

ETUDES

TURKISH ASPECTS OF MIGRATION FOR EMPLOYMENT TO EUROPE (*)

by

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I. MIGRATION OF TURKISH WORKERS TO EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IS A NEW PHENOMENON :

The migration of Turkish workers in great numbers to European countries is a new phenomenon. A Turkish worker who looks for jobs in different places than his natal village or town within Turkey does not like to emigrate. So this is the first time in the Turkish History that, apart from a given plan of conquest and planned

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The Symposium was opened by Mr. Ali on behalf of Mr. Cox, President of the Institute for Labour Studies who was away on duty.

The following persons participated in the Symposium : (Doc. MA/2) : Prof. Y. Altuğ, Istanbul University, Istanbul. — Mr. S. Barkin, Head, Social Affairs Division, O.E.C.D., Paris. — Mr. G. Beijer, Secretary, Dutch Social Science Council, Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences,

settlements operations, such a great number of Turkis is moving to European countries which have different cultures and religions for temporary settlement in order to work¹. The number is steadily increasing. (See Table No. 1).

Mr. Heinrich M. Dreyer from "Bundesanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung" in his report "Migration of Foreign Workers to Federal Germany" published by the Turkish Worker Placement Office states that during 1959-1960 among 111,706 foreign workers there was not a single Turkish worker. All foreign workers were coming from Greece, Italy and Spain².

To understand the reasons behind this phenomenon it is necessary to concentrate the attention on migration for employment within Europe. Migration, this socio-economic fact, is the result of economic pressures in Europe. The main determinant factor is the chronic lack of adaptation between the offer and demand of labour, in other words the lack of adaptation between rising population and the rate of industrialisation.

Before the industrial revolution, migration was rather from Europe towards new lands, to America, New Zealand and Australia. The surplus population was leaving its native country. Later on after the industrial revolution, the migration towards overseas lands was motivated by gain and economic opportunities, the migration was from developed to underdeveloped countries.

Ams'erdam. — Miss L. Danieli, Economic Commission for Europe, U.N., Geneva. — Mr. I. Doublet, Chairman, National Immigration Board, Paris. — Professor J. Garcia-Trevijano, University of Salamanca, Spain. — Mr. P. Heyde, Director, Social Branch of the Evangelist Church of Westphalia (Haus Villigst). — Mr. G. Michel, Director, "Operational Taks", European Coal and Steel Community, Luxembourg. — Mr. H. Minta, Zentralstelle für Arbeitsvermittlung, Frankfurt. — Mr. A. Oblath, Manpower Planning and Organisation Branch, I.L.O. Geneva. — Professor G. Parenti, University of Florence. — Mr. A. Pepelasis, Deputy Governor, Agriculture Bank of Greece, Athens. — Mr. J. P. Pilliard, Head, Manpower Division, O.E.C.D., Paris. — Mr. T. Stark, Secretary General, International Catholic Migration Commission, Geneva.

1) Nermîn Abadan, *Batı Almanya'daki Türk İşçileri ve Sorunları*, Ankara, 1964, p. 9.

2) Orhan Tuna, "Türkiye'den Federal Almanya'ya İşgücü Akımı ve Mezeleleri", *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, Cilt 24, Sayı 1-2, p. 4.

The colonisation of Indonesia by Holland, of India by Great Britain and conquest of Africa by colonial powers are examples of this.

Italians, Greeks and Spaniards have almost a national custom to emigrate abroad, but as they are within the countries with a common religion, culture and origin, they adapt themselves quite well.

Differences of welfare, political tensions, facilities and difficulties in international legislation, sympathy and antipathy between countries are regulating the migration, of foreign workers.

After the Second World War, the political regimes were relaxed, Europe enjoyed a welfare never reached in its history this welfare quickly finished all labour reserves, the immense losses of men during the war had cut already the available number of workers.

The highly industrialised countries of Northern Europe have drawn labour from less industrialised southern European countries. But now, as southern European countries are quickly industrialising, the number of workers going abroad for employment is quickly declining.

This changing situation made Turkey a virgin and potential labour reserve for the European market. The following political factors have also influenced the migration of Turkish workers.

- (1) Political *rapprochement* of post war years, Turkey became a member of Council of Europe;
- (2) Turkey becoming a member of N.A.T.O: and participating in the defence of Europe against aggression;
- (3) Turkey is accepted by more and more nations as a European country;

II. MIGRATION FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF TURKISH ECONOMY :

a) *Unemployment* :

The growth of the Turkish economy is not able to solve unemployment in the short or even in the long run. The population increase is about 3 per cent. Birth control devices were legalised some months ago but still the pressure of this increasing population will be felt for the years to come. In the 1927 census the

population was only 13-1/2 million; in the 1960 census it was more than double with 28 million; in 1965 the number is 31 million. The Organisation of Planification gives the following figures for employment between 1962-1977 :

	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1972	1977
15-64 years-old group	15.7	16.1	16.5	16.9	17.5	18.0	20.9	24.2
Offer of Labour	14.2	14.4	14.7	15.0	15.3	15.7	17.6	19.9
Employment to be created	12.7	13.1	13.5	13.9	14.4	14.8	16.8	19.2
Unemployment	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.1	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.7

Now population increase is about one million persons per year. So, at the end of every 15 years, some important part of these million demands for employment is looking for jobs. For example in 1950 the increase of Turkish population was about 600.000 persons per year; in 1965 because of decrease by deaths and other causes, about 250-300,000 persons of this group entered the Turkish labour market for the first time looking for jobs. According to some estimations yearly increase of labour offer will reach 615,000 in 1965 and 736,000 in 1970³.

The State Organisation for Planification has made estimations for each five years, and indicated as 1,390,000 the increase of labour between 1961-1965. This number will be 1,900,000 between 1965-1970. The number of young workers looking for jobs will be 345,000 in 1965 and 400,000 in 1970⁴.

The number of unemployed is not well known and different numbers are given. This is due to the absence of an unemployment insurance in Turkey. For example the Yearbook of Labour Statistics indicates that this number is 26,428 for May 1964. This seems inaccurate and the number must be high above. However, the same kind of error can be found in Official Records of Turkey. At the last census of population of 23 October 1960, population 15 years old and over looking for a job is recorded as 15,868⁵. The number

3) *ibid.* p. 15.

4) *ibid.*

5) Republic of Turkey, Prime Minister's Office, State Institute of Statistics, *Census of Population, 23 October 1960*, p. 487.

of unemployed workers is listed as 12,442 in 1961 and as 17,846 in 1962, these numbers being the monthly averages.

So the migration of Turkish workers has a socio-economic, even political, significance because it is lessening the pressures of unemployment that national economy is not able to solve by itself.

b) Balance of Payment and Economic Growth of Turkey :

The parallel between the ratio of the part of national income designed for investments and the rate of economic growth is well known. In Turkey when the investments ratio was high and when these investments were mostly in industrial field the national income grew rapidly. Industrial investments depend on the power of Turkey to buy the necessary equipment and machines for years the economic growth of Turkey depends in great measures on foreign aid.

While Prof. Jan Tinbergen claims that the development aid to Turkey must be doubled, there is a tendency in the Consortium for Aid to Turkey to decrease foreign aid to Turkey. The greater part of foreign aid is unfortunately used for the payment of instalments and interests of foreign debts and only a smaller part is used to buy the spare parts and the necessary raw materials of already existing installations. This situation explains the necessity for finding the new sources of foreign exchange.

The objective of the First Five Year Plan is to reach a development speed of 7 per cent. To realise this rate of growth 18 per cent. of gross national income must be invested yearly, 14 per cent. of this has to come from internal sources and 4 per cent. from external sources. During 1960-63 investments reached only 15.6 per cent., foreign aid reached an average of 1.5-2 and internal investments were only 12 per cent⁶⁾.

The transfer of the savings of Turkish workers to Turkey through official channels will help to ease the pressure of unfavourable balance of payments and will help to increase investments in Turkey which will increase the capacity of labour, thus more workers will find work within Turkey.

6) Tuna, op. cit. p. 18.

The migration of workers with their families will lessen the demand for essential goods in Turkey (housing, food and clothing) so present investments in this sector will move to investments for machinery.

To ensure the transfer of the savings of Turkish Workers through official channels the Turkish Government enacted some regulations. Turkish workers before this, either were buying cars, electrical equipment, etc. and were selling them in Turkey on their return, or were trying to change their foreign money in the market where they were working and send the Turkish equivalent clandestinely to Turkey. They were doing this because they were able to get a better rate than the regular and official Turkish rate. Now the regulations are giving the workers a better rate, equal to that of the foreign market. In 1963 a monthly average of 700,000 dollars was coming to Turkey from Federal Germany alone. In 1965 this monthly average rose to 2.8 million dollars. But as Turkey has now more than 150,000 workers abroad at least 6.5 million dollars must be transferred.

c) Specialisation and Improvement of Conditions of Work :

Turkish workers who are going and who want to go to Europe are not all unemployed. Some of them are those workers who have jobs but are not satisfied with their salaries or conditions of work. They want to go in order to get specialisation and improve their conditions of work when they return. This wish is not often satisfied; the foreign employers are offering jobs which are not considered as well paying or good by their own native workers because of difficult conditions of work. For foreign employers, the specialisation means an extra burden, so the aim of Turkish workers to get new skills is not realised in most of the cases.

d) The law No. 499 :

As we pointed out above, the transfer of the savings of Turkish workers in the form of foreign exchange has a strategical importance in the development of Turkey. The Turkish Parliament considering this has enacted the Law on the Opening of Credits for Housing

and Small Arts and Crafts to lend money to the workers working abroad. This was promulgated on 22 July 1964. According to the first article of this law, two Turkish banks, the Bank of Realty Credit of Turkey (Türkiye Emlâk Kredi Bankası) and the People Bank (Halk Bankası) have established a fund called the Fund for Credit to Housing, Small Arts and Lending to Workers Working Abroad. The aim of this establishment is to encourage the workers working abroad to send their economies to their relatives in Turkey and on their return to enable them to have housing and small arts and crafts enterprises.

In order to encourage this transfer and the opening of a new account under this fund, many other facilities which are not ordinarily recognised to other depositors are recognised to workers working abroad under this law. For example, the interest for three years to come is calculated at once at the opening of the account and is immediately added to the account of the depositor. The interest is the highest interest to be given to depositors who deposit for three years.

For workers who want to build houses with this credit the requirement is to transfer until their return at least 5,000 Turkish liras; while the regular credit for anyone else is to have deposited 10,000 Turkish liras in 18 months. Another favourable condition is the rate of interest, the regular rate is 5 per cent.; while for the worker this is only 2 per cent. Another favourable condition is that the interest and the principal loan are collected by monthly instalments only two years after it is given to worker, while the regular borrower who had deposited 10,000 Turkish liras starts to pay by instalments as soon as the money is lent, in fact the first instalment is due the same day as the money is lent.

For the credit for small arts and crafts the maximum is 25,000 Turkish liras, the term is five years and the interest is 7.5 per cent. The money is paid by yearly instalments commencing a year after the money is lent.

Another favourable condition is that the mortgages on the houses and all other documents are exempt of all taxes, surcharges etc. Usually it is the debtor, the party which receives money, who pays all these expenses.

e) New Measures for Encouragement of Transfers to Turkey :

The Inter-ministerial Committee attached to the Prime Minister's Office decided on the participation of the State in the incorporated joint-stock companies to be formed by workers working abroad. Such a scheme, the formation of joint stock companies by the workers abroad was put forward by public as well as private persons. Workers themselves formed associations in Germany in order to find new places and field of work on their return. The State will participate with a share of 25 per cent. The Ministry of Industry will be the co-ordinator and the Ministries of Energy and of Finance, with the State Organisation for Planification, will form a Co-ordination Committee which will draft the types of companies.

On the other hand the peasants who form a co-operative will be given preference to be sent abroad as workers. It is estimated that co-operatives will be formed at least in 250 villages with capital amounting to half a million Turkish liras. This programme gives a preference to the villages of Eastern and South Eastern Anatolia which are really the most underdeveloped areas of Turkey. It is also considered that the population of mountainous villages being scarce, the co-operatives will be established in the flat lands between the villages. These new areas will be also the resettlement place of nearby villages.

The workers will send their monthly due of 350-400 Turkish liras in form of foreign exchange. The co-operatives will have a membership changing between 100 and 200 persons. They will deal with agriculture, industry and transport. The members will be able to import without custom duties 10.000 Turkish liras worth of goods to be invested such as mechanical ploughs, tractors, machineries etc⁷.

The co-operatives will be given advice by technical committees under the chairmanship of governors. A central co-ordination board is formed under the leadership of the Ministry of Villages, and includes the Ministries of Agriculture, Trade, Finance, Labour and the Bank of Realty, Credit Bank of Turkey and the work of all co-operatives in Turkey in promoting a village development plan.

7) *Milliyet*, 30 September 1965.

The workers will run their own enterprises, the shareholding of the State being only 25 per cent. The enterprises are all projects planned and foreseen in the Five Year Plan. But this is not all. The co-ordination committee will also accept the proposals from the private sector.

The incorporated joint stock companies in Turkey are not really open public companies as they are in most cases in the West. They are rather closed family corporations formed as joint stock corporations just to get the benefits of this type of corporation. For some time the Turkish Government has been trying to encourage the public and the owners of such big companies to buy and sell shares to the common man. There is still some kind of hesitation to buy the few shares offered by the city people. It is not difficult to assert that the workers who are coming from the countryside of Turkey, and have no habit of buying and selling shares, will be easily induced to transfer his savings to Turkey with the aim of becoming a partner in a joint stock company. The worker abroad needs some education and wants security for his transfers. If this can be guaranteed by the Turkish Government then this useful plan can be fully realised for the benefit of workers themselves as well as for the benefit of Turkey.

III. MIGRATION FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF TURKISH SOCIAL LIFE :

The migration means a great social investment for Turkey.

- (a) Turkish workers are gaining occupational skill;
- (b) they are committed to industrial life quitting their characteristics as peasants. This commitment teaches them work discipline and work order;
- (c) they learn a foreign language.

The following difficulties or hesitations for Turkish labour might be cited in their migration :

- (a) difference of culture which renders very hard the "acculturation";
- (b) their background, an agricultural social structure;
- (c) difference of religion;
- (d) difference of language.

The migration of women is often motivated not to earn more but to have more freedom in the foreign society because they are not yet able to obtain their equality with men even though this is legally secured. Sometimes the pressure from village society and old customs such as seeking revenge for a murder committed by a member of the family of the worker are incidental to his migration to Europe⁸.

The workers are often without their family in the European countries. This creates important problems for the worker and his family. The worker is happy with his family, he is more interested in the work he is doing, and the wife and children help very much in the adaptation to a new milieu. Research conducted by Istanbul University Faculty of Economics clearly indicates this fact. The workers with the families cannot live in workers' housing and have to live in towns and cities. Children go to schools and the worker has to be in contact with the school authorities and local authorities.

The Turkish Government, considering this fact, asked for the inclusion of a family clause in the newly signed Agreement with France on the Labour Force. Article 10 of the Agreement concluded on 8 April 1965 states that the families of Turkish workers can join them and that the travel expenses of these families on French soil will be paid by French authorities.

The "acculturation" can be more easily achieved when the worker is happy with his family. He will have more contacts then.

The experts of the Council of Europe and I.L.O. in their reports advise the help of social workers. The nostalgia of the fatherland leads, in many cases, the worker to excessive drinking, fighting with knives etc. The foreign workers other than Turkish can be protected by the native Christian priests because they have the same religion but the Turkish worker is without this spiritual help and guidance⁹.

Turkish workers do not get enough Turkish radio broadcasts and as there is not any central distribution agency for Turkish newspapers they are not very well informed about what is going

8) *Abadan*, op. cit. s. 124.

9) *ibid.*

on in Turkey. A few workers, knowing local languages, learn Turkish news from local newspapers.

The traditional attitude of Turkish workers and their different value judgements prevent them from spending usefully their free time. They need some guidance for this. In Federal Germany the Association called Arbeiterwohlfahrt is helping them. More help is needed in this field¹⁰.

IV. MIGRATION OF TURKISH WORKERS AND TURKISH TRADE UNIONS :

Migration of Turkish workers has two influences on Turkish trade unionism :

- (1) short-term influence;
- (2) long-term influence.

Short-term influence is negative and has two causes :

- (1) the skilled worker is preferred in trade unions and he goes and so the staff of trade unions is weakened.
- (2) the number of industrial workers diminishes and the industrial worker is very important for Turkish trade unionism.

A research conducted by Istanbul University in Western Germany shows that German employers claim that 47 per cent. of Turkish workers are all skilled workers.

Long term influence is positive. A very great number of those workers are returning after some years in European countries. These homecomers will serve Turkish trade unionism.

Turkish trade unionism is going in the direction of German trade unionism since 1962. The law on Right to Strike No. 274 applies to trade unions which have activities all over Turkey. That means national trade unions. Turkish Confederation of Workers Trade Unions (Türk-İş) tried to realise the aims of this law. It wanted to reduce the number of all national trade unions to 16, the same number as the German trade unions of workers. But it

10) *ibid.*

was not successful. Later they tried to reduce to 28. Again it did not work out.

Turkish trade unionism was built on a trade union for each place of work according to French practice. The trade unions of the same branch are often united in a confederation.

The Ministry of Labour has prepared a regulation on branches of work. There are 36 branches of work in this regulation. Some confederations became national such as Petrol-İş (Petroleum); Maden-İş (Mines), Teksif (Textiles). But beside national trade unions there are still confederations of trade unions even many independent trade unions.

Turkish workers returning from Western Germany desire to build Turkish trade unionism on German model. Turkish type of worker is peasant-industrial. Most of them have one foot in the village the other in the city or town where the industry is situated. As it is known trade unionism is best served by industrial workers and workers returning from European countries. Collective bargaining in Turkey is done on the first level, that is for each place of work, not yet for the branch of work. The Ninth Chamber of the Turkish Court of Appeal decided a month ago that according to Article 7 of the Law on Collective Bargaining the trade union which desires to conclude a collective bargaining in a place of work has to represent 51 per cent. of all workers working in the same branch of work in Turkey. This decision shows too that collective bargaining is important where the trade unionism is strong. If the German type of trade unionism will develop in Turkey, collective bargaining will extend too.

The right to strike was recognised in 1963. Before this date strikes were prohibited in Turkey. The right to strike is recognised by Laws 274 and 275. Since the recognition of the right to strike there has been a tremendous development in Turkish trade unionism. Trade union membership has rapidly increased.

The Turkish Court of Appeal decided that according to Article 21 of Law No. 274 the workers who are not members of trade unions may profit from the collective bargaining if the trade union which bargained the collective bargaining consents to their participation.

In Turkey we have about 580 trade unions which have about 800,000 members. This membership should be about 1.2 million according to the calculations. One thousand eight hundred collective bargainings were made covering about 550,000.

Joint consultation is seen in many places of Turkish social legislation : Labour Councils composed of employers and workers, Labour Tribunals, Provincial Arbitration Board, Supreme Arbitration Board. The migration of Turkish workers has no effect yet on the working of joint consultation bodies.

Those workers who are working in West Germany and were interviewed by the team of Istanbul University in Germany say that as they see it, the main function in of German trade unions is preventing dismissals. Increase in wages and the requisition of social rights were sought through individual steps. According to the same university team, several Turkish workers answered that they did not become members of trade unions because they think that trade unions are not useful for them.

V. SOCIAL RIGHTS SECURED TO TURKISH WORKERS IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES :

Turkish Government encourages the migration of Turkish workers to Europe. In fact, migration takes place through the Placement of Work and Workers Office which is a governmental agency. Many agreements have been signed with West Germany, Austria, France, Holland and Belgium¹¹.

11) For the texts of these agreements, see :

— Abkommen zwischen der Republik Türkei und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland über soziale Sicherheit (Off. Journal of 8 October 1965, No 12121).

— Abkommen zwischen der Republik Österreich und der Türkischen Republik über die Anwerbung türkischer Arbeitskräfte und deren Beschäftigung in Österreich (Off. J. of 17 Sept. 1964, No. 11809).

— Accord entre la République de Turquie et le Royaume des Pays-Bas concernant la migration, le recrutement et le placement des travailleurs turcs aux Pays-Bas (Off. J. of 22 June 1965, No 12029).

— Accord entre la Belgique et la Turquie relatif à l'occupation de travailleurs turcs en Belgique (Off. J. of 13 July 1965, No 12047).

— Convention de main d'œuvre entre la Turquie et la France (Off. J. of 2 October 1935, No 12116).

The Worker Agreement concluded with West Germany on 30 October 1961 does not have any clause on the social rights to be enjoyed by Turkish workers, but the Guide published in common by the Turkish Placement Office and "Bundesanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung" cites that Turkish workers can benefit from sickness, old age, invalidity and the same basis as a German worker. A Turkish worker who has two or more children under the age of 18 may benefit from children's allowances too.

National treatment is also accepted in Article 6 of the Accord between Turkey and France, in Article 10 of the Accord between Turkey and Austria, Article 17 of the Accord between Turkey and Holland⁵. National treatment is not enough. The workers of other nations benefit from many social rights, the most favoured nation clause should take the place of national treatment in the accords entered by Turkey.

Turkish workers pay social insurances. This is, for example, 10 per cent. of his income in West Germany. The income from the social insurances premiums are spent first for hospitals, later for housing. Turkish workers must equally use the housing facilities with Germans if they pay the same taxes.

Another problem is the financing of schools. If the workers are paying taxes, the teachers teaching Turkish to Turkish children beside their German lessons — or French or Dutch lessons — must be paid by the receiving countries.

VI. CONCLUSION :

Migration is important and beneficial to the country where the workers work. They guarantee the continuation of production and of welfare in the country receiving them.

We can summarise the migration from three points of view :

- (1) from individual worker's point of view;
- (2) from country of immigration point of view;
- (3) from the country of emigration point of view.

There are two alternatives, one positive, the the other negative for each point of view.

The individual worker who goes abroad economises, transfers his savings, becomes skilled, learns a foreign language : these are the positive alternatives but in most cases, he cannot bring his family along with him, his morale is low, either he starts drinking, fighting or becomes more and more introvert, the "acculturation" long expected is not realised. When he returns to Turkey in low spirits he cannot be a useful member of the community.

For the country of immigration, the positive alternative is the economic cost. It finds a labour force for work its nationals are not interested in. The negative alternative is the social cost. The foreign labour has problems of adaptation, conflict with nationals are common. The workers as well as the native community both suffer.

For the country of emigration the positive alternative is the lessening of unemployment, gaining of foreign exchange through the transfer of the savings of workers. The negative alternative is the loss of skilled workers and weakening of trade unions.

See over

TURKISH WORKERS WORKING IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Table 1

Countries	1961			1962			1963			1964		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Germany	4,127	—	4,127	9,871	845	10,716	30,049	2,806	32,855	51,206	6,711	57,917
Belgium	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,605	—	5,605	7,700	—	7,700
Holland	—	—	—	—	—	—	265	—	265	3,455	9-	3,546
Austria	—	—	—	169	—	169	974	39	1,013	1,506	63	1,569
Switzerland	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	13	36	271	100	371
France	—	—	—	—	—	—	73	—	73	25	—	25
England	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	4,127	—	4,127	10,040	845	10,885	36,989	2,858	39,847	64,176	6,965	71,141

Turkish Workers who went
to work in European
countries between
January 1, 1965 and
August 8, 1965

Last Situation
(1961-1965)

Countries	Men	Women	Total	121,478	Women	Total
Germany	26,225	8,776	35,001	Men	19,138	140,616
Belgium	—	—	—	13,305	—	13,305
Holland	1,795	14	1,809	5,515	105	5,620
Austria	1,961	47	2,007	4,610	149	4,759
Switzerland	107	23	130	401	136	537
France	—	—	—	98	—	98
England	20	—	20	20	—	20
Total	30,111	8,760	38,971	145,443	19,528	164,971

These figures are given by the State Institute of Statistics.