

THE WORK STRATEGIES AND EXPERIENCES OF
THE WAVE OF 1989 IMMIGRANTS FROM
BULGARIA SETTLED IN ANKARA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

İLHAN ZEYNEP KARAKILIÇ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

AUGUST 2007

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of
Master of Science

Assoc. Dr. Sibel Kalaycıoğlu
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully
adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Aykan Erdemir
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç (METU, SOC) _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Aykan Erdemir (METU, SOC) _____

Dr. Murat. G. Kırdar (METU, ECON) _____

I hereby declare that all the 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 in this work.

Name, Last Name: İlhan Zeynep Karakılıç

Signature:

ABSTRACT

THE WORK STRATEGIES AND EXPERIENCES OF THE WAVE OF 1989 IMMIGRANTS FROM BULGARIA SETTLED IN ANKARA

Karakılıç, İlhan Zeynep
M.S., Department of Sociology
Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Aykan Erdemir

August, 2007, 158 pages

This study focuses on the work strategies of 1989 immigrants who had to move from Bulgaria to Turkey and settled in Ankara. During this immigration wave, nearly 150,000 people immigrated to Turkey and settled permanently. In this study, the operational definition of the immigrant work strategy is the activities and the attitudes that the immigrants take to find and maintain their first jobs, immediately after immigration. To learn about the work strategies of the immigrants I conducted a field research which was based on semi-structured in depth interviews. In my sample, there are fifteen women and fifteen men who have work experience both in Bulgaria and Turkey. During the field research, I asked the respondents questions about their immigration and settlement processes, their working lives, both in Bulgaria and Turkey and their perceptions about working. Then, to interpret this data, I employ three approaches from the international migration literature: migration system approach, political approach and network approach with some important concepts like social capital and work ethic and I tried to connect them with work strategies of the immigrants.

As the result of this study, it is suggested that to improve their standards of living the immigrants developed a work strategy with two main steps: finding a job and maintaining this job. Immigrants follow different patterns in these two steps. While

they are trying to find a job, they benefit from existing immigrants' networks which are products continuous immigration waves from Bulgaria to Turkey and Turkish state's provisions which are for the accommodation of the immigrants who are privileged in the eyes of the state due to their ethnicity and religion. As a second step of the work strategy, they maintain these jobs with help of work ethic they gained in Bulgaria and their ignorance about the operation of Turkish labour market. With these characteristics they are distinguished among the non-immigrant workers. The narratives which are widely told by the immigrants and shared by the employers and other employees enviably also emphasize how hardworking they are, how loyal they are to their job, to their employers and to their country and strengthen the immigrants' position in the labour market.

Key Words: Immigrant Work Strategy, Migration System, Immigrant Networks, Labour Market Adaptation, Immigrations from Bulgaria to Turkey.

ÖZ

ANKARA'DA YERLEŞMİŞ 1989 BULGARİSTAN GÖÇMENLERİNİN ÇALIŞMA STRATEJİLERİ VE DENEYİMLERİ

Karakılıç, İlhan Zeynep
Yüksek Lisans, Sosyoloji Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Yard. Doç. Dr. Aykan Erdemir

Ağustos, 2007, 158 sayfa

Bu çalışma 1989'da, Bulgaristan'dan Türkiye'ye göç etmek zorunda kalmış ve Ankara'ya yerleşmiş göçmenlerin çalışma stratejilerine odaklanmaktadır. Bu göç sırasında, yaklaşık 150.000 kişi Türkiye'ye göç etmiş ve kalıcı olarak yerleşmiştir. Bu çalışmada; göçmen çalışma stratejileri, göçmenlerin, göç ettikten hemen sonra ilk işlerini bulmak ve bu işleri ellerinde tutmak için yaptıkları eylemler ve gösterdikleri tutumlar olarak tanımlanmıştır. Göçmenlerin çalışma stratejilerini öğrenebilmek için, yarı yapılandırılmış, derinlemesine görüşmelerden oluşan bir saha çalışması yürüttüm. Örneklemimde hem Bulgaristan'da hem de Türkiye'de çalışma tecrübesi olan on beş kadın ve erkek yer aldı. Saha çalışması boyunca onlara, göç ve yerleşme süreçleri, hem Bulgaristan'daki hem de Türkiye'deki çalışma hayatları ve deneyimleri, ve çalışma algıları üzerine sorular sordum. Daha sonra bu verileri yorumlamak için, sosyal sermaye ve iş ahlakı gibi önemli kavramlarla birlikte, uluslararası göç yazınından üç yaklaşımı kullandım: göç sistemleri yaklaşımı, politik yaklaşım ve göçmen ağları yaklaşımı. Bu teorik çerçeveyi göçmenlerin çalışma stratejileri ile bağlantılı hale getirmeye çalıştım.

Bu çalışmanın sonucunda, göçmenlerin yaşam standartlarını iyileştirmek için iki adımdan oluşan bir çalışma stratejisi geliştirdiklerini gözlemledim: iş bulmak ve bu işi ellerinde tutmak. Göçmenler iş bulmaya çalışırken, Bulgaristan ile Türkiye arasında gerçekleşen devamlı göçlerin sonucunda oluşan göçmen ağlarından ve

Türkiye hükümetinin gözünde etnik ve dini olarak ayrıcalıklı bir göçmen grubu olarak, yeni şartlara uyum için onlara sağlanan yardımlardan faydalandılar. İkinci adımında ise, Bulgaristan'da edindikleri iş ahlakı ve Türkiye'deki işgücü piyasasının işleyişi hakkındaki bilgisizlikleri buldukları bu işleri ellerinde tutmalarını sağladı. Bu özellikleri sayesinde, göçmen olmayan işçilerden ayrıldılar ve öne çıktılar. Göçmenler tarafından sıklıkla anlatılan, hem işverenler hem de diğer çalışanlar tarafından da kabul gören, onların ne kadar çalışkan, işlerine ve ülkelerine ne kadar sadık çalışanlar olduklarına dair anlatılar da göçmenlerin işgücü piyasasındaki durumunu güçlendirdi.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göçmen Çalışma Stratejisi, Göç Sistemi, Göçmen Ağları, İşgücü Piyasası Uyumu, Bulgaristan'dan Türkiye'ye Göçler.

To The Memory of Vasfiye Şentürk

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is an outcome of the study which spans nearly one and a half years. During this period, many people helped me and contributed to my study. Firstly, I would like to express my appreciation to my supervisor, Assist. Prof. Dr. Aykan Erdemir, for his guidance, constructive critics and friendly attitude. He created the space in which I could write my own thesis with my own words, while he was supervising my study and guiding me. I also would like to thank to the thesis committee members, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç and Dr. Murat G. Kırdar for their careful readings, comments and critics to make my study better.

Even though I finished this study in one and a half years, in fact, it is product of a longer process. I would like to thank to Prof. Dr. Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sibel Kalaycıoğlu, Assist. Dr. Ayça Ergun and Prof. Dr. Yıldız Ecevit who contributed to this study and my intellectual improvement- if any- in this longer process. I would also like to thank to the numerous novelists I read. They showed me the existence of different lives and ways of living and taught me how to observe and see.

My friends were also around me during the long and hard period of thesis writing. I owe thanks to them, Nazan, Müge, Karla, Emine, Selda, Bahar, Çağrı Deniz, Mehmet and Gökhan. Their support, friendship, encouragement, comments and experiences brighten my path. I owe my very special and deepest appreciations to Görkem. He supported me every moment of this work, encouraged me constantly, listened all my complaints about it patiently, and shared my darkest times as well as the best times. There is no appropriate word to express my gratitude to my family, Faik, Cahide, Gökçe Karakılıç and Beyhan Şentürk. I felt their constant and limitless support and encouragement every moment of my life. They provided me a home full of tender, joy, love and books.

My last but not least thanks go to the respondents of mine from the immigrant community and gatekeepers. They helped me to materialize this study. They shared their experiences and thoughts with me intimately, even though sometimes this was hard for them. During the field research, my great-grand mother, Vasfiye Şentürk of Razgrad became my very special gatekeeper. I dedicate this work to memory of her.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZ.....	vi
DEDICATION.....	ix
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xi
LIST OF TABLES.....	xiv
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 The Research Question of the Study.....	1
1.2 The Aims of the Study.....	2
1.3 The Plan of the Study.....	3
2. HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	6
2.1. Introduction.....	6
2.2. Historical Background.....	6
2.3. Theoretical Background.....	16
2.4. Evaluation of the Historical and Theoretical Background.....	22
2.5. Literature Review.....	34
2.6. Conclusion.....	38
3. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR IMMIGRATION PROCESSES.....	40
3.1. Introduction.....	40

3.2. Methodology of the Field Study.....	40
3.3. First Impressions from the Field.....	43
3.4. Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Immigrants.....	46
3.5. Immigration Process.....	54
3.5.1. Reason for Immigration.....	54
3.5.2. Decision to Stay in Turkey.....	58
3.5.3 Settlement in Ankara.....	59
3.6. Conclusion.....	62
4. WORKING LIVES OF THE IMMIGRANTS IN BULGARIA AND TURKEY.....	66
4.1. Introduction.....	66
4.2. The Immigrants' Approach to Work.....	67
4.2.1. The Immigrants' Perceptions of Work and Unemployment..	67
4.2.2. The Immigrants' Perceptions Concerning States' Attitudes towards Workers, Social Values and Work Ethic.....	77
4.3. Work Experiences of the Immigrants in Bulgaria.....	79
4.3.1. Formal and Occupational Education of the Immigrants in Bulgaria.....	79
4.3.2. Patterns of Finding an Employment in Bulgaria.....	83
4.3.3. The Immigrants' Positions in the Work Hierarchy in Bulgaria.....	86
4.3.4. Being a Turk in Work Environment in Bulgaria.....	87
4.4. Work Experiences of the Immigrants in Turkey.....	92
4.4.1. Patterns of Finding an Employment among the Immigrants in Turkey.....	93
4.3.2. Job Descriptions of the Immigrants in Ankara, Turkey.....	95
4.4.3. Supplementary Jobs.....	106

4.3.4. Being an Immigrant in Work Environment in Turkey.....	108
4.5. Comparison between Bulgaria and Turkey.....	111
4.6. Immigrant Women and Their Experiences in Turkey.....	119
4.7. Conclusion.....	121
5. CONCLUSION.....	129
REFERENCES.....	139
APPENDICES.....	147
Appendix A.Qestionnaires.....	147
A.1 Questionnaire in Turkish.....	147
A.2. Questionnaire in English.....	149
Appendix B: Diagram of Interviews.....	152
Appendix C:Illustrations about Ankara.....	154
Map 1: Pursaklar in Ankara.....	154
Picture 1: View of Ay-Yıldız Neighborhood.....	155
Plan 1: Ay-Yıldız Neighborhood.....	156
Appendix D:Illustrations about Bulgaria.....	157
Map 2: Administrative Map of Bulgaria.....	157
Map3: Turkish Minority in Bulgaria.....	158

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: The frequency distribution of birth places according to that it is city center or town	48
Table 2: The frequency distribution of living places.....	48
Table 3: The frequency distribution of the income groups of the respondents.....	51
Table 4: The cross tabulation of gender and marital status.....	53
Table 5: The frequency distribution of reasons for coming to Ankara.....	60
Table 6: The cross tabulation of the respondents' job and their level of education before immigration.....	80
Table 7: The categorization of jobs of the immigrants who are not civil servants...	97
Table 8: The cross tabulation of jobs which immigrants have in Ankara and the social security institutions of the respondents.....	105

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research Question of the Study

This study focuses on the work strategies of 1989 immigrants who had to move from Bulgaria to Turkey and settled in Ankara. This group immigrated to Turkey due to the political and cultural pressures which were exercised on them in the so called Revival Project (1984-1989) which aimed to assimilate the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. When Turkish government opened the borders, nearly 300,000 people fled to Turkey between May and August 1989. In the following few months nearly half of them returned to Bulgaria after the collapse of the communist regime in the country (Vasileva, 1992).

I interpret the work strategies of the immigrants as their response to immigration and changing work environment. Even though, in the macro structure, there are constraints the immigrants can not affect, strategies they adopt show the immigrants' agency and ability to manipulate the situations. In this respect, a qualitative research can reveal the respondents' own narratives. To gather data on immigrants' work experiences and their working lives which are the focal points of the study, I employ a methodology which is based on semi-structured, in-depth interviews about the immigration and settlement processes of the immigrants, their working lives both in Bulgaria and Turkey and their work ethic. The interview includes both close and open-ended questions. The close-ended questions are about some of the socio-demographic characteristics of the immigrants, while the open-ended questions cover the immigration and settlement processes of the immigrants and their experiences in the work place. I interviewed thirty immigrants who are currently living in Ankara. During this field research, I tried to understand the work strategy of the immigrants and had the opportunity to observe the immigrants in their neighborhoods, at their flats and in their work environment. Thus, even though, I do not have an intention to

produce the data which is representative with this methodology, I employed in this study, I believe that the conclusion I deduced from the field research presents a reliable pattern especially among the immigrants who settled in Ankara.

The term immigrant work strategy includes the activities that the newcomers carry out to find and maintain their jobs both in formal and informal sectors in Turkey. In the literature on immigrants' adaptation, the term is used to either refer to the informal economic activities of immigrants (Vasta, 2004) or it is examined as part of family adaptive strategies (Pessar, 1982). In this study, I employ a more focused and more limited operational definition than the existing ones. In this study, the operational definition of the immigrant work strategy is the activities and the attitudes that the immigrants take to find and maintain their first jobs, immediately after immigration. These activities were their first encounter with a capitalist labour market and their first responses to a changing environment as a consequence of immigration. These activities include the ways an immigrant finds her/his first job in Turkey, how s/he is informed about job opportunities, how s/he bargains with her/his boss -if she/he ever does-, what kind of relations s/he has with co-workers, what s/he does for maintaining and/or not losing these jobs. These activities aim to increase the level of income, maintain a standard of living and secure the future of the household members.

1.2. The Aims of the Study

There are two main aims of this study. First one is to explore the work strategies among the immigrants, to understand and to explain them in a theoretical framework which is built on approaches from international migration theories. In this study, I tried to connect macro theories of migration literature to a meso level with the experiences of the immigrants. While the migration system approach and political approach explain the macro structure in which the immigration took place, the network approach and the concept of work strategies which were developed mostly within the networks helps to understand the experiences of the immigrants, and their responses to the sudden changes in their lives.

Secondly it aims to fill the gap, at least partially, in the international migration studies about the immigrants who emigrated from Bulgaria to Turkey. Except for the studies of Kümbetoğlu (2003), Maeva (2004), Suğur (2005) and Coşgun (2005), most of the studies which are concerned about the immigrations from Bulgaria focused on the political dimension of the migrations or migration process itself, while they lacked detailed explanations about the causes of migration or the adaptation processes of the immigrants.

1.3. The Plan of the Study

In the second chapter, I provide the relevant background information for the reader to understand the subject. I give the historical background which covers the situation of Turkish minority in Bulgaria. I present the living conditions of Turkish minority under the communist regime and their working experiences during this period. In the theoretical background, I supply different theoretical approaches which try to illuminate international migration. Then, I evaluate the historical and theoretical backgrounds and as a result of this evaluation I employ the migration systems approach, political approach and network approach which will be explanatory due to existence of the networks and state provisions in the shaping of immigrants' work strategies. I examine these approaches in a detailed way with some important concepts like migration system, networks, social capital or embeddedness by trying to connect them with work strategies of the immigrants. I provide background information to illuminate the term work strategy. Moreover, I will give some basic definitions of work, unemployment and work ethic. As a final component of the second chapter, I summarize the literature about the immigrants from Bulgaria to Turkey and Turkish minority in Bulgaria. The literature review includes the studies which are related with Ankara and the immigrants who settled there, since the respondents in my sample lived there.

In the third chapter, I introduce the methodology and the sample of my field study in a detailed manner. I proceed with the details of the field site and some points which attracted my attention in the neighborhood during my visits. Then, I start to present the data which I collected in the field research with in-depth interviews. In this

chapter, I also portray the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents like age, education, citizenship situation, income level, and family structure. Finally, I describe immigration and settlement process of them and the factors which shaped these processes.

In the fourth chapter, I continue to present the data from the field research. The chapter starts with the immigrants' approach towards work and unemployment and their interpretations about the state policy, social values and work ethic. The following parts of this chapter cover the details of the working lives and work experiences of the respondents both in Bulgaria and Turkey, i.e. how they found their jobs, their job descriptions, their position in the work organization, their on the job trainings and adult educations, the changes in their working live in Bulgaria and Turkey. I think the experiences of the immigrants in Bulgaria will be valuable to understand the changes which the respondents experience with the immigration process. In this chapter, I also present information about the comparisons of the respondents between Bulgaria and Turkey and their perceptions on work and work process. As a final part of this chapter, I will focus on the specific experiences of the immigrant women in the work places in Turkey.

In the final chapter, I present my conclusion about the work strategies of the immigrants. During my field research, I observed that the immigrants developed a work strategy which was based on immigrant networks, state provision for them and their work ethic. Since there have been immigration waves between Bulgaria and Turkey for hundred and fifty years, the newcomers could find the support of the former immigrants in finding a job, bargaining with the employers, behaving in a proper manner, and also other supports in accommodation. Moreover, because they were privileged group in the eyes of the state due to their ethnicity, they received assistance both in their accommodation into the labour market and also in their struggle with the economic and cultural hardships after the immigration such as providing food and rent subsidy or offering language courses for the young immigrants. The work ethic they gained in Bulgaria during the long years of education and working also made them preferable workers in the eyes of the employers. They were perceived as hardworking, well-trained, and loyal employees

both by the employers and non-immigrant workers. Thus, immigrants' networks and state assistance in finding a job, and their work ethos in maintaining these jobs are the parts of work strategies of the immigrants which they adopted to increase level of income immediately after immigration.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter of my study, firstly I will give a brief historical background about the economic and political conditions of Turkey and Bulgaria. I will focus on the living conditions of Turkish minority and the history of immigrations from Bulgaria to Turkey. I will also concentrate on economic policies of Turkey and Bulgaria and labour market circumstances of the countries. Secondly, I will give an appraisal of the international migration theories which are influential in the migration literature. I will provide the summary of seven approaches, namely neoclassical economics approach, new economics of migration approach, segmented labour market theory, world system approach, migration networks approach, migration systems approach, and finally political approach. Then, I will evaluate how I can relate the theoretical background and the historical background. I will provide details on the migration system approach, political approach and migration networks approach, since I will use these approaches in explanation of the 1989 immigration wave. In the fifth part of this chapter, I will review the literature about the immigrations of Turks from Bulgaria, and adaptations of the migrants. Finally, I will conclude this chapter with highlighting some points from historical and theoretical backgrounds and literature review.

2.2. Historical Background

The presence of Turkish population in the Balkans dated back to the sixteenth century, which was the classical period of the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish population was settled in Balkans with the *sürgün*¹ (exile) policy. By the eighteenth

¹ With *sürgün*, the administration can change the population structure of newly conquered lands with the population of former lands by the means of forced population movements (Tekeli 1990).

century, the Ottoman power in the Balkans started to diminish, and it was challenged by Balkan nationalisms (Hupchick et al., 2001). Also the introduction of capitalism and the increasing density of foreign trade changed the social structure, which was shaped around agriculture (Tekeli, 1990; Karpat, 2004). As a Balkan country, Bulgaria was also a part of this picture. The first step leading to Bulgarian independence was the establishment of a Bulgarian church (Hupchick et al., 2001). With the Berlin Treaty, following the Russo-Turkish War in 1878-1879, Bulgaria became an autonomous principality within the Ottoman Empire. After this war, Ottoman Empire received the first mass migration wave of 1,500,000 people from the Balkans, mostly from Bulgaria and Romania. With this immigration wave half of the Muslims in Bulgaria left Bulgaria (Karpat, 1990). 300,000 of these people died due to the travel conditions and attacks of Bulgarian and Russian gangs (Tekeli, 1990; Karpat, 2003). With this migration, the Turks of Bulgaria who were nearly equal in number with Bulgarians before the Russo-Turkish War (Şimşir, 1990), became a minority comprising one fourth of the total population in Bulgaria (Karpat, 1990). Migrants were settled in various parts of Anatolia by the Commission² which was established to settle the migrants from the Caucasus in 1864 (Tekeli, 1990). With the Berlin Treaty in 1878, Bulgaria and other nations, which signed the treaty, recognized the rights of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria (İpek, 2006).

Bulgaria announced its independence in 1908, and the Ottoman Empire recognized it in 1909 with the Istanbul Agreement. During 1912-1913, Bulgaria and Ottoman Empire joined the First and Second Balkan Wars in which Ottomans lost Macedonia, Kosovo, Dobruca and Thrace except Edirne, an area populated by 1,500,000 Turks (Karpat, 2003). According to Tekeli, 640,000 Muslim Turks took shelter in Ottoman lands. This new migration wave led to the establishment of a new ministry, which tried to relocate the migrants to uninhabited lands and to balance the number of newcomers and local people in inhabited lands (Tekeli, 1990). This migration changed the social structures of both the sending and the receiving countries. Bulgaria lost an important part of its agricultural population. The density of the Turkish population increased in Anatolia. Newcomers, who were expelled because of

² The full name of this commission is *İdare-i Umumiyye-i Muhacirin Komisyonu* which means the Commission for General Administration for Migrants (Tekeli 1990).

their nationality and religion, brought national consciousness to Anatolia. They changed the structure of land ownership, since they received private lands from the administration. Also, the migrants from upper classes, who could bring capital to Anatolia, established self-employed occupations. They introduced a new entrepreneurial class into Ottoman economy (Karpas, 1990: 2003).

In 1914, Bulgaria and Ottoman Empire joined the World War I as allies of Germany. The alliance between Ottomans and Bulgaria enabled Turkish minority in Bulgaria to live in more comfortable conditions than in the previous decades. After the two countries were defeated in the War, Alexander Stamboliiski, the leader of the Agrarian Party in Bulgaria, came to power with a revolution in Bulgaria. In Anatolia, the struggle against the Allied Powers turned into an independence movement which later led to the establishment of Turkish Republic in 1923. In 1923, a coup d'état carried out by fascist monarchists took down the Stamboliiski government and stayed in power until the end of the World War II in Bulgaria (Crampton, 2000). In 1925, the new governments of Bulgaria and Turkey signed an Amity Agreement, which is still valid. With this agreement, they recognized their minorities and their rights reciprocally (İpek, 2006).

Bulgarian monarchy joined the World War II with the Axis powers. After the defeat, there was a de facto Soviet rule in Bulgaria. In September 1946, Bulgaria became a "People's Republic" and the monarchy was abolished. One party system was established with the 1947 Constitution (Crampton, 2000). In the early years of the new regime, Turkish minority, with a population of 675,500 (nearly 9 % of total population) decided to support the new government and the regime. Minority members, who lived in different cities, organized meetings and tried to voice their demands, which were mainly about education and *vakıfs*³ in official posts with government. In these early years, Turkish minority was relatively comfortable; Turkish schools were established, Turkish newspapers, books, magazines and textbooks were printed and radio broadcast started in Turkish (Şimşir, 1988). Turkish minority was also recognized in the 1947 Constitution as a national minority with the

³ *Vakıf* means the pious foundation which has properties in the form of real estate and money. These properties were used for building new mosques or private schools in Bulgaria (Şimşir 1988,137).

statement “national minorities are entitled to be taught in their mother tongue and develop their national culture” (Petkova, 2002: 42). Eminov by referring to Todorova, described this period as a internationalist, non-nationalist experiment of Bulgarian nationalism and argues that “the party ideologues believed that the class interests of workers, regardless of their ethnic affiliation would; over time, overcome their parochial interests and identities, which would be given up voluntarily and replaced with Bulgarian socialist identity” Eminov, 1997: 5). But they soon noticed that this policy was strengthening the Turkish minority’s national identity rather than weakening it. Also mass nationalization and collectivization, which were started in 1950, increased the unrest among Turkish population, since “the Turks in Bulgaria were virtually all peasants” (Oren, 1973: 121) and “the overwhelming majority of Bulgarian peasants, although poor, were land proprietors” (Oren, 1973: 100). I think these two factors, being a land owner and becoming a subject of mass nationalization together made Turkish minority perceive that mass nationalization and collectivization targeted them. This kind of perception might be also strengthened by the fact that they were excluded from industrialization. The emphasis in Bulgarian economy shifted from agrarianism to industrialization with collectivization. This change led the ethnic Bulgarians to leave the villages to settle in towns and cities. As Karpat argues that “the Turkish population in particular, and the Muslims in general, with the exception of those from a few areas around Plovdiv, Burgas, etc., stayed in their villages and remained involved in agriculture” (Karpat, 1990:15). After collectivization, a new migration wave occurred in 1950-1951. With this wave, 150,000 or one-fourth of the Turkish population left Bulgaria (Fowkes 2002). Migration stopped suddenly when first Turkish side and then, Bulgarian side of the border were closed. For these immigrants, the Turkish government established *Toprak ve İskan Genel Müdürlüğü*⁴ and the migrants were allocated to Anatolia and Thrace (Tekeli, 1990).

In 1960s, the Bulgarian government tried to accelerate the assimilation of minorities. The Turkish print media was stopped, the Turkish schools were closed down or merged with the Bulgarian ones, and the number of imams was reduced. As a peak

⁴ Directorship of the Land and the Settlement.

point of this process, the 1971 or Zhivkov Constitution was introduced. With this constitution, Eminov writes, “in fact, references to ‘national minorities’ or ‘ethnic groups’ were purged from official discourse. Instead there were only ‘Bulgarian citizens’, ‘normal ones’ on the one hand, and those of ‘non-Bulgarian ancestry’ on the other” (Eminov, 1997: 7).

These changes and a new agreement between the countries opened a way for new migrants of 130,000 people in the period of 1968-1978. This agreement was for the reunification of the families in 1950-1951 migration. Only the people whose family members migrated to Turkey in the early periods could migrate to Turkey. The migrants did not receive any help from both governments since they were *serbest göçmen*.⁵ The former migrants undertook all the costs of the new migrants (Türkgücü, 2003).

In 1968, when the first migrants left Bulgaria for Turkey, industrial development of Bulgaria was shaped around the COMECON. Because of the demands from COMECON, it concentrated on the production of electricity, mine processing, and chemical industry, and mechanical devices like calculators. The handicap of Bulgarian economy was the low quality of production to sell to the western markets. (T.C. Sofya Büyükelçiliği Ticaret Müsteşarlığı, 1974: 3). At the same year, 39% of the labour force of Bulgaria employed in agriculture which created 25% of the same year’s national income. Industry, with 29% of the labour force, created 49% of the national income. 4.7% and 2.5% of the labour force were employed in the public education and public health services respectively (Dobrin, 1973). According to Feiwel, the Bulgarian labour force in the 1960s and 1970s was characterized by the some contradictions. Employment growth was higher than the population growth, but the unemployment rate was the source of “a great embarrassment to the regime” (Feiwel, 1977: 51). This was because of rapid flow of rural population into cities and industrial machinery which was highly capital intensive. The share of women in labour force also increased from 32.2% to 42.5% from 1960 to 1970. The response of the administration to the unemployment was to fill enterprises with workers. This

⁵ Disengaged immigrants. They were disengaged immigrants, because they did not receive help from government.

policy became the basis of over employment, low efficiency, and low performance of workers. There were also shortages for the workers with specific skills at specific locations. High labour turnover rate, lax discipline, absenteeism, low productivity, and low quality of the output were the other features of the Bulgarian labour market (Feiwel, 1977). Creed confirmed that the situation of labour market which Feiwel (1977) mentioned, was valid for the late 1980s, too. Creed's article (1995), which examined the agro-industrial interaction in a Bulgaria village in 1992, shows that how underemployed employees could find extra times for their own plots. They could even easily find a new job when their old job made them too busy to work in their plot. Thus, they could combine the advantages of wage labour and subsistence cultivation which is very important in an economy whose light industry and consumer goods sectors are seen as expendable.

By the early 1980s, in Bulgaria, Zhivkov's power started to shrink with some international scandals. Also, the economic conditions worsened (Crampton, 2000). Signs of decrease in the standard of living led the regime to pursuit of more emphasis on nationalism (Fowkes, 2002). It reached a peak point in the period of 1984–1989. Late 1984, Bulgarian government started to change names of Turks into the Slavic ones. State assumed that it could homogenize the Bulgarian society by changing names, forbidding the second languages and traditional cloths. Maeva said that:

in the document adopted by the Politburo of the Central Committee of the BCP anxiety is stated by the 'continuing differentiation of the Bulgarian Turks, by the manifestations of provisions-Turkish nationalism, religious fanaticism, and everyday conservatism'. It was decided 'to accelerate the development of the districts with a compact mass of Bulgarian Turks, to settle down specialists from the country in these regions, to develop Turkish intelligence, to promote the system of mixed marriages, to impose communications in the Bulgarian language in public places and to suspend the constructions of new mosques' (2004, 4).

This assimilation campaign started firstly in Kurdjali which is populated mainly by Turks, and then it spread to other cities which were dominated by Turkish population in the southeastern and northern Bulgaria. Since these places were mountainous and it was winter, people who lived in and out of Bulgaria could not learn the things that

happened for a long time. In many towns, Bulgarian soldiers collected people from their houses and forced them to sign forms which showed that they were voluntarily changing their names. The process of changing names was finished in March 1985. In this process speaking Turkish in daily life, wearing traditional Turkish cloths, and performing Islamic rituals were forbidden. The identification cards of the people who did not obey these rules were taken and with this all social rights of them were taken (Türkgücü, 2003).

In 1985, the regime had to face with Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika policies while it was trying to assimilate Turks with the Revival Process which implied that Turkish minority was converted to Islam by Ottomans forcefully. While the pressure on Turkish minority increased constantly, and the minority members began to protest as a result of this unrest, Bulgarian government forced the people to leave the country for Turkey. Turkish government opened the borders and Turkey received 345,960 people in the period of June 1989 - May 1990 (Konukman, 1990). The migration movement destabilized Bulgaria, which was already shaken by the newly emerging civil society and unrest in the Communist Party, too. On 26th October, the first public meeting against the regime occurred. On 10th November, Zhivkov was replaced by Mladenov. After this moment, the civil society, political organizations, and the Bulgarian intelligentsia became more active than ever. As a consequence of this process, on 13th October 1991, the first "fair" elections of the new system were held (Dimitrov, 2001). 133,272 of the migrants turned back to Bulgaria after the fall of communist regime (Konukman, 1990).

After 1989, Bulgarian economy had to face with the transition to market economy. The main aims of the economic authorities were the marketization and the privatization of the property. The program which was supported by IMF caused a high unemployment rate and decreases in the level of real income (Giatzidis, 2002: 81-82). According to ILO definitions, the unemployment rate was 21.4% in 1993 (World Bank, 2001) whereas it was 1.9% in 1990 according to official records (Dimitrov, 2001: 71). In this period with privatization of the public sector, the over employed labourers in the old regime lost their jobs. In the 1989-1998 periods Bulgaria lost 1.3 million jobs totally (Garibaldi et al., 2001).

During the transition period, ethnic tolerance towards the Turkish minority increased. In 1992 census, respondents could indicate their ethnic identity. Although in 1991, a law, which prohibited the education in minority languages, passed, Turkish minority could open its own schools as private schools (Dimitrov, 2001: 63). But, according to Giddings (2003), there is a continuous ethnic wage gap between the Turkish minority and Bulgarians in pre-, early, and mid-transition periods. Giddings (2003) suggests that these differences originate from the educational and sectoral gaps between Turkish minority and Bulgarian majority.

After investigating the conditions of sending country, its economy, and its labour market, looking for features of Turkey's economic conditions and its labour market as a receiving country from 1970s up to date will be convenient to understand the migrants' possibilities in this economy and labour market. When Turkish economy and labour market in the periods that Turkey received migrants from Bulgaria in 1970s and 1980s, were examined, there arise two different pictures, I think. In 1970s' picture, Turkey was in the middle of a dash for industrialization and development. After 1962, Turkey's economy policies were started to be shaped by the 5-year plans. It was an import subsidiary industrialization policy, which was protecting the domestic producers against the foreign ones with high tariffs. During this period, there were also populist income distribution policies which included a well and widely functioning welfare state, broad labour rights and high wages. This policy, which pleased nearly every part of the society, continued until the 1977 crisis (Boratav, 2003:117-126). But the employment capacity, which was created by industrialization, was very limited, when it was compared with the same capacity of service sector. The industrial employment rate was 9.6% in 1960 and 11% in 1975 whereas the service sector employment rate was 15.4% and 25.1% in the same years. Unemployment rate of 1965 was 10% and 70% of the economically active population was engaged in the agriculture in the same year. According to Miller (1971), in the late 1960s the Turkish labour market was characterized by the lack of labour power at every skill level. Turkey also lacked "effective on-the-job training and apprenticeship programs" (Miller, 1971: 31). In the period between 1970 and 1983, the growth rate of GDP was 3.9 % whereas growth rate of employment was

1.6 % (Gürsel et al., 1999). Miller (1971) explains the incapacity of Turkish labour market to create industrial employment with low rate of savings and investment, while Boratav (2003) argues that the incapacity originates from rapid urbanization and population growth in the urban areas. With this labour market conditions, Turkish policy makers tried to response to the oil crisis in 1974 with short term loans and raises in the GDP. But in 1977, the crisis, which was postponed, had become more intensive, and hit the Turkish economy with the high foreign trade gap. This crisis led the country a liberalization policy in early 1980s (Boratav, 2003: 131-147).

The picture of 1980s was a picture of change for Turkey. On 24th January 1980, a liberalization policy was launched and the possible opposition to it was oppressed with the 12th September 1980 coup. The top priorities of the liberalization policy were to gain foreign currency in every possible way and to increase the credibility of Turkey to borrow from international free capital market without the help from the creditor institutions like World Bank, IMF, and OECD. Since Turkey had a huge financial support from the institutions, which ruled the world economy, it could evade the worldwide stagnation during 1980-1983 (Kazgan, 2002:121-127). In 1986, Istanbul Stock Exchange was founded, and soon foreign capital entered. After 1989, with the collapse of USSR, the privileged position of Turkey in Cold War vanished. This also meant that it lost the foreign financial aid. After this date, in 1991, 1994, 1998-1999 and finally 2001, Turkish economy saw four crises, which were mainly because of the free floating capital (Kazgan, 2002:139-154).

A detailed look at Turkish labour market can shed light on how these changes in economic policies could affect labour market conditions. In the 1977-1979 crisis periods the unemployment rate increased. It was 10% in 1979. Even it had a tendency to decrease in the early 1980s; it again started to increase in the second half of the 1980s. Unemployment rates of the early 1990s again were on a trend to decrease, but it must be evaluated with the decreasing proportion of economically active population which was 65% of total population at the working age in 1963, whereas it was 45% in 1998 (Ansal et al., 2000: 14, 127). Ansal et al. argues that the change in the economic policy from import substitution policy to export oriented one did not lead an increase in the employment rate (2001). Whereas neo-liberal policy

makers believed that this problem originates from the rigidities in the labour market such as high wages and high rate of unionisation, Ansal et al. (2001) show that these are not the real reasons behind the incapacity of the Turkish labour market to create employment because the unions in Turkey are not effective as much as they were in the 1970s and the real wage of workers also decreases constantly. According to Ansal et al. (2001), the reason behind the unemployment is the high profits which do not return into real sector investment. I think it is arguable that the main problem of the Turkish economy about the employment capacity – the low propensity to save and invest- has not changed during 1970s and 1980s in spite of changing economy policies, when findings of Miller (1971), Boratav (2003) and Ansal et al. (2001) are examined together. Ansal et al. also claim that the size of the informal sector and the unpaid labour are other problems of Turkish labour market. They calculate that 23% of the employees are employed in the informal sector in 1997. Moreover, in 1998, 50% of the employments were in the form of unpaid labour such as the persons who work for themselves and the persons who work as unpaid family labour (Ansal et al., 2001: 128). According to Varçın (2004), another important feature of the Turkish labour market is the high unemployment rates of the people who graduated from vocational training schools. He considers that the mismatch between the demand of the labour market and the education policies of Turkey cause this problem (97).

Within this context, examining the explicit labour market data for the year of 1989 can be informative. In 1989, for the urban areas which many newcomers settled, the labour force participation rate is 77.3% for men and it is 17.4% for women (TÜİK, 2006a). Non-agricultural unemployment rate was 10.6% for men, whereas it was 28% for women (TÜİK, 2006a). In urban areas, the unemployment rates for the people who had high school degree and for the people who had higher education than a high school degree were 11.5%, and 6.2% respectively (TÜİK, 2006b). 69.5% of the people, who worked in the non-agricultural sector in the urban areas, worked for a daily or monthly wage, whereas 7.6% of them worked as employer and 4% of them worked as unpaid family labour (TÜİK, 2006c). When the sectoral breakdown of the employment is examined, it is seen that agriculture, industry, construction, and service sectors obtained 5.2%, 29.1%, 8.2% and 57.1% of the total employment in the urban areas respectively (TÜİK, 2006d). Under the heading of industry, the

manufacturing industry contained 27.6% of the total employment, while under the heading of the services, social services such as public health and public education services contained 23.9% of the total employment (TÜİK, 2006d).

2.3. Theoretical Background

There are various different approaches to the study of international migration. These approaches originate from different theoretical traditions and each approach highlights different dimensions of the migration phenomenon.

According to **the neoclassical economics approach** which was largely developed by Lewis and Todaro, the wage differentials and the gap between working conditions and labour market structures among countries are the main causes of migration (Lewis, 1954; Todaro, 1970; 1976, quoted in Massey et al. 1998). Workers move to the countries where capital is abundant, but labour is scarce. In this respect, migration is a mechanism which equates wage differentials. When the equilibrium is reached, migration will stop. Even this explanation seems to be the simplest one for migration; it became the theoretical basis for many immigration policies (Massey et al., 1998). Sjaastad, Todaro and Borjas also added a micro dimension which includes the individual choice to the neoclassical economics approach (Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1969; Borjas, 1989, quoted in Massey et al., 1998). Each homo-economicus individual decides to move or stay according to the cost-benefit calculation. If the cost of the movement exceeds the benefit of it, she/he will stay; if the benefit exceeds the cost, she/he migrates. Expected wage levels and the unemployment rates are the most important determinants of the calculation. Governments can manage the international movements by controlling the expected earnings in the sending or receiving country. Massey et al. claim that “individual characteristics, social conditions, or technologies that lower the migration costs increase the net returns to migration and, hence, raise the probability of international movement” (1998, 20). The neoclassical approaches are criticized as being unrealistic for contemporary migration and as underplaying the other factors rather than economic ones (Arango, 2004).

The main difference of **the new economics of migration approach** from the neo-classical approaches is that the migration decision is not made by an isolated individual but by a household or even community. For the household, migration is a process in which the resources and risks of the household are allocated. For example, a family, which is based on a small village, can send its members to the nearest metropolitan and a developed country which is far away. With these decisions, the family can benefit both from the agricultural returns and the wages from two different city centers. As said by Massey et al. (1998), crop insurance markets, future markets, unemployment insurances, retirement insurances, capital markets, and credit markets are not well developed or out of reach of the poor families in the undeveloped countries, these families can allocate their risks by migrating foreign labour markets. Relative deprivation also is a reason for migration in this approach. The migration is not only for an increase in the income in absolute terms but also for increasing the income in relative terms with respect to income of reference group. With the concept of the relative deprivation, the communal relations gain more importance. The approach assumes that international migration and local employments are strongly related to each other and they are not exclusive of each other (Massey et al., 1998). The ignorance of the internal structure of the household unit, which can involve conflicts and struggles among the members, is the inaccurate point of the approach (Arango, 2004).

Piore (1979) is the protagonist of **the segmented labour market theory**. According to the theory, migration movements are shaped by the demand side of the labour markets i.e. the needs of developed countries' labour markets, while neoclassical models mainly focus on supply side of the labour market and the decision making processes in it. It accepts that the employers can affect the migration policies of a government. According to Piore, there are four fundamental features of developed labour markets which initiate migration. First one is the structural inflation which signals that wages are not determined by just supply and demand factors. If a country lacks the unskilled labour, according to neoclassical economics there will be a rise in the wage of unskilled labour. According to Piore, This also will require an increase in the wages of the upper levels of labour market in respect to that the social hierarchy maintains. Then the employers, who do not want a rise in the general wage

level, prefer to increase the supply of the unskilled labour with immigrant workers. The second feature is hierarchical constraints on motivation. Since at the bottom of the labour market there is always a motivation problem in the low status jobs, the employers need the workers who see jobs only as an income source but not status source such as immigrants. Economic dualism is the third feature of developed economies. There are two sectors in a developed economy: primary sector which is capital intensive with high level of wages in the secure and stable jobs, and the secondary sector which is labour intensive with low level of wages in the temporary and insecure jobs. Since the employers can not attract the native workers for secondary sector, they use immigrant labour. The fourth and the final feature is the ethnic enclave. Ethnic enclave can be founded by prosperous immigrants to obtain ethnically specific goods and services such as food sector. It is like secondary sector when it is compared as a means of status and wage, but it obtains opportunities for mobility, experience, and education. There is ethnic solidarity between employer and worker. Massey et al. claim that “the imbalance between the structural demand for entry-level workers and the limited domestic supply of such workers has generated an underlying, long-run demand for immigrants in developed countries” (1998, 33). According to Arango (2004), this approach caused the suspicion of the idea that immigrant workers take the jobs of the native workers and decrease the wage levels. Arango also criticizes the approach as missing the other causes rather than recruitment practices (2004).

The neoclassical economics theories and segmented labour market theory investigate the migration from an economic perspective; **historical-structural theory** and **world system approach** focus on firstly the power inequalities and broadening of the global capitalism. In contrast with the functionalist theories, historical-structural theories argue that there is no such a direct pathway to modernization and development for undeveloped countries, “...poor countries in reality were trapped by their disadvantaged position within unequal geopolitical structure, which perpetuated their poverty” (Massey et al., 1998: 34). Theorists like Immanuel Wallerstein tried to explain the dependency among countries with their different levels of integration into global capitalism and their political power in this system. He argues that there are three different types of nations according to dependency on the dominant capitalist

powers or the core as he termed. Peripheral nations are the most dependent ones on the core nations; the semi-peripheral nations are somewhat less dependent on the core (Massey et al., 1998). The endeavors of theorists to relate the migration with broader organizations of capitalist expansion and power struggles in, it gained importance after the stagnation of 1970s, when the developed countries noticed that guest workers did not go back to their sending countries. According to world system theorist of migration, there are some factors which initiate the migration in the process of capitalist development, when these are affected by the penetration of the world market. Penetration of world market into land, raw materials, and labour markets of the undeveloped countries weaken the existing social structures which hold the potential migrants around. Material, military, or ideological links between periphery and core nations increase the possibility of migration. Global cities which need a huge service sector, also attract the people with or without these links.

Migration networks approach explains the direction and the volume of migration with networks which is defined as “sets of interpersonal relations that link migrants or returned migrants with relatives, friends or fellow countrymen at home” (Arango, 2004: 27-28). Massey et al. (1998) refer to the social capital definition of Bourdieu and Wacquant as “...sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (42) and he defines network as a form of social capital “that people can draw upon to gain access to various kinds of financial capital: foreign employment, high wages and the possibility of accumulation savings and sending remittances” (43). Networks decrease the cost of migration thus make easier to diversify the risks. Until a network reaches its saturation point, it can increase the volume of migration, even if the original cause does not exist. Massey et al. (1998) also argue that migration is a self-sustaining diffusion process under the heading of **the cumulative causation approach**. According to him, the factors such as expansion of networks, distribution of income and land, changing form of farm protection in the sending community make migration a more familiar and more unavoidable phenomenon.

Migration systems approach is firstly developed by Akin Mabogunje who examined the rural urban migration in Africa (Arango 2004). Then, it was supported with the works of Pessar (1982), Boyd (1989), Fawcett (1989), and Kritiz, et al. (1992). Faist (2000) claims that this approach tries to connect the world system and migrant networks and it has three characteristics. First characteristic is that generally a migration system connects two or more countries not only with the migration waves among them, but also with trade, some political or military alliances, or colonial ties. In this respect, the approach examines the roles of sending and receiving countries as interchangeable and in the same context. Secondly, the approach assumes that migration is a continuous process not a one-time event. Finally, the later proponents of the approach use the migrants' networks to explain how the people interact in a migration system context. "Migration systems theory very explicitly elucidates the macro- and micro-structural opportunities for migration causes and, especially, the dynamics of migration" (Faist, 2000: 53). Although Arango sees migration systems approach as being able to integrate the other explanations of migration, he criticizes it as: "It has hardly gone beyond the identification of international migration systems, at a purely descriptive level" (2004, 29).

A. Zolberg also inspects the political factors behind the migration waves. He defines political dimension as a missing point of studies which examine the migration. He sets **the political approach** as a macro analytic and historical perspective. Migration is a process in which an individual starts being a member of the new society and whereas she/he ceases being a member of the old one. In this approach migration creates a tension between the society and the individual. The individuals try to maximize their profit by migrating, while "mutually exclusive societies, acting as organized states to maximize collective goals by controlling the exit or entry or individuals" (Zolberg, 1983: 7). The industrial capitalist societies also have conflicting interests between "to maximize labour supply and to protect cultural integrity" (1983, 15). This obsess about the cultural integrity can cause different applications of migration policy for different groups. Some privileged groups can easily enter or leave the country; while some underprivileged groups can not enter or leave the country (Zolberg et al., 1986). Zolberg et al. also signals the competitive

nation-formation processes as a trigger of migration such as separatism or irredentism (1986).

It can be seen that there are many and often conflicting theories which are explaining international migration. All the perspectives have different assumptions about the structural determinants, individual behavior, or structure of political systems, yet it is possible to classify the approaches. For example Faist (2000) examines the theories according to their levels of analysis and he groups them into three categories: micro, meso and macro theories. Micro theories are the theories which focus on values, desires, and expectancies of individuals and the process of individual decision making. Neoclassical economics approach and the new economics of migration theories are the micro level analyses in Faist's classification (2000, 35-40). The meso level approaches examine the structure of the ties and the networks among families, households or culturally defined groups, the strength or weakness of them, and the roles within them. Faist said that:

Addressing the ties of individuals, meso-level analysis focuses on how social action is facilitated and on resources such as social capital that people can muster to achieve goals. At the interstices of individual and collective action, it connects with larger aggregates: groups, formal organizations, social movements, and institutions (2000, 33).

Migrants networks approach and migration system approaches are the meso-level analyses. The macro level analyses concentrate on the nation state's role, economic systems of the nation states and the cultural structures of sending and receiving countries in international migration. "Macro-structural analyses of international migration imply a triadic relationship between governments and authorities in the emigration countries, their counterparts in the destination country, and the migrants' association- and sometimes international organization" (Faist, 2000: 32). The historical-structural theory, world system approach, and Zolberg's political approach are the examples of macro explanations of international migration.

Massey et al. (1998) classify the international migration theories into two groups: the ones which explain the initiation of international migration and the ones which explain the perpetuation of international migration. Neoclassical economics

approach, the new economic of migration approach, segmented labour market and world system theory are in the first grouping and they investigate why people move and why migration begin. Migration networks approach, social capital theory, and migration systems theory are in the second grouping and they explain why people move even if original conditions which lead people to move do not exist, and under which new conditions people move.

2.4. Evaluation of the Historical and Theoretical Background

I think there are some points which stand out, when the historical background of migration waves between Bulgaria and Turkey is examined. These characteristics are also important for the evaluation of the main theories of international migration. They are the decisive factors that will determine which theories will be used in the explanation of migration waves and the work strategies which are employed by the immigrants.

The first characteristic of migration wave between Bulgaria and Turkey is the continuation of these waves in a century-long historical context. The first mass migration from Bulgaria to Turkey was after the Russo-Turkish War in 1878-79 and the last one was in June-August 1989. Since Ottoman Empire colonized the Balkans and Bulgaria in sixteenth century, there always had been a large Turkish population which was connected to the center of the Empire economically, politically, and culturally. These connections had continued to exist after the Turkish majority became a minority in Bulgaria and after the foundations of nation states. Even Turkey did not intervene in the Bulgarian administration as an ex-colonial power; Turkish governments were always sensitive about the treatments towards Turkish minority. Turkey has also these kinds of ties with other Balkan countries like Greece or the former Yugoslavian states. Many Turkish citizens have roots in the Balkans and they are related to the Balkans. In this respect, Bulgarian case is not an exception, and the continuation of the migrations from Bulgaria can be examined in this context which can be seen as a migration system. In this migration system, Turkey as a center receives the people who had Turkish origin or the people who were closer to Turkish administration than the locale elites.

The second characteristic of the immigrations from Bulgaria is that; people think the prospect of the migration is to find a relative or a friend in Turkey, since the migration is not one time event but a continuous process. Even political or economic pressures are the original reasons behind the mass migration waves; it is easier to make the decision to move for the people who have connections in Turkey. The relatives who currently live in Turkey, the media like radio broadcasts and TV channels, or even the collective memory about Turkey among the Turkish minority make Turkey a less mysterious and risky place. The networks do not only assist in the migration decision but also aid the migrants in their adaptation to a new environment. The migrant networks, in which new migrants find themselves in, help them to find a place to live in or a job to secure their livelihood.

The third characteristic of the historical background of the migration is the relationship between the timings of the mass migrations and the international political context which includes the two countries. It is noteworthy that whenever the political tension rose between the two countries or the political blocks they belong to, there occurred an immigration wave. In addition to the international context, internal political environment of Bulgaria also shaped the migrations. Especially the process of nation state foundation of Bulgaria and the ideological perception of the Turkish minority as a possible separatist force by official bodies of Bulgaria increase the pressure for integration and led people to immigrate.

I think, these three important characteristics –continuation of the migrations, networks of the migrants and the political dimensions behind the original impetus for the migration waves- make usage of multiple perspectives necessary to explain the phenomenon. In this respect, I will analyze the migration systems approach, political approach, and the network approach which can clarify different dimension of the 1989 immigration wave in detail. In my point of view, migration systems approach and the political approach explain the macro structure in which the migration wave occurred. This macro structure includes the political, economic, and cultural relations that have developed between Bulgaria and Turkey. I will employ the network approach in clarifying the immigrants' continuous relationships and connections in the meso level which also obtains a place for immigrant agency. I argue that

migration system approach and political approach will shed light on the genesis of the immigration waves while the network approach can explain the continuation of the waves. In the following parts of this chapter I will examine these three approaches theoretically. Firstly I will appraise migration system approach in detail and I will present the political approach. Then I will portray the network approach. I will go in detail with some important concepts like “social capital” and “embeddedness”. Finally I will examine the notion “strategy”.

As I mentioned before, migration systems approach was firstly developed by Akin Mabogunje (Arango, 2004). Then, it was discussed by other scholars. The notion of “migration system” is the basis of the approach. A migration system is “constituted by a group of countries that exchange relatively large numbers of migrants with each other” (Kritz et al., 1992: 2). These countries are dependent on each other through continuous migration flows in every direction which to some extent affect “policy, economic, technological and social dimensions” (Kritz et al., 1992: 3) in national contexts. Moreover, the approach does not only take recent relations into consideration but also the historical relations which include matured, long-lasting economic, social and political linkages among the countries as effective factors. Another emphasis is put on the geographical proximity which “is highly correlated with similar cultural and historical backgrounds” (Kritz et al., 1992: 4). The migration waves among the countries in a migration system do not include only the economic migrants but also refugees, students or tourists. Type of the immigrants, changing types of immigrants and timing of the waves reflect the changing relations among the countries. The article in which Fawcett (1989) suggests an outline for the non-people linkages among the countries in a migration system, he demonstrates six beneficial characteristic of the migration system approach in studying international migration:

1. It directs attention to both ends of a migration flow, with a corresponding necessity to explain stability and mobility in each location.
2. It examines one flow in the context of other flows, or one destination in relation to alternative destinations.
3. It highlights the diverse linkages between places, including flows of information, goods, services and ideas, as well as people.

4. It suggests comparisons between places, thus calling attention to the disparities and imbalances that are a source of energy in the system.
5. It brings into focus the interconnectedness of the system, in which one part is sensitive to changes in the other parts.
6. It reinforces the view of migration as a dynamic process, a sequence of events occurring over time (Fawcett, 1989: 672-673).

Although in the approach, great importance is given to labour flows or economic relations, it has open doors for explaining different kind of migrants who are driven by different motives. Common historical experiences and social affinity call forth following economic relations, and migration waves. It also has an emphasis on historical, cultural and political linkages in the decision-making process of the migratory units. This emphasis on social and cultural affinity makes it easy to understand why some members of Turkish minority in Bulgaria, who were asked to be deported to Turkey or Austria, chose to come to Turkey.

Even in studies (1983, 1986, 1989) of Zolberg, who is the protagonist of political approach, he did not employ the concept of “migration system”, he emphasized

...a regionalization of migration pressures from each ‘south’ to its particular ‘north’, determined not only by geographical proximity but also by political and economic linkages which contributed to the formation of migratory networks (Zolberg, 1989: 403-404).

He suggests that the political approach, which many of contemporary immigration theories lack, is a complementary perspective rather than an alternative theory (Zolberg, 1983). In the article in which Zolberg et al. inspects formation of refugee movement, they claim that taking place of the refugee movements is possible when the refugees have a place to go (1986). The availability of a place is determined by the political relations. According to him, political relations among nation states and the tension in the domestic sphere, which arises because of the conflicting economic and national interests, shape the governmental policies of the sending and receiving countries. In this context, receiving refugee movements is not a decision which is made with only apolitical humanitarian concerns. The existence of the political borders and nation states create different push and pull factors for different immigrants groups. Turkey could be a safe heaven for ethnic Turks who were

escaping from repressive Bulgarian regime, whereas it did not give official refugee status to Kurdish people fleeing from Iraq. Besides the political relations among the countries, they also argue that three characteristics of global structure are determinant in the shaping of the flows of people: breakup of the remaining traditional empires, expansion of capitalism into the economically self-sufficient zones, and finally development of a rapid communication network (157). I think breakup of the empires is considerably important in explaining the migration waves from Bulgaria to Turkey. These breakups are generally followed by the formation of new nation-states which try to reduce existing ethnic diversity inherited from the empire.

In his article (1989) in which Zolberg refines his thoughts according to changing migratory flows, he evaluates the migration waves from the socialist world. According to him, for long periods, migration was prohibited since it was perceived as an alternative form of protest to the regime. The regime also needed human power to fulfill its economic targets. Zolberg claims that liberalization of exit from these countries will cause an increase in the number of immigrants. He also argues that the countries in the Soviet bloc could use migration as a measure to solve their domestic problems:

...emigration may be used exceptionally to relieve tensions or to rid the state of some unwanted ethnic or national minority; however, permission to leave may be disguised as expulsion or coupled with humiliating measures, so as to avoid appearing to grant to the minority a privilege refused to the majority of nationals (Zolberg, 1989: 413).

After anticipations of Zolberg (1989) materialized for some ethnic communities of the countries in the Soviet block like Jews, Hungarians, ethnic Germans and Turks in Bulgaria, Brubaker (1998) accentuates the unmixing and homogenizing effect of migration which stem from reconfiguration of political space. According to him, ethnicity may play a role in migrations both “as a push factor at the point of origin and as a pull factor at the place of destination” (Brubaker, 1998: 1047). For such migration waves, forced migration mostly cannot be a general concept, because even if there are violence and humiliating measures, there is also “a more or less significant element of will or choice involved in the act of migration” (Brubaker,

1998: 1049). The receiving countries also have a role as a homeland for the co-ethnics. In the article, he shows how different official perceptions of ethnicity in the receiving countries create different migration patterns. These different perceptions also differentiate state provisions for the immigrants and the given citizenship rights thus immigrants' incorporation in the host society. In this context, ethnicity can turn into "a form of migration-facilitating social capital" (Brubaker, 1998: 1058).

According to Kritz et al. (1992), political, economic and cultural ties among the countries in a migration system explain the possibility of a migration wave, but they can not explain why some people immigrate, while the others stay at the place of origin. Networks of individuals and institutions organize mobilization and recruitment of migrants. The authors define the function of the networks in a migration system:

This approach [the migration system approach] leads naturally to the conceptualization of a migration system as a network of countries linked by migration interactions whose dynamics are largely shaped by the functioning of a variety of networks linking migration actors at different levels of aggregation. The attention given to the role of institutional and migrant networks in channelling and sustaining migration is a key aspect of the system approach (Kritz et al., 1992: 15).

Boyd (1989) states the importance of the networks in a migration system. She sees networks as a link between individual actors and macro structures and also between sending and receiving countries. Boyd points out that networks can explain the type and the duration of the migration, especially "after the original impetus for migration has ended" (1989, 661). Moreover, she encourages to study networks since it helps to understand the interaction between individual and structure (1989, 642).

After examining the potential role of the networks in migration systems, now I proceed with the definition of network. Vasta (2004, 9) defines social networks as the following:

links made through personal relationships including kinship, friendship and community ties and relationships. Immigration networks can include association in the country of settlement, and intermediaries such as labour

recruiters, smugglers, immigration consultants, ethnic community relationships, economic relationships and ties etc.

According to Faist (2000) social and symbolic ties constitute the social networks. Social ties are constant transactions among the people who share similar interests, obligations or norms, whereas symbolic ties do not directly refer to continuous transaction. Symbolic ties can include people who have common religion, language or ethnicity. It can be based on both direct and indirect relations. Portes (1995) emphasizes the size and the density of the networks. Size of a network refers to the number of the people who are involved in a network. Density or “strength” (Granovetter, 1973) of a network refers “combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and reciprocal services which characterize the tie” (Granovetter, 1973: 1361). According to him, a strong tie among similar people can not function as a “bridge”, but a weak tie among different small groups can function as “bridge” which traverses a greater social distance (Granovetter, 1973: 1364). Additionally being strong or weak, social networks can be grouped as “substantial” or “limited” as Vasta (2004, 12) quoted from Engberson according to the time in which networks provide support. Vasta (2004) also discusses the unit of analysis in the social network approach. She summarizes some scholars who take individual as a unit, whereas the others like Boyd (1989) or Pessar (1982) take the household as a unit, and some take the whole network as a unit of analysis as Tilly (1990). Vasta (2004) also puts forward that the role of the state and its policies are important elements in formation of immigrant networks. Networks provide tools for dealing with these policies as the structure (10). The social networks can be transmission belts for the newcomers and ethnic minorities. In this context, the networks are related to the process of immigrant integration. For the immigrants, networks provide a space in which they can construct their agency (16).

The social distance, which a network must traverse, describes the social capital. Portes (1995) defines social capital as “the capacity of individuals to command scarce resources by virtue of their membership in networks or broader social structures” (12). Social capital lowers the transaction costs with obligations, reciprocity and solidarity in the form of future expectations (Faist, 2000: 104-109).

Portes argues that unlike money or education which is directly related with the individual, the social capital is something which arises from the relationships between the individual and the others (1995). Faist (2000) suggests that there are three main benefits which an individual can gain through social capital. A person who has social capital has an access to the resources of others. She/he can improve her/his existing level of information about the conditions. She/he can control the other members of the networks and exercise authority (112-113).

Embeddedness is another important concept for understanding functions of the social networks, since it refers that economic transactions are embedded in social structures including social networks (Portes, 1995). With the concept, Granovetter (1985) claims that there is no social relation free economic transaction (487). As far as I can see usages of the concept both by Portes (1995) and Granovetter (1985) imply that social networks, which can be useful for the purposes of its actors, also can function for materializing the economic goals of the actors. Embeddedness refers to this function of the networks.

The characteristics of networks which I mentioned above are the “positive” parts of the networks. These characteristics can be put together under the title of the solidarity thesis (Vasta, 2004: 14). The solidarity thesis focuses on productive and constructive dimensions of the social networks. But there are also studies which show that the networks can marginalize and solidarity can be “exploitive” (Erdemir and Vasta, 2007). Because, every member of network does not equally share the power in a network, and they are not equal in the distribution of the gains of the network, some members can abuse the other members. Class, gender and place can differentiate the outcomes of usage of a network for different individuals (17). Instead of these two approaches Vasta (2004) defends an approach which “is concerned with solidarity and embeddedness, which, at the same time, is concerned with problems of marginalization and the position of weaker members, including the poor” (19).

Networks provide space for immigrant agency operating in a structure which is defined by economic and political conditions. Strategies are the products of both the

individual agency and the social capital and the networks of that individual. Even though my study is on individual work strategies of the respondents, I think they are part of a family or a household strategy. In the literature, especially in the immigration literature, strategies are adopted not by the individuals but by the households, families or communities. Moreover, the action of immigration is seen as an outcome of family strategy (Pessar, 1982). In this context, strategy operates in the meso-level.

Even if the term “strategy” connotes war, generalship or planned actions in daily usage, Bourdieu and Wacquant (2003) claim that the notion does not imply achieving the goals with an outline which is planned by a strategist. Strategies which show coherent and socially understandable patterns imply the utilization of action lines which are objectively decided (31). Tilly (1987) interprets the definition of Bourdieu and emphasizes that family strategies are “implicit principles that felt and understood by all family members, even if and when they acted outside or against them” (123). Definition of the family, whether the family is a coherent, peaceful unit of decision-making or not, and the conflict between individual and family interests are the subjects which create debates among the scholars. According to Folbre (1987), age, gender and class are the factors which affect family strategies. She asserts that family strategies also mirror the conflicts of the individuals from different age, gender or class.

According to Smith (1987) family strategies generally have two kinds of goals. First one is simply surviving. The second one is maintaining and improving family’s social and economic status. Pessar (1982) suggests that strategies are

designed to achieve a fit between the material and social resources at a household’s disposal (e.g., land, capital, labour), the consumption needs of its members (informed by ideologies of standard of living) and the alternatives for production activity (349).

Moen and Wethington (1992) emphasize the role of the family strategies in the resource generation and allocation. Moen and Wethington (1992) also argue that families have strategies because; there exists a larger opportunity structure which includes constraining economic, institutional and social realities. Hareven (1991)

also suggests that the strategies are designed not only because of economic needs but also because of the relations between economic conditions and cultural values.

Households which are defined as the “the basic unit of society in which the activities of production, reproduction, consumption and the socialization of the children take places” by Roberts (1991, quoted in Pettersen 2005:5) can also design and adopt the strategies. According to Pahl (1981), household needed to adopt strategies on the work dimension of their lives after the decline of the employment in the formal economy in industrial societies in late 1970s and early 1980s. Wallace (2002) also states that besides effects of post-Fordism, post-communist environments, which involve uncertainties and risks, forced emergence of household strategies. When the households become less connected to the formal economy, they try to get things done in the informal, in the household or community economy. For example, the households, who have garden plots, grow vegetables or fruits to consume in the household, to sell or to exchange for other goods or services in their community or neighborhood. Pahl (1981) suggests that a household can satisfy its needs of goods and services from different economies. They develop an informal support system, to benefit from these economies. In this respect, the households who have community, neighborhood or kin networks can obtain a better position with a strategy which is based on manipulation of different economies. The household economy becomes depended on a combination of formal, informal and domestic economies. He claims that “there are number of patterns of ‘getting by’ which involve more or less interleaving of work in the formal, informal and domestic economies by different members of the households” (159). In this situation, the households can achieve their needs without selling their labour to the employers. Warde (1990) also interprets Pahl’s understanding of household work strategy and defines it as “the sum of the inputs and outputs of labour of a household unit” (498). Moreover, Warde made three criticisms of Pahl’s studies about household work strategies and offers alternatives for these points. Firstly, Warde criticizes Pahl as treating household as unit without power inequalities. He claims the internal processes in a household during decision making must be considered. Secondly, the rationality of a strategy must be inspected. Instead of an “overly-rationalistic” (Warde, 1990: 501) concept of strategy, he offers that there are both strong and weak strategies. The strong

strategies are based on planned and calculated activities of the households, whereas the weak strategies are “whatever line of action a household adopts” (501). Thirdly, he criticizes the priority that Pahl gave the choices of households in the design process of the strategies without structural factors. According to Warde, the household strategies are designed on the basis of “socially constrained options than choice” (502).

Vasta’s study (2004) is about the work strategies of immigrants. Even though she does not give a definition of “work strategy” as far as I can see, she implies the ways in which the immigrants earn their livelihood in the informal sector and accommodate into the community (Vasta, 2004: 5). According to her, networks in which information and resources flow are constructed as a part of work strategies. Work strategies are also “parts of a process of accommodation and resistance to dominant modes of power relations” (16).

In this study, due to the scope of the field research which focuses on the accommodation of the immigrants in the Turkish labour market, rather than the holistic approach of the studies above which examine so many activities to satisfy the needs of the households as the parts of work strategies, I will concentrate the immigrant work strategy as the activities which immigrants perform for finding a job and maintaining it. I think the activities, which they did especially immediately after the immigration, are important, since they are the first encounter of the immigrants with a capitalist labour market. These activities include how an immigrant finds her/his first job in Turkey, how s/he is informed about job opportunities, how s/he bargains with her/his boss -if she/he ever does-, what kind of relations s/he has with co-workers, what s/he does for maintaining and/or not losing these jobs. These activities aim to increase the level of income, maintain a standard of living and secure the future of the household members.

Since this study covers the working approaches, work definitions of the immigrants, and their perceptions of unemployment, giving a definitions of work and unemployment are also needed. Work can be defined as “the supply of physical, mental and emotional effort to produce goods and services for own consumption, or

for consumption by others” (Scott and Marshall 2005, 703). In his book titled “*the Sociology of Work*” (1998) Grint criticizes the traditional definitions which associate work directly with employment, non-leisure activities and obligation (6-11). He asserts that definition of work is socially constructed, he continues:

...there is no permanent or objective thing called work, there are aspects of social activities which we construe as work and this embodies social organization. The difference between work and non-work seldom lies within the actual activity itself and more generally inheres in the social context that supports the activity (11).

In the literature of the neo-liberal macro economics, the unemployment rate is defined as the proportion of the people who have sought a job for the past four weeks, the people who wait for a return call from the workplace which they were fired, and the people who wait for a call from a new workplace in the work force (Dornbusch and Fisher 1998, 509). In Turkey, the official definition of unemployment is made by Turkish Statistical Institute. According to this definition⁶, the unemployed population covers the people who have sought a job within the available ways for three months and the people who are able to start to work within fifteen days. The unemployment rate⁷ is the percentage of the unemployed people in the work force.

During the field research, I noticed that the immigrant work strategies have two main elements: their actions to find their jobs and their work ethic that helps them to maintain these jobs as I will mention in the following chapters. In this respect, besides the theoretical framework which is examined above, the concept of work ethic also must be investigated. Work ethic is a concept which gained importance, when Max Weber saw it as an important factor in the development of capitalism. Work ethic can be defined as the norms and values which economic actors adopt while they are evaluating the economic decisions (Aşçıgil, 2001:5). I will focus on the Protestant ethic, since in the interviews; I observed that my respondents who

⁶http://tuikrapor.tuik.gov.tr:7778/reports/rwservlet?mthtmlcss&report=Metarp5.rdf&p_1=929&p_harf=@DD.

⁷http://tuikrapor.tuik.gov.tr:7778/reports/rwservlet?mthtmlcss&report=Metarp5.rdf&p_1=932&p_harf=@DD.

emphasized values like hardworking, self-discipline, devotion to work, and efficiency in the work place. In *Protestan Ahlakı ve Kapitalizmin Ruhu*⁸ (1997), even though Max Weber inspects the relation between Protestantism and emergence of capitalism, it is interesting that similar values were accepted by the people who are having communist background. In this respect, I think the concept can be illuminating in understanding the behaviors and attitudes of the immigrants towards work. Weber did not see a direct causality between capitalism and Protestantism, but he interprets that there is an elective affinity between this special form of work ethic and capitalism. The existence of the Protestant work ethic increased the possibility of emergence of capitalism. There is the idea of “calling” in the basis of the Protestant ethic. According to the doctrine of predestination, the faith of a person is predestined by God, and a “calling”, a job is the duty and the position which God gave him/her. Among other worldly activities, working hard and doing best in her/his calling without wasting time and taking pleasure is the only way to the salvation and serve God. A person also must increase her/his wealth to serve God, but s/he must not find comfort or relaxation in this wealth. S/he must use it only for working and making more money for investing. This working manner constitutes the basic of the Protestant ethic with an ascetic life style which disdains physical pleasures and luxuries. According to Weber (1997) although this kind of work ethic has lost its religious foundations, practically it is still effective in the working manners of the people. It constitutes the instinct which motivates people for working, earning money and investing more and more. In this respect, Weber sees the basis of classical capitalism in the Protestant ethic.

2.5. Literature Review

In this part of my study, I will review the literature on which starts with the studies about the immigration of Turks from Bulgaria. Then the review will include the works which are about the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. I will also give the examples of works about the adaptation process of immigrants from Bulgaria to Turkey I will also cover some examples of the literature which is on transit migrants in Turkey. In the final part of my literature review, I will focus on the works which

⁸ Translation of *Die Protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* by Zeynep Aruoba.

examine the consequences of rural-urban migration to Ankara, since I will investigate the adaptations of the immigrants from Bulgaria into Ankara and its labour market.

In Turkey, there is a cluster of investigations and studies about mass migrations from Balkans through late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. These studies mainly focus on the process of migration, how people came to Turkey, under what conditions they managed to come, how the governmental organizations reacted to these mass population movements, and how these people were settled by these organizations. These studies are generally published and supported by the Turkish Historical Society which is a state institution. In this respect, one could argue that, these works present the official view about the migrations. The importance of these works originates from the access of the scholars to the state archives. The works of Şimşir (1968) and İpek (1999, 2001) are examples of these studies. In addition to the studies published by the Turkish Historical Society, there are also other books which present the official view like Lütem (2000) and Lütem and Demirtaş-Coşkun (2001). There are also other works which represent different views about the migrations which occurred at the final years of the Ottoman Empire by Tekeli (1990) and Karpāt (1990, 2003, 2004). While Karpāt focuses on the formation process of the nation states in the Balkans and the effects of the subsequent migrations on Turkish population in Anatolia, Tekeli examines the forced migration and the role of governmental institutions in the settlement of these migrants under the reign of the Ottoman Empire.

There is also a rich literature on the situation of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria before and after the fall of the communist regime. Many scholars examine the Turkish minority from the perspectives of nationalism, majority - minority relations, or minority rights, namely Baest (1985), Ataöv (1990), McIntosh et al. (1995), Eminov (1997, 1999), Vassilev (2001), Petkova (2002) and Warhola et al.(2003). Şimşir (1988) also has a book about the Turkish people in Bulgaria entitled *the Turks of Bulgaria* (1988). There are also articles which relate the economic position of Turkish minority and its ethnic position. Pickles et al. (2000) examine the transition from command economy to market economy and its consequences on Turkish

minority, while Giddings (2003) points out the continued wage gap between the Turkish minority and Bulgarian majority. Turks in Bulgaria attracted the attention of political scientists following the establishment of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) which plays a key role in the Bulgarian Parliament as a political party which receives the support of the Turkish minority. Özgür (1999) carried out a very detailed study of MRF. Her book presents the conditions under the Turkish minority formed the MRF, the foundation process of MRF and the Bulgarian reactions to it. MRF is also examined as an ethnic party which arose in post-Cold War transformation of Eastern Europe (Ishiyama et al., 1998). The issue of the legal status of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria is a topic for the interests of the researchers (Kamil, 2000).

Through the late 1970s and 1980s, while the pressure on the Turkish minority in Bulgaria was increased, the research on them gained a humanitarian concern. Institutions like Amnesty International (1986, 1989) and Laber (1987) published some reports which covered the actions of Bulgaria in violation of basic human rights. The work of Zagorov (1987) represented the Bulgarian official view which was that the Turks in Bulgaria are turkified Bulgarians.

After the mass expulsion in 1989, the research topics were again shaped around the migration and population movements. The main concerns of these works were the factors and motivations of the mass migration. Darina Vasileva's (1992) paper which was published in the *International Migration Review* seems to be the most cited one about the issue. In fact, although 300,000 people had to leave Bulgaria, the issue wasn't examined specifically. Generally, the migration is perceived as a part of the history of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria and it soon became a subject for a chapter or a section of a book or paper about the minority population. There is also a very limited number of works on the adaptation of migrants into Turkish society socially, economically and politically. The works of Suğur et al. (2005), Maeva (2004), Parla (2003), and Kümbetoğlu (2003) focused the aspects of the adaptation of immigrants from Bulgaria into Turkey. Suğur et al. (2005) examine the adaptation of migrant workers into Turkish factories. The writers take them as a different ethnicity and focus on their ethnic solidarity and how they are perceived by the local population.

Maeva's paper (2004) presents the effects of the Revival Process on migrant Turks' identity and the continuity of both Turkish and Bulgarian cultures and languages. Parla's paper (2003), which is based on ethnographic research, focuses on the economic activities of members of Turkish minority in Bulgaria who came to Turkey to work. Finally Kümbetoğlu's paper (2003) compares and contrasts the adaptation process of immigrants from Bulgaria and Bosnia.

In addition to immigrants from Balkans, Turkey faces with temporary, transit migrants who are from different parts of the world and see Turkey as a waiting room before they leave for a third country and there is a developing literature on the issue. İçduygu (2000) claims that Turkey's geographical location between developed and undeveloped countries and the political turmoil around it makes it popular as a waiting room.

Within this context, İçduygu (2000) identified that Turkey received seven different flows of these kind of migrations: Iranians who run away Khomeini's regime, Iraqis who were pushed by Iraqi military services, asylum seeker Turks from Bulgaria in 1989, Asians and Africans, Bosnian refugees, Albanian refugees and finally trader-tourists from former Soviet Republics (360-363). The studies of Gökdere (1994) and İçduygu (1996) are the some examples of works which focus on transit migrant in Turkey. While the governments gave some priorities to some refugee groups like the Turks from Bulgaria, some groups of immigrants stayed as illegal. Since the global restructuring and the flexible market conditions foster the illegal employment, the migrant workers can find place themselves in these structures. The producers need cheap labour force which can be provided from the migration movement. Ünal's study (2004) is an example of the works which focus on the relationship between global economic restructuring and immigrants in Turkey, or migration regimes of Turkey. There are also works which concentrate on the relationship between the immigrants and their effects on city structures such as Keyder's work (2000). In his study, Keyder examines how Arab middle class tourists in 1970s and Russian trader-tourists in 1990s changed the property relations, economic activities and settlers' profile in Laleli, a neighborhood of Istanbul.

Since, in my thesis I will study about the adaptation the immigrants from Bulgaria into Ankara; the studies which focus on the rural migrants, their adaptation processes to Ankara, and their effects on Ankara. Until 1950s, Ankara, where was chosen as a capital of new republic in 1923, received an affluent migrant mass like civil servants and businesspeople. But after 1950s, it witnessed also rural migration which accelerated the unplanned growth of Ankara (Danielson et al., 1985: 59-63). It had population of 3, 236,378⁹ in 1990 after one year 1989 in which Ankara received 6.695 people from Bulgaria (Konukman, 1990: 85). It has also a population of 4,007,860¹⁰ in 2000.

The *gecekondu*¹¹ settlements in Ankara also became an attractive topic for scholars. Tankut's study (1963), which is on the squatters of Ankara, is the earliest one which I could find through my readings. The works of Yasa (1966), Schnaiberg (1970), Erdoğan (1973), Levine (1973), Aktüre (1977), Ersoy (1992) and Dündar (2001) are the examples of studies which are about the diffusion of *gecekondus* in Ankara and the conditions in which the population of *gecekondus* live. Also Şenyapılı (1982, 1997, 2004) has very detailed works on the emergence process of *gecekondu* in Ankara and transformation of Ankara. Duyar-Kienast's work (2005) on the dynamics of *gecekondu* and comparison of the old and new *gecekondus*, and Benoit's study (2005) which focuses on *hemşehri*¹² organizations in Ankara are the latest studies which I could reach for the literature review.

2.6. Conclusion

In this chapter of my study I have provided information about the historical background of the 1989 migration wave, a theoretical background which facilitates the evaluation of the historical background and a literature review which surveys immigration studies especially on the immigrants from Bulgaria.

⁹ http://www.die.gov.tr/yillik/03_Nufus.pdf

¹⁰ http://www.die.gov.tr/yillik/03_Nufus.pdf

¹¹ Squatter housing.

¹² Fellow townsman.

To understanding the nature of immigration waves from Bulgaria and creating a meaningful synthesis of immigration theories and the history of the immigration waves, employing migration system approach, political approach and migration network approach together provided an advantageous perspective, since these approaches can illuminate different dimensions of the 1989 migration. Migration system approach and political approach explain the macro framework in which the migration wave took place. These approaches also cast a light on the cause of the migration. The network approach elucidates the pattern of migration and accommodation of the immigrants. The network approach also creates an area for evaluation of the work strategies of the immigrants.

As far as I can interpret the literature review above there are two types of studies which are especially about the immigrants who came from Bulgaria to Turkey. İpek (1999), Lütem (2000), Lütem and Demirtaş-Coşgun (2000) and Şimşir (1988) exemplify my first category. These studies have a perspective which focuses on international relations between Bulgaria and Turkey and the political camps which once they belonged. They do not mention about the experiences of the immigrants or the members of Turkish minority. They are political and historical in the nature rather than sociological. Even though these are informative sources, their nationalist and official point of view make them partisan and less objective, in my point of view. Kümbetoğlu (2003), Maeva (2004), Parla (2003) and Suğur (2005) are the examples of second type of studies which focus on immigrants experiences in the daily life- especially in the working life-, their perceptions of both Turkey and Bulgaria, their modes of incorporation, and their relationships with the wider society. These studies are based on field work. They have a neutral perspective about Turkishness of the immigrants; they do not hesitate to reflect the immigrants' perceptions about Bulgaria or their lives in Bulgaria.

CHAPTER III

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR IMMIGRATION PROCESSES

3.1. Introduction

In this first chapter which is about the field study, I will explain methodology, sampling and the representativeness of the sample. I will proceed to demonstrate my observations and findings such as first impressions from the field. Then I will give some basic socio-demographic information about the immigrants in my sample as their education, level of income, their citizenship status and their family status. Finally I will continue with the immigration process of the respondents, I will focus the reasons that made them immigrate, their decision to stay in Turkey and their settlement process in Ankara. As a conclusion part of this chapter I will highlight important points.

3.2. Methodology of the Field Study

The immigrants¹³ who constitute my sample came to Turkey in 1989 due to the Revival Process I mentioned in the former chapter. 345,960 people entered Turkey between June 1989 and May 1990. 133,272 of them turned back after the collapse of the communist regime in Bulgaria in 1989. There remained 212,688 immigrants in Turkey (Konukman, 1990: 77). When they left Bulgaria, most of the immigrants were primary school graduates, while 20,827 of them were secondary and high school graduates. Only 8,320 of them were university graduates. 31.7 percent of

¹³ In the immigration literature, there is a newly arising approach which mentions the immigrants who are the citizens of the receiving country as “population with an immigration background” (Population and Development Review, 2006). The approach emphasizes that these people are not immigrants anymore but citizens of the country. Even though the people in my sample are the citizens with an immigration background in this respect, for the sake of simplicity, I will continue to mention them as the immigrants.

them were workers in the industrial sector, while 10.6 percent of them were civil servants.

Ankara received 6,675 of the immigrants. But this number has changed as the years passed and as people came to Ankara and moved from Ankara (Konukman, 1990: 79-80). These people constitute the universe of my sample. I interviewed thirty immigrants who are currently living in Ankara. All the respondents have working experience both in Bulgaria and Turkey. I interviewed fifteen women and fifteen men. My criterion of choosing interviewees was their having work experience both in Bulgaria and Turkey and I did not take anything into consideration apart from this. I reached the respondents by snowball technique and I conducted in-depth interviews. When I noticed that the stories of the respondents had repeated each other, I tried to use a new web of relations with a new gatekeeper. For these reasons my sample is statistically not representative. I do not have an intention of “making generalizations” of the results of the study, but the aim of the study is to bring out qualitative, first-hand information about this specific immigrant group and their work strategies.

The questionnaire¹⁴ which I used in the in-depth interviews was designed on the basis of literature review and my former experiences about the Balkan immigrants in Ankara. The questions are about the basic socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics, immigration process, educational life, and working life in Bulgaria and Turkey, and also immigrants’ attitudes toward work and working life. With these questions I tried to find out the narratives and interpretations of the respondents about the topics. I tried to discover the role of their agency and their potential in manipulate the situations, since I believe they are important factors between macro and micro levels. Before I started to conduct the interviews, in June 2006, I made two daily trips to Ay-Yıldız neighborhood where the 1989 immigrants mostly live in Ankara and the place where I met twenty-four of thirty interviewees. I also carried out an expert interview with the president of Ankara branch of *Göçmenlere Yardım*

¹⁴ For the full version of the questionnaire in Turkish and English, please see Appendix 1.

Derneği.¹⁵ I conducted the interviews in September and November, 2006. I conducted some interviews in the work places of the respondents, while the other took place in the homes of the respondents. The shortest interview lasted for forty minutes, and the longest one was two hours long. Since the mother tongue of the respondents is Turkish, the interviews were conducted in Turkish.

Firstly, I tried to reach interviewees through personal networks. An active member of an immigrant association was my first gate keeper. Then, a friend and a distant relative of mine became my gate keepers. Each gate keeper's connections constitute a different web of relations. With the help of the first, second and third gate keepers, I met nineteen, seven, and four people respectively. After I met the first interviewee the gate keeper introduced, I employed the snowball technique.¹⁶

While I was interviewing the respondents, the information that my grandmother was also an immigrant¹⁷ from Bulgaria made the conversation more intimate and easier for me. It was also helpful when the respondents tried to convince their friends to talk to me. That they saw me as student who was trying to fulfill her duties made my research easier. I faced with different attitudes from respondents. Some of the respondents had a very warm attitude towards me, whereas some even doubt whether there was a relationship between me and the Bulgarian intelligence service. Before the interviews, most of the interviewees asked me a lot of questions about me, my family and my education. The respondents usually felt uncomfortable at the beginning of the interviews, they were suspicious about my questions and my intent. Later on they started to get familiar with me and the interviews became more

¹⁵ Association for Help to Immigrants. It was founded in 1950 in Istanbul to help 150,000 people who expelled from Bulgaria by the former immigrants from the Balkans.

¹⁶ For a detailed explanation about the relations between a gatekeeper and an interviewee, the dates of the interviews and the age, gender and current occupation of the interviewees, please see Appendix 2.

¹⁷ In Turkish, there are different words to describe the immigrants. The word *muhacir* which is Arabic originally or its short form *macir* means immigrant. They are especially used for the immigrants who came from Greece in 1923 with the population exchange. *Muhacir* and *göçmen* which also means immigrant are also used for the immigrants who came to Turkey from other Balkan countries. The word *soydaş*, fellow immigrants (Kümbetoğlu, 2003) which means the people from the same blood or race is used only for the immigrants who came to Turkey in 1989 from Bulgaria. Many of the people whom I spoke with distinguished between *muhacir* and *soydaş*. Most of the non-immigrant people called these immigrants *Bulgar göçmeni*, Bulgarian immigrant. The immigrants disapprove this naming very strongly, they emphasize they are not Bulgarian but Turkish.

intimate. In many of the interviews, after my questions, we continued to talk about various subjects in an informal way for a while. Another characteristic of the respondents which affects the atmosphere of the interview is their involuntary attitudes towards answering the questions since they believe that they do not have enough historical knowledge to answer the question. By giving some examples from the questions, I convinced them that my questions do not require historical knowledge but they are about personal experiences and working lives of them. But some of them insisted that I should meet with some notable people from the association, whom they think know everything better.

3.3. First Impressions from the Field

Since twenty-four of my respondents live in the Ay-Yıldız neighborhood where the government built apartment blocks for the immigrants, I went there many times. During these visits I had the chance to observe people in the streets, in the bazaar, in the schools, and in the buses. The neighborhood¹⁸ is 18 km away from the city center, and in the rush hour it takes nearly an hour to go there. It is a neighborhood of Pursaklar district of Ankara. Pursaklar became a municipality in 1987, before this date it was a large village of Ankara. Its population started to increase in late 70's due to the rural immigrants who moved from surrounding cities of Ankara. Now it has a population which is over 100,000.¹⁹ It is between the city center and Esenboğa Airport which is the main airport of Ankara. In last two years it has received many new immigrants from the squatter houses which were around the Esenboğa road due to a renovation project which was financed metropolitan municipality. Pursaklar is also known with its conservative population. A newspaper article describes it as “the model city for Islamists” (Milliyet, 18 May, 2007). In Pursaklar, there are seventeen educational establishments, four of them are private ones and they belong to an Islamist foundation.

¹⁸ For the map of Pursaklar and the map and the plan for Ay-Yıldız neighborhood, please see Appendix 3.

¹⁹ www.pursaklar.bel.tr

The apartment blocks, for the immigrants from Bulgaria, were started to be built immediately after 1989, and the immigrants started to move there in 1993. It was the Pursaklar's mayor who gave the land for free for the apartment blocks. Ay-Yıldız is officially governed by Pursaklar local government, but it is at the highest and the farthest point of Pursaklar. Nowadays there are new buildings which are for the newcomers to the neighborhood from the surrounding areas, but at the beginning of 1990s there were only apartment buildings of the immigrants. The immigrants rent their flats and move to larger houses as the family incomes increase. Mainly they rent their flats to the non-immigrants²⁰ and this makes the immigrants and non-immigrants more familiar to each other. In Ay-Yıldız, there are 62 blocks and each block contains 20 flats. The flats have two rooms, a living room and a kitchen, each of them is 64 square meters.

The apartment blocks were divided by a main street. Two sides of this main street constitute the center of the neighborhood. In the neighborhood, buses and shuttles run through this street, the shops are also lined across it. The only mosque of the neighborhood, which is named *Plevne Camii*²¹, is also very close to the main street. The open-air bazaar of the neighborhood, which is open on every Sunday, is between the mosque and the main street. People generally know each other and when they see each other in the street or at the bazaar, at least they greet each other. I also witnessed that sometimes the immigrants spoke Bulgarian among themselves. As I observe they usually speak Bulgarian in two occasions; first, when they do not want the others to understand what they are talking about, for example the teachers in the school speak in Bulgarian when they talk about the students who are near to them. Second, the immigrants use some Bulgarian words in a Turkish sentence when they do not know what the exact Turkish word is, for example, many respondents who perform very different jobs in Turkey than the jobs in Bulgaria firstly use Bulgarian

²⁰ The immigrants use the word *yerli* which means native in Turkish to describe the non-immigrant people. Some of them dislike the word but use it, since they can not find another appropriate word.

²¹ Plevne Mosque. It was started to build in the early 1990s, but its construction still continues. Plevne is a city in Bulgaria which was populated by Turks under the Ottoman domination. There was one of the strongest resistances against Russian troops in the Balkan Wars.

words when they are trying to describe their old job, since they never used them in Turkish.

When I walked through the inner streets of Ay-Yıldız among the blocks, I noticed that the gardens turned into vegetable plots in which the immigrants planted tomato, pepper, scallion, and fruit trees along the flowers. In my opinion, there are two main reasons of making vegetable plots. The first reason is that many of the immigrants came from little towns or villages where they consumed what they produced in a closed household economy under the communist regime. The second reason is that the products from the plots decrease their consumption cost and increased household income of them as newcomers. Some blocks have open fireplaces to roast the vegetables. Many women still produce their own canned food, even if they know that they can find many sorts of canned food in the shops. Especially in the autumn months in which I conducted my field research, the neighborhood smelled roasted pepper which would be canned and consumed in the winter.

Another interesting point is that the *kahvehane*²² which is a distinctive sign of a Turkish neighborhood does not exist in Ay-Yıldız. Instead of a *kahvehane*, there are benches between the blocks where the people can sit and chat. The people explain that in the day time there are no people to kill time in *kahvehane*, since all of them go for working. After working hours, if the weather lets, people who are generally from the same block or neighboring blocks sit together and chat while they are drinking their teas. There is also a park which is called *Özgürlük Parkı*²³ with brazier and playground facilities. The names of some inner streets are also meaningful: Halil Mutlu Street and Taner Sağır Street. Both Halil Mutlu and Taner Sağır are immigrants from Bulgaria and now Turkish World and Olympic champions in weightlifting. Moreover the name of the neighborhood Ay-Yıldız means crescent and star which are the symbols on the Turkish flag. Another striking detail is that there

²² Coffee shop.

²³ Freedom Park. It means freedom from communist pressures. But in daily Turkish, *özgürlük* is a word which is used in the texts or slogans of leftist groups. In these texts, freedom is possible under a communist regime. In Bursa, there is also a neighborhood where 1989 immigrants mostly live. It is *Hürriyet Mahallesi*, Freedom Neighborhood.

are advertisement of the firms which transport passengers and goods between Bulgarian and Turkish cities at the central locations.

As I mentioned before the mother tongue of the immigrants is Turkish. Most of them did not have specific problems about Turkish language. But they have an accent which clearly shows that they are *macir*, according to non-immigrant population. They have also different sayings for some situations and sometimes they use different Turkish names for some objects. I did not ask question about the issue, but as far as I can observe, my respondents are Sunni Muslims like most of the population of Ankara and Pursaklar. Despite this, the respondents said that sometimes the non-immigrant population did criticize their understanding of religion, since there are differences between the daily life experiences of two groups. I will mention these differences in the following pages in a detailed way.

3.4. Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Immigrants

In order to give general information about the sample I will indicate some basic socio-demographic characteristics such as age, birth place, and education of the respondents.

The age of the respondents varies between forty and seventy-one. Thirteen of thirty respondents are between forty and forty-nine years old, while eleven of them are between fifteen fifty and sixty-four years old. Six of the respondents are older than sixty-five years old. The youngest respondent is forty years old, whereas the oldest one is seventy-one years old.

Turkish population in Bulgaria largely lived in the cities of Razgrad, Shumen or Varna in the northern parts of Bulgaria, near to the Romanian border, an area which is called Deliorman, and secondly they live in Kurdjali and its surrounding settlements between Maritsa River and Greece border.²⁴ Twenty of the thirty respondents whom I interviewed were born in Razgrad or its surrounding towns or villages. Three of them were born in Pleven. There are seven respondents each from

²⁴ For a map of Bulgaria, please see Appendix 4.

Turgovishe, Haskova, Kurdjali, Shoumen, Dobrich and Bourgas. The clustering of the immigrants from Razgrad can be interpreted as an indicator of immigrants' network. In Ankara, there are former immigrants who came to Turkey in 1951 or in 1968-1978 period. In 1989, they welcomed their relatives. When I asked for the assistance of one of my respondents in finding other respondents, the response of M.Y. (62, M, health officer)²⁵ revealed this concentration:

We are from Kurdjali; people here are mainly from Razgrad or Shoumen.

Our relatives are in İzmir, we don't know many people here.²⁶

Another important point about the immigrants' birth places is whether this place is a city center²⁷, a town, or a little village. Table 1 demonstrates that twenty-five of the immigrants were born in a town or a village, although Table 2 shows that the people who lived in cities and the people who lived in villages or towns are equal in number. This can be explained with the rapid industrialization of Bulgaria in 1970s. Some members of Turkish minority could find jobs in the city centers and lived there, while some of them worked in the large factory plantations in the city centers but did move their houses to city centers and continued to dwell in their villages. This also caused a difference between living place and working place. As I can observe, in spite of their jobs' significant place in their lives, the immigrants mainly identified themselves with the place they lived in. They mostly lived in the place where they were born, where their ancestors belonged to. Moreover, their garden plots and domestic animals by which they could earn additional income played a role in this identification. Even if they worked in a factory, their lives were dependent on land and agriculture. This can also explain why immigrants planted vegetables and trees in their apartments' garden. It can be also argued that when they immigrated to Ankara which is a metropolitan city, they faced with not only economic hardships

²⁵ The capital letters stand for the name and the surnames of the respondents. The numbers, the letters and the occupations in brackets are for the age, the gender and the occupation of the immigrants, respectively.

²⁶ Biz Kırcaali'liyiz, buradakiler hep Razgrad veya Şumnu'dan, bizim akrabalarımız İzmir'de filan, burada pek kimseyi tanımıyoruz.

²⁷ In Bulgaria, there are twenty-eight *oblasts* or provinces. Each *oblast* is named after its capital. The city centers which I take here are these capitals. All of them have a population which is more than 100,000 in 2005. The towns or villages in an *oblast* are administratively depended to the capitals.

about the new economic system or unknown regulations but also the ones about settling in a crowded city.

Table 1: The frequency distribution of birth places according to that it is city center or town

		Frequency
Valid	Village-Town	25
	City	5
Total		30

Table 2: The frequency distribution of living places

		Frequency
Valid	Village-Town	15
	City	15
Total		30

Examining the education level of the immigrants shows that twelve of thirty immigrants were graduated from high school, as four of them and eight of them graduated from secondary school and university respectively. There is no immigrant who is illiterate or graduated from primary school. When the education level of parents of the immigrants is examined, it can be seen that twenty-three of the mothers and seventeen of the fathers had no education or they were primary school graduates. Four of the mothers were graduated from secondary of high school, while twelve of the fathers were graduated from these schools. Only two mothers and one father had university degrees.²⁸ This generational gap can be interpreted as an effect of Bulgarian education system which started to give eight-year compulsory education

²⁸ In the data, information of one respondent's mother about education level is missing.

in the early 1970s. But the educational gap between women and men continues, although the general education level increases. Among the parents of the immigrants, fathers' degrees from secondary and high schools exceed mothers' degrees from these schools. Among the respondents, the number of high school graduates is equal between two sexes, whereas the female post-secondary school graduates exceed the male post-secondary school graduates and male university graduates exceed female university graduates.

The high schools in communist Bulgaria can be grouped into two main categories: the high schools which prepared the students for a university and the high schools which prepared the students for an occupation such as nursery or mechanic. The students in the second type could also take the examination for university education, although they were usually expected to go to a post-secondary school where they could reach high levels of expertise in their own occupation.

Even if making a generalization may not be correct with such a statistically small sample, the clustering of Turkish students in the high and post-secondary schools can be interpreted as a sign of that Turkish minority was generally educated for manual jobs and the jobs at low levels of bureaucracy.

Nineteen of the immigrants are holding Turkish and Bulgarian passports together. They can vote in the elections in Bulgaria. They also became citizens of European Union on 1st January 2007 when Bulgaria became a member state. The EU citizenship and EU markets can be attractive for especially for the ethnic Turk seasonal immigrants between Bulgaria and Turkey. In Bulgaria, there are also heated discussions on whether the immigrants can vote in elections for European Union Parliament. With the support of extreme racist ATAKA party, the present Bulgarian parliament has passed a law which abolishes the voting rights of Bulgarian citizens who live in the third countries except EU countries and the citizens who do not permanently live in Bulgaria. Now, the immigrants can vote in general and local elections in Bulgaria, but they cannot vote in elections for European Union Parliament.

The immigrants do not seem to like having Bulgarian passports and they try to legitimize it with such explanations that they want to see the people who stayed in Bulgaria, heavy taxes while leaving Turkey with a Turkish passport, or the long queues at the border gates. I think, these explanations and the large numbers of people who are having dual citizenship indicate how dense the relations among relatives, friends, neighbors, or school mates who live in different countries. They have transnational networks between Bulgaria and Turkey. Dual citizenship and the short distance between two countries enable the immigrants to have these networks in operation. The immigrants spend their summer holidays in Bulgaria; they go to Bulgaria to visit their relatives in religious holidays. Some of them also have economic connections there.

Many of the immigrants emphasized that Bulgaria was the land they were born and they spent the best times of their lives there. Z.T. (59, F, unemployed) explains how she misses Bulgaria as the following:

Sometimes, I still see there in my dreams. Sometimes I forget that I am here. I wake and get up, I am still here.²⁹

M.İ. (70, M, retired teacher) also explains his ambivalent feelings about the times that he spent in Bulgaria as the following:

The best years of our youth passed there. But we never were able to be proud of being Turkish. Wherever we went, they degraded us.³⁰

Eleven of the immigrants said that they do not have Bulgarian passport. A.U. (44, F, secretary) highlights that she does not have trust in Bulgarians, and she believes that Bulgaria is respectful to human rights because it is a member of European Union, but it might do things such as changing names again and continued:

Whenever it [Bulgaria] comes around, it will do something, I think.³¹

²⁹ Hala rüyamda görürüm bazen onları. Bazen unutuyorum burda olduğumu, bir kalkıyorum uyanıyorum ki buradayım.

³⁰ Bizim en iyi gençlik yıllarımız orada geçti. Ama hiç kendi Türklüğümüzle gurur duyamadık. Her nereye gitsek, bizi küçük gördüler.

³¹ Ne zaman kendisine gelirse, bir şeyler yapacak bence.

Asking questions about the respondents' income and receiving accurate answers to these questions are tough tasks for a field researcher. In my research, I asked the questions concerning income or the assets as the final questions and in an undemanding manner. Two immigrants did not want to reply this question. Table 3 shows the monthly household income of the immigrants' families. According to the table, nineteen of the immigrant households monthly earn an amount below 2,000 YTL.³² All of the immigrants who answered this question said that they had an income below 3,000 YTL.

Table 3: The frequency distribution of the income groups of the respondents

	Income	Frequency
Valid	0-1000 YTL	9
	1001-1999 YTL	10
	2000-3000 YTL	9
	Missing	2
Total		30

Among the thirty immigrants, twenty-six of them are clients of social security institutions, while four of them have social security. They use their relatives' social security services illegally or pay their medical costs. *Emekli Sandığı*, which provides social security for the retired and working civil servants in public sector, covers fourteen of the immigrants. *SSK (Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu)*, which provides social security for workers in public or private sectors, covers ten of the immigrants. *Bağ-*

³² In September 2006, 1 EURO is 1.8611 YTL and 1 USD is 1.4657 YTL. In April 2007, 1 EURO is 1.8073 YTL and 1 USD is 1.3265 YTL (<http://www.tcmb.gov.tr>). In the second half of 2006, in Turkey, the minimum wage for the workers over 16 is 531 YTL (285 EURO or 362 USD) (http://www.calisma.gov.tr/istatistik/cgm/yillar_asgari_ucret.htm). Current GNI per capita is 4750 USD (<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/DATASTATISTICS/0,,contentMDK:20535285~menuPK:1390200~pagePK:64133150~piPK:64133175~theSitePK:239419,00.html>).

Kur, which provides social security for the shopkeepers, small scale traders, self-employed people, or employers, covers two of the immigrants.³³ Even these three institutions were turned into one institution legally in 2006 under the name of *T.C. Sosyal Güvenlik Kurumu*³⁴ people still tend to mention them separately. *Emekli Sandığı* is preferred since it is assumed that it can supply better conditions.

Being a member of a particular social security institution can also show the employment status of the immigrants. While *Emekli Sandığı* and *SSK* are for employees, *Bağ-Kur* is for employers or the self-employed. Two respondents who are clients of *Bağ-Kur* are employers or self-employed, and the rest of the sample works for a public or private employer.

Having a supplementary job is an important factor which increases the income level of the family after the immigrants came to Turkey. Eight of the thirty respondents had supplementary jobs. Most of them work in these jobs as undocumented workers. Having a supplementary job is banned for a civil servant in Turkey, but among fourteen civil servants five had a supplementary job. The immigrants explain this by claiming that their wage is not enough for their livelihoods. Women mainly work as cleaners or sell handicrafts, while men go for daily wage to the construction sector or as marketing people.

During my interviews, I noticed that providing a good and high quality education for their children and having their own flats are among the first targets which an immigrant family tries to achieve immediately after coming to Turkey. All of my respondents said that they owned a flat and thirteen of them have also a second flat in Turkey. In this respect, that the government built apartments blocks which were cheaper than the other flats in the city became very beneficial for these families, even if they sometimes complain that the government changed the monthly fees for several times and that the buildings were not as cheap as non-immigrant people

³³ There is also *Yeşil Kart* or Green Card which is for the people who can prove that they are poor. None of the immigrants use this card.

³⁴ Social Security Institution of Turkish Republic.

believe and criticize. Sixteen of them have also assets in addition to their flats such as a car or a plot of land.

Except one respondent, the immigrants mostly immigrated to Turkey with their families. In Bulgaria, many of them lived in extended families or very close to their kin. In Ankara, in the settlement process, the extended families became economically more preferable. But when the government distributed the apartment flats among married immigrants with a lottery, most of the nuclear families had a chance to own a flat in Ay-Yıldız. The respondents most frequently live in households which contain three persons. Only two of them have households of six people.

When I went to the house of the immigrants I observed that even if different generations live in different flats, they are economically and socially connected to each other. For example, N.Y. (67, F, unemployed) lives with her seven-year-old granddaughter, since her daughter and son-in-law who live in another flat very near to hers, work outside home. Before her granddaughter was born, she had worked in the factories. She left these jobs to take care of her granddaughter. They have dinner together and go to shopping as one household.

Table 4: The cross tabulation of gender and marital status

		Marital Status				Total
		Single	Married	Divorced	Widow	
Gender	Female	3	7	2	3	15
	Male	0	15	0	0	15
Total		3	22	2	3	30

Table 4 shows the distribution of the marital statuses of the immigrants. Except G.H. (43, F, nursery school teacher), all respondents married before the immigration. G.H. (43, F, nursery school teacher) married after the immigration with a Bulgarian

immigrant like herself. The divorce rate among my sample is 6.7 percent. Since I did not ask a direct question why they had divorced I can only argue that this relatively high rate³⁵ is related to immigration process and its economic consequences. I also think that high rate of female singles is related with different understandings of patriarchy between non-immigrants and immigrants. In the immigrant households, even if the sexual division of labour is not dramatically different from the non-immigrant households, women work outside the home and earn one of the major components of the household income. Women have a strong say in the familial cases. This difference makes immigrant women less compatible with non-immigrant men.

3.5. Immigration Process

In this part, I will continue with the immigration process of the people whom I interviewed. I will try to clarify the reasons and describe the atmosphere which had forced people to immigrate. Then, I will point out the different explanations of the immigrants' settlement in Ankara.

3.5.1. Reason for Immigration

The 1989 immigration wave from Bulgaria to Turkey is mainly related with Revival Process which had aimed to assimilate Turkish minority in Bulgaria. At the end of this process which had lasted from 1984 to 1989, Bulgarian government had had to let Turkish people immigrate to Turkey due to pervasive protests all around the country. When I asked the reasons of immigration to my respondents, many of them told general reasons such as changing names, interfering in the dressing style, prohibiting the traditional ceremonies. A.Y. (50, M, officer) who was under continuous police control in Bulgaria since he had distributed the 1968-1978 immigration application forms describes his situation and relations with other people as the following:

In those times, people avoided talking to me; being with me because they think, they [the police] might get them tomorrow, too? Even in the bus, in

³⁵ In Turkey the divorce rate per 1.000 people is 0.5 in 2002 while in Bulgaria the divorce rate per 1000 people is 1.3 in 2002 (<http://www.divorcereform.org/gul.html>)

the bus of the factory, they avoided coming next to me, sitting next to me.
Those were the days.³⁶

Immigrants who had lived in these conditions did not need any other reason to immigrate. When the border gates were opened in late May 1989, they started to make preparations for immigration. As soon as possible they immigrated. In my sample, twenty-three of the immigrants left Bulgaria without any direct reason except these living conditions. A.U. (44, F, secretary) describes why they immigrated as the following:

After the names were changed, there was a protest march. There had been no march until that time. So there were protest marches even in the villages. After the protest march, everybody attempted to some things. Forced immigration thing came to being. Everybody started to prepare and leave.³⁷

These protests started in Kurdjali. M.Y. (48, M, school officer) who is from Kurdjali describes how they had been organized:

We attempted to some things, rise to rebellion in Kurdjali. And we were coshed, you know dogs etc. After final pressures, we had nearly neglected our work. We had friends as a group, as organization. As organization, I mean, we formed groups in our regions. I mean among us, we decide collectively to quit working in the village. Besides, arranging protest march or hoisting [Turkish] flag the official building at night. We resisted in these ways.³⁸

³⁶ O zamanlarda, vatandaş benden sakınırdı benimle görüşmekten, beraber olmaktan, niye acep onu da yarın toplayabilirler mi diye. Hatta otobüste bile, fabrika otobüsünde yanıma gelmeye yanıma oturmaya sakınırdı adam. Öyle bir günler vardı.

³⁷ İsimler değiştirildikten sonra bir yürüyüş oldu. O zamana kadar hiç yürüyüş olmamıştı. Köyler de bile oldu yani. Olduktan sonra herkes kalkıştı böyle. ..Zorunlu göç olayı çıktı. Herkes bir daha başladı bu hazırlanmaya, gelmeye.

³⁸ Kalkınmalar yaptık, ayaklanmalar yaptık. Bizim o Kırcaali'de. Ve yiyorduk copları, işte köpekler möpekler. Son baskılarla zaten hemen hemen işi boşlamıştık. Topluca arkadaşlarımız vardı, örgüt olarak. Şimdi örgüt dediğimiz de şöyle, bizim bölgelerde gruplar oluşturunuyorduk. Yani kendi aramızda, köyde arkadaşlarla mesela topluca diyoruz ki iş bırakıcaz, çalışmicaz. Ayrıca yürüyüş düzenleme yada geceleri bayrak asma bu devlet kurumlarına, çatısına. O şekil bir direniş gösteriyorduk.

M.A. (71, M, retired officer) who was an influential character in his village, told how the atmosphere led people to immigrate:

The milieu prepared the situation. It caused the people minds. The reaction, which arose against the assimilation policy of Bulgarians during three- four years period, was activated in the protest marches all of a sudden. There were movements, which showed that [Turkish minority] was not reconciled with the situation, that [Turkish minority] did not accept. Everybody quitted their jobs. In this flow, we met with the people, we had an agreement. We made such a decision [to immigrate] as a way of showing our reaction. Bulgarians wanted us to come anyway.³⁹

The other seven immigrants or members of their families were deported. G.U. (48, F, teacher) narrated how she and her family were deported as follows:

[My spouse] was a teacher in the village. In a village which was close to Haskovo. And they said to him that he had to breed pigs, something like this. He said 'I can not do this job'. He resigned as teacher. Then, they deported him to Turkey; because of this thing...They said 'pick your goods in one night'. And they deported us, since he was my spouse...⁴⁰

Among my thirty respondents, twenty-one of them express that they had former attempts for immigrating to Turkey. Many of the immigrants or their relatives applied for immigration in 1968-1978 period in which Turkey received relatives of the 1951 immigrants. The short distance between the two countries, the facts that their ancestors were from Turkey, and that they have relatives in Turkey were the main motives which kept alive the immigration possibilities. M.Y. (48, M, school officer)'s words explain how they had perceived Turkey before immigration:

The decision to immigrate [was made] by [Turkish] society, not by the families. All Turks, anyhow, because we were grown up with love of Turkey since our childhood. Because our ancestors, our grand fathers

³⁹ Ortam bu işe hazırlık yaptı. Milletin kafasını oluşturdu. Bulgarların bize yaptığı asimilasyon politikasına karşı 3, 4 yıl toplanan tepki bir anda yürüyüşlerde harekete geçti. O durumla barışmadığını, kabul etmediğini gösteren hareketler de oldu. Herkes işi bıraktı. O akıntı da biz de hem milletle görüştük, hem fikir birleştirdik. Tepkimizi göstererek böyle bir karar vardık. Zaten Bulgarlar da bizim gelmemizi istiyorlardı.

⁴⁰ [Eşim] köyde öğretmendi. Hasköy'e yakın bir köyde. Ve ona domuz mu ne yani bakman gerekiyor öyle bir şeyler çıkartmışlar. O da dedi ben bu işi yapamam dedi. Öğretmenliği istifa etti bıraktı. Ondan sonra da bu şeyinden dolayı onu sınır dışı ettiler Türkiye'ye yani. Bir gecede eşyalarınızı toplayın dediler. Ve bizi yani sınır dışı ettiler. Eşim olduğu için.

remained from Ottomans. Turkey is our homeland. We never embraced there [Bulgaria].⁴¹

Except two respondents, the immigrants whom I interviewed came to Turkey in 1989 during the main wave of immigration from Bulgaria to Turkey. N.Y. (59, F, nurse) and her family stayed in Bulgaria until 1991 in order to wait her daughter to graduate from her school. Since, he was in prison in 1989 C.B. (47, M, shopkeeper) could come to Turkey in 1996.

At the beginning of the field research, even if it does not seem to be vital for my research question, I wanted to learn about the distinguishing factor which made them come to Turkey, while some other members of Turkish minority stayed in Bulgaria. Even if I did not ask detailed questions, I received coherent answers from the respondents. Many of the immigrants said that the others who stayed in Bulgaria stayed there because the border gates were closed or they could not prepare their passports or other relevant documents. The respondents emphasized that all Turks in Bulgaria wanted to come to Turkey and gave examples of the former immigration waves in 1951 and 1968-1978. According to them, these immigrations were evident that all of them had a desire for immigrating and the stayers did not stay there since they did not want to go, but since they were not able to immigrate. K.G. (62, F, medical attendant) stated that she and her family wanted to come in 1978, but Bulgarian government did not let them, because her husband was working. She continues:

We always had been curious about coming since 1951. But it did not happen in any way.⁴²

But the respondents also told that in some families, there were arguments about the immigration. For example, N.Y. (67, F, unemployed) told that in 1968-1978 period her father found an opportunity to come to Turkey, but her mother did not want to leave her family in Bulgaria. The family could not immigrate due to the opposition of

⁴¹ Göç etme kararı toplumca, [alındı] ailecek değil. Tüm Türkler artık, çünkü çocukluğumuzdan beri Türkiye sevgisiyle yetiştiriliyorduk. Osmanlı'dan kalan olduğu için bizim dedelerimiz, atalarımız. Türkiye bizim vatanımız, orayı [Bulgaristan'ı] zaten hiç benimsemedik.

⁴² 51'den beri hep merakımız vardı. Ama hiçbir türlü olmadı.

the mother, even if other members wanted to come. In 1989 immigration, her mother did not come to Turkey, but let her daughter to go.

3.5.2. Decision to Stay in Turkey

In 1989 and 1990, as I mentioned above, nearly half of the people who immigrated to Turkey went back to Bulgaria. In order to understand the reason why some people stayed in Turkey and why others went back to Bulgaria, asking the respondents how they had decided to stay in Turkey gains importance. Nearly all respondents said that they never thought about turning back to Bulgaria. When I asked if she ever wanted to go back to Bulgaria, Z.F. (48, F, laboratory assistant) who told how happy days she had in Bulgaria in the former parts of the interview, she firstly told how she was humiliated by her boss in the Revival Process, when her name was changed into a Bulgarian name and then continued as the following:

So, there was nothing I would do, I could not go back. I could not go back to working life. Even if there were beauties, I could not turn back, because I am a proud person. I could not turn back and share the same environment with them. There was no possibility.⁴³

G.H. (43, F, nursery school teacher) is an exceptional case with respect to her explanations on returnee immigrants, because except her other members of her family turned back to Bulgaria. She explained that since her mother and father were too old and relatively less educated than the others, they could not find appropriate jobs in Turkey. They also felt insecure due to lack of social security services. She complained that government had taken care of the people who had university education or an occupation. She also stated that the relationship between them and their relatives in different cities was not strong enough to make them feel comfortable to ask for their help. When I asked why she did not go with her family she replied as the following:

I did not want to turn back. Never come, in the other case never turn back. Think that whether you can find your old life when you turn back. That place[Bulgaria] may change, too. The returnees could not find what they

⁴³ Yani yapacağım bir şey yoktu orada, ben geri dönemezdim. İş hayatına geri dönemezdim. Her ne kadar o kadar güzellikler olsa da dönemezdim. Çünkü gururlu biriyim. Oraya dönüp de onlarla birlikte aynı ortamı paylaşamazdım. İmkânı yoktu.

looked for. They [Bulgarians] dispersed them other places, Bulgarian villages. They [Bulgarians] continued to torture them.⁴⁴

3.5.3. Settlement in Ankara

Before I proceed to illustrate the settlement process of the immigrants in Ankara, I want to focus on the assistance government supplied for the immigrants. After immigrants entered Turkey, they were firstly asked if they had relatives who could welcome and take care of them in Turkey or not. If the response was affirmative, the officials helped the immigrants to make a connection with these relatives. Then, they were sent to their relatives. If the response was negative, the immigrant was taken to tent-camps in Edirne and Kırklareli where there were also basic health and accommodation services. After these tent-camps reached their capacity, the immigrants were started to be sent to other cities in Turkey. The government used empty schools, dormitories which were in fact for university students and guest-houses of government institutions to settle the immigrants. Many immigrants stayed in these places until September when the schools and dormitories were opened for students. Afterwards, local governments helped the immigrants finding a flat for rent. Many estate owners did not want to rent their flats to the immigrants since they believed that the immigrants could not pay the rent. In this situation, the local governments provided a rent subsidy for the newcomers for a year. They also distributed food aid for the same period. The government started to build apartment blocks for the immigrants in cities such as Ankara, Istanbul and Bursa in early 1990s.

In addition to accommodation support, the government efforts for the employment of the immigrants started. It tried to make connections between immigrants and employers. The employers were invited to the places where the immigrants stayed together. Many employers employed the immigrants with a motive for helping the immigrants. The government itself also employed many of the immigrants in the public sector. The acceptance of the graduation certificates of the immigrants made

⁴⁴ Ben dönmek istemiyordum. Ya hiç gelmeyeceksin ya gelmişke[n] dönmeyeceksin. Bir kere döndüğün zaman aynı şeyi karşılayabilecek misin eskisini ora da değişmiş olabilir. Dönerler aradıklarını bulamadılar. Başka yere dağıtılar, Bulgar köylerine filan gönderdiler. Eziyet etmeye devam ettiler.

them easy to employ. The immigrants received Turkish citizenship and started to work in public posts from the beginning of December, 1989 on.

The dates and the reasons for coming to Ankara differentiate among immigrants. Nineteen of the immigrants came to Ankara in 1989. Fifteen of these nineteen immigrants came to Ankara as their first stop in Turkey. Ankara received two respondents in years of 1990, 1992 and 1993 and one respondent in 1991, and 1996. Finally three respondents moved to Ankara in 1997.

The reasons behind immigrants' coming to and settling in Ankara are worth examining since they can reveal their patterns of settlement. Table 5 shows the frequency distribution of reasons for coming to Ankara.

Table 5: The frequency distribution of reasons for coming to Ankara

	Reason For Ankara	Frequency
Valid	Relative	17
	Government	8
	Job	2
	Other	3
Total		30

Seventeen of the immigrants came to Ankara because they had relatives there. To be close to their relatives is an advantageous situation in the immigration process. It can ease the cultural and economic hardships of immigration. B.B. (61, M, civil engineer) is one of these immigrants. He came to Ankara to his uncle directly from Bulgaria with his family. The family did not make use of public dormitories. In the first weeks in Ankara, they stayed in his uncle's home. Later, the uncle helped him finding a flat and a job. They also utilized the food and rent subsidies of the

government. Some respondents also moved to Ankara, because a number of their nuclear family moved to Ankara before. For example, M.Y. (62, M, health officer) and his wife came to Ankara, since their son who immigrated to Turkey a few weeks before their immigration won the university entrance examination and started his education.

Eight respondents came to Ankara because of the factors which were related with government and its provisions. Five of these immigrants came to Ankara because government sent them to temporary dormitories in Ankara. Even if they had, many people declared that they had no relatives since they did not want to be burden for their relatives. For example, H.O. (56, M, worker) had relatives in Yalova and Bursa but he did not declare this when he entered Turkey. The government sent the family to Ankara to stay in a dormitory. Three of this group of immigrants moved to Ankara because they had a flat in Ay-Yıldız neighborhood. Before starting to build the blocks in Ankara, government announced it and started to collect fees in different cities. When the construction was over in 1993, the immigrants started to move there. For instance, the government sent A.Y. (50, M, officer) and his family firstly to Kayseri. After a year, they moved to Izmit where they had relatives. But they could not settle there due to economic reasons. In Izmit, they applied for the flats and they moved to Ankara when they were completed.

Since some immigrants believed that they could find better jobs in Ankara, they preferred to live in Ankara. In my sample, two of the immigrants moved to Ankara with the motive to find a job which provides a higher wage and is appropriate for the education they had received in Bulgaria. İ.Y. (50, M, mechanic) is among these respondents. Immediately after the immigration, he moved to Balıkesir and started to work in a tile factory as an unskilled worker. However, in fact, he had had an education on telecommunication lines and he is a skilled worker in this area. After a while, his relatives in Balıkesir convinced him to apply Turkish Telecom in Ankara. His application was accepted and he moved to Ankara.

There are also different motives behind immigrants' eagerness to live in Ankara such as the desire to live in a big city and to overcome the hardships of integration into life

in Anatolian cities to which government sent them in 1989. A.H. (68, M, retired worker) and his family came to Ankara because they wanted to live in the capital of Turkey. During their former visits, while they traveled in Turkey, they liked Ankara very much. After the immigration, they preferred to settle in Ankara.

I observed that none of these reasons on its own were enough to bring people to Ankara, but a mixture of the reasons brought people to there. For example, people moved to the new flats since they wanted to be close to their relatives, or they sought jobs in Ankara since they knew that they would move to Ankara. In my opinion, having relatives and chance to have a cheaper house in Ankara are more effective reasons which brought people to Ankara than the other reasons.

3.6. Conclusion

In this chapter I have illustrated the methodology of the field study and some basic characteristics of the respondents. Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, their immigration and settlement processes. I shall highlight some important points about the characteristic of the respondents and try to evaluate them.

First point which I want to underline is about the neighborhood of the respondents. The neighborhood, Ay-Yıldız is different from non-immigrant neighborhoods especially with its vegetable plots and public spaces. I think these differences originate from the respondents' past experiences in Bulgaria. Many of the immigrants used to live in small settlements in Bulgaria such as a village or a small town, even if they had worked in a factory plants in city centers. They were also dependent on agriculture and the income of it. They had identified themselves with their town or village in which most of their meaningful social relations took place. Therefore, land was an important part of their life both as a source of income and identity. The public spaces in the new neighborhood such as parks or benches in the gardens are the places where every people can share something and build relations with their new neighbors. I consider the vegetable plots and public spaces as signs which indicate the desire not to break with such habits and an effort to transform new

neighborhood along the lines of the old one. They are signs of a desire for setting and becoming “native” in Ay-Yıldız.

The devotion of the respondents to their families and especially their children is another point which attracts my attention. Owning a flat and providing a good education for their children are the most important priorities which the respondents attach importance. Owning a flat - regardless the place and the quality of the flat in the first instance- makes family free from paying regular rent which constitutes a great part of a monthly budget of the people with constant income. Providing a decent education for their children is the securest way of saving the children’s future life and the family’s social status. Many of the respondents perceive unemployment as a serious threat which is against their family strategy which aims to have a regular income and secure the future for the family members. Therefore, the work strategies which the respondents employ for having a job and maintaining this job gain importance as part of family strategy.

Another point which I would like to emphasize is the density of the transnational connections of the immigrants. Nineteen of the immigrants are both Bulgarian and Turkish citizens, while eleven of them are only Turkish citizens. Some of the respondents did not seem to like having Bulgarian passports and they tried to legitimate it with various reasons. But, the important point is that the respondents mostly have relationships with their friends and relatives in Bulgaria. They are in touch with their acquaintances in Bulgaria in their daily life. Not only issues about daily life but also politics in Bulgaria are a concern for the immigrants. Bulgaria’s membership in the European Union and its effects in the Turkish minority there are the main issues which the immigrants follow up, pay attention and frequently discuss with each other. The international relations between Bulgaria and Turkey are important for them, since it has a direct effect on their position in Bulgaria. The immigrant associations like Association for Help to Immigrants work as a branch of Foreign Affairs Ministry of Turkey. They guide the bureaucrats about the “realities” of Bulgaria, right of the dual citizens and Turkish minority there. They tried to influence Turkey’s politics political towards Bulgaria.

The immigration process of the immigrants and their perceptions on Bulgaria reveal some important features of the immigrants. As far as I can see, even if many immigrants describe their immigration as involuntary, most of them stated that they had always wanted to come to Turkey. They had admired their relatives, friend or co-villagers who had immigrated to Turkey in the previous immigration waves, some of them had tried to immigrate but could not realize it due to some reasons. Migration was always perceived as an option for them to escape from political and cultural pressures and to reach the motherland. As a result, presenting the immigrants as victims who had no say in their fate is a miss presentation, in my opinion. Even though many of the immigrants affirmed that they had come to Turkey in very brutal conditions sometimes by trains and sometimes by walking without any personal goods. I believe that if they were not so willing to come to Turkey, they had chance to remain in Bulgaria. I think, the existence of the members of Turkish minority who stayed in Bulgaria and returnee immigrants who stayed in Turkey for a short while and then returned indicates the possibility of immigrants' agency. There was a constant pressure on them politically and economically under the Bulgarian repressive regime, under these conditions they perceived immigration as a way of escaping. When the political conditions were enabling, the ones who experienced the pressures and the ones who dreamed to go to the motherland for years chose to immigrate to Turkey.

I also disapprove the idea that the respondents' lives in Bulgaria were a complete humiliation or captivity as discussed in some studies. Many respondents do not deny that they had spent one of the most beautiful times of their lives in Bulgaria. They see Bulgaria as the place where they were born, lived their childhood, received their education, worked and started a family as they also see there a place where they were humiliated, excluded and repressed. The positive and negative aspects of the perception of the respondents on Bulgaria are interwoven.

In the settlement process in Ankara, having relatives in Ankara, housing facilities supplied by the government, job opportunities, and some other reasons are the main factors which affected the decisions of the respondents. I think the other reasons apart from the housing facilities supplied by the government are dependent on the

existence of the networks. For example an immigrant is informed about job opportunities in Ankara by a friend or a relative of hers/his. If I rearrange the distribution of the reasons for settlement in Ankara again, a new distribution which shows the effect of immigrant networks formed. According to this distribution, nineteen of the respondents came to Ankara due to the factors which were shaped within their networks with their relatives, friends or acquaintance, since these people influenced the job opportunities and potential settlement patterns of the immigrants. With the help of this new distribution, I claim that the immigrants' settlement patterns are highly influenced by the existence of networks and state's special provisions for the 1989 immigrants. I will evaluate the strong influence of the immigrant networks in the settlement processes of the immigrants again in accordance with the other factors which affect the work strategy of the immigrants.

CHAPTER IV

WORKING LIVES OF THE IMMIGRANTS IN BULGARIA AND TURKEY

4.1. Introduction

In this part of my study, I will try to describe the immigrants' approach to work and their working lives both in Bulgaria and Turkey. The chapter includes six parts apart from the introduction. In the first part I will mention the immigrants' approach to work. I will portray the respondents' definitions of work and unemployment and their perceptions on states' attitudes towards workers, social values and work ethic. In the second part I will describe working lives of the immigrants in Bulgaria and specific characteristics which I have found out during my field research. I believe these characteristics are important because their experiences in work places and their attitudes towards work in Bulgaria have meaningful effects on their working experiences in Turkey after the immigration. I will give details of education of the immigrants, the patterns of finding an employment, their hierarchical positions at work in Bulgaria. As a final topic about the immigrants' working lives in Bulgaria, I will mention their experiences of being a minority member in the work place. In the third part of this chapter, I will illustrate working experiences of the immigrants in Ankara. I will start by describing how the immigrants found their first job in Ankara. This inspection is very eminent for the research question of the study since it is the first step of the work strategies of the immigrants. This also shows their first reaction to free labour market conditions. I will continue with their job descriptions and the on-the-job training they received for these jobs in Turkey. I will also examine their position in the work hierarchy. The supplementary jobs which some of the respondents do is another topic of this part. Then, I will describe the different experiences of the respondents in new labour market conditions. In the fourth part, I will show the immigrants comparison of their working lives and experiences Bulgaria and Turkey. The fifth part covers the experiences of the immigrant

women's about discrimination and their thoughts on the women's position in Turkey. Sixth and the final part is the conclusion of the chapter in which I will evaluate the main aspects of the working lives of the immigrants both in Bulgaria and Turkey.

4.2. The Immigrants' Approach to Work

In the following part, I will present the immigrants' attitudes towards work and unemployment and their perceptions concerning state's attitudes towards workers, social values and work ethic both in Bulgaria and Turkey. During the interviews I asked the immigrants questions about their own definitions of work and unemployment, and the motive which makes them work. In these questions I used the word "work" as a general situation which defines the working, having a job and being not unemployed. In this manner, work and unemployment represent the opposite conditions.

4.2.1. The Immigrants' Perceptions of Work and Unemployment

In Chapter Two, I have given the definitions of work and unemployment, in this part of the study; I will portray the respondents' own definitions of work and unemployment. The respondents' definitions of work are generally based on positive aspects of work. One respondent did not answer the question "what does work mean for you?" and only one person among the remaining twenty-nine immigrants defined working as a kind of obligation. This respondent is F.E. (50, F, accountant). Despite using the word "obligation", this is only a part of her definition. Her full definition is as the following:

In Bulgaria we got used to like that. It feels like we have to work. But when I think about it, I believe I am helpful. First of all to my family and let's say to my country. And when we get older if we continue living, we are going to have retirement pensions. We can give something to our grandchildren.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Bulgaristan'da biz öyle gördük. Çalışmak mecburiyetindeyiz gibi geliyor. Ama şimdi bir düşündüğümde faydalı olduğumu düşünüyorum. İlk önce aileme, vatanıma da diyeyim bari. Yaşlandığımızda da sağ olursak emekli maaşımız olur, torunlara bir şey veririz diye düşünüyorum.

Since some of the immigrants emphasized more than one dimension of work during the interviews, there are more than thirty answers to the above-mention question. They mostly associated work with earning a living, health, life, being beneficial to the family, improving oneself, socialization, and finally to have a peaceful mind.

Eight respondents associated work with obtaining a livelihood. Some of the respondents who gave these answers found my question absurd. According to them, it is obvious what work means for everybody. If you do not work, you can not obtain your livelihood. I also want to specify that these immigrants who associated work with their livelihood are among the immigrants who faced very hard conditions after the immigration. G.K. (46, F, medical attendant) is one of these respondents. After her immigration she had to change eight jobs and had problems with her co-workers in Turkey. A few years later, she divorced her husband. Now she is still not happy with her job and her wage, and she waits to retire. She defines work with very short sentences as the following:

Working is saving your life. What would we do if we don't work?⁴⁶

C.B. (47, M, shopkeeper) is also among the respondents who has a turbulent working life. After eleven years in the prison in Belene Island⁴⁷, he came to Turkey in 1996 illegally. After changing a lot of jobs, he opened his own shop in Ay-Yıldız. He thinks his working hours are too long and his income is not enough. When I asked him the question about work he replied me in the following way:

Work and earn. That means working is securing the future. For your family, for yourself. Don't work and lie on your back. Then, see what happens.⁴⁸

There are six immigrants who associated work with being healthy. According to them, if a person goes to work in a regular basis, this makes her/his life steadier and makes her/him healthier and youthful. The interesting point about these respondents is that they are mainly old people whose ages change between fifty and seventy.

⁴⁶ Çalışmak hayatını kurtarmak. Çalışmazsak ne yapacağız?

⁴⁷ Belene Island which is the Danube River was infamous with its prison which the political offenders were kept.

⁴⁸ Çalışıp kazan. Yani çalışmak geleceğini şey etmek [güvenceye almak]. Ailen için, kendin için. Çalışma yat da gör bakalım ne olur.

Only two of them are in their fifties. For example M.İ.'s (70, M, retired teacher) definition of work is below:

Working is health for me; if I work today I am healthy today.⁴⁹

Another respondent A.H. (68, M, retired worker) defines work as the following:

You know there is a saying. A rolling stone gathers no moss. If a person lies on his back all the time, that person suffers from aches in all over his body. When a person works s/he would be comfortable, would earn, would be able to satisfy the needs at home and if required s/he may give pocket money to his grandchildren in Bairams. I mean the world was built on money anyway. If you have no money there is no living.⁵⁰

There are five immigrants who identify work with life. They think that if they do not work, their life will be meaningless and empty. A.U. (44, F, secretary) explains her approach to work by telling her feelings when she was unemployed:

After the workplace was closed in 2000, it was May when the workplace was closed. I felt myself in blankness. Working means living I guess, doesn't it? Sitting at home does not please me. It feels like I am sitting without doing anything.⁵¹

M.Y. (62, M, health officer) who was making his plans of retirement at the time of the interview, also explained his doubts about the retirement as the following, while he was giving his definition of work:

We come to earth to where we come in order to work. I think it is also because of habituates. I wonder what will happen when we get retired.⁵²

There are four respondents who associated work with being beneficial to her/his family. One of them is M.O. (48, M, worker). His idea of work is that:

⁴⁹ Çalışmak benim için sağlık, çalışırsam ben bugün sağlıklıyım.

⁵⁰ Yani ata sözü var. Çalışan demir pas tutmaz. Bir insan devamlı yatarsa, onun her tarafı ağrır...bir insan çalıştığı zaman...rahat olur, kazanır, evdeki ihtiyaçlarını karşılar, gerekirse torunlarına bayramda üç beş verir. Yani zaten yani dünya para üzerine kurulmuş. Paran yoksa yaşamak da yok.

⁵¹ 2000'de iş yeri kapandıktan sonra, mayıs ayında kapandı iş yeri. Böyle kendimi boşlukta hissettim. Çalışmak yaşamak demek herhalde, değil mi? Evde durmak şeyime [hoşuma] gitmez. Boş boş sanki oturuyordum gibi geliyor bana.

⁵² Biz dünyaya geldiğimiz yere yalnız çalışmaya geliyoruz. Öyle alışkanlıktan da olduğunu düşünüyorum ben,emekli olursak ne olur diye düşünüyorum ben.

Working is fine, looking after your family, satisfy their needs.⁵³

There are also four respondents who associated work with freedom. All of them are female respondents and according to them, making their own money as women brings them freedom. H.T. (65, F, worker) defines work:

Working is a very nice thing. A person feels strong when she works. It is her money. She does not expect from her husband. She does not expect from anyone. It is her earning. She spends it more proudly.⁵⁴

Z.T. (59, F, unemployed) replies my question in the following way:

Working means lots of things. Freedom. Standing on ones own feet. Having ones own personality. Only being dependent on yourself and independent from others. One can live independently from any other person. Working is very significant freedom for a woman.⁵⁵

There are three immigrants who combined work with improving themselves or with personal satisfaction. For example, G.H. (43, F, nursery school teacher)'s definition's basis is on improving oneself as the following:

Working, to improve yourself, to be beneficial, earning by your own effort, working with others, sharing ideas, expressing yourself. Working is a good thing for me.⁵⁶

There are two immigrants who associated work with their socialization. According to them, if they do not work, their socialization as a good citizen is not complete. M.A. (71, M, retired officer) exemplifies this kind of approach to work:

[Working] is [to understand] your being; you are part of a whole, a society and you create a difference for survival of that society. Working is a very crucial thing for me and it is something that is more than a need. And you should be creative while working; you should do your work with

⁵³ Çalışmak güzel, ailene bakmak, ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak.

⁵⁴ Çalışmak çok güzel bir şey. İnsan çalıştı mı kendini güçlü hisseder. Kendi parası. Eşinden beklemez. Kimseden beklemez. Kendi kazancı. Daha böyle göğsünü gere gere harcar.

⁵⁵ Çalışmak çok şey ifade ediyor. Özgürlük. Ayağının üzerinde kendi durmak. Kendi kişiliğini kazanmak, kendi kendine bağı, kimseden bağımsız. Karşı tarafa bağımsız yaşayabiliyor. Bir bayanın çalışması çok büyük özgürlük.

⁵⁶ Çalışmak kendini geliştirmek, faydalı olmak, kendi emeğini kazanmak, başkalarıyla çalışmak, fikirlerini paylaşmak, kendini ifade etmek. Bence güzel bir şey çalışmak.

desire and become successful. If you do that you would feel the spirituality; being beneficial for people. In the second phase, I think about being beneficial to myself.⁵⁷

And finally there are two people who associated work with having a peaceful mind. They claim that while they are working, they feel peaceful. M.Y. (69, M, retired teacher) says that:

Working is peace, being beneficial to the country and the nation; it is making a living. At least there is making a living. But I always think about making the living at the end. I always give priority to serving people. I never had made a bargain for a salary in my life. I never had done that. I contented with whatever they have given to me. But I always have done my best.⁵⁸

I also asked the immigrants a question of what motivates them to work. Their answers to this question are consistent with the answers they gave to the question on the meaning of work. There are three people who did not answer this question and some respondents emphasized more than one reason. Twelve immigrants say that obtaining a livelihood for their family is one of the most important motives for working. There are five people who state that they work for not staying at home mostly. Other five respondents state that they work because they want to be beneficial to her/his family, country or nation. There are three immigrants who explain the reason behind working only with gaining money. Besides these common answers, S.B. (40, F, worker) stated that she worked for her retirement and for being comfortable during her old age. Among the respondents, only A.H. (68, M, retired worker) mentioned personal preferences as effective factors in choosing an occupation besides making money. He explains his ideas as the following:

Of course each person had an education and obtained an occupation; maybe s/he felt enthusiasm for it since s/he was a child or maybe while

⁵⁷ [Çalışmak] var olduğunu, bir toplumun bütünü bir parçası olup da o toplumun ayakta kalması için bir şeyler yarattığını [anlamak]. Çalışmak benim için çok büyük önem taşıyan ve gayri ihtiyaç olan bir şeydir. Ve çalışırken yaratıcı olacaksın, işini seve seve yapıp başarılı olacaksın. Bunu yaparsan maneviyat duyarsın, insanlara faydalı olmak. İkinci derecede kendime faydalı olmayı düşünmüşüm.

⁵⁸ Çalışmak huzur, vatana millete hizmet, geçim. En sonda bir de geçim var. Ama ben her vakit geçimi son sıraya koyarım. İnsanlara hizmeti en önde tuttum. Hiç hayatımda maaş pazarlığı yapmadım. Hiç yapmadım. Ne verdilerse onla yetindim. Ama elimden geleni de vermişimdir.

studying and dreamed about them in her/his life –I’m going to do this when I grow up, I’m going to deal with it. Absolutely nobody will go to a payless work; I don’t think one would go and work somewhere without being paid. Therefore, money comes first, then comes the desired job; so that s/he would do it with passion.⁵⁹

Another question which I asked to the immigrants is whether they think that the immigrants were more hard-working than the non-immigrants or not. Among my thirty respondents, twenty-four gave affirmative answers. Six respondents disagreed with the idea and gave negative answers. I think such a narrative which focuses that they are more hard-working and more preferable workers than the non-immigrants strengthen their hands when they bargain with the employers and in the competition with the non-immigrant workers. As far as I can observe the non-immigrants share this opinion about the immigrants.

The respondents who gave affirmative answers think that the work ethic they gained in Bulgaria, the political pressures there, and the economic hardships which the immigrants faced after they had come to Turkey in 1989 are the reasons which make the immigrants more industrious. For instance, M.İ. (70, M, retired teacher) emphasizes the pressure Turkish minority which was exercised by the regime:

Immigrants lived under pressure there. A person who had lived under pressure knows how to work. Because s/he can not live in that country without working. It is because of this. A person who is under pressure would be a hard worker; works hard. Because of the regime. I mean this stems from the regime.⁶⁰

When I asked to A.M. (53, M, teacher) whether the immigrants were different in the work environment than the non-immigrant workers or not, he stressed the effects of the conditions in which the immigrants grew up and received education:

⁵⁹ Tabii her insan okumuş bir meslek edinmiş, onu daha küçük yaştan belki heves etmiş veya okurken...ve bunları hayal kurmuş, hayatında, büyüdüm mü ben bu işle uğraşıcım, bu işi yapıcım. Muhakkak ki bedava işe zaten zannetmiyorum bir kişi razı gitsin, bir yerde parasız çalışsın. Demek ilk sırada para, ondan sonra da sevdiği meslek de candan yürekten yapsın onu.

⁶⁰ Göçmenler orada baskı altında yaşamışlar. Baskı altında yaşayan bir kişi çalışmasını bilir. Çünkü çalışmadan orada, o ülkede yaşayamaz. Ondan da kaynaklanıyor. Baskı altında olan bir insan çalışkan olur, çalışır. Rejimden yani, rejimden kaynaklanıyor.

First of all, the people who came here with us are all hard workers. Because in their childhood; just from the times of kindergarten; they all dealt with something. Because of this, of course there are exceptions; we have the notion of working and deserving plus working hard with discipline. And plus making contribution to your own country, land; plus carry the society to higher level.⁶¹

M.Y. (69, M, retired teacher) stresses the lack of financial support which the immigrants can take advantage of, if they do not work harder:

Now, her/his father doesn't have a factory, doesn't have farm. Nowhere to lean on. So, immigrant children study much more for their lessons. They see the life with a better point of view and they get prepared. And while working they don't have anything other than two hands. How is s/he going to live, what is s/he going to do if s/he doesn't work? That discipline, that working enthusiasm. Because there is nothing but two hands over there, as well. And discipline thought us a lot.⁶²

G.U. (48, F, teacher) compares non-immigrants and immigrants in the following way by what she inferred from her experiences in Iğdır where she went for her compulsory service:

I went to Iğdır. I liked its land very much. But they don't grow anything. Oh I said- Let them bring one or two immigrants here, they would make such fields; what tomatoes, what peppers. They would plant, farm, cultivate. What are they expecting from animal breeding and the government? Oh, I felt sorry.⁶³

Among the respondents who gave negative answers A.Y. (50, M, officer) raised an objection to the question. This question is the only one which involves a comparison

⁶¹ Bir kere, bizimle gelenlerin çoğu çalışkandır. Çünkü çocukluk döneminden, ana okulundan itibaren mutlaka bir şeylerle meşgul olmuştur. O nedenle bir kere, istisnalar mutlaka vardır, bizde çalışmak ve hak etmek var, artı disiplinli çalışmak, artı kendi vatanına ülkene katkıda bulunmak, artı toplumu ileri götürmek vardır.

⁶² Şimdi babasının fabrikası yok, çiftliği de yok. Dayanacak yeri de yok. Onun için göçmen çocukları biraz daha fazla çalışıyorlar derslere. Biraz daha hayata iyi gözle bakıyorlar ve hazırlanıyorlar. Ve çalışırken de iki elden başka bir şey yok. Çalışmazsa ne olacak, nasıl yaşayacak? O disiplini, o çalışma hevesini, çünkü orda da iki elle, orda da tutunacak bir yer yok. Ve o disiplin bize bayağı bir şeyler öğretti.

⁶³ Ben Iğdır'a gittim. O kadar çok beğendim toprağını. Ama hiçbir şey dikmiyorlar. Ay dedim şuraya bir iki göçmen getirsinler, buralara ne tarlalar yaparlar, ne domatesler, ne biberler. Ekerler dikerler, büyütürler. Onlar hayvancılıktan ve devletten bekliyorlar. Ay çok üzüldüm.

between immigrants and non-immigrants. A.Y. (50, M, officer) voiced his opposition and refused to answer the question:

This is not a proper question. There shouldn't be any discrimination between immigrants and non-immigrants here.⁶⁴

M.O. (48, M, worker) disagrees with the common belief that the immigrants are more diligent:

Immigrants are not different. They say so but I didn't see anything like that.⁶⁵

N.Ç. (41, F, part time teacher) replies the question as the following:

I don't know. All in all everybody is struggling.⁶⁶

In my questionnaire, there is also a question about the respondents' perception of unemployment. I asked them how they would feel if they were unemployed. I wanted to learn their feelings and observations about unemployment in Turkey. The respondents focus on the individual problems unemployment caused. After the questions which are about the immigration process, I received very sensitive comments while we were talking about unemployment. There are three immigrants who did not answer this question. Some respondents emphasize more than one aspect of unemployment. The immigrants generally perceive unemployment as an undesirable and dangerous social fact. Some of them mentioned their experiences about unemployment. But some of them think that there is no problem as unemployment in Turkey. They believe some people can not find a job because they are not pleased with the offered jobs or offered wages. However, as they emphasize, the immigrants are not unemployed because they do not bargain on wage or job definition if they can obtain a livelihood for their household.

It is hard to make strict categorizations for the answers but there are clusters around some concepts. There are ten immigrants who mentioned that they would feel empty, anxious and depressed if they were unemployed. For example, İ.Y. (50, M,

⁶⁴ Bu doğru bir soru değil. Burda şimdi göçmen, şey [göçmen olmayan] ayrımı olmasın.

⁶⁵ Göçmenler farklı değil, öyle diyorlar da ben görmedim.

⁶⁶ Bilmem, sonuçta herkes bir şekilde çabalıyor.

mechanic) explains his feelings and his predictions about unemployment as the following:

[If I lose my job] I would go into depression. It would be hard, depressing.⁶⁷

A.U. (44, F, secretary) portrays her experience of unemployment:

I mean, I couldn't go out. I mean I didn't want to be seen even on window because I was at home. Because everybody works there.⁶⁸

F.E. (50, F, accountant) associates unemployment with too much idle time:

[Unemployment] is very bad. I mean this (home order, while working) happens somehow. But when stay at home all day, I never know what to do.⁶⁹

There are six immigrants who express their feeling about unemployment as “very bad” and then they continue with their experiences about unemployment. M.Y. (48, M, school officer) is among these respondents:

Unemployment! Oh that is bad! I told you I was unemployed in Köy Hizmetleri for 4 months, 5 months, 6 months...And also I'm talking as a family man. Now a woman may think that let my husband brings it but when you don't have money, you are hungry, your children are hungry...Actually they have such a hopeful look at you...I can not bear. I would find a job no matter what. There is no unemployment in Turkey.⁷⁰

During the early stages of the interview with M.Y. (44, F, health officer), she told about how much effort she put in finding a job when she came to Turkey. She also mentioned that her younger brother has been unemployed for a long time. When I asked the same question to her, she replied me in tears as the following:

It is a very bad thing. I hope I will not be.⁷¹

⁶⁷ [İşsiz kalsam] bunalıma girerim. Çok ağır, bunaltıcı olur.

⁶⁸ Yani ben böyle dışarı çıkamıyordum. Cama bile görünmek istemiyordum yani böyle niye evdeyim diye. Çünkü herkes çalışıyor orda.

⁶⁹ [İşsizlik] çok kötü. Yani bu [ev düzeni, çalışırken] bir şekilde oluyor. Ama bütün gün evde olduğumda ne yapacağım ben bilmiyorum.

⁷⁰ İşsizlik ay o çok kötü ya. Ben dedim ya köy hizmetlerinde 4 ay, 5 ay, 6 ay işsiz kaldım. Ve bir aile reisi olarak da konuşuyorum. Bunu şimdi bir bayan için eşim getirsin diye düşünür ama. Paran olmayıp da aç kalıp da çoluk çocuğun aç. Hani bir umutlu bakışları var ya, ben dayanamam. Mutlaka iş bulurum ya. İşsizlik yok Türkiye'de ya.

⁷¹ Çok kötü bir şey, inşallah olmam.

The other six immigrants defined unemployment as poverty and lack of money. G.U. (48, F, teacher) who is a divorced mother of two children was very sensitive while she was answering the question. Before this question, she mentioned the education of her children proudly, but she expressed her doubts about their future and whether they would be able to finish their schools and whether they could find a job in the following years. In this respect, she answers the question about unemployment in a perspective concerning her children and their future:

[Unemployment] is unhappiness of course also there is hunger. I mean, unemployment means unhappiness of the children. You can not offer them any future. This is the most frazzling thing for me; I mean, not being able to offer a future for your children. I invest in my children.⁷²

N.Y. (67, F, unemployed) also associates unemployment with poverty:

[Unemployment] means poverty. You can not have money without working, no food, you would be hungry.⁷³

There are six immigrants who replied the question on unemployment with expressions which show the distance the immigrants keep between themselves and unemployment such as “I will not be unemployed” or “I have never been unemployed”. For example, M.O. (48, M, worker) answered the question as the following:

I never would be unemployed. I would go to constructions, I would go anywhere.⁷⁴

C.B. (47, M, shopkeeper) portrays his predictions of whether he would be unemployed as the following:

I don't know what will happen if such a thing comes into being. I would go and work as a driver...That is what will happen...I would work again.⁷⁵

⁷² İşsizlik mutsuzluk tabii ki açlık da var. Yani çocukların mutsuzluğu demek işsizlik. Onlara hiçbir gelecek sunamıyorsun. En çok beni yıpratabilecek olay budur yani çocuklarına bir gelecek verememe. Ben çocuklarıma yatırım yapıyorum.

⁷³ [İşsizlik] fakirlik ifade eder. Çalışmadan paran olmaz, ekmeğin olmaz, aç kalırsın.

⁷⁴ Ben işsiz kalmam, inşaatlara giderim, her yere giderim.

⁷⁵ Böyle bir şey olursa bilmiyorum ne olacak. Gider şoför gibi çalışırım da...olur yine çalışırsız başka çare yok ki.

M.İ.'s (70, M, retired teacher) answer shows both the self confidence of him and non-selectiveness of the immigrants about jobs:

Is it possible to stay unemployed? A person who wants to work finds a work anytime. Although I am a teacher at that moment I can do any work. Even if I can't I would try to do. I mean, I don't differentiate work. There is no such thing amongst us.⁷⁶

4.2.2. The Immigrants' Perceptions Concerning the States' Attitudes towards Workers, Social Values, and Work Ethic

During the interviews, I tried to understand the immigrants' approach to work, their work ethic, and their perceptions of state's attitudes towards workers and social values. I wanted the respondents to compare the attitudes of the society and the state towards workers and working life both in Bulgaria and Turkey. While some respondents were uncommunicative about the subject, some others answered the question in detail. Ten of the thirty immigrants made comparisons. Most of the respondents mentioned that in Bulgaria the state controlled the working environment strictly and this control brought discipline. But in Turkey, they think, people work in a very loose manner, the state does not do something to prevent this and this makes people lazy. They favor the working system in Bulgaria. They think even if it seemed so repressive in the working place, a worker was in comfort since s/he exactly knew what to do and when to do. As I mentioned before, the immigrants criticize not only the state but also the people in Turkey. They believe that in Turkey people do not care about the job they perform. They only see the job as a source of money but not a kind of service they have to perform for the well being of society. For example Z.F. (48, F, laboratory assistant) replies me as the following:

Here people do not give importance to working life, for example. They see it as a routine and they wait for the weekend to have a rest. But nobody gets tired. Turkish people are lazy. Here, in Turkey, people are

⁷⁶ İşsiz kalınır mı? Çalışmak isteyen adam her zaman iş bulur. Ben şimdi öğretmen de olsam her işi yaparım. Yapamazsam da yapmaya çalışırım. Yani öyle iş seçmem. Öyle şey yoktur bizde.

lazy. I mean, if s/he grasps the life with two hands, s/he may do many things.⁷⁷

When I asked about Bulgaria she continued:

There, the people are hard working. After the work time, they go and work in the fields. And since everything is dependent on the government...Then, people lay more claim on their work there...They are more loyal to their work. Here, people do not lay much claim on their work. Also the government; since it was a communist regime. How shall I say; the government laid claim on everything.⁷⁸

I think M.Y. (69, M, retired teacher)'s answer shows his contradictions. He does not like the working manner in Turkey. But he also does not want to label all the people in Turkey as lazy:

It is a bit different. There is something arising from the discipline. It also arises from the system. When one is under the pressure of that regime, that one works more consciously, thoughtfully. Here; because of too much democracy; it says -let it go, let him do whatever he wants. Why are you trying that hard my friend? - I can not accept it in my conscious...Honestly; the Turkish nation is working after all. It is not true to blemish the whole society, whole nation. Turkish nation is hard working. If we still can keep the Turkish flag up; we are hard working.⁷⁹

A.U. (44, F, secretary) also mentions the arbitrariness in Turkey:

[In Bulgaria] if a person is told to do something, that person does it. But here even if there is a law, even if rules are made, they might break it say -OK it may not be done-.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Burada insanlar mesela çalışma hayatını o kadar çok önemsemezler. Bunu bir rutin olarak görüp, bir hafta sonu gelse de dinlensek derler. Yorulmuyor kimse ama .Türk milleti tembel, burada Türkiye’de insanlar tembel, yani böyle hayata iki elle sarılırsa neler yaparlar neler.

⁷⁸ Orada insanlar çok çalışkan mesai saatinden sonra gider tarlada çalışır. Bir de her şey devlete bağlı olduğu için. Sonra insanlar orada daha bir işine sahip çıkar, daha çok işine sadıktır. Buradaki insanlar işlerine pek sahip çıkmazlar. Devlet de tabii komünist rejim olduğu için. Nasıl desem devlet her şeye sahip çıkıyordu.

⁷⁹ Biraz farklı. Disiplinden de kaynaklanan bir şey var. Sistemden de kaynaklanıyor. O rejimin baskısı altında mı biraz daha şuurlu, düşünceli çalışır. Burada da fazla demokrasiden diyem bırak be diyor okursa okusun bana ne, sen ne yırtıyorsun götünü be arkadaşım diyor. Ben bunu hiç vicdanıma sığdıramıyorum...valla Türk milleti yine de çalışmak. Şimdi kalkıp da bütün toplumu, bütün milleti karalamak doğru değil. Türk milleti çalışkan madem ki bugün dünyada Türk bayrağını elde tutabiliyoruz çalışkanız.

⁸⁰ Bulgaristan’da]bir şey yapılacak derse o insan yapar yani. Ama burada kanun olsa bile kanun çıksa bile onu yıkıp..tamam olmayabilir diyebiliyorlar.

4.3. Work Experiences of the Immigrants in Bulgaria

In this part of the study, I will portray the work experiences of the immigrants in Bulgaria. I think these experiences are important because they shaped the experiences of the immigrants in Turkey. Moreover the respondents made their comparisons about Turkey on the basis of their experiences in Bulgaria. In this respect, working lives of the respondents and their experiences in Bulgaria are worth to mention in the scope of this study. This part includes the information about the relationship between education levels of immigrants and their job descriptions, their patterns of finding employment, the adult education and on the job training that they received their positions in the work hierarchy and finally their experiences about being a Turk in work environment in Bulgaria.

4.3.1. Formal and Occupational Education of the Immigrants in Bulgaria

In order to examine the relationship between jobs and education levels of the respondents, examining Table 6 can be helpful. In this table, the title “teacher” includes teachers and nursery school teachers. Five of the respondents had worked as teachers. They mostly had graduated from university. In the group of “worker, farmer” I classified those who had done manual jobs in the lowest level of the work hierarchy in collective farms and in factories. There are seven people who had done this kind of jobs. They are secondary and high school graduates. “Jobs in health services” group includes the nurses and the health officers who had served like doctors in the absence of doctors in little towns and villages. Three of the immigrants whom I interviewed are in this group. They are graduated from high or post-secondary schools. The “civil servant” category includes people who had done desk-bound jobs in the public offices and collective farms and people who had done manual jobs with relatively high autonomy. Since this category includes very different job descriptions such as driver or a Communist Party officer, their education level can vary from high school to university degree.

Table 6: The cross tabulation of education levels and jobs of the immigrants before immigration

		Job				Total
		Teacher	Worker, Farmer	In Health Services	Civil Servant	
Education	Secondary School	0	4	0	0	4
	High School	0	3	1	8	12
	Post Secondary School	1	0	2	3	6
	University	4	0	0	4	8
Total		5	7	3	15	30

Another grouping can be made between blue-collar jobs or white-collar jobs.⁸¹ Thirteen of thirty respondents had blue-collar jobs, whereas seventeen of them had white-collar jobs in Bulgaria. The comparison of this distribution with the education levels of the respondents reveals that all of the secondary school graduates had blue-collar jobs, whereas all university graduates had white-collar jobs. Most of the high school graduates worked in blue-collar the jobs. That whether the high school graduates work as blue-collar or white-collar worker, varied in accordance with the type of high school they had attended. For example, M.O. (48, M, worker) who had graduated from a high school which provided education for shoemaking worked in a shoe factory as a manual worker. F.E. (50, F, accountant) worked as an accountant in a collective farm since she had graduated from a specific high school for her occupation.

⁸¹ I made the distinction between blue collar workers and white collar workers according to the nature of job they do. I classified the job of a respondent as blue collar, if s/he does a manual jobs and the job of a respondent as white collar, if s/he does desk-bound jobs without considering the sector they work in.

Another important grouping of my sample is made between the immigrants who could perform their own jobs and the ones who could not perform their own jobs in Bulgaria. In my sample, there are five people who had different careers than their education. Only A.U. (44, F, secretary) who had a cookery education in high school changed her job voluntarily. After she moved to another town upon her marriage, she could not find an appropriate job in the new town and started to work as an accountant in a collective farm. And then due to its higher salary, she became a tailor by attending the new factory's courses. All of the other four respondents who could not perform their jobs were university graduates. For instance M.İ. (70, M, retired teacher) who had graduated from the department of pedagogy in 1956 could work as a teacher only for two years at the beginning of his career. Then, he had to work as an accountant for different collective farms until 1989 since the Bulgarian government merged Turkish and Bulgarian schools and he refused to teach in Bulgarian. After he immigrated to Turkey, Turkish government accepted his diploma as a primary school teacher and he retired in 2001 after working twelve years as a teacher in five different schools in Ankara. In this respect, for him, the immigration also meant the opportunity to perform his own job. The other respondents could not perform their jobs since the local administrations wanted to employ them in other positions. M.Y. (69, M, retired teacher) who was a teacher originally, only worked as teacher between 1955 and 1964. Then, he worked in the youth organization of Communist Party for two years. In 1966, he was elected as the first Turkish mayor in Bulgaria as Hebikb y⁸² mayor. In this process, he became a member of Communist Party. The administration sent him to attend Academy of Political Sciences in Sofia during his mayoralty. He describes the department as administration of political events. He was elected for the same post three times. In the third period, he was fired from his office in 1974. Between 1974 and 1981 he again worked as teacher in Hebikb y. In 1981, the president of Razgrad branch of Communist Party sent him to work as the assistant of the mayor in İ perih. Even he had received higher salaries in these posts than a teacher would do and he was proud of being the first Turkish

⁸² As the respondent says, Hebikb y aka Hebibler or Vladimirovtsi was a big village in the early 1970s in Razgrad. Then the other small villages were put together around it, it became a center village and took the name İ perih.

major in Bulgaria, he told that he had done these posts involuntarily because it was too risky to work with communist Bulgarians for a Turk. He told how he started to work in these posts as the following:

He said to me 'work until you are fired'. When he says 'go' you can not say 'I do not' in [Bulgaria].⁸³

Some of the respondents were able to change their working lives significantly with additional education they received after their formal education. For example, K.G. (62, F, medical attendant), H.T. (65, F, worker) and A.H. (68, M, retired worker) did the jobs which they learned in the some public courses. K.G. (62, F, medical attendant) who is a secondary school graduate had taken a seaming course. By taking the course she was able to increase her income. After her graduation from secondary school, H.T. (65, F, worker) started to work in the collective farm and then in a factory. Then, she took a course on hairdressing and started to work in a big hairdressing salon. While she was working there, her manager wanted her to attend the high school which was on hairdressing. After the high school she worked in a hairdressing salon until 1989. A.H. (68, M, retired worker) who is the husband of H.T. (65, F, worker) was graduated from a high school which provided education for tractor mechanics. Then, he attended a course on heavy-duty vehicle driving, after completing his compulsory military service. He became a truck driver which made him earn very much money according to the Bulgarian standards.

The public courses on subjects like driving, cooking, seaming or mechanics were very common in communist Bulgaria. As I can detect, especially the people who had not had an education which had focused on a strictly defined occupations chose to attend them. In my sample six respondents had had this kind of adult education. They are within the group of sixteen respondents who had secondary or high school education.

There are also respondents who continued their education on their occupation, while they were working. Five of thirty respondents had this kind of education. In these

⁸³ Kovuluncaya kadar çalış dedi bana. Orada [Bulgaristan'da] yürü dedi mi yürümeyeceğim diyemezsin.

schools the students had not had to attend classes and had only taken the examinations at the end of semesters. Just before the examinations, the companies for which they worked let them study, go to the universities and meet with the scholars. In my sample, B.B. (61, M, civil engineer) had his master's degree in data processing in Sofia University while he was working for a government company. Among my five respondents who had this kind of education two said that they would not choose to have it, if they were given the chance to refuse. As I mentioned, the government could also force some people to receive this education to employ them in a particular position. For example, M.A. (71, M, retired officer) who is an agricultural engineer, had to attend Political Science Academy in Sofia for two years. He has worked for twenty-eight years in Bulgaria but he worked only six years as an agricultural engineer. In the rest of his career he had to work in some organizations of Bulgarian Communist Party.

Besides these respondents, seven of the respondents also told that they had on-the-job training while they were working. Z.F. (48, F, laboratory assistant) who worked in a sewage treatment plant near Razgrad as a chemistry technician, says that:

I got many certificates while I was working. Why because they were sending us to different courses besides the education that was given by the communist regime. Civil defense courses, developing the devices, about work. Improvement of water cleaning system, there were many courses, many travels. Since I was single and alone I got those certificates, went on those trips.⁸⁴

4.3.2. Patterns of Finding an Employment in Bulgaria

The immigrants, whom I interviewed with, had found their jobs in various ways in Bulgaria. Some of them worked in the closest collective farm or factory after the end of their education. The secondary school graduates especially chose this way. C.B. (47, M, shopkeeper) who is a secondary school graduate, found his first job in the

⁸⁴ Çalışırken bir sürü sertifikalar aldım. Niye çünkü orada, komünist rejimin verdiği eğitimle birlikte bizi ek olarak bir sürü kurslara gönderiyorlardı. Sivil savunma kursları, cihazları geliştirme, işle ilgili. Su arıtma tesisinin gelişmesini, bir sürü kurslar oluyordu, bir sürü seyahatler oluyordu. Ben de bekar olduğum için, yalnız olduğum için o sertifikaları aldım, seyahatlere de gittim.

collective farm after his marriage upon turning back from the compulsory military service. Some of the respondents arranged their jobs when they were students. They received grants from some institutions during their education. In exchange for this, they worked there after their graduation at least for a while. G.U. (48, F, teacher) found her job in this way:

When I graduated from the university I already had an arrangement with a company. I did just from the first year, I was getting a scholarship from there and I had to work in that company. That company was in Haskova again.⁸⁵

Z.F. (48, F, laboratory assistant) also has a similar story about her job:

I studied at a two year school; you have a thesis, writing thing. My thesis was related to protecting environment and I have written my thesis there where I worked. Then they liked me a lot. And they employed me there. There was a vacant position there.⁸⁶

In this respect, most of the respondents did not talk about unemployment or any difficulty in finding a job. But there are some respondents who had lost their jobs or had to change their jobs due to political pressures. A.M. (53, M, teacher) was initially a high school teacher who had graduated from Sofia University. His story between 1985 and 1989 in the Revival Process is a case which shows how the repressive regime in Bulgaria could complicate the minority members' lives by changing their employment situation. In a regime in which the other government services were dependent on the employment situation, putting pressure on the employees in the work environment can be the first step of deporting them to Turkey:

We were fired from being teachers in February 1985. Those times were so interesting, so repressive. Deaths. Some friends went to Belene Island. Some friends went to banishment. As I said I got lost three or four days. We were living in a city. We stayed this night in this village the other night in another village. My friends went to Belene. I mean we came out after four days. As a matter of fact a Bulgarian attorney working in the city; who was living next to our house, told me not to be seen around -

⁸⁵ Ben üniversiteyi bitirince zaten bir şirketle anlaşmam vardı, daha birinci yıldan şey yaptım, ordan burs alıyordum ve o şirkete dönmeye mecburdum. Yine Hasköy'deydi şirket.

⁸⁶ İki yıllık okul okudun, bir tez yazma şeyin oluyor. Benim de tezim bu doğayı koruma ili ilgiliydi ve oradaki çalıştığım o yerde orda yaptım tezimi yazdım. Ondan sonra beni çok beğendiler. Ve sonra da işe oraya aldılar. orada da açık bir kadro vardı.

they are going to see you-. Also we studied together with the town republic attorney and I didn't go to Belene with his help. We were fired after 7th of September. For example I looked for a job for two months but they didn't employ me. And if you don't find a work you are going to go to the Belene Island. With help of my father in law... there is a city called Varna...there is a thermal power plant in Varna...I went there with the help of an acquaintance as a repairman. Of course when you get a job like this you make reparations, there are tribunes there. You do plastering like things. When get out you look like a black man. Previously coal was used there. They did not keep me there for long anyway. The intelligence is looking for me there wondering –How did he go there? - Because it looks like a fugitive. Intelligence came from Varna. –Why did you come and work here? – Then they prohibit me going to Varna for 6 months. They sent me to our city again. They did not give me residence permit; even not the villages. They see my name. Because of this we turned back. This time we moved our house from Razgrad to the village. I had no other chance. I talked to this Razgrad attorney. He told me find him if I have any troubles; what we did were not right but...He helped me to get employed in the Agriculture Cooperatives as a construction worker. There...with the skilled friends there...I worked for 2 years. Then we went to Razgrad again. Because my wife was working as a nurse. Her work place is in Razgrad. Then I went to Razgrad as a municipality worker. Also, for example road workers go to work on the roads, drainage workers go to the drainages ...We were going to the drainages. A drainage worker with high education is going to clean the drainages. We were doing these jobs. Then I was deported in 1989.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ 1985 şubatta öğretmenlikten kovulduk. O sıra çok enteresan, çok represif. Ölümler. Bazı arkadaşlar Belene Adası'na gitti. Bazı arkadaşlar sürgüne gitti. Üç dört gün kayboldum dedim ya...İlde oturuyorduk, bu akşam bu köydeyse, öbür akşam öbür köyde...Belene'ye gitti arkadaşlarım,4 gün sonra ortaya çıktık yani. Hatta ilde çalışan ir bir Bulgar savcısı bizim yan tarafta oturan, Razgrad'da dedi ki sen buralarda görünme götürecekler seni diye. Bir de ilçe cumhuriyet savcısı ile beraber okuduk onun sayesinde Belene'ye gitmedim....7 şubattan sonra kovulduk. mesela bana 2 ay iş arıyom iş vermiyorlar. İş bulamazsan da Belene Adası'na gideceksin. Ben de kayınpeder vasıtasıyla Varna diye bir şehir var. Varna'da termik santral var. Tamirci olarak oraya bir tanıdık vasıtasıyla girdik. Oraya girdik, tabii böyle işe girdikten sonra tamir ediyorsun türbünler var orda. Sıva falan yapıyorsun, çıktıktan soran böyle zenci gibi oluyorsun. Daha önce kömür yakılmış orda. Orda da çok tutmadılar beni zaten.... İstihbarat beni arıyor orda, bu nasıl gitmiş oraya diye...çünkü kaçak gibi görünüyor...Varna'dan istihbarat geldi. Sen niye geldin burada çalışıyorsun. İşte varnaya 6 ay girme yasağı koydular..Tekrar beni bizim ile gönderdiler...Yani oturma izni vermediler, köyler bile vermedi. İsmim görünüyor....O nedenle ordan tekrar geri döndük. Bu sefer Razgrad'dan evi taşındık köye...başka çarem de yoktu. Bu Razgrad savcısıyla konuştum. O dedi bir sıkıntın olursa beni bulacaksın, bizim yaptıklarımız doğru değil ama. Tarım kooperatiflerine inşaat işçisi olarak aldırdı beni...Ordaki ustalaşmış arkadaşların yanında...Orda 2 sene çalıştım. Tekrar Razgrad'a geldik. Çünkü hemşire olarak çalışıyordu eşim, işyeri orda, Razgrad'da....şimdi Razgrad'a geldim belediye işçisi olarak. Bir de mesela kaldırım işçisi, yol yapımında, kanalizasyon işleri, kanalisazyona giriyorduk. Yüksek

4.3.3. The Immigrants' Position in the Work Hierarchy in Bulgaria

In my questionnaire, there are questions which are about the immigrants' position in the work hierarchy in Bulgaria. Twenty of them said that there had been no one who had worked under their control. Ten of the immigrants had high rank positions in their jobs at least once in their working lives. Among these ten respondents who had someone under their control in the work place, there are one secondary school graduate, two high school graduates, three post-secondary school graduates and four university graduates. The more the people were educated, the higher the possibility to be placed in the higher ranks of the work hierarchy. For example, B.S. (53, M, electrician) who had worked in a glass factory as a foreman to whom ten workers were responsible describes his position as the following:

Since they are more responsible, older workers become the headworker. You make their appointments; you here, you here. For example, you give the shifts to them. They are under your mandate. You care about them. You do maintenance and reparation works.⁸⁸

G.U. (48, F, teacher) who was an economist and worked as a planner in a textile factory in Haskova illustrates her job and her position as the following:

Now I was working in an equipment supplying office. I mean, our company had 200 workers and all the equipment which were needed in the company and the planning of them were my jobs. There were 10 drivers who were dependent on us. –This equipment is required, go and get it- then he goes and brings it. That was my job.⁸⁹

K.G. (62, F, medical attendant) is a secondary school graduate. After her graduation in 1959 she attended two sewing courses and she became a talented tailor. Then she was offered to manage a textile workshop, she describes this process below:

okullu kanalizasyon temizlemeye giriyorduk. Bu işlerle uğraşıyorduk. Ondan sonra 1989'da sınır dışı edildim ben.

⁸⁸ Orada daha sorumlu olduğuna eski işçileri ustabaşı oluyor. Onları artık sen tayin ediyorsun, sen şurda sen şurda. Mesela vardiya veriyorsun çocuklara. Orda senin emrinin altında. Onlarla ilgileniyorsun. Bakım onarım işlerini yapıyorsun.

⁸⁹ Şimdi ben malzeme donatımı bürosunda çalışıyordum. Yani bizim şirketimiz[in] 200 işçisi vardı ve şirkete gereken bütün malzemeleri, onların planlamasını ben yapıyordum. 10 tane de şoför vardı bize bağlı işte bu malzeme gerekiyor git bunları getiriyordu. Yani benim görevim buydu.

The village which I told you as Torlak became a town. The machines were turned out to be electrical machines. Hand weaving setups were given to our village. Ezerçe. Again, I became a manager there. Again I collected 20 – 25 people. Some were doing *masruf* and some were weaving. I was measuring how long they weaved in the evening; I record it in my notebook. I was giving their wages according to the length they weaved.⁹⁰

4.3.4. Being a Turk in Work Environment in Bulgaria

In my questionnaire, there are also two questions which focus on being a minority member during education and at work. One of the questions of this kind was whether their opportunities in education and at work environment would be different if they had been Bulgarians. Seven of my thirty respondents said that this would change nothing, whereas the other twenty-three respondents said that it would be different if they had been Bulgarians. Some respondents like G.U. (48, F, teacher) replies this question with a negative response which was based on her own personal qualifications:

No, I mean if I was a Bulgarian I would be this. I did not feel anything like this since I lived in the city. I mean I did not feel any Turkish Bulgarian difference.⁹¹

Some other respondents who give negative answer to this question stated that they had never thought about this subject. For example Z.F. (48, F, laboratory assistant) said that:

I did not ever think about it. I did not see any difference because I always felt myself as in a high level. I mean there had been no discrimination or anything.⁹²

⁹⁰ Benim Torlak dediğim köy kasaba oldu. Makinaları elektrik makinasine çevirdiler. Düzenleri, el dokuma düznelerini bizim köyümüze verdiler Ezerçe'ye. Ben yine oraya bir yönetici oldum. Yine bir 20 25 kişi topladım. Kimisi masruf sarıyordu, kimisi dokuyordu. Ben de akşamla ne kadar dokumuşlar ölçerim, defterime kaydedirim. Dokuduğu metreye karşılık maaşlarımı yazıyordum.

⁹¹ Hayır, yani Bulgar olsaydım bu olurdu. Ben şehirde yaşadığım için böyle bir şey hissetmedim. Yani Türk Bulgar ayrımı hissetmedim.

⁹² Hiç onu düşünmedim. Ben bir fark görmedim çünkü hep yüksek düzeyde hissettim kendimi. Hiç yani bir ayrımcılık filan olmadı.

The other respondents who gave affirmative answers to this question emphasize the lack of opportunities in the education and the work environment. B.S. (53, M, electrician) told how he lost a job opportunity when I asked whether his life would be different if he was Bulgarian:

It would have changed certainly. In the first work, after completing my compulsory service I started looking for a job. I looked for it in a few places; as a matter of fact they had given an advertisement in one of them. But come and go; come and go; when I went they told me to come back the following day. Then I realized they appointed a boy who was a graduate of a lower school just because he was a Bulgarian.⁹³

M.Y. (69, M, retired teacher) replies the same question by comparing his own and his school mates' careers:

Look, my friends who graduated with me are either governor or deputy minister. Our school was educating people for these positions. They did not make me even a municipality mayor. They made me deputy mayor. After that, a teacher at a village. Why. Because I am Turkish.⁹⁴

F.E. (50, F, accountant) firstly told that she was not able to enter a university since her father did not let her sign the application form which required her to deny her Turkish origin. Then, she replied the question with a remarkable ambition and grievance:

It would have been different. If I were a Bulgarian, I would definitely have finished the university. I would have been a lawyer. Perhaps I would have been in the assembly because I had that talent. However, since I was a Turk, I always had been pushed away.⁹⁵

M.Y. (48, M, school officer) who worked as a driver in Bulgaria brings out his discontent about the subject:

There was discrimination. They are a minority among truck drivers for example. They can not be a truck driver and go out of the country. Or

⁹³ Değişirdi mutlaka, ilk işte, mecburi hizmetimi bitirdikten sonra iş aramaya başlamıştım. Birkaç yerde aradım, birinde hatta ilan vermişlerdi. Fakat gel git gelgit, o günü giderim yarın gel derler. Baktım ki sonra daha düşük bir okul bitirmiş bir çocuğu tayin etmişler Bulgar olduğu için.

⁹⁴ Bak benim[le] mezun olan arkadaşlarım ya vali ya bakan yardımcısı. Bu seviyelere insan yetiştiriyordu bizim okul. Beni belediye başkanı dahi yapmadılar. Başkan yardımcısı yaptılar. Ardından köyde öğretmen. Neden Türk olduğum için.

⁹⁵ Daha değişik olurdu. Bulgar olaydık, üniversiteyi bitirtirdim kesin. Avukat olurudum. Belki mecliste bile olurudum. çünkü o yeteneğim vardı. Ama Türk olduğum için hep kenara itildim.

they can not be a machinist in the railways and leave the country. Moreover, you can not take part in military or security sections. They do not say it is prohibited but you can not pass the interviews.⁹⁶

Z.T. (59, F, unemployed) speaks in a less individual manner:

It would have changed. When we had gone somewhere as a Turk, when we had gone with our Turkish names of course all the doors had not been opened for us. Always we were given less paid jobs, less money jobs, heavy jobs. If we had been Bulgarians, we would have been working in better work even in the elementary school. Our children's education opportunities would have been different. For example, our children were not allowed to go to good schools as Turks. Selection. They always had been selected. For example there is not even one Turk exists in the military. They do not allow anyway. First of all being Turk is the issue. Wherever you go this is the thing that is said. If you like go to Turkey.⁹⁷

Through another question which is about minority-majority relations in the work place, I tried to understand whether the respondents faced any problems in the work place because they are Turks. Twenty-four respondents gave affirmative answers to this question. Among these responses İ.Y.'s (50, M, mechanic) was pretty moderate about the relations between Turks and Bulgarians. After he told that he had worked in a relative independency from his managers as a foreman in the state's telecommunication corporation, he continues as the following:

There was not so much trouble. They were accepting us as whoever we were. As Turks. For example our neighbors never called us with our Bulgarian names for four years. Or either they called our children. But there was pressure. You will not speak in Turkish in official places, outside. They did not allow the young people go for the mosque. Then

⁹⁶ Ayırmıcılık vardı. Şoförlükte mesela bir azınlık TIR şoförü olup da yurt dışına çıkamaz. Veya demiryollarında bir makinist olup da yurt dışına çıkamaz. Ayrıca askeri makamlara veya emniyet kısımlarına giremiyorsun. Yasak demiyorlar fakat mülakatta geçemiyorsun.

⁹⁷ Değişirdi. Türk olarak bir yere gittiğimizde, Türk adımızla gittiğimizde, tabii her kapılar açılmazdı. Her zaman daha düşük ücretli, daha ödenmedik işler, daha ağır işler verilirdi. Eğer Bulgar olsaydık, ortaokulda bile çok daha güzel işlerde çalışırdık. Çocuklarımızın eğitim şeyi [fırsatları] daha başka olurdu. Mesela çocuklarımız Türk olarak güzel okullara giremezdi. Seçilirdi. Her zaman seçilirdi. Hiçbir tane Türk yoktur mesela askeriyede. Almazlar zaten. Çok akıllı da zeki de olsa almazlar. Bir kere Türklük var ortada. Nereye gitse bu söylenirdi. İstersen Türkiye'ye git.

they prohibited from circumcising. Then they intervened in the weddings.

They prohibited the hen night.⁹⁸

B.S. (53, M, electrician) who worked as a semi-independent electrician like İ.Y. (50, M, mechanic) said that he had no problems in his work place. But he continues as the following:

Even in a smallest event the thing that the Bulgarians said was: Where are you. In Bulgaria. Here belongs to Bulgarians. You are a Turk. Tidy up yourself.⁹⁹

Some other respondents emphasize that the ethnic structure of their work place was an important factor in shaping the inter-ethnic relations. For example, A.U. (44, F, secretary) said that:

There were unimportant events happening in the workplace but they did not do anything when the Turks were the majority.¹⁰⁰

The reverse situation as G.U. (48, F, teacher) told can lead to the same result:

As a matter of fact I was the only Turk who was working in that office. Workers were usually Turks. But perhaps they did not reflect it to me. I mean –you are a Turk why should we listen to your directives-I did not realize such a thing. They did whatever I told.¹⁰¹

Only M.O. (48, M, worker), N.Ç. (41, F, part time teacher), and G.K. (46, F, medical attendant) said shortly that they did not have any problems in the work environment because they are Turks. They did not try to find any additional reason for this.

The striking point about the answers of my respondents is that their emphasis on the situation dramatically changed after 1984, with the beginning of the Revival Process

⁹⁸ Öyle fazla sorun yoktu ya. Onlar bizi nasılsa[k] öyle kabul ediyorlardı Türk olarak. Mesela bizim komşularımız hiçbir zaman bize Bulgar adıyla hitap etmediler dört sene boyunca. Ne çocuklarımıza haykırdılar. Baskı vardı ama. Türkçe konuşamayacaksın, resmi yerlerde, dışarıda. Gençleri camilere salmaz oldular. Ondan sonra sünnet yasağı koydular. Ondan sonra düğünlere karıştılar. Kına gecesini yasakladılar.

⁹⁹ En küçük bir olay olsa Bulgarların ilk söylediği kelime buydu nerde bulunuyorsun, burası Bulgaristan, Bulgarların, sen Türksün. Biraz tedbir al kendine.

¹⁰⁰ İş yerinde çok ufak tefek şeyler oluyordu ama Türkler çoğunluk olunca orda bir şey yapmıyorlardı yani.

¹⁰¹ Aslında tek o büroda çalışan Türk bendim. İşçiler çoğunlukla Türktü. Ama belki de bana yansıtmadılar. Öyle sen Türksün niye seni, direktiflerini dinleyelim diye, öyle bir şey ben fark etmedim. Söylediğimi yaptılar.

in which the pressure on them increased. The prohibitions against traditional rituals such as circumcisions or weddings became more rigid. The ban on speaking Turkish in the public spaces and work places became law. The people were forced to use Slavic names instead of Turkish ones. When they refused to change their names, they were fired or their wages were not paid. M.Y. (48, M, school officer) describes the changing situation after 1984:

Before 84 there was nothing. There was no type of pressure. But after 84 these outrage events, they were started. At those times there already has been enough pressure. You are underestimated, humiliated. I don't know. Discrimination starts for a work, for something. You are told that you are a Turk.¹⁰²

N.Y. (59, F, nurse) who was a nurse in Bulgaria was forced to make a list for the government of the fathers of the boys who was circumcised by controlling them. She and her husband who was also a health officer experienced the dilemma between being untrustworthy members of Turkish minority or put in a prison by not reporting the circumcised boys. She describes her situation as the following:

It hurts, but you have to do that work. I have to do my work. You go in to work anxiously and your conscious is uncomfortable. Otherwise you are going to be in trouble. Either you will pack your bag and go or you do it.¹⁰³

F.E. (50, F, accountant) mentioned the pressures on religion and religious ceremonies more than other respondents. She describes the pressure in Bulgaria as the following:

In fasting times, head of the party, we called the secretary, was calling you and ordering a coffee for you. You have trouble if you don't drink it. If you drink it your fast will break. We had to break a few fasts like this.¹⁰⁴

She continues with the ban on the dressing style:

¹⁰² 84'ten önce biraz daha, pek şey olmuyordu. Öyle bir baskı şekli yoktu. Fakat 84'ten sonra bu zulüm olayları, onlar başladı. O zaman zaten yeterince bir baskı. Küçümseniyorsun, ne bileyim ben, bir görev için, bir şey için ayrımcılık başlıyor. Türksün deniyor.

¹⁰³ Canın acıyor ama mecbur yapıcan onu. İşimi yapmam gerekiyor, sen korka korka, vicdanın sızlaya sızlaya gidiyorsun. Yoksa senin başın belaya girer ya alacan çantanı gidecen, ekmekten olacan ya da mecbursun.

¹⁰⁴ Oruçta, partinin başı, sekreter diyorduk. Çağırırdı sabah hemen çaycıya kahve yaptırırdı. İçmezsen yandın. Kahve içersen orucun bozuluyor. Öyle birkaç oruç zedeledik.

Then I was wearing underpants at home. One day they made a meeting for me. Why do I wear underpants at home? Also, I like scarf. I was praying. Then I told them –If I want I wear swimsuits at home, it is none of your business- But I suffered from these words for years. They kept me there because I was so hard working.¹⁰⁵

One of the most interesting answers which I received for this question is the one of B.B. (61, M, civil engineer). He was the assistant of the director general of a state company which built the roads in Ruse. When I asked him whether he had ever experienced discrimination in his work place or not, he gave an affirmative answer. The striking point in his answer is that he found this very ordinary and normal. He even evaluated this as a thing which must be done:

Of course I had problems [of being a Turk]. Every person has historical emotions. You are Bulgarian, I am Turkish. There is a political authority. Who is to be trusted? Are you going to trust a Cypriote Rum or a Cypriote Turkish? You are the political authority in Turkey. But if my talents in technical subjects are different than yours it is possible that I would be taken instead of you although it is difficult. You take it more easily. If the borders are opened he may go because the other side exists in him, his blood, and his emotions. It is something coming from the history.¹⁰⁶

4.4. Work Experiences of the Immigrants in Turkey

In this part of the study, I will examine the working lives of the immigrants in Turkey, especially in Ankara. I will demonstrate the ways in which the immigrants found their first job as a part of their work strategy. I will also portray the job description of them in a detailed way which includes the occupational education of the immigrants, their position in the work hierarchy, the duration of their working

¹⁰⁵ Sonra işte ben evde don giyiyordum. Birgün toplantı yaptılar benim için. Ben niye evde don giyiyor muşum. Bir de ben baş örtüyü çok seven bir insanım. Namazımı kılıyordum. Ben de o zaman şey dedim ben istersem mayoyla gezerim evimde, sizi ne ilgilendirir ki dedim. Ama o lafın acısını da çok çektim senelerce. Çok çalışkan olduğum için tuttular beni orada.

¹⁰⁶ Elbette [Türk olmaktan kaynaklanan sorunlarla] karşılaştım. Şimdi tarihten gelen herkesin içinde bir duygusu var. Siz Bulgarsınız, ben Türküm. Yan tarafta siyasi otorite var. Kime güvenecek? Kıbrıslı Ruma mı güveneceksiniz, Kıbrıslı Türke mi? Türkiye’deki siyasi otoritesiniz. Ama teknik konuda benim becerilerim sizden farklıysa. Sizin yerinize alınmam zor da olsa olur. Siz daha kolay alırsınız. Sınır açılırsa gidebilir, çünkü bunun içinde, kanında, duygusunda diğer taraf var. Tarihten gelen bir şey.

life and number of jobs they have changed in Ankara. Later, I will indicate the supplementary jobs which the immigrants have had in Ankara. Finally, I will portray the experiences of the immigrants in work places in Turkey.

4.4.1. Patterns of Finding an Employment among the Immigrants in Turkey

Immigrants found their first jobs in Turkey in three possible ways: with help of the former immigrants, with help of the state and without any help. Sixteen of the respondents found their first employment with the help of former immigrants. Among these sixteen respondents six stated that they received help from the former immigrants who were close relatives of them. The former immigrants guided the newcomers where to and how to apply, how to speak and bargain with the employers. They told to the new immigrants what to do with the documents like diplomas. Sometimes they introduced the new immigrants to their own bosses. S.B. (40, F, worker) is one of the immigrants who found her a job with the help of a former immigrant. A 1978 immigrant who was a close friend of her parents found a job which was appropriate for her education and skills. She stresses that he was not a relative but an acquaintance and her family knew him since he made visits to Bulgaria after 1978.

The other seven of my respondents got help from the government in finding an employment. While they were living in the dormitories or schools which were provided by the state, the authorized people arranged to meet the immigrants with the employers. The employers picked the immigrants whom they needed in their factories or workshops. The respondents emphasized that they employed the immigrants because the immigrants needed a job in this heavy and hard situation. But in fact, the immigrants' stories show how the employers benefited from the immigrants' inexperience in the new labour market conditions and exploited them as cheap labour force without social security. G.H. (43, F, nursery school teacher) found her first job, her brother's and her parents' first jobs in a beverages factory, when the agents from the factory came to the dormitories they stayed. Shortly after they started to work, they were fired. Due to the fact that her parents and her brother were unskilled workers, they could not find another job. They had to turn back to Bulgaria.

Because of her certificates, she dared to stay in Turkey. She explains her and her family's situation as the following:

I couldn't find a job immediately. At first I worked in the X Company. In December, National Education Ministry called me to sign a contract. We didn't even know in that X Company, they hired us temporarily. Towards the end of September they got rid of us. They [the authorities from X] were coming to the dormitory. And we were happy. We thought they were hiring us permanently. But they were hiring us temporarily.¹⁰⁷

Seven of thirty immigrants got no help finding an employment. They sought an employment themselves generally by walking door to door and speaking with employers. Some respondents said that although they had relatives in Ankara these relatives could not or did not help them directly to find a job. But these immigrants accept that they had the help of their relatives in other situations such as finding a flat or telling where to buy cheap consumer goods. For example A.Y. (50, M, officer) found his first job without any help when he came to Ankara after he had spent three years in Kayseri and Izmit. He describes how he sought a job in Ankara as the following:

We were always in a rat race. It was not quite easy. We always were investigating. If I say they did not help us; that would not be correct. We received help but everybody had a work to do. It was not a big help.¹⁰⁸

For many immigrants these jobs which they did in the first months after immigration were temporary. They started to work in a week's time after their arrival in Turkey. These jobs were also their first encounter with capitalist labour market.

In these stories the interesting point which attracts my attention is that many people benefited from a mixture of their relatives' or friends' help in Turkey and the aid the state supplied for them. The immigrants were able to get the maximum advantage from the state facilities with the help and the guidance of the former immigrants.

¹⁰⁷ Ben hemen iş bulamadım. Baştan ben de X fabrikasında çalıştım. Ta aralık ayında Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı çağırdı sözleşme yapmak için. Biz bilmiyorduk bile o X fabrikasında. Oradan bizi geçici olarak almışlar. Eylül sonuna doğru babamlar gitmeden önce bize çıkış verdiler. Onlar [X'ten yetkililer] yani yurttan geliyorlardı, biz de seviniyorduk yani sanıyorduk ki bizi temel kadrolu gibi alıyorlar. Ama geçici olarak alıyormuşlar.

¹⁰⁸ Hep koşturduk. Pek kolay da değildi. Hep araştırdık. Yardım etmediler desek o da yanlış olur. Yardım da edildi ama herkesin işi vardı, gücü vardı. Fazla fazla da bir yardım sayılmazdı.

They were not dependent on only the help of their network or only the help of state, but in many cases they benefited from both of the sources.

4.4.2. Job Descriptions of the Immigrants in Ankara, Turkey

In my sample, there are fourteen immigrants who later became civil servants. They mostly work in the education and the health sectors. They are high school, post-secondary school and university graduates. Among the civil servants only two work in other sectors than education and health. I think V.Ç.'s (44, M, health officer) case is explanatory for the immigrants who are civil servants in health and education sectors. He came to Turkey in August 1989 with his wife, his mother-in-law and his sister-in-law. The family rejected to go to Tokat, the city the government sent them to, and they went to Çerkezköy and Izmit respectively to stay with his own relatives. In Izmit, his daughter was born. In December 1989, the relatives of her wife invited them to Ankara stay with them. He had also his own relatives in Ankara. He portrays the existence of the relatives in Ankara as the following:

When it goes forward like this or that; like common acquaintances, former immigrants. Widening the subject to a wider area you may find close people even as close as relatives.¹⁰⁹

With the help from the relatives, the family settled in a flat. The government helped paying the rent. They also received food aid from the government. He firstly started to do daily jobs which he could find with the assistance of his friends and relatives. Meanwhile, he applied to Ministry of Health since he worked in Bulgaria as a laboratory assistant until he was fired. In this application process, he again needed help from the former immigrants. Finally, he became a health officer in a clinic. Now, he is working in his second clinic as a health officer and living in the apartment blocks which were built by the government in Ay-Yıldız neighborhood.

Stories of A.Y. (50, M, officer) and G.U. (48, F, teacher) are very different from the other twelve immigrants who are civil servants. After living three years in Kayseri and Izmit, A.Y. (50, M, officer) came to Ankara to settle in a flat in Ay-Yıldız

¹⁰⁹ Bir şekilde böyle yavaş yavaş yol ilerledikçe, yine böyle ortak tanıdıklar, eskiden göç edenler filan. Konuyu açtıkça açtıkça nerdeyse akraba derecesine yakın kişiler bulabiliyorsunuz.

neighborhood in 1993. He started to work as a truck driver and then worked in a printing house of a daily newspaper. Later on he worked in a glass factory. Then, with an arrangement of the *İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu*¹¹⁰, he went to Moscow to work in the constructions for three years. In 1998, he returned to Turkey and again worked as a truck driver. In 2004, he was elected as the mukhtar of Ay-Yıldız neighborhood and thus became a civil servant. G.U. (48, F, teacher) is originally an economist. After immigration she and her family settled in Istanbul. Due to the fact that she was pregnant and had also another little child, she did not think about working. In 1996, she divorced her husband. In 1997, the government of that time made a law which permitted all the unemployed university graduates to become primary school teachers by attending some courses on pedagogy and psychology. With such an opportunity, since her university graduation was recognized in Turkey, and she was able to become a teacher. She attended the courses in Istanbul, and then worked in Iğdır for six months. Then, she was appointed to Ankara upon her wish, since her sister was living in Ankara. Since 1997, she has been working as a teacher in a primary school in Ay-Yıldız neighborhood and living with her two children in a flat which is near her sister's in the blocks which were built for the immigrants.

The employment histories of the other sixteen respondents who are not civil servants are comparatively diverse than the employment histories of the civil servants. These immigrants can be categorized according to their employment situation or according to the type of job they do in the work place. Five of sixteen immigrants are self-employed, whereas eleven of them are employees. A differentiation between blue-collar and white-collar workers among sixteen respondents also reveals that nine of the respondents are the workers who do manual, blue-collar jobs, while seven of them do white-collar jobs such as secretary or accountant. These nine blue-collar workers have experiences in different jobs. Two of these immigrants are the workers who have given up seeking a job a few years ago. They had done very different jobs such as working as a cooker or medical attendant during their working lives in Ankara. Two of sixteen immigrants are medical attendants. Five of them have

¹¹⁰ Labour Placement Institution. In 2003, it was turned Turkish Employment Organisation, *Türkiye İş Kurumu*.

worked in sectors such as services, construction or manufacturing. This distribution also can be seen in Table 7.

Table 7: The categorization of jobs of the immigrants who are not civil servants

	Self-Employed	Employed	Total
Blue Collar Jobs	2	7	9
White Collar Jobs	3	4	7
Total	5	11	16

In my sample, two respondents who are self employed and doing a blue-collar job are the medical attendants. They are self-employed since they are not dependent on an agency; they pay their insurance premiums to *SSK* themselves. Sometimes they can also bargain for their premiums with the employers. I also categorized them as blue-collar workers owing to the fact that the nature of job they perform includes many manual tasks such as cooking for the patients and helping to the personal care of the patient. Both of them are women and G.K. (46, F, medical attendant) is one of them. After she worked in other jobs for twelve years, she has started to work as medical attendant since 2002. She stays in the patients' houses during the week except Sundays. The patient and she are usually alone in the house. She undertakes all the personal care of the patient. She is not happy with the amount she earns and the nature of the job. She describes her discontent below:

When you work in a normal factory, in a company, your working hour will finish and you come home. You are comfortable even if you sleep hungry you are peaceful. But when you stay overnight it is not like that at all. So frustrating and mode of mind totally blows.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ Normal bir fabrikada, bir şirkette çalıştığınız zaman, mesainiz biter, evinize gelirsiniz aç da yatsanız rahatsınızdır, huzurlusunuzdur. Ama böyle yatılı kaldığınız zaman hiç de öyle değil. Çok yorucu ve psikoloji tamamen gidiyor.

The other seven workers who perform blue-collar jobs are the employees. Four of them are women, while three of them are men. M.O.'s (48, M, worker) case is an example of immigrants with blue collar-jobs. He came to Ankara in June 1989 with his family. They had relatives who were 1978 immigrants in Gölbaşı, Ankara. Since these relatives advised them to do so, they settled in a dormitory in Gölbaşı. Then, with the financial aid of the local government in Gölbaşı they found a flat there. He started to work in a chalk factory. In the meantime, with the support of his relatives he tried to find a more suitable job for his education which was on shoemaking, but he could not find a job of this kind. Subsequently, he worked in the constructions as a night guard for two years. In the following first year, he worked as a cleaner in Turkish Electricity Administration. In 1993, he started to work as a cleaner in the fitness center of Middle East Technical University in the status of temporary worker. Since 1989, he has been client of SSK services. He did not have supplementary job. He found all these jobs he has done by himself.

In this group of respondents who do blue-collar jobs, there are two workers who gave up seeking a job a few years ago. These women think that they are too old to seek a job and they had better care for their grandchildren. After their arrival to Turkey, they were motivated to work as domestic workers without social security by their experienced relatives. Z.T. (59, F, unemployed) describes this:

I found that job [babysitting] with help of my aunt's daughter. I looked after children. But my age was 41. They told me that I was old. They told me that I would not find a work in any other place. I went here and there.

I could not find a job. I had to go and baby-sit. ¹¹²

After working as a domestic worker for one and a half year, she found a job in a catering company. She worked there for five years. Then, she noticed that the firm did not pay her premiums to SSK. She tried to bargain with the boss, but she could not convince the boss. Finally she quitted. An immigrant friend of her advised her to work in her own position as a cleaner in a lawyer's office because she had to quit. She took this work as a cleaner, but her boss expected her to cook, prepare the lunches and answer the phone. In this office, too, she worked without social security.

¹¹² O işi [çocuk bakıcılığı] benim teyzem kızının yardımıyla buldum. Çocuk baktım ama. Yaşım 41'di. Yaşlısın dediler. Başka bir yerde iş bulamazsın dediler. Öte gittim, beri gittim. İş bulamadım. Mecbur çocuk bakmaya gittim.

At the beginning of the year 2000 she stopped working there. Now, she lives with her daughter and earns a very little amount of money by knitting shawls. N.Y. (67, F, unemployed) who is other retiree worker in my sample also experienced these instabilities in the work places of her. Since in the communist system the workers were bound with exact job definitions, exact working hours, and exact responsibilities and rights, a labour market such as Turkey's which was tried to be made more flexible and less stable at the end of the 1980's seemed chaotic to them. These immigrants who had no regular jobs have also specific qualities -such as having an inappropriate education, being older and women - which made them less compatible in Turkish labour market.

In my sample, there are three immigrants who are self-employed and doing white-collar jobs. Two of the self-employed immigrants run their own shops and one of them gives private lessons in her own house. C.B. (47, M, shopkeeper) is one of the immigrants who has his own shop. He came to Ankara, Turkey in 1996, when he was released from the prison in Belene Island in Bulgaria after eleven years of imprisonment. In Ankara, he met his family who were deported in 1989 from Bulgaria. He came to Turkey illegally and it took a long time for him to become a Turkish citizen. Since he sought a job as an illegal worker, it was very hard for him to find a constant job. Between 1996 and 1999 he worked in many different jobs. In 1999 he bought a kiosk in Ay-Yıldız. He ran the kiosk himself but it officially belonged to his daughter until he got citizenship and became a client of *Bağ-Kur* in 2002. He still works there but he is not sure of the future of his business, since there is a possibility that the municipality can tear down the kiosk in order to broaden the main street of Ay-Yıldız.

The other three immigrants are the employees who are doing white-collar jobs. Two of them are secretary in small scale enterprises and one of them is a professional in a large scale construction company. Z.Y. (46, F, secretary) is one of them and in 1989 she and her family were settled in Çankırı. She had graduated from department of finance and credit at a university in Bulgaria and in Çankırı she worked at the accounting department of a factory for four year. When this factory was bought by a business group which she did not approve politically, she moved to her brother's

home in Izmir. In Izmir she worked at a university hospital as an accountant and then became the secretary of a member of parliament. In 1997, she moved to Ankara. With the help of an immigrant neighbor she found her first job as a secretary. Then, she became the secretary of a company which was a wholesale supplier of medical equipments. For eight months, she has been working in third medical company as a secretary in Ankara nowadays.

Although many immigrants did different jobs in Turkey than their jobs in Bulgaria, only seven of them stated that they had on-the-job training upon starting their new jobs in Turkey. Many immigrants only received the courses on Turkish culture and Turkish language when they were settled in schools and dormitories immediately after the immigration. Four of the seven immigrants who have on-the-job training are the teachers. They had a course which spanned a year about the national curriculum. A.M. (53, M, teacher) describes this course as the following:

They took us to an orientation course. Four months. A course for orienting to the Turkish culture. In that Turkish cultural orientation course there were all the immigrant teachers in Ankara.¹¹³

The other respondents who had on-the-job training are N.Y. (59, F, nurse), H.T. (65, F, worker), and S.B. (40, F, worker). N.Y. (59, F, nurse) received the on-the-job training obligatory for all the nurses. She did not take a special course or training, although she came from a different country. H.T. (65, F, worker) also took a course on how to teach to drive. After she came to Turkey, she could not work as a coiffure which was her original occupation. Then, she saw a newspaper advertisement of a driving school. Her application was accepted since she had a driving license for twenty five years. Before she started to teach the learners how to drive, she had course on this subject which spanned three months. S.B. (40, F, worker) also had on-the-job training, when she changed her sector. In Bulgaria, she was a tailor and working in fashion house. After immigration, until 1996, she worked in related jobs with her education and original occupation. In 1996, she had a baby and stopped working until 1999. In 1999, she found a job in electronics industry as a worker in a

¹¹³ Bizi uyum kursuna aldılar. Dört ay. Türk kültürüne intibak kursu. O Türk kültürüne intibak kursunda, bütün Ankara'daki göçmen öğretmenler vardı.

factory. Before starting to work in this job, she had on-the-job-training. Now, she works in her second job in the same industry and she states that she has regular on-the-job trainings. Actually, she is my only respondent who states that she has regular training in her work place.

Many of the respondents who had no on-the-job training in Turkey do manual jobs. When it is taken into account that they had intense and disciplined working lives in Bulgaria, it is not so hard to understand how they learnt their new jobs by watching the other workers and asking questions them. However, I think, the case of Z.T. (59, F, unemployed) is different. Moreover, her case signals the hastiness of the government about the employment of the newcomers. In Bulgaria, she worked as a chemistry technician in the laboratory of a sewage treatment plant for ten years. She had graduated from a post-secondary school which gave education on this subject. After coming to Turkey, with the help of her relatives she applied to Ministry of Health. In 1990, she started to work as a nurse in a public hospital without any additional training. Her post secondary degree was not recognized, since there was no equivalent job description in Turkey. She describes how she learnt her new job as the following:

I was not trained. Completely hand talent. I started from the scratch. I learned the job in the internal medicine laboratory. I learned to take blood, work with pipette, urine, I learned to do blood cell counting. I learned from the friends. No training or anything. Completely personal. I learned everything there. Of course additionally, when I went to this X polyclinic the doctor was a microbiology expert. It taught me so much. ¹¹⁴

I think this kind of a placement originates from the hastiness of the government. They wanted to arrange the immigrants and their potential occupations as soon as possible. But there were some people from whose qualifications the government did not know how to benefit from. I believe when the government employed these people, it gave priority only to saving time but did not consider matching people with appropriate jobs. Probably, this was a way of abstaining from the criticisms.

¹¹⁴ Eğitim almadım. Tamamen el becerisi. Sıfırdan başladım. İşte dahiliye laboratuarında öğrendim, kan almasını öğrendim, pipetle çalışmayı, idrar çalışmayı öğrendim, kan sayımı yapmayı öğrendim. Arkadaşlardan öğrendim. Eğitim falan yok, tamamen kişisel. Herşeyi orada öğrendim. Tabii ek olarak da bu X Polikiliği'ne gittiğim zaman oradaki doktor mikrobiyoloji uzmanıydı. O bana çok şey öğretti.

I asked the respondents whether there has ever been someone who worked under their control in the workplace or not, in order to learn about the positions of the immigrants in the work hierarchy in their work places in Turkey. Seven of the immigrants said that they had someone under their control at least once in their working lives in Turkey, while twenty-three of them gave negative answers. Six of seven immigrants who gave affirmative answer to the question, work in the private sector, whereas only one of these immigrants works in the public sector. For example B.B. (61, M, civil engineer) is a project manager of a leading construction company in Ankara. He works in a huge construction site which includes the constructions, huge tents for dining hall, dormitory and managerial units. He manages all the activities in the construction site. As I can observe nearly hundred of workers who work in the construction or in the office are under his control. He works under the direct command of the owner of the company. On the other hand, the only immigrant who is in the higher ranks in the work organization in the public sector is İ.Y. (50, M, mechanic). He is also the only civil servant respondent who does not work in the health or education service. He works in Turk Telecom. He works as a mechanic whose duties are about finding the problems in a telephone line. As the coordinator of his team, he directs the members his team to the addresses and decides how to fix the problem. He describes his tasks and his position as the following:

I deal with the defects. We have network personnel here. They work outside. I work inside. Those network personnel are under my management.¹¹⁵

The comparison of the hierarchical position of the immigrants with their education level shows that among the seven immigrants who are in the higher ranks, there are one secondary school graduate, two high school graduates, two post-secondary school graduates and two university graduates. According to this distribution, post-secondary graduates are in higher positions more frequently than the university graduates. In my opinion, this is related with the job descriptions of the immigrants. While an economist who had graduated from a university in Bulgaria was hardly able

¹¹⁵ Ben şimdi arızalara bakıyorum. Orda şebeke elemanlarımız var. Dışarda çalışıyorlar. Ben içerde, işte o şebeke elemanları bana bağlı çalışıyor.

to find an appropriate job for her/his education, a nurse could easily find a job, since the education of a nurse nearly was the same both in Bulgaria and Turkey.

The immigrants have different durations of working life in Ankara. Seven of thirty immigrants have worked for periods between six and ten years. Eight of them have worked in Ankara for periods between eleven and fifteen years. Half of the respondents have worked in Ankara for seventeen years. These fifteen respondents are the ones who came to Ankara as their first step in Turkey and they started to work immediately after the immigration. Among the other half of the respondents, there are six people who are not working anymore. They were retired or quitted working. The other seven people who have worked in Ankara for a period shorter than seventeen years came to Ankara as their second or later step of their immigration or they have an irregular working life.

Among the respondents with six years working experience, N.Ç. (41, F, part time teacher) is the one who has the shortest working life. She gives basic music education to primary school children with a piano to prepare them for the conservatory examinations in her own flat. She receives six or seven students every year and teaches each of them two hours in a week. She arranges her working life according to her two daughters' education lives. If one of her daughters is in the final year in which there are important examinations for her education, she does not accept any students. This situation makes her working time shorter. M.O. (48, M, worker) has been working for seventeen years in Ankara. He came to Ankara immediately after immigration since he had relatives in Ankara. Without delay, he found a job and started to work. His current job is his fourth job, but there is no time gap between his two consequent jobs. He is among fifteen respondents who have been working seventeen years.

The numbers of the jobs which immigrants have had in Ankara also differentiate. Eight of thirty respondents have only one job during their working lives in Ankara. One of them is V.Ç. (44, M, health officer). Immediately after he and his family settled in Ankara in December 1989, he firstly did daily jobs until May 1990. Meanwhile, he applied to the Ministry of Health to be an officer. Then, he started to

work as a health officer who had mainly desk-bound duties. Since 1990, he has worked in two different clinics in Ankara with the same title.

Seven of the immigrants worked in two different jobs. M.Y. (48, M, school officer) is classified in this group of immigrants. After he was settled in a dormitory in Ankara by the government, he started to look for a job. Then, following an immigrant friend's advice, he applied to General Directorate of Rural Services for a job. Since this institution had a special quota of employing 1989 immigrants, he became a driver there in the status of a seasonal worker. At the same time, he worked as a driver in the private sector. He worked for nine years in the Rural Services until this institution dismissed many of its employees. Since he had a position in the public sector, he was able to be transferred to another public institution. Since 2000, he has been working in a primary school in Ay-Yıldız neighborhood as an officer. His job description includes various tasks such as answering the phone calls or preparing tea for the director.

Another seven of the immigrants have had three different jobs. A.U. (44, F, secretary) is one of the immigrants. After Istanbul, she and her family came to Ankara in 1990. She found her first job in the sales department of a chocolate factory with the help of a relative. In 2000, this sales department turned into a textile sales department which would be closed following 2001 economic crisis. Since 2001 she has been working in a dentist's office as a secretary.

Finally, eight of the immigrants have had more than four jobs. G.K. (46, F, medical attendant) has had eight different occupations in Ankara since 1990. She is the immigrant who has the maximum number of different jobs in my sample. She firstly cleaned the new constructions, and then became a cleaner in a driving school. She worked in a big construction firm as a woodworker between 1991 and 1996. Since her education in Bulgaria was on construction, this job is her favorite job. Also, she had good relations with her male co-workers. However, she had to quit this job due to health problems. After this job, for two years she had done whatever job she was able to find. Later on, for a very short while, she worked in a factory in which some kind of plastic goods are produced. Then, she worked at the office of mukhtar for one

and a half year. She quitted in 1998 and started to work in a guipure factory for three years. She stopped working for a while due to familial problems. Since 2002, she has been working as a medical attendant who looks after the old and ill people in their own houses. She dislikes this job and waits to complete her insurance premiums to be a retiree.

Among the eight respondents who have had one job in Ankara, there are one high school graduate, three pos-secondary school graduates and four university graduates. Among the eight immigrants who have had four or more than four jobs, there are two secondary school graduates and six high school graduates. Post-secondary and university graduates change their occupations less frequently than the high and secondary school graduates. If changing job frequently is a sign of instability of the income and disintegration into the new capitalist labour market, the higher level of education makes the immigrants easier to participate and get used to new economic settings.

Table 8: The cross tabulation of jobs which respondents have in Ankara and the social security institutions of the respondents

		Social Security Institutions				Total
		Emekli Sandığı	SSK	Bağ-Kur	None	
the Occupations in Ankara	1	7	0	0	1	8
	2	5	2	0	0	7
	3	1	4	0	2	7
	4+	1	4	2	1	8
Total		14	10	2	4	30

Table 8 shows the cross tabulation of occupations which immigrants changed in Ankara and the social security institutions of the immigrants. The reason for taking

these institutions into consideration is their being explanatory of the employment statuses of the immigrants. As I mentioned before *Emekli Sandığı* covers public officers, *SSK* covers workers, *Bağ-Kur* covers the self-employed. According to the table, the clients of *Emekli Sandığı* have changed their occupations less frequently than the clients of other institutions and than the people without social security. The people who were able to find a job in public sector enjoy the benefits of a stable job. The people who have worked in education and health sectors are the ones who have changed their occupations once or twice after 1989. One third of my respondents have this kind of occupations.

4.4.3. Supplementary Jobs

There are eight immigrants who had supplementary jobs at least once in their working lives in Turkey. Having a second job which increases the household income is an important part of the working strategies of the immigrants. It is vital especially in the first years after immigration. Six of the eight immigrants had a supplementary job in the first years. Only two of them still have a supplementary job. In the first years, generally female immigrants went for domestic works as cleaners and the male immigrants sold insurance policy or went to daily construction jobs. After having a stable job and reaching a desired income level, many immigrants left second jobs.

One striking point about the immigrants who had supplementary jobs is that five of them are civil servants. As I can observe there are two reasons for such a concentration. First one is that the immigrants think that office bound jobs in Turkey are light to perform when they compare these jobs with the ones in Bulgaria. This led them to have a supplementary job. However, the people who do manual jobs mainly do not have supplementary jobs, since they have to work too much in the work place. Secondly, the immigrant civil servants have worked in the public posts as covenanted employee for four or five years. They became permanent staff of the government institutions after this period. During this period their wages were nearly half of the wage of a permanent staff. This increased the need for a second job. V.Ç. (44, M, health officer) who sold insurance policies and kitchen utensils by walking door to door explains his needs for such a job as the following:

The salary was not enough. I worked as salesman additionally. Commerce and marketing. That was a need for making a living. It was a must.¹¹⁶

Moreover, having a second job as a civil servant is difficult because it is banned by the law which regularizes the civil servant posts in Turkey. Both civil servants who do second jobs and the employers who employ civil servants know about this ban but everybody including the managers in the civil servant posts ignores this situation, since so many civil servants in the lower ranks have a second job due to low wages. These reasons which emphasize financial straits and illegality make talking about the second jobs harder. Many immigrants passed over my questions about the second jobs with a few words in a reluctant manner. They also strongly stress that they do not have a second job anymore, because they do not need it. The immigrants found these jobs from newspapers' advertisement or with the help of their friends from the work place. The other people who have a second job guided the immigrants, when the immigrants want information about them.

Z.F. (48, F, laboratory assistant) is one of my two respondents who have a current second job. She is a laboratory assistant in a public hospital. She works there in week-days between 8.30 a.m. and 17.30 p.m. However, in Saturdays, and after her office hours in the hospital in the week days, she works in a private hospital. She describes her motive in seeking a second job and the way how she found this job as the following:

I started (working) in the private policlinics in [19]93. My working reason is... my money was more or less enough but I wanted to improve myself. I started working in another policlinic. It is in Balgat. I worked there till [19]97-[19]98. Why did I start? There was a gynecologist friend of ours. I thought both to have an extra income and develop my practice. Also I was bored in the dwelling house. I was coming home at 4 and talking to the girls.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Maaş yetmiyordu, ek olarak pazarlama yaptım. Ticaret pazarlama...Geçim sağlamak için bu ihtiyacı. Şarttı.

¹¹⁷ Özel polikliniklerde [çalışmaya] [19]93'te başladım. Çalışma sebebim, az çok param da yetiyordu da, daha kendimi geliştirmek için başka bir poliklinikte başladım. O da Balgat'ta. [19] 97-[19] 98' e kadar orda çalıştım. Niye başladım, orda bir kadın doğumcu bir arkadaşımız vardı. Hem bana ek gelir olsun dedim, hem pratiğimi geliştiririm. Bir de sıkılıyordum lojmanda, 4'te geliyorum, orda kızlarla konuşuyordum.

4.4.4. Being an Immigrant in the Working Environment in Turkey

The immigrants who were subjected to discriminations in their work places in Bulgaria experienced prejudices in their working environments in Turkey. As I can observe, they mostly work outside Ay-Yıldız where they live in. Now, only two of them both work and live in Ay-Yıldız neighborhood, but formerly they had jobs in different parts of the city and worked together with more non-immigrant workers. Among my respondents fourteen have never had a co-worker who was an immigrant.

I asked immigrants whether they faced any problems because they were immigrants. Nine of thirty immigrants in my sample clearly stated that they have not experienced any discrimination in Turkey. Although some of the immigrants criticize their colleagues in some ways, they stated that there was no problem between the immigrants and their non-immigrant colleagues. One of these nine respondents is G.U. (48, F, teacher). She replied my question about discrimination in the work place as the following:

No I didn't experience anything like that. Of course when I talk to someone they understand from the outlook. Tall, blue eyes. Then they ask after talking. Necessarily there is an immigrant accent. They ask me if I am from Edirne.¹¹⁸

These respondents, who state that they were not treated differently, needed to emphasize that they also did not treat differently their non-immigrant colleagues and immigrant colleagues. M.Y. (69, M, retired teacher) express his thoughts about discrimination in the work places as the following:

We are congruous people. I don't have a problem with the native people. I missed Turkish nation for fifty years. I would come and make discrimination...I am so happy.¹¹⁹

In my sample there are also three respondents whom I consider that their answers about the discrimination in the work environment were more neutral. When I asked the same question to them, they shortly replied me they do not feel discriminated.

¹¹⁸ Yok yani hiç öyle bir şey yaşamadım. Tabii ki şimdi birisiyle konuştuğum zaman...zaten dış görünüşten bir anlıyorlar. Boy uzun, gözler mavi. Daha sonra konuştuktan sonra, ister istemez yani bir göçmenlik aksanı var. Şey diyorlar siz Edirneli misiniz?

¹¹⁹ Biz uyumlu insanlarız. Benim yerli halkla bir sorunum yok. Ben elli sene Türk milletinin hasretini çekmişim. Gelicem bir de ayrımcılık yapıcım. Çok memnum çok.

M.O. (48, M, worker) is one of these respondents and his answer shows this neutrality:

There is no such thing. Has never happened.¹²⁰

Eighteen of the respondents who constitute the rest of my sample state that they had problems with their non-immigrant colleagues in their work environment. They complain about prejudices in various degrees. The approaches to discrimination of six of these eighteen in their work place seem very interesting. They have experienced discrimination, but they have trivialized these problems. They stated that when there was a person who provoked them, they played down. All of these six respondents also explain the reason why they played down these provocations with their own calm, harmonious personalities. They emphasize that they did not take any notice of irritations of their co-workers. According to them, illiteracy and intolerance of the non-immigrants caused these problems. One of these respondents is M.Y. (62, M, health officer). When I asked him whether he has ever experienced any problems about being an immigrant or not, he replied me as the following:

It might be, but it depends on the other person. Can he make you do that or not? It something among the personnel.¹²¹

A.H. (68, M, retired worker) portrays his co-workers' attitudes towards immigrant workers:

There is no unpleasantness. I mean we were paying attention. There was not much. Even if we have heard, we let it go. Let me say like this. The environment is a bit rude in Turkey. More offensive. People are ready to fight, pull a knife just for a little word.¹²²

The other immigrants clearly stated that they faced discrimination in their working environment and this made them angry and sad. Some of them had quarrels with their co-workers or managers. Among the complaints of these immigrants, annoyance of calling them *gavur*¹²³ or *Bulgar*¹²⁴ come to the fore. In fact this is not a

¹²⁰ Yok öyle bir şey olmadı hiç.

¹²¹ Olur ama bu karşındaki şahsa bağlı. Bu dalgayı sana yaptırır mı yaptırılmaz mı. O personelin kendi arasında bir şey.

¹²² Tatsızlık, yok, yani dikkat ediyorduk, pek çıkmadı, duysak bile bir şey, olurlarına bıraktık. Yani şöyle deyim, cahil ortam Türkiye'de biraz daha şey saldıracı, en ufak bir laf için, hazır adamlar dövüşsün, silah çeksün bıçak çeksün. Bunu fark ettik.

¹²³ Infidel.

problem that the immigrants face only in the work environment, but also in their daily lives, especially in the first years after the immigration. They are still very sensitive about this kind of identification, since it shows the possible doubts about their ethnic origin. Even if the persons who use this discourse have not such an intention, they react very strongly and correct them by saying that they are Turks and Muslim in every possible situation. I think this is both a kind of defense mechanism towards the wider society and also a part of the work strategy which tries to surmount the forces which make their position lower in the labour market as *gavur* or *Bulgar*. For example N.Y. (67, F, unemployed) describes how she defended herself when she was called *Bulgar* by her co-workers:

Now here Bulgarian, Bulgarian. If I had been a Bulgarian I would have stayed in Bulgaria. I wouldn't have come here. You will not call me a Bulgarian. I used to say I am a white blood Muslim. They called us like that. Bulgarian immigrant. But now it has passed. They don't say.¹²⁵

While N.Y. (67, F, unemployed) states that such things do not happen anymore, another respondent B.B. (61, M, civil engineer) who is still working in a construction area with many co-workers portrays the situation as the following:

After getting out they call you a Bulgarian. They say you can not speak Turkish. It is a difficult thing. And it is still continuing.¹²⁶

G.H. (43, F, nursery school teacher) expresses her anger for her colleagues who ask her whether she is Turk or Bulgarian:

Are you a Bulgarian or a Turk? I mean, a person who studied history should not ask this. If I am a Bulgarian then what am I doing here?

Among my respondents, there are immigrants who had faced their co-workers' discrimination due to their position in the labour market. For example, M.A. (71, M, retired officer) told these reactions very clearly as the following:

Small things happened. A person came and told 'you came and price hike happened'. 'The purchasing power decreased, it is because of you' and

¹²⁴ Bulgarian.

¹²⁵ Şimdi burada Bulgar. Bulgar. Ben Bulgar olmuş olsam Bulgar'da dururdum, buraya gelmezdim. Bana Bulgar demiciniz. Ben akkan Müslüman'ım derdim. Bize öyle derdiler, Bulgar göçmeni. Ama şimdi geçtiler. Şimdi demek yok.

¹²⁶ Çıktıktan sonra bu Bulgar diyorlar, Türkçe'yi konuşamıyor diyorlar. Zor bir iş. Halen de bu iş bitmiş değil. Bulgar mısınız Türk müsünüz. Yani tarih okuyan bence bunu sormamalı, bilmiyorum. Ben Bulgarsam ne işim var burada.

so. There had been a person who talked. Also they said –you came while saying we don’t have money, now you started buying cars- they said a lot. We never saw it as a problem.¹²⁷

4.5. Comparisons between Bulgaria and Turkey

In this part I will focus on the comparisons made by immigrants in my sample between Bulgaria and Turkey. During the in-depth interviews, I asked them questions about the differences and similarities between their working lives, work environments in Bulgaria and Turkey. I also wanted details of working conditions, work relations, wages, jobs, and social security. Although I tried to concentrate on their work experiences, the answers were mainly about the differences in the social life.

The respondents’ feelings about their new and old lives are very complicated and sometimes conflicting. All of them mentioned differences between Bulgaria and Turkey rather than talking about the similarities. The immigrants mainly told about both positive and negative aspects of the new conditions in Turkey. Although it is hard to categorize these answers in a strict sense, eight of thirty respondents firstly mentioned relatively positive dimensions of their lives after immigration to Turkey, while seventeen of them firstly told about relatively negative aspects of their lives to Turkey. Five of them had a relatively neutral attitude, when they made a comparison between Bulgaria and Turkey. The interesting point about the answers is that even if a respondent criticized the living and working conditions and the relations among the people in Turkey, s/he finishes her/his answers with a sentence which shows satisfaction of living in Turkey. For example, C.B. (47, M, shopkeeper) firstly complained about the hardships which he experienced when he was a illegal immigrant in Turkey, the long and irregular working hours, the low income of his household, then, when I asked him which country he preferred he replied me:

¹²⁷ Ufak tefek şeyler oldu. Bir kişi dedi, geldiniz de siz, zamlar oldu. Alım gücü azaldı, sizden oldu falan. Laf eden bir kişi oldu. Bir de dediler geldiniz, yok yok derken başladınız araba almaya. Çok dediler. Bunu sorun yapmadık hiçbir zaman.

We came to our homeland, I do not know. Whatever happens, we came here. Here is a homeland for us, even if we were born there. Here is better for us.¹²⁸

There is a wide diversity of themes in the responses about what kind of differences the respondents observed in Turkey. The differences in the relations among people, social life, work discipline, social security, unemployment, health and education services and finally the difference between public and private sectors are the subjects which the immigrants mentioned. In the following parts, I will illustrate the opinions of the immigrants about these subjects.

There are seven immigrants who mentioned cultural and social differences between Bulgaria and Turkey in the first place. They preferred active social life in Bulgaria than that in Turkey. Going to theater or cinema, reading books, meeting with colleagues in a cafe, celebrating 8th March, and organizing special events like birthday parties were the important parts of their lives in Bulgaria. They complained that they can not organize these activities in Turkey. According to them, there are two main reasons which hold them back from these events: their income level which they think low and the “low cultural level” of non-immigrants in Turkey when they compare with that of people in Bulgaria. So, they can not find people to share their hobbies and leisure time activities. For example, G.U. (48, F, teacher) portrays her perceptions about the difference of quality of social lives in Bulgaria and Turkey:

As a difference, people in Bulgaria where is a little underdeveloped state for someone, people read a lot of books and they have a higher level of culture. People do not read many books here. I neither can read book as much as in Bulgaria. I go to a bookstore, the price of a book is forty millions, how can I buy it? I was used to buy books from street vender before. Three million or five million. Now it is forbidden, too. I can not buy anymore. This is the only difference I see between Turkey and Bulgaria¹²⁹.

¹²⁸ Biz vatanımıza gelmişik, ne bilem ben. Ne olursa olsun buraya geldik. Burası artık bizim için vatan, orda doğmuş olsak da. Burası bizim için daha şey [iyi].

¹²⁹ Faklılık olarak Bulgaristan'da insanlar, belki bazıları için küçük bir devlet, geri kalmış olarak görebilirler. Ama insanlar çok kitap okuyor ve genel kültür olarak çok yüksek. Burda çok fazla kitap okunmuyor. Ben de evvelki kadar kitap okuyamıyorum. Gidiyorum, X kitapevine gidiyorum, bir kitap 40 milyon e nasıl alabilirim ben? önceden şeyden alıyordum işportadan. 3 milyona daha sonra 5 milyona. Şimdi o da yasaklandı. Onu da alamıyorum. Yani tek fark onu görüyorum.

V.Ç. (44, M, health officer) also presents his thoughts about the variation in the cultural realms in Bulgaria and Turkey:

I see Bulgaria as more developed socially. Interrelations among the people etc etc. For example, I think, social activities in the institutions were great in number in Bulgaria when I compared it with Turkey. I mean activities like meeting with the colleagues, New Year parties or birthday parties etc.etc. Or national holidays. These kinds of social activities were abundant.¹³⁰

Z.T. (59, F, unemployed) also portrays her working environment in Bulgaria as the following:

Everybody, they imply that you were a Turk, but there is no breaking the bonds. They are open-minded, more European. I don't want to use the word ignorance, but this was the situation. Here s/he started to work very early, s/he did not experience something. You say something, s/he does not realize, s/he even does not know what it was. But there s/he rose from the ranks. S/he trained from the cradle.¹³¹

Changing nature of the interpersonal relations after immigration is another theme which the immigrants emphasized. Three of the thirty immigrants found the interpersonal relations in Turkey more preferable to the ones in Bulgaria. M.O. (48, M, worker) describes his relation with his colleagues as the following:

We were welcomed here; we didn't have any difficulties.¹³²

N.Y. (59, F, nurse) also describes her feelings about the people in Turkey:

I came to Turkey. I never met any bad person. Whoever I asked, s/he helped.¹³³

Four of them expressed that they were more satisfied with the interpersonal relations in Bulgaria rather than the ones in Turkey. For example, Z.Y. (46, F, secretary) is one of these people who criticized the way non-immigrants behaved. She compares

¹³⁰ Sosyal açıdan Bulgaristan'ı biraz daha ilerde gibi görüyorum. İnsanlar arasındaki diyalog olsun vesaire vesaire. Burda mesela ben bir çok yerde bir çok kurumda filan bakıyorum, sosyal aktiviteler Bulgaristan'da çok daha fazlaydı. Yani eğlence olsun, iş arkadaşlarıyla ne bileyim yeni sene olsun, doğum günleri olsun. Vesaire, vesaire, ne bileyim resmi bayramlar olsun. Bu tür sosyal aktiviteler çok daha fazlaydı.

¹³¹ Herkes birbirine, hani Türk olduğunu ima ederler ama daha fazla ileriye gitmeler olmaz. Daha açık görüşlüler. Daha avrupalılar. Öyleydi. Cahillik demeyim de öyle bir fark var. Burda hemen işe atılmış, görmemiş bazı şeyleri, bir şeyler söylüyorsun, fark edemiyor, ne olduğunu bilemiyor bile. Ama orda çekirdekten yetişmiş. Her birisi küçükten verilmiş.

¹³² Burada iyi karşılandık, hiç zorluk çekmedik.

¹³³ Türkiye'ye geldim. Hiçbir kötü insan görmedim. Kime yol sordum gösterdi.

the personal relations in the work environment in Bulgaria and Turkey as the following:

We were used to share there. I tell other people here. The boss buys and eats himself. I never experienced anything like this. It is awkward for me.

However, we got used to it, I don't care anymore.¹³⁴

According to her, in Turkey social life is secondary, whereas working life is primary for most people. She also criticizes non-immigrants for being insincere and unfriendly. She dislikes the attitudes of the non-immigrants toward gender relations. She says that in Bulgaria she could call a friend of hers in any hour of the day, but in Turkey she can not do this:

If you need to call a person who grew here, you think about it. You can not call after ten o'clock. If you talk to a man, it is understood in a totally different way.¹³⁵

Industrial discipline in Bulgaria is another dimension which the immigrants sought and could not find in Turkey. Six immigrants stressed that the industrial discipline in Turkey was relatively lax when compared to the one in Bulgaria. Many of them believed that if Turkish people would be as industrious as the people in Bulgaria, Turkey would be a very rich country. M.Y. (44, F, health officer) expresses her thoughts and her comparison of the hierarchical controls, working hours and disciplines in the work environment in Bulgaria and Turkey:

I started working at quarter to eight there. I had a coffee - tea break at quarter to 10. I had lunch time. I was leaving work at quarter past three in the afternoon. I don't have these here. Also, there, we had meetings with the managers, assistant managers of our work place. We were asked whether there were any complaints about the place of the branch, the department. Then big meetings were held with all the staff and the managers. To find out whether there were any complaints. This one worked hard then s/he is given an award. The award is not money. A small gift was given. But it was an appreciation. And there, what you do was considered. Here I am a direct person, I am straightforward. Some people do not like it. If my supervisor tells me that it is going to be done

¹³⁴ Biz orada paylaşmaya alışkınız. Burada ben başka arkadaşlara da diyorum. Alır patron kendi yiyor. Yani öyle bir şey görmedim ben. Bana ters geliyor. Ama alıştık artık, dikkat etmiyorum.

¹³⁵ Burada yetişmiş birisini arayacaksanız onu düşünüyorsunuz. Saat onu geçtikten sonra arayamıyorsunuz. Bir erkekle konuştuğun zaman o bambaşka yorumlanıyor burada.

like that, it is going to be written like this; I would do it like that. But if he asks me ‘why did you do it like this?’ I would tell ‘because you asked me to’. I say this. A person who works makes mistakes; the one who doesn’t work does not make mistakes. Here, even the chief does not know what is happening around here. The management calls, if there is a problem, you call and s/he rarely comes.¹³⁶

In Bulgaria, all the respondents had worked in the public sector. After their immigration to Turkey, they met private sector for the first time. There are five respondents who focused on this difference. F.E. (50, F, accountant) who has worked in private sector since she came to Turkey, describes the difference in the working lives in Bulgaria and Turkey:

Here private places want more work. But in governmental institutions there is no difference. Working in private places depends on the attitude of the boss; working just depends on what kind of a person s/he is.¹³⁷

S.B. (40, F, worker) who is employed in electronics industry has observations about the interpersonal relations among the workers in the private sector. She explains her ideas as the following:

There are differences. That is people are so selfish here. Maybe they are right. I mean according to them. Everybody is trying to save her/himself. We did not have such a problem there. There were no concerns about tomorrow; I mean what will happen tomorrow. But here there is. Here private sector is widespread. I mean difficult. The relations with the boss are not very well most of the time.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Ben orda sabah sekize çeyrek kala işe başlıyordum. 10’a çeyrek kala çay kahve molam vardı. Öğlen yemeğim vardı. Akşam da üçü çeyrek geçe çıkıyordum. Burada o yok. Bir de orda, belirli sürelerde çalıştığım yerin müdür, müdür yardımcısıyla toplantı yapar. Şubenin yeri çalıştığı bölümün bir şikayeti var mı. Sonra büyük toplantı yapılır, tüm personel ve sorumlular. O yapılır, ne şikayet var. Ha bu iyi çalışmış, hani bir ödül verilir. Hani ödül deseniz para filan değil. Ufak bir hediye alınır. Ama bu bir teşekkür. Ve orda çalıştığın işe bakılır yani. Burada, ben direkt biriyim, dobra biriyim. Bazılarının işine gelmiyor. Bana bunu amirim derse şöyle yapılacak, bu şöyle yazılacak derse, ben onu öyle yazarım. Ama bana gittiğimde bunu niye böyle yazdınız derse ben de derim bunu siz böyle yazın dediniz. Ben bunu derim. Çalışan insan hata yapar, çalışmayan yapmaz. Burada var ya şu an tam ne olup bittiğini, buradaki şef bilmiyor. İdare telefon eder, bir sorun olursa, çok nadir çağırırsın gelir.

¹³⁷ Valla, burada özel yerler daha çok iş istiyorlar. Ama devlet dairelerinde bir fark yok. Özel yerlerde çalışmak patronun şeyine [tutumuna] bağlı, o adam nasıl birisi çalışma ona bağlı.

¹³⁸ Faklılık var. Yani burada insanlar çok benciller. Belki de haklılar. Yani kendine göre. Herkes kendini kurtarmaya çalışıyor ya orda o derdimiz yoktu. Orda daha, yarın düşüncesi yoktu, yarın ne olacak diye işte. Ama burda o var. Burda özel sektör çok yaygın. Zor yani. Patronlan ilişkilerimiz çok iyi olmuyor genelde.

İ.Y. (50, M, mechanic) moved to Balıkesir immediately after immigration and worked in a tile factory in private sector as an unskilled worker. Since 1992, however, he has been working in the communication company of the state. He contrasts public sectors in Bulgaria and Turkey with the private sector in Turkey:

I don't see any difference in the public sector. Work, friendship, environment are fine. But in the private sector it was a bit different in Balıkesir. For example, your friend does not tell you the work he knows. Private sector. Let him learn himself, let him do himself. You are close, you are friends, you eat together but he doesn't tell you anything, doesn't give information. But there is no such thing in public sector. In private sector you get whatever the boss gives.¹³⁹

B.S. (53, M, electrician) is a shopkeeper in Ay-Yıldız. He compares his job in Turkey with his job in Bulgaria:

Of course your own work is different; working under the order of some other people is different. If you have an idea it is hard to explain it to another person. You say something he understands you in a different way. Perhaps he wants to apply his own idea.¹⁴⁰

Three respondents mentioned the hardship of finding a job in Turkey. Z.T. (59, F, unemployed), contrasts Turkey with Bulgaria:

It is difficult to look for a work, to find a work in Turkey. There (in Bulgaria) it was easy to find a work. Even if you were a Turk, even if the work was hard, doors for work were open. You were never left in the streets. At least, gives too little money, but you have something to deal with. It doesn't leave you outside, hungry. You work today, you spend today. It doesn't force you to steal.¹⁴¹

During the interviews I also asked them to compare the wage levels in Bulgaria and Turkey. Fifteen of thirty immigrants said that the wage level in Turkey was better

¹³⁹ Ben kamu kuruluşunda pek fark göremiyorum. İş, arkadaşlık, ortam güzel yani. Ama özel sektörde Balıkesir'de biraz daha farklıydı. Mesela arkadaşın sana bildiği işi anlatmıyor. Özel sektör. Kendisi bilsin, kendisi yapsın. Samimisin, arkadaşısın, beraber yemek yiyorsun ama bir şey anlatmıyor, bilgi vermiyor. Ama bu kamu kuruluşunda öyle bir şey yok. Özel sektör patron ne verirse o.

¹⁴⁰ Kendi işin tabii farklı oluyor, başkasının emri altında çalışmak başka. Bir fikir olsa başkasına aktarmak biraz zor oluyor gibi, adama bir şey söylüyorsun farklı anlıyor seni. Kendi fikrini uygulamak istiyor belki de.

¹⁴¹ Türkiye'de iş aramak zor, iş bulmak zor. Ötede [Bulgaristan'da] iş bulmak kolaydı. Şimdi Türk de olsan, zor iş de olsa, iş kapıları açıktı. Sokakta kalmazdın. En azından, çok az para verir, ama meşgul eder. Dışarıda bırakmaz, aç bırakmaz. Bugünkü çalışırsın, bugün yersin. Hırsızlığa mecbur etmez.

than the one in Bulgaria and eleven of them stated vice versa. Four of them said that they did not see any difference between wage levels of two countries.

The respondents who think that the wage level in Turkey is better mainly show their satisfaction with short phrases. They did not explain in detail the reason why they were happy with wages. However, as I observed, there are two reasons behind such a perception. First reason is that the respondents compare themselves with their colleagues in Bulgaria as Z.Y. (46, F, secretary) does. She says:

I am happy about my salary. I earn much more than a person who does my job in Bulgaria.¹⁴²

The second reason behind this satisfaction arises when the respondents compare their work load in Turkey with the one in Bulgaria. For example M.Y. (62, M, health officer) had the authority and responsibility of a doctor in his village in Bulgaria. He was the only health officer in the village. After immigration, he has again worked as a health officer in a clinic in Turkey. Since the health officers can not give medical treatment in Turkey, his work load decreased. He thinks his wage is not too much for his work load. When I asked him whether he was satisfied with his wage or not, he expressed the situation as the following:

Our salary is like this; it is too high in accordance with the work we do. I was used to treat everybody at their homes. There is no such thing as dying. You can not die. Only one person dies per year in the village where I worked. Maximum two people. It is not like that here. Who dies, dies; who lives, lives. Children never die I mean. I used to wake up every night in Bulgaria. Knock, knock. Door. Go to a patient.¹⁴³

Eleven respondents in my sample think that the wage level in Bulgaria was better than the one in Turkey. They state that in Turkey they can not reach their standard of

¹⁴² Maaşımdan memnunum. Ben Bulgaristan'da benim işimdeki birinden daha çok kazanıyorum burada.

¹⁴³ Maaşımız şöyle, yapmış olduğumuz işe göre maaşımız çok yüksek. Orada herkesi evinde tedavi ediyordum. Ölüm meselesi yok. Ölemezsin. Benim çalıştığım köyde senede bir kişi ölür. Maksimum iki kişi. Burada öyle değil. Ölen ölür kalan kalır. Çocuk hiç ölmez yani. Bulgaristan'da bir akşam uyanmadan kalmazdım. Tak tak kapı haydi hastaya.

living in Bulgaria. For example, B.S. (53, M, electrician) compares his way of living in Bulgaria and Turkey:

Prices are all standard there. There is price on the good which is put by the government. You have a salary. And you act according to it. For example, the salary I earned there was enough even more than I needed and you could go on a vacation or so. However, we had such problems here.¹⁴⁴

M.Y. (69, M, retired teacher) explains his thoughts about his wage:

Salaries are low. Teacher salaries are very low in Turkey. We handled, thanks to God. We are handling now, as well. We didn't want more than enough, anyway.¹⁴⁵

C.B. (47, M, shopkeeper) complains about the mismatch of his working hours and income:

I open at 6:30 – 7:00 in the morning and close at 11:00 – 11:30 in the evening here. In Bulgaria I was working for 8 hours a day then. I had Saturday and Sunday. Here I have nothing, not even Saturday and Sunday. You work for 16 – 17 hours now. Despite this we barely make ends meet.¹⁴⁶

Moreover, the immigrants had to spend a high proportion of their income for household furniture and goods since they could not bring the ones from Bulgaria.

A.Y. (50, M, officer) portrays this situation and its effects on his family:

Of course difficulties were experienced. Let's say (salary) was enough. We would get along even if it was not enough I mean. Our population was crowded. We also were paying payment, money for the house. And of course we had no goods or anything when we got into the houses. We came just with our luggage. And of course we purchased odds and ends. We bought and made those. And we came to the present day.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ [Ücretler] öbür tarafta zaten standart. Malın üzerinde devletin koyduğu bir fiyat var. Senin aldığın bir maaş var. Ona göre hareket edersin. Bizim orda mesela benim çalıştığım yerlerde aldığım maaş yeter artıyordu ve tatiline filan rahat gidebiliyordun. Ama işte burada o sıkıntıları çektik tabii.

¹⁴⁵ [Ücret] zayıf. öğretmen maaşları zayıf Türkiye'de. Geçindik ki Allah razı olsun şimdi de geçiniyoruz. Fazlasını da istemedik zaten.

¹⁴⁶ Ben burda sabah 6,5 7de de açıyorum, akşamları 11, 11.30'da kapatıyorum. Bulgaristan'da o zamanlar 8 saat çalışıyordum. Cumartesi pazarım vardı. Burda ne cumartesi ne pazarım var, bir şeyim yok. Artık 16-17 saat çalışıyorsun. Yine de zar zor yetiştiriyoruz.

¹⁴⁷ Sıkıntı tabii ki çekildi. [Ücret] yeter desek...Yetmese de idare ederdik yani. Nufusumuz kalabaydı. Eve de taksit para öderdik. E tabii ki sonrası evlere girdiğimiz zamanlarda eşyalarımız bir şeyimiz yoktu, biz bavullarla geldik. Ee tabii ki ufak tefek bir şeyler aldık, onları aldık yaptık. Bu günlere geldik.

4.6. Immigrant Women and Their Experiences in Turkey

Generally most of the respondents and especially the immigrant women put stress on the women's position in the work environment in Turkey. Many respondents, both men and women, stated that they are criticized by some non-immigrant people, since the immigrant women mostly go to work outside their homes. Immigrant women also told that their more western way of dressing and not staying at home with children were the aspects of their life which are disapproved both in the neighborhood and work places. For example, G.K. (46, F, medical attendant) summarizes these criticisms as the following:

They talked about our being outsiders. They talked about our clothes.

Everything about us was intervened in.¹⁴⁸

When I asked questions about the differences in state attitudes towards working people between Turkey and Bulgaria, immigrant women stated that the state discriminates against the working women. According to them, in Turkey, the state does not provide rights like maternal leave and it does not provide the suitable conditions for working women. For example, a university graduate who had studied economics and now works as a teacher in Turkey, G.U. (48, F, teacher), complained about the discrimination against women which she observed in Turkey.

[In Turkey, the state's attitude] is different towards the women. If she does painting here, they would ask –What is she doing? – Also, in our times you might go out at 11:00, 12:00 in the midnight, nobody would tell you anything. When you go to work nobody would...especially at work I mean. Now I see and read in the newspapers; molestations in the workplaces...things. No. There is great respect for women there. 8th of March Women's Day, Mother's Day are all celebrated. And the company; think about it, our company has two thousand workers and most of them are women working on the sewing machines; gives presents to all of them. In the new year presents for all of their children. The government pays for those. These do not exist any more. Here the 8th of March...Anyway no friends buy flowers or anything...One or two of our friends may congratulate or not. There is such a thing that women and men are separated. Men go to a different part and women go to the teachers' room; men are in the garden or in another room. Previously it

¹⁴⁸ Dışardan geldiğimiz de söylendi burada, kılık kıyafetimiz söylendi. Her şeyimize karışıldı.

was awkward for me. Now it is normal to me as well. I got used to it. But there is no such thing here.¹⁴⁹

Z.T. (59, F, unemployed) is a high school graduate and she had worked as an unskilled worker in factories in Bulgaria. After she came to Turkey, she babysat for a long time. Now she does not work and lives with her daughter. She has the same complaints about the state's attitudes towards working women with G.U. (48, F, teacher):

The government doesn't give the permission to the mothers for motherhood issues and breast feeding; doesn't give extra child money. These are not tolerated here. Here the government disesteems on people.¹⁵⁰

But among the respondents, there are different views about the lives of the working women. Some other respondents envy the non-working women who stay at home. N.Y. (59, F, nurse) thinks those women are lucky. She defines this as *kadıncılık*¹⁵¹:

I see womanism here for the first time. Truly a woman feels like a woman here. I mean life is here. Animals, field, garden...Here women go home. There is nothing to do.¹⁵²

F.E. (50, F, accountant)'s statement summarizes two different views mentioned above and indicates the contradiction in which many women found themselves:

Women do not work. It used to be like that before. I sometimes admire them enviously. And sometimes I say –Whatever, I am helpful for my

¹⁴⁹ [Devlet Türkiye'de] kadına karşı çok farklı...burada boya badana yapsa "Allah Allah bu da ne yapıyor" derler. Sonra bizim zamanımızda 11 12 gece çık sana kimse laf atamaz. İşe gittiğinde, sana kimse yani hele işte. Şimdi ben gazetelerde de olsa duyuyorum, okuyorum. İş yerlerinde sarkıntılık, şeyler. Yok. Kadına çok büyük saygı. 8 mart orada kadınlar günü anneler günü kutlanıyor. Ve şirket tarafından bir de düşün ki bizim şirketimiz iki bin işçi ve çoğunluk kadın dikiş makinelerinde. Hepsine hediye. Yeni yılda çocuklarına hepsine hediye. Bunları devlet karşılıyor. Ha şimdi yok...burda 8 mart. arkadaşlar zaten çiçek miçek alan yok. Bir iki kişi arkadaşlardan tebrik ederse eder. Böyle bir şey var haremlik selamlık var. Erkekler ayrı bir tarafa, bayanlar da öğretmen odasında erkeklerde ya bahçede ya da başka da bir odada. Önceden çok ters geliyordu. Artık bana da normal. Alistım ben. Ama orda öyle bir şey yok.

¹⁵⁰ Devlet şimdi burada annelere annelik izni, süt izni, vermiyor, çocuk parası vermiyor. Burada işte bunları hoş görmüyorlar. Burada devlet hor görüyor insanları.

¹⁵¹ *Kadıncılık* can be translated as womanism. With the word, the respondent wants to emphasize the ideology which elevates the women who stay at home, do no physical activity, look beautiful, and care for her family.

¹⁵² Kadıncılık ben burada gördüm. Hakikaten kadın kadınlığını biliyor burada. Yani yaşamak buradaymış...Hayvanlar, tarla bahçe. Burada kadınlar eve gidiyor. Yapacak bir şey yok ki.

family-. I was more independent I guess. You go out among people. It is a different life. Always a rat race. It is like a winded clock...¹⁵³

4.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated the immigrants own definitions of work and unemployment and their perceptions concerning the interrelation among state's attitudes towards workers, social values and work ethic. Then I have shown the details of the respondents' working lives in Bulgaria and Turkey as their patterns of finding an employment, their job descriptions, their position in the work hierarchy, and experiences in the work places. This chapter also covers the respondents' comparisons about working conditions, relations with co-workers, and work places between Bulgaria and Turkey. Finally I have mentioned the immigrant women's experiences in the work places and their thoughts on working women's positions in Turkey. In the conclusion part for this chapter, I will underline some important points of the chapter.

The respondents generally mentioned the positive aspects of work, like obtaining a livelihood, being beneficial for the family and the country or socialization. Most of them do not perceive work as an obligation or a burden but as a must and a duty for obtaining a livelihood for their family and a valuable part of the society. As far as I can see, for the immigrants, working, working much and doing her/his best in the work employment are the responsibilities of a person to her/his family and nation. According to them, they gain this work ethic in Bulgaria in their disciplined and controlled education and working lives. Working is also an important part of their socialization. I think these values they ascribe to working shows how close their work ethic is to concept the Protestant work ethic which I have explained in the second chapter of the study. In this manner unemployment is not only source of economic uncertainty but also a source of self-distrust and degradation in the wider society.

¹⁵³ Hanımlar çalışmaz. Baştan öyleymiş. Ben bazı zaman onlara gıptayla bakıyorum. Bazı zamanda da boşver ya faydalı oldum aileme diyorum. Ben de sanki daha hürdüm. İnsan arasına çıkıyorsun. Daha böyle bir değişik bir hayat, hep koşturmaca ya. Sanki kurulu saat gibi...

In spite of deep and great fear of unemployment, many of the respondents do not think that they can ever be unemployed. They believe, because of their characteristics-like not bargaining with the employers and being hard-working and disciplined workers-, they will not be unemployed. They think if one day they will lose their present job, they can easily find a new job. As they state, in such a situation they do not bargain with the employer about the wage of the job and they are not selective while they are looking for a job. These qualifications make them easy to get employed when they are compared with the non-immigrant population. The narratives about their hard-working and industrious nature in the work places which they tell in every situation, also improves the immigrants' position in the labour market, whether they are really industrious and disciplined workers or not. In this manner, I interpret this narrative as a part of immigrant work strategy.

The respondents think that both government and people do not care about work, work places or working people satisfactorily in Turkey. Another difference between Bulgaria and Turkey which the respondents observe is about the general attitudes of the government and people towards work in Turkey are a source of dissatisfaction for the immigrants, when compared with Bulgaria. The state's control in the work environment and the discipline of the employees are lacking in Turkey. I think this kind of perception also arises from their work practices in Bulgaria. They were used to working under very strict and definite conditions in Bulgaria, but in Turkey there is no such environment in many of the working places. They criticize public sector for being so lax and having an arbitrary environment and private sector as an insecure and competitive environment. I think these complaints of immigrants arise from the expectations they have. They want to work in the public sector which regulates the work organization and work relations in a secure work environment, but they do not want to feel the pressures from the political administration. The idea of private sector which means working for an ordinary boss and being subordinate to her/him was completely unknown for them, especially immediately after their arrival. But this lack of knowledge about the operation of the labour market in Turkey made them demanded employees in the eyes of employers.

When the respondents' working lives in Bulgaria are examined, the examination reveals that there were thirteen blue-collar workers and seventeen white-collar workers among the respondents. Teachers, health officers, nurses and people with administrative posts in the collective farms and factories constituted the group of white-collar workers. The workers in the collective farms and factories and the mechanics who did manual work constituted the group of blue-collar workers. The level of education and the type of education were effective features on the working life of a respondent. Some of them did not face unemployment since they found their jobs while they were students. Some of them had to change their jobs very frequently and to experience instability in their working life due to their lacking of proper education.

Moreover, the life cycles of the respondents and political pressures on them together with the level of education composed a more meaningful set of factors in understating the changes in the working lives of the respondent. The triad of reasons had influence in the positions of the respondents' in the work hierarchy, their duration of working life, and the number of jobs. These reasons have different weights on different respondents. For example, women respondents were affected by the changes in their life cycles like marriage or having a child more than men.

The experiences of the respondents with their colleagues and supervisors are the important parts of their statements which they made during the interviews. Their experiences were differentiated according to gender, age, and ethnic structure of the work place. I asked them whether their opportunities would have changed if they had been Bulgarians. Twenty-three of them gave affirmative answers, whereas seven of them gave negative answers. Some of the respondents who gave negative answers particularly highlighted that their personality did not let other people discriminate against them. Some others shortly said that they had never experienced prejudice and discrimination against them in the work or education. The respondents who gave affirmative answers pointed out discrimination in the application process for a job or in the work place. They also claimed that the job opportunities of Turkish youngsters differed from the ones of the Bulgarian youth. Members of the Turkish minority believed that they were offered jobs with low wages and low status. Even if a

Turkish girl/boy was very successful student, s/he could not achieve the education or job s/he wished to have since Bulgarian authorities blocked them. Another question which I asked the respondents was whether there was a problem in the work place because they were Turks. Twenty-four respondents said that they had problems due to their ethnicity in their work places, whereas six of them said that they had no problems of this kind. The respondents, who experienced discrimination in their work place asserted that their relations with Bulgarian colleagues worsened and the pressure of their supervisors increased after 1984, the start of the Revival Project. Changing their names into Slavic ones and to be coerced to use new names in the work place was the most important and the most bothersome dimension of the Revival Project which nearly all the respondents had to go through. Being called with their new names by their colleagues was a complete humiliation for the respondents.¹⁵⁴ Bulgarian authorities also stipulated that Turkish staff, who worked under their command, had to attend some controls which were exercised to Turkish minority like circumcision controls. These obligations brought the members of Turkish minority against each other and created tension between them. During the field study, one of the most interesting points I observed, was some respondents' way of acceptance of all these pressure. They perceived the discriminations and pressures as ordinary and normal. They thought that a nation state, which wanted to protect its existence, could oppress some group of people who were perceived as dangerous.

When the respondents immigrate to Turkey in 1989, their job descriptions, position in the work hierarchy and experiences in the work environment changed. The first change that I observed from their statements is their patterns of finding an employment. In Turkey, sixteen of thirty respondents found their first job with the help of former immigrants, seven of them found their first job with the help of government of that time, and seven of them found their first job without any help. These first jobs were generally temporary, daily jobs and not suitable for the

¹⁵⁴ This is an interesting point when it is considered with the respondents who stated that they did not face any discrimination. Even though they faced with discrimination, some of the respondents could legitimize it as an ordinary reaction of a nation state towards a minority group. Some of them also emphasized that the "good" Bulgarian co-workers or supervisors, who did not contribute the campaign, had to use Slavic names, when a manager or authority from the Party was around. This kind of situations changed perceptions of the respondents on discrimination. According to them, these exercises were not something that their co-workers and supervisors did against to them, but something they had to do with the fear of government authorities.

education and the skills of the immigrants. But many of them did these jobs, instead of depending on the provisions of the state completely. During these first days after immigration, the newcomers both benefited from the existence of the former immigrants who were their relatives, friends or acquaintances and also the provisions of the government. The networks of the immigrants also functioned as an information channel in which the immigrants could reach the information about the government provisions, public posts, other employment opportunities, and their application process. Moreover, former immigrants informed newcomers about how they should behave in a job interview, what the expectations of employees were in Turkey, and what kind of workers they needed and wanted.

After these temporary jobs, fourteen of the respondents became civil servants as teachers, health officers, nurses and mechanics, five of them became self-employed and eleven of them worked as employees. Twenty of thirty immigrants stated that they found these relatively stable jobs with some help of former immigrants among the other factors. The high percentage of the civil servants among the newcomers is a significant point. I think this high percentage shows both the desire of the immigrants for secure and stable jobs and the willingness of the government to employ the immigrants in public posts. According to the distribution of the hierarchical positions of the immigrants, seven of thirty respondents have someone under their control in the work place, whereas twenty-three of them have no one. As far as I can observe, it is not the education level as in Bulgaria but the job description of the immigrants that affects the hierarchical positions of the immigrants in the work place in Turkey. Post-secondary school graduates have higher positions more frequently than the university graduates in Turkey, since their job descriptions are more suitable to have some staff under their control like experienced mechanics or electrician.

Among the immigrants, seven of thirty immigrants have been working in Turkey for periods between six and ten years, eight of them have been working for periods between eleven and fifteen years, and finally fifteen of the respondents have been working for seventeen years. These people are the immigrants who moved to Ankara immediately after their immigration and started to work. The date they moved to Ankara, their age and their life cycles are important factors which determine the

duration of working life of the respondents. I think the number of the jobs that the immigrants have changed in Ankara is a vital element which shows the adjustment of the immigrants into Turkish labor market. I consider that frequently changing job is a reason for instability of income and it is a sign for economic incompatibility of the newcomers in Turkey. Eight of the immigrants have had only one job during their working lives in Turkey. Seven of them have had two jobs and another seven of them have had tree jobs. Eight of them have had four and more than four jobs during their working lives in Turkey. As far as I can see, educational level of the respondents and the sector in which they worked are the efficient factors which form the frequency of changes in the job among the immigrants. Post-secondary and university graduates change their jobs less frequently than the high school and secondary school graduates do. Moreover the ones who work in the public sector change their jobs less frequently than the ones in the private sector did.

Eight of the respondents have had supplementary jobs at least once after their arrival to Turkey. Only two of the respondents still have supplementary jobs. At the first time after immigration, the supplementary jobs functioned both as an additional source of income for the family budget and also as a way in which the immigrants learned more about the new settlement. Most of the respondents who had supplementary jobs also had jobs in the public sector. This situation is interesting, because having a supplementary job is banned for civil servants by a law which regulates civil service posts. Many of these respondents rationalize having a supplementary job by claiming that their wage levels were very low when they started to work and their official job's schedule let them work in a supplementary job. The immigrants found these jobs with the help of a friend from their work place or from newspapers.

In some degree, the newcomers faced with discrimination and prejudices in Turkey, as they had faced in Bulgaria. Eighteen of the respondents gave affirmative answers to my question of whether they had problems with their co-workers in the work place, because they were immigrants and newcomers. Some of the respondents stated that they see these problems as personal problems not as a general attitude against the immigrants. These personal problems result from the inexperienced young

workers' way of thinking and the lack of knowledge of the co-workers about the immigrants or their real positions in Turkey. They do not complain about their co-workers generally. The respondents say that they solve these problems through their personal qualities like having a calm and patient character. Another problem which makes respondents angry and sad is being called as "Bulgarian" and "infidel" by their co-workers, even sometimes to their face. They can not understand and tolerate this kind of behavior. According to them, they were expelled from Bulgaria because of their nationality and religion. It is unacceptable for them to be labeled as Bulgarian and infidel, in Turkey, where they perceive as motherland and a safe heaven. As the respondents stated, especially women immigrants were harshly criticized, since they differentiated among non-immigrant women on the basis of their look and way of thinking on work. Moreover, the respondents asserted that the non-immigrants' dislike of newcomers is grounded on the immigrants' position in the labour market. In the first days of the immigration wave, the public support to the government who helped the newcomers in every possible way was absolute, but later as the immigrants started to take place in the labour and real estate market, the people started to disapprove the helps and provisions for the immigrants. They believed that it was unfair to help and bias in favor of the immigrants. These kinds of beliefs reproduced the problems which caused the distance between immigrants and their co-workers.

When the respondents compared Bulgaria and Turkey, they emphasized the differences rather than similarities. Seventeen of them mentioned negative aspects of Turkey whereas eight of them mentioned positive aspects of Turkey. Five of them had a relatively neutral approach. Again I want to state that this is the distribution of the initial response of the respondents. Many respondents presented both advantages and disadvantages of their new lives. The respondents, who complained about Turkey at the first instance, stated that they are unhappy with education and health services, cultural level of "native" population, interpersonal relations, lax industrial discipline and being an employee in the private sector in Turkey. The respondents, who preferred Turkey at the first instance, asserted that the interpersonal relations, wage level, and being a public sector employee are the positive aspects of life in Turkey. But whatever a respondent says that about the disadvantages of the life in

Turkey, s/he concludes by stating that Turkey is hers/his motherland, s/he is very happy to be in Turkey and never considers returning to Bulgaria, and s/he likes the people in Turkey. I do not see these words as signs of a simple contradiction. I believe my position as a researcher influenced their answers. With these words, they also tried to legitimize and strengthen their in the eyes of non-immigrant people and these words and emphases can be interpreted as a part of immigrant work strategy. I also believe that they prefer the economic hardships or inconvenient situations in the work place in Turkey to political and cultural pressures in Bulgaria. They summarize this as “living under one’s own flag”.

This chapter includes a part which is about the immigrant women’s experiences. For them, working has an aspect which denotes at least relative freedom from household budget. They can also be freer, while they are making economic decisions which are concerning future of their child. Some of the women respondents mentioned the advantages of being a working woman, while some of them seemed to be in a dilemma between being a working woman outside home and being full time housewife. Most of them state that they are discriminated in the work places, since they were women. They are also dissatisfied with the state’s rights which are provided for the working women in Turkey.

I think the data which is covered in this chapter reveals some clues about the immigrant work strategies. As far as I can see, the immigrants found their jobs with the help of immigrant networks and state and they could maintain these jobs with the help their work ethic and narratives which were widely accepted by the employers and non-immigrant employees.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

In this study, I have tried to understand the work strategies of the 1989 immigrants who came to Turkey from Bulgaria. The operational definition of the immigrant work strategy is the activities and the attitudes that the immigrants take to find and maintain their first jobs, immediately after immigration. These activities include how an immigrant finds her/his first job in Turkey, how s/he is informed about job opportunities, how s/he bargains with her/his boss -if s/he ever does-, what kind of relations s/he has with co-workers, what s/he does for maintaining and/or not losing these jobs. These activities aim to increase the level of income, maintain a standard of living and secure the future of the household members. To understand the immigrant work strategies, I firstly presented the historical background to locate this specific immigration wave in a historical context and to emphasize that it was not a one time event but a part of immigration waves between Bulgaria and Turkey which were initiated by the similar reasons. Secondly, I provided a theoretical background which included major approaches on international migration. I chose three of them- the migration systems approach, political approach and network approach- in examining the 1989 immigration wave, because the continuation of the immigration waves, political context which affected the type and timing of the immigrations from Bulgaria to Turkey and the existence of immigrant networks were the factors which made this selection suitable, in my point of view. Thirdly, I presented the data which I collected from the field research. During this field research, I interviewed thirty immigrants who currently live in Ankara. In this conclusion part of my study, I will try to merge the theoretical background and the data which I collected from the field research and conclude my thoughts about the work strategies of the 1989 immigrants.

In my point of view, for the immigrants who try to increase level of income, the immigrant work strategy which I have defined above, have two main parts: finding a job and maintaining this job. In both of these steps, immigrants have different

patterns. While they are trying to find a job, they benefit from existing immigrants' networks which are products continuous immigration waves from Bulgaria to Turkey and Turkish state's provisions which are for the accommodation of the immigrants who are privileged in the eyes of the state due to their ethnicity and religion. As a second step of the work strategy, they maintain these jobs with help of work ethic they gained in Bulgaria and their ignorance about the operation of Turkish labour market. Because of their work ethic, they work hard; they give priority to work and their job, they perceive working as a way of socialization of a good citizen. Their ignorance about labour market also makes them accept every type of a job with any wage without bargaining with the employers, especially in the first months after the immigration. With these characteristics they are distinguished among the non-immigrant workers. The narratives, which are widely told by the immigrants and shared by the employers and other employees enviably, also emphasize how hardworking they are, how loyal they are to their job, to their employers and to their country.

I consider that the migration systems approach and political approach can clarify the macro structure in which the migration waves took place, while the network approach can illuminate the meso level in which the immigrants create their strategies. The macro structure includes the political, economic and cultural relations between two countries. According to Kritz et al. (1992) matured, long-lasting economic, social and political linkages signify the presence of a migration system which is constituted by the countries with common historical experiences and social affinity in a region. The approach is also valuable, since it focuses on both historical and current relationships which shape the immigration waves. Disparities and differences among the countries also facilitated the immigration occurred (Fawcett 1989). I suggest that the 1989 migration wave happened in the framework of a migration system. 1989 immigration wave is a step of a long history of immigration which started after 1878 Russo-Turkish War. Between 1878 and 1989 there were five immigration waves from Bulgaria to Turkey. The migration system approach also explains the existence of the dense immigrant networks. The movement of people between two countries, the political relations between them which were often tense, and their cultural and geographic affinity are the reasons which constituted a

migration system between the two countries. I also argue that this migration system does not include only Bulgaria and Turkey but also other Balkan countries which were dominated by the Ottoman Empire like Greece or former Yugoslavian states.

In addition to the migration system approach, the political approach which was developed by Zolberg (1983, 1986, 1989) emphasizes the political context in formation of international migration. According to Zolberg, there are different push and pull factors for different ethnic groups who live in the borders of the nation states. Such an emphasis on ethnicity and nation states' attitudes towards it can explain the timing of immigration waves which overlapped with the increasing tension between Bulgaria and Turkey which were members of opposite blocks during the Cold War period. Moreover, Zolberg praises the idea of regionalization of migration and a migration system in a region. According to Zolberg, every south has its particular north. Therefore, members of Turkish minority who considered immigrating to Turkey saw Turkey as the "north" which offers a more democratic environment and better economic conditions for them. Brubaker (1998) also perceives ethnicity as a push and pull factor in the migration process, especially in the countries which have legacies of an empire. He claims that the people can be refugees if they have a place to go. The receiving state's attitudes towards the immigrants also change according to ethnicity of the immigrants. If the immigrants share the same ethnicity with the receiving country they will have a better opportunity structure. Thus, Brubaker (1998) attach a role which homogenizes both sending and receiving countries to migration. This perspective explains the situation of 1989 immigrants. They were perceived as dangerous in Bulgaria, since their origin was seen as Turkey. They were forced to move to Turkey. But they also wanted to move to Turkey, since many of their relatives, friends and co-villagers had moved before and they idealized Turkey as a homeland. Among my thirty respondents, twenty-one of them stated that they had had plans for coming to Turkey before 1989. Moreover, only seven of them were deported in 1989, while the other twenty-three of them came to Turkey with reasons which can be described as the effect of the milieu. I believe these statements show that the immigrants were not victims of the tension between the two countries. Their desire to come to Turkey was an important factor in the materialization of the immigration.

At the meso level, the immigrants' networks facilitate directing and maintaining the migration. According to Kritz et al. (1992) presence of a migration system explicate the chance of a migration wave, but the networks, which develop in a migration system among the actual actors, can determine the stayers and the immigrants. In this analysis, the importance of the networks takes roots from two features. Firstly, the networks connect the macro structure and individual actors (Boyd 1989). Secondly, they provide the channels in which the immigrant agency can fulfill itself (Vasta, 2004). The networks can be constituted of social and symbolic ties. The existing networks utilized by 1989 immigrants were established due to continuation of the immigration waves from Bulgaria to Turkey. These relationships could be maintained through communication facilities, media, visits and even sometimes meetings with relatives in the third countries. These actual relations revived the social ties, while the common background and place of origin revived the symbolic ties among the former immigrants and newcomers. The respondents stated having relatives in Ankara as a major motive which made the immigrants settle in Ankara. They also pointed out the former immigrants' role in shaping their patterns of finding an employment. I interpret these roles of the networks as their strength and prevalence.

The main function of a network is the social capital that it provides for its members. Portes (1995) argues that social capital is the ability of individuals to have an access scarce resource. An immigrant, who has social capital due to her/his membership of an immigrant network, can have an access the resources of others, can increase her/his level of information and can control other members (Faist 2000). These are the positive aspects of the networks which an immigrant can take advantage of. But since an immigrant can exploit other's knowledge resources, and labour in a network, her/his knowledge, resources and labour can be exploited by the other members (Erdemir and Vasta, 2007).

Pahl (1981) considers household work strategies as a way of obtaining goods and services from a mixture of different economies as formal, informal and domestic economies. The dependency on different economies makes the networks of

household an important factor in reaching the sources (Pahl, 1981). Wallace (2002) also claims that these household work strategies are the responses of households to uncertain and risky conditions like post-Fordism or post-communism. Vasta (2004) who discusses about the immigrant work strategies, the immigrants construct the networks or take advantage of them as a result of their work strategies which are defined as the ways in which the immigrants earn their livelihood in the informal sector and accommodate into wider community. Work strategies and networks are parts of the process of immigrants' adaptation and the struggle with existing power relations. In this study, the operational definition of the immigrant work strategy is the activities and the attitudes that the immigrants take to find and maintain their first jobs, immediately after immigration. I see the work strategies are employed by the individual immigrants as a part of their household strategies. As I can observe with the work strategies, the immigrants wanted to reach a higher level of income which is also secure and stable for their household.

I assert that the work strategies of the 1989 immigrants are shaped in the framework which can be examined with the approaches that I mentioned above. The immigrants found their jobs with the support of network which I explained with both migration system approach and network approach and the support of the state which I tried to clarify with migration systems approach and political approach. They maintained these jobs with the work ethic they had gained in Bulgaria. The narratives about their work ethic also help them in protecting their privileged position in the labour market. In the following pages, I will try to explain and describe the immigrant work strategies in detail.

As a first step of their work strategy, the immigrants found their first jobs with the help of their networks which they shared with former immigrants who were their distant or close relatives, friends, or co-villagers and with the help of the Turkish government which took action with the motivation of taking care of co-nationals. The government had strong public support in this. These first jobs were temporary; mostly they were not appropriate for the education or skills of the immigrants. But the immigrants were not selective; they accepted the jobs with very low wages without bargaining with the boss most of the time. For example, a teacher worked as

a plumber or a nurse worked as a cleaner. Since every member of the family, except the too young ones and too old ones, worked outside home, the household's total income was high enough to make possible the survival of the family. Moreover, they also minimized the consumption costs by searching for cheaper goods with the help of their networks. They also received food help and rent subsidy from the local governments. But they hardly gave up their desire of a good education for their children and a flat which they owned. A proper education and a flat were seen as a kind of safety belt for the possible hard times in the future. After they could organize their new lives in Turkey, with their temporary jobs and temporary shelters which were provided by the former immigrants and the state, they started to look for more permanent and secure jobs. Soon after their migration, they started to receive their Turkish Republic identities which gave them right to work and live in Turkey without any legal problem. The government obligated some public institutions to employ certain number of immigrants and also prompted private firms to have immigrant workers for the sake of solidarity with co-nationals who had had hard times. As I can observe, the government located the immigrants who could be teachers, nurses, health officers, clerks and appointed them into public posts. The ones who had qualifications and education which did not match any public post, took their chances in the private sector with help of their network. Many newcomers learned from their networks how to find a job, how to apply for a job, especially the public posts for which application process included heavy paper work such as filling the forms, obtaining equivalencies of graduation certificates. In 1993, the immigrants started to move to the blocks which were built for them by the government with relatively low fees. The existence of the flats assisted the immigrants to make a decision about moving to Ankara where they had relatives and better job opportunities. These blocks also became a pretext for moving out from the small cities of Anatolia where the immigrant population was rarity.

Maintaining the jobs which the immigrants found is the second step of work strategies. As far as I can observe, there are two features of immigrants that helped them in maintaining the jobs they found: their work ethic which they gained in Bulgaria and their ignorance about the operation of the Turkish labour market. Even though these characteristics seem to be separate factors; they are actually mingled

with each other. As far as I can deduce from the statement of the immigrants, in Bulgaria, they had worked in an industrious manner in the work places which were controlled very strictly by the state. Moreover, since most of their social rights were defined according to their employment situation, having a job and maintaining it were important issues. Living in small towns and being dependent on land increased their work load. Most of the respondents stated that they worked in the garden plots or collective farms after their regular working hours to increase the family income. Absence of private sector and private profit made them see the jobs as theirs. They described their working manner as if they were working in their own job. Thus, many respondents stated that they had found working life in Turkey lax, undisciplined and uncontrolled. According to most of them, non-immigrant workers are lazy and careless. Since in Turkey they continued to work as in Bulgaria, they came to the fore in an office or in a factory. Absence of the private sector and bosses who run their own work in Bulgaria was the cause behind the ignorance of the immigrants. Some respondents said that they could not have perceived that their first job in Turkey would be in the private sector. They thought that their jobs were secure with a standard level of wage and social security. They did not even bargain with their bosses. The respondents told about these kinds of experiences with a significant regret and thought that they were defrauded by the bosses who were helping seemingly. These qualifications of the immigrants made them preferable workers. Moreover, their vulnerable positions forced them accept these conditions at least for a while. But as they learned more about the Turkish context from their own experiences and from their acquaintances, they were able to find better paid jobs with better working conditions. Thus, they do not worry about unemployment. If they lose their current job, they believe they can find another one, even if the payment is low.

As I can observe, some respondents could not employ this strategy fully. They are the ones who do not have enough network support, who were latecomers to Ankara, and who do not have appropriate skills and education. After immigration, they found their first stable job very lately, until this time they changed their jobs very frequently. Finding a public post is perceived as the safest job opportunity by the respondents. For the respondents who could employ this strategy, even it seems a success story and the immigrants told them in a proud way by emphasizing that how

they struggled with all the difficulties, this adaptation process into a new labour market is full of disappointments and hard times. The respondents, who were welcomed warmly by non-immigrant people immediately after immigration, experienced changes in the attitudes of the people, especially after they entered the real estate and labour market. Finding a strong and dense network and Turkish state's provisions in many subjects made the immigrants very privileged and advantageous position a few years after the immigration in spite of the hardships of the immigration. Some non-immigrant people reacted to this situation in which the immigrants were favored unfairly, they think. This is a factor which made the relationship between immigrants and non-immigrants tense. Even sometimes they are not sure about telling; most of the respondents had and still have problems with their co-workers and supervisors. In this process, especially immigrant women workers were criticized by the non-immigrant population for having a more modern look and working outside home. Another major problem which the immigrants have in their work place is to be called as "Bulgarian" or "infidel" by the co-workers. In fact, this is a common naming for the immigrants by the non-immigrant population, whether they suspect about the ethnicity or the religion of the immigrants. The respondents could legitimize the pressures on them in Bulgaria, but they could not legitimize these problems in Turkey. In their views, they had to come to Turkey because they are Turks and Muslims. They can not understand why these features of them are subject to doubt, especially in Turkey. They react this strongly, emphasize that they are "really" Turkish and "Muslim" with a "European background" and criticize non-immigrant population as being "backward" and "ignorant". I think this reaction with the narratives which emphasize their hardworking and industrious nature in the work place can be interpreted as a part of immigrant work strategy, since these narratives also strengthen the position of the immigrants in the labour market.

As a result of this study which tries to combine the theoretical background which I mentioned above and the data from the field research, I assert that the immigrants employ a work strategy which they built with the help of existing immigrant networks, the support of government, and the work ethos of the respondents which they gained in Bulgaria. As a work strategy, the newcomers combined the benefits of

these three components. This combination can be observed in immigrants' settlement process and patterns of finding an employment. In the settlement process, nineteen of them chose to come to Ankara, since they already had network connections in Ankara. Eight of them settled in Ankara, because the government settled them down there. Only three of them wanted to move to Ankara due to other reasons. After settlement, while they were seeking for their first job, sixteen of them were helped by the former immigrants, while seven of them had support of the state. And seven of them found their first jobs on their own.

Eighteen years after the immigration, even if they had –some of them still have- very hard times in Turkey, none of my respondents think about returning to Bulgaria. They say that they are happy to be in Turkey which they perceive as their homeland, no matter what they face here. I also think that the work strategy they employ shows that they had capacity to manipulate the situation and adapt themselves to a new context. The immigrants, who employ the work strategy that I described, benefited from a mixture of existence of networks and state's provision. They did not depend on only one of the ways but they created a combination of them, namely a mixed strategy. I think this is the point where immigrant agency comes to the forefront. They could have entirely depended on one of the suppliers but they chose to create such a combination and have a broader opportunity structure.

This study can be helpful in three ways. Firstly, it tries to analyze the literature on immigration for understanding the complex dynamics of the immigrations which include immigration of co-ethnics or some privileged groups to receiving countries. Its theoretical framework will be illuminating for the other immigrants in Turkey from the Balkan countries and elsewhere. Secondly, it presents a data which shows the experiences of the immigrants about their immigration and settlement process, their perceptions of both Bulgaria and Turkey and their experiences in working life in the two countries. Based on this data, this study tries to find a pattern which shows the work strategies of the immigrants and defines the work strategy in the theoretical framework. Thirdly, it offers new research agendas for the future researches. As far as I can detect these questions can be about second generation's position in the work places, the position of immigrant women workers in the family and work place,

transnational relations of the immigrants with the people who are still living in Bulgaria, and new forms of immigration from Bulgaria to Turkey ad/or vice versa.

REFERENCES

- Aktüre, S. (1977). “Konut ve Konut Çevresi Olarak Ankara Gecekondularına İlişkin Bazı Gözlemler”, *Yapı Araştırma Kurumu Bülteni, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi*, sayı 3-4.
- Amnesty International, (1986). *Bulgaria: Imprisonment of Ethnic Turks*. London.
- Amnesty International, (1989). *Bulgaria: Imprisonment of Ethnic Turks and Human Right Activists*. London.
- Ansal H., S. Küçükçiftçi, Ö. Onaran, B. Z. Orbay (2000). *Türkiye Emek Piyasasının Yapısı ve İşsizlik*. İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı.
- Arango, J. (2004). “Theories of International Migration” in *International Migration in the New Millennium: Global Movement and Settlement*. Ed D. Joly. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Aşçıgil, S. (2001). “İş Etiği: Eski Sorunlar, Yeni Kavramlar, Yeni Yaklaşımlar” in *İş Etiği: Eski Sorunlar, Yeni Kavramlar, Yeni Yaklaşımlar*. Friedrich Elbert Stiftung: İstanbul.
- Ataöv, T. (1990). *The Inquisition of the Late 1980s: the Turks of Bulgaria*. USA: Eaford.
- Baest, T. (1985). “Bulgaria’s War At Home: the People’s Republic and Its Turkish Minority 1944-1985”, *Across Frontiers*, 2(2): 18-26.
- Benoit, F. (2005). “The Hemşehrilik and the Village: the Stakes of an Association of Former Villagers in Ankara”, *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 2.
- Boratav, K. (2003). *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi (1908-2002)*. 7. baskı. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.
- Bourdieu, P., L. Wacquant (2003). *Düşünümsel Bir Antropoloji İçin Cevaplar*. Translated by. N. Ökten. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Boyd, M. (1989). “Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and New Agendas”, *International Migration Review*, 23(3): 638-670.
- Brubaker, R. (1998). “Migrations of Ethnic Unmixing in ‘the New Europe’”, *International Migration Review*, 32(4): 1047-1065.

- Coşgun, B. (2005) *Social Networks and Urban Integration of Bulgarian Turkish Immigrant of 1989 and After: The Case of Yenibosna, Istanbul*. Unpublished M.S. Thesis. Graduate School of Social Sciences, METU.
- Crampton, R. J. (2000). *A Concise History of Bulgaria*. Cambridge: Cambridge Press.
- Creed, G.W. (1995). "Agriculture and the Domestication of the Industry in Rural Bulgaria", *American Ethnologist*, 22(3): 528-548.
- Danielson, M.N., R. Keleş (1985). *The Politics of Rapid Urbanization Government and Growth in Modern Turkey*. New York: Holmes&Meier.
- Dimitrov, V. (2001). *Bulgaria: the Uneven Transition*. London: Routledge.
- Dobrin, B. (1973). *Bulgarian Economic Development Since World War II*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Duyar- Kienast, U. (2005) *The Formation of Gecekondu Settlements in Turkey, the Case of Ankara*. Berlin: Lit Verlag Münster.
- Dündar, Ö. (2001) "Models of Urban Transformation - Informal Housing in Ankara", *Cities*, 18(6):391-401.
- Eminov, A. (1997). *Turkish and Other Muslim Minorities of Bulgaria*. London: Hurst&Company.
- Eminov, A.(1999). "The Turks in Bulgaria: Post-1989 Developments", *Nationalities Papers*, 27(1):31-55.
- Erdemir, A., E. Vasta (2007). "Differentiating Irregularity and Solidarity: Turkish Immigrants at Work in London", *Centre on Migration, Policy and Society Working Paper No. 42*.
<http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/publications/Working%20papers/WP0742-Vasta.pdf>
- Erdoğan, Z. (1973). *Kırsal Bölgelerden Ankara, Kıbrıs-Bayraktar İlkokulu Gecekondu Bölgesine Göç ve Göç Edenlerin Kentleşmesi*. Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayını.
- Ersoy, M. (1992). "Integration of Migrants into the Urban Residential Setting of Ankara", *Ekistics*, 354-355: 136-145.
- Faist, T. (2000). *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Fawcett, J. T. (1989). "Networks, Linkages, and Migration Systems", *International Migration Review*, 23(3): 671-680.

- Feiwel, G.R. (1977). *Growth and Reforms in Centrally Planned Economies, the Lessons of the Bulgarian Experience*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Folbre, N. (1987). "Family Strategy, A Dialog: Family Strategy Feminist Strategy", *Historical Methods*, 20(3):115-118.
- Fowkes, B. (2002). *The Rise and Fall of Communism in Eastern Europe*. Hampshire: Macmillan Press.
- Garibaldi P., M. Makovec, G. Stoyanova (2001). *From Transition to EU Accession: the Bulgarian Labor Market During the 1990s*. Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- Giatzidis, E. (2002). *An Introduction to Post-Communist Bulgaria, Political, Economic and Social Transformation*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Giddings, L. (2003). "Continued Decline for Ethnic Minorities in the Transition?", *Economics of Transition*, 11(4): 621-648.
- Gökdere, A. (1994). "An Evaluation of Turkey's Recent Migration Flows and Stocks", *Turkish Journal of Population Studies*, 16: 29-56.
- Granovetter, M. S. (1973). "The Strength of Weak Ties", *The American Journal of Sociology*, 78(6): 1360-1380.
- Granovetter, M.S. (1985). "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness", *The American Journal of Sociology*, 91(3): 481-510.
- Grint, K. (1998). *The Sociology of Work*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gürsel S., V. Ulusoy (1999). *Türkiye'de İşsizlik ve İstihdam*. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Hareven, T. K. (1991). "The History of the Family and the Complexity of Social Change", *The American Historical Review*, 96(1): 95-124.
- Hupchick, D. P., H. E. Cox (2001). *The Palgrave Concise Historical Atlas of the Balkans*. New York: Palgrave.
- Ishiyama, J.T., M. Breuning. (1998). *Ethnopolitics in the New Europe*. London: Lynne Reinner Publishers.
- İçduygu, A. (1996). "Transit Migrants and Turkey", *Review of Social Economic and Administrative Studies*, 10 (1-2): 127-142.
- İçduygu, A. (2000) "The Politics of International Migratory Regimes: Transit Migration Flows in Turkey", *International Social Science Journal*, 52(165): 357-367.

- İpek, N. (1999). *Rumeli'nden Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri 1877-1890*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.
- İpek, N. (2000). *Mübadele ve Samsun*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.
- İpek, N. (2006). *Bulgaristan'daki Türk Azınlığı*. e-mail from Bal-Göç (balgoc@balgoc.org.tr) March 1, 2006.
- İslamcıların Model Kenti Pursaklar. (18.05.2007) Milliyet
<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2007/05/18/guncel/axgun02.html>
- Kamil, İ. (2000) *Bulgaristan'daki Türklerin Statüsü*. İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı Yayınları.
- Karpat, K. H. (1990). "Introduction: Bulgaria's Methods of Nation Building and the Turkish Minority" in *the Turks of Bulgaria*. Ed. K. H. Karpat. the Isis Press: İstanbul.
- Karpat, K. H. (2003). *Osmanlı Nüfusu 1830-1914*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.
- Karpat, K. H. (2004). *Balkanlar'da Osmanlı Mirası ve Ulusçuluk*. Çev: R. Boztemur. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.
- Kazgan, G. (2002). *Tazminattan 21. Yüzyıla Türkiye Ekonomisi*. 2. baskı. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Keyder, Ç. (2000). "İki Semtin Hikayesi" in *İstanbul, Küresel ile Yerel Arasında*. Ed. Ç. Keyder. Çev: S. Savran. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Konukman, E. (1990). *Tarihi Belgeler Işığında Büyük Göç ve Anavatan (Nedenleri, Boyutları, Sonuçları)*. Hazırlayan Kutlay Doğan. Ankara.
- Kritz, M., L. L. Lim, H. Zlotnik (1992). *International Migration Systems: a Global Approach*. USA: Oxford University Press.
- Kümbetoğlu, B. (2003) "Escape from Oppression and War: Bulgarian Turks and Bosnians" in *Migration and Labour in Europe, Views from Turkey and Sweden*. Ed. by E. Zeybekoğlu, B. Johanson. Marmara Univesity Research Center of International Relations Swedish National Institutions for Working Life.
- Laber, J. (1987). *Destroying Ethnic Identity: the Turks of Bulgaria*. New York: Helsinki Watch Committee.
- Levine, N. (1973) "Old Culture-New Culture: A Study of Migrants in Ankara, Turkey", *Social Forces*: 51(3): 355-368.
- Lütem, Ö. E. (2000). *Türk-Bulgar İlişkileri 1983-1989*. Ankara: ASAM Yayınları.

- Lütem, Ö. E., B. Demirtaş-Çoşkun (Ed.) (2001). *Balkan Diplomasisi*. Ankara:ASAM Yayınları.
- Maeva, M. (2004). "The Revival Process and Its Influences on Bulgarian Turks' Identity in Turkey". the paper for conference "Nationalism, Society and Culture in post-Ottoman South Eastern Europe" St. Peters Collage, Oxford, 29-30 May 2004.
- Massey, D., J. Arango, G. Hugo, A. Kovaouci, A. Pellegrino, J.E. Taylor (1998). *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- McIntosh, M.E., M.E. MacIver, D.G. Abele, D.B. Nolle (1995). "Minority Rights and Majority Rule: Ethnic Tolerance in Romania and Bulgaria", *Social Forces*, 73(3): 939-967.
- Moen P., E. Wethington (1992). "The Concept of Family Adaptative Strategies", *Annual Review of Sociology*, 18:233-251.
- Oren, N. (1973). *Revolution Administered: Agrarianism and Communism in Bulgaria*. Baltimore: the John Hopkind University Press.
- Özgür, N. (1999). *Etnik Sorunların Çözümüne Etnik Parti Hak ve Özgürlükler Hareketi 1989-1995*. İstanbul: Der Yayınları.
- Pahl, R.E. (1981). "Employment, Work and the Domestic Division of Labour" in *City, Class and Capital: New Developments in the Political Economy of Cities and Regions*. Ed. M. Harloe and E. Lebas. Edward Arnold Publishers: London.
- Parla, A. (2003). "Marking Time Along the Bulgarian-Turkish Border", *Ethnography*, 4(4): 561-575.
- Pessar, P.R. (1982). "The Role of the Households in International Migration and the Case of U.S.- Bound Migration from the Dominican Republic", *International Migration Review*, 16(2): 342-364.
- Petkova, L. (2002). "The Ethnic Turks in Bulgaria: Social Integration and Impact on Bulgarian-Turkish Relations, 1947-2000", *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics*, 1(4): 42-59.
- Pettersen, L.T. (2005). "Between Household and Enterprise: Strategies among Small-Sclae Producers in Agriculture, Fishing and Fish Farming". the paper for the workshop "Mobilities, Knowledges, Politics, Globalization from Below? Localized Transformations in Northern Perspective".
- Piore, M. J. (1979). *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Pickles, J., R.B. Begg (2000). "Ethnicity, State Violence, and Neo-Liberal Transition in Post-Communist Bulgaria", *Growth and Change*, 31: 179-210.
- Population and Development Review (2006). "On Integrating Immigrants in Germany", *Population and Development Review*, 32(3): 597-600.
- Schnaiberg, A. (1970). "Rural-Urban Residence and Modernism: A Study of Ankara Province, Turkey", *Demography*, 7(1):71-85.
- Scott, J., G. Marshall (2005) (Ed). A Dictionary of Sociology. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, D.S. (1987). "Family Strategy, A Dialog: Family Strategy More Than A Metaphor?" *Feminist Strategy*, *Historical Methods*, 20(3):118-120.
- Suğur, N. Nichols (2005). *Global İşletme, Yerel Emek*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Şenyapılı, T. (1982). *Ankara Gecekondularının Ekonomik Profili*. Kentsel Bütünleşme, Türkiye Gelişme Araştırmaları Vakfı Yayını.
- Şenyapılı, T. (1997) "Cumhuriyetin Dokuduğu Kent: Ankara", *Arredamento*, 3.
- Şenyapılı, T. (2004) *Baraka'dan Gecekonduya, Ankara'da Kentsel Mekanın Dönüşümü: 1923-1960*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Şimşir, B. N. (1968). *Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri: Belgeler I-II-III*. Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Derneği.
- Şimşir, B. (1988). *The Turks of Bulgaria (1878-1985)*. London: K. Rustem&Brother.
- Şimşir, B. (1990) "The Turkish Minority in Bulgaria During the People's Republic (1944-1985)" in *the Turks of Bulgaria*. Ed. K.H. Karpat. İstanbul: İsis Press.
- Tankut, G. (1963). "Ankara'da Gecekondu Problemi", *Mimarlık ve Sanat*: No:7-8.
- T.C. Sofya Büyükelçiliği, Ticaret Müsteşarlığı. (1974). *1973 Yılında Bulgaristan'ın Ekonomik Durumu ve Türkiye-Bulgaristan Ticareti (Yıllık Rapor)*.
- Tekeli, İ. (1990). "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Günümüze Nüfusun Zorunlu Yer Değiştirmesi ve İskan Sorunu", *Toplum ve Bilim*, (50): 49-71.
- Tilly, L.A. (1987). "Family Strategy, A Dialog: Beyond Family Strategies, What?", *Historical Methods*, 20(3):123-125.
- TÜİK, (2006a). Kurumsal Olmayan Sivil Nüfusun Yıllar ve Cinsiyete Göre İşgücü Durumu, Kent. http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreIstatistikTablo.do?istab_id=447.
- TÜİK, (2006b). Eğitim Durumuna Göre İşgücü Durumu, Kent. http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreIstatistikTablo.do?istab_id=453.

- TÜİK, (2006c). İstihdam Edilenlerin Yıllar ve Cinsiyete Göre İşteki Durumu, Kent. http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreIstatistikTablo.do?istab_id=471.
- TÜİK, (2006d). İstihdam Edilenlerin Yıllar ve Cinsiyete Göre Faaliyet Kolları, Kent. http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreIstatistikTablo.do?istab_id=462.
- Türkgücü, İ. (2003). *Tarihi Bir Bakış Açısı İle Azınlık ve Göç Sorunları Kapsamında Bulgaristan Türkleri*.unpublished senior thesis. Hacettepe Üniversitesi, İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi, Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü.
- Ünal, B. (2004). “The New Patterns and the State: Construction of Illegality for Immigrants in İstanbul”, in *Migration Between States and Markets*. Ed. H. Entzinger, M. Martiniello, C. W. de Wenden. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Varçın R. (2004). *İstihdam ve İşgücü Piyasası Politikaları*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.
- Vasileva, D. (1992). “Bulgarian Turkish Emigration and Return”, *International Migration Review*, 26(2): 342-352.
- Vassilev, R.V. (2001). “Post-Communist Bulgaria’s Ethnopolitics”, *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics*, 1(2):37-53.
- Vasta, E. (2004). “Informal Employment and Immigrant Networks: A Review Paper”, *Centre on Migration, Policy and Society Working Paper No. 2*. <http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/publications/Working%20papers/WP0402.pdf>
- Wallace, C. (2002). “Household Strategies: Their Conceptual Relevance and Analytical Scope in Social Research”, *Sociology*, 36(2): 274: 292.
- Warde, A. (1990). “Household Work Strategies and Forms of Labour: Conceptual and Emprical Issues”, *Work, Employment, Society*, 4(4): 495-515.
- Warhola, J.W., Boteva O. (2003). “The Turkish Minority in Contemporary Bulgaria”, *Nationalities Papers*, 31(3): 255-279.
- Weber, M. (1997). *Protestan Ahlakı ve Kapitalizmin Ruhu*. 2. baskı. Çev: Zeynep Aruoba. Hil Yayınları: İstanbul.
- World Bank (2001). *Bulgaria the Dual Challenge of Transition and Accession* (2001), Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- Yasa, İ. (1966). *Ankara’da Gecekondu Aileleri*. Ankara: Sağlık ve Sosyal Yardım Bakanlığı, Sosyal Hizmetler Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları.
- Zagorov, O. (1987). *The Truth*. Sofia: Sofia Press.
- Zolberg, A. (1983). “International Migrations in Political Perspective” in *Global Trends in Migration Theory and Reseach on International Population*

Movements. Ed. M.M. Kritz, C.B. Keely, S.M. Tomasi. New York: the Center for Migration Studies of New York Inc.

Zolberg, A., A. Suhrke, S. Aguayo (1986). "International Factors in the Formation of Refugee Movements", *International Migration Review*, 20(2): 151-169.

Zolberg A. (1989). "The Next Waves: Migration Theory for a Changing World", *International Migration Review*, 23(3):403-430.

APPENDICES

Appendix A Questionnaire

A.1 Questionnaire in Turkish

A. Bulgaristan'daki İş Yaşamı:

1. Doğum yeri ve zamanı:

Köyü.....İlçesi.....İli.....Yılı.....C:K E

2. Ankara'ya ne zaman yerleştiniz (Yılı)?

3. Anne ve babanızın eğitim durumu nedir? Bulgaristan'da tam olarak nerede ve ne olarak

çalışıyorlardı?

4. Oradaki yaşamınızı, yaşadığınız yeri ve insan ilişkilerini anlatır mısınız?

5. Eğitim hayatınızdan bahseder misiniz?

Bu eğitim sizin tercihiniz miydi?

Eğitiminiz sırasında çalıştınız mı?

Resmi eğitiminiz dışında başka bir eğitim aldınız mı?

Mesleki eğitim aldınız mı?

6. Bulgaristan'da toplam kaç yıl ve kaç farklı işte çalıştınız? (ek işler dahil)

7. Aynı anda iki farklı işte çalıştınız mı? (Memurken tarlada çalışmak gibi)

8. İlk işinize ne zaman girdiniz?

9. Aldığınız ücret sizce, Bulgaristan standartlarına göre nasıldı?

10. Eğer Bulgar olsaydınız, eğitim ve iş bulma durumunuz farklılaşır mıydı? Nasıl?

11. Orada çalıştığınız ortamdan bahseder misiniz? Nerede, ne olarak çalışıyordunuz?

Tam olarak ne yapıyordunuz?

12. Siz kime bağlı olarak çalışıyordunuz? Size bağlı kimse var mıydı?

13. Çalıştığınız yerde ne kadar Türk ve Bulgar vardı? Pomak ya da Romanlar gibi diğer etnik gruplardan insanlar var mıydı?

14. Çalıştığınız yerde Türk olmanızdan kaynaklanan sorunlar yaşadınız mı?

15. Eşinizin eğitim hayatından bahseder misiniz?

16. Eşinizin Bulgaristan'da çalıştığı son işi tarif eder misiniz?

B. Göç:

1. Türkiye'ye nereden ve ne zaman geldiniz?

2. Türkiye'ye nasıl geldiğinizi ayrıntılı bir şekilde anlatır mısınız?

3. Türkiye'ye gelmeye nasıl karar verdiniz? Ailecek mi yoksa bireysel olarak mı?

Bulgaristan'daki ya da Türkiye'deki akrabalarınıza, yakınlarınıza danıştınız mı?

4. Daha önce, göç edebileceğinizi düşünmüş müydünüz? Bunu istiyor muydunuz?

5. Göç etmeden önce, hiç Türkiye'de nasıl geçineceğinizle ilgili, aklınızda soru işaretleri var mıydı? Bu problemi nasıl halletmeyi düşündünüz?

6. Türkiye'ye ilk geldiğiniz zamanlarda size kimse ev ya da iş bulma konusunda yardımcı oldu mu? (Devlet, göçmen dernekleri, akrabalar, arkadaşlar ya da komşular gibi)

7. Orada kalan pek çok Türk var, sizi onlardan ayırıp buraya getiren ne oldu?

8. Türkiye'de kalmaya nasıl ve ne için karar verdiniz?

9. Siz Bulgaristan'da doğdunuz, sonra Türkiye'ye göç ettiniz, şimdi kendinizi nereye ait hissediyorsunuz? Türkiye'de olmaktan mutlu musunuz, yoksa Bulgaristan'da mı olmayı isterdiniz?

10. Şu andaki vatandaşlık durumunuz:

11. Göç etme ve Türkiye'ye yerleşme sürecinizde o zamanki hükümetin/devletin tutumunu nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

12. Göç nedeni: işsizlik, evlilik, eğitim, politik baskı/kültürel baskı,

C. Türkiye'deki (Ankara'daki) İş Yaşamı:

1. Türkiye'ye (Ankara'ya) geldikten sonra ilk işinizi nasıl ve nerede buldunuz? Size bu işi bulurken kimse yardımcı oldu mu?(Göçmen dernekleri, akrabalar, arkadaşlar, sendika, komşular, vb.)

2. Türkiye'ye gelmenizden itibaren kaç farklı işte çalıştınız? Kaç tane ek iş yaptınız?

3. Türkiye'de (Ankara'da) ilk çalıştığınız ortamı anlatır mısınız? Nerede ne olarak çalışıyordunuz? Tam olarak ne iş yapıyordunuz?

4. Sizce, bu işinizin ücreti Türkiye standartlarına göre nasıldı?

5. Bu işte kime bağlı çalışıyordunuz? Size bağlı kimse var mıydı?

6. Aynı anda birden fazla işte çalıştınız mı? Nerede, ne olarak ve ne kadar çalıştınız?

7. Çalıştığınız yerde sizden başka göçmenler var mı?

8. Sizce burada yaptığınız iş aldığınız eğitime uygun muydu? "Bu işte çalışsaydım bana, aldığım eğitime, Bulgaristan'da yaptığım işe daha uygun olurdu" dediğiniz işler var mı? Başka bir işte çalışmayı ister miydiniz?

9. İşinizde, size göre, göçmen olmanızdan kaynaklanan farklılıklar oldu mu?

10. Eşiniz Türkiye'ye geldikten sonra ilk nerede ne olarak çalışmış?

D. Karşılaştırma:

1. Bulgaristan ve Türkiye'deki işlerinizi, iş ortamlarınızı, çalışma biçimlerini karşılaştırdığınız zaman ilk aklınıza gelen farklılık ve benzerlikler nelerdir?

2. Daha ayrıntılı bir karşılaştırma yapacak olursanız:

Çalışma şartları:

Ücret:

Yaptığınız işin niteliği:

Sosyal güvenlik koşulları:

İş ilişkileri:

E. İş- Çalışma:

1. Sizce çalışmak nedir?

2. Çalışmanın sizin yaşamınızdaki yeri nedir? Sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

3. İnsanlar neden çalışırlar?

4. İşsizlik sizin için ne ifade ediyor? İşsiz kalsanız ne hissedersiniz?

5. Sizce göçmenlerin çalışmaya, işe bakışlarında bir farklılık var mı? Eğer varsa sizce bu neden kaynaklanıyor?

6. Bulgaristan'da ve Türkiye'de genel olarak toplumun iş yaşamına karşı tutumu karşılaştırır mısınız?

7. Sizce iki ülke arasında devletin çalışanlara bakışı açısından bir farklılık var mı?

8. Türkiye'ye geldikten sonra çalışma disiplininiz, prensiplerinizi değiştirdi mi?

F. Sosyo-Ekonomik Durum:

1. Evinizde kaç kişi yaşıyorsunuz?

2. Kaç çocuğunuz var? Aynı evde yaşayan/ yaşamayan:

3. Sizinle aynı evde yaşayan ve çalışan çocuklarınız var mı?

4. Onların eğitim durumları nedir?

5. Nerede çalışıyorlar, ne iş yapıyorlar?

6. Ailenizin toplam aylık geliri hakkında bir tahminde bulunabilir misiniz?
7. Oturduğunuz ev size mi ait? E H
8. Başka ev, arsa ya da tarla sahipliğiniz var mı?E H

A.2 Questionnaire in English

Working Life in Bulgaria

1. Birth Place and Date: Gender:
2. When did you settle in Ankara?
3. What is your parents' education level?
Describe the exact occupation they had in Bulgaria
4. Would you tell about your life, your place of living and interpersonal relations in Bulgaria?
5. Would you tell about your education life in Bulgaria?
Did you prefer to take this education or not?
Did you work during your education?
Did you receive any other education except your official education?
Did you receive on the job training?
6. How many jobs did you change in Bulgaria? How many years did you work for each of them? How many years did you work in Bulgaria in total?
7. Did you ever have two different jobs in the same time?
8. When did you start your first job? (ask for the following jobs)
9. How do you evaluate your wage according to living standards in Bulgaria? (ask for the following jobs)
10. Do you think your education and your job would be different, if you were an ethnic Bulgarian?
11. Would you describe your work environment in Bulgaria? How do you describe your job? What did you do exactly? (ask for the following jobs)
12. Did you ever somebody who is under your control in your work place in Bulgaria? (ask for the following jobs)
13. How many Bulgarian and Turkish people were in work place? Was there any person from other ethnic groups like Pomaks or Romans? (ask for the following jobs)
14. Did you face with any discrimination in your work place, because you were Turkish? (ask for the following jobs)
15. Would you tell about the education life of your spouse?
16. Would you describe the last job that your spouse had in Bulgaria?

B. The Immigration

1. On what date did you come to Turkey exactly? Which city or village did you come exactly?
2. Would you describe how you came to Turkey in a detailed manner?
3. How did you decide to come to Turkey? Individually or with your family? Did you ask for an advice from your relatives in Bulgaria or Turkey?
4. Had you ever think about immigration before?
5. Did you have doubt about your livelihood in Turkey, before your immigration? What kind of solutions did you think about this problem?
6. Immediately after immigration, did anybody help you in finding a shelter or job? (state, immigrant associations, the relatives, the friends, neighbors)
7. What did distinguish you from other people who stayed in Bulgaria?
8. Why did you decide to stay in Turkey?

9. You were born in Bulgaria, now you are living in Turkey. How do you feel about this? Are you happy to be in Turkey, or would you wish to be in Bulgaria?

10. Your citizenship:

11. How do you evaluate Turkish state's attitudes during your immigration and settlement?

12. Exact reason for immigration: unemployment, marriage, education, political/cultural pressures

C. Working Life in Ankara, Turkey

1. How did you find your first job after you came to Ankara? What was this job? Did you receive any help from anybody?

2. How many jobs have you have in Ankara since your immigration?

3. Would describe your first work environment in Ankara? What was the exact definition of your occupation where? (ask for the following jobs)

4. How do you evaluate your wage according to living standards in Turkey? (ask for the following jobs)

5. Did you ever somebody who is under your control in your work place in Turkey? (ask for the following jobs)

6. Have you ever worked for two different jobs at the same time? Where have you worked? Could you describe your job?

7. Did you have immigrant colleagues in your work environment?

8. Do you think that the jobs you perform in Ankara are convenient for your education? Is there any other job which you wish to have?

9. Did you observe any different attitude at your work environment since you are an immigrant? (ask for the following jobs)

10. Could you describe your spouse first job in Ankara? (ask for the following jobs)

D. Comparison

1. When you compare you're your jobs, work environments, your work styles in Bulgaria with the ones in Turkey, what kind of differences or similarities do you notice?

2. If you make a more detailed comparison about

Working conditions

Wage

The character the job you perform

Social security conditions

Work relations

E. Attitudes towards Work

1. According to you, what is the definition of work?

2. What is the importance of working in your life? What does working mean to you?

3. Why do people work?

4. What does unemployment mean to you? How do you feel if you are unemployed?

5. Do you think that the immigrants have a different attitude towards working than the other people or not? If your answer is affirmative, what is the reason behind such a difference?

6. Would you compare the attitudes of the societies towards working life in Bulgaria and Turkey?

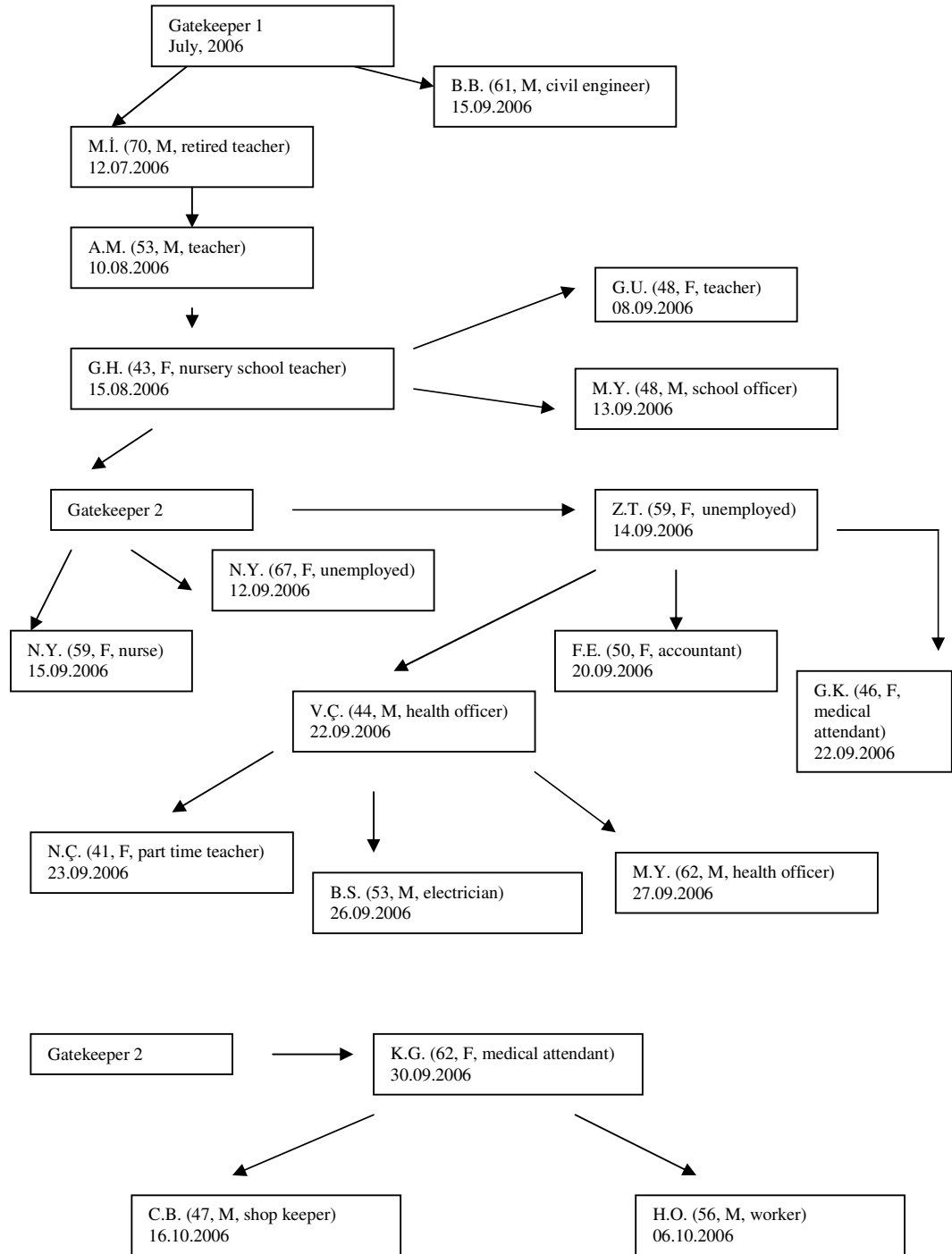
7. Do you think that there is a difference in the treatment of the states in Bulgaria and Turkey or not?

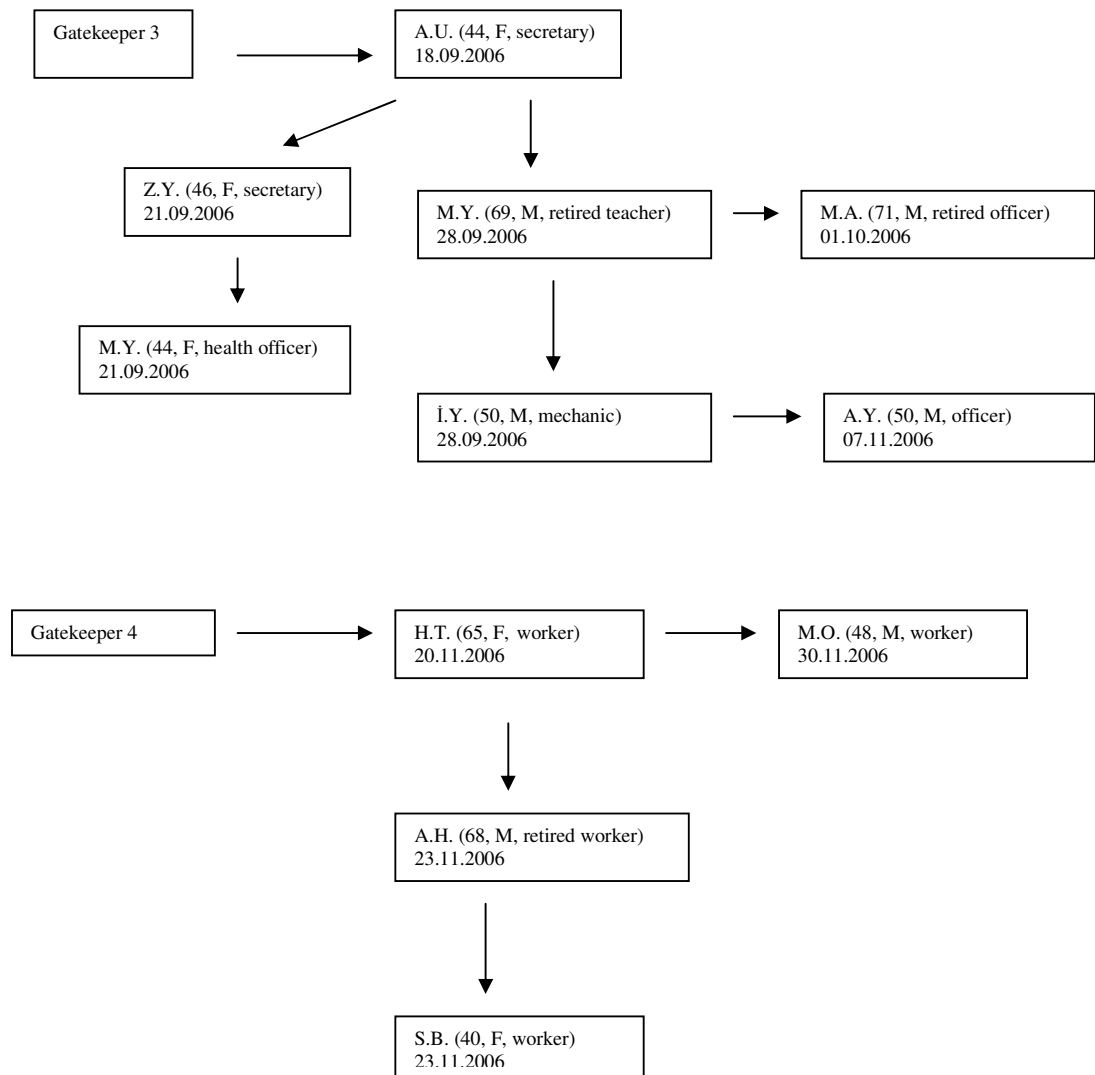
8. Did your working ethos change after your immigration?

F. Socio-Economic Status

1. How many people live in your household?
2. Number of children? In the household- not in the household?
3. In your household, is there any child of you who is working?
4. What is their education?
5. Where are they working? What are their occupations?
6. Would you make a guess about the monthly income of your household?
7. Does the flat you are living in belong to you?
8. Do you have any other property like a flat, a building plot or a field?

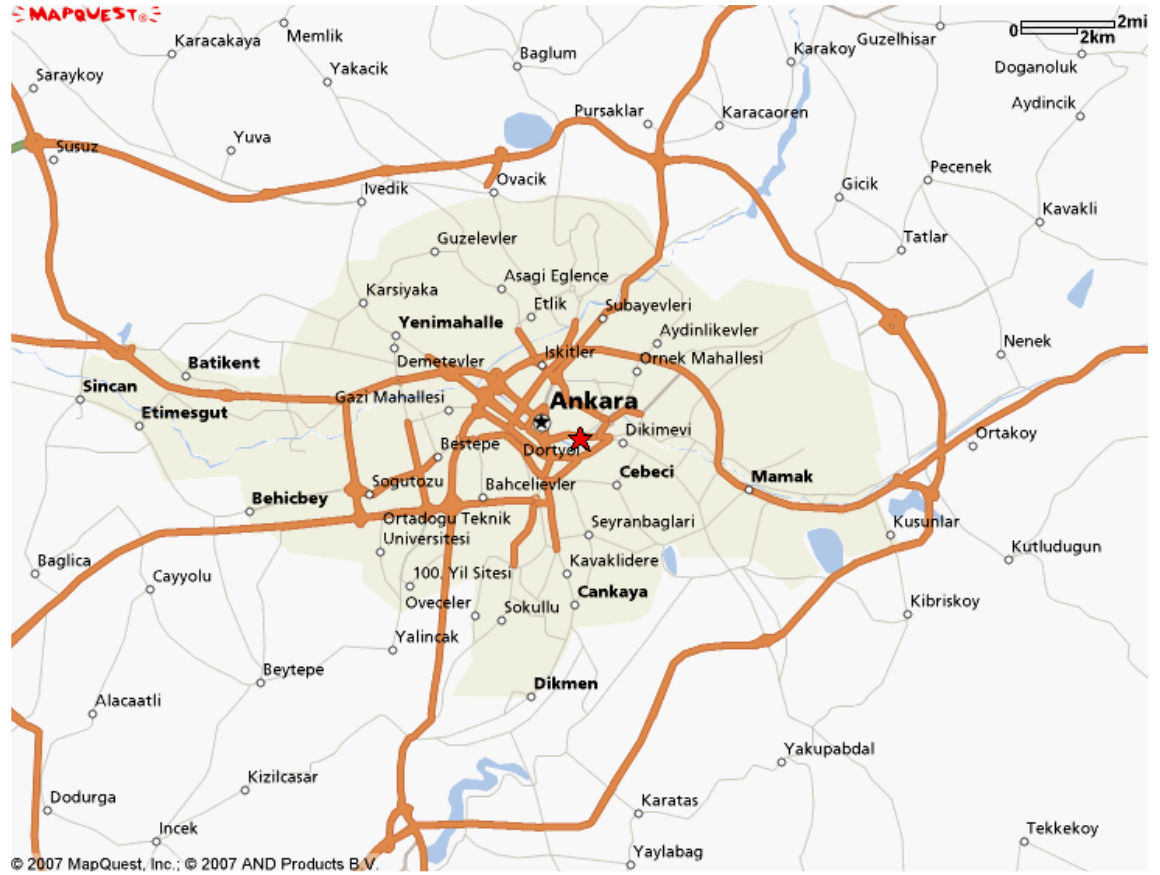
Appendix B Diagram of Interviews





Appendix C Illustrations about Ankara

Map 1: Pursaklar in Ankara



Resource:

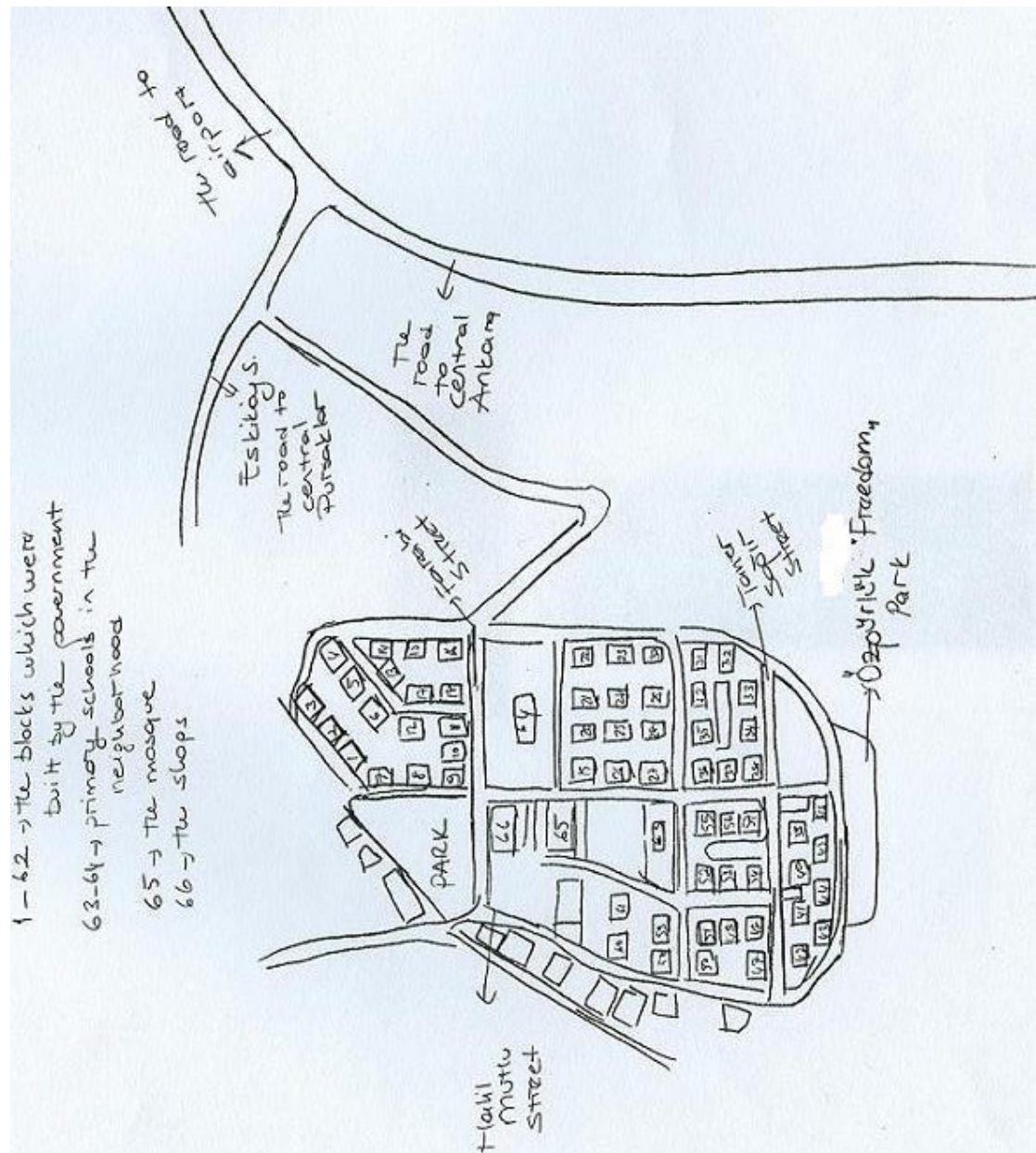
<http://www.mapquest.com/maps/map.adp?formtype=address&country=TR&addtohistory=&city=Ankara> . Accessed in 1 May, 2007.

Picture 1: View of Ay-Yıldız Neighborhood



Resource: Google Earth. Accessed in 1 May, 2007

Plan 1: Ay-Yıldız Neighborhood



Appendix D Illustrations about Bulgaria

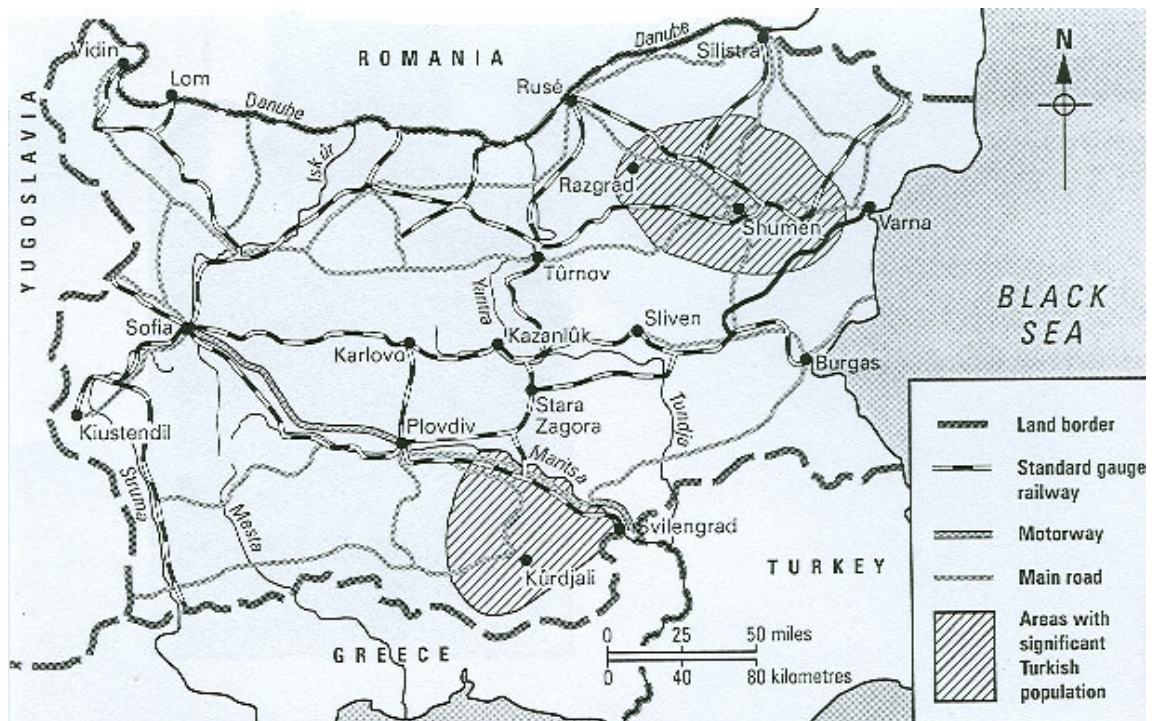
Map 2: Administrative Map of Bulgaria



Resource: http://www.maps.com/ref_map.aspx?cid=694&pid=11946&nav=MS

Accessed in 1 May, 2007.

Map 3: Turkish Minority in Bulgaria



Resource: Crampton, R. (2000). *A Concise History of Bulgaria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.