integration of the larger society and the nation state. This perspective advocates the ignorance of the necessity for a common culture, language and identification if the integration and stability and state is to endure (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006: 7-8).

This study focuses on the midway of two, the integration of new comers to the new society which has been discussed by many scholars. Firstly, Lockwood made a distinction between the system integration and social integration which constitutes together the sociological theory of social systems. System composing of the state, legal system, markets, corporate actors or finance is said to be integrated as a result of anonymous functioning of them. In this framework, social integration is defined by him as

Inclusion of individuals in a system, the creation of relationships among individuals and their attitudes towards the society. It is the result of conscious and motivated interaction and cooperation of individuals and groups.

According to Lockwood, the adequate macro sociological theory of change should link social integration with system integration (Lockwood, "System and Social Integration", 1964, <http://www.oxfordreference.com>, 12 July 2010).

From a macro-perspective, Entzinger and Biezeveld define integration as a social system such as society. According to them, the integration of a society determines the relation of constituent parts of society in a direct proportion (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003: 6).

Marc Granovetter, on the other hand, mentions that all groups and individuals display a certain degree of integration within a given society and claims the measurability of integration. For this aim, number of ties and actual contacts with surroundings, the nature of these contacts and the identification with

others are taken into consideration. They are not necessarily correlated to each other; for instance, although people see their colleagues more than their family, their ties with their family can be a lot closer. Similarly, many migrants strongly identify with their home country, even though the bulk of their contacts may lie in the country of residence (Granovetter, 1973: 79).

Moreover, the term “other” is used referring to “who does not belong there” for the newcomers in a given society. The “other” may be a legal status, physical appearance, perceived cultural and religious differences, class characteristics or any combinations of these elements. These constructions have consequences not only for interpersonal relations but also on the collective level, defining in-groups and out-groups. When the migrants settle to their new society, they have to acquire a place in the physical (a house, a job and income, access to educational and health facilities, etc.), social and cultural sense. In other words, if they see themselves as different and are perceived by the receiving society as physically, culturally and/or religiously different, they cannot acquire a recognized position in that new society. In this context, integration is defined as the process of becoming an accepted part of society (Penninx, 2004: 11).

In modern societies, however, integration into the sphere of the life world does not automatically lead to participation in function systems like the economy, science, the educational system, or the justice system, there has to be a mechanism for participation in these systems. This mechanism is called inclusion. Inclusion refers to specific competences and actions of a person are relevant for a social system. However, the adoption of specific cultural norms is not always a precondition for inclusion, sometimes the violation of norms can facilitate inclusion. For instance, some famous rap musicians violate diverse cultural and even legal norms and his behavior helps to make them relevant for the music industry and to include them into the economic system. The freedom for the individual to violate norms in some social areas and nevertheless be included in function systems is a

result of the fact that only specific roles of an individual, or more precisely, only particular actions and communications contribute to the processing of a function system. For the economic system, it is the crucial question if someone can pay or not, for the justice system it is the difference between right and wrong, for science it is the difference between true and false, etc. The basic norms of the particular function system have to be accepted. The necessary condition for relevance in a function system is the availability of the respective media, such as money, knowledge, power, etc. On the other hand, a lack of money, knowledge, or power prevents inclusion in the particular system and implies the danger of exclusion from all function systems. People in this situation such as illegal immigrants or homeless are not relevant as taxpayers, consumers, or voters and are reduced to social problems or completely lost from sight (Strobl, R., 2007)

Julkaisu, in his analysis on the integration of refugees in Finland in 1990s, stresses the access or openness of institutions to all members of society and flexible arrangements for admittance of the newest members as an important criteria from the societal perspective. For the migrants, the ability to retain their ethno cultural identity and essential aspects of their own culture is an important point. Accordingly, he defines integration broadly as participation in economic, political and social life of majority or mainstream society. In other words, his definition implies the ability to participate fully in society (Julkaisu, 1999: 9). This approach is in parallel with the current usage of the term in the European Union in which integration is defined as the situation in which settling persons can participate fully in the economic, social, cultural and political life of a society, while also being able to retain their own identity (Valtonen, 2008: 62). Moreover, migrants have to possess certain resources such as language and other social, vocational and professional skills. Bourdieu, points out the importance of resources and uses the concept of "capital" to express it. The capital is distributed unequally in the society and can be an economic capital that refers to material wealth, cultural capital refers to educational credentials and cultural goods, human capital refers to

education, skill and other professional resources and lastly social capital meaning the ability to mobilize people through social networks and group memberships which will be analyzed later in this chapter (Bourdieu, 1994).

4.2 Theories of Integration

The literature on integration traced back to 1920s starting from the classical assimilation theory to theories focusing on ethnic group influences.

The classical assimilation theory introduced during 1920s served as the major sociological model until 1960s and 1970s. In this framework, ethnic-origin traits of new immigrant group were seen as shortcomings that should be discarded for a successful assimilation. In other words, according to the classical assimilation theory, assimilation as an eventual and inevitable outcome for all immigrants is achieved when immigrant populations shed their cultural distinctiveness (Heisler, 2000: 77).

The singular path drawn by classical theorists was seen unrealistic taking into consideration the diverse characteristics of immigrant groups and their social contexts (Portes & Borocz, 1989). In this regard, Heisler implies the interactions that occur between host societies and immigrant populations in research for integration of migrants (Heisler, 2000). As a result, the reshaping of classical assimilation led to different theories such as segmented assimilation, ethnic boundaries and communities, spatial assimilation and social networks and embeddedness, which stresses different characteristics in immigrant integration.

Assimilation is no longer-nor ever was- a simple straight-line process. There are many ways immigrant groups get integrated or assimilated. In that respect, since the last and a half decade, segmented assimilation theory has moved front-stage (Vermeulen, 2010: 1). Segmented assimilation theory

emphasizes the importance of social environment and individual level group adaptations and behaviours in the process of assimilation and explains that due to the above factors, different groups demonstrates different assimilation process (Portes and Zhou, 1993).

On the other hand, immigrant groups in general is thought to participate in the sectors occupying a bottom-level position and progress upward as new immigrants arrive into the community. In this regard, spatial assimilation theory argues that immigrant groups eventually move away from these sectors or neighborhoods to the other areas in which majority groups in the host society (Alba, Logan, Stults, Marzan & Zhang, 1999).

Lastly, the theory based on ethnic communities or ethnic identity emphasizes that the mentioned concepts determine the boundaries migrants identify and distinguish themselves from other groups and the assimilation process which will take place (Alba, 2005).

Integration theories present different aspects of the process and social environment emphasizing by segmented assimilation theorists and the theory stressing ethnic communities and ethnic identity can be important factors for the experience of Turkomans. Similarly, spatial assimilation theory's assumption of occupying bottom level position in sectors when migrants first arrive is an important argument for Turkoman case, however, in this study, special concern is attributed to social networks among Turkomans as a Turkish descent living in Turkey which function as initiators, mediators and perpetrators of social interaction among the migrants and the "host society".

4.3 Social Capital Theory-Social Networks

Among the theories of integration, social capital theory-social networks will be put to a different place since it is thought to be a significant factor in the

migration and integration of Iraqi Turkomans in Turkey. Throughout literature, sociologists frequently refer to the concept of social capital and social networks among immigrants. It is thought that the ability of ethnic communities to receive new migrants and the support given to them could not be possible without the preexistence of social capital and social networks among immigrant groups (Lee, 2009: 740). Social capital is the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 119). Coleman explains social capital as a whole of resources of social relations and networks of relations which are useful for individuals and which facilitate action through the generation of trust; the establishment of obligations and expectations; the creation and enforcement of norms; and the formation of associations (Coleman, 1990). *Iraqi Turks Culture and Assistance Association*, is an important association which plays an important role in all phases of migration of Iraqi Turkomans to Turkey. During the in depth interviews conducted in this study, it is understood that the association provides most of the material needs like clothes, shoes, medicine, place to stay, etc. and immaterial needs like assistance for entering housing and labour market, social security and health system, acquiring citizenship, etc. to Turkomans. It helps them to migrate to Turkey, provide the necessary connections due to the necessities and strengthen the assistance and connections among the migrants.

As stated, people access social capital through membership in networks and social institutions and they can convert it to other forms of capital such as financial capital in order to improve or maintain their position in society (Bourdieu 1986). Faist suggests that there are three main benefits which an individual can gain through social capital. A person who has social capital has an access to the resources of others. She/he can improve her/his existing level of information about the conditions. She/he can control the other members of the networks and exercise authority (Faist, 2000: 112-113).

On the other hand, social networks refer to social structures or relationships between the people. Friendships, family relationships and group memberships can be given as examples of this phenomenon (Portes & Rambaut, 1996: 87).

Social networks are one of the factors that has a positive role in acquisition and accumulation of other forms of capital. In other words, network connections constitute a form of social capital that opens various kinds of financial capital such as foreign employment, high wages and the possibility of accumulating and sending remittances (Massey, 1999: 44).

Everyday ties of friendship and kinship provide few advantages, in and of themselves, to people seeking to migrate abroad. Once someone in a personal network has migrated, however, the ties are transformed into a resource that can be used to gain access to foreign employment and all that it brings. Each act of migration creates social capital among people to whom the new migrant is related, thereby raising the odds of their migration (Massey, 1987: 170).

Furthermore, the interpersonal relations of migrants assist them to convey information, provide financial assistance, facilitate employment and accommodation and in that sense reduce the costs and uncertainty of migration and facilitate it. Polish migrants, especially before 2004, were undocumented and having no formal working permission in Britain. The support taken from networks in Poland and Britain were expressed as

She (a friend) also gave us some instructions what to say to the Immigration Officer at the port of entry: that we were students, that we were coming to see some interesting places in England, and that we had about 300 Pound to show at the port of entry, so we were prepared (Jordan, 2002: 8).

Once migrants left their country of origin and arrive their new home, social networks remain important in the sense that they provide general information, help with initial expenses and settlement, assist in finding a job and a place

to stay, give psychological support and the maintain long distance ties with the community of origin. In other words, social networks provide valuable assistance in adjustment processes, especially by securing housing and employment for newly arrived migrants. Networks link individuals not only with their friends and relatives in destinations but also with employers or labour recruiters from a particular place of origin. This relationship guarantees employment to new migrants. It also assures the employer of a regular and reliable supply of labour. In such cases, it is inadequate to characterize networks as merely “social” because they involve more than blood and friendship ties (Hugo, 1998: 145). Likewise, immigrant entrepreneurs often rely on their immediate ethnic communities for business or other needs. These positive network mechanisms help in the labour market realm where previously established immigrants assist newly arrived immigrants to enter the mainstream employment sector and provide an example of integration that others may follow (Portes & Rambaut, 1996: 87). Furthermore, when there is a need of money or assistance, people ask the help of a kin (Gilbert and Gugler, 1992).

Perhaps the single most influential contribution to network analysis is Mark Granovetter's (1973) conceptual distinction between weak and strong ties. According to Granovetter, strong ties exist between persons who know one another very well such as family members and close friends. Weak ties, on the other hand, exist between loosely associated nodes, that is, between persons who are merely acquaintances. Persons who are loosely associated may act as a bridge between clumps of densely tied friendship networks. These dense networks of strong ties would have no connections with other networks were it not for the occasional node weakly tied between them. He explains that

The overall social structural picture suggested by this argument can be seen by considering the situation of some arbitrarily selected individual-call him Ego. Ego will have a collection of close friends, most of whom are in touch with one another-a densely knit clump of social structure. Moreover, Ego will have a collection of

acquaintances, few of whom know one another. Each of these acquaintances, however, is likely to have close friends in his own right and therefore to be enmeshed in a closely knit clump of social structure, but one different from Ego's. The weak tie between Ego and his acquaintance, therefore, becomes not merely a trivial acquaintance tie but rather a crucial bridge between the two densely knit clumps of close friends. To the extent that the assertion of the previous paragraph is correct, these clumps would not, in fact, be connected to one another at all were it not for the existence of weak ties.

Individuals with few weak ties will be deprived of information from distant parts of the social system and will be confined to the provincial news and views of their close friends. This deprivation will not only insulate them from the latest ideas and fashions but may put them in a disadvantaged position in the labor market, where advancement can depend, on knowing about appropriate job openings at just the right time. Furthermore, such individuals may be difficult to organize or integrate into political movements of any kind, since membership in movements or goal-oriented organizations typically results from being recruited by friends. While members of one or two cliques may be efficiently recruited, the problem is that, without weak ties, any momentum generated in this way does not spread beyond the clique. As a result, most of the population will be untouched (Granovetter, 1983: 201-202).

Social networks based on the assumption of the importance of relationships among interacting units plays an important role for the Turkoman's integration to Turkish social life. As stated above, the interpersonal relations of migrants comprising friendships, family relationships and group memberships assist them to convey information, provide financial assistance, facilitate employment and accommodation and in that sense reduce the costs and uncertainty of migration and facilitate it. *The Iraqi Turks Culture and Assistance Association* and Nationalist Action Party, in this context, undertakes not only the mediating function but also assist Turkomans in terms of material and immaterial needs.

4.4 Dimensions of Integration

The integration of migrants includes the integration to all sectors of the host-society such as labor and housing market, education, social security and health systems. Besides the definitions explained above, it is necessary to examine the dimensions of integration which will be useful to understand the process better. There are different conceptualizations used in explaining the integration process, however, they all consider the same subjects under different titles. For instance, Penninx discusses legal/political, socio/economic and cultural/religious dimensions of integration. The first dimension conditions the other ones in two ways. The legal position and related rights allocated to migrants may have significant positive or negative consequences for their behaviors and their efforts to integrate. Long periods of uncertainty about future residence and not having access to local and/or national political systems and decision making can be given as the examples of negative factors for the migrants preparedness and efforts to integrate (Penninx, 2004: 12).

Bloch presents cultural, structural and political arenas of integration. Cultural integration is about how both the immigrants and their communities relate and adjust to local values, norms and behavioural patterns as well as the host society's reactions to aspects of immigrants' cultural life. The framework of cultural integration is the civil society and, in today's world, increasingly the media. Successful and positive cultural integration manifests itself in the form of good ethnic relations. Through structural integration migrants gain access to different sectors, institutions and organizations of the host society and also create their own parallel forms of them. Such sectors, institutions and organizations include economy, education, political parties and religious communities. Political integration refers to the ways in which the state incorporates the migrants. Central issues include the availability of citizenship and other legal rights needed for full participation in the host society. That the

immigrants themselves may become political decision-makers is also significant (Bloch, 2002: 82).

Furthermore, Esser proposes four basic forms of integration; acculturation, placement, interaction and identification. In this framework, acculturation refers to socialization, placement refers to gaining a position in education, economic system or citizenship, interaction refers to formation of relationships and networks and finally identification meaning individual's identification with a social system. In this study, Heckmann and Schnapper's suggestion of structural integration, cultural integration, interactive integration and identificational integration will pave the way in order to clarify the integration analysis of Turkomans (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006:3). The older approaches, in general, stressed the importance of individuals in the integration process, however, structural factors also constitute an important place. Moreover, it is thought that besides the structural factors, feelings of belonging and concepts of discrimination and segregation in the new society should be taken into consideration for a comprehensive analysis of integration.

CHAPTER 5

BRIEF HISTORY OF IRAQI TURKOMANS

The population characteristics of Iraq are mainly a story of two disastrous wars, the eight year Iran-Iraq War beginning in 1980, and the First Gulf War with US beginning in 1990 (Banta, 2008: 273). The wars and internal conflicts experienced since 1980s in Iraq have had serious influences upon all people residing in Iraq and Turkomans is one the most effected groups that got its share from these events. They migrated to Turkey and other countries to escape from ethnic cleansing and its by products and indeed Iraqi Turkomans's migration constitutes only a small part of the broader picture (Sirkeci, 2007: 30).

In this part of the thesis; origins, population, settlement and a short history of Turkomans will be discussed to clarify the migration and integration process and as a preparation to the field work.

5.1 Origins, Population and Settlement of Turkomans living in Iraq

There exist different ideas about the origins of Turkomans living in Iraq. According to Orhan Ketene, Turkomans are a mix of migrating Turkish tribes mainly Oguz tribes. Abdul Razzak Al Hasani claims that they are descendents of the forces of Sultan Murad the Fourth who captured Iraq from the Saffawis in 1638. Turkish sources are inclined to trace the origins of the Turkoman back to the remnants of the Turkish soldiers who served under the Abbasids, the Atabekians and the Ottomans. Moreover, Fazıl Demirci and Ersat Hürmüzlü affirm that the arrival of Turkomans to Iraq happened in three consecutive waves. According to them, the period of Ammawis and Abbasids experienced the first migration wave of Turkomans. The second era of migration occurred under the Seljoukis and the final wave occurred after the

Ottoman Empire (Oğuzlu, 2004: 310). Similarly, according to Petrosian; Turkoman community in Iraq consists of the following ethnic segments:

1. The descendants of the Turkmens settled in the area around the 10th century A.D. at the time of the Seljuks and before.

2. The offsprings of the Turkmen tribes settled in Iraq between the 11th-13th century.

3. The descendants of the Azeri Turkish speaking groups from Maragha planted as garrisons by Shah Ismail Safavi (1502-1524) and Nadir Shah (1730-1747).

4. The Turks and Turkmens migrated here in the Ottoman period (Petrosian, 2003: 281)

Iraq, similar to other nations in the Middle East, is made up of different ethnic and religious groups. Major ones in its mix are Sunnis and Shiites on the religious axis and Arabs, Kurds and Turkomans on the ethnic axis (Sirkeci, 2005: 2). The population of Iraqi Turkomans is a disputable issue since different sources give different numbers and there is no reliable data due to the developments in Iraq and migration experienced. Accordingly, the figures on the population of Turkomans residing in Iraq was contradictory in the past and are still contradictory. Tarık Oğuzlu discusses the ambiguousness of the population of Turkomans residing in Iraq from two points of views. One is the relative lack of official and objective sources in Iraq. There has been censuses conducted in 1927, 1934, 1947, 1957, 1965, 1977 and lastly in 1987 in Iraq. Putting aside the fact that it has been almost 25 years passed from the last count, there should be given a distinct importance to the 1957 census which seems to be carried out in a different way. In other words, among the other censuses, 1957 census should be put to a different place since it was the first and last Iraqi census which allowed Turkoman people to

register themselves as Turks. The second reason is related with the official state policy of decomposing the Turkish character of the Turkoman regions. As stated above, other than the 1957 census, the Turkoman category under the section of nationalities was dropped which results in unreliable numbers about Turkomans (Oğuzlu, 2004: 310-313).

The current population of the Turkomans in Iraq also demonstrates differences due to the sources it is relied on. According to Western resources which are mostly relying on the statistics provided by the Iraqi government; the population of the Turkoman people living in Iraq does not exceed 2% of the overall Iraqi population. In contrast to the Iraqi and Western resources, the Turkoman sources give different numbers regarding the Turkoman population. As stated by Tarık Oğuzlu, as a reaction to the censuses of 1927, 1934, 1947, 1957, 1965, 1977 and 1987, Iraqi Turkomans have tried to prove that these official figures do not reflect the truth and their presence cannot form 2% of the overall Iraqi population. While Ziyat Köprülü claims that the overall Turkoman population in Iraq is above two million at the lowest estimate, another Turkoman source including Mustafa Ziya, the former representative of the Turkmen National Front in Turkey estimates it around 2,5 million making up 10-12% of Iraqi population. Similarly, according to Demirci, the population of Turkomans cannot be less than 10-15% of the overall Iraqi population (Oğuzlu, 2004: 311-313). On the other hand, the last census conducted in 1987 demonstrates the overall Iraqi population as 16,278,000 while the ratio of Arabs as 76%, of the Kurds as 19%, and the others, including Turks as 5% (Oğuzlu, 2004: 311). In this regard, there has been passed almost 25 years since the last census and it is difficult to give an exact number of Turkomans residing in Iraq today unless a well-arranged, fair and recent census will be conducted. Since Iraq consists of many large and small ethnic and religious population segments, it is necessary and important to determine the numbers of these groups. More recently, a new census aimed to be conducted in October 2009 has been postponed to an

ambiguous date because of its risks to increase the tension between ethnic and religious groups, Arabs and Kurds in particular (<http://www.bbc.co.uk>).

The Iraqi Turkomans live in Northern Iraq starting from Talafar in the north and ending in Mendeli in the south which comprises the region between the 33rd and 37th parallels. In other words, the region lies between the Arab areas of settlement to the south and Kurdish areas to the north. It is called Turkmeneli in Turkish and Turkmenland in English and the major cities in this region are Mosul, Arbil, Kirkuk, Salahaldeen and Diala while Telafer, Sancar, Altunkopru, Kifri, Hanekin, Kızılırobot, Bakubo and Mendeli are the districts of these cities. In addition to these Turkoman populated areas, there exists a considerable number of Turkomans living in Baghdad (Oğuzlu, 2004: 313).

In terms of culture, it is possible to claim that the Turkoman culture is similar to the Turkish one. It is argued that this similarity is rooted from the Ottoman years. In this regard, Saatçi states that

When the British tried to carve up an artificial Iraqi state out of the remnants of the Ottoman Empire in the aftermath of the First World War, the region was to a great extent a part of the broader area of Turkish culture (Saatçi, 1996: 153-155).

60-70 % of the Iraqi Turkomans are the followers of Sunni Islam. On the other hand, the considerable Shi'a sect constituting % 30-40 of the Turkomans do not share the political vision of the Shi'as in Iran or those in the southern parts of Iraq. Most of the Turkomans have internalized the secularist interpretation of state-religion affairs which has been mainly exercised since the foundation of the modern Republic in Turkey. According to Oğuzlu, there are two reasons behind the secular attitude of Turkomans. One is the belief among Turkomans that if they had good relations with secular Turkey, they could get Turkey's help in case of suppression attempts of Arabs and Kurds. On the other hand, the reason may lie behind the Turkomans' urban life or trade and commerce they have been dealing with for so many years. Moreover, their high education level prevents them to be

affected by the religious and tribal factors inherent in Iraq's political culture (Oğuzlu, 2004: 314).

Finally, though they speak a unique Turkish dialect similar to the one mainly spoken in Azerbaijan, they use the Anatolian Turkish in writing (Oğuzlu, 2004: 310).

5.2 Brief History of Turkomans in Iraq

Turkomans residing in Iraq since centuries have experienced political and economic problems which caused population movements especially after 1980s.

Although Iraq gained full independence in 1930, the British influence was felt in every aspect of political and social life in the country until the overthrow of monarchy by the free officers under the command of Brigadier Abdul-Karim Qassem on 14 July 1958. During the era of Monarchy, the question of Mosul constitutes one of the important subjects when the Turkoman presence in Iraq is concerned. The dispute between the Turkish Republic, Britain and Iraq resulted in a disadvantage for Turks as a result of the Ankara Treaty of 1926 and Mosul became a province of Iraq although people living in these provinces were mostly Turks (Oğuzlu, 2004: 313-314). The 14th article of the 1925 Constitution accepts Turks together with Arabs and Kurds as one of the constitutive peoples of the Iraqi nation (Turan, 1996: 25). What the Constitution states is the equality to all people residing in Iraq before the law irrespective of religion, ethnicity and language. However, neither 1925 Constitution nor the revised versions of late 1925 and 1943 include any word directly related with the Turkomans and the Kurds. The declaration of Iraqi government for the membership of the League of Nations in 1932 is important at this point since it is the first document that mentions Turkomans in Iraq, but as one of the minorities. In other words, Turkomans were

accepted as one of the elements of Iraqi nation with special rights to education and other aspects of life. Furthermore, Turkish language was accepted as one of the official languages in the Turkoman populated areas. In parallel to the 1932 declaration; in the constitutions of 1958, 1968 and 1990 Turkomans were not mentioned as constitutive peoples but as minorities while both Arabs and Kurds were mentioned as the constitutive elements of Iraqi nation (Oğuzlu, 2004:314). Oğuzlu evaluates these developments as

With the 1932 declaration of the Iraqi government and the revisions in the 1925 Constitution, the first seeds of discrimination against the Turkoman community were sowed. From then on, Iraqi Turkomans were regarded as minority under special protection. Arabic was made the only official language. Turkish and Kurdish languages were allowed to become official languages only in areas of Turkish and Kurdish concentration. Though rights to use their own languages both in education and transactions with the state were protected by laws, this situation began to take on an “up-down” character following the fall of Hikmet Suleiman from the government in 1938. Since then, the cultural and educational rights of Turkomans are seriously curbed by the successive regimes in Baghdad (Oğuzlu, 2004: 316).

The reign of Abdul-Karim Qassem continued until his assassination in February 1963 and Ba’ath Arab Socialist Party’ took power. After a period of the Colonel Slam Arif as the president of the new government, Ba’athists came back strong and took the reign of the country in 1968. The Ba’athists period under the Ahmet Hasan Al Bakr presidency continued until July 1979 when Saddam Hussain came to power through a bloodless intra-Ba’ath putsch (Oğuzlu, 2004: 314).

During the reign of Ba’athists, in 1970, the regime proclaimed cultural rights for Turkomans which consist of having rights to have their own schools and publications in their own language. However, these rights could not been implemented because of the accord signed by the regime with the Kurdish fractions for granting them autonomy (Oğuzlu, 2004: 316-317). Indeed,

Turkomans as the third largest ethnic group in Iraq were banned from taking employment in many key public services, forced to early retirement, banned from using their language and faced restrictions in property ownership since 1970s (Sirkeci, 2007: 31). In turn, many of the Turkoman population chose to migrate to other cities or countries in order to live in more secure and economic conditions. Since then, the living conditions of Turkomans started to deteriorate especially after the Ba'ath regime's policy of Arabization of Northern Iraq at the expense of Turkomans and Kurdish people. The research made by Nouri Talabany demonstrates the result of the Arabization policy of the regime in terms of the change in population in Kirkuk. According to his findings, the Arab population in Kirkuk region was % 28.2 in 1957 where it increased to 44.4 % in 1977 (Talabany, 1999).

As stated previously, the Iraqi Constitution of 1990 which was updated in 1995 excluded Turkomans in the sense that they were not stated as one of the constitutive nations of Iraqi people. The Arabs and the Kurds were accepted as the principal nations while the others excluded from consideration. Regarding the language, the Constitution declared Arabic as the official language and Kurdish as official in the Kurdish region and other languages are accepted as de facto and de jure banned (Petrosian, 2003: 286).

Apart from that, in its 2002 annual report, Amnesty International also quoted a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights resolution condemning

the systematic, widespread and extremely grave violations of human rights and of international humanitarian law by the Government of Iraq, resulting in an all-pervasive repression and oppression sustained by broad-based discrimination and widespread terror (2002).

In this light, the Iraqi Turkman Front (ITF), a political organization that was established in 1995 to unify Turkmen political groups stressed the deteriorating security situation on 5 March 1999 that

Turkomans living in Iraq have not only been deprived of their minority rights, but have also been subjected to various oppressions. In order to wipe out Turkomans, large scale massacres have been carried out in addition to executions, banishment and displacement (<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld>).

And likewise on 25 November 2001,

... the oppressive actions by the Iraqi government out of which both Iraqi people in general and the Turkman in particular have received their share, which include no freedom of expression, widespread killings without any interrogation or legal proceedings, torture and executions (<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld>).

Besides, at the end of the Gulf War in 1990, a new development which directly affects the Iraqi Turkomans happened, Kurdish factions located in the area above the 36th parallel of Iraq were given the chance to rule themselves on their own, independent of Saddam for the first time. Accordingly, the Turkoman population has reportedly started to face with pressure from Kurdish groups in Northern Iraq as argued by Orhan Ketene in the Turkistan Newsletter on 4 July 2000:

KDP [Kurdish Democratic Party] has become the governing authority in Erbil since August 1996 when Saddam sent his army to Erbil to oust their rival, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and to destroy the opposition headquarters, specifically the Turkmens. Since then, the KDP has been imposing similar types of oppression and assimilation methods on the Turkmens, which Saddam practices in his domain" (ibid. 2 August 2000).

Saddam Hussein was overthrown in 2003 as a result of US-led military campaign. However, the developments occurred after Saddam's reign did not lead to an important change in the status and conditions of Turkomans. The attacks to the most populated Turkoman areas since the US invasion made living harder for Turkomans and many Turkmomans lost their lives as a result of these attacks. The representative of Iraqi Turkoman Front Ahmet Muratli states that despite the pressure and threats, Turkomans will continue their existence in Iraq (Yenicag Newspaper, 06 July 2009: 9). In addition to the

security concern, the political status of the Iraqi Turkomans has not improved. The Turkomans have not been fairly represented within the temporary Iraqi Governing Council in proportion to their numbers, and nor have they been given a better political status in Northern Iraq (Oğuzlu, 2004: 321). After the military intervention of US, the first Iraqi election was held in January 2005 with a low participation ratio of 58 %. The united Shi'a alliance won the elections and took 140 seats among the 275, while the Kurd Alliance got 75. Turkomans had 3 seats from the list of Iraqi Turkoman Front, 5 from the Shi'a Alliance and 4 from the Kurdish Alliance. The reason behind this undesirable result lies not only on the collusions made in the elections but also the participation of Turkomans to elections from different groups. The results of the elections caused the arrangement of the 2005 Turkoman Congress under the leadership of Iraqi Turkoman Front which should be put to a different place among the others since the Congress emphasized the Shi'a-Sunni togetherness and the unity among all Turkomans <http://www.globalstrateji.org>. Furthermore, the last election in Iraq held in March 2010: The Iraqi Turkoman Front, different from the 2005 elections, located in al-Irakiye Coalition which relies on the idea that surrounds all the people living in Iraq and got 5 seats from the Turkmeneli region. Other than the al-Irakiye Coalition, two Turkomans became deputies (<http://www.kerkuk.net>).

Finally, it is necessary to take a glance at the articles related with Turkomans in the Iraqi Constitution prepared after the US intervention and accepted in 2006. First of all, Turkomans are not located as one of the constitutive elements of Iraqi nation in the constitution. Secondly, Iraq is divided into two federations namely the Arab and Kurdish federations. Moreover, the Constitution states that the situation of Kirkuk will be decided later which, indeed, supports the activities to change the demographic structure of the city in opposition to Turkomans (Yılmaz, 2006: 136-137). In this regard, the new Constitution does not present a different position to Turkomans from the previous ones, Turkomans are not counted as one of the principal elements

of the Iraqi nation. Additionally, the federative structure of Iraq and the ambiguous status of Kirkuk seems to worsen the situation of Turkomans in the next years.

It seems that Kirkuk will be a showcase in the future of Iraq as a target for Kurds and Arabs and they will continue their claims over the province while the town stands as a major home for Turkomans. It is understood that ethnic conflicts and wars have been a significant factor determining minority populations' outflow from Iraq. Turkomans as such minority have been subjected to oppression. Limited economic opportunities combined with the effects of wars imposed an environment of insecurity on Turkomans (Sirkeci, 2000: 31). Additionally, the small role given to Turkomans in the governing of Iraq, the Arabization policy of the state and Kurdification of recent years increased the security concerns of the Turkomans and in that respect, Iraq will continue to lose more of Turkomans to international migration. The ones that stay in Iraq can either progress to a diasporic and transnational ethnic belonging or give in to Kurdification or Arabification whichever is strong in the areas they reside in the long run (Sirkeci, 2007: 30).

CHAPTER 6

FIELD SURVEY

This study focuses on the integration of Iraqi Turkomans living in Ankara to Turkish social life in terms of social networks perspective. As it is emphasized in the previous chapters, the level of integration of Turkomans is elaborated on the basis of Heckmann and Schnapper's comprehensive definition of the term. In this sense, integration to Turkish social life is explained by referring to structural, cultural, interactive and identificational integration. Furthermore, the role of social networks including the *Iraqi Turkomans Culture and Assistance Association* in each of these dimensions is examined as an important factor for integration analysis of Iraqi Turkomans. Social networks acting as initiators, mediators and perpetuators of social interaction are questioned in the migration process of Iraqi Turkomans to Turkey, their settlement to Ankara, the geographical concentration of them in Ankara, integration to housing and labour market, and in case of need for advice and debt.

The field study was carried out in Ankara between April-June 2010 with the participation of 117 Turkomans living in Ankara chosen among the members of the "*Iraqi Turks Culture and Assistance Association*" and those who have close relations with the Association on the basis of a combination of in-depth interviews with 10 participants and the application of a standardized questionnaire. The quantitative data obtained from the questionnaire are processed and analyzed through frequency distributions and chi square tests by SPSS for Windows 17.

The results of the statistical analysis and qualitative data was investigated under seven headings. These are the socio-economic characteristics of migrants, reasons and process of migration, structural integration, cultural

integration, interactive integration, identificational integration and other related questions.

In the structural integration heading, the level of integration to housing and labour market and education system is elaborated. Moreover; whether they are benefited from the social security and health system, citizenship and voting patterns of Turkomans as the factors affecting political integration is questioned.

Apart from the frequencies found, a special concern is attributed to questions directly related with the social networks and in this sense, the chi-square tests are applied to questions “reasons to settle in Ankara in Turkey”, “whether they are helped in finding their current job”, “whether they are helped in finding their first job”, “whether they are helped in finding their current job”. The tests revealed the relationship between these dependent variables and age, gender, education, household income, job in Turkey, time spent in Turkey and Turkish citizenship. Accordingly; education, household income, job in Turkey, time in Turkey and citizenship have found the most determinants almost for each one and will be explained in this chapter, while the other findings resulted significant will be presented in the Appendix part at the end of the thesis.

Cultural integration level is examined by questions related with the cultural similarity between Turkish and Iraqi Turkomans, change in cultural norms, neighbourhood relations in Iraq and Turkey and difficulties in Turkish understanding and speaking. The similarity between the cultural and linguistic characteristics of Iraqi Turkomans is questioned as one of the factors that determines the level of integration to Turkish social life.

The interactive integration which is an important indicator of social networks perspective is clarified with the questions of advice and debt Turkomans take in case of need, connection with Turkomans and Turks and membership to

other organizations other than the *Iraqi Turks Culture and Assistance Association*.

Finally, identificational integration level is elaborated through the analysis of Turkomans's perception of townsman.

6.1 Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Participants

In order to understand the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants; gender, age, birthplace, education, job in Iraq and Turkey, household income, whether the migrants own their houses or not, marital status, nationality of spouse and the time they spent in Turkey are taken into consideration.

Table 6.1 Frequency Distribution Of Socio-Demographic Characteristics

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIO DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS										
GENDER		AGE		EDUCATION			MARITAL STATUS		NATIONALITY OF SPOUSE	
Man	Woman	18-30	30-50	Primary	High	University	Married	Single	Turkoman	Other
93	24	22	95	16	24	77	75	42	51	24
79,5 %	20,5 %	18,8 %	81,2 %	13,7 %	20,5 %	65,8 %	64,1 %	35,9 %	43,6 %	20,5 %

The above table presents a summary of some of the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants. As seen from the table, among the 117 participants, 79,5 % of them are male and 20,5 % of them are female migrants. The older participants constitute the majority of the whole, that is; 81,2 % of the participants are between the ages 30-50 while 18,8 % of them are between the ages 18-30.

Moreover, 65,8 % of the participants are university graduates, 20,5 % of them are graduated from high school and 13,7 % of them are primary school

graduates. None of the participants are illiterate. Sirkeci (2005:9), in his study reaches a similar result and finds out that only less than 5 % of Turkomans have no education. He argues that complete illiteracy is not a common incidence among them and Turkoman migrants are quite prosperous with higher educational levels. Substantially, Turkomans have a high literacy rate which is higher than the other ethnic groups in Iraq throughout history (Saatçi, 2009: 2). In that respect, the high percentage of university graduates can be stated as one of the supporting ideas of the above arguments and the importance given to education by Turkomans. Moreover, the high percentage of educated people demonstrates that they can also profit from different social networks while fleeing a country.

It is found that 64,1 % of the participants interviewed are married while 35,9 % of them are single. It is important that 43,6 % of the participants are married with a Turkoman while 20,5 % of them are married with a woman/man having a different nationality. This situation may arise from the fact that Turkomans have strong links with their cultural norms and values. Besides, it is one of the factors that strenghtens the social networks among them and makes integration difficult. Furthermore; it is also revealed during the in-depth interviews that the marriages except with the Turkomans made with Turks. Acquiring Turkish citizenship may be one of the reasons behind some of these marriages.

6.1.1 Place of Birth

Among the participants, 77,8 % of the participants were born in Kirkuk, 10,3 % of them in Musul and 8,5 % of the whole were born in Talafar. Only 4 of them were born in another cities of the region. It is not one of the questions of the questionnaire, but it is understood from the in-depth interviews that they have been also living in their birthplace before migrating. Murat expressed the difficulty of leaving the city he grew up:

I was born in the most beautiful city of Iraq, Kirkuk. My grandfathers had migrated to Kirkuk in the last years of Ottoman Empire. It is the city I completed my education, the city I first fall in love.....However, our lives turned into a nightmare since 1970s because of the state policies towards us. We had no security. It was a tough decision to leave the city I grew up and had countless memories.

Kirkuk is located in the North part of Iraq and as an oil-rich city takes the interests of all parties in the country. The oil of Kirkuk is well known for its good quality, and for the shallowness of its wells. Beneath the city there are also substantial amounts of natural gas and sulfur (<http://www.aina.org>). Due to this underground wealth, as it is mentioned in the previous chapter, Kirkuk region has always been targeted by local, regional and international powers and subjected both to Arabification and Kurdification. Consequently, in parallel to the findings, it is not surprising that most of the participants chose to migrate from Kirkuk because of the pressures applied to them and their families.

Table 6.2 Frequency Distribution of Birth Place of Participants

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Kerkük	91	77,8
	Musul	12	10,3
	Telafar	10	8,5
	Other	4	3,4
	Total	117	100,0

6.1.2 Job in Iraq & Turkey

The below table presents the frequency distribution of jobs participants did in Iraq and Turkey.

Table 6.3 Frequency Distribution Of Participants'job In Iraq And Turkey

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS'JOB IN IRAQ AND TURKEY					
JOB IN IRAQ	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	JOB IN TURKEY	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
None	7	6,0	None	21	17,9
Tailor	4	3,4	Tailor	7	6,0
Officer	24	20,5	Officer	-	0,0
Carpenter	4	3,4	Carpenter	6	5,1
Mechanic	16	13,7	Mechanic	17	14,5
Air Condition Repairman	3	2,6	Air Condition Repairman	8	6,8
Teacher	12	10,3	Teacher	3	2,6
Engineer	23	19,7	Engineer	16	13,7
Worker	11	9,4	Worker	20	17,1
Trader	10	8,5	Trader	14	12,0
Housewife	3	2,6	Housewife	5	4,3
Total	117	100,0	Total	117	100,0

Regarding the jobs of participants in Iraq; officers constitute the larger portion with 20,5 %, following by engineers with the portion of 19,7 % and mechanics with 13,7 %. It is understood that most of the participants are professionals and they are not dependent to land in order to survive. This may be a facilitating factor for their migration.

On the other hand, 17,9 % of the participants are not working in Turkey, while 17,1 % of them working as a worker, 14,5 % of them as mechanics and 13,7 % of them as engineers.

Recognition of qualifications and previous work experiences by employers is a major problem migrants faced (The European Council on Refugees and Exiles, 2001: 45). As discussed in the previous chapters, Turkomans are the forced migrants who came to Turkey without a well-organised plan and

preparation, in this respect, the decrease in the number of participants working as engineer, officer and teacher can be evaluated as their shift to relatively unskilled jobs. Moreover, it can be suggested that participants work in every kind of jobs disregarding their own qualifications in order to survive. It is also necessary to mention that working as an officer in Turkey necessitates entrance to some examinations after meeting some requirements including Turkish citizenship, thus the reason of none of the Turkomans working as officer can be the requirements of being an officer in Turkey.

6.1.3 Household Income

It is found that 28,2 % of the participants earn less than 1000 TL while 34,2 % of them earn between 1000-2000 TL, 29,1 % of them between 2000-3000 TL and 8,5 % of them earn more than 3000 TL.

The net minimum wage in Turkey for the ones more than 16 years old is 527,13 TL and it is 456,21 TL for the ones more than 16 years old in 2010. Almost 40 % of the household income among the participants is more than 2000 TL, thus, it is possible to express that they are actually relatively well off.

Besides, regarding the average size of households in Ankara; it is 3,8 in province and 3,7 in the municipal area (State Institute of Statistics, 2000: 227). Among the participants, almost 66,6 % of them have less than three children thus, the household size is in parallel with the average size in Ankara Furthermore, it is understood from the qualitative data obtained that the family of the participants can be evaluated as a breadwinner model since in general the husband is working and bringing home the “bacon” while the wife is dealing with the domestic settings including the care of the babies (Giddens, 2006: 239).

Table 6.4 Frequency Distribution of Household Income of Participants

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	0-1000 TL	33	28,2
	1000-2000 TL	40	34,2
	2000-3000 TL	34	29,1
	More Than 3000 TL	10	8,5
	Total	117	100,0

6.1.4 Whether Participants Own the Flat They Are Living

Concerning the house ownership pattern, majority of the participants (86,3 %) are tenants, only 6,8 % of them own a flat and 6,8 % of them do not pay any rent because they stay near to their relatives and friends.

Table 6.5 Frequency Distribution of Whether Participants Own the House They Are Living

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Owner	8	6,8
	Tenant	101	86,3
	Other	8	6,8
	Total	117	100,0

When house ownership pattern is considered together with the household income of the participants, it can be suggested that most of the migrants could not afford to buy their own flats.

6.1.5 District Migrants Living Now

Residential location can be a significant indicator for the integration process of migrants. Migrants may move into and live in places where there is already a large minority population living. The concentration of migrants in a district can influence the adaptation of the new coming migrants (Portes & Zhou, 1993). It is found that Turkomans are living in Batıkent (23,1 %), Keçiören (21,4 %), Cebeci (18,8 %) and Demetevler (12,8 %) and Eryaman (12,8 %).

Table 6.6 Frequency Distribution of The District Participants Living Now

	Frequency	Percent
Valid Keçiören	25	21,4
Demetevler	15	12,8
Eryaman	15	12,8
Batıkent	27	23,1
Esat	10	8,5
Cebeci	22	18,8
Other	3	2,6
Total	117	100,0

The above table presents that there is no clear geographical concentration. Turkomans are not concentrated in a district in Ankara and friends and relatives do not play a role in deciding the district participants choose to live. It can be suggested that participants prefer districts where the rents are cheapest.

6.1.6 Time Spent in Turkey

Among the participants, it is found that 30,8 % of them have been in Turkey since 2 years, 29,9 % of them have been in Turkey since 3-5 years and 39,3 % of them have been in Turkey more than 5 years time.

Table 6.7 Frequency Distribution of Time Spent in Turkey

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	0-2 Years	36	30,8
	3-5 Years	35	29,9
	More Than 5 Years	46	39,3
	Total	117	100,0

6.2 Reasons and Process of Migration

Reasons and process of migration is an important indicator to understand the integration process of migrants. In that respect; reasons of migration, migration route, the way participants enter to Turkey, relatives and friends in Turkey at the time of migration, the first city participants came and the reasons to settle in Ankara are examined.

6.2.1 Reasons of Migration

As it is discussed in the previous chapter in details, Turkomans residing in Iraq have experienced so many difficulties including political and economic problems which caused important amount of population movements especially after 1980s. Indeed, they have been subject to Arabification policy of the state harshly than ever under the rule of Saddam Hussein who came to power in 1979 and Kurdification especially after 1990s.

In that respect, concerning the reasons of migration; security concerns (79,5 %) constitute the largest portion and political reasons (14,5 %) came afterwards. The security concern come up in the study of Kürekçi (2009: 87) also had the highest percentage with 52,12 %, discomfort came with 15,95 % afterwards and lastly war and terror with 11,71 %.

Table 6.8 Frequency Distribution of Reasons of Migration

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Security	93	79,5
	Economic	4	3,4
	Political	17	14,5
	Ethnic Discrimination	3	2,6
	Total	117	100,0

In this context, it is difficult to distinguish political and ethnic discrimination concerns from a security concern. Political and ethnic discrimination mostly stem from the Arabification and Kurdification policies of the state and both of them create an insecurity environment for Turkomans. It is also understood from the in-depth interviews that the security perception of participants comprises the political concern and ethnic discrimination. They think that the latter aspects causes insecurity at the end.

Aysel stresses the attitude towards Turkomans during the reign of Saddam Hussein stemming from the policy executed and explained the reason of her migration during the in-depth interview as:

Every Turkoman was defined as a spy during the reign of Saddam Hussein. I had so many terrible experiences. My cousin who was a university student was executed by Saddam's regime in 1980. Moreover, the Arabification policy followed by the regime was a threat for all of us and each day we continued to stay in Iraq seemed as a risk for our lives.

Hakkı summarized the situation:

We chose to migrate in order to save our lives. We did not want to die because of Saddam's limitless ambitions.

6.2.2 Migration Route & The Way Migrants Enter to Turkey

As discussed in the third chapter in details, some of the participants came to Turkey in order to settle while others follow a way from Turkey to reach destination countries in the West and North. Thus, the migration route is an important point to demonstrate whether migrants enter Turkey to start a new life which can facilitate the integration process.

Among the participants, it is found that for 75,2 % of them, Turkey has been the destination country while 24,8 % of them migrated to Turkey to transfer to other countries in the West. Murat expressed that

I migrated to Turkey to settle and start a new life. I had a request from Australia and United States for resettlement but I did not want to go since as I always say to my friends, Turkey is our motherland and I do not want to leave it.

Regarding the ways migrants enter to Turkey, it is found that 49,6 % of the participants came to Turkey by legal ways and 50,4 % of them came by illegal ways. Ahmet told his entrance:

I migrated to Turkey alone during the Iran-Iraq War in 1986 when I was 24. There were two ways of migrating; you could come from Iran or from the Iraqi border but by illegal ways. So, I chose to enter from the Iranian border and was caught by the Gendarmerie in Hakkari.

6.2.3 Relatives and Friends in Turkey at the time of Migration

Among the participants, 69,2 % of the migrants had relatives and friends in Turkey at the time of migration and 30,8 % of them did not have. The existence of social networks in the destination country can be an encouraging and facilitating factor for the Turkomans to migrate to Turkey.

6.2.4 The Reasons to Settle in Ankara

It is found that 54,7 % of the participants settled to Ankara because of employment opportunities while 45,3 % of them settled because their relatives and friends were living in that city.

Table 6.9 Frequency Distribution of Reasons to Settle in Ankara

	Frequency	Percent
Valid Relatives	21	17,9
Friends	32	27,4
Employment	64	54,7
Total	117	100,0

Burak explained that

When I came to Turkey, I stayed in different cities at first. I stayed for 3 weeks in Hakkari then when I reach my friends in Kayseri, I moved to Kayseri and started to work as a carpenter there. However, the money I earned was not enough to survive, so when I had a chance, I moved to Ankara for better earnings and may be finding a better job.

It is also understood from the in-depth interviews that there exists different reasons other than employment and social networks that affect settlement.

For instance; Tarık expresses that:

Istanbul is a big and complex city. It is frightening to start a new life in Istanbul after all your experiences in Iraq. I preferred to settle in Ankara not only because many of my relatives were living here but also because it is more quiet and clearer.

As stated by Hugo (1998:145), migrants prefer to move to places where they have relatives and friends in general. Additionally all kinds of assistance taken from friends, relatives and/or social and political groups, in other words,

social networks is one of the factors affecting the settlement of migrants. Ali confirmed the effect and support of social networks:

My aunt promised me to meet all the requirements to continue my life in Ankara if I can go there...Indeed, after I started to live in Ankara, I have realized that when someone says that I am a Turk, the nationalist part of the country support and provide all the needs to you.

In order to find out the relationship between the reasons to settle in Ankara and age, gender, education, household income, job in Turkey, time spent in Turkey and Turkish citizenship, chi-square tests are applied. The most determinant factors are explained below.

Table 6.10 Chi-square test of Reasons to Settle in Ankara and Education

	Reasons to Settle in Ankara			Total
	Relatives	Friends	Employment	
Education Primary	0	4	12	16
high	0	14	10	24
university	21	14	42	77
Total	21	32	64	117

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	23,683 ^a	4	,000
Likelihood Ratio	28,520	4	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	4,933	1	,026
N of Valid Cases	117		

The above tables present that social networks is an important factor in each education level as a reason to settle in Ankara. It is found that 25 % of the primary school graduates, 58,3 % of the high school graduates and 45,4 % of the university graduates settled to Ankara since their friends and relatives were

living there. It seems that social networks are an important factor to settle in Ankara for high school graduates compared to primary and university graduates. Besides, primary and high school graduates settled to Ankara for their friends and employment and not for their relatives. On the other hand, the reason of university graduates includes the relatives as well. Thus, they have a wider social network compared to others.

Table 6.11 Chi-square test of Reasons to Settle in Ankara and Household Income

		Reasons For Residence in Ankara			Total
		Relatives	Friends	Employment	
Household Income	0-1000 TL	12	1	20	33
	1000-2000 TL	4	23	13	40
	2000-3000 TL	5	5	24	34
	More Than 3000 TL	0	3	7	10
Total		21	32	64	117

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	37,892 ^a	6	,000
Likelihood Ratio	40,659	6	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	4,850	1	,028
N of Valid Cases	117		

It is understood from the tables above that 33,3 % of the participants who earn less than 1000 TL settled in Ankara since their friends and relatives were living there. 67,5 % of the participants who earn between 1000-2000 TL, 29,4 % of the participants who earn between 2000-3000 TL and 30 % of the participants who earn more than 3000 TL settled in Ankara because their friends and relatives have already been living in Ankara. In that sense, it can

be suggested that social networks is an important factor for settling in Ankara especially for lower income groups.

Table 6.12 Chi-square test of Reasons to Settle in Ankara and Time Spent in Turkey

		Reasons For Residence in Ankara			Total
		Relatives	Friends	Employment	
Time in Turkey	0-2 Years	0	14	22	36
	3-5 Years	10	1	24	35
	More Than 5 Years	11	17	18	46
Total		21	32	64	117

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	24,095 ^a	4	,000
Likelihood Ratio	34,846	4	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	6,877	1	,009
N of Valid Cases	117		

It is found that 38,8 % of the participants who have been in Turkey for less than 2 years, 32,3 % of the participants who have been in Turkey between 3-5 years and lastly, 60,8 % of the participants who have been in Turkey for more than 5 years settled in Ankara for their friends and relatives. In this regard, it is possible to express that social networks are more important factor for settlement in Ankara for the participants who have been in Turkey for more than 5 years. The above tables also demonstrate that relatives did not play a role in the settlement of participants to Ankara. This can stem from that they migrated to Turkey and settled to Ankara with their family and completed the family reunification.

6.3 Structural Integration

Structural integration is related with the acquisition of rights and the access to position and status in the core institutions of the host society namely the housing system, the economy and labour market, education, social security and health system and political citizenship (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006: 10).

6.3.1 Housing

6.3.1.1 With Whom Participants Stay Firstly in Turkey

As can be seen in the table below, the participants mostly stayed near to their friends (35,9 %) and relatives (23,1 %) when they first migrated to Turkey.

Table 6.13 Frequency Distribution of With Whom Participants Stay Firstly in Turkey

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Relatives	27	23,1
	Friends	42	35,9
	Other	48	41,0
	Total	117	100,0

Indeed, once migrants left their country of origin and arrived their new home, one of the important supports given by social networks is the accommodation process of the migrants (Hugo, 1998: 145). The findings of this study is in line with the Hugo's arguments. As seen from the table, all participants get assistance from friends, relatives and social and/or political organizations. Mehmet mentioned that

When I first came to Turkey, I stayed in the Iraqi Turks Culture and Assistance Association for a couple of months. My son was suffering from rickets. The Association helped for treating this disease and then we moved to one of my friend's home.

In this framework; social networks such as friends, relatives and political and/or social organizations play important role in the accomodation process of participants when they first migrated.

6.3.1.2 Help For Housing at first

Among the participants, it is found that 85,5 % of the migrants got some assistance for entering the housing system at first from social networks and only 14,5 % of them did not get any assistance. Thus, social networks are important for entering the housing market firstly.

Table 6.14 Frequency Distribution of Help Participants Get for their First House

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	100	85,5
	No	17	14,5
	Total	117	100,0

Emre explained the support taken from social networks for accomodation when he first came to Turkey:

When I first came to Turkey, I stayed in Hakkari, Konya and Kayseri for short periods of times. At last, I settled to Ankara. I stayed near to my relatives for a couple of months then I hold a flat with my Turkoman friends.

6.3.1.3 Help For Housing Now

Among the participants, 55,5 % of the them got some assistance for the house they are living today and 44,4 % of them did not get any assistance.

Relatives and friends play an important role in the initial years of migration in finding the first house. However, we see a fall of rate of ratio of dependence on social networks in finding the current house. Accordingly, it can be suggested that participants demonstrate some progress in integration to the social life in Turkey.

Moreover; in order to find out the relationship between whether participants receive help for the current house and age, gender, education, household income, job in Turkey, time spent in Turkey and Turkish citizenship, chi-square tests are applied. The most determinant factors are explained below.

Table 6.15 Chi-Square Test of Household Income and Help for Housing Now

		Help For Housing		Total
		Yes	No	
Houshold Income	0-1000 TL	33	0	33
	1000-2000 TL	21	19	40
	2000-3000 TL	27	7	34
	More Than 3000 TL	6	4	10
Total		87	30	117

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	22,940 ^a	3	,000
Likelihood Ratio	29,822	3	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	4,657	1	,031
N of Valid Cases	117		

It is understood from the tables above that all of the participants who earn less than 1000 TL, 52,5 % of the participants who earn between 1000-2000 TL, 79,4 % of the participants who earn between 2000-3000 TL and lastly 60 % of the participants who earn more than 3000 TL received support for entering the housing market for their current house. In that respect, it is possible to express that social networks is an important factor for entering the current housing market for every household income level.

Table 6.16 Chi-Square Test of Job in Turkey and Help for Housing Now

		Help For Housing		Total
		Yes	No	
Job in Turkey	None	6	15	21
	Tailor	7	0	7
	Carpenter	6	0	6
	Mechanic	16	1	17
	Air Condition Repairman	8	0	8
	Teacher	3	0	3
	Engineer	12	4	16
	Worker	16	4	20
	Trader	13	1	14
	Housewife	0	5	5
	Total	87	30	117

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	52,198 ^a	9	,000
Likelihood Ratio	55,259	9	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	3,824	1	,051
N of Valid Cases	117		

It is understood from the tables above that participants from every job group take assistance of social networks for entering the housing market for their current house and in this regard, social networks play an important role for finding the current flat of participants. Besides, most of the participants who are unemployed did not take assistance from social networks. This can be evaluated as they did not try to enter the current housing market and may be staying near their relatives, friends or in the association or already have a flat because of inheritance.

Table 6.17 Chi-Square Test of Time Spent in Turkey and Help for Housing Now

		Help For Housing		Total
		Yes	No	
Time in Turkey	0-2 Years	13	23	36
	3-5 Years	35	0	35
	More Than 5 Years	39	7	46
Total		87	30	117

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	42,312 ^a	2	,000
Likelihood Ratio	46,882	2	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	11,415	1	,001
N of Valid Cases	117		

It is understood from the tables above that 63,9 % of the participants who have been in Turkey for less than 2 years have not received help of social networks for entering the housing market for their current house. The reason behind this can be their inadequate financial resources that prevents any attempt to enter the housing market before 2 years time. They have been staying with their friends, relatives or in the association. Moreover, all the participants who have been in Turkey for 3-5 years and 84,7 % of them who have been in Turkey for more than 5 years got help for their current house. It can be evaluated that social networks are an important factor for entering the housing market for the participants who have been in Turkey for more than 2 years.

6.3.2 Employment

6.3.2.1 Difficulties and Spending Time For Finding Job

It is found that the majority of participants (94 %) are faced with difficulties in finding a job in Turkey. Difficulties in finding a job is one of the obstacles migrants face in maintaining their life in Turkey. They could not enter the labour market mainly because of necessary legal requirements. That is, although the migrants could only afford their basic requirements, the residence permit given upon their first arrival should have been renewed every six months paying some money. Accordingly, they prefer to live without getting residence permit (Kolukırık and Aygül, 2009: 77). In parallel with this argument, the participants link the difficulties they faced to the lack of residence permit when they first came. The ones who have not faced with difficulties constitute only 6 % of all.

Although most of the participants had difficulties in finding a job, 47 % of the participants declared that they found a job in 6 months time, 11,1 % of them found between 7-12 months and for 41, 9 % of them it took more than a year. Indeed, as stated by Dauvergne, they usually work illegally and in dirty, dangerous and degrading jobs with little security and low wages (Dauvergne, 2008: 19).

6.3.2.2 Help For Finding the First Job

Social networks help migrants in finding a job in their new home country. In other words, networks link individuals with employers or labour recruiters and this relationship guarantees employment to the new migrants (Hugo, 1998: 145).

Table 6.18 Frequency Distribution of Help Taken For Finding The First Job

	Frequency	Percent
Valid Yes	79	67,5
No	38	32,5

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	79	67,5
	No	38	32,5
	Total	117	100,0

As showed in the table above, 67,5 % of the participants got some assistance in finding the first job in Turkey and 32,5 % of them did not get any assistance.

In order to find out the relationship between whether participants received help for entering the employment market at first and age, gender, education, household income, job in Turkey, time in Turkey and citizenship, chi-square tests are applied. The most determinant factors are explained below.

Table 6.19 Chi-Square Test of job in Turkey and Help for Finding the first job

		Help For Finding the First Job		Total
		Yes	No	
Job in Turkey	None	14	7	21
	Tailor	4	3	7
	Carpenter	4	2	6
	Mechanic	13	4	17
	Air Condition Repairman	3	5	8
	Teacher	0	3	3
	Engineer	13	3	16
	Worker	20	0	20
	Trader	3	11	14
	Housewife	5	0	5
Total		79	38	117

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
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Pearson Chi-Square	37,462 ^a	9	,000
Likelihood Ratio	44,461	9	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	,152	1	,696
N of Valid Cases	117		

It is found that most of the job groups got help for finding their first job. Also, it is revealed that more than half of the participants who are unemployed today had been working before and took assistance for their first job. Among them; workers, engineers and mechanics receive more assistance compared to others. However, it is possible to express that social networks is an important factor for finding the first job of participants in general. 63,8 % of the participants who have been in Turkey for less than 2 years, all the participants who have been in Turkey for 3-5 years and lastly 45,6 % of them who have been in Turkey for more than 5 years received help for entering the labour market for their first job. It is revealed that the ones who stayed in Turkey more than 5 years do not get it as much as others. In that sense, it is possible to say that social networks is an important factor for the ones who stayed in Turkey for 5 years and its importance decreases as time passes.

Regarding the relationship between the Turkish citizenship and assistance taken for entering the labour market; 45,6 % of the participants who are Turkish citizens and 81,6 % of the non-citizens received help for entering the labour market in Turkey for their first job. In that respect, social networks are more important for finding the first job among the non-citizen participants compared to participants who acquired Turkish citizenship. As stated before, migrants face with difficulties in finding a job in their new country and residence permit constitutes the biggest obstacle in this context. However, Turkish citizenship removes this problem and facilitates finding a job. In that regard, citizenship giving an advantageous position may decrease the dependency to social networks for entering the labour market.

6.3.2.3 Help For Finding Job Now

Hugo (1998:145) argues that social networks play an important role in the employment process of migrants. It is found that 55,6 % of the participants got some assistance in finding their current job and 44,4 % of them did not get any assistance. On the other hand; compared to the assistance taken for the first job, the rise in the number of participants who do not take any help in finding their current job may be evaluated as a positive development in the integration of participants to the labour market.

Table 6.20 Frequency Distribution of Help Participants Take For Finding Their Current Job

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	65	55,6
	No	52	44,4
	Total	117	100,0

In order to find out the relationship between whether participants receive help for entering the current labour market and age, gender, education, household income, job in Turkey, time spent in Turkey and Turkish citizenship, chi-square tests are applied. The most determinant factors are explained below.

It is understood that 93,75 % of the primary school graduates, 37,5 % of the high school graduates and 53,2 % of the university graduates have taken assistance in entering the labour market for finding their current job. The significance of the relationship stems from the primary school graduates' high percentage. This can stem from the Granovetter's conceptual distinction between weak and strong ties that high school graduates among the participants may have few weak ties compared to university and primary school graduates which can cause them deprived of information from the provincial news and views of their close friends. This deprivation may put them in a disadvantaged position in the labor market, where advancement can depend, on knowing about appropriate job openings at just the right time.

Moreover, 48,4 % of the participants who earn less than 1000 TL, 37,5 % of the participants who earn between 1000-2000 TL and all participants who earn between 2000-3000 TL receive help for entering the labour market for their current job. The ones who earn more than 3000 TL do not get assistance for their current job. In that sense, it is possible to express that for high level household income groups that earn more than 3000 TL, social networks in finding the current jobs are not as important. The reason behind this can be the human capital participants have. Participants' skills and professional resources gained through education and experience may decrease their dependency to social networks for finding their current job.

Table 6.21 Chi-Square Test of Job in Turkey and Help Participants Get For Finding Their Current Job

		Help For Job Now		Total
		Yes	No	
Job in Turkey	None	0	21	21
	Tailor	5	2	7
	Carpenter	5	1	6
	Mechanic	17	0	17
	Air Condition Repairman	3	5	8
	Teacher	0	3	3
	Engineer	12	4	16
	Worker	18	2	20
	Trader	5	9	14
	Housewife	0	5	5
Total	65	52	117	

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	46,378 ^a	9	,000
Likelihood Ratio	58,107	9	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	,786	1	,375
N of Valid Cases	117		

It is found that most of the job groups got help for finding their current job. Among them; workers, engineers and mechanics received more assistance compared to others. However, it is possible to express that social networks are important for finding the current job of participants in general.

Finally, 36,9 % of the participants who acquired Turkish citizenship and 67,6 % of the participants who are not Turkish citizens had received help for finding their current jobs. In that respect, similar to the situation in finding their first jobs, social networks are more important for finding their current job among the non-citizen participants compared to participants who acquired Turkish citizenship. This is related with the difficulties migrants have in finding a job while they stay illegally or as an asylum seeker. The illegal migrants often work in “threeD” categories that is they work in dirty, dangerous and degrading jobs with little security and low wages. They get less than minimum wages and work with no social welfare facilities. (Dauvergne, 2008: 19). Also, they have to fulfill some complicated requirements for working as a foreigner in Turkey. Granting Turkish citizenship, in this context, facilitates their entrance to labour market and change their working status and may decrease their dependency to social networks.

6.3.3 Health System & Social Security

Reliable access to health service is one of the problems confronted especially by asylum seekers who stay in the country undocumented. Moreover, it is an important element for the integration process of migrants and also marks effective engagement with a key state service. However;

language difficulties, lack of information about services available, gender and cultural perceptions can come on the scene as barriers of benefitting from it (Ager & Strang, 2008: 172).

Majority of the participants (88,9 %) stated that they did not face with any difficulties in benefiting from the health system while 11,1 % of them experienced some difficulties. The reason behind the high percentage of participants who benefited from the health system may be the cultural and linguistic similarity between Turks and Turkomans which facilitate to get all the necessary information about services available. Besides the cultural and linguistic similarities, established social networks that give necessary information to Turkomans for benefiting from the health system in Turkey positively affects the integration of Turkomans.

Besides, among the participants, 47 % of them benefit from social security while 53 % of them do not.

It is interesting that although more than half of participants could not benefit from the social security, majority of the them mention that they did not face with difficulties in benefiting from the health system. This can be explained by the term "Clientelism" which exists in many developing countries. It refers to a form of social organization common in many developing regions characterized by "patron-client" relationships. In other words, relatively powerful and rich "patrons" promise to provide relatively powerless and poor "clients" with jobs, protection, infrastructure, and other benefits in exchange for votes and other forms of loyalty including labor (<http://www.uwsp.edu>). So, the incoherence between the beneficiaries of the social security and health system is probably rooted from the patron-client relationships in Turkey.

6.3.4 Education

6.3.4.1 Difficulties Faced in Benefiting From the Education System

Schools are the most important places of contact where migrants and their children interact with the host community. However, they are also faced with some difficulties at school. Insufficient support for learning host-society's language, exclusion and isolation (bullying, racism, difficulties in making friends) are the barriers towards effective integration in that case (Ager & Strang, 2008: 172).

Among the participants, majority of the them (75,2 %) did not have some difficulties in benefiting from the education system while 24,8 % of them experienced some difficulties. Ahmet mentioned that

My daughter was eight when we migrated to Turkey. She could not adapt to school for a long time. She was excluded by her classmates because of her Turkoman dialect and being a migrant.

In that respect, it is evaluated that the problems of the participants arising from exclusion and isolation of the migrant children by means of bullying, discrimination, etc. by their friends at school. The dialect difference seems to intensify the problems mentioned above.

6.3.5 Citizenship

6.3.5.1 Turkish Citizenship

Among the participants, 39,3 % are Turkish citizens and 60,7 % are not. Turkish citizens among the participants acquired citizenship more than 5 years after their arrival to Turkey.

Residing in Turkey for 5 years prior to the date of application is one of the requirements for getting citizenship according to the Citizenship Law. However, according to the Settlement Law, immigrants of Turkish descent can acquire citizenship by a decision of Council of Ministers after signing a

declaration for admission into citizenship before 5 years time. It is understood that the participants did not benefit from this article since all the participants who have been in Turkey more than 5 years acquired citizenship and the others did not. This can stem from the attitude of Turkish government reluctance to apply this article because of the geopolitical concerns since the government wanted to keep ethnic Turks in their place of residence and prevent potential influxes from the unstable areas close to Turkish territories (Kirişçi, 2003: 3).

It is understood from the in-depth interviews that acquiring Turkish citizenship takes a long time in general. Putting aside the ones who do not have the necessary requirements for it, the ones who completed the requirements also had some difficulties in getting it. Mehmet stated that:

I got my citizenship in 2003, 12 years after I migrated to Turkey. So, I had to stay in Turkey without a working permit and social security for a long time. I worked for a small amount of money. In normal circumstances, if you ask for political asylum, you get your citizenship after 5 years. Although I have Turkish blood, my process of citizenship lasted for 6-7 years because of bureaucratic obstacles.

At the beginning of the survey, it was determined that the difficulties migrants faced in Turkey would be problems related with housing, employment, education, social security and health system. However, it is understood from the in-depth interviews that the process of citizenship which takes time more than usual because of the bureaucratic obstacles also takes an important place in the participants' experiences.

6.3.5.2 Voting in Turkey

It is found that 39,3 % of the participants voted in the previous elections while 60,7 % of them do not. Similarly, 39,3 % of the participants plan to vote in the next elections while 60,7 % of them do not.

Considering that only the Turkish citizens have the right to vote, it is found that all the participants who acquired Turkish citizenship voted in the previous elections and plan to vote in the next one. This is an important indicator of their participation to political life and political integration.

6.4 Cultural Integration

According to Bosswick and Heckmann, integration also includes the migrant's behavioural and attitudinal change. Indeed, immigrants can claim rights and assume positions in their new society if they acquire the core competencies of that culture and society. Furthermore, cultural integration does not mean that migrant groups have to give up the culture of their own society (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006: 10).

6.4.1 Cultural Similarity & Change in Cultural Norms

The integration process of migrants is affected from the host society's culture, in this context, the similarity between two cultures may affect the integration process positively (Baglioni, 1964: 127).

It is found that majority the participants (91,5 %) think that Turkish culture is similar to the Turkoman culture. Only 8,5 % of them declared their dissimilarity. Consequently, it can be expected that Turkoman's integration to the host society would be easier.

Murat explained the similarity of food and music as follows:

There is not an outstanding difference between the cultures. We did not face difficulties. The Turkish food is very similar to ours in particular the one in the eastern part of Turkey. We were listening Ibrahim Tatlıses and Ferdi Tayfur and watch their films in Iraq. Of course they were banned but we were able to watch them by videotapes. In that sense, living in Turkey was a dream for us.

Moreover, Ahmet claimed that

Turkoman culture is so similar to the Turkish one in particular the southeastern region of Turkey. However, Turkoman community is

closer than the Turkish community. For instance, I still do not let my daughter go to university alone and leave and take her to bus-stop by car.

Although majority of the participants think that the two cultures are similar, 47 % of them mentioned that they had a change in their cultural norms while 53 % of them think that they hadn't experienced.

Related with the change in cultural norms, Murat told that:

I had a request from Australia and United States to settle as a political asylum and did not accept it. Actually, it would be better to go for me and my family from the economic perspective. Australian state was giving material assistance to children's education which does not exist in Turkey. However, if we had gone, as a father of two girls it would be difficult to raise them in these countries's culture. We had a possibility of losing our own traditions.

It can be evaluated that the participants give so much importance to their cultural norms that they reject expected better socio-economic conditions. In that respect, the adherence to cultural norms and values and the similarity between two cultures can affect the integration process of Turkomans positively.

6.4.2 Neighbourhood Relations in Iraq & in Turkey

Friendliness of the people encountered on a daily basis, being recognized and greeted by others in the neighbourhood is an important factor in making migrants feel "at home" (Ager & Strang, 2008: 180).

59 % of the participants defined neighbourhood relations in Iraq as "very nice" while 41 % of them used the term "nice". It is found that none of the participants define neighbourhood relations in Iraq as cold or worse.

Table 6.22 Frequency Distribution of Neighbourhood Relations in Iraq

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Nice	48	41,0
	Very Nice	69	59,0
	Total	117	100,0

On the other hand, it is found that 80 % of the participants defined the neighbourhood relations in Turkey as “nice”, 11,1 % of them defined it as “cold” and 8,5 % of them as “worse”. It is interesting that while 59 % of the participants defined the neighbourhood relations in Iraq as “very nice”, none of them used this definition for neighborhood relations in Turkey. Tarik expressed that:

I do not have neighbours in Turkey. I even do not greet them. I do not know, this may be because of my culture but I do not trust them either.

Table 6.23 Frequency Distribution of Neighbourhood Relations in Turkey

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	worse	10	8,5
	nice	94	80,3
	cold	13	11,1
	Total	117	100,0

6.4.3 Difficulties in Turkish Speaking and Understanding

Languages are a means of communication, and provide access to cultural and social resources. In general, migrants learn to speak in their country of origin, their language skills at the time of migration may not overlap with the language skills demanded in their country of destination. Any disparity between migrants' language skills and those of the receiving society results in a complex and multifaceted response involving individuals, communities,

and societies. Individual-level responses include language learning and language shift. Societal-level responses to immigrants' languages may be formalized in policies governing the use of languages in various social domains. In a few cases, the languages themselves change. Migrants who lack skills in a nation's dominant or official language(s) face formidable difficulties in adapting to their new society and can encounter numerous communicative obstacles in major social arenas, and as a result often face diminished labor force prospects and other negative life outcomes. For example, poor oral and literacy skills in the destination country's dominant language(s) strongly depress occupational status and earnings among immigrant adults (Steven, G. & Ortman, G., "Immigration and Language", 2007, <http://www.sociologyencyclopedia.com>, 19 November 2010). Thus, language competence can be a barrier to social interaction, economic integration and full participation and in this regard it is the central element of the integration process (Ager & Strang, 2008: 182).

It is found that 71,8 % of the participants had some difficulties in understanding and speaking Turkish and 28,2 % of them did not have any difficulty.

Although the percentage of participants who had difficulties in understanding and speaking Turkish is higher, it is understood from the in-depth interviews that it is not a crucial one. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the Turkoman language is similar to the Turkish and it is one of the important factors that facilitate their integration to Turkish social life. The difficulty stems from the dialects which seems to be adopted in the short-term. Özlem summarized the issue during the in-depth interview as follows:

There are some Arabian words in Turkoman language and it has different dialects. But I did not experience a crucial problem. What I experienced were the jokes my friends made and imitations sometimes.

Besides, Hakkı told that:

People think I was from the eastern part of Turkey. They sometimes make fun of my Turkish but I did not face any significant difficulty. In contrast, Turkish people helped me to correct and develop my Turkish. Since my daughters grew up in Turkey, you cannot realize any difference in their speaking.

The similarity between the languages can be evaluated as one of the factors affecting the integration process of participants positively.

6.5 Interactive Integration

Interactive integration is another dimension of integration. It is the formation of relationships and networks in the new society. It includes friendships, partnerships, marriages and membership to social groups. It should be emphasized that certain core elements of cultural integration particularly communicative competences are preconditions for interactive integration (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006: 10). In this regard; participants' preferences in case of a need for advice or debt, their connection with Turks and Turkomans and their membership to social groups are examined.

6.5.1 Advice

Social networks seem to be first place to apply when there is a need of money or assistance. In this regard, people usually ask the help of relatives and friends in such situations (Gilbert and Gugler, 1992).

As presented in the table below, when the participants need advice, 76,9 % of them take it from their relatives and 23,1 % of them take it from their friends. Thus, it can be stated that the participants give importance to the emotional and informational support taken from social networks.

Table 6.24 Frequency Distribution of Whom Participants Take Advice From in Turkey

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Relatives	90	76,9
	Friends	27	23,1
	Total	117	100,0

6.5.2 Debt

Table 6.25 Frequency Distribution of Whom Participants Take Debt if Needed in Turkey

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Relatives	49	41,9
	Friends	50	42,7
	Bank	11	9,4
	Other	7	6,0
	Total	117	100,0

All the migrants ask for advice to their relatives and friends. However, in case of material need, migrants also use channels such as banks which demonstrate a tendency towards more secondary relations. However, the instrumental support taken from social networks is still substantial, the majority of them rely on their relatives (52,1 %) and friends (47,9 %) for debt.

6.5.3 Connection with Turkomans and Turks

Concerning the connection with Turkomans and Turks, it is found that majority of the participants (91,5 %) have connections both with Turkomans and Turks which is an important attitude for their interactive integration while only a small percentage (8,5 %) prefer to have relations with Turkomans.

Table 6.26 Frequency Distribution of Connection of Participants with Turkomans and Turks

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Turkomans	10	8,5
	No Difference	107	91,5
	Total	117	100,0

Hakkı mentioned that

I have been working as a trader for 10 years time in Turkey. So, I had more relations with Turks. They do not understand that I am a Turkoman, they think that I am from Diyarbakır or Sanlıurfa. I have to stress that they were very friendly and helped me a lot.

On the other hand, some of the participants gave reaction to this question and stressed that they have Turkish blood and there exists no difference between the Turks and Turkomans.

6.5.4 Membership to Organizations Other Than The Association

it is possible to say that the membership to the Iraqi Turks Culture and Assistance Association is a passive one. They see the Association as a place to waste their free time and get together with other migrants. Among the participants, only 12 % of them are members of other organizations and 88 % of them not. The participants who are the members of any organization except the Association are in general the members of Nationalist Action Party.

The Party assists the necessary needs of migrants such as accommodation, employment etc. This can be evaluated as a factor affecting the structural integration in particular housing and employment and interactive integration process of the participants.

6.6 Identificational Integration

The last dimension, identificational integration, is related with the feeling of belonging which would develop as a result of participation and acceptance. It refers to individual's identification with a social system and his/her perception of himself/herself as part of a collective body (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006: 10). In this regard, perception of townsman is examined.

6.6.1 Perception of Townsman

Townsman or "hemşehrilik" as a sociological and organizational concept is developed in migrant concentrated areas or in big cities as an important part of organized life (Kurtoğlu, 2005:1). Concerning the perception of townsmen, it is found that 38,5 % of the participants define both Turkomans and Turks, 35,9 % of them define Turks and 25,6 % of them define Turkomans as their townsmen.

Table 6.27 Frequency Distribution of Participants' Perception of Townsman

	Frequency	Percent
Valid Turkomans	30	25,6
Turks	42	35,9
No Difference	45	38,5

The participants see both Turkomans and Turks as their townsman. Moreover, it is interesting that the number of participants who see Turks as their townsman is more than the number of participants who see Turkomans as their townsman. This attitude can be rooted not only from their high integration to the social life in Turkey but also from the idea that they also had Turkish blood as Turkomans.

6.7 Others

Finally, some general questions were asked to examine their integration to social life in Turkey.

6.7.1 Problems Faced Just after Migration

It is found that 50,4 % of the participants faced with a residence permit problem, 38 % of them with economical problems and 20 % of them unemployment just after they migrated to Turkey.

Table 6.28 Frequency Distribution of Problems Participants Faced Just After Migration

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Residence Permit	59	50,4
	Unemployment	20	17,1
	Economic	38	32,5
	Total	117	100,0

6.7.2 Problems Facing Now

Concerning the problems facing now, only 0,9 % declared residence permit as their current problem while economic problems had the highest percentage (47,9 %) and unemployment (28,2 %) came afterwards. Moreover, 23,1 % of the participants had no problems now. Thus, economic problems constitute the most frequently experienced problem participants are facing today. This can be suggested as a negative factor for their integration process.

Table 6.29 Frequency Distribution of Problems Participants Facing Now

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	none	27	23,1
	Residence Permit	1	,9
	Unemployment	33	28,2
	Economics	56	47,9
	Total	117	100,0

6.7.3 Whether Relatives of Participants in Iraq Consider Migrating To Turkey

Among the participants, it is found that 70,1 % of the them have relatives still living in Iraq, 29,9 % of the them do not. Kürekçi (2009), in his study, reached a higher portion that 95 % of the sample he studied have relatives living in Iraq now.

Majority of the relatives of participants (88,9 %) living in Iraq do not consider migrating to Turkey, 11,1 % of them do. The reason of not considering to migrate to Turkey may be their dependency to land to survive unlike the participants in this study who are educated and professionals.

6.7.4 Myth of Return

None of the participants is planning to return to Iraq which can be evaluated as a positive sign of their integration to Turkish society.

During the in-depth interviews, most of the participants emphasized the conditions of Iraq today. Murat stressed the worsening economic conditions in Iraq and told that:

During my childhood, we were living in prospect in an oil-rich country. However, during my last visit to Iraq, I saw long queues for fuel oil. It was really disappointing.

6.7.5 Perception of Discrimination in Turkey

55,6 % of the participants did not face with discrimination in Turkey while 44,4 % of them did.

Table 6.30 Frequency Distribution of Whether Participants Face with Discrimination in Turkey

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	52	44,4
	No	65	55,6
	Total	117	100,0

The in-depth interviews revealed that Turkomans are not subjected to any serious and wide-spread discrimination either by the authorities or by the communities in Turkey. They feel themselves discriminated because of the difficulties in finding a job, the bureaucratic obstacles faced in getting of the Turkish citizenship. However, the high percentage of participants that faced with discrimination in Turkey can be evaluated as a negative factor for the integration process of Turkomans.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This thesis has comprised an investigation of the reasons of migration and integration process of Iraqi Turkomans living in Ankara through an agency perspective and how the social networks affect these processes. The research was conducted to 117 Iraqi Turkomans through questionnaires and 10 interviewees through in-depth interviews in order to analyze their experiences and perceptions of the integration processes to different dimensions of the society. At the beginning of the thesis, it was assumed that strong networks among Iraqi Turkomans would be a facilitation factor for their integration. In other words, the role of social networks function as initiators, mediators and perpetrators of social interaction among the migrants and the “host society” forms the foundation of the thesis’ approach. The analysis in this study, is concentrated on the Iraqi Turkomans who are the members of the “*Iraqi Turks Culture and Assistance Association*” or who have close relations with the Association. Thus, the integration of Iraqi Turkomans in this study is approached from an agency perspective. Furthermore, it focuses on groups (basically kin, family and ethnic groups) rather than individuals and the importance of social networks and the mediating function they hold in Turkomans integration process.

The term network refers to individuals who are linked together by one or more social relationships, thus forming a social network. Social scientists only after 1950s start using the term systematically and self-consciously and today it includes friendships, liking or respect, transfers of material resources, association or affiliation (jointly attending a social event, or belonging to the same social club), behavioral interaction (sending messages or talking together), movement between places (migration, social or physical mobility), physical connection (a road, river or a bridge connecting two points), formal relations authority) and biological relationships (kinship or descent). Whole

network studies are not always feasible because they require complete lists of all members of a population and all of their ties (Barry, W, 2007). This study, also does not claim to comprise all the Turkomans living in Ankara and their ties however, with its limitations, it does provide an important insight into most of all their but also the integration experiences of others.

In order to do this, in the theoretical framework, the study tried to clarify the position of Iraqi Turkomans firstly as forced migrants in Turkey. Most of them migrated to Turkey to escape from the policies of the state based on Arabization and Kurdification more recently. In that respect, illegal and legal migration, in particular the concepts of refugee and asylum seekers are explained on the basis of international, national laws and regulations and Turkish policies. Then, in order to understand the factors behind the migration of Turkomans, their historical background is summarized.

The field study firstly gives information about the socio-demographic characteristics of Iraqi Turkomans including gender, age, education, job in Iraq and in Turkey, household income, whether they own their flats or not, district they are living now, marital status, nationality of spouse, the time they spent in Turkey and reasons and process of their migration. Among the 117 participants, 79,5 % of them are male and 20,5 % of them are female migrants. It is found that the older participants constitute the majority of the whole, that is; 81,2 % of the participants are between the ages 30-50 while 18,8 % of them are between the ages 18-30. Moreover, 65,8 % of the participants are university graduates, 20,5 % of them are graduated from high school and 13,7 % of them are primary school graduates. None of the participants are illiterate. This finding is in paralel with the literature related to Turkomans and findings of other studies that Turkomans have a high education level in general. Then, the integration process of Turkomans is analyzed on the basis of Heckmann and Schnapper's classification under four dimensions namely structural, cultural, interactive and identificational integration. Thus, the integration analysis comprised not only the acquisition

of rights and access to core institutions of the settlement society (structural integration) but also processes of cognitive, cultural, behavioural and attitudinal change of persons (cultural integration), people's private relations and group memberships (interactive integration) and feelings of belonging (identificational integration).

It is found that social networks is an important factor for the integration of Turkomans to different aspects of social life such as housing and labour market, social security and health system, education system in Turkey. Besides social networks; cultural and linguistic similarities of Turkomans plays an important role for their integration process. More importantly, acquiring Turkish citizenship is a crucial factor to participate to social life and makes integration easier.

Gmelch and Zenner (1988) mention that voluntary associations support migrants not only psychologically and economically but also they give a sense of belonging. The support given to Turkomans by the "*Iraqi Turks Culture and Assistance Association*" is important in this sense that the Association provides most of the material needs like clothes, shoes, medicine, place to stay, etc. and immaterial needs like assistance for entering housing and labour market, benefiting from social security and health system, acquiring citizenship, etc. to Turkomans. Furthermore, it helps them to provide the necessary connections due to the necessities and strengthen the assistance and connections among them. It is also realized that apart from the Association, Turkomans receive similar kinds of help from right wing MHP in Turkey. Additionally, both of the organizations contribute Turkomans to develop sense of belonging. Thus, "*Iraqi Turks Culture and Assistance Association*" and MHP play an important role for the structural, interactive and identificational integration of the participants.

Secondly, relatives and friends living in Turkey and in particular in Ankara at the time of migration is an important factor for the settlement of participants

to Ankara. Also, Turkomans stay near their relatives, friends or in the Association when they first arrived to Turkey. Similar to the process of migration, social networks have a positive affect in the integration of participants to Turkish social life. Nevertheless, as stated by Bosswick and Heckmann, when migrants first came to the new country, the support and solidarity of social networks through their sharing information and experiences is an important factor for the integration. However, in time, such integration may hinder the migrant in creating links with the host society and in acquiring the cultural and social capital for competing in the core institutions of the society. Most of the migrants stayed near to their relatives and friends when they first migrated to Turkey and got assistance from them in finding the first flat they lived. Besides, most of them got assistance from their relatives and friends in finding their first job. However, concerning the current house and job, it is observed that there is a clear decline in the dependency to social networks. In that respect, the decline in the assistance taken to find the current house and job of Turkomans demonstrates a positive development for the integration of them.

Whether migrants stay illegally or as being an asylum seeker, they face with many difficulties while maintaining their life in Turkey especially before granting citizenship. Concerning the job finding in Turkey and citizenship; it is found that social networks are more important factors for finding the first and current job among the non-citizen participants compared to participants who acquired Turkish citizenship. Granting citizenship, in this context, facilitates their entrance to labour market and may decrease their dependency to social networks.

Turkomans speak a unique Turkish dialect similar to the one mainly spoken in Azerbaijan and use the Anatolian Turkish in writing. The similarity of language together with the cultural similarities are the main factors affecting the integration process positively. Most particularly, language competence is significant for every aspect of social life and in the Turkoman case, it is no

longer a problem to structural, cultural, interactive and identificational integration.

Marriage is one of the ways of acquiring Turkish citizenship. According to the Citizenship Law, those who are married with a Turkish citizen and those who are from Turkish descent may grant citizenship upon the decision of Council of Ministers due to the recommendation of the Minister of Interior. However, most of the Turkomans are married with Turkoman women/men. It is one of the factors that strenghtens the social networks among them and makes integration difficult.

It is important that majority of migrants have connections both with Turks and Turkomans in their daily lives. More importantly, they see no difference between Turks and Turkomans which demonstrates an positive development for their interactive integration.

Finally, the study reveals that analysis of integration of migrants by dividing the process into different dimensions assists a better and easier understanding of the process but is not possible in reality. For instance; the similarity between the Turkish and Turkoman culture and language is an important factor not only for cultural integration of Turkomans but also it has a positive effect on the structural integration that is, in entering the housing and labour market, health system, etc., cultural integration, on migrant's private life (interactive intagrations) or identificational integration. Thus, in most cases, all structural, cultural, interactive and identificational dimensions are interrelated and indissociable.

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APPENDIX A

THE INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

Socio-demographic Characteristics:

Gender, age, place of birth, education, job in Iraq, job in Turkey, district living now, marital status, nationality of spouse, time spent in Turkey

Reasons and Process of Migration:

Reasons of migration, family and kin members in Turkey, reasons to settle in Ankara

Integration Process:

Housing

Difficulties in job searching

Social security and health system

Difficulties in benefitting from the education system

Turkish citizenship

Cultural values and change in cultural norms

Neighbourhood relations

Assessment of own language skill

Contacts with townsmen and with Turks

Situation of kins in country of origin

Myth of Return

APPENDIX B

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERVIEWEES

- Ali is 25 years old. He does not work. He is single.
- Murat is 48 years old. He is an engineer. He is married and has 2 children.
- Ahmet is 46 years old. He is a mechanics. He is married and is father of a girl.
- Burak is 22 years old. He is a carpenter. He is married and does not have a children.
- Mehmet is 42 years old. He is a teacher. He is married and has 1 child.
- Hakkı is 44 years old. He is a trader. He is married and have 3 children.
- Aysel is 39 years old. She does not work. She is married and has 2 children.
- Emre is 36 years old. He is a worker. He is married and has 1 child.
- Özlem is 21 years old. She does not work. She is single.
- Tarık is 49 years old. He is an engineer. He is married and has 2 children.

APPENDIX C

OTHER TABLES

Chi-Square Test of Gender and Reasons for Settlement in Ankara

	Reasons For Settlement in Ankara			Total
	Relatives	Friends	Employment	
Gender Man	16	25	52	93
Woman	5	7	12	24
Total	21	32	64	117

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,298 ^a	2	,861
Likelihood Ratio	,295	2	,863
Linear-by-Linear Association	,291	1	,589
N of Valid Cases	117		

Chi-Square Test of Age and Reasons for Settlement in Ankara

	Reasons For Settlement in Ankara			Total
	Relatives	Friends	Employment	
Age 18-30	1	13	8	22
30-50	20	19	56	95
Total	21	32	64	117

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14,358 ^a	2	,001
Likelihood Ratio	13,609	2	,001
Linear-by-Linear Association	,111	1	,739
N of Valid Cases	117		

Chi-Square Test of Citizenship and Reasons for Settlement in Ankara

	Reasons For Settlement in Ankara			Total
	Relatives	Friends	Employment	
Citizenship Yes	11	17	18	46
No	10	15	46	71
Total	21	32	64	117

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7,419 ^a	2	,024
Likelihood Ratio	7,464	2	,024
Linear-by-Linear Association	5,893	1	,015
N of Valid Cases	117		

Chi-Square Test of Job in Turkey and Reasons for Settlement in Ankara

		Reasons For Settlement in Ankara			Total
		Relatives	Friends	Employment	
Job in Turkey	None	2	11	8	21
	Tailor	2	3	2	7
	Carpenter	0	3	3	6
	Mechanic	0	6	11	17
	Air Condition Repairman	3	1	4	8
	Teacher	1	0	2	3
	Engineer	2	2	12	16
	Worker	6	1	13	20
	Trader	5	4	5	14
	Housewife	0	1	4	5
Total		21	32	64	117

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	31,678 ^a	18	,024
Likelihood Ratio	37,558	18	,004
Linear-by-Linear Association	,128	1	,721
N of Valid Cases	117		

Chi-Square Test of Age and Help for Finding the First House

		Help For Finding the First House		Total
		Yes	No	
Age	18-30	9	13	22
	30-50	26	69	95
Total		35	82	117

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,562 ^a	1	,211		
Continuity Correction ^b	,983	1	,321		
Likelihood Ratio	1,496	1	,221		
Fisher's Exact Test				,301	,160
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,549	1	,213		
N of Valid Cases	117				

Chi-Square Test of Gender and Help for Finding the First House

	Help For Finding the First House		Total
	Yes	No	
Gender Man	19	74	93
Woman	16	8	24
Total	35	82	117

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	19,452 ^a	1	,000		
Continuity Correction ^b	17,309	1	,000		
Likelihood Ratio	18,047	1	,000		
Fisher's Exact Test				,000	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	19,286	1	,000		
N of Valid Cases	117				

Chi-Square Test of Job in Turkey and Help for Finding the First House

		Help For Finding the First House		Total
		Yes	No	
Job in Turkey	None	6	15	21
	Tailor	0	7	7
	Carpenter	0	6	6
	Mechanic	1	16	17
	Air Condition Repairman	0	8	8
	Teacher	0	3	3
	Engineer	11	5	16
	Worker	16	4	20
	Trader	1	13	14
	Housewife	0	5	5
	Total	35	82	117

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	55,982 ^a	9	,000
Likelihood Ratio	62,943	9	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	5,599	1	,018
N of Valid Cases	117		

Chi-Square Test of Age and Help for Housing Now

		Help For Housing Now		Total
		Yes	No	
Age	18-30	9	13	22
	30-50	78	17	95
Total		87	30	117

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15,900 ^a	1	,000		
Continuity Correction ^b	13,813	1	,000		
Likelihood Ratio	14,181	1	,000		
Fisher's Exact Test				,000	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	15,764	1	,000		
N of Valid Cases	117				

Chi-Square Test of Gender and Help for Housing Now

		Help For Housing Now		Total
		Yes	No	
Gender	Man	69	24	93
	Woman	18	6	24
Total		87	30	117

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,007 ^a	1	,936		
Continuity Correction ^b	,000	1	1,000		
Likelihood Ratio	,007	1	,936		
Fisher's Exact Test				1,000	,582
Linear-by-Linear Association	,006	1	,936		
N of Valid Cases	117				

Chi-Square Test of Education and Help for Housing Now

		Help For Housing Now		Total
		Yes	No	
Education	primary	12	4	16
	high	12	12	24
	university	63	14	77
Total		87	30	117

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9,719 ^a	2	,008
Likelihood Ratio	8,926	2	,012
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,704	1	,100
N of Valid Cases	117		

Chi-Square Test of Turkish Citizenship and Help for Housing Now

		Help For Housing Now		Total
		Yes	No	
Citizenship	Yes	39	7	46
	No	48	23	71
Total		87	30	117

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,320 ^a	1	,038		
Continuity Correction ^b	3,466	1	,063		
Likelihood Ratio	4,542	1	,033		
Fisher's Exact Test				,051	,029
Linear-by-Linear Association	4,283	1	,039		
N of Valid Cases	117				

Chi-Square Test of Age and Help for Finding the First Job

	Help For Finding the First Job		Total
	Yes	No	
Age 18-30	13	9	22
30-50	66	29	95
Total	79	38	117

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,878 ^a	1	,349		
Continuity Correction ^b	,468	1	,494		
Likelihood Ratio	,853	1	,356		
Fisher's Exact Test				,449	,244
Linear-by-Linear Association	,871	1	,351		
N of Valid Cases	117				

Chi-Square Test of Education and Help for Finding the First job

	Help For Finding the First Job		Total
	Yes	No	
Education primary	14	2	16
high	11	13	24
university	54	23	77
Total	79	38	117

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8,299 ^a	2	,016
Likelihood Ratio	8,456	2	,015
Linear-by-Linear Association	,104	1	,747
N of Valid Cases	117		

Chi-Square Test of Household Income and Help for Finding the First job

	Help For Finding the First Job		Total
	Yes	No	
Houshold Income 0-1000 TL	19	14	33
1000-2000 TL	25	15	40
2000-3000 TL	30	4	34
More Than 3000 TL	5	5	10
Total	79	38	117

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10,000 ^a	3	,019
Likelihood Ratio	11,114	3	,011
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,037	1	,153
N of Valid Cases	117		

Chi-Square Test of Gender and Help Participants Get For Finding Job Now

	Help For Job Now		Total
	Yes	No	
Gender Man	44	49	93
Woman	21	3	24
Total	65	52	117

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12,478 ^a	1	,000		
Continuity Correction ^b	10,904	1	,001		
Likelihood Ratio	14,008	1	,000		
Fisher's Exact Test				,000	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	12,372	1	,000		
N of Valid Cases	117				

Chi-Square Test of Age and Help Participants Get For Finding Job Now

	Help For Job Now		Total
	Yes	No	
Age 18-30	9	13	22
30-50	56	39	95
Total	65	52	117

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2,354 ^a	1	,125		
Continuity Correction ^b	1,680	1	,195		
Likelihood Ratio	2,342	1	,126		
Fisher's Exact Test				,155	,098
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,334	1	,127		
N of Valid Cases	117				

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TURKISH CITIZENS OF IRAQI TURCOMANS BACKGROUND LIVING IN ANKARA

This questionnaire is being conducted by İpek Demirel, student at the Graduate School of Social Sciences in METU, with the purpose of determining Iraqi Turcomans' integration to social life in Turkey after migration.

Thanks for your contributions.

PART I

Gender :
Year of birth :
Place of Birth :
Education :
Job in Iraq :
Length of Residence in :
Turkey :
Marital Status :
Number of Children :

1. How much money do your household earn monthly?

- 0-1000 TL
- 1000-2000 TL
- 2000-3000 TL
- 3000 and over

2. Are you a Turkish citizen?

3. When did you get your citizenship?

PART II

1. Why did you leave your country of origin? (Please, rank one to three according to importance)

- Security Problems (war/terror etc.)

- Economic Problems (Unemployment, low income level etc.)
- Political Opposition
- Ethnic Discrimination
- Religious Persecution

2. Where did you plan to go while you were leaving Iraq?

- Turkey
- Other

3. Did you have relatives and friends already living in Turkey before migration?

- Yes
- No

PART III

1. How did you come to Turkey?

2. What were the main problems you faced when you first migrated to Turkey?

3. What are the major problems you are dealing with today?

4. Where did you stay firstly in Turkey? Where/with whom do you live for the time being?

5. How did you find your first house/flat?

6. What sort of place do you live now? Where/with whom do you live now?

7. How did you find your present house/ flat?

8. Are you the owner or renter of the house you are living in?

9. Why did you choose to settle in Ankara?

10. Which district are you living in Ankara?

11. Did you have a job in Iraq? What were you dealing with?

12. How did you earn a living in Turkey? Do you work?

- 13.** How did you find your first job in Turkey?
- 14.** How long did you look for a job?
- 15.** How did you find your current job?
- 16.** Do you benefit from any social security system?
- 17.** Did you have some difficulties in benefiting from the health services?
- 18.** Did you have some difficulties in benefiting from the education system?
- 19.** If married, is your wife a Iraqi Turkoman migrant or Turkish?
- 20.** Did you have good neighbourhood relations and good friends in Iraq?
- 21.** Do you have good neighbourhood relations and good friends in Turkey?
- 22.** If you need advice, who do you contact with?
- 23.** From whom do you borrow money in case of need?
- 24.** Do you have some connection with Turkomans living in Ankara? How often do you get together with them?
- 25.** Do you have some connection with Turkomans living in Turkey?
- 26.** When did you become a member of this Association?
- 27.** Why did you become a member of it?
- 28.** Do you have regular meetings in the Association? For which purposes do you meet?
- 29.** Are you a member of any voluntary organization except the dernek?
- 30.** Is Turkish culture (music, food, religion, etc.) similar to Iraqi's?
- 31.** Do you feel that you moved away from your traditions since you have been here? Please, give an example.

32. Did you face with difficulties in understanding and speaking Turkish?

33. Did you ever vote in local or central elections in Turkey?

34. Do you think to vote in the next elections?

35. Do you still have family and kin members in Iraq? How often do you see/talk with them?

36. Do they consider migrating to Turkey? Why?

37. Have you ever considered returning? Why?

38. Who do you regard as your fellow citizens?

39. Did you experience a discrimination or prejudice in your daily life / employment / bureaucracy etc.)