

REASONS AND CONSEQUENCES OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR
MIGRATION OF WOMEN INTO TURKEY: ANKARA CASE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

NESLIHAN ATATİMUR

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
REGIONAL PLANNING
IN
CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

OCTOBER 2008

Approval of the thesis:

**REASONS AND CONSEQUENCES OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR
MIGRATION OF WOMEN INTO TURKEY: ANKARA CASE**

submitted by **NESLİHAN ATATİMUR** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of **Master of Science in City and Regional Planning Department,**
Middle East Technical University by,

Prof. Dr. Canan Özgen
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences**

Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy
Head of Department, **City and Regional Planning**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Melih Pınarcıoğlu
Supervisor, **City and Regional Planning Dept., METU**

Examining Committee Members:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Oğuz Işık
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Melih Pınarcıoğlu
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Assist. Prof. Dr. Anlı Ataöv
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Inst. Sevin Osmay
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sibel Kalaycıoğlu
Sociology Dept., METU

Date:

07.10.2008

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name: Neslihan Atatimur

Signature:

ABSTRACT

REASONS AND CONSEQUENCES OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR MIGRATION OF WOMEN INTO TURKEY: ANKARA CASE

ATATİMUR, Neslihan

M.S, Department of City and Regional Planning

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Melih PINARCIOĞLU

October 2008, 209 pages

The aim of the thesis is to analyze the reasons and consequences of international labor migration of women workers into Turkey. With the process of new global restructuring, transformations in production structure and labor organization, and rise of informal economy widen the gap between different geographies and generate a tied demand and supply relation between female labor and service sector. Today millions of women who suffer from poverty leave their countries in order to sell their labor in another country. Turkey has been a popular destination for women from post-Soviet countries since the 1980s. Many of them enter Turkey legally in accordance with Turkish visa requirements but become illegal by overstaying and working in country. Service sectors absorb this female labor, and many of them are employed as live-in domestic workers.

This study aims to investigate how macro factors of international migration like global restructuring and transformations in the informal economy affects meso and micro structures. In this context, this study focuses on the formation of intermediary agencies and particularly individual migratory experiences of post-Soviet women in Ankara.

Keywords: International migration, informal labor market, immigrant women, paid domestic work, Turkey, Ankara.

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'YE ULUSLARARASI KADIN İŞGÜCÜ GÖÇÜNÜN SEBEP VE SONUÇLARI: ANKARA ÖRNEĞİ

ATATİMUR, Neslihan

Yüksek Lisans, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Melih PINARCIOĞLU

Ekim 2008, 209 sayfa

Bu tezin amacı, Türkiye'ye uluslararası kadın işgücü göçünün sebep ve sonuçlarını incelemektir. Yeni küresel yeniden yapılanma süreciyle birlikte, üretim yapısı ve işgücü düzenindeki değişimler ile enformel ekonominin yükselişi farklı coğrafyalar arasındaki uçurumu artırmış ve hizmet sektörü ile kadın işgücü arasında güçlü bir arz-talep ilişkisi kurmuştur. Bugün milyonlarca yoksul kadın emeklerini başka bir ülkede satmak için ülkelerini terk etmektedir. Türkiye 1980'lerden beri, eski Sovyet ülkelerinden gelen kadınlar için popüler bir varış noktası olmuştur. Birçoğu Türkiye'ye yasal yollardan girmekte ancak vize sürelerini aşmak ve çalışmak suretiyle yasadışı duruma düşmektedir. Hizmet sektörü bu kadın işgücünü çekerken, birçoğu yatılı ev işçisi olarak çalışmaktadır.

Bu alıřma uluslararası gn kresel yeniden yapılanma ve enformel ekonomideki deėiřimler gibi makro etmenlerinin, mezo ve mikro yapıları nasıl etkilediėini arařtırmayı hedeflemektedir. Bu baėlamda, bu alıřma Ankara’da aracı kurumların oluřumuna ve zellikle eski-Sovyet lkelerinden gelen kadınların bireysel g deneyimlerine odaklanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Uluslararası g, enformel iřgc piyasası, gmen kadınlar, cretli ev iřiliėi, Trkiye, Ankara.

Dedicated to
two outstanding women in my life:
Hatice Şener and Cemile Muzaffer Atatimur

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to my thesis supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Melih Pınarcıoğlu for giving me the opportunity to study this topic, besides for his valuable comments and guidance throughout my thesis work.

I would also like to thank to my examining committee members Assoc. Prof. Dr. Oğuz Işık, Assist. Prof. Dr. Anlı Ataöv, Inst. Sevin Osmay and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sibel Kalaycıoğlu for their enlightening contributions.

This study can not be done without participation of thirteen immigrant women, who are also the heroines of this work. I was aware that sharing their personal experiences under these circumstances would be difficult, but I admire their bravery, openness and sacrifice.

I would also like to thank my friends, my colleagues, who have been given me the pleasure and joy for dreaming, discussing, planning and changing everything for a better future. Melda Tanrıkulu, Serhat Celep, Öznur Zengin, Gül Tuçaltan, Deniz Açıkalın, and Melis Oğuz; working with them has always been an honor for me.

I am also thankful for the generous assistance of my friends Gizem Bezirci, Evrim Özlem Kale, Khawla El Barazi and Melih Gürçay for sparing their time for me and for their encouragement during the frustrating research and writing processes.

I owe a special thank to Beril Şener, my sister, who has always been by my side, despite the miles that have separated us for years.

I can not find any words to express the thanks I owe to Burak Himmetoğlu for his love, encouragement and motivation.

And last, but not least, I owe all my success to my parents, my mentors and my best friends; Beyhan and Engin Atatimur. I can not be the one who I am now without them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xvii
LIST OF FIGURES	xviii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xix
CHAPTERS	
1.INTRODUCTION	1
2.THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF WOMEN.....	8
2.1 Introduction	8
2.2 Evaluation of Regional Development Studies: How can we link international migration?	9
2.3 Former Approaches on Migration.....	12
2.4 Contemporary Theories of International Migration	14
2.4.1 Neoclassical Economics: Macro-Theory.....	14
2.4.2 Neoclassical Economics: Micro-Theory.....	16
2.4.3 The New Economics of Migration.....	17
2.4.4 Segmented (Dual) Labor Market	19
2.4.5 Theory of the World Systems	21
2.4.6 Migration Networks Theory	23
2.4.7 Theory of Cumulative Causation	25

2.4.8 Migration Systems Theory	26
2.5 A Critical Evaluation to the Contemporary Migration Theories: How can we study Regional Migration Systems?	27
2.5.1 The Macro-Level of Analysis	30
2.5.1.1 The New Global Restructuring and Regional Development	31
2.5.1.2 Transformations in the Production Structure: from Fordism to Post-Fordism...	32
2.5.1.3 Linking World Systems Theory and Informal Sector in the Regions	35
2.5.1.4 Transformation in the Organization of the Labor Process	37
2.5.1.5 Linking Women's Labor to International Labor Force: Feminization of the International Migration	38
2.5.2 The Meso-Level of Analysis:	46
2.5.2.1 Transmigrants and the Role of Institutions in the "Migration Industry"	47
2.5.2.2 The Role of Gender in International Migration	48
2.5.3 The Micro-Level of Analysis: What can be learned by studying the international migration of women on a subject level?	49
2.6 Conclusion	50

3.HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN WORKERS AND THEIR ENROLLMENT IN PAID DOMESTIC SERVICES IN TURKEY	54
3.1 Introduction	54
3.2 Economic and Social Changes in Turkey During the Last Few Decades	56
3.2.1 Women’s Employment Patterns: Labor Market Participation and Informal Sector	59
3.2.2 Evolution of Paid Domestic Work in Turkey.....	61
3.3 Turkey’s General Condition on International Migration	64
3.3.1 Irregular Migration Trends into Turkey.....	67
3.3.2 Irregular Migration from the Post-Soviet Countries into Turkey	69
3.3.3 Legal Aspect and Regulations on Immigration into Turkey	76
3.3.3.1 Bilateral Agreements	77
3.3.3.2 Residency Permits	79
3.3.3.3 Work Permits	80
3.3.3.4 Acquisition of Turkish Citizenship through (Fake Paper) Marriages	81
3.4 Conclusion	82
4.METHODOLOGY	87
4.1Introduction	87
4.2 Research Question	88

4.3 The Methodological Approach	89
4.4 Main Indicators of the Research	91
4.5 Research Groups and Research Process	94
4.6 Limitations of the Study and Ethical Issues	97
5.REASONS FOR MIGRATION OF IMMIGRANT DOMESTIC WOMAN WORKERS TO TURKEY	99
5.1 Introduction	99
5.2 Reason for Migration: “I saw my children’s future in another country which I have no idea about...”	100
5.3 Decision for Migrating to Turkey: “My country has been bursting for years... our young population is now walking in Turkish streets...”	110
5.4 En Route to Turkey	113
5.4.1 Affording Travel Expenses	113
5.4.2 Means of Transport during the Travel to Turkey	116
5.4.3 First Arrival in Turkey, Visa Issues and Frequency of visits to their home country	118
5.5 Recruitment Process in Ankara	122
5.6 Other concerns in migration process: Smuggling and Human Trafficking	127
5.7 Concluding Remarks	128
6.CONSEQUENCES OF THE MIGRATION OF IMMIGRANT DOMESTIC WOMAN WORKERS IN TURKEY	135
6.1 Introduction	135
6.2 Working in Turkey	135

6.2.1 Hiring a Paid Immigrant Woman Domestic Worker	136
6.2.2 General Profile of the Woman Employers.....	137
6.2.3 Reason behind Hiring a Live-in Domestic Woman Worker	138
6.2.4 A social dilemma: “Why all live-in baby sitters are foreigners?”	141
6.2.5 Daily Routines of Woman Domestic Workers; Mandatory and Extra Responsibilities at Home and Day-offs	143
6.2.6 Wages, Supplementary Wages and Social Security of Immigrant Women	148
6.2.7 Transferring Remittances to their Home Country and Families	153
6.2.8 One’s Workplace, the Other’s Home: Relations between and Personal Opinions for Each Other	156
6.3 Living in Turkey	162
6.3.1 Socialization, Life outside Home	162
6.3.2 Problems of Immigrant Women outside Home	165
6.3.3 Relationship with their Embassies and legal institutions	166
6.4 Concluding Remarks	167
7. CONCLUSION	179
BIBLIOGRAPHY	190

APPENDICES	204
A: Female Migration in Year 2000	204
B: Visa Requirements for Turkey	205
C: Sample Questionnaires with Immigrant Women and Turkish Woman Employers	206

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 2.1	The Three Stylized Levels of Migration Analysis ..	28
Table 2.2	Estimated Number of Female Migrants at Midyear for the Regions	45
Table 3.1	Indicative number of immigrants to Turkey, 1996 – 2005	66
Table 3.2	Regional Distribution of Remittances	70
Table 3.3	Entry of persons from the Soviet Union and former Soviet Republics, 1964 – 2005	74
Table 3.4	Irregular migrant labor to Turkey, top five source countries, 1995-2005	75
Table 3.5	Foreigners Living in Turkey with Residence Permits in 2001	79
Table 3.6	Foreigners with Residence and Work Permits in Turkey at the end of 2001	81
Table 3.7	Number of people who obtain Turkish citizenship through marriages	82
Table 5.1	Occupation and Monthly Average Income of Immigrant Women at their Home country	102
Table 5.2	Means of Transport, Average Cost of Transport and Visa Expenses and the Way of Obtaining the Cost of Immigrant Women during Their Travel to Turkey	115
Table 5.3	First arrival year of Immigrant Women to Turkey and Number of Visits to their Home Country before year 2008.....	119
Table 6.1	Immigrant Domestic Woman Workers’ primary responsibilities at work and their Monthly Average Income	149

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Figure 3.1	Remittances as a Portion of GDP in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union	71
Figure 3.2	Remittances as a Portion of GDP in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union	72
Figure 5.1	Motivations of Immigrant Domestic Woman Workers for Migration	129
Figure 5.2	Reasons of Immigrant Domestic Woman Workers for Choosing Turkey as a Destination Country	131
Figure 6.1	Recruitment ways of immigrant women workers in Ankara	169
Figure 6.2	Networks in Sending Remittances and Communication	170

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- BSEC – Black Sea Economic Cooperation
CIS – Commonwealth of Independent States
ECA – Europe and Central Asia
EPZ – Export Processing Zones
EU – European Union
FDI – Foreign Direct Investment
GDP – Gross Domestic Product
IMF – International Monetary Fund
IOM – International Organization for Migration
KSSGM – Başbakanlık Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü
MFA – Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NUTS – The Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
OECD – Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
SAP – Structural Adjustment Programs
TISK – Türkiye İşveren Sendikaları Konfederasyonu
TUIK – Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu
UN – United Nations
UNFPA – United Nation Population Fund
USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“We see migration as a result of structural adjustment programs – we give up our lands, our products and finally our people.” (Eileen Fernandez, Malaysia, quoted by Chang, 2000:123)

“I saw my children’s future in another country which I have no idea about...”
(Ms. C, Turkmen)

Migrant domestic workers are global *Cinderellas*. Lan (2006) uses this metaphor to illuminate the complexity and paradoxes in their migratory trajectories; like women of the post-Soviet Countries who try to find a way for their economic survival – although most of them are well educated for their society – leaving their jobs, homes, families and children behind, and spread all around the world, in order to clean someone’s home, care someone’s children, serve to another society.

Women migrate and get employment outside their home country in order to escape poverty and find new ways of survival for themselves and their families. After crossing national borders, they are nevertheless confined within the four walls of their employers’ households. At work they act

with deference, consistent with the role of a mother for a foreign child; while their children left behind try to find consolidation with presents coming from them. Recruited to serve as the surrogate family and fictive kin of their employers, migrant woman domestic workers are, however, treated as disdained aliens and disposable labor (Chang, 2000) in host countries.

In the contemporary world, most of the non-Western and non-Nordic women have a leading but invisible role in the international migration literature. They became a changeable, upgradeable ‘commodity’ that can be purchased, hired and sometimes lent, whom are expected to do their employers’ housework in a foreign country. Although the demand for employing a domestic worker has risen with the entrance of many middle and upper-middle class women to the labor force, the supply of immigrant domestic workers has showed a rapid growth with the impact of Globalization; wage differentials between sending and host countries (Borjas, 2005), illegal migration via smuggling (İçduygu, 2003; 2006), and receiving remittances as an income for the sending countries. (Sassen, 2002)

In this study, I aim to analyze the reasons and consequences of international labor migration of women workers into Turkey. With the process of new global restructuring, transformations in production structure and labor organization, and rise of informal economy widen the gap between different geographies and generate a tied demand and supply relation between female labor and service sector. In this context, this study

will investigate how macro factors of international migration like global restructuring and transformations in the informal economy affects meso and micro structures. At an abstract level, the underlying question covering the theoretical framework of this study is “How do changes in the macro structures like transregional dynamics via global restructuring shape meso and micro structures like intermediary agencies and individual lives of women?” In this context, this study focuses on the effectiveness of intermediary agencies in the process and particularly individual migratory experiences of post-Soviet women in Ankara.

The issue of feminization of international migration has become an interest of mine before my engagement in graduate studies; as a middle class citizen originated from Ankara, I have had many opportunities to observe the structural change in domestic work sector in Turkey. Having had a working mother with impossibility of getting help from any other relatives, my mother had to hire a fifteen years old girl, Menekşe, to look after me until I started to preschool.¹ At the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s Turkey systematically opened its doors to immigrants from Balkan countries such as Bulgaria and Former Yugoslavia², and a massive flood of Balkan refugees came to reside in

¹ Menekşe was a primary school graduate and was supposed to work by her family living in a gecekonu as a “nanny” until she got married. She was looking after me and doing some domestic work like cooking and cleaning. The story of women like Menekşe suits consequences of the rural-urban migration in Turkey after 1950s which will be discussed under Section 3.2

² Migration from Bulgaria and Former Yugoslavia to Turkey has a long history that encloses last decades of the 19th century (migration after 1877-78 Russo-Turkish War and the Treaty of Berlin) and almost whole 20th century, beginning from the Balkan Wars at

Turkey. This flow had affected the structure of domestic workers in the country due to the highly educated and professional structure of the new-come labor. A number of these women immigrants were employed for primarily childcare, while other women from a lower class did housework such as cleaning. It was around 1994 when my friend's sister was born. Saniye Teyze, whom was also a Bosnian refugee, entered our lives by being employed to look after the little baby. The impact of globalization and remodeling its outcomes to our lives were become normal in our daily life. I understood this when I was confronted with an English speaking Malaysian³, nanny Lela who was teaching how to behave in public, to our neighbors' three years old child in front of my apartment block. The thing that separates her from other nannies that I met before is not her country of origin, but the situation she was at my neighbors' house, and the rules that she had to obey seemed like strict. She had one day-off in a week, and was able to go out at night once a month. In a couple of years, a new trend of Moldovan, Ukrainian and Russian live-in nannies spread beyond our neighborhood, but to every home in Turkey via television.

In this study, linking women's labor to the international migratory process maybe a sociological attempt; but I believe this study will also contribute to the planning literature with its strong social side. Indeed, this study has

1910s to the Muslim Massacres until the end of the 1990s. For example in year 1992 only 20.000 Bosnian refugees were settled in Turkey. (Ağanoğlu, 2001)

³ While I was making interviews with recruitment agencies, I found a chance to ask this question. According to the agency that was a trend which families preferred to employ nannies from Far Eastern Countries (like the general trend in the western world) due to the wrong belief of the chance for their children learn English as a second 'mother tongue'. According to the agency, most of these Malaysian or Filipino domestic workers were not very good at English, which ended this trend generally.

a feminist perspective and I follow a feminist methodology. The reason for that is not only because the main subject of this study is women; but it enables me to understand different dilemmas in space and integrate new concepts and perspectives to my study. Compared to other disciplines, planning heavily combines both practical and theoretical elements; and a feminist perspective on planning enable us to understand and analyze all levels of international labor migration of women, its reasons and consequences, particularly the social side.

Piore (1979), one of the well-known scholars of migration studies, argues in the **Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies** that international migration is caused by a permanent demand for immigrant labor that is inherent to the economic structure of developed nations. But these studies are male-centric and gender blind. Morocvasic (1984) edited a special edition for the *International Migration Review* with a successful demonstration of **Birds of Passage are also Women** and emphasizes that studies with a gender dimension on international migration show women in four different social relation sets, as because: they are women, they are immigrant, they belong to a different ethnic group and a labor class. Kofman (1999) goes one step further and criticizes the mainstream migration models due to their “man looks for new and better opportunities outside, while woman joins him afterwards” approach which underlines women as a passive labor and dependent family members. This means woman who migrate alone and join the family decision making processes has been excluded from the mainstream migration theories which try to explain the migratory processes in the global geography as a whole.

In order to draw the theoretical framework of international labor migration of women, in Chapter 2, first of all I discuss the relation between international migration studies and regional sciences. Then with reflections of the critique above, the development of mainstream international migration theories like the Macro and Micro Neoclassical Economics theories, the New Economics of Migration and Cumulative Causation approaches, Segmented Labor Market, World Systems, Migration Networks, and Migration Systems theories are emphasized. Then these different approaches are discussed according to the comprehensiveness of the hypothesis in order to explain the reasons of migration. Besides, international migration of women is mentioned with respect to the new economic restructuring and its consequences in production and labor market structure, informal economy and feminization of international migration at macro-level. At meso-level, the transmigrant communities and intermediary agencies, plus gender is discussed, while concluding the theoretical framework of this study at micro-level by setting the reasons for studying individual international migration experiences of women.

In Chapter 3, the historical framework of immigrant women workers and their enrollment in paid domestic services in Turkey is portrayed. In order to do this, firstly the economic and social changes in Turkey are discussed by focusing on women's employment patterns and the evolution of paid domestic services in Turkey. Then Turkey's general conditions on international migration; irregular migration trends both in general and

specifically from Post-Soviet Countries and legal aspects and regulations of immigration in Turkey like bilateral agreements, residency and work permits, and acquisition of Turkish citizenship through marriages are evaluated.

The methodological approach of the study and the reason why a feminist methodology is used are explained in Chapter 4. Apart from them, the research question, main indicators of the research, research groups, techniques and process, and limitations and ethical issues are represented in detail.

Reasons for migration of immigrant domestic woman workers to Turkey, major factors for choosing Turkey, travel and recruitment processes that are come from the findings of the research are interpreted in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6, the findings of working and living conditions of immigrant women are discussed as the consequences of international migration of women into Turkey.

In Chapter 7, the conclusion part, three different branches of this study which are the substantive findings of the case study, methodological outcomes which tries to draw a different perspective to the regional science studies and the discussion of practical implications in planning and policy are represented.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF WOMEN

2.1 Introduction

In the age of globalization, investment, travel and communications networks spread all around the world, thus, the nationally configured welfare state is claimed to have surrendered its role as a natural economic zone, so a range of high-profile regional economies, urban metropolis and global cities appear to be rising as the leading factors of wealth creation (Sassen, 1991; Castells, 1996; Scott, 1996; Soja, 2000; MacLeod, 2001). Indeed, the territoriality of globalization leads capital, people, institutions and technologies to be ever more intensively agglomerated in localized geographies and spatial clusters. (Scott, 2001)

In addition, as a developing and changing phenomena, international migration movement is a process rooted in spatial dynamics of different social, economic and political factors; which effects millions of people all around the world. According to the UN population survey, in year 1990, 120 million people were living outside their country of birth and 4.6% of

population of the developed countries were consist of immigrants. (Zlotnik, 1999)

Although the history of migration is as long as human history, detailed theoretical studies have been developed around the second half of the 20th century. Portes (1995, 1999) criticizes that macro and micro theories on international migration can not commute each other, and in order to develop a ‘sociological approach’ rather than economic, they should count the resources of international migration, trends, and types of employment and socio-cultural consistency of immigrants instead.

Despite what some scholars have called *feminization of international migration*⁴, most have been slow to incorporate gender into their migration research in a substantive way. Pfeiffer et al. (2008:12) argues that when gender enters into economic migration models, it forms rarely the focus, but rather, a simple control variable.

2.2 Evaluation of Regional Development Studies: How can we link international migration?

Today, the term “region” is used in many disciplines. For example, in international relations, the region is habitually deployed to describe a multinational politically contested landscape (Cox, 1993) and differ from political science, where regions tend to represent sub-national

⁴ Linking women’s labor to the international labor force is discussed in detailed in Section 2.5.1.5.

administrative units (Le Galès, 1998) or with economic geography where they tend to be conceptualized as urban-metropolitan agglomerations formed out of political economic interdependence (Storper, 1997). It is also possible to highlight the differing boundaries of politically-relevant regions constructed out of sets of social relations like the regional boundaries of some EU member states with the various NUTS boundaries deployed by the European Commission (Keating, 1998).

Richard Florida (1995: 531) states that the rise of regions is parallel to the new economic restructuring through globalization, which means in his wording “regions became key economic units of global economy”. Following Florida, many scholars set regions as the key location that global economic restructuring take place with different aspects. For example, Scott (1996) emphasizes regions as indispensable motors of new economic restructuring; Storper (1997) states regions as nexus of not only economic but also organizational untraded aspects; and Florida (1995) in a broader extend argues the development of regions due to the innovation-based foreign direct investment and technology transfer.

Apart from the theoretical outcomes of regional studies and attempts to define newly emerged regions in the global economic restructuring, there are many other studies which tempt to define the formation of regions by qualitative analysis and techniques.

But regions are not only the highly concentrated post-Fordist⁵ production spaces, or innovation and knowledge based technologic clusters; therefore, a few scholars focus on different aspects of regions like Linda McDowell. McDowell (1997) focuses on the class and gender relations which inscribe economic spaces.

But the era of globalization and regional economic restructuring is not full of success stories. With the change in production systems and dispersal of the capital, many places started to decline. Especially the developing countries became poorer; unemployment and poverty increased and some of the marginalized sectors emerged in these regions.

A point of the regional sciences for the developing countries is the studies on poverty and local development. But specifically, there is a trend of narrowing these studies within national economic development practice. In the age of globalization, which the social, economic and political consequence of it is discussed in the Section 2.5., it is impossible limit regions with national boundaries.

Today regions are affected by the both national and international flow of capital, information, goods, technology and people. Storper (1997) argues that the new economic restructuring within the regions should be studied through a more qualitative approach within which firms, governments, families and individuals are increasingly bounded to the interregional systems in order to analyze and overcome the socio-economic problems.

⁵ The evolution of post-Fordism and globalization is discussed in the Section 2.5.1.2.

As it seen most of the economic geographers and regional scholars have disregarded human mobility, but so far, international labor migration constitutes significant flows that shaped and are shaped by specific economic spaces. Amin and Thrift (1994) argues that economies need to be understood as flows and networks that transcend and reconstitute territoriality and borders. Therefore, there are important aspects of labor mobility in the context of space and flows.

Migration, whether it is internal or international, should be understood in terms of both structural relationships and flows. Although economic and political conditions shape broad outlines of migration flows, social networks, individual and organizational agencies determine how they are constituted. Today, international migration flows are channels of the global capitalism like the North-South line, and especially after the Cold War, the structure of international migration changed considering the distance between the sending and receiving countries, staying times and returns like the post-Soviet Countries and their close geographies.

2.3 Former Approaches on Migration

Although first formal populations studies dates back to the 6th century BC (Abadan-Unat: 2006), one of the first systematic study on international migration was conducted by Ravenstein in 1885 with his article named *Laws of Migration*. In this study Ravenstein examined census data based on the nativity of the population and place of residence enumerated in

1881. He defended that “long-distance migration is seen towards the agglomeration focuses of commerce and industry, and therefore the principal logic behind these movements is due to the desire of having increased people’s economic condition.” With the influence of Ravenstein, many western scholars have developed various models on migration by counting age, sex, family statues, physical an mental health, intelligence, occupation, and motivation and assimilation differentials as variables.

In the 1930s, the *Gravity Model of Spatial Interaction* was developed in order to analyze migration in terms of geographic considerations. In the 1960s this model was modified by generating a hypothesis that was tested by a more econometric sense. This model defends that migration is directly related to the size of relevant origin and destination populations and inversely related to the distance. But the flexibility of this model is due to the influence of different additional indicators. Later on more systemic models were also developed which took into account not only the characteristics of and origin and a single destination like gravity models did, but also the characteristics of all other relevant destinations in the geographical system of regions under study. (Greenwood and Hunt: 2003)

Despite the fact that these former approaches and models are logically very detailed, the lack of relevant migration and population data limits these econometric studies in order to understand the dynamics of migration. Plus there is no single theory or model that explains the background mechanisms of international migration. However, the patterns

and trends in migration can not be analyzed by the tools of a single discipline. In order to understand this multilayered and complex natured notion, it is important to examine many different perspectives, levels and assumptions together.

2.4 Contemporary Theories of International Migration

The main purpose of developing a theory on international migration is basically due to the need of explaining and understanding this casual process generally. In order to do this, scholars from different perspectives and schools have focused on different levels of this notion such as individual, household, national and international levels. Before making a general evaluation of these grand theories, I will briefly explain the ones on international migration which have influenced many migration scholars.

2.4.1 Neoclassical Economics: Macro-Theory

This theory on international migration is one of the oldest and most well-known. It explains labor migration in the context of economic development,⁶ and due to the geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labor. Countries which have an excess labor are supposed to

⁶Lewis, W. A. (1954). *Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour*, Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies, 22: 139-91; Ranis G. and Fei, J.C.H. (1961). *A Theory of Economic Development*, American Economic Review 51: 533-65; Todaro, Michael P. (1976). *International Migration in Developing Countries*, International Labor Office, Geneva.

have a low market wage; on the contrary, countries with an excess in capital relative to labor are supposed to have a high market wage. These market wage differentials between countries causes workers from low-wage country to move to the high-wage country. As a result, it is expected to lead an equilibrium point by the decrease in labor supply and increase in wages at the capital-poor country which the contrast happens at the capital-rich country at the same time. (Todaro and Smith, 2003; Massey et al. 1993; 1998, Abadan-Unat: 2006)

This perspective assumes that first; international migration of labor workers is caused by differences in wage rates between countries. Second; migration will not occur when these wage differentials end. Third; international flow of skilled-human capital responds differently to the migratory movements than does unskilled-human capital. Fourth; the primary mechanisms of international migration is the labor market while the other markets have no effect. Finally the governments' task is only to regulate and control the labor markets in both sending and receiving countries. (Massey et al.1993; 1998) According to Abadan-Unat, these simple explanations on international migration have affected the public opinion of migration receiving countries; policies have developed according them for a long time. (2006: 22)

2.4.2 Neoclassical Economics: Micro-Theory

According to this theory⁷, individuals rationally decide to migrate due to a cost-benefit calculation with an expectation of positive return in the means of money. (Borjas, 1989) Corresponding to the former macro theory, this microeconomic model considers individual choice, and due to this model, international migration is a kind of investment on human capital. (Todaro, 1989) Massey quoted from Todaro and Maruszko (1987) that people choose to move to where they can be most productive, given their skills. Before they can capture the higher wages associated with greater labor productivity they must undertake certain investments, which include the material costs of traveling, the costs of maintenance while moving and looking for work, the effort involved in learning a new language and culture, the difficulty experienced in adapting to a new labor market, and the psychological costs of cutting old ties and forging new ones⁸. (Massey et al. 1998: 19)

This model has these assumptions: first, international migration stems from differentials in both earnings and employment rates; second, in the condition of other factors remain equal, education, experience, training,

⁷ Sjaastad, Larry A. (1962) *The Costs and Returns of Human Migration*, Journal of Political Economy 70S:80-93; Todaro, M.P. (1969) *A Model of Labor Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less-developed Countries*, American Economic Review 59: 138-48; ---(1976). *International Migration in Developing Countries*, International Labor Office, Geneva; --- (1989) *Economic Development in the Third World*, New York: Longman.; Borjas, George J. (1989) *Economic Theory and International Migration*, International Migration Review 23: 457-85.

⁸ Borjas states that, especially illegal migrants also counts the possibility of deportation. (1989)

language skills, are increase the possibility of employment at receiving country; third, individual characteristics, social conditions, or technologies that lower migration costs increase the net returns to migration and, hence, raise the international movement; fourth, migration flows between countries are simple sums of individual moves undertaken on the basis of individual cost-benefit calculations; fifth, international movement only occurs when earnings and employment rates have been differentiated internationally; sixth, migration decisions stem from disequilibria between labor markets; seventh, if conditions in receiving countries are psychologically attractive to prospective migrants, migration costs may be negative; if so, a negative earnings differential may be necessary to halt migration between countries; and last, governments control immigration primarily through policies that affect expected earnings in sending and receiving countries. (Massey et al. 1993; 1998; Abadan-Unat, 2006)

2.4.3 The New Economics of Migration

With the rise of challenges and critiques to the assumptions and conclusions of neoclassical theory, new approaches have been developed. According to the new economics of migration approach⁹ migration

⁹ Katz, Eliakim and Stark, Oded (1986). *Labor Migration and Risk Aversion in Less Developed Countries*, Journal of Labor Economics 4:131-49; Lauby, Jennifer and Stark, Oded (1988). *Individual Migration as a Family Strategy: Young Women in the Philippines*, Population Studies 42:473-86; Stark, Oded (1991). *The Migration of Labour*, Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.

decisions are not made by isolated individual actors, but by larger units of related people; generally families or households, in which people act collectively not only to maximize expected income, but also to minimize risks and to loosen constraints associated with a variety of market failures, apart from those in the labor market. (Stark and Bloom, 1985; Massey et al. 1998; Abadan-Unat, 2006) In developed countries, risks to household income are generally minimized through private insurance markets or governmental programs, but in developing countries these institutional mechanisms for managing risk are imperfect, absent, or inaccessible to poor families, giving them incentives to diversify risks through migration. Under these circumstances, migration becomes an alternative source of capital to finance improvements in productivity and the households have a strong incentive to send one or more workers abroad to accumulate savings or to transfer capital back in the form of remittances. (Massey et al. 1998)

The assumptions of this theory contain different policies and propositions from the neoclassical theories. First of all, instead of individuals, the culturally defined units of production and consumption are the appropriate units of analysis for migration research. Secondly, a wage differential is not a necessary condition for international migration to occur. Thirdly, there are strong incentives for households to engage in both migration and local activities. Fourth, international movement does not necessarily stop when wage differentials have been eliminated across national boundaries. Fifth, the same expected gain in income will not have the same effect on the probability of migration for households located at different points in

the income distribution, or among those located in communities with different income distributions. Sixth, governments can influence migration rates not only through policies that influence labor markets, but also through those that shape insurance markets, capital markets, and futures markets. Seventh, government policies and economic changes that shape income distributions will change the relative deprivation of some households and thus cause their incentives to migrate. And finally, government policies and economic changes that affect the distribution of income will influence international migration independent of their effects on mean income. (Massey et al. 1993; 1998)

2.4.4 Segmented (Dual) Labor Market

Although neoclassical theory and the new economics of migration have different come-ups about international migration, both have micro-level decision models. Massey et al.(1998) argues that the only difference between them is the unit of decision makers (the individual or the household), the entity being maximized or minimized (income or risk), assumptions about the economic context of decision making (well-functioning markets versus imperfect markets), and the extent to which the migration decision is socially contextualized (whether income is evaluated in absolute terms or relative to some reference group). The dual labor market theory, however, argues that international migration depends on the basic labor demands of modern industrial societies. (Piore, 1979) Piore (1979) is the well-known scholar of this theory, and he argues that

international migration is caused by a permanent demand for immigrant labor that is inherent to the economic structure of developed nations.

There are four operative factors of this theory. Advanced economies display a dichotomy favoring unstable employment through the coexistence of a capital-intensive primary sector and a labor-intensive secondary sector. These two sectors operate like watertight compartments and lead to the emergence of a dual labor market. The lack of upward mobility makes it difficult to motivate local workers and convince them to accept jobs in the secondary sector. The risk of inflation precludes any mechanism for wage increases, thereby stabilizing the system. Prompted by the opportunity to transfer funds to their countries of origin, immigrants from low-wage countries are inclined to accept jobs in the secondary sector because wages in that sector are still higher than in their home countries. Massey et al. 1993, 1998) Lastly, the structural demand of the secondary sector for unskilled labor can no longer be met by women and young people who had occupied these jobs. Women have now moved from occasional to permanent employment. (Abadan-Unat, 2006; IOM, 2003) Moreover, the declining birth rate has reduced the number of young people available for jobs at the bottom of the scale. (IOM, 2003)

Dual labor market theory does carry implications that are quite different from micro-level decision models. Massey et al. (1993, 1998) argues that international labor migration is largely demand-based and is initiated by recruitment on the part of employers in developed societies, or by governments acting on their behalf. Secondly, since the demand for

immigrant workers grows out of the structural needs of the economy and is expressed through recruitment practices rather than wage offers, international wage differentials are neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for labor migration to occur. Indeed, employers have incentives to recruit workers while holding wages constant. Thirdly, low wages in immigrant-receiving societies do not rise in response to a decrease in the supply of immigrant workers; they are held down by social and institutional mechanisms and are not free to respond to shifts in supply and demand. Fourth, low- wages may fall, however, as a result of an increase in the supply of immigrant workers, since the social and institutional checks that keep low-level wages from rising do not prevent them from falling. Lastly, governments are unlikely to influence international migration through policies that produce small changes in wages or employment rates; immigrants fill a demand for labor that is structurally built into modern, post-industrial economies, and influencing this demand requires major changes in economic organization.

2.4.5 Theory of the World Systems

Many sociological theorists¹⁰ linked the origins of international migration not to the junction of the labor market within particular national

¹⁰ Portes, Alejandro and Walton, John (1981). *Labor, Class and the International System*, New York: Academic Press.; Petras, Elizabeth M. (1981). "The Global Labor Market in the Modern World Economy" in *Global Trends in Migration: Theory and Research on International Population Movements* (Eds. Kritz, M.M.; Keely, C.B. and Tomasi, S.M.), New York: Academic Press, pg. 44-63; Castells, Manuel (1989). *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring and the Urban-Regional Process*,

economies, but to the structure of the world market that has developed and expanded since the sixteenth century after the concepts that Wallerstein developed (1974)¹¹. According to this theory, the penetration of capitalist economic relations into peripheral, non-capitalist societies creates a mobile population that is prone to migrate abroad.

One of the well-known developer of this theory, Sassen(1998) argues that with the desire for higher profits and greater wealth, owners and managers of capitalist firms enter poor countries on the periphery of the world economy in search of land, raw materials, labor, and new consumer markets. While in the past, this market penetration was assisted by colonial regimes that administered poor regions for the benefit of economic interests in colonizing societies; today neocolonial governments and multinational firms made it possible to effect the power of national elites who either participate in the world economy as capitalists themselves, or offer their nation's resources to global firms on acceptable terms. (Sassen, 1998; 1999)

According to Massey et al. (1993, 1998) the World Systems Theory covers six hypotheses in order to explain international migration flows. Primarily international migration is a natural consequence of capitalist market formation in the developing world, so that the expansion of the global economy into peripheral regions of the economy is a push factor for

Oxford; New York: Basil Blackwell; Sassen, Saskia (1991) *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

¹¹ Wallerstein, I. (1974) *The Modern World System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, New York: Academic Press

international movement. Secondly, the international flow of labor follows the international flow of goods and capital in opposite direction. Thirdly, international migration is seen especially between past colonial powers and their former colonies because of the specific transnational markets and cultural systems. Fourthly, since international migration stems from the globalization of the market economy, the way for governments to influence immigration rates is by regulating the overseas investment activities of corporations and controlling international flows of capital and goods. Fifthly, when the political and military interventions by governments of capitalist countries to protect investments abroad fail, this situation produce refugee movements directed to particular core countries, constituting another form of international migration. Lastly international migration follows from the dynamics of market creation and the structure of the global economy, so it has little relation with wage rates or employment differentials between countries.

2.4.6 Migration Networks Theory

This theory tries to define the effect of time and space on international migration, rather than the reasons why it occurs like the others' do. Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. (Massey et al.

1998) Migration networks theorists¹² argues that these networks increase the likelihood of international movement because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration.

Abadan-Unat (2006) emphasizes that recent researches try to focus on the clash between the control mechanism over women from the patriarchal family structure and the search of women to find free space for themselves through migration. She argues that migration networks are not only to support immigrants, but also help to reproduce the social roles. On the other hand Pessar (1999) argues that international migration only gives women new opportunities for their consumption; but not helps to change their social and gender roles within the society.

Massey et al. (1998) states the assumptions of this theory as; first, international migration tends to expand over time when it begins until network connections have diffused so widely in a sending region, then it begins to decelerate. Second, the size of the migratory flow between two countries is not strongly correlated to wage differentials or employment rates, because whatever effects these variables have in promoting or inhibiting migration are progressively overshadowed by the falling costs and risks of movement stemming from the growth of migrant networks over time. Third, because international migration becomes

¹² Massey, Douglas S. and España, Felipe G. (1987). *The Social Process of International Migration*, Science, 237: 733-38; Massey, Douglas S. (1990). *Social Structure, Household Strategies and the Cumulative Causation of Migration*, Population Index 56:3-26.

institutionalized by the formation of networks, it becomes progressively independent of the factors that originally caused it. Fourth, as networks expand and the costs and risks of migration fall, the flow becomes less selective in socioeconomic terms and more representative of the sending community or society. Fifth, governments can expect to have difficulty in controlling flows once they have begun, because the process of network formation lies largely outside their control. Sixth, immigration policies, however, such as those intended to promote reunification between immigrants and their families abroad, work at cross purposes with the control of immigration flows.

2.4.7 Theory of Cumulative Causation

The main argument of this theory is that every migration issue will change the social frame of the country of origin. (Abadan-Unat, 2006: 37) Causation is cumulative in that each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are made, typically in ways that make additional movement more likely. (Massey et al. 1998) Social scientists¹³ have discussed eight socioeconomic factors that are potentially affected by migration: the dimension of migration networks, the distribution of income, the distribution of land, the organization of agriculture, culture, the regional distribution of human capital, structure of production and the social meaning of work. (Abadan-Unat, 2006)

¹³ Böhning, W. R. (1972). *The Migration of Workers in the United Kingdom and the European Community*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Massey et al. (1998) states a set of propositions consistent with those derived from network theory about cumulative causation: first of all, social, economic, and cultural changes brought about in sending and receiving countries by international migration give the movement of people a powerful internal momentum resistant to easy control or regulation, since the feedback mechanisms of cumulative causation largely lie outside the reach of government. Secondly, a value shift has occurred among native workers, who refuse the "immigrant" jobs, making it necessary to retain or recruit more immigrants. And third, the social labeling of a job as "immigrant" follows from the concentration of immigrants within it; once immigrants have entered a job in significant numbers, whatever its characteristics, it will be difficult to recruit native workers back into that occupational category.¹⁴

2.4.8 Migration Systems Theory

The various propositions of world systems theory, network theory, institutional theory, and the theory of cumulative causation all suggest that migration flows acquire a measure of stability and structure over space and time, allowing for the identification of stable international migration systems. (Massey et al. 1998) An international migration system generally includes a core receiving region, which may be a country or group of countries, and a set of specific sending countries linked to it by unusually large flows of immigrants (Zlotnik, 1992).

¹⁴ Böhning, W. R. (1972). *The Migration of Workers in the United Kingdom and the European Community*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Although migration systems theory can be state as a generalization following from the foregoing theories, its perspective yields four assumptions: first, countries within a system need not be geographically close since flows reflect political and economic relationships rather than physical ones. Seconds, multipolar systems are possible, whereby a set of dispersed core countries receive immigrants from a set of overlapping sending nations. Third, nations may belong to more than one migration system, but multiple memberships is more common among sending than receiving nations and lastly, countries may join or drop out of a system in response to social change, economic fluctuations, or political upheaval. (Massey et al. 1998)

2.5 A Critical Evaluation to the Contemporary Migration Theories: How can we study Regional Migration Systems?

In contemporary world, none of the migration theories are enough to explain or generalize the international migratory processes and its dynamics by itself. They draw our attention to the critical factors, but there are many of them which overlap, affect and connect each other. Therefore, research on migration is intrinsically interdisciplinary, as Castles and Miller (2003:21) quote from Brettell and Hollifield (2000) sociology, political science, history, economics, geography, demography, psychology and law are all relevant disciplines.

As it seen, all of these approaches have developed different perspectives in order to explain different factors of international migration. Thomas Faist (2000) emphasizes a “three stylized levels of analysis” in order to link different perspectives of international migration studies. He divided the analysis on international migration into three parts, *micro*: the individual decision making level, *meso*: people within the web and content of ties on the intermediate level, and *macro*: the highly aggregated and broader structural level. (see Table 2.1)

Table 2.1: The three stylized levels of migration analysis (Faist, 2000:31)

<i>MACRO</i> macro-level opportunity structures	<i>MESO</i> collectives and social networks	<i>MICRO</i> values or desires and expectancies
<i>Economics</i> -income and unemployment differentials <i>Politics</i> -regulation of spatial mobility through nation- states and international regimes; -political repression, ethnic, national, and religious conflicts <i>Cultural setting</i> -dominant norms and discourses <i>Demography and Ecology</i> -population growth; -availability of arable land; -level of technology	<i>Social ties</i> -strong ties: families and households; -weak ties: networks of potential movers, brokers and stayers <i>Symbolic ties</i> -kin, ethnic, national, political and religious organizations, symbolic communities <i>Content of ties – Transactions</i> -obligations, reciprocity, and solidarity; information, control and access to resources of others	<i>Individual values and expectancies</i> -improving and securing survival, wealth, status, comfort, stimulation, autonomy, affiliation, and morality

Castles and Miller (2003:26) emphasizes that today many scholars link this new three level approach to the *world systems theory*, and try to include a wide range of disciplines and to cover all dimensions of the migration experiences. According to them, a migration system is constituted by two or more countries which exchange migrants with each other, which they called *regional migration systems*. This means examining both ends of the flow and studying all the linkages between the places concerned. As quoted from Fawcett and Arnold (1987), these linkages can be categorized as “state-to-state relations and comparisons, mass culture connections and family and social networks.”

In world systems, migratory movements are generally arise from the existence of the prior links between sending and receiving countries based on colonization, political influence, trade, investment or cultural ties. (Castles and Miller) Turkey has economic and social ties with the post-Soviet countries like the suitcase trade between Eastern European Countries and Turkey which rose in the 1990s due to the development of strong economic networks (Yükseker, 2003), and the ethnic ties with the Turkic Republics in the Caucasus.

Considering the differing focus and the main critiques to the grand theories, I will go one step further, and use Faist’s three levels of analysis by integrating it to the *world systems*. The reason for this is that, firstly it helps me to define the main focuses and different aspects of the migration process in macro-micro and meso levels. The macro-level approach clarifies the understanding of the structural processes that determine

patterns of migration and settlement. The meso-level of analysis shows the institutional transformations and shifts in social relations that are seen in the migratory process. The micro-level approach emphasizes the migratory experiences by examining the positionings of migrants within this process. Secondly, this helps me to identify the theoretical gaps and different factors of this research. Finally, it enables me to link different notions like *globalization* and *gender* to the different levels, and help me to conclude the theoretical background of this research by adding individual experiences of the immigrants.

2.5.1 The Macro-Level of Analysis

The political economy of the world market, interstate relationships, and the laws, structures and practices established by the states of sending and receiving countries to control migration settlement are counted as macro-structures (Castles and Miller, 2003). Parreñas (2001:24) quotes anthropologist Kearney's¹⁵ definition of globalization as "social, economic, cultural and demographic processes that take place within nations but also transcend them, such that attention limited to local processes identities, and units of analysis yields incomplete understanding of the local". The impact of globalization is widely seen in economic, political and social arena in the last few decades.

¹⁵ Kearney, Michael (1995). "The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24:547-65, pg. 548.

Sassen (1998) claims that global capital and the new immigrant workforce are the two major instances of transnational categories/actors that have unifying properties across borders and find themselves in contestation with each other inside global cities. It caused a move away from an organized, regulated industrial workforce such as is found historically in Europe and the United States toward an international order that relies on cheap, flexible, often part-time or temporary labor in less industrialized countries around the world.

2.5.1.1 The New Global Restructuring and Regional Development

These structural changes in the regional economies also affected the social geography of the world. In the area of policy instruments or international agencies, globalizing and regionalizing structures interacting with individuals, households and communities are delivering modernity to some of the parts of peoples formerly far removed from meaningful participation in cross-border flows of capital, knowledge, information and consumer goods. James Mittelman (1996:2) makes a comprehensive definition of globalization in *The Dynamics of Globalization* as:

“The manifestations of globalization ... include the spatial reorganization of production, the interpenetration of industries across borders, the spread of financial markets, the diffusion of identical consumer goods to distant countries, massive transfers of population within the South as well as from the South and the East to the West, resultant conflicts between immigrant and established communities in formerly tight-knit neighborhoods, and emerging world-wide preference for democracy. A rubric for

varied phenomena, the concept of globalization interrelates multiple levels of analysis: economics, politics, culture and ideology”

2.5.1.2 Transformations in the Production Structure: from Fordism to Post-Fordism

Tickell and Peck (1992) emphasize that 1973 was a significant year for western capitalism. Until the 1970s the economies of developing countries which had been industrialized with import substitution policies faced rapid price increase in foreign imports and were thrown into economic crises (Eraydın and Erendil, 1999). The global economic growth experienced after the Second World War II started to decline in the 1973 economic crisis, and developed countries started to adopt new technologies, structural adjustment and reorganization in order to cope with the economic crisis (Freeman and Perez, 1988), which brought stagflation, rising unemployment, and spiraling oil prices. (Tickell and Peck, 1992)

Until the 1970's, the mode of production in the developed countries was known as Fordism. Fordist industrial system was based on the mass production and standardized goods attached with steadily-growing mass consumer markets. The use of post-Fordist production techniques after the 1973 crisis brought about a new accumulation process, production mode and regulation mechanisms. Diverse geographies were affected in a different way from this new restructuring. Structural changes in developed countries have also affected the developing ones.

Third World countries have experienced major economic transformations in integrating into the global economy for the last few decades. According to Cox (1996) the relationship between international and regional economies became dialectical; because the world economy grew by taking advantage of the territorial fragmentation of the international economy. In this process, developed countries have become sites of finance, management and service sector as a result of the technical transformation of the work process, meanwhile developing countries shifted to the export production in agriculture and manufacturing which accompanied a growth in the service sector.

Changes in the production structure first caused a shift in the production lands and relocated them to different geographies, from Western to developing countries. With the dispersal of FDI and international trade agreements, a huge demand for cheap and unskilled labor agglomerated in the EPZs in the Third World Countries. In order to integrate into the global market, developing countries have to adopt Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) by international financial institutions; The International Money Fund (IMF) and The World Bank. The World Bank gave structural adjustment loans to the countries facing macroeconomic instability, which includes high inflation and severe government budget and foreign payment of deficits in certain conditions. (Todaro and Smith, 2003) The impact of these tendencies in different parts of the world accelerated migratory movements of populations. (Cox, 1996: 22) There is a link between the feminization of wage labor in different geographies. In the third world countries, as women labor is unskilled and cheap, production

companies preferred them. This has caused a migration to the cities where EPZs are located. On the other hand, many women in these places prefer to migrate to the big cities where service sector has developed, because their income increases with these jobs. Therefore, they are able to look after their families having been recruited in this manner. (Sassen-Koob, 1984)

Moghadam states the main strategy of this restructuring of the developing countries' economies in Third World Countries as the replacement of import-substitution industrialization with the production of goods for export to world markets (1999: 130-131). This results in the decentralization and deregulation of the few remaining manufacturing jobs in these nations (Sassen, 1996; 2006). Additionally, multinational corporations with production facilities across the globe maintain central operations in new economic centers (which can be called as *global cities*¹⁶), where specialized professional services (like legal, financial, accounting, and consulting tasks) are concentrated. The rise of these geographic centers in which decision making in the operation of overseas production takes place demands low wage service labor to maintain the life styles of the professionals. Immigrants (in which many of whom are female) started to respond to these demands (Sassen-Koob, 1984).

Sassen (1991; 1998) points out that contrary to the Western world, the new production lands demanded cheap and unskilled labor, which took the

¹⁶ Sassen, Saskia (1991; 2006): Examples of such cities in the United States and Italy are New York, Los Angeles, Miami, and Milan.

form of women in general. As a result, a huge amount of female labor entered to the market. As these types of work is flexible, these women have very little or none social security, and face with many restrictions on their rights. While service sector rapidly developed in many world cities and centers, a new type of labor was needed. Both the entrance of domestic female workers to the labor market, demand for new workers increased for the work that these women had left.

With the divide between Western and Developing Worlds, Third World Countries faced many development challenges. People in the Third World suffer from many problems: from human right violations in economic and political arena to access to their basic resources and services. As an inherited consequence of patriarchy, women suffer more than men, and a significant segregation based on gender is seen in the area of development. In other words, women are excluded from this new economic restructuring – apart from their entrance to labor market.

2.5.1.3 Linking World Systems Theory and Informal Sector in the Regions

The downgraded manufacturing sector is an instance of the informalization of a growing range of economic activities in today's developing regions. Although such informal sectors are thought to emerge only in global South cities (Castells and Portes, 1989), rapid growth of informal work is seen in most major cities in highly developed countries, from New York and Los Angeles to Paris and Amsterdam (Sassen, 1998).

The informal sector in the peripheral countries supplies comparatively cheap labor for formal capitalist enterprises, thus contributing to the accumulation of capital in core countries, and this cheap labor also subsidizes the welfare of the working class in the core countries. Castells and Portes (1989) emphasize that the informal economy “simultaneously encompasses flexibility and exploitation, productivity and abuse, aggressive entrepreneurs and defenseless workers”, which means the central aspect of economic and social dynamics of less developed countries; but the informal sector can also be observed in some developed countries.

The link between core and periphery countries in terms of cheap and informal labor and formal and the informal sectors are organized with subcontracting chains. Beneria (2001) emphasizes that analyses of subcontracting processes showed the extent to which the two sectors (formal and informal) were highly interconnected, particularly but not solely in the industrial sector, through subcontracting and other links.

At this point the importance of World System Theory lies in the fact that it enables a basis for theorizing the links between the formal and the informal sectors. World System Theory as mentioned in the section 2.1.2.5. argues that economies of the core countries can not represent the future of the periphery countries, because underdevelopment is necessary for world wide capitalist expansion.

The World System Theory has important implications, as it formulates the informal economy as a process rather than an object. In short, it concentrates on the process of informalization and its effects, and argues that informalization is not only a process going on in the periphery to feed the core, but also a process can be seen as informalization in the global economy. (Castells and Portes, 1989).

2.5.1.4 Transformation in the Organization of the Labor Process

After the 1970s, a vast expansion of the middle-class, fixed-capital intensity, standardized production and suburbanization deterred and reduced systemic tendencies toward inequality by constituting an economic regime centered on mass production and mass consumption. (Castells and Portes, 1989)

This process affected the structures of everyday life and a large suburban middle class contributes to mass consumption and thus to standardization in production. These various trends led to greater levels of unionization and other forms of workers' empowerment and entailed the exclusion of distinct segments of the workforce, such as women and minorities. Through empowerment, many disadvantaged workers downgraded in the labor market. Sassen (2006) emphasizes this shift in the labor market as:

“ These developments include the new flexibility that employers have tended to seek under the pressure of international competition, unstable product markets, and a weakening of political support for public sector programs. This new flexibility

tends to mean more part-time and temporary jobs. On the supply side, a key factor has been the persistence of high unemployment in the 1970s and 1980s in many large cities, which notably altered the bargaining position of employers, and the insecurity or marginalization of the most disadvantaged groups in the labor market. Workers desperate for jobs in the 1980s became willing to take increasingly unattractive jobs.”

This restructuring in the labor market and the urban core, seem likely to have induced, on the one hand, a growing destabilization of employment with increasing informalization of jobs and, on the other hand, an increasing polarization of employment opportunities with new types of social divisions. (Castells and Portes, 1989; Harris, 1995) The production process itself, moreover, includes a variety of workers and firms not usually thought of as part of the information economy (Castells, 1996) and demand for new type of jobs which are the key components of the service economy increased.

2.5.1.5 Linking Women’s Labor to International Labor Force: Feminization of the International Migration

The evolution of production, distribution and exchange within an increasingly integrated world economy over the last five centuries has clearly been a major determinant of international migration of women labor. Sassen-Koob (1984) calls this process as “feminization of the international labor force” and establishes a structural link between the feminization of wage labor and globalization. This process simultaneously

demands the low-wage labor of women from traditionally Third World countries in export-processing zones of developing countries and in secondary tiers of manufacturing and service sectors in advanced capitalist countries (Sassen, 1998).

Migration is a multilayered and complex process that has many actors from individuals to institutions, which affects and ties societies in different regions. In the era of globalization, the 3% of world's population is living outside of their country¹⁷, where 49 % of international migrants are women. (Abadan-Unat, 2006) Despite the fact that there is an observable amount of this gender divide, none of these theories try to explain international migration considering women exceptionally. Sassen (2002) emphasizes the link between immigrant women to the changes in the global economy due to a couple of different factors:

“The global migration of women is anchored in particular features of the current globalization of economies in both the north and the south. Making this legible requires that we look at globalization in ways that are different from the mainstream view, confined to emphasizing the hypermobility of capital and to the ascendance of information economies. The growing immiseration of governments and whole economies in the global south has promoted and enabled the proliferation of survival and profit-making activities that involve the migration. To some extent these are older processes, which used to be national or regional that can today operate at global scales. The same infrastructure that facilitates cross-border flows of capital,

¹⁷ According to the UNFPA State of World Population Survey, in year 2005, the number of migrants in all around the world exceeds 191million, in which 95 million of them are women. (UNFPA, 2006)

information and trade is also making possible a whole range of cross-border flows not intended by the framers and designers of the current globalization of economies...Globalization plays a specific role here in a double sense, contributing to the formation of links between sending and receiving countries, and, secondly, enabling local and regional practices to become global in scale.”

Not only the economic, but also the social structure of world changed with the impact of globalization in the last few decades. With the mobilization and dispersal of foreign direct investments to the developing countries, especially export manufacturing sectors gained weight, and a shift in labor from the agriculture sectors was seen. This process ends up with a large supply of cheap labor in these countries.

As Sassen (1998; 2002) points out, especially in export manufacturing sectors large number of labor was absorbed. But mainly the male workers were who to be preferred by the firms. So there was an excess supply of female labor. On the other hand, when we look at the developed countries, there was a rise in service sector, instead of the left over of manufacturing and industrial sectors outside of the countries. Especially in the big cities where the service sector is developing, a huge demand for service workers emerges.

To make feminist sense of these conflicting problems of the world geography, it is necessary to note that not all countries have similar capacities to participate in the global economy. Marchand and Runyan (2000) state that OECD countries are in a position to "male-bond" with

global capital and partially retain or recapture their masculine status, while Southern (and other subordinated) countries are forced to accept a more feminized status. On the other hand, in early stages, the role of women in maintaining families and reproducing workers in the country of origin was crucial to the economic benefits of labor migration. Moreover, a large population of migrant workers were female. As Phizacklea (1983:5) points out, it was particularly easy to ascribe inferiority to women migrant workers, just because their primary roles in patriarchal societies were defined as wife and mother, dependent on a male breadwinner.

In order to understand gendered economy of migration, it is important to understand the international division of women labor by including reproductive labor to the analysis on productive labor. Reproductive labor means the labor needed to sustain productive labor. This work includes household cores; family care; socialization of children; and maintenance of social ties within the family. (Parreñas, 2001:61)

Parreñas (2001) argues that people whom immigrate to the developed countries in order to find a more profitable job from their own countries are women who are responsible for their families. But as she points out, the only reason is not just economic. Like in the case of the Filipino immigrant female labor, most of these women have a second reason, which is mainly depend on the domestic violence and abusive actions of their husbands' or partners'. Gender stratification is the hidden cause of migration.

When these women migrate to countries, they form the base step of labor. They gain more than before economically; however, they are the cheap labor in the receiving countries. They employed in service and clerical jobs and domestic works.

Parreñas emphasizes the double disadvantage of these female workers. This is first sex, and second, class discrimination. These immigrant women pay for the care of their family or children that they left behind, to other women whom have not enough economic power in order to migrate. The consequence of this, they become the domestic workers in the places that they come. The native women demand for this domestic work, and as a result, immigrant women care for native's families and children. (2001: 72)

At this point, the main problem is the family unification of these immigrant women. It is important to point out that, these women's children can not see their mothers for a long time. On the other hand these mothers are the care takers for other families' children. This 'diverted mothering' caused a question about who will take care to the other children whom are left behind. As they will be the future of their country, it is important to maintain their social and psychological education. In this respect we should not forget that, these children need their mothers.¹⁸

¹⁸ It is important to understand the economic conditions and restructuring in Soviet Bloc Countries. The effect of poverty on household structure, the changing role of the "bread winner" of the family, and other socio-economic problems are the important factors.

Feminist scholarship on global restructuring has analyzed how the processes of global economic integration are also processes of gendering. In the 1980s, feminist scholars analyzed how the incorporation of Third World women into wage labor through immigration and offshore production has been linked to state strategies for economic development through export-oriented trade, the rise of multinational firms as powerful actors, and thus, to the competitive globalization of production (Sassen-Koob 1984; Sassen 1998). Guy Standing (1989) further argued that the global spread of flexible forms of labor was encouraging the growth of female employment worldwide and that the absorption of women into mainstream labor markets was in turn encouraging this global process of flexibilization.

Here is Enloe (1989: 181) exploring the reasons that push poor women to migrate for employment in domestic service:

“Women seek domestic-servant jobs outside their own countries for many reasons. Whilst those reasons may be the result of distorted development -elite corruption, dependence on exploitative foreign investors, refusal to implement genuine land reforms - the women who emigrate usually speak in more immediate terms. They need to earn money to support landless parents or an unemployed husband. They are the sole supporter of their children. They are afraid that if they don't emigrate they will have no choice but to work as prostitutes. They cannot find jobs in the fields for which they were trained. Civil war has made life at home unbearable. They have sisters and schoolmates who have gone abroad and promise to help them find work. They may be private calculations but they help governments trying to balance their trade and pay off their international debts.”

Anderson (2005) states that, working as a live-in domestic worker is an advantage for the immigrant women who have come to a foreign country. Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2002) have argued through a significant collection of papers on integrating migrant women and domestic work that global dimension of the scale of immigration of women from predominantly developing countries is premised upon a “care-deficit” in developed countries which is eased by the immigration of women.

Valentine Moghadam (1999) documents the marginalization of women in the labor market as a result of this restructuring and privatization. Women workers are made redundant or become unemployed at greater rates than men in nearly all the countries in the region. They face employment discrimination as employers perceive them to be more expensive and unreliable as workers than men, given their likelihood of becoming pregnant and taking parental leave. On this basis, Moghadam (1999) suggests that female labor will play a more important role in the restructuring of post-socialist labor markets:

"The global integration of Central and Eastern Europe will in effect reduce female employment just as the peripheral integration of third world economies has increased the employment of women workers on the global assembly line"

In Central and Eastern Europe, privatization and liberalization have redefined and created new gendered as well as class divisions of labor, resources, and power. (Keough, 2006) Especially after the 1990s with the collapse of surrogate social structures (like Soviet Union, Berlin Wall and division of former Yugoslavia) a newly emerged migratory wave emerged.

(Aksoy, 2007:426). Pilkington (1997:135) calls this as an economic displacement rather than physical one for women.

Thus, the transitions in Central and Eastern Europe are a strategic site for analyzing simultaneous transformations in the global political economy and in gender relations. Radical structural change has reconstituted group identities and interests. Post-socialist societies are a rich source for the study of the interplay between gender and the emergence of markets; in particular for exploring how external regional and global market forces interact with local identities such as gender (Keough, 2006; True, 2000).

Table 2.2: Estimated Number of Female Migrants at Midyear for the Regions (UN, 2005:10)

Major area, region, country or area	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
World	35 469 362	38 507 161	47 156 135	73 817 887	85 080 716
Africa	3 794 583	4 208 331	6 216 156	7 441 517	7 595 140
Asia	13 572 729	13 096 395	14 340 682	17 862 959	18 936 075
Europe	6 799 126	8 981 401	10 752 040	13 120 718	16 736 713
Latin America and the Caribbean	2 702 258	2 690 034	2 957 603	3 497 251	2 983 844
Northern America	6 227 246	6 638 354	9 516 257	14 074 660	20 543 473
Oceania	947 643	1 408 956	1 797 350	2 333 426	2 945 035
USSR (former)	1 425 777	1 483 690	1 576 046	15 487 356	15 340 437

There is a significant increase in the number of female migrants throughout the world. According to the UN Population Survey 2004 (UN, 2005), the number of female migrants increased from 35.469.362 (1960) to 85.080.716 (2000), and this increase is not balanced for all regions. Table 2.2 shows that, in year 1960, the number of female migrants was around 1.5 million while in year 2000 this number exceeded 15 million, which means this region has shown a significant change through time.

2.5.2 The Meso-Level of Analysis:

Studies on meso- level of analysis to the examination of migration diverge from those using a macro-level of analysis by recognizing agency in their systematic view of migratory processes. They address questions that macro-level discussions can not answer, for example, those concerning the constitution of migration flows, such as why migration flows are concentrated in specific communities, and why there is a specific gender constitution to migration and what the role of certain institutions are in linking immigrant to the host country in recruitment and settlement processes.

In this approach, migrants are shown to respond to larger structural forces through the manipulation of institutions in the creation of migrant communities, in the maintenance of migration flows, or in easing and securing one's social and labor market incorporation upon settlement.

2.5.2.1 Transmigrants and the Role of Institutions in the “Migration Industry”

Today, they can now be conceived of as “transmigrants,” meaning “immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationships to more than one nation-state” (Glick-Schiller et al., 1995: 48). In contemporary world, migrants no longer inhabit in an enclosed space, excluded from the society of the host country, as their daily practices are situated simultaneously in both sending and receiving communities of migration.

Although transnationalism is a subject of another study, it is essential to emphasize the intermediary institutions (for instance, recruitment agencies, international smugglers, and other agencies that have a role in immigrant women’s migratory process in this study) in the context of transnationalism. This category moves migration scholars beyond the long-standing binary construction of settlement in migration studies that is split between migrants (temporary settlers) and immigrants (permanent settlers).

Parreñas (2001) states that Guarnizo and Smith (1998) propose the use of a meso-level of analysis to the study of transnational migratory processes in **Transnationalism from Below**. Quoted from Parreñas (2001:28-29), the formation of transnational institutions in which migrants function, whether they are families, networks, community organizations, political

groups, or business enterprises can be studied from research on transnationalism in meso-level.

Certain individuals, groups or institutions may take on the role of mediating between migrants and political or economic institutions. A migration industry which consist of recruitment organizations, lawyers, agents, smugglers and other intermediaries (Harris, 1995). Such people can be both helpers, and exploiters of migrants. Especially in situations of illegal migration or of oversupply of potential migrants, the exploitative role may predominate. The emergence of a migration industry with a strong interest in the continuation of migration has often confounded government efforts to control or stop movements.

2.5.2.2 The Role of Gender in International Migration

Literature on female migration has also illustrated the reconstitution of gender within migratory processes. In particular, studies have concluded that migration, which involves the movement “from one system of gender stratification to another” (Zlotnick, 1990), reconstitutes the position of women in the labor market and household.

In the receiving country, migrant women experience a certain degree of gender liberation because of their greater contribution to household income and participation in public life. (Zlotnick, 1990) Yet, studies point out that even with these advances, patriarchy is not eliminated but is somehow retained in migration (Pessar, 1999).

Pessar (1999) states that it is essential to draw a new direction in migration research that accounts for the intersections of race, class, gender, and foreign status in the lives of male and female migrants. One way of doing so is to obtain an analysis in the micro-level which focuses on the subject and her everyday practices. As a result, the next section emphasizes on the constitution of the subject, and the reason of choosing to conduct a case study in subject level for this study.¹⁹

2.5.3 The Micro-Level of Analysis: What can be learned by studying the international migration of women on a subject level?

The subject level of analysis does not seek to document the formation of social processes within migration. Instead, social processes are considered settings for the process of subjection.

In the formulation of migration as a process of subject formation, migrants resist larger structural forces by responding to the problems that these forces have generated in their lives. In making this point, I want to emphasize that an average immigrant domestic worker does not come to realize her world through the understanding of larger systems such as global capitalism and its consequences. She instead continues to struggle

¹⁹ Transnational institutions, while determined by structural constraints, are created by the everyday practices of migrants. This indicates that meso and micro levels of analyses are related analytic approaches that are differentiated mostly by a question of emphasis between social process and subjection.

with the problems which are mostly the consequences of globalization in her casual life.

Ong²⁰ is one of the first scholars who applied a subject level of analysis to the study of migration and transnationalism. In the migration and transnationalism process of the Chinese diaspora, she shows that analyzing everyday practices is a viable approach to understanding global and institutional processes of migration.

Another important study in international migration of women belongs to Parreñas (2001). In her comparative study of Filipina domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles, she adds the subject level analysis in order to identify the multiple positions of the Filipina domestic workers, which she calls as “dislocations” in their migratory process. She emphasizes that this enabled her to follow the parallel lives of Filipina domestic workers in different locations.

2.6 Conclusion

Grand theories on international migration which were emphasized deeply in Section 2.2 mainly try to define the different factors that cause migration. To summarize, in *Neoclassical Economics Macro* approach, the main factor of migration is the geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labor, while in the *Micro* approach it is the individuals’

²⁰ Ong, Aihwa (1999). *Flexible Citizenship: The Culture Logic of Transnationality*, Durham; New York: Duke University Press.

rational decision to migrate due to a cost-benefit calculation with an expectation of positive return in the means of money. But on the contrary, according to the *New Economics of Migration theory*, migration decisions are not made by individuals, but by larger units of related people (families or households) in which people act collectively not only to maximize expected income, but also to minimize risks. *Segmented or Dual Labor Market theory* sees the basic labor demands of modern industrial societies, and therefore the labor markets, as the main factor of migration. According to *the theory of the World Systems*, the penetration of capitalist economic relations into peripheral, non-capitalist societies triggers the international migratory movements. On the other hand, *Migration Networks* are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin which lower the costs and risks. *Cumulative Causation* theory emphasizes that migratory movements are continues because migration issue will change the social frame of the country of origin. On the other hand, as there is no single migration system; a set of systems (*Migration Systems*) which includes a core receiving region, which may be a country or group of countries, and a set of specific sending countries linked to it by unusually large flows of immigrants.

International migration of women with global restructuring can not be comprehensively analyzed by international migration theories, since it is a very complex and multilayered process including many political, social, and cultural parties together with the local and global dynamics. Rather

than accounting the structure or agency as the sole unit of analysis, evaluation of the immigrant domestic woman workers' international movements should include macro, micro, and meso-level of analysis and this approach discussed in Section 2.4.

The current global migration of women for largely female-type activities can be observed in two specific sets of dynamic configurations. One is the concentration of newly emerged specialized servicing, financing, and management sectors in strategic sites while these top level industries need a low paid service sector. Low-wage and most disadvantaged workers in these sites enter the leading sectors which feed or clean the backstage of these top level sectors. The global migration of women for domestic work particularly brings out the demands placed on this top-level professional and managerial workforce in cities and today's rising regions.

Secondly, from the 1990s, there has been a creation of new "survival circuits" (Sassen, 2006) which built on the backs of women as trafficked workers for low-wage jobs and the entertainment industry and as migrant workers-sending remittances back home. Sassen (2006) points out these activities in the migration industry as:

"A key aspect here is that through their work and remittances, women enhance the government revenue of deeply indebted countries and offer new profit-making possibilities to entrepreneurs who have seen other opportunities vanish as a consequence of global firms and markets entering their countries or to longtime criminals who can now operate their illegal trades globally. These survival circuits are often complex, involving

multiple locations and sets of actors, constituting increasingly global chains of traders and workers.”

This new type of “migration industry” (Harris, 1995) was supported by national, international and transnational institutions due to the economic gains and profits.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN WORKERS AND THEIR ENROLLMENT IN PAID DOMESTIC SERVICES IN TURKEY

3.1 Introduction

Globalization process, new economic, social and political restructuring in the world and its links with international migratory flows, the rise of informal sector in production and service geography, feminization of international labor and immigrant women's integration to the paid domestic sector as care-takers are discussed in Chapter 2 in detail. While every part of the world was experiencing rapid structural changes, Turkey did not have a chance to keep its traditional and existing economic, political and social assets.

On the other hand, due to its geostrategic position, Turkey has been on the major migratory routes throughout the history. As considering both internal and international migration experiences, there had been a

continuing dynamic since the rise of the nation-states in Europe. Tekeli (2007) states that in a 150 years period starting from the mid-19th century, Turkey had experienced four different migration categories.

Starting from 1860 to 1927, the major migratory movement that changed population composition and spatial structures of Turkey was the Balkanization period which was a type of population exchange due to ethnicity within the newly established nation states and demolishing Ottoman Empire. (Tekeli 2007; 2008) Later on population exchanges have happened due to similar reasons, Turkey continued to accept refugees from the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia until the end of the 1990s. (Ağanoğlu, 2001) Secondly, with the urbanization movements, Turkey faced a rapid internal migration from rural to urban areas between 1945-80. But this movement started to change in the mid-70s, and people living in urban areas started to migrate to the rising metropolitan areas. (Tekeli, 2007) All these migratory processes were a reason of social, economic and political changes in the geography; but at the same time, these migration movements triggered internal dynamics and directly affected social and economic structure of the cities.

But there is a distinguishing factor that separates these migratory processes from each other. The former type of migration is depended on political and social factors like ethnicity, religion and security of the sovereign states. But migration due to the urbanization processes has more economic reasons, which drastically affected the social composition of the cities.

In this chapter, I will link the internal dynamics of Turkey's structural change with the feminization of global labor, and reflect the reasons behind the demand for paid domestic service in Turkey, the dynamics of paid domestic service as an area of informal sector, and its integration with irregular migration of women.

3.2 Economic and Social Changes in Turkey During the Last Few Decades

After the foundation of Turkish Republic, policies in order to modernize Turkish women were settled. During this period, the officers of the young Republic followed a 'western type' model, which sets its rules from law and science. But this ideal had a horizontal influence in society, where the more educated and the more benefited more.

On the other hand, after 1950, there had been a massive rural-to-urban migration due to the economic effects of mechanization and modernization in agriculture. Especially the dynamics of internal migration after the 1960s made two different cultural structures (urban-rural) come up against each other very rapidly. New agglomeration of population caused unplanned, illegal housing sites, called *gecekondu mahalesi/squatter towns* that constitute new buffer mechanisms of rapid urbanization in developing countries.

Kıray (2000) states that buffer mechanisms are institutions and relations that are observable only at the changing structure. Neither has it belonged to the old, nor to the new structure. Such mechanisms obtain integration between one and other. Kongar (1982) adds that these squatter towns obtain integration between the new comers and the rest of the city in the means of information and social interaction. But some scholars supports the idea that this new comers marginal according to the existing modern city residents. As a result, it can be said that the concept of migration itself is a spatial notion which affects individual and/or social movements. (Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç: 2001)

With the rapid urbanization via the massive rural-urban migration, men of the rural families became the bread-winner of the house, while women dislocate from the labor force participation. During the 1970s, with the decrease in the men's wage, many women entered the labor market. According to Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç, most of the women's work constitutes marginal works that believed to be belonged to the lower/lowest classes by the society.

The 1973 economic crisis affected Turkey like the other developing countries. The 1980s were the decade of the implementation of these new strategies in the whole world, but with a distinction. The developed countries switched to the post-fordist production mode, and began to use the advantage of cheap labor of the developing ones, while the Third World countries have created their own subcontracting industries, which

link them to international capitalist system. One of the rigid consequences of this period was the expansion of the informal sector.

In the 1970s, Turkey was faced with many economic and political challenges both nationally and internationally. Until the end of the 1970s, Turkey followed the import-substitution economic model. Although new strategies for economic and social problems was developed in the 4th Five-year Development Plan (1979-1983)²¹, political shifts in 1980²² and new economic restructuring policies (which aimed full integration of Turkish economy to the world) caused Turkish economy to enter into the international organizations' control. (Kongar, 2004:373) Yeldan (2001) states that this integration was matured in the beginning of the 1990.

The 1990s brought financial liberalization, and the Turkish economy became a fully open market economy. The open market model introduced new mechanisms for the creation of surplus and for income distribution. The effects of integration into globalization in Turkey are tremendous; new mechanisms of surplus production and income distribution are established with speculative finance based on hot money which means fragile growth and public finance deficits. (Yeldan, 2001; Kongar, 2004)

²¹ In this period, increase in the petroleum prices all over the world and the gap between the prices of intermediate goods and investment goods caused some problems in Turkish economy. Also some European countries cut the labor flow to their countries, which caused unemployment in Turkey. This plan aimed to accelerate the economic growth, prevent unemployment and improve income distribution. (Kongar, 2004)

² January the 24th Decisions (*24 Ocak Kararları*, 1980) starts a new period with the idea of liberalization and integration with the world.

This triple constructs an environment of macro economic instability and an economic crisis in 1994.

To sum up, the main goal with the structural adjustment programs after the 1980s was to operate the flow of goods and capital via opening up Turkish economy to the globe. Trade and financial liberalization policies in this context were affected the society, and both household structures in cities and women's employment changed.

3.2.1 Women's Employment Patterns: Labor Market Participation and Informal Sector

Migration from rural areas to cities via the mechanization process in the 1950s and rapid industrialization negatively affected women's labor force participation in Turkey like in the other developing countries. Women had been actively engaged with the agricultural production in the rural areas, but when they moved to cities, they generally dislocated from the production processes in urban areas that men's were engaged in. (Kalaycioğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2001) For example, while the labor force participation rate of women in year 1955 is 72%, it decreased to 46% in 1980, to 44% in 1990 (Eyüboğlu et al. 2000:3) and to % 26.6 in 2008 (TUIK, 2008). Women are traditionally employed in labor-intensive sectors and during the competition over cheap labor advantage, less educated unskilled women's labor has become an important source for cheap production.

In Turkey, women's employment patterns concentrated in two distinct poles (Eyüboğlu et al., 2000), and the reason for this segregation is particularly women's education level in urban areas. (KSSGM, 1999; Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2001) In the first group, women are generally concentrated in manufacturing, agricultural production and service sectors, and they engaged to jobs which need less knowledge and less skill. Especially manufacturing sector is characterized by being in which low educated women labor are concentrated. (Eraydın and Erendil, 1996; Dedeoğlu, 2000; White, 2004). In other words these sectors are women's sectors; which means that labor market is gendered in Turkey. As a second pole, women are also concentrated in sectors which require high skilled and highly educated labor. In 2008, the labor force participation rate of women under high-school education level is 22.9%, while it is 70.7% for university graduates. (TUIK, 2008)

After the 1980s, there is a significant shift in the employment patterns of the first group women. With the changes in the production sector, demand for women's labor decreased in these sectors. (KSSGM, 1999:34) On the other hand demand for cheap and unskilled labor in informal sector, especially in service sector, absorbed a part of these unemployed unskilled women. (Ecevit, 1990; KSSGM, 1999; Eyüboğlu et al. 2000)

One of the significant characteristics of the labor markets in developing countries is that half of the women labor force is generally employed in the informal sector (Eyüboğlu et al. 2000, KSSGM, 1999). The

employment of women in informal work increased during the 1980s and the 1990s in all developing countries and also in Turkey (Koray, 1993). A similar trend can be observed in many developed countries indicating the special relation between the informal sector and women's employment and also meaning that the informalization process is a global concern beyond the boundaries of the developed and developing countries binary opposition. Of course there is a global trend of increasing informal employment and Turkey has its own features related to women's participation in the work force.

According to TISK (Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations) statistics for 2007, the number of working age women is 25 million, while only 5.5 million of them have employed, and nearly half of them are employed in informal sector. (Radikal, 2008) In other words, more than half of the women in the labor market are working informally. In the formal sector, women's employment rate is low and their unemployment rate is high; therefore women are also discriminated against by being heavily employed in the informal sector. (Koray, 1993)

3.2.2 Evolution of Paid Domestic Work in Turkey

Although there is much research done on women's labor force participation, their status in the dual labor market, their employment patterns and so on, only a few of them focus on women's labor at domestic work. As noted previously, studies show that with the rapid urbanization, changes in production process and informalization period

until the 1980s, particularly women's labor dislocate from the formal labor market. (Ecevit, 1990; KSSGM, 1999; Eyüboğlu et al. 2000)

This period also changed the family structure; women who work in agricultural land in rural areas did/could not employed in cities. This has many social reasons roots back to patriarchal social structure in Turkey. (Bora, 2005; Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2001) With the urbanization period, the bread winner of the household became dominantly men. According to Ecevit (1990), women could marginally enter the labor market; their labor force participation to the formal sectors, unionization processes were at a level which could not compete with men's.

After the 1980s, the stagnation in manufacturing sectors directly affected the employment profiles; from them women were the most disadvantageous groups. Most of the women workers were dismissed from their jobs; however, the consequences of this period were not very remarkable in society (Ecevit, 1990). On the other hand, a demand for labor in the service sectors increased in this period. But the top level jobs required highly educated professionals, while the majority of unemployed women were unskilled. This caused a shift for women to concentrate on the informal sectors.

In the 1980s and 1990s, labor force participation rates of educated women increased. Parallel to this, a demand for cheap service sector increased. Many unskilled women entered the informal labor market as cleaners,

care-takers and domestic servants as well as home-based workers. (Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2001, Kaşka, 2005)

Women in the urban areas are dislocated from economic, social and physical environments, due to the over burden of their “social responsibilities”. Home is defined as “women’s place” and therefore most of the women who were engaged to the production and service sectors in their homes were dislocated from visible economic production processes. On the other hand, the ones who are able to enter into the labor market still have their responsibilities to their families inside their home. (Bora, 2005) Significantly, child-care problems were usually solved with the help of the other family members. After the modernization period with newly emerged family structures, women became unable to obtain a help from their relatives. (Dedeoğlu, 2000; Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2001; Buğra and Keyder, 2003) In addition, another institution, *evlatlıks*²³, which was a traditional domestic work supply, was legally banned in 1964. (Togrul-Keklik, 2006)

These working women generally preferred to buy another women’s labor in order to sustain the house work such as child care, cleaning, cooking etc. Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç (2001), Özyeğin (2005) and Bora (2005) have significant findings in their researches on Turkish domestic woman workers; demand and supply relations in the market, social

²³ *Evlatlıks* were a type of unpaid female domestic workers who was brought into the household as children.

relations between the workers and their employers, social struggles and stratifications between them.

In the 1990s, a new wave of female labor for the service sector emerged in Turkey via the international migration flows. Their migration processes are discussed in Chapter 4 significantly, but today, like the ones on Turkish domestic workers, there is a few numbers of studies on the immigrant women domestic workers in Turkey; from them Petra Weyland (1997) studied about Filipina women domestic workers in Turkey and the relation with their women employers who are (actually employers' husbands are) foreign managers and business people that work and live İstanbul. Gamze Ege (2002) also studied immigrant domestic women workers in Turkey by investigating whether domestic service sector is a new way for human trafficking or not. Other three studies, which belong to Belkıs Kümbetoğlu (2005), Nihal Çelik (2005) and Mine Eder (2007) are close to this study in terms of the micro level of analysis, is about the social networks of Moldovan women domestic workers, and their migration and recruitment processes.

3.3 Turkey's General Condition on International Migration

Well-established irregular migration and labor networks operate around Turkey in the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Mediterranean Basin, the Black Sea region, and the Middle East. Turkey has traditionally been a country of emigration due to its geostrategic position, but since the early 1980s it

has become a country of immigration and transit, attracting mainly irregular migrants. Researches distinguish four types of foreign nationals entering Turkey: transit migrants; illegal labor migrants; asylum-seekers and refugees; and regular migrants. (İçduygu 2000; 2003; 2005, İçduygu and Keyman 2000) The first three categories usually overlap each other due to the circulation of migrants from one to another as a result of different opportunities and outcomes.

There are three diversified groups of irregular migrants can be observed in Turkey. The main characteristics of the immigrants changes due to their country of origin, their personal characteristics and prospects. The first group is the transit migrants who are partly economically and partly politically forced migrants coming from the Middle East, Iraq, Iran, Asia and Africa. They enter Turkey and stay there for a while, and plan to migrate to European Countries illegally. The second immigrant group is the ones primarily from the post-Soviet Countries whom enter Turkey legally, but overstay and work after the expiration of their visas. The third group is the asylum-seekers from the south east, whose asylum applications have been rejected or are still being processed. (Toksöz, 2006; İçduygu, 2006)

According to the official data, at the beginning of the 2000s, the estimated number of all three categories of immigrants in Turkey is over 200.000, from which 51.400 is stayed illegally. (see Table 3.1)

Table 3.1: Indicative number of immigrants to Turkey, 1996 – 2005, compiled from the Ministry of the Interior (İçduygu, 2006:17)

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Undocumented Migration	18.800	28.400	29.400	31.600	94.600	92.400	82.800	56.200	61.200	43.841
Illegal Entries					51.400	57.300	44.200	30.348	34.745	19.920
Overstays					43.200	35.100	38.600	25.852	26.455	23.921
Asylum Application		5.100	6.800	6.600	5.700	5.200	3.794	3.966	3.908	3.914
Residence Permit					168.100	161.254	157.670	152.203	155.500	131.594
of which: work					24.200	22.414	22.556	21.650	27.500	22.130
of which: study					24.600	23.946	21.548	21.810	15.000	25.240
of which: other					119.300	114.894	113.566	108.743	113.000	84.224

According to İçduygu (2006) the existence of irregular migration to Turkey is relatively well-documented, on the other hand the amount and dimension of this is the main cause of the country's informal labor market remain unclear. With the increasing scale of irregular migrants, Turkey has faced with the unauthorized employment of these immigrants in the last few decades.

Although there is no direct data on irregular migration into Turkey, The Bureau for Foreigners, Borders and Asylum of the Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of Interior reports that there were nearly 95.000 apprehended cases of irregular migrants in year 2003, but this number has shown a diminishing trend throughout the years.

3.3.1 Irregular Migration Trends into Turkey

The irregular migration trends into Turkey has its roots in the changes in political, economic and social dynamics of the neighboring countries and regions; and Turkey itself. These dynamics affects the region and Turkey mainly for the last two decades. This short historical period contains three different waves in terms of international migration shifts throughout the neighboring countries and the world in general.

The first wave of irregular migration into Turkey is directly related with the immigration crisis in Western Europe during the 1980s and 1990s, which led to the formulation of immigration and asylum policies and practices when thousands of people left their countries to immigrate into

the European Countries. With the increasingly rigid immigration and asylum policies limited the high flow of immigrants before entering the destination country and many of them had to stay in a transit country like Turkey, where they find the opportunity to stay and wait until finding a different immigration and asylum path. İçduygu(2006) emphasizes that today many immigrants, of most without a proper immigration documents, are from Asia, Africa and the Middle East and came to Turkey with the intention of moving to a third country in the West.

The second wave of irregular migration is seen after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the communist regimes in the Eastern Europe. With the increasing economic deprivation and unemployment, many people from the post-Soviet countries move in search for employment opportunities and relatively high amount of incomes abroad. Those ones usually came with a regular tourist visa, but found jobs in informal sectors and worked illegally, and overstayed in Turkey after the expiration of their visas.

The third wave of irregular migration is from the Middle Eastern and neighboring countries. This influx of asylum-seekers and refugees (İçduygu 2006) is due to the repressive political regimes in the home country and the foreign military interventions in these regions.

3.3.2 Irregular Migration from the Post-Soviet Countries into Turkey

Migration flows in ECA tend to move in a largely bipolar pattern. Much of the emigration in western ECA (42%) is directed toward Western Europe, while much emigration from the CIS countries remains within the CIS (80%). (Mansoor and Quillin, 2007:3)

Irregular migrant labor flow from the Eastern European Countries started in the early 1980s. As a part of the trade and economic activities between the countries and Turkey associated with irregular migrant labor was known as 'suitcase trading' which began during this period with Polish traders, and then extended to the other citizens of the former Soviet Union. Especially İstanbul-Laleli became a transnational economic geography as a center for this type of trading (Yükseker, 2000; Eder, 2007) İçduygu (2006:4) states that this practice peaked in the mid-1990s and afterward declined:

“...it is estimated that in the 1990s, of the 3,000,000 people arriving from the former Soviet bloc countries on tourist visas, 64% were suitcase traders... [which] most of them intended to return home before their visas expired and were generally not active on the illegal labor market in Turkey, they are in a sense the forerunners of irregular migration... this is born out by the fact that after the collapse of the communist regimes, the number of CIS citizens entering Turkey increased significantly in the 1990s, a large proportion of whom were traders on tourist visas. Their number rose dramatically, from under half a million in 1990 to over 1.6 million in 1996...”

Remittances are also played a significant role in the feminization of labor migration. Governments of developing countries need remittances in order to cope with the heavy debt burden, and for their citizens to make a living for survival in the conditions of poverty and unemployment in their countries. Indebted governments support international migration of their citizens to secure their revenues by remittances sent by the immigrants. At the same time, exporting labor was a way of dealing with the high unemployment in their countries. In 2003, total of the global remittances sent by immigrants were 93 billion \$ (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Regional Distribution of Remittances, Billions of United States Dollars. (UN, 2005:20)

Region	1990	1995	2001	2002	2003
East Asia and Pacific	3.0	9.9	13.7	17.0	17.6
Europe and Central Asia	3.2	5.6	10.2	10.3	10.4
Latin America and Caribbean	5.7	12.9	22.9	26.8	29.6
Middle East and North Africa	11.4	10.0	13.2	13.0	13.0
South Asia	5.6	10.0	13.1	16.9	18.2
Sub-Saharan Africa	1.5	2.7	3.9	4.1	4.1
Total	30.4	51.2	77.1	88.1	93.0

Relative to GDP, remittances are significant in many ECA countries. Mansoor and Quillin (2007) state that, in 2004, officially recorded remittances to the ECA region totaled over 19 billion \$, amounting to 8

percent of the global total for remittances (232.3 billion \$) and over 12 percent of remittances received by developing countries (160.4 billion \$). For many ECA countries, remittances are the second most important source of external financing after foreign direct investment. For many of the poorest countries in the region, they are the largest source of outside income and have served as a buffer against the economic and political turbulence brought about by transition. Migrants' funds represent over 20 percent of GDP in Moldova and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and over 10 percent in Albania, Armenia, and Tajikistan (See Figure 3.1).

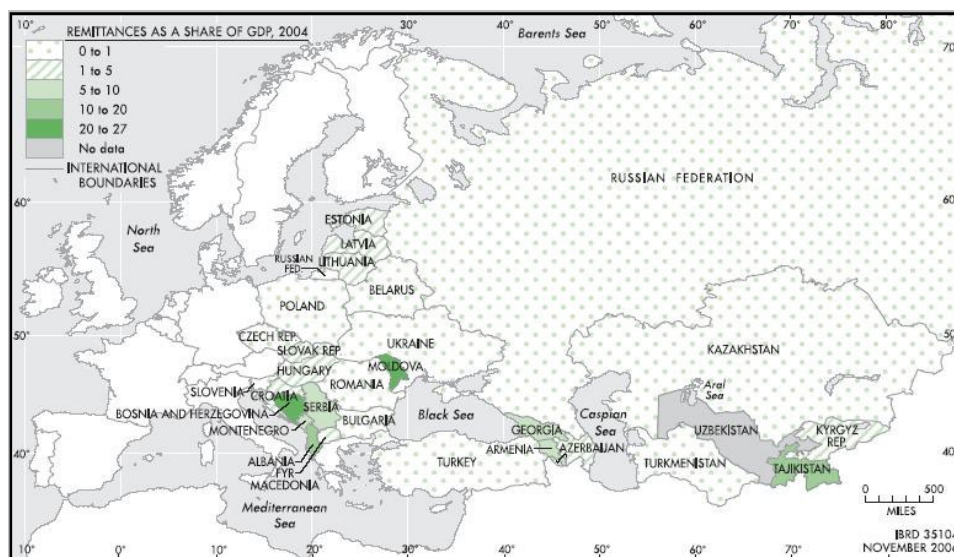


Figure 3.1: Remittances as a Portion of GDP in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union²⁴, 2004 (Mansoor and Quillin, 2007:6)

²⁴ Received remittances = received compensation of employee + received worker's remittances + received migrants' transfer and GDP is \$ converted current price.

Remittances represent an important source of foreign exchange for several ECA countries. The high-migration countries earn from remittances over 10 percent of the amount exports of goods and services bring in. In Moldova and Serbia and Montenegro, remittances bring in foreign exchange equivalent to almost half of export earnings. For Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the contribution of remittances is almost as large as that of exports. (see Figure 3.2, Monsoor and Quillin, 2007)

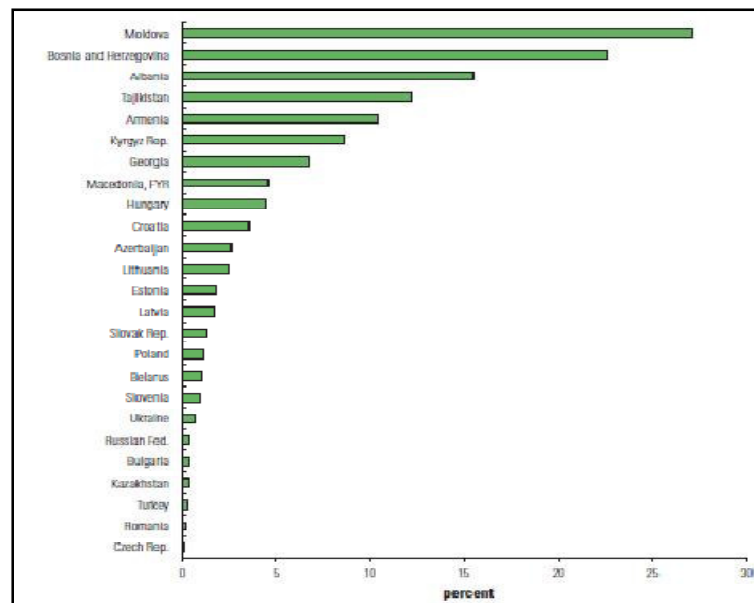


Figure 3.2: Remittances as a Portion of GDP in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union²⁵, 2004 (Mansoor and Quillin, 2007:59)

²⁵ Received remittances = received compensation of employee + received worker's remittances + received migrants' transfer and GDP is \$ converted current price.

Migration in the region is unique and significant: ECA accounts for one-third of all developing country emigration and Russia is the second largest immigration country worldwide. Migrants' remittances, as a portion of gross domestic product, are also large by world standards in many countries of the region.

Although these figures declined again in the second half of the 1990s, large amounts of people continued to arrive from the CIS countries to Turkey. (see Table 3.3) The figures in the table indicates the total number of entries to Turkey; while some of them irregular migrants who entered the Turkish labor market, the rest are suitcase traders and tourists.

Table 3.3: Entry of persons from the Soviet Union and former Soviet Republics, 1964 – 2005
(İçduygu, 2006:21)

	1964	1970	1980	1990	1996	2000	2003	2004	2005
Soviet Union	414	4.824	40.015	222.537					
Russia					1.235.290	680.473	1.285.820	1.593.700	1.855.900
Central Asian Turkic States									
Kazakhstan					31.373	40.733	65.748	83.315	106.167
Kyrgyzstan					8.052	8.177	14.185	24.712	31.017
Tajikistan					3.087	988	3.591	4.918	6.811
Turkmenistan					5.035	11.115	16.685	26.621	34.292
Uzbekistan					13.558	21.728	19.527	20.372	26.634
Subtotal	414	4.824	40.015	222.537	1.296.390	763.214	1.405.560	1.753.590	2.060.820
South									
Armenia					5.345	17.704	23.596	32.983	36.633
Azerbaijan					100.243	182.124	193.273	330.993	411.111
Georgia					116.709	180.481	172.935	234.535	367.148
Subtotal					222.303	380.309	389.806	598.512	814.892
Western Newly									
Belarus					474	9.988	31.562	63.472	77.029
Moldavia					8.291	65.112	58.905	71.055	89.849
Ukraine					93.794	153.651	227.298	278.047	367.103
Subtotal					102.559	228.751	317.765	412.574	533.981
Total	414	4.824	40.015	222.537	1.621.250	1.372.270	2.113.130	2.764.680	3.409.690

Although there seem to be fewer amounts of irregular migrants to Turkey until 1999, there is a significant increase in year 2006. The top five irregular migrant labor source countries are Georgia, Moldavia, Romania, Russian Federation and Ukraine. (see Table 3.4) In year 2000, the total number of irregular migrant labor from these top five countries is 25.193, while in year 2006 this number increases to 123.514, which means the number of total irregular migrant workers from the top five countries increases five times in six years period. A significant amount of these immigrants enter Turkey by legal tourist visas, and by overstaying after their visas' expiration date, they vault into illegality. In addition to this, because they do not have a work permit in Turkey, when they enter the labor market, they counted as illegal immigrants.

Table 3.4: Irregular migrant labor to Turkey, top five source countries, 1995-2005 (İçduygu, 2006:21)

Country of Origin	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Georgia	37	9	9	5	809	3 300	2 693	3 115	1 826	2 294	2 348	16 445
Moldavia	19		17	5	5 098	8 312	11 454	9 611	7 728	5 728	3 462	51 434
Romania	68	12	107	36	3 395	4 500	4 883	2 674	2 785	1 785	1 274	21 519
Russian Federation	5	4	52	2	1 695	4 554	3 893	2 139	2 130	1 266	1 152	16 892
Ukraine	9	4	17	4	1 715	4 527	3 451	2 874	1 947	1 341	1 335	17 224
Total (five)	138	29	202	52	12 712	25 193	26 374	20 413	16 416	12 414	9 571	123 514
Others	11 224	18 775	28 237	29 374	34 817	69 321	65 991	62 412	39 803	38 733	34 270	432 957
Total	11 362	18 804	28 439	29 426	47 529	94 514	92 365	82 825	56 219	51 147	43 841	556 471

By 2000, the estimated number of female immigrant workers abroad migrated from the post-Soviet counties is out of about 15 million post-Soviet migrant population in the world. This constitutes one sixth of the

total number of women migrants in the world (see Appendix A). Political and economic factors beyond the increasing migration of Soviet women across borders as sex workers, domestic servants, entertainers, and order-brides can be traced to the economic crises of the 1970s. Particularly, as works in domestic service can not be substituted by the Turkish women, immigrant women workers highly concentrated in these jobs. (Toksöz, 2006: 215)

İçduygu (2006) states that although the number of the irregular migrant workers from these countries increased rapidly, the total number of immigrants from the Balkan Region started to decline in recent years. The reason for this is that firstly, it became easy for the Eastern European countries' citizens to move within the EU countries who previously chose Turkey as a destination country. Secondly the Turkish labor market has lost the attractiveness for the foreign workers due to the instable economy and increasing unemployment rates in Turkey. (Kaşka, 2005)

3.3.3 Legal Aspect and Regulations on Immigration into Turkey

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the new restructuring in the region, many immigrants chose Turkey as a destination due to the economic, social and political reasons. But the reason for Turkey as being a popular destination for irregular migrants is not only this. Changes in Turkish governments' international policies and deficiencies in Turkish Law system have also enabled Turkey as a major destination. (İçduygu, 2003; Güzel and Bayram, 2007)

In short, the Passport Law (Law 5682), The Labor Law (Law 4857), The Law on the Stay and Movement of Aliens (Law 5683), and The Social Security Law (Law 506) regulate the entry, deportation, work and residency permits of the foreign migrants in Turkey. (Güzel and Bayram, 2007)

3.3.3.1 Bilateral Agreements

Given the weaknesses in multilateral agreements for cross-border migration movements, a collection of bilateral labor agreements have been negotiated between the migration-sending and -receiving countries that facilitate a great deal of the legal international labor flows in the region. Mansoor and Quillin (2007) state that, incentives for permanent and large quantities of undocumented migration may exist because of the structure of many of the immigration policies governing migration from ECA to Western Europe and the migration-receiving countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Immigration policies distinguish between skilled and unskilled labor and the policies increasingly recognize the value of skilled labor. However, policies on unskilled labor often focus too heavily on controlling a very large supply through border controls without looking to efficiently match this supply with the domestic demand for low-skilled migrant workers. As a result, such policies can fail to contain a large and growing population of undocumented migrants.

One of the major reasons for the migration decisions of post-Soviet women to Turkey is because Turkey is following up more flexible visa policies to the citizens of this region. Studies show that most of the irregular migrant workers in Turkey that overstay after the visa expiration are the citizens of the former Soviet Union. (Kirişçi 2005; Kümbetoğlu, 2005; İçduygu 2006; Eder, 2007) For example Kirişçi (2005:356) states that in 1964 only 414 over 230.000 people who entered Turkey were from the Soviet Union, while it increased to 4.800 in 1970 and to 40.015 in 1980. (see Table 3.3) With the introduction of “sticker visa” agreement in 1990 the number of entries shifts to 220.000. From then this number passed 3.4 million in year 2005. (İçduygu, 2006)

Eder (2007:136) states that flexible visa applications are a result of international policies that started from the 1980s during the liberalization period. After the collapse of Soviet Union and end of the Cold War in the 1990s Turkey followed a new international policy stating herself as a “regional force” due to the developing relations with the newly established Turkic Republics and integration of Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC). At the same time, the EU started to apply the Schengen Visa and closed its borders to non-member states. Without a visa the citizens of non-member states chose Turkey as their main destination.

In year 2008, Turkish Government made new regulations for visa requirements. For some of the Turkic Republics and Eastern European States, a new and flexible type of sticker visa application has started due to

the bilateral agreements. Significantly, Turkey does not required visa for some of these countries' citizens for a limited period of time. (see Appendix B)

3.3.3.2 Residency Permits

The Law on the Stay and Movement of Aliens (Law 5683) regulates the residence and work permits of the migrants. The foreigners can obtain residence permit if they have work permit, adequate financial resources to maintain their lives, and no power or intention to disrupt the Turkish public order. (Güzel and Bayram, 2007)

In their study, Erder and Kaşka (2003:14) illustrate the 2003 figures on the foreigners living in Turkey with work residence. (see Table 3.5)

Table 3.5: Foreigners Living in Turkey with Residence Permits in 2001 (Erder and Kaşka, 2003)

Origin	1998	%	2001	%
Balkans	8868	19,9%	73393	45,5%
Middle East	8210	18,4%	13361	8,3%
post-USSR	325	0,7%	29676	18,4%
Subtotal	17403	39.0	116430	72.2
Other	27241	61,0%	44824	27,8%
Total	44644	100,0%	161254	100,0%

According to Table 3.5, while the number of foreigners living in Turkey with residence permits, who are citizens of Balkans, Middle East, and post-Soviet countries, almost doubled in three years, foreigners of other countries living in Turkey with residence permits has declined fifty percent.

3.3.3.3 Work Permits

According to the Law on the Specific Employment Conditions of Turkish Citizens in Turkey (Law 1932), foreigners were not allowed to work in the manufacturing and service sectors including paid domestic services. The Law concerning Work Permits for Foreigners (Law 4817) enacted by Parliament on 27 February 2003. This law abolished the article regarding the occupations that foreigners can not handle in Turkey, designated the Ministry of Labor and Social Security as responsible for issuing work permits to foreigners. (Güzel and Bayram, 2007) In September 2003 Turkish government changed the regulations for obtaining work permit for foreigners, and “domestic work” became no longer a restricted job for foreigners. Unions and middle income families supported this amendment. (Eder, 2007:137)

Table 3.6: Foreigners with Residence and Work Permits in Turkey at the end of 2001
Residence Permits, (Erder and Kaşka, 2003:14)

	Residence Permits	%	Work Permits	%	Share of those who have a work permit.
Azerbaijan	10044	6,2%	866	4%	8,6%
Georgia	761	0,5%	162	1%	21,3%
Moldova	855	0,5%	268	1%	31,3%
Romania	1304	0,8%	354	2%	27,1%
Russian Federation	6235	3,9%	1603	7%	25,7%
Ukraine	2290	1,4%	895	4%	39,1%
Subtotal	21489	13,3%	4146	18%	19,3%
Other	139765	86,7%	18270	81%	13,1%
TOTAL	161254	100,0%	22418	100%	13,9%

Table 3.6 shows the existence of a large informal labor market in Turkey absorbing foreigners who do not have work permits but have residence permits. Erder and Kaşka (2003) state that these figures are higher in their study sample consisted of irregular migrants.

3.3.3.4 Acquisition of Turkish Citizenship through (Fake Paper) Marriages

Another indicator explaining overstay of illegal migrants in Turkey is stated to be the increasing number of fake paper marriages with Turkish citizens in order to obtain Turkish citizenship. Erder and Kaska present that between 1995 and 2001, there are 24.300 foreigners who got Turkish citizenship through marrying Turkish citizens. (see Table 3.7)

Table 3.7: Number of people who obtain Turkish citizenship through marriages. (Erder and Kaska, 2003:15)

Country	Numbers	%
Azerbaijan	3876	16,0%
Georgia	979	4,0%
Moldova	1292	5,3%
Romania	2894	11,9%
Russian Federation	2193	9,0%
Ukraine	---	---
Subtotal	11234	46,2%
Others	13066	53,8%
TOTAL	24300	100,0%

According to the Table 3.7, it is obvious that post-Soviet citizens constituted almost half of the population who obtained Turkish citizenship through marriages. In order to deal with fake paper marriages, the Turkish Citizenship Law (No. 4866) was amended in June 2003. According to this amendment, a foreign spouse can acquire Turkish citizenship after a three-year waiting period. In addition, the foreign spouse has to reside with his/her Turkish spouse during these three years. (Güzel and Bayram, 2007)Before this amendment, foreigners could easily obtain Turkish citizenship after marriage without any waiting period.

3.4 Conclusion

Turkey has many migratory flows for the last few centuries. But former type of migration is depended on political and social factors like ethnicity, religion and security of the sovereign states which distinguishes to the recent trends. However, migration due to the urbanization processes after

the 1950s has more economic reasons, which drastically affected the social composition of the cities.

In the 1970s, Turkey was faced with many economic and political challenges both nationally and internationally. With the structural adjustment programs after the 1980s, Turkish economy was opened to global market by operating the flow of goods and capital. Trade and financial liberalization policies in this context were affected the society, and both household structures in cities and women's employment changed.

Beginning with the rapid urbanization via the massive rural-urban migration, and liberalization processes in the Turkish economy, women dislocate from the labor force participation, and most of the women got through marginal works in the informal economy that believed to be belonged to the lower/lowest classes by the society. As women are traditionally employed in labor-intensive sectors and during the competition over cheap labor advantage, less educated unskilled women's labor has become an important source for cheap production. On the other hand demand for cheap and unskilled labor in informal sector, especially in service sector, absorbed a part of unemployed unskilled women who were primarily dislocated from the labor market.

Starting from the 1980s, labor force participation rates of educated women increased. Parallel to this, a demand for cheap service sector increased. Many unskilled women entered the informal labor market as

cleaners, care-takers and domestic servants as well as home-based workers.

In particular, women who are able to enter into the labor market still have their responsibilities to their families inside their home. Significantly, child-care problems were usually solved with the help of the other family members. After the modernization period with newly emerged family structures, women became unable to obtain a help from their relatives. These working women generally preferred to buy another women's labor in order to sustain the house work such as child care, cleaning, cooking etc.

In the 1990s, a new wave of female labor for the service sector emerged in Turkey via the international migration flows. With this respect, well-established irregular migration and labor networks which operate around Turkey in the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Mediterranean Basin, the Black Sea region, and the Middle East are very important.

Irregular migrant labor flow from the post-Soviet Countries started in the early 1980s as a part of the trade and economic activities between the countries and Turkey associated with irregular migrant labor was known as 'suitcase trading'. Although the economic activities via trading was collapsed in the last decade, the social and economic networks which composed a decade ago, helped to maintain rising service sectors by their supply of foreign labor.

Remittances are also played a significant role in the feminization of labor migration. For many post-Soviet Countries, remittances are the second most important source of external financing after foreign direct investment.

Another indicator which play a significant role fort he irregular migration of labor through Turkey is the changes in Turkish governments' international policies and deficiencies in Turkish Law system. This has also enabled Turkey as a major destination. In year 2008, Turkish Government made new regulations for visa requirements. For some of the Turkic Republics and Eastern European States, a new and flexible type of sticker visa application has started due to the bilateral agreements. Significantly, Turkey does not required visa for some of these countries' citizens for a limited period of time.

Acquisition of Turkish citizenship through marriages is another indicator explaining overstay of illegal migrants in Turkey. There is an increasing number of fake paper marriages between foreign women and Turkish citizens in order to obtain Turkish citizenship.

Today although the number of the irregular migrant workers from post-Soviet countries increased rapidly, the total number of immigrants from the Balkan Region started to decline in recent years. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, it became easy for the Eastern European countries' citizens to move within the EU countries who previously chose Turkey as a destination country. Secondly the Turkish labor market has lost the

attractiveness for the foreign workers due to the instable economy and increasing unemployment rates in Turkey.

In conclusion, although there are strong indicators for migration of female labor into Turkey, regional dynamics are also the key factor for them. People from the post-Soviet countries tend to choose relatively advanced regions to Turkey in terms of economic conditions.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

International migration is an important issue in regional sciences. It intersects social, political, economic and geographic issues, and triggers a change in current structure of all. In addition, with the globalization and formation of networks within the regions both nationally and internationally, irregular migrant communities have become one of the primary sources of informal labor of a country.

Although the focus area of regional sciences seems wider economic, and therefore the analysis which are conducted under this discipline is quantitative in order to explain the macro process, women's migratory working has been an unseen path for these studies. Linking women's labor to the international migratory process seems rather a sociological attempt; but I believe this study will also contribute to the planning literature with its strong social side.

4.2 Research Question

Today although there has been some research on international migration, very few of them analyze and understand the agents/actors of this issue. This is a multilayered structure which consists of a complex human relations network. But today there is a little information about the nature of these kinds of networks. Regional sciences enable us to understand what is going on in a space with the reflections of social, economic and political aspects linked to these networks.

This study aims to investigate how macro factors of international migration like global restructuring and transformations in the informal economy affects meso and micro structures. At an abstract level, the underlying question covering the theoretical framework of this study is “How do changes in the macro structures like transregional dynamics via global restructuring shape meso and micro structures like intermediary agencies and individual lives of women?” The answer lies mostly in women’s shared role as a low-wage laborer in global capitalism; women have become key agents for improving economic conditions of their society by selling their labor in foreign countries. In this context, this study focuses on the formation of intermediary agencies and particularly individual migratory experiences of post-Soviet women in Ankara.

Studying international migration of women from a regional science perspective is challenging. It needs to intersect different theoretical and historical formations of many disciplines. In order to understand the

bigger picture, I tried to link immigrant woman domestic workers migratory experiences to the evolution of socio-economic restructuring in Turkey and post-Soviet countries. This enabled me to observe migratory process of women in three different levels which are discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3.

4.3 The Methodological Approach

The research methodology I followed in this study is feminist. The reason for that is not only because the main subject of this study is women; but it enables me to understand different dilemmas in space and integrate new concepts and perspectives to my study. Today many social theories are challenged by feminist researches due to their limitations and generalizations that make woman invisible in social sciences. (Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992; Morrison and Schiff, 2008) Compared to other disciplines, planning heavily combine both practical and theoretical elements, therefore a feminist perspective on planning studies enable us to understand and analyze all levels, particularly the social side. (Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992; Greed, 1994; Alkan, 1999)

The research approach I will conduct uses both qualitative data and content analysis. Data for this research is gathered primarily on tape-recorded, fully transcribed and translated in-depth interviews, face-to-face and e-mail meetings; my field notes and observations are with the three groups involved with this research. Following up these different methods has given me the flexibility to develop communication with the

participants and occasionally they share their stories, information and plans due to their trust and emotions towards me during the interviews.

I tried to use as many quotations as possible from the interviews with the immigrant women and their employers as well as the recruitment agencies in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. In these chapters migration and recruitment processes are discussed, in order to reflect their personal experiences more clearly in this research. In order to summarize the findings, I use the qualitative data I gathered from the narratives of immigrant women in a content analysis to express the primary findings of this study more clearly in these chapters.

It should be noted that, traditional social science methods are generally male-centric which causes women's invisibility in grand theories. One of the reasons for that is a patriarchal heritage which used to be the dominant power on society through history. (Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992; Alkan, 1999) Alkan (1999:9) emphasizes that gender is a key organizer for social life in developing an interaction between many dual concepts in space like production/consumption, public/private, majority/minority, work place/household, similar/different, professional/personal etc. Women's experiences in the migratory process also have these dualities, in which the place of work is another's private space; as an immigrant socio-culturally different to the society and to the household.

Another critical point is the fact that traditional social science researches are based on men's experiences linked with the patriarchal structure of the

society. Most of the data for these types of research are gained by gathering information with questionnaires. Both the structure of the questionnaire through its gender biased design and the answers being provided traditionally by the head of the family who is a man in household surveys caused inevitable bias. (Greed, 1994; Özgüç, 1998) Being aware of this, I made all the in-depth interviews with women participants separate to the ones with the recruitment agencies. This enabled me to observe the feminine reflections to both demand and supply side of foreign child-care services in Turkey.

4.4 Main Indicators of the Research

Saskia Sassen (2006) discusses the reasons for developing new approaches on studying cities. Due to the economic globalization, accompanied by the emergence of a global culture, the social, economic, and political reality of nation-states, cross-national regions, and cities has been profoundly altered. Therefore, it is not enough to look at the ecology of urban forms, distribution of population and institutional centers or focus on people, social groups, lifestyles, and urban problems. Through this study, I define Ankara as one particular site in which global processes take place.

International population movements institute a key dynamic within globalization – a complex process which intensified from the mid-1970s onward. The most striking features of globalization are the growth of cross-border flows of various kinds, including investment, trade, cultural products, ideas and people; and proliferation of transnational networks

with nodes of control in multiple locations. (Castells, 1996) The nation-state system still endures despite the growth in the power of global markets, multilateralism and regional integration. While the movements of people across borders have shaped states and societies since time immemorial, what is distinctive in the recent years is their global scope, their centrality to domestic and international politics and their enormous economic and social consequences. (Castles and Miller, 2003) Castles and Miller (2003:9) state that since the 1960s women play a significant role in all regions and in most types of migration. In the past, most migration movements were male dominated and women were linked this process through family reunion.

Irregular labor migration of women to Turkey is a core issue, which occasionally remains invisible by authorities. Due to the lack of research on this topic, this will be an exploratory and critical study that aims to understand the human relations network between these groups. This provides the critical factors, patterns and processes of the international migration of female labor into Turkey and their place in the informal labor market. Some sectors of the Turkish economy, in particular domestic work, sex and entertainment, textiles, construction and some other service sectors, absorb irregular migrant workers temporarily. Many of them enter Turkey legally in accordance with Turkish visa requirements but overstay their visas and become illegal by overstaying and working in country.

Being at the center of Anatolia and on the junction point of trade and transportation roads, Ankara showed a planned transformation following

its creation as the capital city of the young Republic of Turkey in 1923. One of the drivers for this was to modernize some of the less developed regions by spreading the İstanbul oriented economy throughout the country. (Tekeli, 1984) It was the beginning of the 1980s when the Turkish family structure had been shown as a nuclear type especially in big cities. With the structural adjustment programs, privatization policies, and economic growth in the country, many families' purchasing power was increased; however, it became clearly observable that poverty increased rapidly. (Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2002; Kongar, 2004).

On the other hand, paid domestic work constitutes cleaning, cooking, child-care, elderly-care, disabled-care and nursing. From this wide range of works especially child-care, elderly-care and nursing are the sectors that immigrant women concentrated in. I particularly focus on child-care sector in this study; aside from my personal interest, is that from an urban planning perspective, I also aimed to follow immigrant women's spatial experiences. Immigrant women who are engaged in elderly-care and nursing are dislocated from urban space, because their patients usually need a 24/7 care. As a result, they spend almost all their time behind the four walls of the household. On the other hand, when they are engaged into child-care, they are also able to find opportunities to integrate and develop new interactions with outsiders and other immigrant women workers.

This study enters the world of immigrant domestic workers in Turkey by examining their experiences of migration, recruitment and settlement in Ankara. I focus my study on Ankara first because there is a significant increasing demand for domestic workers by middle and upper-middle class Turkish families, and Ankara is one of the most concentrated cities in terms of middle and upper-middle class in Turkey. (Tekeli, 1984) Secondly, Ankara has particular ties to the post-Soviet countries. Migration systems theory suggests that “migration streams are not randomly selected but instead emerge from prior links established through preexisting social, political, cultural and economic ties.” (Castles and Miller, 2003:26) After the collapse of the Soviet Union, post-Soviet citizens searched for new markets for their economic survival, and they established economic ties with Turkey’s first local, and then labor markets. Third, the movements of domestic workers into Turkey are mostly a part of informal streams that are not monitored by state. And lastly, Ankara has notably become a center for the recruitment agencies that provide local and immigrant domestic workers to the whole country.

4.5 Research Groups and Research Process

There are three groups of this study which will be counted as linked agents of international migration of woman domestic workers. On the supply side, the major group of this study is immigrant female domestic workers that are counted as irregular migrants in Turkey. The second group is small, but should be counted as intermediary agents which have the key

role not only in the migration process of these women, but also at their accommodation and recruitment in the host country. The last group generally constitutes the demand side, the Turkish households with particular focus on the female head of the house who acts as the employer for the immigrant workers.

In the first phase, I planned to conduct an interview with four recruitment agencies in Ankara. Three interviews were completed with these agencies which provide domestic workers to the households. To reach these agencies, I found advertisements in newspapers. Two from these three gave me appointments; however one rejected to have an interview with me after my explanations about the context of the research. I had my first interview with the first recruitment agency in May 2007, and luckily the officer I had my first interview with helped me not only for gathering information about my research, but also providing me the chance to have interviews with four of the immigrant women. Later I reached another agency with his advice. I conducted one to three interviews directly with these agencies, depending on the information that I need later on during my research between May 2007 – March 2008. I gathered most of the data about the approximate number of immigrant domestic woman workers in Ankara and Turkey, demand and supply side of their migration, the way how they travel, how they find accommodation and recruitment, trends in this sector and how the structure of immigrants had changed in recent years from these interviews. The recruitment officer also provided me the chance to observe three interviews that were held between families and the immigrant women during their recruitment. I believe my observations and

personal experiences during these interviews will also help to demonstrate the role of these agencies, so I will also mention them in the following chapters.

The second phase of the research was conducted between December 2007 – March 2008 with the immigrant domestic woman workers. All in-depth interviews were held in Turkish. Fifteen immigrant women were selected by purposive and snowball sampling methods at the beginning of the research. I contacted nine of these fifteen through the recruitment agencies. After having an appointment, two of these nine decided not to join this research due to their fear about being noticed. Another five of them were reached through my friends, or family friends whom employed these women at their houses. I found my final participant in a chance meeting in a shopping center both her and her employee agreed to join my research. The participants of the second group had to be women migrants who worked in domestic sector, primarily for child care for more than the last six months. In addition, they needed to have worked in Turkey for at least one year. Finally, they needed to have worked for Turkish families whom are living in middle and upper middle class resident districts in Ankara.

The third phase of the research consists of the interviews with the families who are hiring the immigrant domestic women workers for child-care. I selected the families by again snowball sampling methods. I directly had interviews with seven families; three of them were held via e-mails, and four of them were face-to face interviews. During these interviews, I

specifically prefer to speak with the mother of the family. There is only one woman in this group whom I also had interview with her employee, and apart from them, the women that I had interview with are independent from the immigrant woman group. I also had a chance to observe three families' interview at the recruitment agency with their future baby-sitter candidate. But as the agency wanted me not to pose any questions to their customers, I only watched and took notes about these interviews.

The qualitative data was gathered from in-depth interviews with the participants, interviews and my field notes. The questions from the questionnaires (see Appendix C) for immigrant women and their employers are posed to each participant simultaneously. Rather than a question-answer session, I obtained my answers through an informal conversation.

4.6 Limitations of the Study and Ethical Issues

In this research the research group is not represent the universe of immigrant woman workers and has population bias. Due to the time and access constrains, the sample group of immigrant women is restricted with fifteen participants. Again with the same reason, the sample group of women employers is restricted with seven participants. Another limitation of this study is that I reach the five of the immigrant women and three of the women employers through my personal networks. Although I guarantee not to share and use the information I gathered from them except academic purposes, this may cause bias.

The most obvious limitations of this study is the fear of women to be recognized by the police. As most of them are living anonymous lives and try not to use public spaces. Being aware of the fact that women participants of this research were going to share their personal experiences and opinions, I tried to make them feel comfortable during the interviews. I also preferred to be alone with the participant wherever the place of the interview was held.

Another concern of this research is the anonymity of the participants. I coded the names of the immigrant women as “Ms. X”, the employer women’s as “Madam X” and the agencies’ as “Agency X”.

CHAPTER 5

REASONS FOR MIGRATION OF IMMIGRANT DOMESTIC WOMAN WORKERS TO TURKEY

5.1 Introduction

The collapse of the Soviet Union caused dramatic changes in the economy, social life and well-being of the citizens of the post-Soviet States. While an increase in unemployment rates and population formed an unskilled labor stock, the parallel increase in poverty and cost of living caused people to search for new ways of survival. The collapse of communism encouraged a massive increase in geographic migration in the Europe and Central Asia (ECA) region, including internal movements, cross-border migration within ECA, outflows from ECA, and some inflows from other regions. The formation of many new countries following the breakup of the Soviet Union “created” many statistical migrants—long-term, foreign-born residents who may not have physically moved, but were defined as migrants under UN practice. (Mansoor and Quillin, 2007)

In this chapter, findings of the interviews that were held with thirteen immigrant women workers from the post-Soviet Countries will be expressed. This chapter will explore women's migration process: Firstly, the reason for migration and decision process will be discussed. Secondly, I will try to examine the reason why the immigrant women choose Turkey as a destination country. Then, I will talk about the way of their journey and their experiences during their travel. After that, their recruitment processes will be reflected, and finally I will try to mention general concerns like smuggling and human trafficking of the research group.

5.2 Reason for Migration: “I saw my children’s future in another country which I have no idea about...”

Interviews show that, all of the interviewees' primary reason for migration has its roots in their economic situations. No matter what the level of education they have, where they are living (whether in a village or a city); they complained about poverty and expressed their future concerns for themselves, for their families and mostly for their children. Most of them had experienced unemployment, where some had already unemployed when they decided to migrate. It should be noted that, some of these women's husbands were/are also unemployed or working outside of their home country.

During the interviews, all of the immigrant women who had a paid jobs at their home country complained about their income level and how they were not able to afford their families' daily life expenses. Nine of the

thirteen participant women emphasized that they were enrolling a job, when they decided to migrate. From the other four, Ms. G (Georgian) and Ms. M (Turkmen) were housewives (had never have an occupation), Ms. F (Georgian) was a factory worker but unemployed for almost a year before she arrived to Turkey, and Ms. L (Georgian), whom also works with her husband at the same house, was unemployed, but didn't note any significant occupation.

“I was working as a nurse in the city hospital in Chisinau, Moldova. My husband was doing trade with Russia, but in 1998 financial crisis he was bankrupt and lost his job, his everything... Our son was 9 and our daughter was only 11 years old. We could not afford our children's education. It was not only us, our people start to flow other countries. Nobody had a purchasing power for anything. I had studied for free, my husband had studied for free... but at those years, nobody gave us a job. We needed money; we needed money not only for our children, but for our country's future. I worked for double shifts... but we could not afford anything.” (Ms. B, Moldovan)

Table 5.1: Occupation and Monthly Average Income of Immigrant Women at their Home country

Name	Occupation at the Home Country	monthly average income \$
Ms. A	Atelier, tailoring	15
Ms. B	nurse at a hospital	40
Ms. C	nurse at a village clinic	25
Ms. D	Market	10
Ms. E	village market	10
Ms. F	unemployed/factory worker	...
Ms. G	Housewife	...
Ms. H	laundress	10
Ms. I	kindergarten teacher	20
Ms. J	nurse at the hospital and part time cleaner	100
Ms. K	Market	15
Ms. L	Unemployed	...
Ms. M	Housewife	...

The monthly average income level of the employed immigrant women are shown in the Table 5.1. It is obvious that the minimum monthly income of these immigrant women were about 10\$, where Ms. J (Uzbek) was earning the highest level with 100\$ in the group by regularly working at a hospital and doing cleaning work at her day-offs.

“I was a surgical nurse in Bukhara. I also studied Russian after high school. My husband was a medical doctor. We were working for long hours, but had a bare competence. Especially, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, everything became expensive. We had just afforded our children’s education. But after my husband passed away, I had to afford all of our life expenses by myself. Apart from my job at the hospital, I started working as a cleaner at my day-offs, or evenings. Turkish companies made incredible construction investments in Uzbekistan. It is funny, but your labor is flowing towards us

while ours' is flowing to Turkey... Anyway, there were many Turkish workers and engineers; they were not living with their families. They needed someone to clean and to cook. I did that job as a second job. I was earning more than I earned from the hospital. But total amount that I earned did not cover my children's education. They started university. It was difficult for me to work in two jobs." (Ms. J, Uzbek)

On the other hand four of the thirteen immigrant women had a university degree. Ms. I (Moldovan) was a kindergarten teacher and studied preschool education in Russia, Ms. C (Turkmen), Ms. B (Moldovan) and Ms. J (Uzbek) were professional nurses at clinics and hospitals. From these four, only Ms. C complained about her job that she had long travel hours, paid less and had to afford six people:

"I was working in the village clinics as a nurse. There are not so many doctors in Turkmenistan, and especially at villages there is not enough medical personal. I used to travel from city to village everyday, and I usually had to go other villages when it was needed. I spent nearly 3- 4 hours on the way everyday. There were long time shifts, and patients usually threat badly. People do not respect us very much. I had three children. My mother-in-law is also living with us. My husband was an officer. Our purchasing power decreases day-by-day. I saw my children's future in another country which I have no idea about..." (Ms. C, Turkmen)

Ms. I (Moldovan) and her sister have similar stories in different geographies. Her husband left her with three children, when her sister's dismissed. They started living together with five children until her sister had to quit her job and move to Russia alone. Ms. B had to look after also

her sister's children for two years when she was working in Russia as a construction worker. After her return to Moldavia, Ms. I left her children to her, and came to Turkey.

“No bread for us... My husband left me with three kids, when my youngest daughter was only 3 months old. I was a kindergarten teacher, earning nearly \$ 15 a month. It would not have bothered me, unless I had had three children. I might have survived. After he left us, I tried to go back work, but I waited for a year to find an open position, until I decided to find an alternative. Same year my sister's husband had an accident, and left us. So we started living together in a small apartment with five children in total. My sister was an art teacher at a high school. She also gave drawing lessons, but I was unemployed. Then she decided to move to Russia, and managed to find a job at an art gallery. But it continued for a short period. They didn't paid her money, so she quitted and then worked at constructions as a worker. We had really hard times; I looked after my sister's kids for two years while she was working in Russia...” (Ms. I, Moldovan)

Ms. A (Turkmen) was working as a carpet weaver with her brother's wife in their village. Both her husband and her brother were working at mining sites. Her brother had an accident four years ago and from then he became paralyzed. First her brother's wife moved to Azerbaijan and her sister came to Turkey, but they were not able to afford both the cost of his treatment and their family's survival.

“Women of my family weave carpets. Actually most of the women of my village do this. But we have small ateliers and every passing day they closed one by one. We have to work with

so many people in a small area... Our men are workers, they work in everywhere they find a job. They work in mines. But there is no security in the mining sites. My brother had an accident four years ago. Now he is paralyzed and can not move. Doctors said that he had to use some medicines that we are not able to find in my country. We brought them illicitly, and it cost a fortune. First my brother's wife went to Azerbaijan and work there as a cleaner. But someone had to look after for my brother, so she returned in a couple of months. Then my sister came to Turkey. She was working with my employers. But she could not stand being away from her children. So she returned. Before her return she sent us the news that her employers need someone trustful and instead of her, so I decided to come instead of her. Although it is difficult for me to be separate from my children, I am doing this for them." (Ms. A, Turkmen)

Being unemployed, low income levels and increase in the life expenses are seen as a driving force for these women to find alternative ways for survival. Apart from Ms. D (Turkmen) whom is single and has no children, immigrant women emphasize their concerns in the past about their children. Some of these people, whom had been living in villages at their home country first decided to move to cities in order to provide their children better education, so better future. For example, Ms. E and her family had been living in a village at middle-west Turkmenistan, and decided to move to a city where her children were able to have better education than they would have in the village:

"My husband and I were selling agricultural goods in local markets. But we want our children to have good education, so we decided to move in Türkmenbaşy. My husband was working as a carrier but city life is more expensive than village life. I was

not able to find a job, so I returned to my village and continued working in the market for a while. But life for villager moving to city is very difficult.” (Ms. E, Turkmen)

Another immigrant Georgian woman Ms. H has a similar story. Both hers and her husband’s families were farmers in the same village. After years passed, the population of the family was increased; on the other hand the money from the land remained the same. Having two kids make her and her husband to move to the city Batumi.

“I always dreamed about going to university, I finished high school with a good grade, but had to return my village after my mother’s death, and married with my husband. So I had to look after two families. My parents were farmers like my husbands’. We were also working with them, until our sisters and brothers grew up... Money from the land was not enough for whole family. After my son was born, my husband and I decided to move to Batumi. I was doing laundry for a couple of hotels, while my husband worked as a bus driver. Our monthly income was nearly \$ 25... for both of us it is enough, but we have two children, they are brilliant kids... they are attending schools in the Batumi. I do not want them to have a life like mine. They should attend university. We, as their parents, have to afford it for them... In 2005 my husband lost his job, and our income decrease to \$ 10... I was earning that alone, I had no chance...” (Ms. H, Georgian)

Apart from women, men also migrate to work. Three participants mentioned that their husbands are also working at foreign countries. This means that they leave their children to someone else (usually to a relative) and live apart from them. Both Ms. A’s and Ms. K’s husbands are working

as construction workers in Saudi Arabia, while Ms. F's doing the same job in Russia. On the other hand, Ms. E's husband is a highway transporter, so he is occasionally away from home, and Ms. I's husband is doing trade to the Nordic countries, and she states that "he used to come home once in a year or two".

"After my brother's accident, I want my husband not to work in mining sites. So he changed her job and started working in constructions. But his firm used to send their worker to different construction sites in different countries. He worked in Uzbekistan for a while, but now he is in Saudi Arabia." (Ms. A, Turkmen)

"My husband migrated before me. He was a construction worker in Uzbekistan. Construction sector is developing in the world, and there are many investments in countries. Arab Countries are very rich; they are building huge complexes, buildings, and infrastructure. Money is good there. So my husband went to Saudi Arabia." (Ms. K, Uzbek)

Although these immigrant women seems to assign their motherhood role to their mothers, their siblings, any other relatives or another women whom they hire for, they states their concerns about their daughters left behind. Even these girls continue their education; they find themselves in a situation like their family expects their mother's role primarily from them.

"I am sorry for my 12 years old daughter. She is very clever and is continuing her education. But someone has to clean, cook, tidy at home instead of me. She is like a little mother, she comes from school, cooks, does her homework, help her brother's homework, washes, cleans, tidies... She has all of the

responsibilities that I used to have before coming to Turkey now.” (Ms. A, Turkmen)

On the other hand, Ms. L (Georgian) and Ms. M (Turkmen) migrated with their husbands, and hired as a couple. Ms. L states that her ideal is affording her youngest daughters’ tuition to the university where she studies medicinal sciences in Georgia.

“We are not a wealthy family, but we have been working really hard to afford our children’s education. But in recent years tuitions are really increased. Having a high education costs a fortune. My daughter is studying medicine, she will become a doctor, but it will take for a long time. When we understood that we were not able to pay her education, she decided not to study, and to work instead. But she is clever... I heard that women are able to earn lots of money in Turkey. We have friends working in Turkey and they are earning so much money compared to our income. But my husband did not let me go alone; instead he arranged our job for both of us. ” (Ms. L, Georgian)

However, Ms. M and her husband moved to Turkey after their son’s marriage with a Turkish woman.

“My son was working in Turkey. One day he decided to marry with a Turkish girl. I knew that he wanted to live and work in Turkey and obtain a Turkish citizenship. When he officially settled in Trabzon, my husband and I decided to live near him. We moved to my son’s home, but we have to be separate from him. He had arranging a new life, a new family. So he arranged us a housekeeping job, and we moved to Ankara.” (Ms. M, Turkmen)

Two of the thirteen immigrant women stated their purpose for marrying with a Turkish man and having a Turkish citizenship as the reason for their migration. Ms. G (Georgian) is widowed, has no relatives, but has a three years old son. She mentioned that although she loves her country, there is no future for her and her son there, so if she arrange a marriage with a Turkish man and have citizenship, she will bring her son here.

“My husband died when my son was very little. I have only my mother who supported me morally. She looked after my son. I have no occupation. I was not able to pay the bills and taxes. I had to work. I love my country, but I want a good future to my son. I want to be protected. I am now working in here, economic conditions are better in Turkey compared to Georgia. I would like to have a chance to live with my mother and my son in here. If I find a chance, I may marry with a Turkish man.” (Ms. G, Georgian)

Ms. D is the only participant whom has never married. And she answered her reason for migration as first economic and second finding a Turkish man and marries to him.

“It is easier for Turkmen to obtain Turkish citizenship after marriage. I do not want to live in Turkmenistan. There is no life for young people there. I prefer to live in Turkey. I decided to find a Turkish man and marry him. There are many girls coming to Turkey for a respectful husband.” (Ms.D, Turkmen)

5.3 Decision for Migrating to Turkey: “My country has been bursting for years... our young population is now walking in Turkish streets...”

In the previous chapters, it is cited that even Turkey is a transit country for many international migration routes, many irregular migrants seek to come and work in Turkey. Today researches show that Turkey is still a destination country for people from post-Soviet countries. As it was cited before, there is a huge demand for these immigrants, whether their gender are male or female, in informal sector.

There are four common reasons for choosing Turkey as a destination country, cited by the participants of the research group. First of all, almost all immigrant women emphasize that as there is a high gap between their income at their home country and in Turkey, women of the post-Soviet countries prefer Turkey as a destination point. Secondly, there is an increasing well known demand for foreign workers in service sector in Turkey, thus especially working as a live-in domestic worker has many advantages like security due to the conditions of living with a family and saving money as they have nearly no daily life expenses spending from their income. Thirdly, we can talk about a chain migration, like all of the participants in the focus group have at least a relative or a friend who had come and started working as a domestic worker before their decision. And finally, as Turkey's geographic conditions, distance factor, ability for transport easily and the present state for affairs of networks for sending remittances.

One of the most influential reasons for deciding Turkey as a destination country depends on their trust for an unknown geography where they have already gather information about from prior immigrants. Only three of the thirteen participant state that they have no close friends or relatives who had already migrated to Turkey for temporary work. However, they add that they knew people and families working in Turkey. Therefore, the common point of the ten participants in the decision for migrating to Turkey is that they have already had relatives and friends, at least people they knew in Turkey. But some arrived to Turkey via their social ties, where as the rest arranged this process via recruitment agencies.

For instance, Ms. B and Ms. C followed their friends' and relatives' advices for coming and working in Turkey.

“Most of my friends come to Turkey. Especially at the end of 90s and beginning of 2000s, all of the Moldovan women came to Istanbul. My husband is working in Nordic countries. We need money with the kids. My friends encouraged me to work in Turkey, so I decided to try.” (Ms. B, Moldovan)

“My cousins were working in İstanbul and Ankara. They advised me to come and to work in Turkey. They said if I am lucky enough, I may find a job with good employers. Living conditions and monthly salaries are very good in Turkey. When my cousin working in Ankara returned, I decided to come instead of her” (Ms. C, Turkmen)

On the other hand, three of the participants state their close relation with Turkish citizens as a reason for choosing Turkey as a destination country.

Ms. M and her husband moved to Turkey after their son's marriage as it stated before. Ms. J state that she started to have a part-time cleaning job in the Turkish construction firms in Uzbekistan. Her boss offered her to work for his sister after her second children's birth. As a result, they send her to Turkey for look after the children. Ms. A state that they usually use their social ties through Turkey in order to move there. She states that "her country has been bursting for years and therefore, their young population is now walking in Turkey's streets."

Apart from the social ties, recruitment agencies play a significant role in this migration flow. Agency X states that their international partners²⁶ used to arrange informal advertisement campaigns in the Balkans Region in order to gather women workers that would demand a job in the service sector of a foreign country. It is stated that these "international partners" were sometimes a well established recruitment agency, where as sometimes they are only a single man or a group that provide immigrant workers to other countries.

Only three of the immigrant women workers stated that they decided to come to Turkey through the information they gathered from such an agent or agency. Ms. K (Uzbek) and Ms. I (Moldovan) state that they made the migration decision on their own, while Ms. L (Georgian) says her husband met someone who was trying to gather construction workers in order to send Turkey.

²⁶ Other recruitment agencies and people having this duties in the sending country/country of origin

“One day my husband said that he met with someone who was gathering people in order to send to Turkey as temporary construction workers. He offered to go alone, instead of me. He did not want me to work alone in a strangers’ house. I asked him whether we both find a job at the same place. The man who was providing workers advised my husband another man. They met, and they contacted with our recruitment agency.” (Ms. L, Georgian)

5.4 En Route to Turkey

After deciding to come to Turkey, immigrant women seek for ways of transport. For this process, they need to afford their travel expenses, find a way to travel to Turkey, and obtain visa.

5.4.1 Affording Travel Expenses

When the average income of the immigrant women at their home country is bear in mind, obviously it is difficult for them to make savings for their travel and visa expenses. There are four ways for obtaining the travel and visa expenses are observed during the interviews with both immigrant women and recruitment agencies. First of all immigrant women workers may provide these expenses by their own savings. Secondly, their employers pay for these expenses, sometimes by sending them their documents directly, and sometimes sending the money. Thirdly, when these women can not afford these expenses; they try to borrow the amount

from their relatives, friends and money broker (tefeci). Lastly, when these women make their arrangements through recruitment agencies, these agencies provide their documents and transport. In other words, they take on debt to the agencies, and agencies provide these amounts from the new employers after immigrant woman workers' recruitment.

“We are not collecting money from the immigrant women. But they have expenses that we provide. For example, the cheapest is providing people from Georgia. It costs 100\$. But It costs 500\$ for Turkmenistan, 700\$ for Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. We are taking them more economically; we usually provide these costs for them. But instead of taking commission from immigrant women, we provide it from our customers. After the deal, our customers pay us about 500\$ for commission. This commission is also a sign of guarantee. We promise our customers the best service. Therefore, our customers trust us.” (Agency Z)

Table 5.2 shows the country of origin, the means of transport, average cost of transport and visa expenses and the way in which the immigrant women obtain the money needed for these expenses. Six of the participants emphasize that they send their documents to the recruitment agencies and/or their representatives in order to be prepared. Ms. L (Georgian, traveled with her husband) has no idea about how much the travel and visa expenses cost, because she said that her husband deals with money issues, but he arranged everything through recruitment agencies. Like Ms. L, Ms. D (Turkmenistan) also does not know how much it was cost to travel to Turkey, because she says she sent her documents, and did not ask the rest.

Table 5.2: Means of Transport, Average Cost of Transport and Visa Expenses and the Way of Obtaining the Cost of Immigrant Women during Their Travel to Turkey.

Name	Country of Origin	Means of Transport	Average Cost of Transport and Visa Expenses (\$)	Way of obtaining the cost
Ms. A	Turkmenistan	Bus, Plane	800	Borrowing from a money broker
Ms. B	Moldova	Bus	120	Her husband paid
Ms. C	Turkmenistan	Plane	900	Borrowing from her cousin
Ms. D	Turkmenistan	Bus, Car	-	Recruitment agency paid
Ms. E	Turkmenistan	Bus, Plane	800	Borrowing from the recruitment agency
Ms. F	Georgia	Bus	100 (RA)	Recruitment agency paid
Ms. G	Georgia	Bus	100 (RA)	Recruitment agency paid
Ms. H	Georgia	Bus	100 (RA)	Recruitment agency paid
Ms. I	Moldova	Bus	200	Borrowing from the recruitment agency
Ms. J	Uzbekistan	Car, Plane	950	Her employer paid
Ms. K	Uzbekistan	Bus	600	Recruitment agency paid
Ms. L	Georgia	Bus	-	Recruitment agency paid
Ms. M	Turkmenistan	Bus, Plane	800	Her savings plus her son paid the rest

Eight of the thirteen immigrant women state that they arranged their travel and visa expenses through the recruitment agencies. There are two ways for providing these expenses; most of them obtained prepared documents, where as a few (like Ms. I and Ms. E) borrowed cash money and make their travel arrangements on their own.

“I found out a man who was looking for nannies in order to send to Turkey. He said that he is a representative for a well-established agency in Turkey. He wanted me to give my all documents and passport, so that he was able to prepare them I refused, because I am aware of how people also do trafficking.

There were many stories about trafficked women. I wanted him to give me money, and I said him I would prepare all of my documents. I insist, and I signed a document for that. I obtain about 300\$ from him for transport and visa expenses, and I directly contact with the agency he said to me.” (Ms. I, Moldovan)

“I noticed a man coming to our village once a month. Then I learn that he was gathering people to send to foreign countries for work. I also saw that many girls from my village got into contact with him. Therefore, I spoke to him for sending me to Turkey. Many people warned me not to give my passport and documents to a stranger, so I did not let him take mines. But I paid 50% of my first salary to him apart from the commission he took for me from the agency in Ankara. (Ms. E, Turkmen)

The other six immigrant women, including Ms. L and Ms. D, state that they gave their documents and passports to a representative of the recruitment agencies, and they got their tickets and passports just before their travel. On the other hand, there are five participants who did not make any arrangements or borrow money via the recruitment agencies. These five also have never had a contract with these agencies; they found their jobs via their friends and relatives, and sometimes come to Turkey in order to make a replacement with someone else that had decided to return.

5.4.2 Means of Transport during the Travel to Turkey

There are two means of transportation that the participants of this research had chosen; land transport and air transport. Some of the participants traveled via buses, while some traveled via both cars and busses. On the

other hand, some of the women who had arrived Turkey via plane also used buses in order to come to the city where the airport is at their home country and/or to travel to Ankara from İstanbul.

“I took the bus to Ashgabat and stayed there for a night. I stayed in the airport and sleep on the couches. It was the first time that I was travelling by a plane. And it was the first time for me to travel outside of my country.” (Ms. E, Turkmen)

“The construction firm which’s boss had arranged me this job, also arranged my travel. He sent me to the airport in Bukhara with other engineers and workers. It took four hours to reach the airport by the firm’s minibus.” (Ms. J, Uzbek)

Immigrant women who had made their travel arrangements via recruitment agencies, usually traveled with other women like themselves. They were collected by a man, and had many stops during their journey.

“Our men go around village by village. They announce the date of departure; therefore people who would come make their arrangements accordingly. Applications are close one month prior to this announcement, and visa and travel arrangements are accomplished. For example women are gathered by these men and in one-three days, they depart from the country by busses, cars and planes.” (Agency Z)

“It took 12 days for me to arrive at Turkey. People gathered us, and make us got on the minibuses. We changed our vehicle several times. At some places some of the girls were leaving the group, while others were attending.” (Ms. D, Turkmen)

Nevertheless as highlighted in previous chapters, in general a person should have enough money in order to migrate, therefore it is expected for immigrant women did not come from the lower class of their society. This general statement in the global migration systems is usually true and observable, but it can be claimed that when an agent (recruitment agencies, smugglers and traffickers) integrate to the system, it become easy for the lower classes to reach the travel and visa expenses. As a result, the agent factor is the determinant for integration of the worse off populations to the migration systems; and women who are one of the disadvantageous group in terms of poverty and security easily become commodities of an illegal trade in this global migration system.

5.4.3 First Arrival in Turkey, Visa Issues and Frequency of visits to their home country

At the end of 2007 Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Turkish Government changed visa arrangements for some of the foreign citizens due to the developments in their bilateral relations with the foreign governments. Especially visa requirements for some of the Caucasian Countries' citizens have changed in favor of them. Before these arrangements Moldovan, Turkmen and Uzbek citizens required to obtain one month tourist visas, where as Georgian citizens' were valid for only fifteen days. With the new arrangements, Turkmen and Uzbek citizens are now exempt from visa for their travels up to thirty days, were as Georgian citizens' exemptions are up to ninety days. (See Appendix B, comparison

of Turkish visa requirements for the selected four country citizens between years 2006 and 2008)

All of the participants had had ordinary type of passports and had obtained tourist visas before entering to Turkey. Before the latest arrangements, all of them stated that they entered Turkey legally, and did not leave Turkey after their visas expire. Due to their arrival year, some made visits to their home country by paying visa expiration fines and refreshing their documents before their return to Turkey.

Table 5.3: First arrival year of Immigrant Women to Turkey and Number of Visits to their Home Country before year 2008.

Name	First arrival year to Turkey	Number of visits before 2008
Ms. A	2005	1
Ms. B	2002	2
Ms. C	2006	2
Ms. D	2006	0
Ms. E	2005	1
Ms. F	2006	2
Ms. G	2006	2
Ms. H	2006	1
Ms. I	2003	4
Ms. J	2005	3
Ms. K	2005	1
Ms. L	2005	2
Ms. M	1997	6

Table 5.3 shows the first arrival date of the participants in Turkey, and their approximate number of visits to their home country before the year 2008. Only Ms. D had not had a visit to Turkmenistan until we had the

interview that was held in December 2007. But she emphasized that she would quit her current job because she had already saved the visa expiration fine, and planned a one month journey to her homeland, and after her return to Turkey, she would find another job via her recruitment agency.

Most of the immigrant women workers were complained about the visa expiration fines. According to Agency Z, the average visa expiration fine is about 50\$ per month, which costs a fortune for the immigrant women's long stays. For instance some years ago their Moldovan workers had preferred not to make any visits, and after four – five years duration of stays, they had to pay two – three thousands dollars on their final return as visa expiration fine.

“My employers sometimes helped me when I went to my country. I came to Turkey in 2002, and have visited my country only for two times. I am afraid of being caught by the police. Although I know people who are departing from and arriving at Turkey for several times, the police may ask me the reason why I am travelling so much. Thus, I will return permanently this summer.” (Ms. I, Moldovan)

“I have only a son and my old mother in this life. It is very difficult for me to spend time without them. I first arrived in 2006. I continuously cried for the first months. My son is now three years old. I took the risk and have visited him once a year. My employers helped me a lot both morally and financially. They afford my visa expiration fines.” (Ms. G, Georgian)

Ms. J seems to be the most fortunate immigrant women among all of the participants. Her employer also obtained her visa expiration fines, and

travel expenses for visiting her homeland once a year. Also Ms. I saved money for her travel almost every year.

Ms. M first migrated to Turkey in year 1997 with her husband, after her son's marriage with a Turkish woman. In year 2002, both her husband and herself obtained Turkish passports, and they have been freely visiting their homeland from then.

After the latest arrangements done by the Turkish and Foreign Governments due to their bilateral agreements, and increase both in the travel circulation and flow of labor (not only women, but also men) is expected clearly. For example, during the first interview that was held in May 2007 with Agency X, most of the foreign supply of women labor is from Moldavia, Romania and Turkmenistan²⁷. But in the interview that was held in September 2007, they stated that their employees profile had changed due to the current economic and legal developments, therefore during that days most of the employees from Balkan Countries were returning their home, where as a significant flow of labor from the Caucasus Countries, especially from Georgia, had started. At our last interview in March 2008, 40% of their foreign employees were from Georgia, and they legally enter Turkey and stay for three months, and after three months they visit their homeland for one week.

²⁷ Agency X also emphasized that all the young population in Turkmenistan had flown to Turkey.

5.5 Recruitment Process in Ankara

There are three ways of job seeking observed in the research group of immigrant woman domestic workers; by applying a recruitment agency, by making replacement with another immigrant domestic worker whom is returning to her homeland and by via contacting their friends and relatives whom are currently working in Turkey.

Nearly half of the participants have found their first jobs through the recruitment agencies in Turkey. According to them, when they made arrangements for coming to Turkey via these kinds of agencies at their homeland, a representative of the Turkish agencies met them after the entrance to Turkey, and replaced them to the agency which they would work for.

The way of making recruitment through agencies is based on no contract. Although it is known that most of these kinds of agencies arrest immigrant women's passports, the three agencies that I had interviews rejected this. However, I actually understood from only Agency Y that they take the passports until they replace the women to a job.

“Unless we take their passports, they also apply to other recruitment agencies. Also this enables them to work in different sectors that we do not want. We have to take a precaution, so that we are taking their passports until they conclude their

second month in their workplace. This is not only for our guarantee, but this is also for their security.” (Agency Y)

On the other hand, these agencies take a one month salary of the immigrant workers (approx. 400-500\$) from their Turkish customers, and guarantee the option for choosing another woman if they do not satisfy with the former one. They stated the efficiency of this sector in Turkey based on the trust between the agency and the Turkish customers.

“If your name is heard in the market, customers flow to your agency. There is an increasing demand for live-in domestics. But if there is something bad about you heard, your reputation fall down. You may also bankrupt. For example an agency whose name was passed in a prostitution case, lost all customers. They changed their name after that.” (Agency Y)

“I am working with the recruitment agency Y. They found my first job. We had a meeting at the agency’s office with my employers and an agency officer. Both parents joined the interview, and they posed me several questions. The man was contacting only with the officer, and their discussions were about financial issues. He asked what to do unless they satisfied me. I feel like a commodity that they would purchase me. I was at the edge of crying. But after they make the deal, the woman directly start talking with me. She asked me about my life in Georgia, my family, my husband and my children. I felt a bit comfort, I realized she was trying to get into know me. I understand that a mother can only be understood by another.” (Ms. F, Georgian)

Furthermore, Agency X states that there are over 800 recruitment agencies and this number is increasing day by day. For example, in year 2007 they are 55 agencies that they know in Ankara. But as these agencies are

illegal, their conditions changed from agency to agency in terms of their institutionalization, the quality of their services providing to Turkish customers, their humanitarian treatment to the immigrant women, their engagements with the other agencies and people working in entertainment sector.

“There are at least 800 recruitment agencies in Turkey. 55 of them locate in Ankara, but I must say only 5-6 of them had a institutionalized structure. Otherwise many of them sparing a single room with a telephone line, and become an agency. We have been in this business for more than ten years, and our agency is well established. We have updateable website, a good portfolio. We are holding annual meetings with other recruitment agencies and discuss how we provide the best service to our customers.” (Agency X)

General profile of the recruitment agencies is very remarkable. It can be understood that I was able to make interviews with the three well-established agencies from five or six. I emphasized how I reached and arranged my interviews with them in the previous chapter. Two of these agencies locate in Bahçelievler District very close to a well-known street. The third agency locates in Tunalı Hilmi District. Two of the agencies use “Assistant, Nanny and Nurse Consultancy Firm” phrase at their outside panels. Conversely, the third agency has no sign about it, and seems like to be only a “Real Estate and Construction Firm” from outside. But all these three give advertisements to the newspapers by using their real names.

Ms. D, Ms. F, Ms. G and Ms. K had advices from their friends and relatives for finding a “trustful person or agency” to apply. On the other hand, Ms. L and her husband directly applied to the agency in Ankara that was told them to go from the other agency they paid for their travel in Georgia.

Two of the participants state that they had to quit their first jobs for some reasons, and their recruitment agencies afford their daily life expenses until they got their second jobs.

“When I first came to Turkey, I was not able to speak or understand in Turkish. My employer had already known that before the deal. They said it will not be a problem and they will help me to learn Turkish. But at home, as I did not understand anything, my boss treated me like I am a fool. They fired me after six months. I cried for hours at the recruitment agency. I thought I will not able to find another job. I waited for three months. I stayed with other Georgian women who are working for hotel services. My agency sent me to them to stay. I was coming to the agency every day, and they were teaching Turkish to other girls like me, and I was joining those sessions.” (Ms. H, Georgian)

“My first job was not baby-sitting. I was looking after an old woman who was sick and crazy. I was afraid of him. I did not like that job. After three months I came to my agency and cried. They told me to be patient but when I told them that I would return my country, they offered me another job which is baby-sitting.” (Ms. E, Turkmen)

Ms. I first came to İstanbul via a recruitment agency and worked for a family for six months as a nanny. But the family did not pay her salary regularly so she found another job by herself which was cleaning and dishwashing at a restaurant. For the four months there which she did not want to tell me was seriously bad as she said. A regular customer of the restaurant, who also became a friend of her, helped her to come to Ankara and work for his brother's family after they had twins.

“I first came to İstanbul. It was easy for me to arrive there. I found my first job via a recruitment agency. I was working as a baby-sitter, plus was doing all of the cleaning, cooking, laundry, ironing... My employers gave me 200 YTL for all those works. They also treat me bad. After the third month they told me that they decided to give my salary annually, so I would work for almost nothing for months. So I quit the job. I immediately found a post at a restaurant. I was not happy there, I thought I was just doing cleaning and washing the dishes. But anyway, there were some regular customers. One of them was a good man, we sometimes chat with him. When he learned that I was a kindergarten teacher, he offered me to look after the newly born twins of her brother. So I accepted...” (Ms. I, Moldovan)

Some of the immigrant women who have relatives and friends that working in Turkey emphasize that they seek their jobs directly through them. For example, Ms. B, Ms. J and Ms. M found their current jobs via their friends and relatives by asking them.

Another case of finding jobs in Turkey is through replacement with another woman who returns to her country. Some of the immigrant women

who had been working near the families sent messages to their friends and relatives about their return and asked whether there is a demand for their current job. Ms. A and Ms. C found their jobs by this way.

5.6 Other concerns in migration process: Smuggling and Human Trafficking

At the beginning of my research, I was aware of some of the challenging issues like human smuggling and trafficking of women which overshadow the women's migration process from one country to another. As stated in previous chapters, there is a little distinction between human trafficking and smuggling. On the contrary of the known facts in society, human trafficking is not an increasing issue at the highest levels in Turkey. By saying that I do not want to ignore the existing cases of trafficking, but what I am underlying is that not all of the immigration cases of women directly related with these issues.

For example none of my research participants declared that they were trafficked. But interestingly some of them emphasize that making prostitution or not depends on their own choice. I did not pose very detailed questions about this issue to all of them. There are two reasons for this: first because five of the participants referred that they found their jobs and came to Turkey in safe and trustful ways, and second not all of the participants feel confident about making this interview, so I did not want to irritate them by posing very detailed questions about trafficking issues. The participants who preferred to answer my questions on this issue state

that just after their arrival to Turkey, when they met by a man, he asked them about what they would like to do. The ones who chose to work in entertainment sector left the group and went with “other men”, and the rest placed to the recruitment agencies’ offices for their arrival transactions.

5.7 Concluding Remarks

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, dramatic changes in economy, social life and well-being of the citizens of the post-Soviet States was occurred. On the one hand increase in unemployment rates and population formed an unskilled labor stock, and the parallel increase in poverty and cost of living caused people to search for new ways of survival on the other.

Interviews show that, all of the interviewees’ primary reason for migration has its roots in their economic situations. As stated before, no matter what the level of education they have, where they are living; the entire immigrant women complained about poverty and expressed their future concerns for themselves, for their families and mostly for their children. Most of them had experienced unemployment in their country of origin; while some had already unemployed when they decided to migrate, in addition, some of these women’s husbands were/are also unemployed or working outside of their home country.

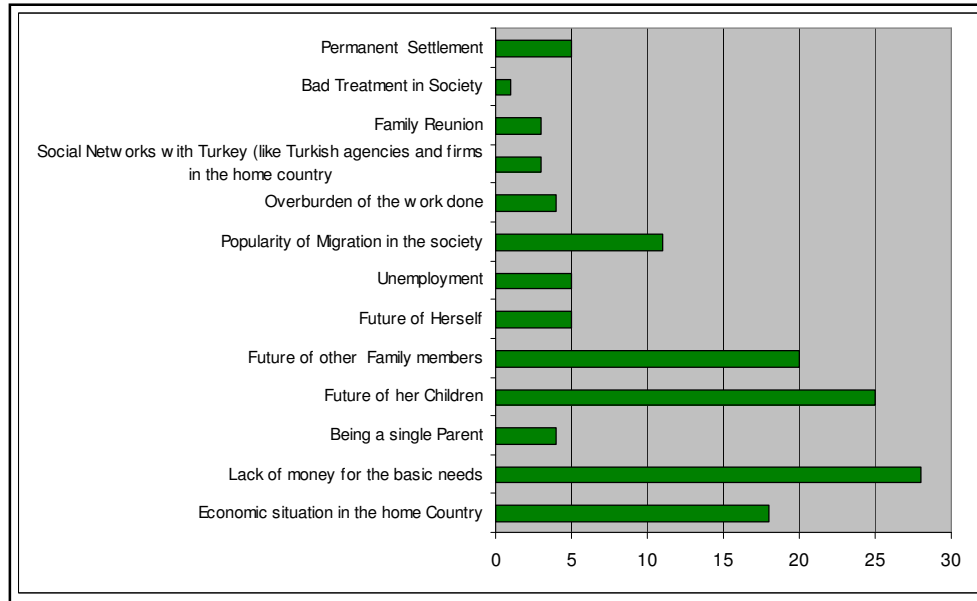


Figure 5.1: Motivations of Immigrant Domestic Woman Workers for Migration (In addition to multiple responses, the frequency of mention is also considered)

Among the main reasons for departure from the homeland, immigrant women workers cite mainly the economic reasons. According to the frequencies of mention, two major motivations for migration are the lack of money for the daily survival, and their home countries' general economic situation. Secondly, immigrant state their concerns for their children's and family member's future as a strong motivation for migration decision. As a third indicator, the migratory trends in their society is very remarkable.

During the interviews, all of the immigrant women whom were working at a paid job at their home country complained about their income level and how they were not able to afford their families' daily life expenses. Some of these people, whom had been living in villages at their home country first decided to move to cities in order to provide their children a better education and a better future.

When both man and woman of the household migrate at the same time, they leave their children to someone else (usually to a relative) and live apart from them. Although these immigrant women seems to assign their motherhood role to their mothers, their siblings, any other relatives or another women whom they hire for, their daughters left behind usually take their mother's role in the household, even they continue their education.

Some of the women find the chance to migrate with their husbands, and were hired as a couple. On the other hand, main purpose of migration for some of the immigrant women is marrying with a Turkish man and having a Turkish citizenship.

Turkey is a transit country for many international migration routes, and many irregular migrants seek to come and work in Turkey. Today there is still a huge demand for these immigrants, whether their gender are male or female, in informal sector.

There are four common reasons for choosing Turkey as a destination country. First of all, there is a high income gap between their home country and in Turkey. Secondly, there is an increasing demand for foreign workers in service sector in Turkey, thus especially working as a live-in domestic worker has many advantages like security due to the conditions of living with a family and saving money as they have nearly no daily life expenses spending from their income. Thirdly, we can talk about a chain migration, like at least a relative or a friend of the immigrant women who had come and started working as a domestic worker before their decision. And finally, as Turkey's geographic conditions, distance factor, ability for transport easily and the present state for affairs of networks for sending remittances.

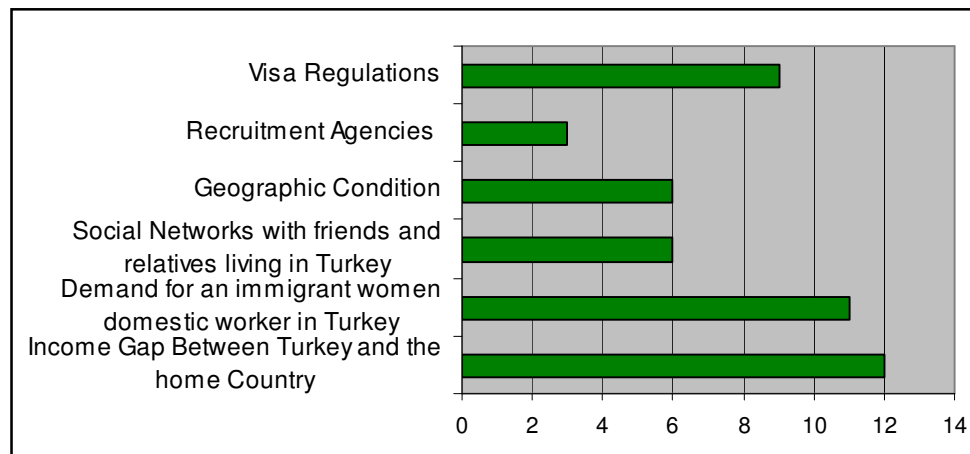


Figure 5.2: Reasons of Immigrant Domestic Woman Workers for Choosing Turkey as a Destination Country (some interviewees emphasize multiple reasons.)

Immigrant women cited the income gap between Turkey and their home country as one of the most important reason for choosing this country as a destination. Parallel to this, the high demand for foreign workers in child care sector in Turkey and formation of a structured market of this via agencies and state regulations is another motivated reason for choosing Turkey. Geographic proximity and easy travel opportunities makes Turkey as a desirable destination for post-Soviet women. Another remarkable reason is the social networks via their friend and relatives who have already had a work experience in Turkey, or the recruitment agencies and their information campaigns.

One of the most influential reasons for deciding Turkey as a destination country depends on their trust for an unknown geography where they have already gather information about from prior immigrants. Apart from the social ties, recruitment agencies play a significant role in this migration flow. International partners of the local agencies used to arrange informal advertisement campaigns in migrant sending countries in order to gather women workers that would demand a job in the service sector.

When the average income of the immigrant women at their home country is bear in mind, obviously it is difficult for them to make savings for their travel and visa expenses. There are four ways for obtaining the travel and visa expenses are observed during the interviews with both immigrant women and recruitment agencies. First of all immigrant women workers may provide these expenses by their own savings. Secondly, their employers pay for these expenses, sometimes by sending them their

documents directly, and sometimes sending the money. Thirdly, when these women can not afford these expenses; they try to borrow the amount from their relatives, friends and money broker. Lastly, when these women make their arrangements through recruitment agencies, these agencies provide their documents and transport.

Nevertheless as it said in previous chapters, in general a person should have enough money in order to migrate, therefore it is expected for immigrant women did not come from the lower class of their society. This general statement in the global migration systems is usually true and observable, but it can be claimed that when an agent (recruitment agencies, smugglers and human traffickers) integrate to the system, it become easy for the lower classes to reach the travel and visa expenses. As a result, it can be said that the agent factor is the determinant for integration of the worse off populations to the migration systems; and women who are one of the disadvantageous group in terms of poverty and security easily become commodities of an illegal trade in this global migration system.

Another concern about the international migration of women workers is their visa requirements. With the new bilateral agreements, this problem seems to be solved for a while. From year 2008, Turkmen and Uzbek citizens are exempt from visa for their travels up to thirty days, were as Georgian citizens' exemptions are up to ninety days. With these arrangements an increase in both migration circulation and flow of labor, in not only women, but also men, is expected clearly.

There are three ways of job seeking observed in the research group of immigrant woman domestic workers; by applying a recruitment agency, by making replacement with another immigrant domestic worker whom is returning to her homeland and by via contacting their friends and relatives whom are currently working in Turkey. General profile of the recruitment agencies is very remarkable. It can be understood that I was able to make interviews with the three well-established agencies from five or six. These agencies are usually locating in well now upper and upper-middle class centers. Some prefer to hide their title and purpose and run their business from internet and newspapers; and the others use their titles frankly.

None of my research participants declared that they were trafficked. But interestingly some of them emphasize that making prostitution or not, usually depends on their own choice. Some of the participants emphasized that just after their arrival to Turkey, when they met by a man, he asked them about what they would like to do. The ones who chose to work in entertainment sector left the group and went with “other men”, and the rest placed to the recruitment agencies’ offices for their arrival transactions.

CHAPTER 6

CONSEQUENCES OF THE MIGRATION OF IMMIGRANT DOMESTIC WOMAN WORKERS IN TURKEY

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the consequences of immigration of post-Soviet women in terms of the experiences at their works and in their lives will be discussed. I will try to draw the frame of the workplace of the immigrant domestic workers with the reflection of their working experiences.

6.2 Working in Turkey

The evolution of the paid domestic work in general and specifically in Turkey is discussed in pervious chapters. I am aware of the fact that this issue can not be generalized; every personal story tells us a different fact, sometimes has common focuses, and usually diverse from others apart from this commonalities. Initially, the place that defined for these

immigrant women as workplace is also a private place for another group of women; this place which overlays different peoples' lives is home.

For that reason, I will try to reflect what is going on in the houses for two different groups which have strong social ties due to the assignation of the reproductive duties from one to the other. First of all, I will try to emphasize the working experiences of absolute immigrant domestic woman workers by the help of their expressions during the interviews.

6.2.1 Hiring a Paid Immigrant Woman Domestic Worker

In theory the reasons behind hiring a paid domestic worker and the evolution of paid domestic work is discussed in previous chapter. I am not able to make any generalization according to the evaluations of responses of all participants of the research, but instead, I may set the variant conditions and reasons for hiring a paid domestic worker. Specifically, I can not categorize the definition of work for immigrant women, because they are not just only paid domestic workers, but at the same time, they are live-in workers. As I mentioned before, all of the participants of this research group are live-in domestic workers. Also all of the woman employers, who participated this research, have employed live-in domestic workers.

6.2.2 General Profile of the Woman Employers

All of the woman employer participants in this research come from middle and upper-middle class families. No matter what economic level their families had previously had, significantly when their income -or at least their purchasing power- is compared to the immigrant women's, woman employers seem to be more and more benefited. Apart from that, all of the seven participants of this focus group have at least university/undergraduate degree. On the other hand, five of the seven participants are currently working, while two left their jobs after getting married and/or having their first children. Apart from the two housewives, occupations of the other five women are a doctor in a hospital, a dentist running her clinic with another colleague, an architect, a civil engineer having her own office with her husband, and a journalist.

These women emphasize that they feel the overburden of having two professions: having their primary occupation and being a mother after their first giving birth. Their ages range between 33 to 42, and the number of children they have change from 1 to 3.

From these seven woman employer, three of them now hiring a part-time Turkish woman domestic worker, but had previously hired an immigrant woman. The reason for the change for the two of these three is due to the problems occurred between them and their employees, which will be discussed in the next chapters. One of them was hiring a Moldovan while

other's was a Romanian. Third woman employer had previously hired a Filipina baby-sitter for her second child in order to make her son learn English. But she state that it was a trend during the beginning of 2000s, and her employee failed to teach English, therefore now she prefer a part-time Turkish woman to look after her son. The other four are currently hiring immigrant domestic workers; one is Moldovan, one is Georgian, one is Turkmen and the other is Azerbaijani.

6.2.3 Reason behind Hiring a Live-in Domestic Woman Worker

All of the woman employers who participate this research emphasize that having a child is the turning point of the shift in their domestic helpers' profile. Before that, they hired a Turkish domestic worker who was also a part-time worker. Six of the participants state that they were working for long hours, sometimes six days a week, while some occasionally had business travels. After having their first child, all of them were not able to continue their previous work load. For example, Madam F, whom was a firm manager, decided to leave her job.

“I was a firm manager when I met with my future husband. He was working at the Ministry of International Affairs. When my first son was born, I left my work. First I thought that this would only be a break in my career, but we have to leave Turkey for more than a year due to my husband's business. After we returned, I understood that my career could not be continue with my husband's business and my children. Therefore, I started to deal with small charity stuff. Now I have three children, I can not deal with them alone.” (Madam F, housewife)

Before having their first child, these middle and upper-middle class educated women were hiring a part time domestic worker that we used to call *gündelikçi*, *temizlikçi* or *yardımcı*. These domestic woman workers are responsible from general housework like cleaning, laundry, ironing, cooking. But women employers emphasize that child-care is another duty that should take 24 hours. For example, Madam G is ruling her engineering office with her husband and they both usually have business travels. She had to return her job after the first three months of birth, so she had to hire a live-in domestic worker instead of her previous daily helper.

“My husband and I are ruling our own project office. We are doing projects in many cities, plus we have also a couple of international projects. I definitely need someone who cares my children, and prepares home for them for daily life. I am not able to deal with housework. Unfortunately, I also have limited time for my children. A live-in domestic worker is responsible from the order of the house and my children’s daily lives. But as my concern is my children, I have to control the person who cares her children. I can follow my employee’s every step when she lives with us. This is more practical...” (Madam G, civil engineer)

Another reason for the demand of a live-in baby sitter is the overburden of being a single and working mother. Madam C, who is a journalist, divorced and working for almost all week, state that she had to work instead of two people in order to afford her children’s future. Therefore, she is not able to do her job and take care of her children at the same time.

“First of all I am a single mother. I am working instead of two people for this family. I need to be strong economically, especially for my children. After I divorced from my ex-husband, I built up a new life, new home and a new order. I am working for almost all days a week. There is no distinction between day and night for our job. I have business travels, meetings, and long discussion hours at work etc. But my children need someone who stays with them for 24 hours. For that reason I hired a live-in baby-sitter. She now cooks for them, plays with them, in other words she rules the house.” (Madam C, journalist)

As a result entering the labor market mostly affect women's reproductive labor. Especially when they take the economic burden and work for long hours or personally decide to have a successful career are the push factors for them to assign their reproductive labor to another woman. Sometimes they traditionally assign these responsibilities to a relative, but specifically for the last decades, middle and upper-middle class women seem to prefer hiring a live-in domestic worker. But some of the women also consider the opportunity of full control over their employee while deciding to choose a live-in domestic worker, instead of the help of a relative. Interestingly in these cases, the woman employers undertake the financial responsibility of the baby-sitter. It is for sure enables an absolute order, but at the same time goes to the exploitation of the workers by limiting their social lives. For example Madam B, who is a doctor and have very critical and bad impressions for her previous Moldovan baby-sitter, emphasized that the primary reason for hiring a live-in baby-sitter is the opportunity to control her all the time.

“My primary reason for hiring a live-in baby-sitter is that, I need someone who obeys my rules especially for the ones for my children. Before that, my husband’s sister was looking after them. I usually argue with her about caring them, especially on their daily routines like playing times, sleeping times and their nutrition. She never did my comments, and did what she knew best! I was tired, I am the mother of my children, so I hired someone who would obey my rules. My husband rejected first, but I offer to pay all of her salary from my money, so we made the deal.” (Madam B, doctor)

6.2.4 A social dilemma: “Why all live-in baby sitters are foreigners?”

At the first step, it is seemed to be a general trend of hiring an immigrant – or foreign- baby sitter in the middle and upper-middle income families. But there is a critical point that families prefer an immigrant woman when they demand for a live-in domestic worker, on the contrary they prefer a Turkish woman when they need someone who work only in day-time. It can be said that the basic reason for this is that Turkish family structure, does not matter from what level or status the woman comes from, does not provide the conditions for a single woman or a girl to work live-in for an outsider.

“It is almost impossible to find a live-in Turkish domestic worker. None of the families tolerate their daughters to live and work at a stranger’s house. Of course there are some exceptions, but in general even I [the agency officer] do not trust such a woman. We see situations like these women’s psychologies are not normal. No one leave her child to that kind of a person. But for daily basis, we also have a strong portfolio of our Turkish employers. In our portfolio, there are professional nannies, baby-

sitters and university students who want to work part time in our portfolio of Turkish employees.” (Agency X)

On the other hand, as the immigrant women do not have any close ties near to her, it is easier to build up a control mechanism over her. It is for sure that when a problem occurs, there is no one that may be able to interfere from outside. In addition immigrant woman does not have to hurry up for attaining her family after work. But a Turkish domestic woman worker usually runs at the end of her work time.

“I first have a baby-sitter who looked after my children in the day-time. But she also had a family; she wanted to be at home at most six o’clock. My husband and I rotationally run to the house, before she left. But we had to work more. For example, my peak hour at the clinic is between 18:00 – 21:00, because most of the patients are working at day time and they prefer to have an appointment after that. Anyway, after my littlest daughter started nursery school, she had nothing to do at home, and I realized I was paying a fortune for nothing. As a result, I decided to hire a live-in baby-sitter.” (Madam E, dentist)

As it seen the time shifts of both Turkish and immigrant domestic woman workers do not intercept; Turkish women work only for day-time, and immigrant women work as a live-in worker. Another reason for the preference of the families to employ an immigrant woman only as a live-in domestic worker especially in child-care is the concerns for these woman’s life outside their employers’ homes. Madam A state that there is a general impression for immigrant women that “they may also work in entertainment sector or make prostitution at night”, therefore she prefer her employee to live with them. Madam B also state that these women are

looking after her children, therefore she has to know every step of her. The limit of taking control on immigrant women usually opens a door for exploitation of these women in terms of their labor, their social life, and their humanity.

There is also an economic side of this duality. The price for hiring a Turkish daily baby-sitter begins from 700\$ per month, and increases due to the working conditions, and working hours. In addition, most of the Turkish women require their insurance, which also rises the price for the middle and upper-middle income families. On the contrary, when they buy the immigrant woman's labor for live-in basis, it costs around 400-500\$ a month, plus it enables the employers to exploit their employees more and more easily.

6.2.5 Daily Routines of Woman Domestic Workers; Mandatory and Extra Responsibilities at Home and Day-offs

As it mentioned in the previous chapter, I limited the research group with women whose basic responsibilities are child-care and babysitting. Therefore, I do not necessarily expect them doing any health services or elderly-care. Some of the women emphasized that they had had primarily different responsibilities like cleaning, doing housework and elderly care, plus a few had worked in different sectors, but at the time that the interviews were held, they were principally employed as babysitters and nannies.

All of the participants in the research group are live-in baby-sitters. They live and work at the same place, so this sometimes causes a flexibility of their responsibilities in terms of housework. Some of them are only responsible for child-care; on the other hand some, voluntarily or obligatorily, undertake other housework duties.

Five of the thirteen participants emphasize that they are working as baby-sitters, and there is no other duty given by their employers. The number of children those women in the research group have to generally look after ranges from two to four; Ms. C looks after two, Ms. A, Ms. I and Ms. J look after three, and Ms. F looks after four children. But specifically it should be noted that the workload of these women do not directly proportional to the number of children in the household. Their primary duties are looking after children between the age ranges of 0 to 7. All of these five participants state that their employers hire another domestic worker in order to do the other housework such as cleaning, cooking, laundry, ironing etc.

“At the first meeting, my employers told me that they have four children. To be honest, I was afraid... But I am looking after to the baby and sometimes to the one who is attending nursery school. Apart from them I am generally watching the other two. Sometimes we play together. The madam is working for six days a week, so my primary responsibility is the baby. For example she comes to home in afternoon, feeds the baby and goes back to work. I understand all of her concerns, I am a mother also. Sometimes they have business travels, so they need someone stay with the children. There is a Turkish woman comes two times a week for cleaning. If I have time, I help her. “ (Ms. F, Georgian)

Apart from playing, feeding, cleaning and looking after children, sometimes they are saddled with extra duties. For example because Ms. I knows fluent English and Russian, her employers expect her to teach both two languages to their children.

“I came from İstanbul to look after the new born twins. After time passed, my employers wanted me to help their elder son’s English homeworks. They also wanted me to speak in English with the children. Last year they wanted me to teach him Russian also... I thought him the alphabet, some of the songs. By employer gave me money to bring books etc. They also paid me a supplementary money because of that.” (Ms. I, Moldovan)

Ms. G also has extra duties apart from child-care. Her employer has twin babies, and they are living with the grand mother who is diabetics. She, the employer, wanted Ms. G to greet her mother’s basic needs, and when she refused it, she decided to reduce Ms. G’s salary.

“My employers hired me to look after their new born twins. But the grandmother who is diabetics is living with them. My employer wanted me to look after her mother also, but I refused. Then she said she would reduce my salary, so I had to accept. But the grand mother is not a problematic person. I watch her, sometimes ask her whether she need anything, and control her food and medication. It is better than making housework. A Turkish woman comes for cleaning, cooking and laundry. She comes at morning, and leaves in the afternoon. She works hard, because she said she have to catch up for her other shifts. She is coming during the week time. Before hiring me, my employers asked her to look after the babies, but she refused because she

have many things to do and have to be at home on time. (Ms. G, Georgian)

Some of the immigrant women prefer to undertake extra duties by having extra salaries. Ms. I, Ms. E and Ms. K state that they offer their employers to do what the other housekeeper daily do, and having paid extra amount of money for this. In those cases the one who dismissed from her job is usually the native domestic woman worker.

“I wanted to earn more money. A cleaner was coming to the house three times a week. But she left because she was pregnant. Then my employers started to look for someone else for cleaning. I asked them to pay me the same money apart from my salary, and offer them to do all the work. Now I am earning more, and time passes more quickly.” (Ms. E, Turkmen)

“My employers have two children. The youngest started going to school this year. So I had nothing to do during the day time. I offered my employer to do the housework instead of her weekly cleaner. (Ms. K, Uzbek)

It can be said that, some households used to hire double domestic workers depending on different duties. But if the immigrant women find enough time and power for extra work, they demand for the second woman worker's job from their employers. Ms. B state that by doing this, her employers seem to have a servant which they can use as a commodity to show-off in society.

On the other hand, in some cases immigrant domestic woman workers have to be accounted for doing extra work apart from their primary duties.

Ms. D and Ms. H complained about their employers having them do all housework apart from child-care.

“I am afraid of being fired again. So I have obeyed all the rules since I started working here. I was looking after the two little children. My employer wanted me to do all of the housework in addition to this. I have a language problem, I sometimes can not understand what they are saying to me. And the children... they are so naughty, they are running everywhere, broking everything. They are very spoiled. Because I was afraid of being fired, I was doing everything they want from me, but it was terrible. A couple of months ago they bought a dog. And they decided to find someone who would look after it! I asked them to find someone else for housework, and instead I accepted to look after it. (Ms. H, Georgian)

“I am doing all of the housework apart from looking after the baby. My employer wants me to clean everywhere everyday! She threats me like a slave. I sometimes cry at nights because of my body’s aches. “(Ms. D, Turkmen)

Another case seen in the domestic workers’ sector is hiring as couples. But generally these live-in domestic couple workers are Turkish citizens; when men do shopping, driving, gardening, repairing etc, women do housework, child-care etc. In the research group, Ms. L and Ms. M fits to this profile.

Having a day-off is a complicated and worrying situation for immigrant women. In most cases it does not depend on a deal between their employers and them, and immigrant women usually expect an offer form their employers. According to the agencies, they are trying to put some

standards for the immigrant domestic woman workers. But they say having a day-off usually depends on the families' tolerance; they are setting the rules for immigrant women. The most obvious control on immigrant women is that families do not allow them to be out after a limited time, and especially at night they should be at home. On the other hand, the number of days that immigrant women have day-off changes from half day a week, one day a week, and one day in two weeks. Furthermore, sometimes immigrant women are expected to work for whole month without any day-off. For example, in the research group three women, Ms. I, Ms. L and Ms. M, do not have any day-offs. This limitation is sometimes because of the control mechanism of the family, while sometimes is due to the immigrant women's preference for security. Like Ms. I and Ms. H, most of the immigrant women do not prefer to stay outside of the home because they are afraid of being caught by the police.

6.2.6 Wages, Supplementary Wages and Social Security of Immigrant Women

All of the participants in the research group state that they are monthly paid, and apart from Ms. M, they all are paid in US Dollars where Ms. M and her husband are paid in Turkish Liras. The wage range changes between 400 – 900 \$ in total depending on principal amount for child-care and extra amount for additional duties. Two of the immigrant domestic workers are paid 400 \$ per month and one woman paid 500 \$ per month which is the general wage that the recruitment agencies have determined in Ankara. On the other hand two immigrant women are paid 900 \$ which

is the highest amount in the research group. Consequently, the amount of the immigrant domestic woman workers' wages change due to multiple tasks that they undertook and the way of their recruitment; but not to their education level or their professions.

Table 6.1: Immigrant Domestic Woman Workers' primary responsibilities at work and their Monthly Average Incomes. (* shows that woman find her current job through the recruitment agency)

Name	Responsibilities	monthly average income \$
Ms. A	Baby-sitting	650
Ms. B	Baby-sitting, service/servant	600 + 300
Ms. C	Baby-sitting	600
Ms. D*	Baby-sitting, all types of housework	400
Ms. E*	Baby-sitting, all types of housework	400 + 200
Ms. F*	Baby-sitting	500
Ms. G*	Baby-sitting, watching after the grandmother	500 + 200
Ms. H*	Baby-sitting, medium level of housework, watching after the dog	400
Ms. I	Baby-sitting, teaching English and Russian to the children	700 + 200
Ms. J	Baby-sitting	700
Ms. K*	Baby-sitting, all types of housework	400 + 250
Ms. L*	Baby-sitting	---
Ms. M	Baby-sitting	---

One of the major indicators for the wage level is the way the immigrant women seek jobs. Table 6.1 shows these women's duties and their monthly wages. There is a significant distinction between the wages that Ms. D, Ms. E, Ms. H and Ms. K are paid 400\$ and Ms. F and Ms. G are paid 500\$ for baby-sitting, when extra amounts for extra duties are

excluded. All these six immigrant women state that they found their current jobs through the recruitment agencies in Ankara. Additionally, the recruitment agencies that I had interviews state that they try to fix the wages and make some standardization in their recruitment portfolio.

For example Agency X states that they are offering 400\$ as a monthly salary for live-in domestic workers. Plus they do not have any responsibility about the order of the housework. They state that it depends on the deal between the employer and the employee. On the other hand, Agency Z offers 500\$ for monthly income. They say it is essential to make standardization in market prices.

It can be said that these immigrant women are paid for a determined amount for their primary duties, but the additional amount is depend on both their inducement ability and their employer's generosity.

It is obvious that immigrant women who have found their current jobs through their social networks are paid 200 to 300 \$ more from the lowest amount of wage for only baby-sitting. But there is no obvious determinant for the amount of wage gap of immigrant domestic woman workers.

Both Ms. L and Ms. M state that they do not separately paid from their husbands, and they are not able to indicate a definite wage amount for themselves. Ms. L and her husband are paid 1500 \$ per month, and Ms. M and her husband are paid 1800 YTL per month. But traditional gender roles are able to seen in these both cases, for instance both women state

that “the breadwinner of their family” is the husband, so they do not have a personal income. As they have to get money from their husband who has the total control, they do not have an economic freedom. So far, it can be said that when immigration takes place on family basis, gender roles continue to dominate the household, and these women are exploited more.

Apart from their monthly wages, employers provided extra financial support to immigrant women for different purposes such as medical expenses, personal expenses, day-offs, annual gifts to their families in their homeland, travel expenses, or visa expiration fines. The entire immigrant women in the research group who have found their current jobs through recruitment agencies state that they are paid 20 YTL for their day-offs. Recruitment agencies state that they advice the employers to pay this amount to the immigrant women in order to help them use it for weekly telephone calls to their homes.

But apart from Ms. D and Ms. H, employers also provide the immigrant women’s communication with their families. Ms. A, Ms. B and Ms. J are paid 30 YTL for their day-offs, while Ms. C and Ms. I are paid 50 YTL. Six immigrant women state that their employers also paid for their personal needs such as hygienic goods, shampoo, soap, basic clothing etc.

Due to their duties at home some of the employers show extra care for their employee’s outlook. For example, Ms. B state that as she also servicing to the guests, her employer buys her new and quality cloths, and paying for her hairdresser and caring services.

“My employer wants me to make service when she has guests. She usually has guests. She wants me to be neat and good looking, so sometimes she sent me to the hair dresser. But she cares my hands’ looking, so I regularly have manicure. She sometimes buys me new clothes. Good side of being also ‘a servant’ at this house is because of this care, I feel like a woman.” (Ms. B, Moldovan)

Apart from Ms. H, all immigrant women state that basically they believe that if they need any medication, their employer may pay for it. For instance, three women state that during the times they got flue, their employers gave them medication. In addition, Ms. I state that, when she realized she got high blood pressure, her employer took her to the clinic and paid for all the tests and medications.

As Ms. C needed to have a nephrolith operation, her employers paid for her travel expenses and visa expiration fine after she had the operation and came back to Turkey from Turkmenistan. Additionally, Ms. J’s employer has paid her travel expenses and visa expiration fines for each year that she has been working for them. Some of the employers also pay for the gifts for immigrant women in order to send and/or bring to their children in their home country.

Apart from Ms. M, none of the immigrant women has a social security due to their legal conditions. As Ms. M and her husband have obtained Turkish citizens, they legally have the right to live and to work in Turkey.

Ms. M state that right after obtaining citizenship, their employer made insurance for both of them.

6.2.7 Transferring Remittances to their Home Country and Families

The major factor for saving and sending remittances for immigrant women is the families left behind in their home country. All of the participants who have children aim to save all amounts of their salaries and send it to their countries. Being a live-in worker and being paid for extra expenses help them to save their monthly salaries. They do not need to pay for accommodation, for food or necessarily for transportation. Therefore, they are able to save cumulative amounts. But the main reason for saving money changes due to the participants' main concerns about their families and future plans. For instance, if they have children who are continuing their education, they primarily afford their education expenses. Plus they also afford their household in the country of origin's daily expenses such as household utilities. Another reason for sending remittances is specifically affording some of the personal expenses of a family member for treatment, medication and extra care. Most of the immigrant women state that their families try not to spend all of the remittances, and try to save for a future step such as buying or building a new house, having saved for a future investment and for building up a family business.

“Apart from my children's education and daily expenses, my family needs money for my brother's treatment and medications.

We, all the working members, send a spare amount of money for him.” (Ms. A, Turkmen)

“I am saving up money in order to have a new family business. We can not stay outside until the end of our lives; we must return and invest for our future. I want to run a shop with my family.” (Ms. E, Georgia)

Some of the immigrant women who have little children left behind try to find some ways for their children’s care in their country of origin when they do not have a family member who may take responsibility. In these cases immigrant domestic woman workers assign their reproductive labor to other women who are not able to afford for migration in their homeland. This situation can be clearly observed in the East Asian Countries that is mentioned in previous chapters. The migration and entrance into the domestic work sector in a foreign country constitute an international division of reproductive labor. This international division of caretaking may reference to the three-tier transfer of the reproductive work among women in sending and receiving countries of migration. For example, the privileged women of the receiving country purchase for caretaking labor of immigrant women; while in their country of origin, they at the same time purchase lower wage services of poorer women in their country of origin. Considering the monthly income level of immigrant women at their country of origin and their occupations, women who are paid for looking after children of immigrant women in their home country obviously earns less and less.

“There was no one to look after my children after I came to Turkey. So I hired a deprived woman from the village. She is living with my three children, looking after them and doing housework. I pay 10\$ a month, which is good for my country. I also pay all the expenses such as bills, food etc.” (Ms. C, Turkmenistan)

Immigrant women use different ways for money transfer such as bank accounts, Western Union, cargo and sending directly with someone who are travelling to their home country. The way the immigrant women send their remittances changes due to the connections between Turkey and the sending country. For example, only two of the participants regularly use bank accounts and Western Union for sending money to their homeland. The two Moldovan immigrant women refer that for the past years they preferred to send their money via bank accounts. Another regular money transfer is happened via the bus and truck drivers. Especially Georgian immigrant women prefer sending their money via bus drivers and transporters. They emphasize that this also enables them to build up a strong communication network apart from their social networks in Ankara. They can also send gifts, food and consumption goods that their families are not able to find in their country of origin cheaply.

The two Uzbek immigrant women who had also built up a social network via construction firms in Uzbekistan send their money to their families via construction workers during their travel. Like the Uzbeks, Turkmen immigrant women prefer the same way of sending money, in addition to the way that they send through people they know. In these cases, these women are not able to send money to their families regularly.

6.2.8 One's Workplace, the Other's Home: Relations between and Personal Opinions for Each Other

When we look at the relationship between the employer women and immigrant domestic women workers, there are some critical points that are reflected through each other. 'Home' is the common space for both groups; it is the private space for ones, while the public space –as, the work place- for the others.

Seven of the thirteen participants state that they have never had serious a problem with their employers. Most of the immigrant women point out that their primary condition for having a good employer is that; respect is more important than the money they are paid. They are expecting not to be mixed into their business. But as the major duty they have is child-care, they see themselves half-mother of the children they are looking after. At the opposite side, mothers –the woman employers- want all control over their employees.

Three of these seven immigrant women state that, they obey the rules of their employers whether they think they are right or wrong.

“I do what the madam wanted me to do. I never questioned, or tell what is right or wrong. There should ne a space between us. When my employers are at home, I prefer staying at my room or playing with children at their room. As long as they pay me

regularly, and do not force me to do bad things, I am happy with them.” (Ms. G, Georgian)

But as the work is based on child-care, some of the women built up strong ties with the children. This sometimes is greeted positively by the employers, but sometimes mothers want the immigrant women to be an agent for only their children’s care.

“It has been long time since I started working with these children. I fed them, sang to them, played with them, and I am teaching many things. We shared a lot. I may be counted as their second mother. When I return, I will miss them a lot... My employer used to give the control over the children to me. But I know my limit. I know she is their mother.” (Ms. I, Moldovan)

“Although my employer works for long hours, and can not find any time to stay with the children, she is their mother. But this does not give her the right to criticize my every step. She can say anything about her children, and their life but not mine. She may be jealous at me because I am staying with them, but she needs me. I deserve respect.” (Ms. E, Turkmen)

Whatever the reason for this “extra control” of woman employers, it is obvious that the relation between these two groups of women is based on trust. Working woman employers state that they are leaving not only their house, but also their children to these immigrant women, so that they should control them until they leave their job. Being clean and healthy, being respectful, being trustful and being clear are the common characteristics that are waiting from the immigrant women to have.

“I employed another Turkmen woman before my current employee. She was sick, she was not able to eat. She does not want to take shower occasionally. I warned her, hygiene is very important. But she never listened to me, so I asked the agency to change her. I feel sorry for her because she desperately needed money, but I could not leave my children to her. ” (Madam A, housewife)

“Trust is very important. We hear stories about the thief women, the women who also make prostitution, or the women with bad diseases. For example I wanted a health document from my employee before she started working with us.” (Madam C, journalist)

“I employed a Moldovan woman previously. I will never and ever hire a foreigner again. She had problems which I realized lately. She did not look after the children. I did not take her passport, I wanted her not to feel bad in my house. But she used my trust badly. She stole my money and escape. I wanted to report this to the police, but I was afraid. Because I knew they were working illegally. So I called the agency. They said they would search for her, and call me when they got information. But I understood they would not do that. That era was a nightmare.” (Madam B, doctor)

Another problem between the immigrant women and their employers is the language problem. Some of the families help their employers to learn Turkish, while having not known Turkish sometimes a reason for firing from the job.

“I was not able to speak and understand Turkish. My first employers fired me because of this. But having not able to speak Turkish is a good weapon for your employers to put pressure on you. You can not understand what they want, and if they are not

patient and well intentioned, they shout at you, and say bad things for you.” (Ms. H, Georgian)

When I asked the immigrant women what they think about their employers, I got two answers. Some of them think that their employers are good mothers, and “sacrificing their lives for their children’s future like they did”. This group says that they understand the long working hours of their employers, stress of their life and the reason why they want to control them.

“I know what being a mother means. My employer works for long hours a week, and I think she does not like her work. She cries everyday when she came home. She is paying my money, not her husband. She is my employer. We have common points; I left my country to earn money for my children. I am unhappy. Like me, she is, because she can not see her children for long times. At those days when she stay with children, I leave them alone. I also obey her rules. This makes our relationship respectful.” (Ms. F, Georgian)

On the other hand, another group states that their employers are not good mothers. According to these women, their employers leave all of their maternity responsibilities to them; but behaving too bossy to their employees. For example although Ms. B do not complain about her working conditions –because she says she is well-paid, and have some advantages, she says her employer is not a good mother.

“My employer concerns about how to show-off to her guests and friends. She is a housewife, but she never stays at home. Only

when she has guests, she stays. She goes shopping and friend meetings almost everyday. On the other hand, her husband is not at home nearly for everyday. I think he is doing business in another city. He also usually travels to other countries. The madam treat me as a servant when she has guests. I do not like this, but as long as they pay me, it does not matter how they treat me. I feel like the children's mother. They remind me mines. They love me a lot because we are good friends. I am not like their mother and never shout and hit to them. But there is a serious problem. When children cries, their parents usually give them gifts, new toys or do whatever they want. They are spoiled. Now they are trying to do the same to me. They immediately start crying an shouting when I do not do whatever they want. I can control for now. But as long as their parents treat them like that, they do not have strong personalities.” (Ms. B, Moldovan)

Apart from children, there is a strong tension for the men of the woman employer's families. Some of the women have jealousy for their husbands, while some are afraid of their employees to arrange relationships or marriages with single male members of their families. None of the participants state that they have an affair with someone in their employers' families. But Ms. D states that she had had a peaceful relationship with her employer until she said she wants to marry with a Turkish man and live in Turkey.

“I am young and single. I need to think my future. I want a family, my own family. I want to marry with a Turkish man in order to stay in Turkey. I thought my employer would help to find a suitable man. She seemed like she was dealing with my all problems. I felt like a sister. So I shared my ideas. I do not have any bad ideas. I only asked for help. But she got jealous at her husband. I am afraid but she started to think that he will cheat on

her with me. Now home became a hell. She is treating me like a slave. She is shouting at me whatever I do. I asked the agency to find me a job. Until that time, I am unfortunately staying.” (Ms. D, Turkmen)

“Most of the young and single women want to find a husband. Getting married with a Turkish man had allowed them to obtain citizenship easily in recent years. For example there was an era that almost all of the immigrant women came from the Slavic countries. These women are beautiful, so beautiful that you may feel yourself very different and unlucky. And Turkish men love these women. Therefore, it was difficult to employ a beautiful immigrant woman. It is for both your family’s and her safety. For example a friend of mine divorced because of such an affair. Her husband felt in love to their employee. She was young, beautiful and very well educated. I also met her. She played piano, sang songs to children, she understood art, politics, etc. She was very clever and talented. My friend was not as young as her. Her husband felt in love to their employee. They divorced immediately, and the other two got married. There are many stories like that. You can not trust those women, this is a natural case.” (Madam C, journalist)

It is understood that trust plays an important role in the relationship between the employers and the employees. As these immigrant women are illegal, there is no guarantee for their background and future. With the cases heard and seen in media, Turkish women try to find alternative ways for finding a trustful woman. For example there is a strong networking between the mothers, discussion groups and forums on internet for sharing personal opinions, experiences and problems related with the employees. In these websites, they are also able to find ‘trustful’ or ‘referenced’ employees. People who had hired a domestic worker and felt contented about them, but had to stop working with them give advertisements to

these websites about their employees. Although these people, the ones that give advertisements, are strangers; plus internet is a virtual place for truths, Turkish women seems to have an attempt to trust these information more than the recruitment agencies. They also share ‘what to do’s and ‘what not to do’s in these sites.

6.3 Living in Turkey

In this chapter I will try to reflect the immigrant women workers’ lives in Turkey by emphasizing their social life outside the workplace. I will also emphasize their social ties with their friends in Turkey. Another concern of mine is the problems they faced in their daily life especially outside the home and language barrier.

6.3.1 Socialization, Life outside Home

All of the immigrant women in the research group state that they have friends from their country of origin in Ankara. During their day-offs, they usually meet and try to socialize despite their fear of catching by the police or frustration from people outside. Apart from two immigrant women who usually prefer staying at home at their day-offs, all of them seem to have strong social networks and organizationally meet outside.

Immigrant women sometimes use their recruitment agencies for a meeting point. These agencies also service to the immigrant women for sending

and receiving goods, letters and money. Immigrant women give appointment to their friends to meet at the same date, so that they are both able to socialize and to do some jobs. Ms. F states that keeping in touch with the recruitment agencies and their friends enable them to have a strong network, and for example if there is a suitable and better post, they are able to learn about it in advance.

Some of the employers live in housing complexes that have many residents, and contain all facilities like playgrounds, little markets etc. Immigrant women working in such places take the children out for play or go out for little shopping almost everyday. As there can also be other immigrant women like them working at the same place, these playgrounds and markets are places for meeting new friends. For example, three of the participants are living in different housing complexes in Ankara state that they found new friends from their country of origin who are working at the same residential area. Therefore, they try to go out, or take the children out at the same time, and while doing shopping or watching out the children playing, they are also able to meet with their friends and have some chat which usually make them feel relaxed.

“I see many women like me in the park. Every child has a baby-sitter. Children make friends, play together. During those times we, the immigrant women, chat, share our problems and talk about our families left behind. We understand each other, we have common problems. Sometimes we help each other. For example I met with a Turkmen woman, and she helped my Turkish a lot. We usually make practices. (Ms. G, Georgia)

“One day while I was watching out the kid, a woman came next to me and asked me whether I am from Uzbekistan or not. She was also Uzbek, we became very good friends. We are taking the kids out at the same time, and sometimes visit each other at our homes.” (Ms. K, Uzbek)

As Ms. K state immigrant women who stay alone during the day time when the children are at school sometimes visit each other at their homes. This situation can sometimes be seen when the immigrant women afraid of going out, so they prefer to host their friends at home.

Sometimes their employers take them out especially when they spend time with all family members. Ms. A states that, her employer Madam A usually takes her to where she goes with her children. For example, I met them in one of the shopping centers food court after a way-out of a cinema with the children.

One of the main concerns of immigrant women for going out is being caught by the police due to their illegal status. This situation makes them to find safer places and safer ways of going out. Interestingly some of them state that big and crowded newly built shopping centers are safer than public streets and parks in Ankara.

“If you take care of what you are wearing and how you are walking in streets etc., you can not be noticed as a foreigner. This is very important for our security. I sometimes meet with a couple of friends and we prefer to go big shopping malls, because these places are safer. I am careful about not to go to the

parks, because there are so many bad people watching women there.” (Ms. I, Moldovan)

6.3.2 Problems of Immigrant Women outside Home

The common problem of the immigrant women is being caught by the police due to their illegal status. Some of them state that people used to inveigle foreign women for different purposes like for prostitution, for bribing or for other reasons. For being in secure, they try not to be alone outside home, and do not open the door to the strangers. Ms. I state that she heard many stories like there are people who kidnap young immigrant women and force them for prostitution, carrying drugs and making sexual abuse, therefore she is afraid of people outside home and prefer not to go out.

On the other hand immigrant women who are afraid of being noticed as they are foreigners take some precautions against this. Like being afraid of the police, they are also afraid of facing with verbal abuse and sexual harassment. As a result these precautions are mostly related with their physical appearance and clothing, but they state that not to speak a foreign language is very important.

“Turkish men on streets are very rude, when they understand you are a foreigner they follow you, and say rude things behind you. Especially if you are blonde and have a Slavic look, they treated you as you are a prostitute. I changed my hair color, I am not

blonde now. Also I wear closed clothes and try to speak good Turkish without an accent.” (Ms. I, Moldovan)

“I prefer a conservative look for my safe outside home. I use a headscarf and wear long clothes; I always look at the floor when I am walking.” (Ms. E, Turkmenistan)

Not only for their security and camouflage, but also for their communication with their employers and other Turkish people, one of the most challenging issues is the language barrier. Immigrant women who are originated from Turkic countries easily and quickly get on this problem, while the ones whose native language comes from different tongues have to learn Turkish. In the research group, all of the immigrant women are able to speak fluent Turkish apart from the Georgian women. For example, Ms. H had fired from her previous job because she was not able to speak and to understand Turkish.

6.3.3 Relationship with their Embassies and legal institutions

Significantly the number of women who contact with their embassies for any circumstances, a problem or any other reason is zero. None of them prefer to get into contact with their embassies for two stated reason; firstly as they are illegal workers in Turkey, they afraid to be denounced to the Turkish Police and secondly, because of the same reason they think that they may have bad treatment and no one help them in such conditions.

“In the past we use embassies for passport issues, but now with the new regulations, I do not need to renew my visa, or do something to my passport.” (Ms. K, Uzbek)

As it is seen from the immigrant woman workers they try to establish social networks with their friends and other people around them in order to consult in case of necessity. It shows that fear of deportation plays a significant role for making them trust these informal ties instead of any legal institution like their embassies.

6.4 Concluding Remarks

No matter what economic level their families had previously had, significantly when their income -or at least their purchasing power- is compared to the immigrant women's, woman employers seem to be more and more benefited. All of the woman employer participants in this research come from middle and upper-middle class families. Although all of the woman employers in this research have a high education, some of them chose to be housewives. Most of them emphasized that they feel the overburden of having two professions: having their primary occupation and being a mother after their first giving birth.

Woman employers emphasized that having a child is the turning point of the shift in their domestic helpers' profile. Before having their first child, these middle and upper-middle class educated women were hiring part time Turkish domestic worker. These domestic woman workers are responsible from general housework like cleaning, laundry, ironing,

cooking. But women employers emphasize that child-care is another duty that should take twenty four hours. Another reason for the demand of a live-in baby sitter is the overburden of being a single and working mother.

Entering the labor market mostly affect women's reproductive labor. Especially when they take the economic burden and work for long hours or personally decide to have a successful career are the push factors for them to assign their reproductive labor to another woman. Sometimes they traditionally assign these responsibilities to a relative, but specifically for the last decades, middle and upper-middle class women seem to prefer hiring a live-in domestic worker. But some of the women also consider the opportunity of full control over their employee while deciding to choose a live-in domestic worker, instead of the help of a relative. Interestingly in these cases, the woman employers undertake the financial responsibility of the baby-sitter.

There is a critical point that families prefer an immigrant woman when they demand for a live-in domestic worker, on the contrary they prefer a Turkish woman when they need someone who work only in day-time. It can be said that the basic reason for this is that Turkish family structure, does not matter from what level or status the woman comes from, does not provide the conditions for a single woman or a girl to work live-in for an outsider.

Castells (2000) argues in his theory of a network society that, irregular migrants insert themselves into the informal contexts of the economy

through social and information networks, and communication technologies from 'below', not 'above'. This means that the Turkish economy will generate a demand for labor which is then met by immigrants through international migratory networks.

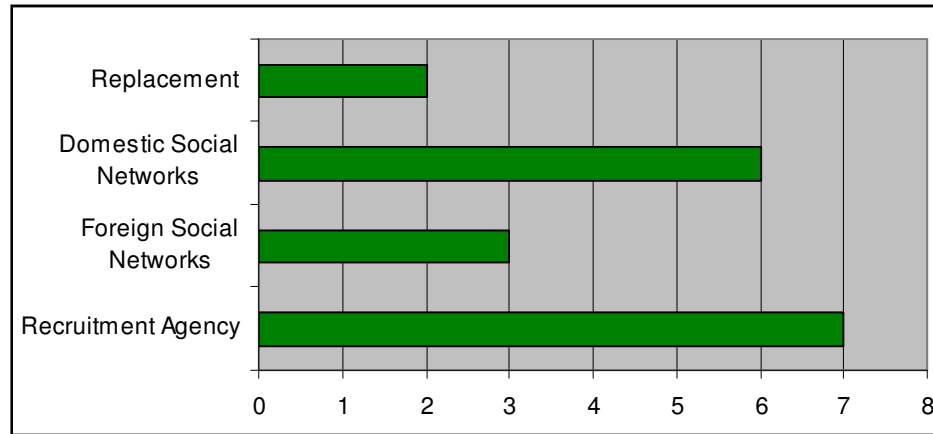


Figure 6.1: Ways of Recruitment of Immigrant Women Workers in Ankara

Social networks are very important in the migratory process of immigrant women. The role of recruitment agencies is very remarkable in the recruitment process of the immigrant women. In addition, their social networks between Turkey and home country provide them recruitment opportunities. On the other hand, they use their networks in order to send remittances: especially truck drivers and Turkish workers travelling from/to the both countries are preferred more than banks.

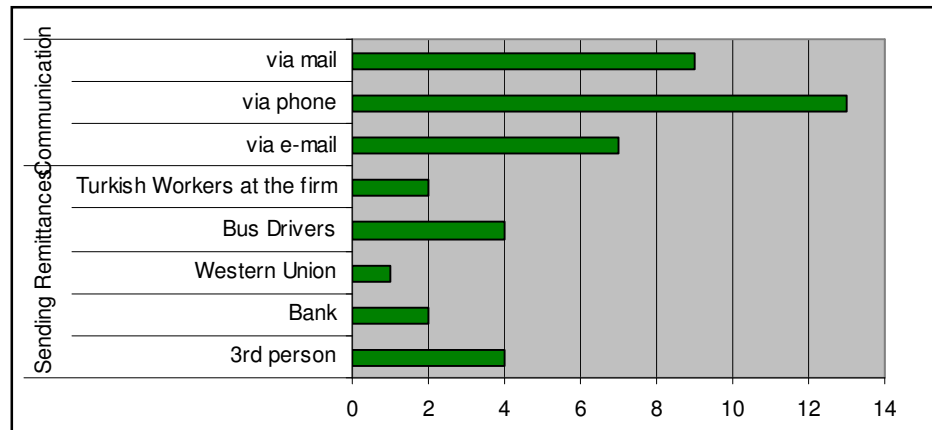


Figure 6.2: Networks in Sending Remittances and Communication

In recent years the better educated and skilled migrant workers generally have to accept poorly paid jobs that do not correspond to their education or qualifications. Interviews show that, all of the interviewees' primary reason for migration has its roots in their economic situations. As stated before, no matter what the level of education they have, where they are living; the entire immigrant women complained about poverty and expressed their future concerns for themselves, for their families and mostly for their children. Most of them had experienced unemployment in their country of origin; while some had already unemployed when they decided to migrate, in addition, some of these women's husbands were/are also unemployed or working outside of their home country.

On the other hand, as the immigrant women do not have any close ties near to her, it is easier to build up a control mechanism over her. It is for sure that when a problem occurs, there is no one that may be able to

interfere from outside. In addition immigrant woman does not have to hurry up for attaining her family after work. But a Turkish domestic woman worker usually runs at the end of her work time. As it seen the time shifts of both Turkish and immigrant domestic woman workers do not intercept; Turkish women work only for day-time, and immigrant women work as a live-in worker. Another reason for the preference of the families to employ an immigrant woman only as a live-in domestic worker especially in child-care is the concerns for these woman's life outside their employers' homes.

The price for hiring a Turkish daily baby-sitter begins from 700\$ per month, and increases due to the working conditions, and working hours. In addition, most of the Turkish women require their insurance, which also raises the price for the middle and upper-middle income families. On the contrary, when they buy the immigrant woman's labor for live-in basis, it costs around 400-500\$ a month, plus it enables the employers to exploit their employees more and more easily.

All of the participants in the research group are live-in baby-sitters. They live and work at the same place, so this sometimes causes a flexibility of their responsibilities in terms of housework. Some of them are only responsible for child-care; on the other hand some, voluntarily or obligatorily, undertake other housework duties.

Duties given to the immigrant women vary from home to home. For some there is no other duty given by their employers apart from child care.

Apart from playing, feeding, cleaning and looking after children, sometimes they are saddled with extra duties. Some of the immigrant women prefer to undertake extra duties by having extra salaries.

It can be said that, some households used to hire double domestic workers depending on different duties. But if the immigrant women find enough time and power for extra work, they demand for the second woman worker's job from their employers. In some cases immigrant domestic woman workers have to be accounted for doing extra work apart from their primary duties.

Having a day-off is a complicated and worrying situation for immigrant women. In most cases it does not depend on a deal between their employers and them, and immigrant women usually expect an offer from their employers. The most obvious control on immigrant women is that families do not allow them to be out after a limited time, and especially at night they should be at home. On the other hand, the number of days that immigrant women have day-off changes from half day a week, one day a week, and one day in two weeks. Furthermore, sometimes immigrant women are expected to work for whole month without any day-off.

The amount of the immigrant domestic woman workers' wages change due to multiple tasks that they undertook and the way of their recruitment; but not to their education level or their professions. One of the major indicators for the wage level is the way the immigrant women seek jobs. In addition, it can be said that these immigrant women are paid for a determined amount for their primary duties, but the additional amount is

depend on both their inducement ability and their employer's generosity. Apart from their monthly wages, employers provided extra financial support to immigrant women for different purposes such as medical expenses, personal expenses, day-offs, annual gifts to their families in their homeland, travel expenses, or visa expiration fines. In addition, due to their duties at home some of the employers show extra care for their employee's outlook.

The major factor for saving and sending remittances for immigrant women is the families left behind in their home country. All of the participants who have children aim to save all amounts of their salaries and send it to their countries. Being a live-in worker and being paid for extra expenses help them to save their monthly salaries. They do not need to pay for accommodation, for food or necessarily for transportation. Therefore, they are able to save cumulative amounts. But the main reason for saving money changes due to the participants' main concerns about their families and future plans. For instance, if they have children who are continuing their education, they primarily afford their education expenses. Plus they also afford their household in the country of origin's daily expenses such as household utilities. Another reason for sending remittances is specifically affording some of the personal expenses of a family member for treatment, medication and extra care. Most of the immigrant women state that their families try not to spend all of the remittances, and try to save for a future step such as buying or building a new house, having saved for a future investment and for building up a family business.

Immigrant women use different ways for money transfer such as bank accounts, Western Union, cargo and sending directly with someone who are travelling to their home country. The way the immigrant women send their remittances changes due to the connections between Turkey and the sending country.

Some of the immigrant women who have little children left behind try to find some ways for their children's care in their country of origin when they do not have a family member who may take responsibility. In these cases immigrant domestic woman workers assign their reproductive labor to other women who are not able to afford for migration in their homeland. Considering the monthly income level of immigrant women at their country of origin and their occupations, women who are paid for looking after children of immigrant women in their home country obviously earns less and less.

The relationship between the employer women and immigrant domestic woman workers have some critical points that are reflected through each other. 'Home' is the common space for both groups; it is the private space for ones, while the public space –as, the work place- for the others. But as the work is based on child-care, some of the women built up strong ties with the children. This sometimes is greeted positively by the employers, but sometimes mothers want the immigrant women to be an agent for only their children's care.

Whatever the reason for this “extra control” of woman employers, it is obvious that the relation between these two groups of women is based on trust. Working woman employers state that they are leaving not only their house, but also their children to these immigrant women, so that they should control them until they leave their job. Being clean and healthy, being respectful, being trustful and being clear are the common characteristics that are waiting from the immigrant women to have.

Another problem between the immigrant women and their employers is the language problem. Some of the families help their employers to learn Turkish, while having not known Turkish sometimes a reason for firing from the job.

Apart from children, there is a strong tension for the men of the woman employer’s families. Some of the women have jealousy for their husbands, while some are afraid of their employees to arrange relationships or marriages with single male members of their families.

It is understood that trust plays an important role in the relationship between the employers and the employees. As these immigrant women are illegal, there is no guarantee for their background and future. With the cases heard and seen in media, Turkish women try to find alternative ways for finding a trustful woman. For example there is a strong networking between the mothers, discussion groups and forums on internet for sharing personal opinions, experiences and problems related with the employees. In these websites, they are also able to find ‘trustful’ or ‘referenced’

employees. People who had hired a domestic worker and felt contented about them, but had to stop working with them give advertisements to these websites about their employees. Although these people, the ones that give advertisements, are strangers; plus internet is a virtual place for truths, Turkish women seems to have an attempt to trust these information more than the recruitment agencies. They also share 'what to do's and 'what not to do's in these sites.

Immigrant women have friends from their country of origin in Ankara. During their day-offs, they usually meet and try to socialize despite their fear of catching by the police or frustration from people outside. They sometimes use their recruitment agencies for a meeting point. These agencies also service to the immigrant women for sending and receiving goods, letters and money. Immigrant women give appointment to their friends to meet at the same date, so that they are both able to socialize and to do some jobs.

Some of the employers live in housing complexes that have many residents, and contain all facilities like playgrounds, little markets etc. Immigrant women working in such places take the children out for play or go out for little shopping almost everyday. As there can also be other immigrant women like them working at the same place, these playgrounds and markets are places for meeting new friends. Some of the immigrant women, who stay alone during the day time when the children are at school, sometimes visit each other at their homes. This situation can sometimes be seen when the immigrant women afraid of going out, so

they prefer to host their friends at home. Sometimes their employers take them out especially when they spend time with all family members.

One of the main concerns of immigrant women for going out is being caught by the police due to their illegal status. This situation makes them to find safer places and safer ways of going out. Interestingly some of them state that big and crowded newly built shopping centers are safer than public streets and parks in Ankara. Some of them state that people used to inveigle foreign women for different purposes like for prostitution, for bribing or for other reasons. For being in secure, they try not to be alone outside home, and do not open the door to the strangers. On the other hand immigrant women who are afraid of being noticed as they are foreigners take some precautions against this. Like being afraid of the police, they are also afraid of facing with verbal abuse and sexual harassment. As a result these precautions are mostly related with their physical appearance and clothing, but they state that not to speak a foreign language is very important.

Not only for their security and camouflage, but also for their communication with their employers and other Turkish people, one of the most challenging issues is the language barrier. Immigrant women who are originated from Turkic countries easily and quickly get on this problem, while the ones whose native language comes from different tongues have to learn Turkish.

Significantly the number of women who contact with their embassies for any circumstances, a problem or any other reason is very few. The primary reason for that is as they are illegal workers in Turkey, they afraid to be denounced to the Turkish Police and secondly, because of the same reason they think that they may have bad treatment and no one help them in such conditions. For instance, immigrant woman workers try to establish social networks with their friends and other people around them in order to consult in case of necessity. It shows that fear of deportation plays a significant role for making them trust these informal ties instead of any legal institution like their embassies.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This thesis aims to understand the reasons and consequences of international labor migration of women workers into Turkey. In this context, macro processes, mainly the consequences of global economic restructuring, defined as the main reasons for the widening the gap between different geographies and generation of a tied demand and supply relation between female labor and service sector. By doing so, it is supported that this process has affected the micro structures that are individually women who are the main subjects of this study. In addition, the geographic transformations in and dispersion of the production, investment, trade and communication sites caused the formation of geographic, economic, political and social networks which have constituted the background of meso-level features of international migration of labor. Therefore, it can be said that macro processes directly affect micro structures and cause formation of meso features in the context of international migration of women.

But neither do the mainstream theories on international migration nor the three levels of analysis model draw the whole picture of international

migration of women. It is due to the fact that, these models only try to understand the reasons, not the consequences, of international migration whether in detail or in general. As a result, the hint of the consequences of the international migration of women lies behind their personal experiences after settling their destination country. Their impact to the economy of their home country by sending remittances, their personal relations with the society they found themselves in, their daily life experiences and uses of urban space where they are illegal, the communication and relation between the families and children left behind and them, and the effectiveness of the recruitment agencies in this process are eluded when only these models are considered.

This study has three branches of conclusion. First, this study has a methodological conclusion which tries to draw a different perspective in regional sciences. Second, the substantive findings of the research, which are based on thirteen in-depth interviews with immigrant domestic woman workers who work in the childcare services, seven in-depth interviews with Turkish women employers and direct interviews with three recruitment agencies that are working actively in foreign domestic service sector, give us the detailed clues to draw the current picture of the immigrant domestic woman workers in Ankara. Third, this study has a practical conclusion that relates directly with planning and policy implications in international migration of female labor.

Firstly, the methodological conclusion of this study is as follows:

Linking women's labor to the international migratory process is a sociological attempt and this study contributes to the planning studies by following up a feminist perspective. This enables to understand different dilemmas in space and integrate new concepts and perspectives. Compared to other disciplines, planning heavily combines both practical and theoretical elements; and a feminist perspective on planning enable us to understand and analyze all levels of international labor migration of women, its reasons and consequences, particularly the social side.

In addition, although the focus area of regional sciences seem wider economic, and therefore the analysis that are conduct under this discipline is quantitative in order to explain the macro process, analyzing women's migratory working with a feminist perspective has the opportunity to observe both reasons and consequences of their experiences in detail from their individual experiences.

Secondly, the substantive findings of the research are as follows:

These temporary and irregular migration flows which are the main source of immigrant domestic woman workers are probably best understood in the context of a large informal economy, where irregular employment is common even among the Turkish population.

The primary reason for migration has its roots in their economic situations. No matter what the level of education they have, where they are living; the entire immigrant women complained about poverty and expressed their future concerns for themselves, for their families and mostly for their children. Most of them had experienced unemployment in their country of origin; while some had already unemployed when they decided to migrate, in addition, some of these women's husbands were/are also unemployed or working outside of their home country. Among the main reasons for departure from the homeland, immigrant women workers cite mainly the economic reasons. Two major motivations for migration are the lack of money for the daily survival, and their home countries' general economic situation. In addition, their concerns for their children's and family members' future, plus the migratory trends in their society are strong motivation for migration decision.

There are four common reasons for choosing Turkey as a destination country. First of all, there is a high income gap between their home country and in Turkey. Secondly, there is an increasing demand for foreign workers in service sector in Turkey, thus especially working as a live-in domestic worker has many advantages like security due to the conditions of living with a family and saving money as they have nearly no daily life expenses spending from their income. Thirdly, we can talk about a chain migration, like at least a relative or a friend of the immigrant women who had come and started working as a domestic worker before their decision. And finally, as Turkey's geographic conditions, distance

factor, ability for transport easily and the present state for affairs of networks for sending remittances.

When both man and woman of the household migrate at the same time, they leave their children to someone else (usually to a relative) and live apart from them. Although these immigrant women seems to assign their motherhood role to their mothers, their siblings, any other relatives or another women whom they hire for, their daughters left behind usually take their mother's role in the household, even they continue their education.

There are three ways of job seeking observed in the research group of immigrant woman domestic workers; by applying a recruitment agency, by making replacement with another immigrant domestic worker whom is returning to her homeland and by via contacting their friends and relatives whom are currently working in Turkey. General profile of the recruitment agencies is very remarkable. Recruitment agencies are the determinant for integration of the worse off populations to the migration systems; and women who are one of the disadvantageous groups in terms of poverty and security easily become commodities of an illegal trade in this global migration system. It can be understood that I was able to make interviews with the three well-established agencies from five or six. These agencies are usually locating in well now upper and upper-middle class centers. Some prefer to hide their title and purpose and run their business from internet and newspapers; and the others use their titles frankly.

Many immigrant woman workers reported limited freedom of movement, confiscation of their identity documents, constant fear of the police and of deportation, and threats of deportation by employers and/or the police. It is found that migrant workers are usually too scared to go to the police to claim their rights.

Another concern about the international migration of women workers is their visa requirements. With the new bilateral agreements, this problem seems to be solved for a while. From year 2008, Turkmen and Uzbek citizens are exempt from visa for their travels up to thirty days, were as Georgian citizens' exemptions are up to ninety days. With these arrangements an increase in both migration circulation and flow of labor, in not only women, but also men, is expected clearly.

Irregular migration flows into Turkey encompass three main categories of migrants. In recent years the first group was mostly migrants from the former Soviet bloc or Eastern European countries, such as Moldova, Romania, Ukraine, and the Russian Federation, who came to Turkey in search of work. Some industrial and service sectors absorbed them; recent studies show that some women were employed as domestic helpers; some women entered the sex and entertainment industries; some of them were employed in the textile industry and in construction; and men and women migrant workers of different nationalities work in other service sectors. Many of these migrants entered Turkey legally, but overstay after their visas expired.

But recently the structure of this group changed in terms of the country of origin. Due to the economic improvements in the Eastern European countries, and policies followed towards the EU makes the Western European countries more attractive in terms of employment opportunities. As a result, a geographical shift can be observed in the immigrants' profile. Turkey has now become more attractive for Caucasus and Turkic countries' citizens. This study is able to follow this change in the child-care sector of Ankara.

Woman employers emphasized that having a child is the turning point of the shift in their domestic helpers' profile. Before having their first child, these middle and upper-middle class educated women were hiring part time Turkish domestic worker. These domestic woman workers are responsible from general housework like cleaning, laundry, ironing, cooking. But women employers emphasize that child-care is another duty that should take twenty four hours. Another reason for the demand of a live-in baby sitter is the overburden of being a single and working mother. The reasons for hiring an immigrant women is as follows: first, they are considered more disciplined, hard-working and better educated than their Turkish counterparts and they speak foreign languages. Furthermore, they are also cheaper to employ and their control is easier than Turkish citizens.

Entering the labor market mostly affect women's reproductive labor. Especially when they take the economic burden and work for long hours or personally decide to have a successful career are the push factors for them to assign their reproductive labor to another woman. Sometimes

they traditionally assign these responsibilities to a relative, but specifically for the last decades, middle and upper-middle class women seem to prefer hiring a live-in domestic worker. But some of the women also consider the opportunity of full control over their employee while deciding to choose a live-in domestic worker, instead of the help of a relative. Interestingly in these cases, the woman employers undertake the financial responsibility of the baby-sitter.

Immigrant women have friends from their country of origin in Ankara. During their day-offs, they usually meet and try to socialize despite their fear of catching by the police or frustration from people outside. They sometimes use their recruitment agencies for a meeting point. These agencies also service to the immigrant women for sending and receiving goods, letters and money. Immigrant women give appointment to their friends to meet at the same date, so that they are both able to socialize and to do some jobs.

Some of the employers live in housing complexes that have many residents, and contain all facilities like playgrounds, little markets etc. Immigrant women working in such places take the children out for play or go out for little shopping almost everyday. As there can also be other immigrant women like them working at the same place, these playgrounds and markets are places for meeting new friends. Some of the immigrant women, who stay alone during the day time when the children are at school, sometimes visit each other at their homes. This situation can sometimes be seen when the immigrant women afraid of going out, so

they prefer to host their friends at home. Sometimes their employers take them out especially when they spend time with all family members.

Finally, the practical area of implications in planning and policy is as follows:

International migration is an important issue in regional sciences. It intersects social, political, economic and geographic issues, and triggers a change in current structure, and with the globalization and formation of networks within the regions both nationally and internationally, irregular migrant communities have become one of the primary sources of informal labor of a country.

Therefore, international migration of post-Soviet women into Turkey firstly has geographical implications which relates with the dynamics between the sending and receiving countries prior to the networks both shaped globally and regionally. These networks enable the flows of goods, investments, services and people easily, thus control of these networks is essential for the control of irregular migrants and other illegal activities.

Secondly, international migration of post-Soviet women into Turkey have economic implications which is directly relates to the labor market. There are two different aspects of the labor force in terms of provision and participation. On the one hand, when Turkish women's labor force participation rate increases, in other words, when local women enters the labor market, they need to transfer their reproductive labor to another

person no matter she is a foreigner or not. This intersects the second aspect by causing a demand for domestic service workers in the local labor market. This demand requires cheap labor; therefore it is supplied by the informal labor market. Plus increasing demand for female labor in rising service sector absorbs women in the supply side. As irregular migrant women are able to enter the informal labor market, they constitute the majority of the supply side for these types of demands.

Thirdly, international migration of post-Soviet women into Turkey has political implications. At the international level, the bilateral agreements between Turkey and post-Soviet countries, and the new visa regulations which make staying Turkey easier provides a legal frame to travel and live in Turkey. This causes an uncontrolled flow of irregular migrant workers from these countries. On the other hand, at the national level, while planning the labor market regulations and producing new employment policies, this domestic service sector remains unseen. It should be considered that today both unemployment and female labor force participation rates are decreasing in Turkey. There is a need for opening up new employment areas, and as some of the domestic services such as childcare and elderly care require training, these sectors should be considered as potential employment areas for Turkish women after a professional training.

Lastly, international migration of post-Soviet women into Turkey has social implications. Gender plays a significant role in the feminization of international labor. In addition, international migration of women directly

affect both sending and receiving societies by losing mostly skilled and reproductive labor, and by socio-cultural transfer. And it should be noted that, this process ended up in the individual lives of women.

In conclusion, I believe a comprehensive approach can be long-term and satisfactory response to the challenges posed in the linkage between immigration of women and the informal economy. None of the approaches represented and discussed at the theoretical framework of this study is enough to draw the whole picture of international migration of women. Therefore, I believe, the individual migration experiences of women show every detail in the process that usually eluded in the planning process of all levels. Policy to control and combat legal immigration and illegal labor are indeed necessary, but are unlikely to be effective on their own, unless coupled by efforts to regularize both immigration flows and economic activities. Women must be seen as active agents rather than passive victims.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abadan-Unat, Nermin (2006). *Bitmeyen Göç: Konuk İşçilikten Ulus-Ötesi Yurttaşlığa*, İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları
- Ağanoğlu, Hüseyin Y. (2001). *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Balkanlar'ın Makus Talihi: Göç*, İstanbul: Kum Saati Yayınları
- Aksoy, Asu (2007). "Göçmenlik Deneyimine Kozmopolit Perspektiften Bakış" in *Kökler ve Yollar: Türkiye'de Göç Süreçleri* (eds. Kaya, A. and Şahin, B.), İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, pg. 441-43.
- Alkan, Ayten (1999). *Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kent Planlaması*, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi 54(4):1-29.
- Amin, Ash and Thrift, Nigel. (1994). "Living in the Global" in *Globalization, Institutions and Regional Development in Europe* (eds. Amin, A. and Thrift, N.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Anderson, Bridget (2001). *Different Roots in Common Ground: Transnationalism and Migrant Domestic Workers in London*, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 27 (4):673-83.
- Anthias, Floya and Lazaridis, Gabriella (eds.) (2000). *Gender and Migration in Southern Europe: Women on the Move*, Oxford; New York: Berg.
- Beneria, Lourdes (2001). *Changing Employment Patterns and the Informalization of Jobs: General Trends and Gender Dimensions*, Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Bora, Aksu (2005). *Kadınların Sınıfı: Ücretli Ev Emeği ve Kadın Öznelliğinin İnşası*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

- Borjas, George J. (1989). *Economic Theory and International Migration*, International Migration Review 23: 457-485
- (2005). *Labor Economics*, New York: McGraw Hill.
- Böhning, Wolf R. (1972). *The Migration of Workers in the UK and European Community*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brettell, Catherine B. and Hollifield, James F. (eds.) (2000). *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*, New York; London: Routledge
- Buğra, Ayşe and Keyder, Çağlar (2003). *New Poverty and Changing Welfare Regime in Turkey*, Ankara: UNDP.
- Castells, Manuel (1989). *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring and the Urban-Regional Process*, Oxford; New York: Basil Blackwell.
- (1996). *The Rise of Network Society*, Massachusetts; Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Castells, Manuel and Portes, Alejandro (1989). "World Underneath: The Origins, Dynamics, and Effects of the Informal Economy" in *The Informal Economy: Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries* (eds. Portes, A; Castells, M. and Benton, L.A.), Baltimore; London: The John Hopkins University Press, pg. 11-37.
- Castles, Stephen and Miller, Mark J. (2003). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 3rd Edition, New York: Palgrave Macmillian
- Chang, Grace (2000). "Global Exchange: The World Bank, 'Welfare Reform,' and the Trade in Migrant Women" in *Disposable Domestics: Immigrant Women Workers in the Global Economy*, Cambridge; Massachusetts: South End Press, pg. 123-154.

- Cox, Kevin R. (1993). *The Local and the Global in the new Urban Politics: A Critical View*, Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 11: 433-48.
- Cox, Robert W. (1996). "A Perspective on Globalization", in *Globalization: Critical Reflections* (Ed. Mittelman, J. H.), Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers: pg. 21-30
- Çelik, Nihal (2005). *Immigrant Domestic Women Workers in Ankara and Istanbul*, Unpublished Masters Thesis, Ankara: METU.
- Dedeoğlu, Saniye (2000), *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Rollerini Açısından Türkiye'de Aile ve Kadın Emeği*, Toplum ve Bilim 86: 139-70.
- Ecevit, Yıldız (1990). "Kentsel Üretim Sürecinde Kadın Emeğinin Konumu ve Değişen Biçimleri" in *Kadın Bakış Açısından 1980'ler Türkiye'sinde Kadınlar* (Ed. Tekeli, Ş.), İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Eder, Mine (2007). *Moldovyalı Yeni Göçmenler Üzerinden Türkiye'deki Neo-Liberal Devleti Yeniden Düşünmek*, Toplum ve Bilim 108: 129-42.
- Ege, Gamze (2002). *Foreign Domestic Workers in Turkey: A New form of Trafficking in Turkey?* Unpublished Masters Thesis, Ankara: METU.
- Ehrenreich, Barbara and Hochschild, Arlie R. (eds.) (2002) *Global Women: Nannies, Maids and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, New York: Henry Holt and Co.
- Enloe, Cynthia (2000). *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, 2nd Edition, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Eraydın, Ayda and Erendil, Asuman (1999). *The Role of Female Labour in Industrial Restructuring: New production Processes and Labour Market Relations in the Istanbul Clothing Industry*, gender, Place and culture 6(3): 259-72.

- Erder, Sema and Kaşka, Selmin (2003). *Irregular Migration and Trafficking in Women: The Case of Turkey*. Geneva: IOM.
- Eyüboğlu, Ayşe; Özar, Şemsa and Tanrıöver, Hülya T. (2000). *Kentlerde Kadınların İş Yaşamına Katılım Sorunlarının Sosyo-Ekonomik ve Kültürel Boyutları*, Ankara: TC. Başbakanlık Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü.
- Faist, Thomas (2000). "A Review of Dominant Theories of International Migration" in *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*, Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, pg. 30-59.
- Fawcett, James T. and Arnold, Fred (1987). "Explaining Diversity: Asian and Pasific Immigration Systems" in *Pacific Bridges: The New Immigration From Asia and Pasific Islands* (eds. Fawcett, J.T. and Cariño, B.V.), New York: Center for Migration Studies.
- Freeman, Chris and Perez, Carlota (1988). "Structural Crisis of Adjustment: Business Cycles and Investment" in *Technical Change and Economic Theory* (ed. Dosi, G.; Freeman, C.; Nelson, R.; Silverberg, G. and Soete, L.), London; New York: Pinter Publishers.
- Florida, Richard (1995). *Towards the Learning Region*, Futures 27:527-36.
- Glink-Schiller, Nina; Basch, Linda and Szanton-Blanc, Cristina (1995). *From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration*, Anthropological Quarterly 68(1):48-63.
- Greed, Clara H. (1994) *Women and Planning*, New York: Routledge.
- Greenwood, Michael J. and Hunt, Gary L. (2003). *The Early History of Migration Research*, International Regional Science Review 26 (1), pg. 3-37.

- Guarnizo, Luis E. and Smith, Michael P. (1998). "The Locations of Transnationalism" in *Transnationalism from Below*, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, pg. 3-34.
- Güzel, Ali and Bayram, Fuat (2007). "Türk Hukukunda Yabancıların Çalışma Hakları ve Çalışma İzinleri" in *Türkiye'de Yabancı İşçiler: Uluslararası Göç, İşgücü ve Nüfus Hareketleri* (Ed. Arı, F.A.), İstanbul: Derin Yayınları, pg. 157-206.
- Harris, John R. and Todaro, Michael P. (1970). *Migration, Unemployment, and Development: A Two-sector Analysis*, American Economic Review 60:126-42.
- Harris, Nigel (1995). *The New Untouchables: Immigration and the New World Worker*, London; New York: I.B.Tauris Publishers.
- IOM (2003). *World Migration 2003: Managing Migration Challenges and Responses for People on the Move*, Geneva.
- İçduygu, Ahmet and Keyman, E. Fuat (2000). *Globalization, Security and Migration: The Case of Turkey*, Global Governance 6(3):383-98.
- İçduygu, Ahmet (2000). *The Politics of International Migratory Regimes: Transit Migration Flows in Turkey*, International Social Science Journal 165:357-67.
- (2003). *Irregular Migration in Turkey*, Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- (2005). *Turkey and International Migration*, İstanbul: SOPEMI Report for Turkey.
- (2006). *The Labour Dimensions of Irregular Migration in Turkey*, CARIM Research Report 2006/05, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI):European University Institute.

- Kalaycıoğlu, Sibel and Rittersberger-Tılıç, Helga (2001). *Cömert “Abla”ların Sadık “Hanım”ları: Evlerimizdeki Gündelikçi Kadınlar*, Ankara: Su Yayınları.
- (2002). “Yapısal Uyum Programlarıyla Ortaya Çıkan Yoksullukla Başetme Stratejileri” in *Kentleşme, Göç ve Yoksulluk*, 7. Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi, Ankara: İmaj Yayınevi.
- Kaşka, Selmin (2005). “Ev İçi Hizmetlerin Küreselleşmesi ve Türkiye’deki Göçmen Kadınlar” in *Çalışma Hayatında Göçmenler Dosyası*, Tes-İş Dergisi October: 49-54.
- Katz, Eliakim and Stark, Oded (1986). *Labor Migration and Risk Aversion in Less Developed Countries*, Journal of Labor Economics 4:131-49.
- Kearney, Michael (1995). *The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism*, Annual Review of Anthropology 24:547-65.
- Keating, Michael (1998). *The New Regionalism in Western Europe: Territorial Restructuring and Political Change*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Kenough, Leyla J. (2006). *Globalizing ‘Postsocialism’: Mobile Mothers and Neoliberalism on the Margins of Europe*, Anthropological Quarterly 79(3): 431-61.
- Kıray, Mübeccel (2000). *Ereğli; Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası*. 11th Edition, İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık.
- Kirişçi, Kemal (2005). *A Friendlier Schengen Visa System as a Tool of ‘Soft Power’: The Experience of Turkey*, European Journal of Migration and Law 7(4):343-67.
- Kofman, Leonore (1999). *Female ‘Birds of Passage’ a Decade Later: Gender and Immigration in the EU*, International Migration Review 33(2):269-300.

- Kongar, Emre (1982). “Kentleşen Gecekondular ya da Gecekondulaşan Kentler” in *Kentsel Bütünleşme* (Ed. Erder, T.), Ankara: Türkiye Geliştirme Araştırmaları Vakfı.
- (2004). *21. Yüzyılda Türkiye: 2000’li Yıllarda Türkiye’nin Toplumsal Yapısı*, 35th Edition, İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi.
- Koray, Meryem (1993). “Çalışma Yaşamında Kadın Gerçekleri” in *Kadının Ücretli Çalışması ve Türkiye’deki Durum*, Ankara: TC. Devlet Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü.
- KSSGM (1999). *Çalışmaya Hazır İşgücü Olarak Kentli Kadın ve Değişimi*, Ankara: TC. Başbakanlık Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü.
- Kümbetoğlu, Belkıs (2005). *Enformelleşme Süreçlerinde Genç Göçmen Kadınlar ve Dayanışma Ağları*, *Folklor/Edebiyat* 11(41): 5-25.
- Lan, Pei-Chia (2006). *Global Cinderellas: Migrant Domesticity and Newly Rich Employers in Taiwan*, Durham; London: Duke University Press.
- Lauby, Jennifer and Stark, Oded (1988). *Individual Migration as a Family Strategy: Young Women in the Philippines*, *Population Studies* 42:473-86.
- Le Galès, Patrick (1998). *Regulations and Governance in European Cities*, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 22:482-506.
- Lewis, W. Arthur (1954). *Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour*, *Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies*, 22: 139-91.
- MacLeod, Gordon (2001). *New Regionalism Reconsidered: Globalization and the Remaking of Political Economic Space*, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 25: 806-29.

- Mansoor, Ali and Quillin, Bryce (2007). *Migration and Remittances: Eastern Europe and Former Soviet Union*, Washington: The World Bank.
- Massey, Doreen (2001). *Space, Place and Gender*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Massey, Douglas S. (1990). *Social Structure, Household Strategies and the Cumulative Causation of Migration*, Population Index 56:3-26.
- Massey, Douglas S.; Arango, Joaquin; Hugo, Graeme; Kouaouci, Ali; Pellegrino, Adela and Taylor, Edward (1993). *Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal*. Population and Development Review, 19 (3), pg. 431-466.
- (1998). *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Massey, Douglas S. and España, Felipe G. (1987). *The Social Process of International Migration*, Science, 237: 733-38.
- Marchand, Marianne H. and Runyan, Anne S. (2000). "Feminist Sightings of Global Restructuring: Conceptualization and Reconceptualization" in *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites and Resistances* (eds. Marchand, M.H. and Runyan, A.S.), London: Routledge, pg. 1-22.
- McDowell, Linda (1997). *Capital Culture: Gender at Work in the City*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- MFA (2008). *Visa Information for Foreigners in Year 2008*, Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs (retrieved from <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/visa-information-for-foreigners.en.mfa> on 21.06.08)
- Mittelman, James H. (1996) "The Dynamics of Globalization" in *Globalization: Critical Reflections* (Ed. Mittelman, J. H.), Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers: pp.1-19.

- Moghadam, Valentine (1999). "Gender and the Global Economy" in *Revisioning Gender* (Eds.) Ferree, M. M.; Lorber, J. and Hess, B. B., London: Sage Publications: pg. 128-160.
- Morokvasic, Mirjana (1984). *Birds of Passage are Also Women*, International Migration Review 18(4):886-907.
- Morrison, Andrew R. and Schiff, Maurice (2008) "Looking Ahead: Future Directions for Research and Policy" in *The International Migration of Women*, (Eds. Morrison, A. R.; Schiff, M. and Sjöblom, M.), New York: The World Bank and Palgrave Macmillan, pg. 185-207
- Ong, Aihwa (1999). *Flexible Citizenship: The Culture Logic of Transnationality*, Durham; New York: Duke University Press.
- Özgüç, Nazmiye (1998) *Kadınların Coğrafyası*, İstanbul: Çantay, pg.52-57.
- Özyeğin, Gül (2005). *Başkalarının Kiri: Kapıcılar, Gündelikçiler ve Kadınlık Halleri*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Parreñas, Rhacel S. (2001). *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration, and Domestic Work*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Pessar, Patricia R. (1999). "The Role of gender, Household, and Social Networks in Migration Process: A Review and Appraisal" in *The Handbook of International Migration*, (Eds. Hirschman, C.; Kasinitz, P.; DeWind, J.), New York: The Russell Sage Foundation pg. 63-64.
- Petras, Elizabeth M. (1981). "The Global Labor Market in the Modern World Economy" in *Global Trends in Migration: Theory and Research on International Population Movements* (Eds. Kritz, M.M.; Keely, C.B. and Tomasi, S.M.), New York: Academic Press, pg. 44-63.
- Pfeiffer, Lisa; Richter, Susan; Fletcher, Peri and Taylor, Edward J. (2008). "Gender in Economic Research on International Migration and Its

Impacts: A Critical Review” in *The International Migration of Women*, (eds. Morrison, A.R.; Schiff, M. and Sjöblom, M.), New York: The World Bank and Palgrave Macmillan, pg. 11-50.

Pilkington, Hilary (1997). “ ‘For the Sake of the Children’: Gender and Migration in the former Soviet Union” in *Post-Soviet Women: from the Baltic to Central Asia* (ed. Buckley, M.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pg. 119-40.

Piore, Michael J. (1979). *Birds of Passage – Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Portes, Alejandro and Walton, John (1981). *Labor, Class and the International System*, New York: Academic Press.

Portes, Alejandro (1995). “Economic Sociology and the Sociology of Immigration: A Conceptual Overview” in *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship* (ed. Alejandro Portes), New York: Russell Sage Foundation, pg. 1-41.

--- (1999). “Immigration Theory for a New Century: Some Problems and Opportunities” in *The Handbook of International Migration*, (Eds. Hirschman, C.; Kasinitz, P.; DeWind, J.), New York: The Russell Sage Foundation pg. 27.

RADİKAL (2008) 237 *Bin Kadın*, “Evinin Hanımı” Oldu!, 23.02.2008, retrieved from <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=248266>.

Ranis G. and Fei, J.C.H. (1961). *A Theory of Economic Development*, American Economic Review 51: 533-65

Sandercock, Leoine and Forsyth, Ann (1992) *A Gender Agenda: New Directions for Planning Theory*, Journal of American Planning Association 58 (1): 49-59

- Sassen-Koob, Saskia (1984).) *Notes on the Incorporation of Third World Women into Wage-Labor through Immigration and Off-Shore Production*, *International Migration Review*, 18 (4): 1144-1167
- Sassen, Saskia (1991) *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- (1996). *New Employment Regimes in Cities: The Impact on Immigrant Workers*, *New Community* 22(4): 579-94.
- (1998). *Globalization and Its Discontents: Essays on the new mobility of people and money*, New York: The New Press.
- (1999). *Guests and Aliens*, New York: The New Press.
- (2002). *Women's Burden: Counter-Geographies of Globalization and the Feminization of Survival*, *Nordic Journal of International Law*, 71: 255-274
- (2006). *Cities in a World Economy*, 3rd Edition, New Delhi; London: Sage Publications Inc.
- Scott, Allen J. (2001). *Globalization and the Rise of City-regions*, *European Planning Studies* 9(7): 813-26.
- (1996). *Regional Motors of the Global Economy*, *Futures* 28:391-411.
- Sjaastad, Larry A. (1962) *The Costs and Returns of Human Migration*, *Journal of Political Economy* 70S:80-93
- Soja, Edward (2000). *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Standing, Guy (1989). *Global Feminization through Flexible Labor*, *World Development* 17: 1077-95.
- Stark, Oded and Bloom, David E. (1985). *The New Economics of Labor Migration*, *American Economic Review*, 75: 173-178.

Stark, Oded (1991). *The Migration of Labour*, Cambridge: Basil Blackwell

Storper, Michael (1997). *The Regional World: Territorial Development in a Global Economy*, New York: Guildford.

Tekeli, İlhan (1984). “Ankara’nın Başkentlik Kararının Ülkesel Mekan Organizasyonu ve Toplumsal Yapıya Etkileri Bakımından Genel Bir Değerlendirmesi” in *Tarih İçinde Ankara*, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları.

--- (2007). “Türkiye’nin Göç Tarihindeki Değişik Kategorileri” in *Kökler ve Yollar: Türkiye’de Göç Süreçleri* (eds. Kaya, A. and Şahin, B.), İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, pg. 447-74.

--- (2008). “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Mekan Organizasyonunun Evrimi ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin Bölgesel Politikalarının Kökenleri” in *Türkiye’de Bölgesel Eşitsizlik ve Bölge Kalkınma Yazıları*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, pg. 30-67.

Tickell, Adam and Peck, Jamie A. (1992). *Accumulation, Regulation and the Geographies of Post-Fordism: Missing Links in Regulationist Research*, *Progress in Human Geography* 16(2): 190-218.

Tinker, Irene (1990). *Persisting Inequalities: Women and World Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Todaro, Michael P. (1969) *A Model of Labor Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less-developed Countries*, *American Economic Review* 59: 138-48

--- (1976). *International Migration in Developing Countries*, International Labor Office, Geneva.

--- (1989) *Economic Development in the Third World*, New York: Longman

- Todaro, Michael P. and Maruszko, Lydia (1987). *Illegal Migration and US Immigration Reform: A Conceptual Framework*, Population and Development Review, 13: 101-14.
- Todaro, Michael P. and Smith, Stephen C. (2006). *Economic Development*, 9th Edition, Harlow: Pearson Addison-Wesley
- Togrul-Keklik, Hande (2006). 'As if she is Family': the Marginalization of unpaid Household Workers in Turkey, Gender and Development 14(2):191-8.
- Toksöz, Gülay (2006). *Uluslararası Emek Göçü*, İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- True, Jacqui (2000). "Gendering Post-Socialist Transitions" in *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites and Resistances* (eds. Marchand, M.H. and Runyan, A.S.), London: Routledge, pg. 74-93.
- TUIK (2008). *Hanehalkı İşgücü Araştırması 2008 Mayıs Dönemi Sonuçları*. Haber Bülteni 133, (retrieved from <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=2019> on 17.08.08)
- TurizmNet (2006). *Visa Requirements for Turkey in Year 2006*, (retrieved from <http://www.turizm.net/turkey/tips/visa.html> on 21.06.08)
- UN (2005). *2004 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development*. New York: Women and International Migration, United Nations.
- UNFPA (2006). *A Passage to Hope, Women and International Migration: State of World Population 2006* (retrieved from http://www.unfpa.org/swp/2006/pdf/en_sowp06.pdf), United Nations Population Fund.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel (1974). *The Modern World System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, New York: Academic Press

- Weyland, Petra (1997). "Gendered Lives in Global Spaces" in *Space, Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities* (Eds. Öncü, A. and Weyland, P.), London: Zed Books Ltd. Pg. 82-97.
- White, Jenny B. (2004). *Money Makes Us Relatives: Women's Labor in Urban Turkey*, 2nd Edition, New York; London: Routledge.
- Yeldan, Erine (2001). *Küreselleşme Sürecinde Türkiye Ekonomisi: Bölüşüm, Birikim ve Büyüme*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Yükseker, H. Deniz (2003). *Laleli-Moskova Mekiği: Kayıtdışı Ticaret ve Cinsiyet İlişkileri*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları
- Zlotnik, Hania (1990). *International Migration Policies and the Status of Female Migrants*, International Migration Review 24(2):372-81.
- (1992). "Empirical Identification of International Migration Systems" in *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach*, (Eds. Kritz, M.; Lim, L. L. and Zlotnik, H.), Oxford: Clarendon Press, pg. 19-40.
- (1999). *Trends of International Migration since 1965: What Existing Data Reveal*, International Migration 37(1):21-62.

APPENDIX A

Female Migration in Year 2000. (UN 2004 World Survey, 2005:10)

Estimated Number of Female Migrants at Midyear					
Major area, region, country or area	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
World	35 469 362	38 507 161	47 156 135	73 817 887	85 080 716
More developed regions	15 629 174	18 742 613	23 882 284	45 347 826	56 228 897
More developed regions without the USSR (former)	14 203 958	17 259 476	22 306 792	29 860 914	40 896 880
Less developed regions	19 840 187	19 764 548	23 273 851	28 470 062	28 851 819
Least developed countries	2 896 736	3 323 332	4 129 540	5 102 639	4 929 009
Africa	3 794 583	4 208 331	6 216 156	7 441 517	7 595 140
Eastern Africa	1 293 119	1 475 861	2 301 832	2 875 736	2 172 969
Middle Africa	590 194	826 174	885 992	678 235	688 812
Northern Africa	736 578	463 260	705 274	1 047 756	832 620
Southern Africa	295 111	315 178	391 477	559 760	652 419
Western Africa	879 580	1 127 858	1 931 582	2 280 030	3 248 320
Asia	13 572 729	13 096 395	14 340 682	17 862 959	18 936 075
Eastern Asia	1 278 511	1 420 383	1 785 838	2 102 777	2 960 174
South-central Asia	8 522 472	7 910 730	7 626 765	8 679 779	6 607 013
South-eastern Asia	1 996 622	1 650 835	1 386 772	1 444 668	1 994 868
Western Asia	1 775 123	2 114 447	3 541 309	5 635 735	7 374 020
Europe	6 799 126	8 981 401	10 752 040	13 120 718	16 736 713
Eastern Europe	1 839 170	1 564 127	1 396 956	1 289 489	1 547 640
Northern Europe	1 146 007	1 971 053	2 397 504	2 741 423	3 223 267
Southern Europe	746 303	966 136	1 211 280	1 853 954	2 736 125
Western Europe	3 067 646	4 480 085	5 746 300	7 235 852	9 229 682
Latin America and the Caribbean	2 702 258	2 690 034	2 957 603	3 497 251	2 983 844
Caribbean	204 522	288 102	362 570	433 491	523 755
Central America	226 661	200 950	276 194	940 403	531 621
South America	2 271 075	2 200 983	2 318 839	2 123 357	1 928 467
Northern America	6 227 246	6 638 354	9 516 257	14 074 660	20 543 473
Oceania	947 643	1 408 956	1 797 350	2 333 426	2 945 035
Australia/New Zealand	910 724	1 354 625	1 713 969	2 228 821	2 818 208
Melanesia	20 306	36 923	39 807	39 724	37 536
Micronesia	11 493	8 275	25 776	38 030	53 275
Polynesia	5 120	9 133	17 798	26 851	36 016
USSR (former)	1 425 777	1 483 690	1 576 046	15 487 356	15 340 437

APPENDIX B

Visa Requirements for Turkey (From Moldova, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Georgia)

Year 2006 (<http://www.turizm.net/turkey/tips/visa.html>)

- Moldova: Ordinary passport holders are required to have visa to enter Turkey. They can obtain one-month multiple entry visas at the Turkish border gates.
- Turkmenistan: Ordinary passport holders They can obtain one-month multiple entry visas at the Turkish border gates.
- Uzbekistan: Ordinary passport holders They can obtain one-month multiple entry visas at the Turkish border gates.
- Georgia: Ordinary passport holders can obtain 15 days visas at the Turkish border gates.

Year 2008 (<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/visa-information-for-foreigners.en.mfa>)

- Moldova: Ordinary passport holders are required to have visa to enter Turkey. They can obtain one-month multiple entry visas at the Turkish border gates. Official passport holders are exempt from visa for their travels up to 30 days.
- Turkmenistan: Ordinary and official passport holders are exempt from visa requirement for their travels to Turkey up to 30 days.
- Uzbekistan: Ordinary passport holders are exempt from visa requirement for their travels to Turkey up to 30 days.
- Georgia: Ordinary and official passport holders are exempt from visa for their travels up to 90 days.

APPENDIX C

Sample Questionnaires with Immigrant Women and Turkish Woman Employers

Göçmen Kadınlar:

Kişisel Bilgiler/ Profil

Hangi ülkeden geldi
Yaş
Eğitim durumu, son bitirdiği okul
Medeni durum
Evet ise, çalışıyor mu? Nerede? Mesleği ne? Şu an ne iş yapıyor?
Çocuk var mı?
Kaç tane
Yaşları
Eğitimleri
Kim bakıyor, bakıcı nereden geliyor
Masraf nasıl karşılanıyor
Bakmakla yükümlü ailesi
Kaç kişi
Yaşları
Yakınlık dereceleri
Sadece maddi olarak mı yükümlü, yoksa bakımları için tuttuğu biri var mı? Var ise, kim, nereden geliyor, masrafı ne kadar?
TR'ye gelmeden önce ne işlerde çalıştı
Nerede
Maaşı ne idi
TR ile bağlantısı önceden var mıydı?
Türkçe biliyor mu?
Türk akrabası var mı?
TR'de akrabası var mı?
TR'de arkadaşı var mı?

Göç kararı ve deneyimi

Neden-nasıl TR'ye gelmeye karar verdi
Bu kararı kendi mi verdi, yoksa aileden yönlendirme oldu mu?
Nasıl ve ne zaman TR'ye geldi?
Kimin aracılığıyla?
Aracı şirket
Kendi başına
Arkadaş, akraba
TR'de ilk işi mi? Değil ise, daha önce ne işler yaptı, nerede?
Bu gelişin ekonomik bedeli ne? Ne gibi durumlarda ne kadar harcadı?
Bunu nasıl kazandı?
(Eğer başka mesleği var ise) Bu iş için ayrı bir eğitim aldı mı?
Buraya gelirken yaşadığı sorunlar?
İlk nerede kaldı, kim tarafından karşılandı?
Çalışma ve oturma iznine sahip mi? (Evet ise, nasıl sahip oldu?)
Kendi ülkesine/ailesine ekonomik olarak nasıl bağlı?
Ülkesinde maddi destek sağladıkları var mı?
Parayı nasıl gönderiyor?
Ailesiyle nasıl iletişimde?
Ailesini ziyaret edebiliyor mu? Ne zamanda bir?

Çalışma koşulları/tecrübesi

İlk işini nasıl buldu
Aracı şirketlerle anlaşması var mı? Onlara para ödüyor mu?
İşvereniyle nasıl tanıştı?
Şu anki işi nedir? Görev ve sorumlulukları neler?
Haftada kaç saat çalışıyor? Günlük mesai saatleri belli mi?
Yatılı mı çalışıyor? Kaldığı başka bir yer var mı?
Normal bir iş haftası nasıl geçiyor?
İzin günleri var mı? Var ise, neler yapıyor?
sağlık-sosyal güvence altında mı? Kim sağlıyor bunu?
Ne kadar kazanıyor?
Bunu nasıl harcıyor?
Kendi için?
Ülkesine ne kadar gönderiyor?
Aracı şirkete ödeme yapıyor mu?
Yaşadığı yerde yaşam koşulları nasıl?
Aile bireylerinininkine yakın mı?
İşveren aile ile ilişkisi nasıl?

Kişisel bir iletişimleri var mı?
Yaptığı işi seviyor mu?
Yaptığı işte hoşlanmadığı şeyler neler?
Gelecek için planları neler?
Ne kadar daha burada kalmayı planlıyor?
Başka bir işte (ev hizmeti dışında) çalışmayı planlıyor mu?

Türkiye’de yaşam koşulları

Türkçe iletişim problemi var mı?
Hangi dili kullanıyor?
Burada çalışan başka arkadaşları, akrabaları var mı?
Başka göçmen kadınlarla görüşüyor mu? Belli zamanlarda yaptıkları toplantılar, etkinlikler var mı?
Bu toplantılar nerede gerçekleşiyor? Endişeleri var mı?
İzin günleri neler yapıyor?
Burada kaldığı sürece nelerden endişe duydu?
Bir problem yaşadı mı?

2 - İşveren / İşveren aile Profili

Birey sayısı
Çocuk sayısı
Çocuklar dışında bakmakla yükümlü oldukları biri var mı
Babanın eğitim durumu
Ne iş yapıyor?
Annenin eğitim durumu?
Ne iş yapıyor?
Aylık gelirleri ne kadar? Maaşları dışında da gelirleri var mı?
Evde kaç kişi çalışıyor?

Yabancı bir çalışan almaya götüren koşullar

Anne çalışıyor ise
Ne zamandır çalışıyor
Ne iş yapıyor
Evde ne gibi sorumlulukları var
İlk zamandan beri bu sorumluluklar nasıl değişti

Haftada ne kadar saat çalışıyor?
Neden bir çocuk/hasta bakıcısına ya da hizmetçiye ihtiyaç duydular?
Önceden Türk çalışanları oldu mu? Nasıl bir tecrübeydi? (pozitif & negatif)
Neden yabancı bir çalışan aldılar?
Nasıl buldular?
Sosyal çevrelerinde de evinde yabancı çalışan bulunan aileler var mı?

Çalışanlar ile ilişkileri

Çalışanlarıyla anlaşmada dil sorunu yaşanıyor mu?
İlişkileri nasıl?
Çalışanlarına ne tip koşullar sağlıyorlar?
Evdeki düzenleri nasıl?
Bu ilk çalışan mı? Değil ise, öncekiler neden ayrıldılar?
Çalışanlarının sosyal güvencelerine katkıları nasıl?
Maaşları dışında ödeme, hediye vs.
Ailesiyle iletişimi için sınırlama konmuş mu?
Ailesini ziyaret edebiliyor mu? Ya da ailesinden onu ziyarete gelen var mı?

Çalışanlar ile ilgili görüşleri

Yatılı kalıyor ise, aile düzenlerine etkisi?
Şu anki işi nedir? Görev ve sorumlulukları neler? Bunları kim tanımladı?
Haftada kaç saat çalışıyor? Günlük mesai saatleri belli mi? Bu düzen ev düzenine uyuyor mu?
Normal bir iş haftası nasıl geçiyor?