

NEW TENDENCIES IN TURKISH MIGRATION TO GERMANY AT THE TURN OF THE XX CENTURY: SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS

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Abstract. The article deals with the urgent problem of migration from the Republic of Turkey to Germany in 1960–2000. In 1950, still struggling along considerable economic problems caused by the lack of workforce after WW2, Germany implemented a program to attract workers from a number of European and Mediterranean countries. A considerable share of those migrants were the citizens of Turkey that was experiencing a deep social, economic and political crisis. Initially, Germany's migration program assumed that the labor migrants would stay temporarily, without the right to permanent residence. However, over several decades, the major part of Turkish labor migrants were admitted to citizenship, and Turkish diaspora in Germany has become one of the most powerful and consolidated communities in Europe. The paper is focused on the social and demographic aspects of this migration flow including its dynamism, scales of migration, and its gender, age and professional structures. The research has shown how socio-economic and political situation change the direction, the structure and intensity of migrations and how they themselves transform under their influence. The article studies the background of the phenomena and gives a detailed analysis of its present state. The research is supported by the statistic data borrowed from the Federal Statistical Department of Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the Turkish Statistical Institute, the Statistical Office of the European Communities, etc. The article has emphasized radical changes in the character and the scale of contemporary Turkish migration to Germany.

Key words: migration, labor migration, adaptation, integration, Turkey, Germany, migration background, migration flow.

Introduction

Due to its geopolitical location, Turkey has a diverse migration history that can be divided into the Ottoman period and the Turkish-republican period which began in 1923 after the formation of the Republic of Turkey. These two periods are radically different, both in their strategic tasks and the general context of state ideology. The events analyzed in the research are closely connected with the latter period.

A complicated socio-economic and political situation in Turkey in the second half of the 20th century used to prod and is still prodding the most active groups of population into migrating abroad. One of the mass migration flows over several decades was the Turks' migration to Germany.

It was caused by the fact that still struggling along considerable economic problems caused by the lack of workforce after WW2, in the 1950s Germany implemented a program to attract workers from Southern Europe and the Mediterranean region. The contracts were signed with Italy (1955), Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964) and Tunisia (1965) (Masumova, 2009). The project was based on the principle of temporary labor migration without admitting guest workers (Germ. *Gastarbeiter*) to German citizenship.

Migrant laborers from the Turkish republic made up the largest number of all guest workers. That number did not change, and up to the 1990s (Al'pautov, 2009) Turkey was officially termed "the country of migrants". It was conditioned, in the first place, by the socio-economic and political factors (called "traditional" in theoretical literature) that

stood behind migration flows from the Republic of Turkey. Both the country's official policy and the legal system were led by those factors and worked to facilitate the export of labor force. At the turn of the XX century the situation changed radically: Turkey went through a variety of international migration flows.

Germany's migration policy has also changed. The country has acknowledged the fact that migration oriented from the start at the temporary stay of guest workers is still going on and has become an important element of the state program. Since 2000, Germany has at last positioned itself as an emigration state after decades of denying immigration reality. This resulted in the change of the migration paradigm. From the support of immigration and unilateral integration requirements it was aimed at intentional encouragement of specific immigration and to social responsibility for integration that was named "the policy of catching up with integration" (Vlasov, 2008).

The combination of these two factors (the pushing out Turkish and the attracting German) is extremely important in understanding the migration processes taking place in Germany and in the EU at large. This specific situation has defined the goals, tasks and the logics of the research.

Theoretical Background of the Research

The sentience need of migration phenomenon dates back to active migration flows at the turn of the XIX century and is one of the topical theoretical and practical issues of present-day social sciences. During more than a hundred-years of its history, migration has been studied at various angles including economic, sociological, legal, and demographic approaches, etc. Each of them interprets the phenomenon as a concept with its different aspects (factors, types, forms, etc.) in their own way.

There exist a sufficient number of theoretical papers on Turkish immigration. This particular paper is oriented towards the research of historical, political and legal situation that existed in Turkey in the second half of the XX century. It is these circumstances that gave impetus to mass emigration of the Turkish citizens and made it the object of the research.

The problems of Turkish migration were touched upon by a number of Western researchers (G. Sheffer, H. Genscher, K. Heinz, M. Braun, M. Kremer, M. Kohls, S. Rühl, M. Sauer, H. U. Brinkmann, Y. Erim, B. Glier). They were mostly oriented towards the study of the Turkish migrants' integration, the economic aspects and the impact the migration from Turkey had on Germany and the EU, as well as on the cultural influence of the Turkish diaspora and its place in European community.

The problems of Turkish emigration and the Turks' adaptation abroad were also studied by the researchers in Russia (N.N. Ksendzyk, T.S. Kondrat'eva, I.S. Novozhenova, S.V. Pogorel'skaia, E.K. Kadirov, N.R. Masumova, V.V. Slobodeniuk, I.V. Akulova, N.S. Gubanova etc.). Russian researchers mostly concentrate on analyzing the experience of integration and cultural interaction of the Turkish diaspora with the receiving European community.

Quite a few Turkish researchers dealt with the same problem (S. Erder, A. Kaya, F. Kentel, M. Gür, N. Abadan-Unat, A. Icduygu, A. Gokdere, K. Kirisci, A. Nassehi, etc.). Of special interest in their works is the research of the Turkish migrants' life experience, their interaction with the receiving community, their legal status in Germany, et al.

The above-mentioned problems remain topical and are actively developed in modern theoretical literature. This fact is accounted for by the changes in migration flows (in their structure and directions), as well as by the changes in the public mood and consequently in the migration policy in the receiving countries.

Methodology and goals of the research

This paper is aimed at analyzing the dynamics of migration flows from Turkey to Germany at the turn of the XX century including their scope, structure and their aftermath for the demographic and socio-political development of the receiving community. Sparsely touched upon in the early researches, these aspects of Turkish migration should be studied thoroughly. This approach is important because objective (both physical and demographic) characteristics of migration and migrants underlie the situations and processes that become apparent in the reaction of the receiving community.

Theoretical and methodological foundations of the study are made up of sociological, historical, statistic, economic researches carried out by domestic and foreign authors who wrote about the problems of migration, adaptation and interaction of the migrants with the receiving communities.

In our analysis of socio-demographic aspects of the Turkish migration to Germany we followed the basic principles of the migration transition theory, migratory nets, synthetic theory of migration, new economic theory of migration and the theory of segmented market because they help to account for the changes in the structure of migration flows, the migrant's motivation, et al.

The empirical foundations of the research are the data of the Federal Statistics Department of Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt) on emigration, the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the Turkish Statistical Institute, the Statistical Office of the European Communities, et al. The topicality, the scope and the multi-layered foundation of the research have enabled the authors to reach the set goals.

The Background of the Research

The institution of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 determined new directions of migration flows. Outward travel was limited by law. Some considerable migration flows were caused by consolidation movement in Turkish society. Besides, turkization of public life resulted in forcing out a number of non-Turkish groups of the population, e.g., the Greeks, the Armenians, the Jews, et al.

WWII brought changes into global migration policy. It is accounted for by a complicated demographic situation in Europe as well as by the collapse of the world colonial system. Because of this, all the leading countries felt the necessity for labor resources, to this or that extent. In most countries, the problem was settled through migration from former colonies. Having lost its influence and power as a result of WWII and not being a colonial state, Germany had no such source of work force. As a result, it introduced the policy of attracting work force from other countries.

In 1961, a new Constitution of the Republic of Turkey was adopted. In accordance with the standards of international relations, the Constitution guaranteed every citizen the right to free entry and exit. This article of the Constitution became the starting point in mass emigration of the Turks abroad. Simultaneously, the Turkish government signed a number of treaties with the European countries thus ensuring their right of entry to work "on invitation".

The beginning of mass emigration coincided with the implementation of the state programs aimed at economic development. The export of work force from Turkey to the developed countries was part of the program and presupposed that new knowledge and competences will contribute to the development of Turkish economy after the migrants return home.

According to experts, the Turkish citizens who worked abroad in the 19603–1970s sent currency home. That was the main source of currency receipts for Turkey and it facilitated its economic development (Mel'nikov, 1988). Since 2002 the volume of currency inflow has grown shorter, to 0,2% (Kudriashova, 2010).

The export of labor force from Turkey was stipulated mostly by the receiving countries, although the interest was mutual.

In 1961 Turkey signed its first agreement with West Germany, so Germany was the first receiving country for Turkish work force. Then bilateral agreements were signed with Austria, France, Holland (the Netherlands) and Sweden (Al'pautov, 2009).

Germany's interest in attracting this kind of work force was conditioned by economic and demographic factors. Under growing depopulation the country received cheap foreign labor force, that was basically unskilled and could not compete with the local population in getting well-paid jobs; moreover, their jobs were not covered by the majority of social programs (Vlasov, 2008). Some researchers consider that the real reason behind this kind of policy was the critical demographic situation in Germany after WWII enhanced by the crisis in economy. Hence a considerable effect of the foreign work force (Kireev, 2002).

The situation on the labor-market in Turkey was critical and was complicated by the agrarian over-population, the increasing level of unemployment (another acute social problem), the cost of living increase under inflation, price spiraling, low wages, et al. In this situation the government encouraged the export of labor force (Slobodeniuk, 2011). Eventually, the export of the Turkish work force to European countries became a state policy (Kudriashova, 2010).

According to the Turkish Employment Agency data, the following numbers of the Turkish citizens were sent to work abroad in 1961–1973: 648,000 to Germany, 200 to Saudi Arabia, 900 to the Lebanon, 140, 800 to other countries. According to official reports, the total figure was 790,300 persons. In 1974–1989 the migrants flows were reallocated. Germany curbed the number of the Turkish migrants. The Bureau sent only 10,000 workers to Germany while far more migrants went to the East. 252,600 were sent to Saudi Arabia, 200,400 to the Lebanon, 95,400 to other Eastern countries (the total of 558,400). The 1990–1998 also registered low numbers of Turkish migrants to Europe, and to Germany, in particular (14,100). At the same time, the number of Turkish migrants to other countries was increasing: (203,800 went to Saudi Arabia, 26,800 to the Lebanon, 199,800 to other countries (the total of 444,500). Thus, the Turkish Bureau of Employment sent 672,100 to Germany, 456,900 to Saudi Arabia, 228, 100 to the Lebanon and 436, 100 to other countries. All in all, about 2,000,000 official Turkish migrants have worked outside Turkey since 1961 (Erder, 2002).

However, these numbers are official statistics data and they do not coincide with the real number of Turkish citizens who went abroad. The working migrants were followed by their families. Initially, in accordance with the agreement, the status of the migrants was temporary, but since 1964 the temporary resident's status was substituted for a longer stay.

The 1973 oil crisis affected economic relations in Europe and told on the numbers of labor migrants as the recruiting quotas were seriously limited. It affected the structure of migrant flows, and the main channel of "official" migration from Turkey was immigration for family reunification (Trudovaia migratsiia and..., 2016). At the same time, considerably fewer labor migrants settled in Saudi Arabia and the Lebanon because of some legal and political reasons.

One more important factor to influence Turkish immigration was political. In the second half of the XX century Turkey went through a number of military coups that were followed by the prohibition of some political parties and political movements and by criminal prosecution of certain political and cultural figures. These persecutions resulted in immigration of thousands of Kurd separatists and Islamites, et al, whose activity was banned in Turkey and who sought asylum outside the country (Chulkovskaia, 2014).

Since 1980, when labor migration was officially limited and exit visas were more difficult to get, the migrant flow has grown at the expense of asylum seekers and pseudo-tourists. Political refugees were, basically, covert economic immigrants. According to statistics data, the total number of Turks seeking asylum in Western European countries came up to 330,000 in 1994 (Vlasov, 2008).

The labor migrants' families, political refugees, et al, facilitated the growth of Turkish diaspora in European countries, especially, in Germany.

According to 1999 data, 3,131,900 Turkish citizens resided in European countries (1,044,900 of them worked); 2,110,200 lived in Germany (740,500 of labor force). Of all Turkish citizens living abroad 90,5% fell to the share of Western Europe (86,6% of them were labor migrants); 60,9% and 61,4% respectively went to Germany. In the Persian Gulf countries, there resided 128,500 Turkish citizens (121,900 of them were labor migrants): respectively, 3,7% of all Turks living abroad and 9,5% of all Turks working abroad. In other countries, there were 201,800 Turkish migrants (5,8%) including 39,200 working migrants (3,3%). Out of this number, 85,500 Turks resided in the USA (2,5%), 49,300 Turks resided in Australia (1,4%) including 12,900 working migrants (1,1%), 13,000 resided in CIS countries (0,4%) including 10,500 working migrants (0,5%). Totally, by the beginning of New Millennium about 3,500,000 (3,462,200) Turks resided outside Turkey including 1,206,100 working migrants (Erder, 2002).

As the statistics shows, the number of the Turkish residents in Western European countries is far higher than the number of those working. It was conditioned by many factors: the low level of return, family reunification and family business not covered by statistics. The number of Turkish citizens living outside Europe was, on the contrary, far lower, as they returned home after their work visas had expired. Thus, according to official statistics data, the total number of the Turks sent to work in CIS countries made up about 200,000 since 2000 but the real number of working migrants is about 10,000 (Masumova, 2009).

Thus, a number of factors contributed to the mass flow of the Turkish population to European countries. According to 2006, 3,400,000 Turks lived abroad (52,1% in Germany, 12,75% in France, 11% in Holland). From 1972 to 2006, 732,500 Turks were admitted to citizenship in Germany; from 1946 to 2005, 228,300 Turks got citizenship in Holland; from 1985 to 2006, 129,500 Turks were admitted to citizenship in Belgium. In total, 1,480,300 Turks were admitted to foreign citizenship as of 2006. Traditionally, Germany is the leader among other states as to the number of Turks-residents. Nowadays, the Turkish diaspora amounts to 2–3 mln people and is the most numerous among all the other groups of immigrants.

Present-day state of the problem

In the last few years Germany has become one of the most important havens of international migration. This can be accounted for by two determining factors. Firstly, the flow of migrants from other EU member-states is increasing due to the end of the transition period agreements on free movement of workers; secondly, intra-European migration

has risen as a result of economic and financial crisis in Europe. On the other hand, the number of the Third World countries' migrants, particularly the refugees, is constantly growing. This growth spreads over other immigration channels (Fon Leffel'khol'ts, 2016).

Under these conditions, Germany has become the primary destination for migration flows to EU. Its № 1 status among the receiving countries has brought about the situation when every fourth resident in Germany has some experience in migration or, according to the present-day German official terminology, 'migration background' (Vlasov, 2008).

While in 1993 the migrants' share in the population structure of Germany came up to 8, 5%, by 2003 it had grown insignificantly and equaled to 8, 9% (Semenenko, 2006), the next years witnessed a considerable growth of migration flows. The peak of migration fell to 2015, when the number of migrants arriving in Germany reached almost 2 mln (1, 8 mln) and the net immigration was about 1, 1 mln. Over the next few years the flow distinctly sank. In 2017 the migration balance in Germany was equal to 534, 900 (1, 18 mln arrivals and 0, 64 mln departures). It was a considerable decrease in comparison with 2016 when the positive migration balance equaled to 642, 900. In comparison with 2015, the migration balance shrank 2.3 times (International Migration Report, 2017).

As a result of active migrations, 16, 4 mln people out of 80, 9 mln who lived in Germany in 2015 (practically, every fifth person) had a migration background (International Migration Report, 2017). Statisticians include into this category all foreign residents who were admitted to German citizenship. Besides, here belong ethnic Germans who arrived in Germany after 1949 and those citizens of the FRG, if at least one of their parents was a foreigner. A person has a migration background if he / she himself / herself or at least one of their parents is alien born.

According to 2017 Federal Statistics Department of Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt) microcensus, there were 19,3 mln migrants, which makes almost a quarter (23, 6%) of all private households (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2018).

In 2017–2018, Germany is in the top ten countries in terms of international migrants' numbers and comes third after the USA and Russia. According to Federal statistics, there are 12 mln migrants besides the 19, 3 mln with the migration background (Total number of international migrants, 2017).

The IAW report on 2016–2017 migration data, drawn up by the FSDG (Statistisches Bundesamt) on migration and refugees, the main relocations take place inside the EU; the migrants' exchange between Germany and other European countries ranks first. At the same time, in 2016 the number of Turkish immigrants who entered Germany was 41, 300 (2, 2% of all those who came to Germany). In comparison with 2015, the migration flow grew by 26, 3%. In 2017 the share of the Turkish immigrants in the general migration flow equaled 3, 1% out of 47, 800 of all the immigrants. At the same time, 30, 500 (2016) and 27, 000 (2017) persons went back to Turkey. Thereafter, the migration balance of the exchange was 10, 800 in 2016, and 20, 700 in 2017 (Migrationsbericht der Bundesregierung 2016/2017, 2019).

Thus, in the XXI century Turkish immigration to Germany remains topical as both the size of the migration flow and the migration balance have been growing.

Changes in the scale of migrations take place against the background of changes in the structure of migration flows. According to FSDG (Statistisches Bundesamt) data, fewer asylum applications are submitted, i.e. this category is being reduced. 722. 400 asylum applications were handed in in 2016. Next year, there were only 198, 300 such petitions. On the whole, it testifies to the fact that Germany managed to cope with the high level of

Table 1. Migration from Turkey to Germany in accordance with § 18 of Residency Act (Stay for Paid Work), people

Year	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Total, people	1473	1133	1115	1111	1189	1376
Women	177	158	183	180	176	170
Women,%	12,0	13,9	16,4	16,2	14,8	12,4

migration. However, the number of Turkish migrants seeking asylum in Germany in 2017 grew by 15, 6% with relation to 2016 ((Total number of international migrants, 2017).

In 2017, the majority of the Turkish migrants came to Germany for family reasons (7, 700, or 27%). In 2016 the figure was 31, 9%, i.e. 4, 9% less. Another 1, 600 Turks came to Germany with exploratory aims in view: language courses and schooling (90), other kinds of training (37); 2, 200 Turks came in search of jobs; 1, 500 Turkish citizens were invited by the organizers of humanitarian programs; 453 persons came for other reasons (Migrationsbericht der Bundesregierung 2016/2017, 2019).

Out of all arrivals, 2, 400 were granted permission to settle, 357 got leave to stay and 4, 400 were accorded residency status (Migrationsbericht der Bundesregierung 2016/2017, 2019).

According to AZR data, in 2007, 15366 Turks came to Germany for over a year period; in 2008 their number was 14, 536; in 2009–14, 749; in 2010–15, 140; in 2011–16, 535, in 2012–15, 168; in 2013–15, 282; in 2014–16, 444; in 2015–18, 019; in 2016–24, 962. Among all foreigners in Germany staying for more than a year, the Turks come third (2, 7%) after the migrants from Rumania and Syria (International Migration Report, 2017).

An important constituent part in the structure of present-day migration flows is female representation. In 2017, 10, 900 women (38, 3%) arrived in Germany (Migrationsbericht der Bundesregierung 2016/2017, 2019).

Among the Turkish migrants from 2012 to 2017, the share of women is comparatively stable but rather low (Table 1). Compare it with 2017, when out of all Ukrainian migrants, working women made up 68, 7% and working women from Russia made up 65, 4% (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2018). It is highly probable that working women from Turkey are underrepresented in official statistics as the majority of them come to Germany for family reasons.

It is extremely significant that in the last few years the number of Turkish citizens who get permanent residency status as qualified specialists is noticeably growing, as it is for migrants from India, China and Japan. Out of all Turkish migrants who were accorded residence permits in Germany on the basis of work in 2016 there were 197 (16, 6%) qualified specialists and 38 (3, 2%) qualified public interest professionals. In 2017 the share of the former shortened to 14, 2% (196 persons), while the share of the latter grew up to 83, 6% (1151 persons). The share of the public interest professionals reduced to 21% (29 persons) (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2018).

The number of Turkish female migrants who were granted residence permits in connection with the need for unskilled labor is a little larger than the number of qualified specialists. However, their share in the respective categories is microscopic in comparison with male migrants. It is especially noticeable with reference to female migrants from other countries (Table 2). En masse, the data prove that female migration from Turkey still remains family reunification oriented (Migrationsbericht der Bundesregierung 2016/2017, 2019).

Table 2. Getting Residency Status in Germany in 2017 in accordance with Work Permit by Skill Level

Country	Unskilled work			Skilled work			Skilled work in the sphere of public		
	Total	Including women		Total	Including women		Total	Including women	
		чел.	%		чел.	%		чел.	%
China	235	183	77,9	1796	406	22,6	16	6	37,5
Japan	305	146	47,9	1500	218	14,5	6	2	33,3
Turkey	196	19	9,7	1151	145	12,6	29	6	20,7
Ukraine	596	481	80,7	263	111	42,2	9	4	44,4
Canada	451	206	45,7	342	138	40,4	12	4	33,3
Russia	361	311	86,1	367	170	46,3	15	5	33,3

In 2017, in accordance with § 20 of the Federal Act on Accommodation that regulates the entry of scientists from Third World countries, 877 researchers (52 of them Turkish citizens, including 22 women) arrived into Federal territory and were granted residency permits (Migrationsbericht der Bundesregierung 2016/2017, 2019).

The number of self-employed immigrants who got residency status (§ 21 of the Federal Living Act) grew twice as much in 2017 in comparison with 2016 and equaled 112 persons (31 women), which makes 6,3% of all those who entered Germany on the same basis (Migrationsbericht der Bundesregierung 2016/2017, 2019).

The number of Turkish students who come to Germany to study has grown from 747 in 1999 to 3,500 in 2017 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2018).

The total amount of Turkish students is competing with the number of students from India and Russia. The most popular specialties are engineering, law, economy and social sciences (Table 3).

Judging by the table, the figures of official labor migrants from Turkey are practically insignificant in the general flow of migrants who came to Germany in the last few years. The most characteristic feature of the present-day Turkish labor migration is the predominance of migrants who come for a certain period of time enough to carry out some project and who are recruited by Turkish or foreign companies stationed abroad. This practice is most characteristic of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the Lebanon, Israel, and / or the CIS countries. However, this migrant flow is temporary and narrow in scope in that it is restricted to certain professionals, so that it is radically different from former labor migration to Western European countries. Permanent settlement and family reunion are not allowed for these migrants, and the future of this form of migration will depend on the number of firms that win contracts abroad and on whether they will prefer to recruit Turkish workers (Erder, 2002).

Of late, contract employment has been supported and developed by the National Employment Service (NES) of the Republic of Turkey. In 2007, for example, the NES sent abroad 70,000 persons on a contract basis, while there were only 13,600 persons in 2000. 58,5% of holders of the negotiated contracts went to the CIS countries, 34,2% went to the Middle East countries, and only 6,8% were sent to Western European countries (International Migration Report, 2017).

This situation is facilitated, to a certain degree, by some objective circumstances that prevent Turkish migration to Europe. First of all, it is the aggravation of economic situa-

Table 3. Foreign Students in Germany (2017). According to Subject Groups and the Countries of Origin

Country	Students, total	Including in subject groups							
		Total	Humanities	Law, economy, public sphere	Maths, natural sciences	Engineering	Medicine, science, health	Art and culture	Other
China	6999	6581	5571	489	681	3184	122	418	129
India	3178	3154	31	354	377	2258	48	19	54
Turkey	3956	834	70	229	113	342	22	39	19
Russia	2560	2076	338	891	206	415	39	136	48

tion in the receiving countries that was caused by the 2008 economic crisis. It resulted in the substantial growth of unemployment and, consequently, to criticism of the European integration policy. Because of this, the re-distribution of labor resources inside the EU, as well as the drift of labor from outside was no longer topical.

The integration of the Republic of Turkey with the EU was slowing down, even though Turkey had been the applicant for the entry since 2000. In this situation, the Turkish political elite become aware of the comparatively low probability of the integration in the nearest future, yet they are aware of the growing geopolitical role of Turkey in the region.

The changing political and economic climate the world over and a growing number of local conflicts resulted in powerful migration flows. This fact influenced the strategic priorities of the Republic of Turkey that was becoming the country of both migration and immigrations since 1990s. In the last decade, the intake of refugees and forced migrants has grown significantly due to migration restrictions introduced by Western European countries.

New ways of territorial migration were aggravated by political processes, such as the neighboring countries' opening borders. The collapse of the socialist camp contributed to Turkey's building up new vistas and contacts and expanding its economic ties. It is well reflected in its interrelations with the countries of the former socialist camp, first and foremost with Russia. To name but a few joint projects: the new pipeline "The Turkish Stream", the nuclear power plant (NPP) "Akkuyu", and the participation of the Turkish business and professionals in the economic programs on the territory of Russia. The influence of Turkish economy is rather strong in some former Soviet republics, especially in Central Asia, which broadens the Turkish business potential in winning new markets and makes labor migration to Europe less pronounced.

After the artificial restrictions of international mobility for the world population had disappeared or had been significantly narrowed, new ways of migration flows began to form in the region. Alongside the remaining traditional immigrants' groups there appeared and continued to grow migrations of tourists, students, researchers, businessmen, et al, which is accounted for by the formation of new economic, political and cultural ties and interrelations.

Conclusion

To sum up, it can be stated that over several decades Turkish migration to Germany had a variety of forms. It started with labor migration to be followed by family reunion

immigration and political refugees and suchlike forms of migration. Nowadays, there is direct evidence of the new situation in Turkish migration to be formed; its scale and direction, as well as its structure, are changing. On the one hand, the migration channel to Germany and Western Europe at large is still very important for Turkish migrants due to established ties and strong enough position of the Turkish diaspora in the German society. On the other hand, the problem of the immigrants' integration with the receiving society is not settled yet. The transition to new adaptation model in 2000, repealing legal bans and the introduction of multiculturalism into Germany's ethnic and racial policy did not help solve the problem either. The Turkish diaspora in Germany remains rather closed. The connections between the "German" Turks and Turkey are strong enough and are kept up thanks to family ties, religious affiliation and some other factors.

To prove that the identity and the close ties of the German Turks with their historical homeland are still strong, it is enough to mention their active participation in the referendum on amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey that expanded presidential rights. The incumbent President Erdogan's initiative has got a wide support of the citizens of Turkey who reside in Europe. According to German sociologist A. Nassehi, the very fact of support demonstrates a high level of the Turkish national identity and of the ties between the German Turks (the European Turks at large) and their historical homeland. In this connection, President Erdogan's appeal to "Turkish identity" and "Turkish solidarity" and his words that "every Turkish citizen should share his homeland's problems, and those who said "Yes" supported national consolidation under new political realities" are revealing (Nassehi, 2017).

At the same time, the Turkish diaspora in Germany finds itself at the new stage of its development that can be characterized as the stage of qualitative renovation. The scope of the Turkish diaspora's activity is widening, in that medicine, architecture, science, management and other directions that require qualified professionals are covered by it.

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НОВЫЕ ТЕНДЕНЦИИ ТУРЕЦКОЙ МИГРАЦИИ В ГЕРМАНИЮ НА РУБЕЖЕ XX–XXI ВВ.: СОЦИАЛЬНО-ДЕМОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ АСПЕКТ

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена актуальной проблеме — миграции из Турецкой Республики в Германию в 1960–2000-х гг. Испытывавшая значительные экономические трудности в связи с недостатком трудовых ресурсов после Второй мировой войны, Германия с 1950-х гг. реализует миграционную программу по привлечению рабочих из ряда европейских и средиземноморских стран. Существенную долю среди этих мигрантов составили граждане Турции, которая находилась в этот период в состоянии глубокого социально-экономического и политического кризиса. Миграционная программа Германии изначально предполагала временное пребывание трудовых мигрантов, без возможности их постоянного проживания в стране. Однако за несколько десятилетий значительная часть турецких трудовых мигрантов становится гражданами Германии, а турецкая диаспора в этой стране — одной из наиболее мощных и консолидированных в Европе. Фокус нашего анализа обращен на социально-демографические характеристики данного миграционного потока, рассматривается динамика, масштабы миграции, гендерная, возрастная и профессиональная структуры мигрантов. В статье предпринят экскурс в историю вопроса и детально анализируется его современное состояние, показано как социально-экономические и политические условия меняют направление, структуру и интенсивность миграций, но одновременно сами трансформируются под ее влиянием. С опорой на актуальную статистическую базу, основу которой составили данные Федерального статистического управления Германии (Statistisches Bundesamt), Международной организации по миграции (ИОМ, The International Organization for Migration), Статистического института Турции (Turkish Statistical Institute), Статистического управления ЕС (Statistical Office of the European Communities) и др., сделан вывод о кардинальном изменении характера и масштабов современной турецкой миграции в Германию.

Ключевые слова: миграция, трудовая миграция, адаптация, интеграция, Турция, Германия, миграционный фон, миграционный поток.

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