

Tourism-Driven Migration to Southwestern Turkey*

Ali T. Akarca**

University of Illinois at Chicago

Aysıt Tansel***

Middle East Technical University

Abstract

Two provinces in Southwestern Turkey have emerged as new magnets for internal migration. Socioeconomic, demographic and labor market characteristics of immigrants coming to these provinces from various regions are studied using unpublished data to uncover the reasons fueling their moves. Differences and similarities between this area and other migrant magnets, between immigrants and natives in the two provinces, and among immigrants from various origins are explored. It is found that migrants from different origins tend to have different demographic, socioeconomic and labor market characteristics and tend to specialize in different types of work. What draws migrants to the Southwest is not industry or urban amenities, as is the case typically, but jobs created in the sectors related to tourism, either directly or indirectly.

Keywords: internal migration, tourism sector, labor market; Turkey; Antalya; Muğla.

JEL Classifications: J21, J61, R23.

Güneybatı Türkiye'ye Turizmin Tetiklediği İç Göç

Özet

Güneybatı Türkiye'deki iki il iç göç çeken yeni merkezler olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu illere çeşitli bölgelerden gelen göçmenlerin sosyo-ekonomik, demografik ve işgücü piyasası özellikleri bu göçleri tetikleyen nedenleri ortaya çıkarmak için daha önce yayınlanmamış veri setleri kullanılarak incelendi. Bu bölge ile diğer göç çeken bölgeler arasındaki farklılıklar ve benzerlikler, bu iki ildeki göçmenler ile yerel nüfus arasındaki farklılıklar ve benzerlikler ve çeşitli kaynak bölgelerden gelen göçmenler arasındaki

* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 14th International Conference of the Middle East Economic Association (MEEA), held in Hammamet, Tunisia, 23-25 March 2015. We benefited greatly from the comments we have received from the audience there. We are grateful to Metin Aytaç and Gürol İlhan from the Population and Migration Section of the Turkish Statistical Institute for meticulously gathering and providing us with the unpublished census data on characteristics of immigrant groups in Antalya and Muğla, to Aykut Mert Yakut, Halil Keskin, and Emre Demirezen, for assisting us in organizing the data, and to Gül İpek Tunç for directing us to some of the data sources.

** Ali T. Akarca is a Professor in the Department of Economics at the University of Illinois, Chicago, 601 S. Morgan Street, Chicago, Illinois 60607-7107, USA; E-mail: akarca@uic.edu

*** Aysıt Tansel is a Professor in the Department of Economics at the Middle East Technical University, 06531 Ankara, Turkey; the Institute for Study of Labor (IZA), P.O. Box 7240, D-53072 Bonn, Germany; and the Economic Research Forum (ERF) Cairo, Egypt; E-mail: atansel@metu.edu.tr

farklılıklar ve benzerlikler ele alındı. Bulgularımıza göre farklı kaynak bölgelerden gelen göçmenler farklı demografik, sosyo-ekonomik ve işgücü piyasası özelliklerine sahipler ve farklı iş kollarında uzmanlaşma eğilimindedir. Göçmenleri Güneybatıya çeken, çok kere olduğu gibi endüstri veya kentsel olanaklar değil fakat dolaylı veya dolaysız olarak turizm ile ilgili sektörlerde oluşan iş olanaklarıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: iç göç; turizm sektörü; işgücü piyasası; Türkiye; Antalya; Muğla.
Jel Sınıflaması: J21, J61, R23.

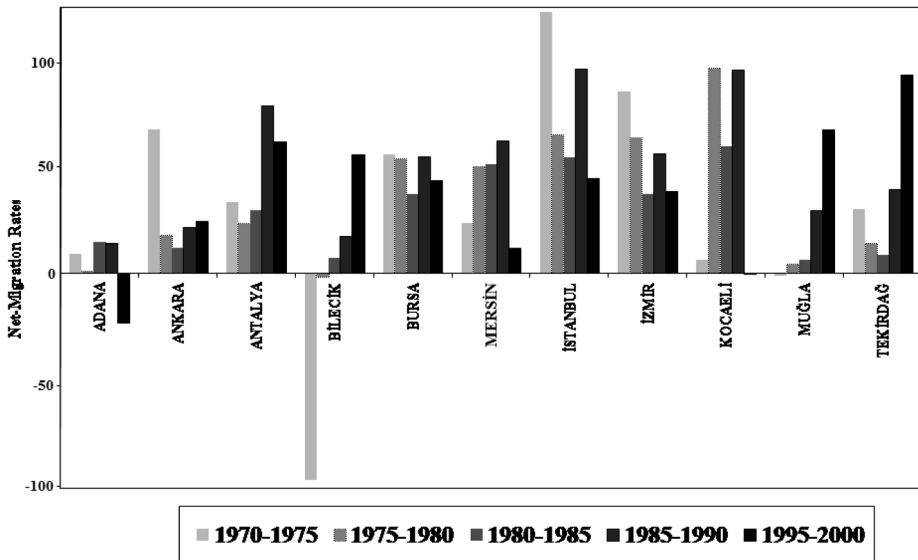
During the last sixty-five years a massive internal migration has taken place in Turkey. As a consequence of this, nearly a third of the Turkish population now resides in a province other than the one in which they were born. This figure was 28% in 2000, 17% in 1975, and only 12% in 1950. This population movement was essentially from the east, southeast and north towards the northwest, west and south, in other words, from the less urbanized, less industrialized, and poorer regions of the country, to the more urbanized, more industrialized and richer regions. However, during the last two decades the southwest has emerged as a new major migrant destination.

During the 1975-1980 and 1980-1985 periods, the provinces with the highest net migration rates (between 4% and 11% per five years) were Kocaeli, İstanbul and Bursa provinces in the northwest surrounding the eastern half of the Marmara Sea, İzmir in the west on the central Aegean coast, and Mersin (named İçel until 2002) in the south along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. These, together with Ankara in central Anatolia, and Adana in the south on the eastern Mediterranean coast had the highest in-migration also in absolute numbers. These seven provinces received almost half of all of the inter-provincial migration. In 1990, the urbanization rates of these provinces ranged between 61% and 91%, the share of industry in total employment between 9 and 34 percent, and the part of real GDP attributable to industry between 28% and 57%.

After 1985, Antalya and Tekirdağ, and after 1995, Muğla and Bilecik joined the list of provinces with net migration rates exceeding 4% per five years. In fact, for the period 1995-2000, Tekirdağ, Muğla, Antalya and Bilecik ranked first through fourth, ahead of İstanbul, Bursa, and İzmir, which remained on the list, and Kocaeli, and Mersin, which dropped out of it.^[1] Antalya ranked 5th, Tekirdağ 10th, Muğla 11th, and Bilecik 52nd among 81 provinces in migrants received in absolute value. Their corresponding ranks in the period 1975-1980 were 15th, 23rd, 47th, and 50th respectively, among 67 provinces. In Figure 1, the net migration rates of the eleven provinces mentioned are contrasted for various periods.

^[1] The net migration rate of Mersin dropped to 1% during 1995-2000, from 7% during 1985-1990. In the case of Kocaeli, the corresponding drop was even more dramatic, from almost 11% to zero. However the latter was caused mainly by the two earthquakes that hit the province in 1999, and turned out to be a temporary phenomenon. Now people born outside of that province constitute more than two-thirds of the province's residents, which ranks second in the country in that regard.

Figure 1
Net Migration Rates for Key Migrant Magnets (per thousand)



Source:
Turkish Statistical Institute.

Table 1 reports various socio-economic and demographic characteristics of these provinces obtained from the last population census conducted in 2000. Tables 2 through 4 give an idea about the structures of their economies and how they have changed over time.

The jump in the net migration rates of Tekirdağ and Bilecik can be considered a continuation of the old pattern, as both of these provinces are in the northwestern section of the country which has been a major magnet for those who leave their provinces. Both are heavily industrialized and urbanized. In 2000, about one fifth to one-fourth of their employment and about half of their real GDP originated in their industrial sectors. In the same year, almost two-thirds of their population was classified as urbanized. Migration flows to Antalya and Muğla, on the other hand, constitute a new path. These provinces are located in the southwest, outside the traditional migration destinations. They have relatively high per capita income levels but are not urbanized and their economies rely mostly on agriculture and services (especially hotel and restaurant services). In 2000, the urbanization rates of the two provinces were 54% and 38%, and ranked 42nd and 77th among the 81 provinces, respectively.^[2] The share of the industrial sector in total

^[2] With continued immigration over the next decade, the urbanization rates of Antalya and Muğla reached 71% and 44% by 2012, but these figures are still lower than the national average.

employment was 5.5% for Antalya, and 6.0% for Muğla. These ranked 51st and 47th among the 81 provinces. In contrast, the shares of agriculture and services in total employment were 49.8% and 39.4% for Antalya, and 55.1% and 34.0% for Muğla.

Table 1
Socio-Economic Characteristics of Key Migrant Magnets

	Urbanization Rate (%) (2000)	Median Age (years) (2000)	Mean Years of Schooling (2000)	Net Migration Rate (%) (1995-2000)	Per Capita Real GDP ('000 TL) (2000)	Not in Labor Force (%) (2000)	Unemployment Rate (%) (2000)
Turkey	64.9	24.8	5.4	-	1760.9	44.8	8.9
Adana	75.6	23.5	5.3	-2.4	1933.4	51.5	14.3
Ankara	88.3	26.8	6.8	2.6	2397.5	51.8	11.0
Antalya	54.5	28.1	6.1	6.4	1723.4	39.6	7.9
Bilecik	64.0	28.9	5.7	5.8	2959.5	43.5	4.7
Bursa	76.8	28.0	5.7	4.5	2401.1	46.3	9.3
Mersin	60.5	24.6	5.4	1.2	1861.9	45.1	10.2
İstanbul	90.7	26.3	6.2	4.6	2645.3	49.8	12.7
İzmir	81.1	28.8	6.1	4.0	2680.1	47.8	10.8
Kocaeli	59.9	25.7	5.8	0.0	4376.8	41.9	8.3
Muğla	37.5	30.0	6.0	7.0	2663.2	29.9	4.3
Tekirdağ	63.4	28.6	5.8	9.7	2535.9	36.8	6.3

Notes:

In the computation of mean years of schooling for each province, 15, 11, 8, and 5 years of schooling are attributed respectively, to university, high school, middle school, and primary school graduates in the province. Two years-worth of schooling is attributed to those who are literate but not a graduate of any school. Children under age six are omitted in computing the mean. Per capita real GDP is in 1987 TL.

Source:

Authors' computations using data provided by the Turkish Statistical Institute.

Table 2
Employment in Key Migrant Magnets: Sectorial Breakdown and Annual Growth Rates

	Share (%)										Growth Rate (%)					
	Agriculture		Industry		Construction		All Services		Hotel and Restaurant Services		Agriculture	Industry	Construction	All Services	Hotel and Restaurant Services	Total
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000						
Turkey	54.0	48.4	12.9	13.4	5.1	4.6	28.0	33.6	2.0	2.6	0.0	1.5	0.1	3.0	3.7	1.1
Adana	49.8	43.1	14.8	14.4	5.3	4.9	30.0	37.6	2.1	2.6	-3.0	-1.9	-2.6	0.6	0.4	-1.6
Ankara	18.2	16.3	14.3	13.4	7.2	6.4	60.2	63.9	2.7	3.2	1.1	1.6	1.0	2.9	4.0	2.3
Antalya	57.4	49.8	6.4	5.5	7.1	5.3	29.1	39.4	6.1	9.8	1.8	1.7	0.3	6.4	8.3	3.2
Bilecik	55.9	46.7	16.1	19.4	3.5	3.4	24.5	30.5	1.3	1.9	-1.7	1.9	-0.2	2.2	3.9	0.0
Bursa	40.5	33.6	25.8	28.2	6.2	5.0	27.6	33.3	2.7	3.2	0.4	3.2	0.0	4.3	3.9	2.3
Mersin	55.4	57.7	8.9	7.9	6.6	4.5	29.1	29.9	2.2	2.2	2.5	0.9	-1.9	2.3	1.8	2.1
İstanbul	5.2	8.1	34.2	32.2	9.0	6.2	51.6	53.4	4.2	4.5	8.0	2.7	-0.4	3.7	4.1	3.3
İzmir	32.6	28.6	20.5	20.6	6.4	5.3	40.4	45.5	3.1	3.6	0.5	1.9	-0.1	3.0	3.2	1.8
Kocaeli	33.0	39.1	24.1	20.3	8.5	8.3	34.4	32.3	2.3	2.3	5.7	2.1	3.7	3.2	4.0	3.9
Mugla	61.1	55.1	7.8	6.0	7.3	4.9	23.9	34.0	4.5	7.9	1.5	-0.1	-1.5	6.2	8.4	2.5
Tekirdağ	47.5	38.8	16.9	26.2	6.6	4.1	29.0	30.9	2.1	2.4	0.4	7.0	-2.4	3.0	4.2	2.4

Source:
 Authors' computations using data provided by the Turkish Statistical Institute.

Table 3
Real GDP in Key Migrant Magnets: Sectoral Breakdown (%)

	Agriculture			Industry			Construction			All Services			Hotel and Restaurant Services		
	1990	1995	2000	1990	1995	2000	1990	1995	2000	1990	1995	2000	1990	1995	2000
Turkey	25.7	25.8	24.9	17.2	18.9	20.6	5.3	5.4	5.0	37.5	41.7	46.6	2.0	2.3	2.6
Adana	18.9	20.2	14.8	28.5	31.1	32.4	4.8	4.1	2.8	43.9	41.3	44.1	1.6	1.5	1.7
Ankara	5.3	4.2	4.1	16.6	16.6	16.2	13.4	12.4	10.8	61.9	62.5	60.8	1.8	1.9	1.9
Antalya	21.3	21.8	19.1	8.9	8.4	8.4	10.1	8.9	7.2	58.9	60.0	64.0	18.2	19.1	22.3
Bilecik	18.2	14.0	13.6	45.2	52.8	51.4	3.8	3.6	4.1	28.0	25.8	26.4	0.7	0.5	0.6
Bursa	17.3	13.4	9.7	36.0	40.0	42.1	6.4	6.2	4.2	34.2	35.5	36.9	2.2	2.4	2.4
Mersin	20.1	15.8	20.9	27.8	27.9	23.6	6.2	5.7	2.8	40.1	44.2	45.7	3.1	3.4	3.5
İstanbul	1.1	0.8	0.5	34.5	37.3	37.5	4.9	4.3	4.3	52.9	53.6	52.4	4.3	3.6	3.8
İzmir	10.4	9.2	7.5	29.8	31.7	29.5	5.6	5.2	3.7	48.1	46.5	47.9	2.7	2.8	3.0
Kocaeli	3.0	2.8	2.3	56.7	55.6	50.9	4.3	3.7	3.3	22.7	23.2	24.6	0.7	0.6	0.7
Mugla	25.2	27.0	18.5	21.3	18.7	28.4	7.7	5.5	4.4	43.9	46.0	45.9	14.1	17.3	19.5
Tekirdağ	20.2	14.6	12.3	30.9	37.6	46.7	13.0	11.7	6.9	31.5	31.4	29.4	1.4	1.5	1.3

Source:
Authors' computations using data provided by the Turkish Statistical Institute.

Table 4
Real GDP in Key Migrant Magnets: Sectoral Annual Growth Rates (%)

	Agriculture		Industry		Construction		All Services		Hotel and Restaurant Services		Total Real GDP	
	1990-1995	1995-2000	1990-1995	1995-2000	1990-1995	1995-2000	1990-1995	1995-2000	1990-1995	1995-2000	1990-1995	1995-2000
Turkey	0.6	1.7	4.5	4.0	1.6	0.5	3.7	4.3	4.4	5.3	3.2	3.9
Adana	2.9	-4.3	3.3	2.7	-1.9	-5.7	0.3	3.2	0.4	3.9	1.5	1.9
Ankara	-1.1	3.4	3.4	3.6	1.7	1.5	3.5	3.7	4.4	4.5	3.3	4.3
Antalya	6.5	0.2	4.9	2.7	3.3	-1.4	6.4	4.3	6.9	6.2	6.0	2.9
Bilecik	2.3	0.3	11.1	0.4	6.7	3.5	6.0	1.4	2.0	3.4	7.7	0.9
Bursa	-1.7	-1.6	5.6	6.0	2.6	-3.1	4.2	5.7	5.6	4.6	3.5	4.9
Mersin	-2.1	8.6	2.9	-0.7	0.9	-10.5	4.8	3.4	4.7	3.3	2.8	2.7
İstanbul	-0.6	-8.0	5.9	4.4	1.3	4.3	4.5	3.8	0.8	5.1	4.2	4.3
İzmir	1.9	-1.5	5.8	1.3	2.6	-3.6	3.7	3.4	4.5	4.7	4.4	2.8
Kocaeli	2.7	-0.4	4.0	1.1	1.1	0.8	5.0	4.1	3.7	4.1	4.4	2.9
Muğla	5.9	-1.3	1.8	15.6	-2.2	2.0	5.5	6.4	8.9	9.0	4.5	6.4
Tekirdağ	-2.4	4.0	8.2	12.4	1.9	-3.3	3.9	6.3	5.2	4.6	4.0	7.7

Source:
Authors' computations using data provided by the Turkish Statistical Institute.

The proportion of real GDP attributable to agriculture, industry and services for the two provinces were 19.1, 8.4 and 64.0, respectively, for the former, and 18.5, 28.4 and 45.9 for the latter. What distinguishes these two provinces from the rest is the unusually large size of their tourism-related sectors and the phenomenal growth they have exhibited. For these two provinces, the share of hotel and restaurant services sector in total employment was more than three times the national average, and in real GDP, more than seven times. The growth of the sector's employment was more than double that for the country as a whole. The portion of hotel and restaurant services in 2000 in real GDP was 22.3% and 19.5% for Antalya and Muğla, respectively. The corresponding figures for all other provinces were in the single digits, except for Nevşehir, which barely made it to a double digit level. Antalya and Muğla ranked very high (second and third in the nation) also in absolute value of this sector's output, surpassed only by İstanbul. During 1990-2000, the average annual growth rate of the sector's output was 6.2% in Antalya and 9.0% in Muğla. The same sector's employment grew at the rate of 8.3% in Antalya and 8.4% for Muğla. These growth rates in output and employment exceeded substantially those of other sectors and those of other provinces in that sector.

Although a lot of immigrants arriving at Antalya and Muğla are from traditional, poor, agricultural and rural provinces, more than a third of them come from the seven provinces mentioned above which get the lion's share of internal migration. Thus it appears that these two provinces have emerged as new migrant destinations and exhibit characteristics quite different than other major migrant-drawing provinces. Now the urbanized, industrialized and wealthier regions of Turkey are not only sharing immigrants leaving the less-urbanized, agricultural, and poorer regions of the country with these two provinces, they in fact have begun to lose a part of their own populations to them.

There are many studies on internal migration in Turkey, for example, Munro (1974), Gedik (1996), Tunalı (1996), Pazarlıoğlu (1997), Gündüz and Yetim (1997), İçduygu and Ünalın (1998), Gezici and Keskin (2005), Kocaman (2008), and Filiztekin and Gökhan (2008), but none of these focused specifically on migration flows to Antalya and Muğla, and they all treated migration flows to different destinations as if they were similar. We hope to gain more insight by studying the flows to the two provinces in question separately.

The aim of this study is to uncover the reasons behind the population flows to Antalya and Muğla through an examination of the socio-economic and demographic characteristics, and the labor market status of migrants coming to these two provinces.^[3] In the next section, characteristics of the provinces from which the migrants originated will be investigated. In section 3, characteristics of migrants from different regions will be

^[3] Because detailed data on internal migration is not available for the period after 2000, as explained in the Appendix, we will be able to analyze only the data pertaining to the 1995-2000 period, obtained from the last census conducted by the Turkish Institute of Statistics (TurkStat) in 2000. However, we can report that migration to Antalya and Muğla is still continuing at about the same rate as just before 2000. The proportion of residents born outside Antalya which increased from 14% in 1985 and 23% in 1990 to 36% in 2000, reached 51% in 2013. In the case of Muğla, the corresponding figures were 10% in 1985, 15% in 1990, 27% in 2000 and 36% in 2013. The two provinces are now ranked 7th and 12th in the nation in that regard.

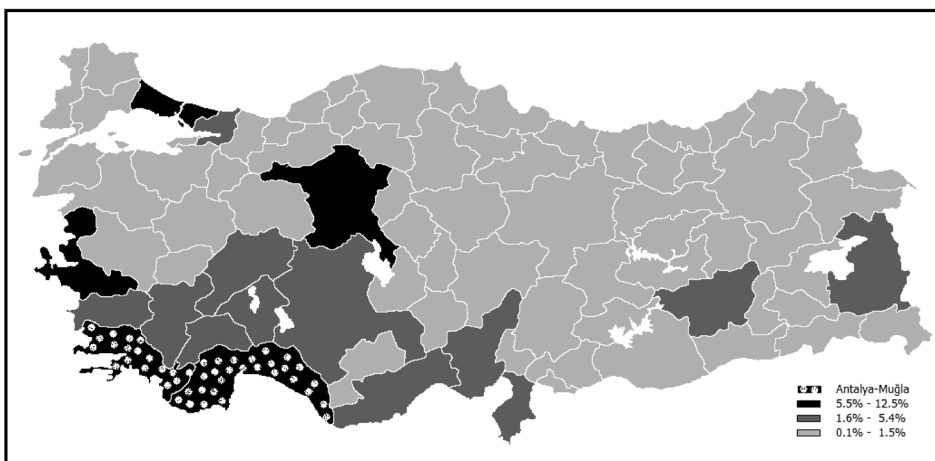
compared to each other and to those of natives. In section 4, implications of patterns discerned in the previous two sections will be discussed. Then in the last section, a summary will be provided and the conclusions reached will be listed.

Since the degree of ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural differences among Turkish internal migrants is akin to the diversity exhibited by international migrants, the findings obtained here should give us some clues also for other countries which receive large numbers of migrants from different parts of the world, and for those countries experiencing the same massive internal migration as the Aegean/Mediterranean corner of Turkey.

Origins of Immigrants in Antalya and Muğla

After drawing attention to the main features distinguishing Antalya and Muğla from other migrant magnets, we can now turn our attention to the characteristics of provinces which send migrants to the two provinces. Not to get lost in detail, we will focus on the top fifteen provinces from where migrants to southwest originate. These provinces, listed in Table 5 and marked in Figure 2, account for almost 60% of in-migration to Antalya and Muğla. Recognition of patterns will be enhanced if we divide the fifteen provinces into three groups: three distant ones in the western half of the country (Istanbul, Kocaeli, and Ankara), ten provinces surrounding Antalya and Muğla (İzmir, Aydın, Mersin, Adana, Hatay, Denizli, Afyon, Burdur, Isparta, and Konya), and two distant ones in eastern Turkey (Diyarbakır and Van). Henceforth we will refer to them as the first, second and third groups. In Tables 5 through 8, we shaded the rows for provinces

Figure 2
Origins of Immigrants in Antalya + Muğla (1995-2000)



Notes:

Migration from the province to Antalya+Muğla between 1995 and 2000, in proportion to total in-migration to the latter during the same period.

Source:

Turkish Statistical Institute.

in the first and third groups and placed the ones in the second group in between them to facilitate comparisons. Further partitioning of the second group into five coastal and five non-coastal provinces will be helpful as well. In the unshaded parts of the mentioned tables, the coastal provinces are placed first, then the land-locked ones. The provinces in the first group which incorporates the two largest metropolitan areas and the coastal ones in the second group, especially Izmir which includes the third largest metropolis, constitute the most advanced parts of the country. The provinces in the east are among the least advanced. The rest of the provinces in the second group fall in between. We should note that Tables 5 through 8 are based on unpublished data obtained from the Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat), which is discussed in the Appendix.

The map in Figure 2 and Table 5 give interesting clues as to what factors in general play a role in migration. The fact that the three most populous provinces (İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir) generate the highest proportions of migrants to Antalya and Muğla (collectively more than a fourth) suggests that population size must be an important determinant which is consistent with the migration literature.^[4] That ten of the top fifteen migrant generating provinces are clustered around the migrants' destinations may be interpreted as distance being a key variable as well. Indeed, in most studies, the distance between the origin and the destination is treated as a proxy for the cost of moving, including the psychic costs of removal from loved ones, a familiar culture and environment, and costs of information acquisition, besides transportation costs.

Six of the fifteen provinces listed in Table 5 are also among the fifteen provinces with the highest unemployment rates in the country. Thus high unemployment appears as yet another important factor motivating migration to the southwest. Indeed according to the 2000 census, almost a third of those who migrated to Antalya and Muğla during 1995-2000 gave a desire to find a job as the most important reason behind their move. If we add to that the non-working spouses and dependents of these people, we can safely tie a majority of the migrants to the job factor.

Four of the six provinces with the highest unemployment rates (İstanbul, Ankara, Diyarbakır and Van) are far away from Antalya and Muğla, implying that a desire to find a job may outweigh the effect of distance. However there are other provinces with even higher unemployment rates and which are closer. Yet they do not send many migrants to the two provinces in question. Fourteen provinces lying between the Syrian and Iraqi borders and a line drawn from the northwestern border of Mersin and Adana to the northeastern border of Van and Iran, together with İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir, capture all of the provinces with unemployment rates exceeding 10.5 percent in 2000. Among them only four are distant from Antalya and Muğla, and at the same time among the top migrant originators to the two provinces. Thus, other factors besides high unemployment must be at play too. What differentiates the four provinces from the rest is the fact that they are among those with substantial past migration to Antalya

^[4] For reviews of internal migration literature, see Poot et al. (2016), Lucas (2016), Etzo (2008) and Greenwood and Hunt (2003).

and Muğla. Presence of friends, family and other contacts already established at the destination enhances migration by reducing the sense of alienation at the new location, and by making it easier to find an initial job and housing there. These are referred to as “kinship” or “network” effects in the literature. So important are these in Turkey that there is a special Turkish word for them: *hemşehrilik*. It describes the solidarity between *hemşehris*, the people who are originally from the same town or region. Fourteen of the fifteen provinces listed in Table 5 are among the twenty-three provinces (out of 79) with the highest proportions of *hemşehris* in Antalya and Muğla. So this factor is very important as well. In the case of Kocaeli, the only one of the fifteen provinces missing from the list of top twenty-three *hemşehris*, the two major earthquakes which hit it in 1999 were the main reason for high out-migration.

Comparing Immigrants and Natives, and Immigrants from Different Regions

More insight can be gained by investigating how the characteristics of the migrants differ from those of the natives and how they differ among themselves according to their origins. A comparison of Tables 1-2 and 5-8, reveals that migrants are different than the natives in Antalya and Muğla. Migrants are younger, better educated, and more male than the natives. Their labor force participation, unemployment rate, and proportion working in non-agricultural jobs are substantially higher. Among them, the proportion of those employed in construction and hotel and services sectors are about twice that of the averages for the two provinces. Not only do migrants differ from the natives, they differ from each other as well, depending on their origins and destinations. Those in Muğla are more educated, more male and slightly older than those in Antalya. The age and gender related differences mentioned apply regardless of the origins of immigrants. Compared to those coming from nearby provinces, migrants from provinces in the first group and Izmir in the second group are older and more educated, but no pattern is discernible in regards to gender. On the other hand, the migrants originating from eastern provinces are substantially younger, less educated and more male-dominated than the rest.

The labor force participation rate among immigrants is higher in Muğla than in Antalya: 71% vs 63%. These rates are slightly higher than the corresponding provincial rates. The participation gap between the two provinces exists for immigrants from all origins. The rate is much lower for those coming from group 1 provinces and higher among those coming from group 3 provinces. Of those not participating in the labor force in Antalya, 30% are students, 14% are retirees and 49% are housewives (or 11%, 5% and 18% of all immigrants in the province, respectively). Similar figures for Muğla are 38%, 14%, and 40% of those not in the labor force, (or 11%, 4%, and 11% of all immigrants in the province, respectively). Since the bulk of the housewives are spouses of the men in the labor force, many of them should be considered as involved

in job-seeking as well, but indirectly. The proportion of immigrant housewives not in the labor force is higher in Muğla than in Antalya, and among those originating from eastern provinces than the rest.

Migrant students include those attending primary, secondary and higher educational institutions, but probably almost all of them are university students. The establishment of Akdeniz University in 1982 in Antalya and the Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University in 1992 in Muğla are behind this migration.^[5] Understandably, the students from provinces in close proximity to Antalya and Muğla make up a much larger percentage of those not participating in the labor force.

It appears that Antalya and Muğla attract retirees as well. The pleasant climates, nature and coasts of these two provinces play a key role in this. The ratio of retirees to those not in the labor force is highest among immigrants from Istanbul and Ankara, and lowest among immigrants from Diyarbakır and Van. The latter two provinces have much harsher climates than Ankara and Istanbul but are much poorer. Thus a better climate seems to act as a pull factor for retirees, and perhaps for job seekers living in more affluent locations. Bad climate on the other hand appears to not act as a push factor for those residing in poorer regions.^[6] The ratio of retirees to those not in labor force is substantially lower for the coastal provinces in the second group than non-coastal ones. Obviously, the benefits of moving to Antalya and Muğla for retirement is much smaller for those in the former group which have similar climates and sea resorts of their own.

The main sectors in which the immigrants are employed are given in Table 8. Agricultural, and service-related jobs appear to attract migrants in particular, followed by construction and trade related jobs. Manufacturing employs few migrants but we included it in the table to draw attention to that fact. Among the migrants from different origins, a tendency to specialize is observed. Those originating from coastal provinces near Antalya and Muğla, especially those to the east, concentrate on restaurant and hotel jobs. Migrants from non-coastal provinces bordering the two provinces on the other hand work predominantly in agriculture.^[7] An overwhelming portions of immigrants from distant eastern provinces take the construction jobs. Immigrants from provinces in the first group and Izmir from the second group seem to be drawn to wholesale and retail trade and various service-related jobs outside of hotels and restaurants.^[8]

^[5] See Işık (2008) for a discussion of how education-related migration is gaining importance in Turkey, following the establishment of a number of universities at various locations.

^[6] Indeed, Erjem (2009) reports that in a survey of migrants to Mersin, a province on the Mediterranean coast bordering Antalya, only two percent mentioned the more favorable climate of the province as a motivating factor behind their move. More than 55% cited better job opportunities and about 30%, their relatives who were already living in Mersin.

^[7] Interestingly, the portion of immigrants from Istanbul who are, working in agriculture in Muğla is quite large. Since Istanbul does not have much of a rural population, these must be people who migrated to Istanbul in the past from villages of other provinces and are relocating once again.

^[8] The portion of those from Kocaeli working in service jobs in Muğla is unusually high. A large number of government employees who were transferred between the two provinces, probably due to the earthquakes in 1999, account for this.

What It All Means

The patterns described above depict an interesting dynamic at play. As a result of rising affluence, more of the older and educated people in metropolitan areas in colder areas of the country began retiring in the resort towns of Antalya and Muğla. After major universities were opened in Antalya and Muğla, student migrants began arriving also, especially from the provinces nearby. Most importantly, the two provinces emerged as major vacation spots for domestic and foreign tourists. More hotels, vacation homes, shops and restaurants have been built to serve the ever increasing number of tourists, more dormitories and university buildings to accommodate expanding student bodies, and more housing is being constructed to accommodate the retirees. Younger and less-educated migrants from the east come to work at these constructions. Immigrants from nearby coastal provinces come mainly to staff the hotels and restaurants. Immigrants from nearby non-coastal provinces on the other hand come to fill the agricultural jobs vacated by the natives who leave rural areas to take better-paying hotel and restaurant jobs. Some of the latter also fill the new agricultural jobs created as a consequence of a greater demand for food. The increase in the number of tourists, retirees and students has caused a rise in the demands for wholesale and retail trade, and health, entertainment, personal and governmental services. Migrants coming mainly from metropolitan areas in the West fill the newly created jobs in these sectors. The new jobs created in agriculture, and service sectors however are tied to tourism as well. The Leontief inverse obtained from the 2002 Turkish input-output table shows that each Turkish lira spent in a hotel or restaurant generates another lira's worth of indirect production in other sectors. For example it causes a 0.18 liras worth of production increase in agriculture, and 0.09 liras worth in wholesale and retail trade. A lira spent on construction of a hotel generates 0.09 liras of increase in the output of wholesale and retail trade.^[9]

^[9] The sectoral linkage figures given are from the national input-output table. Unfortunately, no regional input-output table is available for Turkey. (include on previous page)

Table 5
 Characteristics of Immigrants in Antalya and Muğla from Top Origins

Origin	Proportion of immigrants (%)		Median age (years)		Proportion of females (%)		Mean years of schooling (years)	
	ANT.	MUĞ.	ANT.	MUĞ.	ANT.	MUĞ.	ANT.	MUĞ.
İstanbul	11.4	14.9	30.5	33.8	46.1	42.5	8.2	9.3
Kocaeli	1.8	3.8	29.5	27.8	47.7	43.6	8.1	8.9
Ankara	9.1	7.1	29.0	29.5	48.0	44.0	8.7	9.8
İzmir	3.8	10.1	27.0	28.1	46.0	42.9	8.8	8.7
Aydın	1.1	6.3	25.8	25.6	47.1	42.3	7.8	6.7
Mersin	3.1	1.7	25.1	24.5	44.6	36.4	7.0	7.9
Adana	3.1	2.2	25.3	25.1	42.0	32.4	7.1	7.9
Hatay	2.7	2.2	24.1	23.4	39.5	32.7	6.8	7.4
Denizli	1.4	3.8	24.9	24.7	46.9	44.4	7.5	6.7
Afyon	2.0	1.3	25.5	24.8	46.9	37.3	7.2	7.6
Burdur	3.9	0.7	26.0	24.5	50.3	50.8	7.1	7.3
Isparta	4.2	0.7	25.6	24.7	48.3	41.1	7.4	9.5
Konya	5.7	1.9	25.8	24.4	45.8	39.3	6.9	7.9
Diyarbakır	1.9	1.4	23.5	23.9	39.3	28.5	5.8	6.7
Van	1.5	2.0	22.6	22.4	31.4	19.5	5.5	5.2
All provinces	100.0	100.0	26.1	26.8	44.3	38.9	7.5	8.1

Notes:

Figures given are for immigrants 5 years of age and older. In the computation of mean years of schooling for each province, 15, 11, 8, and 5 years of schooling are attributed, respectively, to university, high school, middle school, and primary school graduates in the province. Two years-worth of schooling is attributed to those who are literate but not a graduate of any school. Children under age six are omitted in computing the mean.

Source:

Authors' computations using unpublished data provided by the Turkish Statistical Institute.

Table 6
Labor Market Status: Immigrants in Antalya and Muğla from Top Origins

Origin	Not in labor force (%)		Employed (%)		Unemployed (%)		Unemployment rate (%)	
	ANT.	MUĞ.	ANT.	MUĞ.	ANT.	MUĞ.	ANT.	MUĞ.
İstanbul	42.4	32.6	50.3	62.4	7.4	5.0	12.8	7.4
Kocaeli	47.9	35.0	44.8	60.8	7.3	4.2	14.1	6.4
Ankara	41.2	32.1	52.1	63.2	6.7	4.7	11.4	7.0
İzmir	36.6	31.4	56.3	64.2	7.1	4.3	11.2	6.3
Aydın	36.8	24.8	57.1	72.1	6.1	3.1	9.6	4.1
Mersin	31.4	28.3	62.3	67.4	6.2	4.3	9.1	6.0
Adana	33.7	26.4	60.0	68.5	6.2	5.0	9.4	6.8
Hatay	29.8	30.0	64.6	66.3	5.6	3.6	8.0	5.2
Denizli	35.3	28.6	60.0	68.3	4.8	3.0	7.4	4.2
Afyon	39.7	24.4	54.6	73.1	5.7	2.5	9.4	3.3
Burdur	41.7	32.6	53.1	63.4	5.2	4.0	9.0	5.9
Isparta	34.8	29.4	59.4	64.2	5.7	6.4	8.8	9.1
Konya	36.6	26.8	57.7	69.3	5.7	3.9	9.0	5.3
Diyarbakır	36.9	16.9	56.9	80.0	6.1	3.1	9.7	3.7
Van	30.0	13.0	64.1	83.2	5.9	3.8	8.4	4.4
All provinces	37.2	28.6	56.6	67.3	6.2	4.2	9.8	5.8

Notes:

Not in Labor Force, Employed and Unemployed are as a proportion of all immigrants, 12 years of age or older. Unemployment rate is as proportion of the Labor Force.

Source:

Authors' computations using unpublished data provided by the Turkish Statistical Institute.

Table 7
Reason for Non-participation in Labor Force: Immigrants in Antalya and Muğla from Top Origins

Origin	Student (%)		Retired (%)		Housewife (%)		Discouraged (%)	
	ANT.	MUĞ.	ANT.	MUĞ.	ANT.	MUĞ.	ANT.	MUĞ.
İstanbul	26.6	29.1	21.9	30.1	43.6	34.0	4.5	3.5
Kocaeli	30.4	30.2	23.4	13.1	39.7	50.8	4.9	4.5
Ankara	27.8	30.8	21.9	26.9	43.4	34.6	2.7	5.1
İzmir	35.7	37.9	14.9	14.2	40.3	35.8	5.3	4.8
Aydın	40.9	33.7	11.4	8.4	41.3	48.2	3.8	4.5
Mersin	31.9	48.5	7.5	6.1	50.0	35.3	6.4	6.3
Adana	32.1	45.1	9.1	8.8	49.1	39.5	6.3	4.3
Hatay	32.7	58.6	7.1	3.3	50.0	29.6	6.1	5.8
Denizli	38.2	38.9	11.2	10.2	45.4	42.1	3.2	4.0
Afyon	28.5	44.3	12.0	8.9	51.4	39.7	5.6	4.6
Burdur	26.0	45.3	12.5	5.8	55.2	41.9	3.9	3.5
Isparta	30.3	38.1	12.5	13.1	49.9	36.2	5.5	9.4
Konya	29.5	38.5	11.3	5.2	51.5	47.5	5.3	5.7
Diyarbakır	27.3	31.6	4.5	5.7	57.2	52.9	5.3	5.2
Van	29.8	40.1	5.9	3.2	52.0	44.4	10.3	9.6
All provinces	30.0	37.9	13.7	14.3	48.2	39.5	3.5	4.8

Notes:

All figures are as a proportion of immigrants aged 12 and over who are not in the labor force. Discouraged workers are those who would like to be employed but did not apply for a job during the previous three months.

Source:

Authors' computations using unpublished data provided by the Turkish Statistical Institute.

Table 8
Sectoral Distribution of Employment: Immigrants in Antalya and Muğla from Top Origins (%)

Origin	Agriculture		Manufacturing		Construction		Public, social & personal Services		Wholesale & retail trade		Restaurants & hotels	
	ANT.	MUĞ.	ANT.	MUĞ.	ANT.	MUĞ.	ANT.	MUĞ.	ANT.	MUĞ.	ANT.	MUĞ.
İstanbul	19.1	31.9	8.7	4.9	5.3	5.0	19.8	24.5	16.5	9.8	15.2	13.1
Kocaeli	18.4	16.1	5.4	3.4	8.1	3.9	30.9	60.2	10.8	5.3	15.0	5.8
Ankara	16.3	23.1	6.0	4.2	6.3	6.6	30.9	32.9	11.6	6.1	15.1	12.4
İzmir	14.6	14.6	7.6	6.5	4.2	5.8	30.3	24.6	12.9	11.5	18.1	16.7
Aydın	21.2	29.4	3.2	7.9	7.1	9.8	24.1	18.3	11.4	8.2	20.9	17.7
Mersin	24.8	24.8	9.2	7.4	8.0	7.3	19.6	29.7	7.2	5.6	24.4	22.3
Adana	17.6	16.4	6.5	8.3	9.1	13.5	19.8	25.4	9.8	6.6	30.1	22.9
Hatay	18.4	18.4	8.4	7.9	10.6	12.5	15.8	23.3	9.8	4.8	31.0	26.5
Denizli	30.9	35.7	6.0	7.0	6.4	7.2	24.6	18.3	7.2	8.3	12.1	16.4
Afyon	27.7	27.1	8.0	15.5	8.1	10.4	23.4	23.7	8.0	4.9	17.2	11.4
Burdur	30.9	32.0	7.9	5.1	5.4	5.4	23.6	28.7	8.2	9.6	13.6	10.8
Isparta	34.4	34.4	6.2	3.4	4.0	6.0	21.9	41.1	8.0	4.0	16.2	12.0
Konya	29.9	21.2	7.4	8.1	7.7	10.2	19.7	31.0	10.2	6.4	18.3	14.4
Diyarbakır	13.9	21.7	3.7	2.4	20.6	20.1	26.9	29.8	6.6	3.3	22.2	16.8
Van	9.6	19.3	3.9	2.0	51.1	53.7	19.0	12.9	4.2	1.9	8.9	7.7
All provinces	20.6	22.7	6.3	5.7	10.5	11.0	24.7	28.3	9.8	7.1	19.2	15.4

Notes:

All figures are as a proportion of immigrants age 12 and over who are employed. Sectors listed are not exhaustive and include only the main ones employing immigrants. Consequently, row totals do not add up to 100. Agriculture includes hunting, forestry and fishing. Public, social and personal services cover employment in government bureaucracy (including military and police), in health, education, environmental, and cultural institutions, as well employment as repairmen, gardener, barber, dry cleaner, maid, babysitter, accountant, etc.

Source:

Authors' computations using unpublished data provided by the Turkish Statistical Institute.

Summary and Conclusions

Over the last two decades Antalya and Muğla provinces lying along the coast where the Aegean and the Mediterranean seas meet, have emerged as new migrant magnets. These receive substantial numbers of immigrants not only from the less developed areas of the country but also from the developed traditional migrant-drawing provinces. The two provinces differ from other migrant magnets in some key respects. First of all, they are not highly urbanized. Therefore, the migration towards them cannot be attributed to the availability of urban amenities. Also, unlike traditional migrant destinations, their industrial sectors are very small, and employ only a fraction of immigrants. Using previously unpublished and unused data, we were able to show that what draws migrants to these two provinces is mainly the jobs created in the sectors related to tourism, either directly (such as in hotels and restaurants) or indirectly (such as in agriculture, trade and other services). The pleasant climates of the two provinces attract not only tourists, but also some retirees from rich provinces. New universities that opened in the two provinces bring in students as migrants as well. The last two groups in turn create jobs for other migrants, directly or indirectly.

11% of the immigrants who arrived in Antalya during 1995-2000 came to study, 5% to retire, 18% as housewives, and 63% to join the labor force. Corresponding figures for Muğla are 11%, 4%, 11%, and 71%. Thus the migrations to these destinations are partially education and retirement related, but mainly motivated by finding a job. Immigrants arriving at these two provinces from different regions exhibit different demographic and socio-economic characteristics and a tendency to work at different sectors of the economy. Those coming from the less developed eastern provinces tend to be young, less-educated and work predominantly in the construction sector. They build the hotels, restaurants, and vacation homes for the domestic and foreign tourists and homes for the older and better-educated retirees coming from the more developed metropolitan areas, and dormitories and school buildings for the students coming mostly from the provinces surrounding Antalya and Muğla. Immigrants from nearby coastal provinces staff the hotels and restaurants, and those from nearby non-coastal provinces replace the natives who leave their agricultural jobs for better paying ones in hotels and restaurants. Immigrants from other provinces but mainly from the metropolitan areas take the trade-related and other kinds of service jobs created as a result of increased activity in tourism.

On the other hand, in some respects, migration to Antalya and Muğla is similar to migration to traditional destinations. Desire to find a job or a better job is the main motivation behind migration; immigrants from earlier eras living at a destination encourages further migration there; distance is a strong hindrance to migration; and migration from a location is positively related to its population, all are similar to findings of other studies on migration to other destinations.

To the best of our knowledge, this is the only study linking internal migration to tourism. Besides drawing attention to this case and explaining the dynamics underlying it, we were able to show that the development of touristic activity has long-lasting effects not only where it occurs but also in areas far away from it. In addition, we established that

the development of the tourism sector in remote areas can be used as a tool to ease the migration burdens of metropolitan areas and job-creation needs of high-unemployment areas. We hope that our analysis and findings will shed light on similar migration triggered by tourism in other countries, and inspire studies on them.

References

- Anderson, J.E. (2011). "The Gravity Model," *The Annual Review of Economics*, 3: 133-160.
- Erjem, Y. (2009). *Mersin'de Göç Kentleşme ve Sosyal Problemler*, (Migration, Urbanization and Social Problems in Mersin), Mersin: Office of the Governor Publications, Social Research Series Number 1.
- Etzo, I. (2008). "Internal Migration: A Review of the Literature," MPRA Working Paper No. 8783, https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/8783/1/MPRA_paper_8783.pdf.
- Filiztekin, A. and Gökhan, A. (2008). "The Determinants of Internal Migration in Turkey," paper presented at International Conference on Policy Modelling (EcoMod2008), Berlin, Germany, 2-4 July 2008.
- Gedik, A. (1996). "Internal Migration in Turkey, 1965-85: Test of Some Conflicting Findings in the Literature," Working Paper in Demography No. 66, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.
- Gezici, F. and Keskin, B. (2005). "Interactions between Regional Inequalities and Internal Migration in Turkey," paper presented at the 45th Congress of the European Regional Science Association: Land Use and Water Management in a Sustainable Network Society, Amsterdam, 23-27 August 2005.
- Greenwood, M.J. and Hunt, G.L. (2003). "The Early History of Migration Research," *International Regional Science Review*, 26: 3-37.
- Gündüz, M. and Yetim, N. (1997). "Terör ve Göç," (Terrorism and Migration), in *Toplum ve Göç-II. Ulusal Sosyoloji Kongresi (November 20-22, 1996, Mersin) Bildiriler Kitabı*: 109-118. Ankara: SIS Pub. Number 2046.
- İçduygu, A. and Ünalın, T. (1998). "Türkiye'de İç Göç: Sorunsal Alanları ve Araştırma Yöntemleri," (Internal Migration in Turkey: Its Problem Areas and Research Methods) in *Türkiye'de İç Göç, Sorunsal Alanları ve Araştırma Yöntemleri Konferansı (June 6-8), 1998, Bolu-Gerede) Bildiriler Kitabı*: 38-55. İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı.
- Işık, Ş. (2008). "Türkiye'de Eğitim Amaçlı Göçler," (Educational Migration in Turkey)," *Coğrafi Bilimler Dergisi*, 7: 27-37.
- Kocaman, T. (2008). *Türkiye'de İç Göçler ve Göç Edenlerin Nitelikleri: 1965-2000* (Internal Migration in Turkey and the Characteristics of Those Who Migrate: 1965-2000)," Ankara: State Planning Organization, Prime Ministry, the Republic of Turkey.
- Lucas, R.E.B. (2016). "Internal Migration in Developing Economies: An Overview of Recent Evidence," *Geopolitics, History, and International Relations* 8: 159-191.
- Munro, J. (1974). "Migration in Turkey," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 22: 634-53.
- Pazarlıoğlu, M.V. (1997). "1980-1990 Döneminde Türkiye'de İç Göç Üzerine Ekonometrik Model Çalışması," (An Econometric Model Study on Internal Migration in Turkey for the Period 1980-1990) Çukurova University V. National Econometrics and Statistics Symposium, Adana.
- Poot, J., Alimi, O., Cameron, M.P., and Maré, D.C. (2016). "The Gravity Model of Migration: The Successful Comeback of an Ageing Superstar in Regional Science," IZA discussion paper No. 10329.
- Tunalı, İ. (1996). "Migration and Remigration of Male Household Heads in Turkey, 1963-1973," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 45: 56-67.

Data Appendix

The source of all data used in this paper is the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK). The data used to construct Tables 1-4 are published and can be found at the TUIK web site. The data used to construct Tables 5-8 however are unpublished, and are extracted from the 2000 Population Census by the Population and Migration Department of TUIK, under a special permit for specific use in this study. The 2000 census is the last census conducted and its migration related part pertains to the 1995-2000 period. Unfortunately, detailed statistics on the characteristics of the migrants to Antalya and Muğla are not available for the period after 2000. Although TurkStat began providing annual population and migration figures in 2008, these are based on the Address Based Population Registration System (known by its Turkish acronym as ADNKS) rather than on complete population censuses. ADNKS gives information on gender, age, marital status, education, place of birth and place of population registry, but not on labor market status and sectoral involvements of migrants. Therefore it is not possible to construct tables similar to Tables 5-8 for later periods. Our presumption is that the statistics we present for 1995-2000 can give us an idea about the key characteristics of the migrants to Antalya and Muğla for more recent years as well.