

NEW PERSPECTIVE OF EXILE OF BULGARIAN-TURKS IN THE CASE OF 1989 MIGRATION WAVE*

Preferences or Obligations: Loyal Citizens of a State: Bulgarian Born
Turks on the Way to EU Membership?

BULGARİSTAN TÜRKLERİNİN 1989 GÖÇÜ ÜZERİNE YENİ BİR DEĞERLENDİRME

Tercih ya da Zorunluluk: Bir Devletin Sadık Vatandaşları: Avrupa Birliği
Üyeliği Yolunda Bulgaristan Doğumlu Türkler

*Savaş ÇAĞLAYAN***

Özet

Bu makalede, Bulgaristan Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin ilanından sonra Bulgaristan'dan Türkiye'ye doğru yaşanan 1989 göç dalgası ve 1989 göçmenlerinin Avrupa Birliği ile ilişkileri irdelenecektir. 1989 göç dalgası Bulgaristan'dan Türkiye'ye doğru yaşanan son göç olmasının yanında, sosyal etkilerinin çok boyutlu olması açısından da üzerinde durulması gereken önemli bir sosyal olgudur. Bu sosyal etkinin görüldüğü önemli alanlardan birisi de göçmenlerin vatandaşlık statüleridir. Göç döneminde Bulgaristan vatandaşlık haklarını kaybeden ve/veya bırakan göçmenlerin Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşlığına sahip olmaları, 1989 göçünün beklendik bir sonucudur. Tarihsel süreçte Bulgaristan'ın Avrupa Birliği ile tam üyelik müzakerelerine başlaması ve göçmenlere Bulgaristan Cumhuriyeti vatandaşlığını geri alma hakkının tanınması, Türkiye'de yaşayan Bulgaristan doğumlu Türk göçmenlerinin bazılarını Bulgaristan Cumhuriyeti vatandaşlığını geri alma konusunda teşvik etmiştir. Özellikle Bulgaristan'ın Avrupa Birliği ile müzakerelerin sonuna yaklaşması ve tam üyeliği, bu süreci hızlandıran önemli bir etken olmuştur. Bu çerçevede çifte vatandaşlığın ve özellikle de Avrupa Birliği

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** Dr., Muğla Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, Sosyoloji Bölümü, Kötekli-MUĞLA (savascaglayan@yahoo.com)

vatandaşlığının kullanımının, fiili bir geriye göç yaratmasa da bir vatandaşlık göçü yarattığını söylemek mümkündür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç, 1989 göç dalgası, Vatandaşlık statüsü, Vatandaşlık kullanım tercihleri, Vatandaşlık göçü.

Abstract

In this article, 1989 migration wave that occurred after the declaration of Republic of Bulgaria and relations between 1989 emigrants and EU will be analyzed. As 1989 migration wave have been multidimensional social effects and was the last migration wave, it's important to examine that social fact. One of those social effects is citizenship status. It's natural that the emigrants loose and/or prefer to loose Bulgarian citizenship and acquire the Turkish citizenship as a consequence of migration. As a result of full membership process of Bulgaria to EU, and possibility to return to Bulgarian citizenship for Bulgaria born Turkish emigrants, have encouraged some of the emigrants for taking back Bulgarian citizenship. Especially, the fact, that Bulgaria has come to an end at negotiations for European Union full membership, has become a significant factor accelerating that process. In that frame, it's possible to say that, dual citizenship and EU citizenship have not brought actual remigration but provoked citizenship migration.

Keywords: Migration, 1989 migration wave, Citizenship status, Citizenship preferences, Citizenship migration.

Introduction

In historical base, it's possible to state that defeat of Ottoman Empire in the war of 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russia War as starting point of migrations from Bulgaria to Turkey. The migration can be taken as a starting point took place from Bulgaria to Turkey was spread in a long duration for that reason to categorize is necessary. Declaration of Republic of Bulgaria displays both an historical transformation point and transformation of superstructure. The reasons that forced Turks to

migrate and changes in context that identifies forms of percipience of these reasons by Turks made necessity to historical demarcation.

Since the declaration of Republic of Bulgaria, there have been three migration waves from Bulgaria to Turkey. The first migration wave was in 1950-51; second one was in 1969-78 named "family related migration"; and the last one was in 1989. This paper focuses on the 1989 migration wave. Theoretical framework and field results of this paper derive from PhD Thesis titled, "The Migration from Bulgaria to Turkey (After Declaration of The Republic of Bulgaria to Present Day)" which was accepted in 15th January 2007 by Institution of Social Sciences, Department of Sociology, Ege University.

1989 Migration Wave and Preparative Reasons

The leading reason of 1989 migration wave is the forced and repressive practices; "revival process". These practices are executed on the Turkish minority which was more populated in respect to other minorities. The "revival process" policies were strictly based on the idea that "there is no Turk in Bulgaria; only there are Bulgarians who were Turkificated and Ottomanated under Ottoman Administration". In this context the revival process policies enable ideological and political base of assimilation of Muslim minorities. This assimilation practices involve replacing Turkish names with Bulgarian names, forbidding speaking Turkish, Islamic symbols and clothing which symbolize Turks and Turkish culture in public sphere.

The first practice of changing names started at the end of 1984 and carried on systematically in south of Bulgaria. The same year armed forces went to villages in Kırçali and Haskova, in November and December. Poulton defines that process as "the method resembling to methods that were used on Pomaks. The villages which had mostly Turkish population, have been surrounded generally early in the morning by police with dogs and tanks. Authorized persons, although they had new identity cards or officially valid name list, visited all houses one by one and pressed households to accept new identity cards or signing "willingness forms" which notifies to take new Bulgarian names as personal preference" (Poulton, 1993: 159). As it appears from above,

outlook was that Turkish people prefers to change their names on own account. On these grounds, to say that the process executed on Pomaks was a preparation for the process which was in 1984-85 is communicable. Changing of the names process glided through north of Bulgaria, Varna and from there reached to east, Dubruca in January and February in 1985. This process ended in March 1985 and according to some resources, over one million Turkish names were changed. This figure seems too exaggerated. Because, according to 1992 census of population there were 800.052 Turks in Bulgaria (Hodja & Milanov, 1998: 133). After the completion of changing names, The President of Bulgarian Assembly Stanko Todorov spoke out that “changing of Arabian and Turkish names of citizens have been rapidly, naturally and surely completed; there is no item except Bulgarian nation and Bulgaria is one nation” (Poulton, 1993: 160).

The changing of names process exercised have been retroactively. Names of immigrants who came to Turkey before this process and names of deaths have been changed on official documents. Even some of the names on gravestones have been changed (Zhelyazkova, 1998: 11). Turkish people who rejected to change their names, refused to take new identity card and who did not got Bulgarian names on official documents could not get salaries and some of them were discharged and could not get sanitary service (Dayıoğlu, 2005: 297). Some of them were arrested, tortured and imprisoned. Also during this period, administrative districts composed of Turks were made subject to the administrative districts which are composed of Bulgarians. Therefore, administrative assimilation was also pursued, too.

In the meantime annoyance of the Turkish minority turned into reaction and act of protests. These actions went on throughout January 1984-March 1985. These actions couldn't show itself at national level but rather remain at regional, even at village level (Dayıoğlu, 2005: 300). These reactions couldn't attach the attention of international opinion. These reactions and endeavors of disseminating the reactions to larger levels continued until early 1989.

In order to migrate to Turkey and to protest the events happened in 1989, hunger strikes are held by the Belene Camp prisoners. Hunger

strikes in 1989 attracted the attention not only within Bulgaria but also attention of foreign press and the world has been increased to the issue. Glasnost policy in Soviet Union and its reflections on Bulgaria was evaluated as cause of mass protests. That is to say, due to alleviation of the control over radios communication and contact with other countries have intensified, international opinion could get news about events in Bulgaria. Especially three radio channels' broadcasts were significant: BBC, Deutsche Welle ve Radio Free Europe (Dayıođlu, 2005: 302; Poulton, 1993: 187). By mediate of these events and counter organizations in Bulgaria became organized and protests were disseminated throughout the country.

Because of these protests, Bulgarian government's tolerance on migration has increased and Bulgarian government made preparation for permission to migrate to Turkey. Amendment on passport law in 8th-9th May 1989 was the preliminary work for migration permission. Because, by means of this amendment travelling to foreign countries was freed and anyone who wanted could have passport. 28 May 1989 President of Bulgaria, Todor Jivkov, on his speech on television told that 'Bulgarians who forced to be Muslim allowed leaving country' and asked to Turkey 'open the borders for migration'. Response was from The President of Republic of Turkey, Turgut Özal declared that "the borders are open for the emigrants, for Bulgarian Turks (Dayıođlu, 2005: 302-305).

In this process, diplomatic notes are given mutually between two countries. About 2500 Bulgarian Turks who organized and participated to demonstrations were exiled to different European Countries. After that, due to increased migration demands and forcing of Bulgarian government, migrations to Turkey started in 6-7 June 1989. Firstly, the residents of the villages and other regions close to the Turkish border, have been forced to migrate to Turkey by Bulgarian Government. In 21st August 1989 The Republic of Turkey closed the border gate and accepted the only emigrants who had visa. Until July 1990, 350.000 people immigrated to Turkey. This process has been defined positively by Bulgarian government as "great excursion" (Dimitrova, 1998: 54). Therefore Bulgarian government evaluated the migration just, as if an "excursion".

Starting from early 1990s, about half of emigrants migrated back to Bulgaria due to unemployment, livelihood, adaptation and housing problems. In 10th of November 1989, The President of Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Jivkov, resigned due to protests against the government and Mladenov succeeded at the Presidency Election (Soysal, 1993: 180). Jivkov's resignation can be considered as a sign of the fall of socialism and also as the major reason of migrations coming back to Bulgaria. Because Turkish emigrants regarded Todor Jivkov and the socialism represented by him as the major reason for migration. In this circumstance, Bulgarian-Turkish border became a place of mutual migration. In 1989 35.000 people from 9.300 family remigrated back to Bulgaria. Reasons of acceleration of remigration were, emancipation of imprisoned Turks including Ahmet Dogan in 22nd December, New Government of Bulgaria's declaration of the Jivkov's government's minority policy as a "mistake" and retrocession of rights of minorities in 29th December. Mutual migrations continued until mid of 1990s. Kumbetoglu claims that 310.000 emigrants came to Turkey in 1989 and 245.000 of them settled down in Turkey and acquired Turkish nationality; and number of remigrants was not more than 150.000 (Kümbetoglu, 1997: 229). Although the number of remigrants is not definite, a mass remigration occurred in early years of 1989 migration.

General Evaluation of 1989 Migration Wave

According to Bulgarian researcher Maria Todorova, in order to understand the reasons of the concerned problems in Bulgaria, first of all, it's necessary to develop a revised view inside Balkans. That kind of view needs to take into consideration the Ottoman Empire's effect on Balkans. She argues that this view displays the permanent heritage of Ottoman Empire. "However, if we take, group consciousness in particular and different and competitor ways of formatting national consciousness in general, into account, the issue becomes more complicated" (Todorova, 2003: 351).

By using such a framework, Todorova discusses minority problem in Balkans: she argues that all the ways to solve the minority problems including Turks; forcing migration out of country and assimilation. She

gives examples of Greek migration from Istanbul in 1950s and Turkish migration from Bulgaria at the end of 1989 as forced migration and former Yugoslavian case as assimilation as an example for assimilation (Todorova, 1997: 133; Todorova, 2003: 351). For Todorova, Turks' migration from Bulgaria is nothing more than result of being the inhabitant of Balkans and historical process. So, her approach towards migration waves and migration process, do not contain emigrant's effect on migration. Also Todorova disclaims that whatever happened in Bulgaria can not be considered as 'assimilation'.

Gheorghieva uses the same framework with Todorova. Migrations, in her view, arise from the danger of assimilation and erosion of one's national identity. The minority problem in Bulgaria has tried to be solved with same policies implemented in Eastern Europe. The solution was, forcing to migrate; in other words manipulation/mobilization of international migration.

In contrast to Todorova, Gheorghieva argues that reason of migrations does not depend on being the inhabitant of Balkans; but socialist experience in East Europe. She displays socialist administration and rule of Todor Jivkov as reasons of 1989 migration wave. (Gheorghieva, 1998: 29-30).

Baest in his article, analyzes the relationship between The Republic of Bulgaria and minorities in Bulgaria and displays Soviet Union's endeavors of process of creating Soviet people as reasons of assimilation policy (Baest, 1990: 412). According to Baest; the reasons of assimilation policies are the socialist period and Soviet Union indoctrinations. Therefore; for Baest the reasons of migration waves lie outside of Bulgaria.

According to the opinions above, the reasons of 1989 migration wave are structural; in the Parsonsian terms, due to the system. However, it's possible to say that individualistic reasons and network between Bulgaria and Turkey were more effective rather than structural factors. Also, the fieldwork results denoted that the main reasons were individualistic.

Fieldwork data findings were in line with Weber's social action theory in sociological sense. Even though Weber's theory of social action

emphasizes individual, individual's preferences and actions rather than structure, Weber uses motives in its context to construct the theory of social action. Therefore it's necessary to take the orientation reasons and motives for migration decisions into consideration. According to the information gathered via survey and depth interviews, the motives that orient individuals to use their preference for migration are, hope to be together with friends, relatives and family who live in Turkey. More explicitly wish for living in Turkey. These wishes are composed of historical and cultural relations with Turkey and emigrant networks. The determinant cause of the meaning and content of the mass migration is the wish to be in Turkey and individual preference and time of the migration is determined by pressure policy on Turkish minority in Bulgaria. The politics of Bulgarian Government as the structural factor, prepared the political conditions between two countries for migration; and individuals who wish to migrate found a chance and they used their preference in favor of migration.

In this context, question of "Why some Turks migrated but some of them preferred to stay?" needs to be answered. The answer lies in individual decision. So, 1989 migration wave is formed of individual actions with wishes and preferences to migrate. If system forced to migrate, so all of Turks had to migrate. Yet this is not the case.

Methodology

Survey research was applied in two stages; the first stage was pilot application¹ conducted in 14th May 2006; in the second stage, enhanced and changed questionnaire form was applied in 19th -20th - 21st and 26th May 2006. The survey research conducted in Hurriyet district of Sarnıç Town which is a typical Bulgarian emigrant neighborhood in Gaziemir, İzmir. By means of random sampling method, 220 valid questionnaires were applied and this figure represents the % 2.5 of total population of the district. Also, ten depth interviews were made with 1989 Bulgarian emigrants who belong to different social strata and jobs

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(academician, teacher, worker, retired, and housewife, etc.) and live in different parts of İzmir in 13th, 14th, 15th and 26th June 2006.

In historical process, migrations between Bulgaria and Turkey, run mutually and consecutive. This historical evidence force us to evaluate migration process as wavy and triggering process rather than stable, experienced in one turn and which has a starting and ending point. So every migration wave is unique and original. In parallel migration and emigrant discussed as accompanying and supporting each other concepts in a social and historical context.

Neither macro perspective that deal with structure and structural reasons (Parsons) nor micro perspective that deal with individual and indivualistic preferences (Weberian) separate migration and emigrant. So the Parsonsian and Weberian analysis are not inadequate. In this account, while individual and family decisions determined mass movements, reasons, formations and dimensions of migration; structural factors determined the periods and the time formations.

In this study, emigrant is evaluated as a social actor who decides and designs migration but not as an actor who is exposed to migration. Thus, in Turkish Emigration case, emigrants and their close relations with Anatolia and Anatolian people were very effective for the decision of migration. And also previous migration waves from Bulgaria to Turkey have been appreciated positively for actuation for the waves which are subjects of this study (especially for 1989 wave). Especially migration network between these two countries is an encouraging factor for the migration decisions and a facilitator factor for adapting and softening the process in immigration period. So pushing and pulling factors are distinct for that migration case. But the effects of these factors s are not separate, moreover, these factors are interactive. Due to increasing and strengthening of pushing factors in pre-migration periods; pull factors are being more and attractive realization of pull factors by potential emigrants have increased. For a better saying, this situation can be defined more explicitly by factual backgrounds in Bulgaria. This situation increased the recognition of network and its meaning.

In this perspective 1989 migration wave, as a massive social action, will be analyzed by mediation of social action conception. These

conceptions are taken from theory of Parsons and Weber. Parsons' conception of social action emphasizes structure and system. This approach emphasizes individual's freedom of action and will. Therefore individual action is absolutely determined by the system (Parsons, 1968: 40-50). Whereas the Weberian social action conceptualization has an individual base and gives considerable space for the individual action. Explicitly, Weberian conceptualization of social action belongs to the actor who understands the action in a social context. In this sense social action has a meaning in the human motives, feelings and intended actions base. Although Parsons' individual who is invisible in the system and whose action is determined; Weber's individual is responsible from his/her action and acts in a context (Weber, 1995: 10-30).

This paper will discuss 1989 migration wave in within the perspective of Weberian and Parsonsian theories and methodological background.

Citizenship and Migration in a New Perspective

In this part patterns of using citizenship by Bulgarian emigrants in Turkey and migration to the coming home process will be discussed via citizenship. This is because, possession of Bulgarian citizenship and accordingly European Community citizenship display essence of migration and a relationship between citizenship and migration.

Table 1 shows citizenship status and cause of preference of dual citizenship of emigrants attended in survey. According to the table 64.5% of the emigrants have both Turkish and Bulgarian citizenship. 67 people of emigrants, with a percentage of 30.5%, only have Turkish citizenship and 11 people, with a percentage of 5.0%, only have Bulgarian citizenship. People, who have only Bulgarian citizenship, are the people that come to Turkey, not as emigrants but by visa, in recent years and the legal proceedings for citizenship are continuing on. Also, it must be noted that, people who have only Turkish citizenship, belongs to older age group. Considering the table above, it can be said that people who are young and have opportunity to social mobility are maintaining the relations with The Republic of Bulgaria.

According to the table 1, the most important cause for the preference of dual citizenship is the relationship between Bulgaria and European Union with a percentage of 30.0%. Second cause is that they have a right by 23.2% and third cause is because Bulgarian citizenship is more advantageous than Turkish citizenship in other countries. As seen in figures, Bulgarian citizenship is more advantageous in other countries and using these advantages are the other reasons of the preference of Bulgarian citizenship. 5 people in another category declared that, it's easier to do official works with Bulgarian citizenship in Bulgaria. Within this respect, it can be said that the causes of preference of dual citizenship are European Union citizenship and easily transition to the other countries.

Table 1 Citizenship

CITIZENSHIP INFORMATION			
		Freq.	Per.
Citizenship Status	Dual citizenship	142	64,5
	Turkish citizenship	67	30,5
	Bulgarian citizenship	11	5,0
	Total	220	100,0
Cause of Preference of Dual Citizenship	I didn't Prefer/I don't want	65	29,5
	EU relations of Bulgaria and its advantages	66	30,0
	Just because it's a right	51	23,2
	It's more advantageous in third countries	22	10,0
	Other	5	2,3
	Unanswered	11	5,0
	Total	220	100,0

According to the figure below, people who vote in Bulgarian elections is %38.2 and who do not vote is %61.8. Most of emigrants do not prefer to vote in Bulgarian elections. In other words; advantages of Bulgarian citizenship are standing in forefront than responsibilities for emigrants and attachment to Bulgarian politics is not important for the emigrants. Yet voting in Bulgarian elections is encouraged by emigrant associations and Movement of Rights and Freedoms, the party of Turkish minority.

Chart 1 Voting in Bulgarian Elections

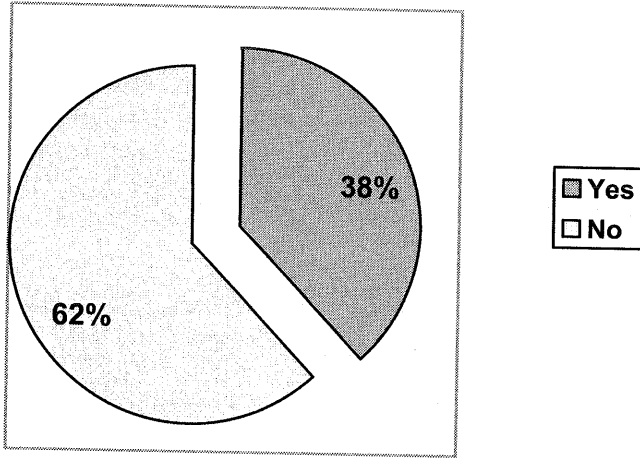


Table 2 displays the figures of interest in daily political and social events in Bulgaria. According to the results; 65% per cent is not interested in daily political events in Bulgaria, whereas 35% is interested. These figures support the claim that, emigrants are only interested in taking advantages of Bulgarian citizenship. In other words; emigrants concern only about Bulgarian passport and its utilities not about Bulgaria.

Table 2 Interested in Bulgaria

Interested in Daily Political Events in Bulgaria		
	Frequency	Percent
Yes	77	35,0
No	143	65,0
Total	220	100,0

In respect of the data above it can be said that the emigrants are trying to adapt to EU's multinational structure by establishing a new nation-state citizenship. Since emigrants prefer one citizenship over another, for the purpose of benefitting from it, but on the other hand, these emigrants does not reject any of them officially and use these two citizenship at necessary times. This picture can be interpreted as a way of the settling official matters. New view and utilization of the citizenship can be called as "instrumental citizenship".

Pattern of using the name is another supporting indicator of the thesis. Emigrants have two names like citizenship. Again, emigrants use one name over other for purpose of advantage in different time and location. Emigrants, who migrated in 1989 due to enforcement of Bulgarian government to change their names, now use the Bulgarian names as an advantage and an instrument. In 1989 meanings of Bulgarian names were assimilation, loosing national identity and depersonalization, today it means an instrument for transition to Europe.

At this point it's necessary to look into European Union citizenship and migration due to EU citizenship. Considering that the migration process began after Bulgarian full membership to European Union is a significant misconception, due to the fact that emigrants insisted on taking Bulgarian citizenship at the end of process of Bulgarian negotiation with European Union. At the end of the negotiation process, backward migration has gained momentum. It looks like a backward migration but in fact there is no physical migration. Therefore it's not possible to identify in political terms like "back to roots", "Great

Excursion”, “forced migration” or “resettlement”. At this point we may identify that migration as “citizenship migration”.

In this process although many of the emigrants prefer to migrate back to Bulgaria, most of them prefer to live in Turkey as having Bulgarian passport and right of free movement. People who is young and has opportunity to be mobile, he/she prefers to live in a triple structure: Turkey, Bulgaria and other European Union countries. On the other hand, these people who choose Turkey as permanent residence, according to the conditions and periodic conjuncture, they may live or work in Bulgaria and other European Union countries. In migrations to the EU countries and third countries that are namely “Periodic migrations”, the emigrants join in a network different from network of Bulgarian emigrants in Turkey. After that they usually join the two networks which are in Turkey and EU countries. After 1989 migration wave and during post-migration period, Turks who live in Bulgaria migrated to other European countries like Sweden, Switzerland and Germany. Bulgaria’s full-membership to the EU assembles emigrants who emigrated from Bulgaria to Turkey and Europe and their emigrant network. In this context it’s appropriate to identify migration as citizenship migration rather than physical and actual migration.

In the relation of negotiation of Bulgaria and EU, despite identified as disadvantage of being emigrant and being identified by Turkish emigrants in the same way, today turns into an advantage. This process and migration which was described as “citizenship migration”, can be assessed as a result of perception and utilization of instrumental citizenship.

Conclusion

Due to structural factors’ determination of time and preference of migration by potential emigrants, 1989 migration wave occurred. Most of emigrants who migrated in 1989 and did not migrate back to Bulgaria have access to reach and use of the emigrant network Bulgaria and Turkey.

The major factors which increased emigrants’ interests in Bulgaria are that of the process of negotiation of full-membership of Bulgaria with

EU. This process encouraged emigrants to use benefits of dual citizenship status. The dual citizenship status is an instrument for finding job, university education and transition to third countries, in other words an opportunity for social mobility. The social mobility does not give rise to a mass migration but it is crucial to identify that movement. Migration for the purpose of EU citizenship gives rise to citizen migration. This kind of migration is a new form of migration that can be named as “citizenship migration”.

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